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FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
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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: 90660
Folder ID Number: 90660-001

Folder Title:
Monday, March 9, 1992 [2]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Schedule	Schedule of the President for Washington DC [redaction] (2 pp.)	3/9/92	(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	

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 9, 1992 [2]

Pinksheet Number: MB20990

OA/ID Number: 90660-001

Date Closed: 6/6/2024

FOIA/Sys Case #: 2009-0166-S

Re-review Case #:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS A POSITIVE ROLE IN PRESERVING THE FAMILY. WE WELCOME THAT ROLE; IT HAS GUIDED THE DECISIONS WE MAKE EVERY DAY. SINCE 1989, FOR EXAMPLE, WE HAVE MORE THAN DOUBLED FUNDING FOR HEAD START, A PROGRAM THAT BRINGS CHILDREN AND PARENTS INTO THE CLASSROOM, STRENGTHENS FAMILY TIES AND REINFORCES PARENTAL RESPONSIBILITY. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE PROGRAM'S HISTORY, WE CAN SUPPORT HEAD START FOR ALL ELIGIBLE FOUR-YEAR-OLD CHILDREN WHOSE PARENTS CHOOSE TO HAVE THEM PARTICIPATE.

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF CITIES
MARCH 9, 1992
WASHINGTON, D.C.
11:40 A.M.

THANK YOU, GLENDA (HOOD) FOR THAT KIND
INTRODUCTION. TO THE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WITH US, LET
ME SAY GOOD MORNING. AND MY GREETINGS ALSO TO MAYOR
SIDNEY BARTHELEMY, DON BORUT, AND WALLACE STICKNEY.

I'M PLEASED TO JOIN YOU TODAY. I ENJOYED SPEAKING
TO YOU OVER TELEVISION HOOK-UP IN DECEMBER -- IT'S
BETTER FACE TO FACE.

IN JANUARY, I HAD A FOLLOW-UP MEETING WITH TEN OF
YOUR MEMBERS. LIKE YOUR ORGANIZATION AS A WHOLE, THEY
REPRESENTED A CROSS-SECTION OF URBAN AMERICA'S
LEADERSHIP -- REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS, LIBERALS AND
CONSERVATIVES, OFFICIALS FROM LARGE AND SMALL AND MID-
SIZED CITIES.

OF COURSE, WE'RE ALL CONCERNED ABOUT THE BIG ISSUES
-- JOBS, FAMILY, WORLD PEACE. EVEN SO, I WAS STRUCK BY
THE UNANIMITY OF THE MESSAGE YOUR MEMBERS WANTED TO
DELIVER. IT CAN'T BE REPEATED OFTEN ENOUGH IN
WASHINGTON, OR ANY STATE CAPITOL OR CITY HALL.

YOUR MESSAGE WAS SIMPLY THIS: THE ENORMOUS PROBLEMS FACING CITIES TODAY -- FROM INFANT MORTALITY TO HIGH DROP-OUT RATES TO RUNAWAY CRIME -- ARE PARTLY SYMPTOMS OF ONE LARGER PROBLEM, THE DETERIORATION OF THE AMERICAN FAMILY.

I UNDERSTAND THE BREADTH OF ISSUES THAT YOU DEAL WITH DAILY, FROM POVERTY TO POTHOLE TO PROPERTY TAXES. BUT THIS MORNING, I WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS THE SAME SERIOUS ISSUE THAT YOU RAISED WITH ME: THE FAMILY. THE RESTORATION OF THE AMERICAN FAMILY IS AT THE HEART OF MUCH OF WHAT WE HAVE DONE THESE LAST THREE YEARS.

LEAVING ASIDE FOR A MOMENT THE ENORMOUS COSTS -- THE WASTED HUMAN RESOURCES OR THE BILLIONS SPENT TO REPAIR THE DAMAGE OF BROKEN HOMES -- FAMILY BREAKDOWN ULTIMATELY ENDANGERS OUR POSITION IN A WORLD INCREASINGLY DRIVEN BY ECONOMIC COMPETITION. CERTAINLY, THE INTEGRITY OF THE FAMILY IS CRITICAL ON ITS OWN MERIT. AS MY FAVORITE PHILOSOPHER SAYS, "WHAT GOES ON AT THE WHITE HOUSE IS NOT NEARLY AS IMPORTANT AS WHAT GOES ON IN YOUR HOUSE." BUT PARTICULARLY AT A TIME WHEN OUR EFFORTS MUST FOCUS ON ECONOMIC GROWTH, THE FAMILY'S DISINTEGRATION ENDANGERS -- FOR ALL OF US -- OUR ABILITY TO CREATE AND PRESERVE JOBS, AND TO CREATE AN ECONOMY OPEN TO PARTICIPATION BY ALL OUR CITIZENS.

SO WE MUST START WITH A CLEAR-EYED LOOK AT WHAT IS REALLY HAPPENING TO THE FAMILY IN AMERICAN COMMUNITIES TODAY -- NOT JUST IN POOR URBAN NEIGHBORHOODS BUT ALL ACROSS AMERICA. THEN WE MUST LOOK INSIDE OURSELVES, TO ESTABLISH THE PRINCIPLES THAT WILL SHAPE OUR APPROACH. AND THEN WE MUST ACT.

THE URGENCY IS CLEAR. WE ALL KNOW THE STATISTICS, THE DREARY DRUMBEAT THAT TELLS OF FAMILY BREAKDOWN. TODAY, ONE OUT OF EVERY FOUR AMERICAN CHILDREN IS BORN OUT OF WEDLOCK; IN SOME AREAS THE ILLEGITIMACY RATE TOPS 80 PERCENT. A QUARTER OF OUR CHILDREN GROW UP IN HOUSEHOLDS HEADED BY A SINGLE PARENT. MORE THAN TWO MILLION ARE CALLED LATCH-KEY KIDS -- WHO COME HOME FROM SCHOOL EACH AFTERNOON TO AN EMPTY HOME. AND A LARGE NUMBER OF OUR CHILDREN GROW UP WITHOUT THE LOVE OF PARENTS AT ALL.

WE KNOW FROM EXPERIENCE THE CONSEQUENCES OF FAMILY DECLINE. NEGLECTED CHILDREN ARE MORE SUSCEPTIBLE TO THE LURE OF CRIME AND DRUGS, ARE MORE LIKELY TO HAVE POOR HEALTH, DROP OUT OF SCHOOL EARLY, MORE LIKELY TO LEAD A LIFE WITHOUT HOPE.

EACH OF YOU IS IN A POSITION TO KNOW THE HUMAN COSTS THAT STATISTICS CAN ONLY DIMLY SKETCH. YOU KNOW, AS I DO, THAT FOR EVERY BLIP ON A CHART OR DOT ON A GRAPH, THERE IS A HUMAN STORY TO TELL, AND TOO OFTEN THE STORY IS A TRAGEDY.

ABOUT TEN DAYS AGO, I WAS IN SAN ANTONIO, MEETING WITH LATIN AMERICAN LEADERS TO INTENSIFY OUR WAR ON DRUGS. WHILE THERE I SAW A FRONT-PAGE STORY IN THE SAN ANTONIO LIGHT. A CABDRIVER HAD BEEN MURDERED LAST SEPTEMBER -- ANOTHER ACT OF RANDOM, SENSELESS VIOLENCE -- AND HIS MURDERER HAD JUST BEEN FOUND GUILTY.

BUT WHAT WAS TRULY HORRIFYING -- WHAT WOULD HORRIFY ANY AMERICAN -- WAS THIS: THE MURDERER WAS A 12-YEAR-OLD BOY. AS THE DEPUTIES TOOK THE BOY FROM THE COURTROOM, ACCORDING TO THE NEWSPAPER STORY, THEY HAD TROUBLE FITTING HIM WITH SHACKLES AND HANDCUFFS, SO SLENDER WERE HIS WRISTS. THIS YOUNGSTER WAS FOUR-FEET TALL, NOT YET A TEENAGER, BUT NOW A CONVICTED MURDERER.

THE DRUMBEAT CONTINUES: TWO TEENAGERS SHOT DEAD IN A NEW YORK PUBLIC SCHOOL -- AN LSD RING BUSTED UP IN AN AFFLUENT NORTHERN VIRGINIA SUBURB -- OR THE HARROWING STORIES OF RUNAWAY KIDS AND THE HORRORS THAT BEFALL THEM.

I KNOW THAT ALMOST ALL OF YOU COULD TELL STORIES EQUALLY DISTRESSING -- STORIES FROM NEIGHBORHOODS IN YOUR CITIES WHERE THE UNTHINKABLE HAS BECOME THE COMMONPLACE. I AM SURE THAT MANY OF YOU HERE TOOK OFFICE WITH HIGH CONFIDENCE IN THE POWER TO SOLVE THESE PROBLEMS, ONLY TO DISCOVER -- SOONER RATHER THAN LATER, I SUSPECT -- THAT THEY WERE FAR MORE STUBBORN THAN WE COULD IMAGINE. LET'S NOT FORGET THAT THE TRIALS OUR CITIZENS FACE EACH AND EVERY DAY WERE GENERATIONS IN THE MAKING. WE CAN'T EXPECT CHANGE OVERNIGHT. BUT MAKE NO MISTAKE: CHANGE WILL COME. BECAUSE CHANGE MUST COME.

LET'S FACE IT. WE CAN ONLY CHANGE THINGS IF WE WORK IN COMMON PURPOSE. WE MUST CALL A CEASE-FIRE IN THE WAR OF WORDS THAT TOO OFTEN CONSUMES US. CASTING BLAME BRINGS NO SOLUTIONS. NOR WILL QUESTIONING EACH OTHER'S MOTIVES. WE HAVE GOT TO FOCUS EVERY OUNCE OF OUR ENERGY TO TURN BACK THIS ASSAULT UPON THE AMERICAN FAMILY AND ACT AS ONE NATION TO DEFEND AND STRENGTHEN IT. AS PUBLIC SERVANTS, WE MUST NEVER FORGET THAT THE BEST DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES IS INDEED, THE FAMILY.

IN RESTORING THE FAMILY, WE RESTORE TO COMING GENERATIONS THE VALUES, THE SENSE OF RIGHT AND WRONG, THE WILL AND CONFIDENCE TO SUCCEED THAT ONLY A FAMILY CAN PROVIDE A CHILD. AND IN DOING THIS, WE WILL REINVIGORATE OUR COMMUNITIES AND CITIES AS WELL.

WE NEEDN'T LOOK FAR FOR PRINCIPLES TO GUIDE US.
THEY ARE THE OLD HOME TRUTHS. RELY ON WHAT WORKS --
DISCARD WHAT DOESN'T. NEVER BE AFRAID TO INNOVATE.
REMEMBER THAT GOVERNMENT CLOSEST TO THE PEOPLE RESPONDS
BEST TO THE NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE. AND LET'S NOT FORGET
THIS AS A GUIDING PRINCIPLE: IF PEOPLE ARE TO BE
RESPONSIBLE, THEY MUST BE GIVEN RESPONSIBILITY.

THE GOVERNMENT'S FIRST DUTY IS LIKE THAT OF THE PHYSICIAN: DO NO HARM. BUT THE FACT IS, WITH THE BEST OF INTENTIONS, MANY PAST GOVERNMENT POLICIES HAVE WORKED AGAINST THE INSTITUTION OF THE FAMILY -- UNDERMINED YOUNG PEOPLE'S DESIRE TO MARRY AND STAY MARRIED, TO PROVIDE FOR THEIR CHILDREN, TO PLAN FOR THEIR FUTURE.

AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, "DOING NO HARM" MEANS IN PART THAT WE ENSURE PARENTS RETAIN THE AUTHORITY TO MAKE THE BIG DECISIONS FOR THEIR FAMILIES. THIS DOESN'T ABSOLVE PARENTS OF RESPONSIBILITY, JUST THE OPPOSITE. FOR EXAMPLE, EVEN IF WE ARE ABLE TO REFORM OUR EDUCATION SYSTEM, PARENTS MUST STILL READ TO THEIR CHILDREN. THE POINT IS THAT GOVERNMENT HARMS THE FAMILY WHEN IT RESTRICTS ITS AUTONOMY OR USURPS THE AUTHORITY OF RESPONSIBLE PARENTS.

LET ME GIVE YOU ANOTHER EXAMPLE: THOSE OF US IN GOVERNMENT CAN NEVER PLAUSIBLY CLAIM TO FIGHT FOR FAMILIES IF WE INSIST THAT GOVERNMENT, NOT PARENTS, MUST CHOOSE WHO CARES FOR THEIR CHILDREN. TWO YEARS AGO, MY ADMINISTRATION WAGED A FIGHT IN CONGRESS OVER THIS VERY ISSUE, AND WE WON. WE KEPT CHOICE OF CHILD CARE OUT OF THE HANDS OF GOVERNMENT AND PUT IT WHERE IT BELONGS -- IN THE HANDS OF PARENTS.

NOW WE'RE ENGAGED IN A SIMILAR FIGHT, OVER WHETHER PARENTS SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE THEIR CHILDREN'S SCHOOLS. WE KNOW THE BENEFITS OF COMPETITION; IT IS THE LINCHPIN OF AMERICAN PROSPERITY. AND COMPETITION AMONG SCHOOLS WILL BE THE LINCHPIN OF EDUCATIONAL EXCELLENCE, TOO. FROM MINNESOTA TO MILWAUKEE TO EAST HARLEM -- SCHOOL CHOICE WORKS.

BUT SCHOOL CHOICE IS IMPORTANT FOR OTHER REASONS:
IT RESTORES AUTHORITY AND RESPONSIBILITY TO PARENTS.
AND JUST AS IT MAKES OUR SCHOOLS ACCOUNTABLE, IT ALSO
MAKES PARENTS ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE DECISIONS THEY MAKE.
NOT ONLY IN CHILD CARE AND SCHOOL CHOICE BUT IN OTHER
AREAS AS WELL, A KEY TO HEALING THE AMERICAN FAMILY
WILL BE RESTORING PARENTAL AUTHORITY AND
ACCOUNTABILITY.

ANOTHER EXAMPLE: THE INITIATIVE WE CALL HOPE. IT
TOOK MORE THAN A YEAR TO GET HOPE THROUGH CONGRESS, AND
ANOTHER YEAR TO GET EVEN PARTIAL FUNDING FOR IT. BUT
HOPE WILL BE CRUCIAL TO OUR SUCCESS, BY OFFERING LOW-
INCOME FAMILIES A GREATER OPPORTUNITY TO OWN THEIR OWN
HOMES. HOPE IS BASED ON A SIMPLE PRINCIPLE: TO
SURVIVE, PEOPLE NEED THE INTANGIBLE VALUES OF DIGNITY
AND SELF-RESPECT. GOVERNMENT CAN'T PROVIDE THOSE. BUT
HOMEOWNERSHIP CAN. AN EDUCATION CAN. A JOB CAN. AND
BEING PART OF A FAMILY CAN.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS A POSITIVE ROLE IN PRESERVING THE FAMILY. WE WELCOME THAT ROLE; IT HAS GUIDED THE DECISIONS WE MAKE EVERY DAY. SINCE 1989, FOR EXAMPLE, WE HAVE MORE THAN DOUBLED FUNDING FOR HEAD START, A PROGRAM THAT BRINGS CHILDREN AND PARENTS INTO THE CLASSROOM, STRENGTHENS FAMILY TIES AND REINFORCES PARENTAL RESPONSIBILITY. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE PROGRAM'S HISTORY, WE CAN SUPPORT ONE YEAR OF HEAD START FOR ALL ELIGIBLE CHILDREN WHOSE PARENTS CHOOSE TO HAVE THEM PARTICIPATE.

THERE ARE MANY OTHER EXAMPLES: WE HAVE INCREASED THE EARNED INCOME TAX CREDIT FOR LOW-INCOME FAMILIES, AND, SINCE 1989, WE'VE INCREASED THE FUNDING FOR WIC - - THE SUPPLEMENTAL FOOD PROGRAM FOR WOMEN, INFANTS AND CHILDREN -- BY 47 PERCENT, TO \$2.8 BILLION NEXT YEAR. WE'VE INCREASED OTHER NUTRITION PROGRAMS BY SIMILAR PERCENTAGES. AND THIS YEAR FEDERAL SUPPORT FOR CHILDHOOD IMMUNIZATION GRANTS WILL TOP \$340 MILLION, AN INCREASE OF 18 PERCENT OVER LAST YEAR'S LEVEL. ALL TOLD, FUNDING FOR CHILDREN'S PROGRAMS -- FROM NUTRITION AND EDUCATION TO FOSTER CARE AND CHILD IMMUNIZATIONS - - HAS INCREASED 66 PERCENT SINCE WE TOOK OFFICE.

BUT PLEASE UNDERSTAND: WE WILL NEVER MEASURE OUR COMPASSION IN DOLLARS SPENT. WE WILL MEASURE IT BY RESULTS -- THE TEST WILL BE THE HEALTH AND HAPPINESS OF OUR CHILDREN AND, MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL, THE SENSE OF WELL-BEING AND SELF-RELIANCE INSTILLED IN OUR FAMILIES. MY ADMINISTRATION HAS TARGETED FUNDING TO PROGRAMS THAT EFFICIENTLY FULFILL GOVERNMENT'S ROLE IN SUPPORTING FAMILIES AND KEEPING THEM TOGETHER -- PROGRAMS THAT WORK FOR THE FAMILY.

AT THE SAME TIME, WE MUST FACE ANOTHER FACT: GOVERNMENT CAN SOMETIMES BE A BURDEN AS WELL AS A BOON. OVER THE PAST FORTY YEARS, THE CHILD TAX EXEMPTION HAS LAGGED FAR BEHIND THE SOARING COSTS OF CHILD-REARING. I HAVE ASKED CONGRESS TO INCREASE THE EXEMPTION BY \$500 PER CHILD. FOR A FAMILY WITH FOUR CHILDREN, THAT'S AN INCREASE OF \$2,000. IT'S A CRUCIAL FIRST STEP TOWARD REDRESSING THE IMBALANCE, AND IT'S WHAT WE CAN AFFORD NOW.

AND NOW I COME TO PERHAPS THE MOST CRUCIAL MATTER OF ALL: WE MUST REFORM OUR NATION'S WELFARE SYSTEM. AMERICANS ARE THE MOST GENEROUS PEOPLE ON EARTH, BUT THEY WANT TO SEE -- AND THEY'RE ENTITLED TO SEE -- SOME RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WELFARE AND WORK. WELFARE MUST NEVER BE WHAT FDR WARNED IT MIGHT BECOME: A SUBTLE DESTROYER OF THE SPIRIT. IT IS NOT MEANT TO BE A WAY OF LIFE, OR A FAMILY LEGACY PASSED FROM ONE GENERATION TO THE NEXT. WELFARE CAN EAT AWAY AT THE TIES THAT BIND A FAMILY TOGETHER.

STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS ARE UNDERTAKING THE BRAVE WORK OF REFORM -- LEARNFARE IN WISCONSIN, REACH (REALIZING ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENT) IN NEW JERSEY, WASHINGTON STATE'S FIP -- FAMILY INDEPENDENCE PROGRAM - - THESE ARE ALL DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS WE SUPPORT. MY ADMINISTRATION IS COMMITTED TO REFORM AND WE ARE ACTING NOW TO WAIVE UNNECESSARY RED TAPE THAT IMPEDES REFORM.

THERE'S NO HIDDEN AGENDA HERE. THIS ADMINISTRATION, THE MAYORS, THE STATE LEADERS WHO PRESS FOR DRASTIC REFORM OF WELFARE AREN'T MODERN DAY SCROOGES -- CHISELING ONE MORE DIME OUT OF SOME POOR FAMILY. DEMOCRAT OR REPUBLICAN, CALIFORNIA OR NEW JERSEY, FEDERAL OR STATE -- IN OUR HEART OF HEARTS, WE REALLY BELIEVE REFORMING WELFARE IS THE BEST WAY TO SERVE PEOPLE -- BREAK THIS SORRY CYCLE OF DESPAIR -- GIVE PEOPLE REAL HOPE. AND WE'RE GOING TO KEEP ON TRYING TO DO JUST THAT -- BECAUSE EVERY SINGLE AMERICAN DESERVES TO BELIEVE IN THE AMERICAN DREAM.

I HAVE HIGHLIGHTED TODAY THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT -- BOTH POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE -- BECAUSE WE ARE MEN AND WOMEN OF GOVERNMENT. BUT LET US NEVER FORGET THE WORK OF PRIVATE AMERICANS DEDICATING THEMSELVES TO THE VOLUNTARY SERVICE OF OTHERS, WHO CREATE AN ENVIRONMENT WHERE FAMILIES CAN FLOURISH.

EACH IS A POINT OF LIGHT, OFFERING SERVICE WITH NO THOUGHT OF REWARD, THOUGH THE REWARD WILL BE REAPED BY EVERY AMERICAN. THEY ARE NOT A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE GOOD THAT GOVERNMENT CAN DO, BUT WE WILL NOT SOLVE OUR MOST PRESSING PROBLEMS WITHOUT THEIR DEDICATION. I URGE ALL OF YOU, WHEN YOU RETURN TO YOUR CITIES, TO DO ALL IN YOUR POWER TO ENCOURAGE THESE CARING MEN AND WOMEN, TO MAKE YOURS A COMMUNITY OF LIGHT.

IN MY STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS, I ANNOUNCED THAT WE WOULD SOON INSTITUTE A COMMISSION ON AMERICA'S URBAN FAMILIES. THEIR WORK WILL BE ONE RESULT OF MY MEETING IN JANUARY WITH SOME OF YOUR LEADERS. I HAVE ASKED GOV. JOHN ASHCROFT OF MISSOURI AND ANNETTE STRAUSS, THE FORMER MAYOR OF DALLAS, TO LEAD THE COMMISSION AND FULFILL ITS MANDATE: TO IDENTIFY THOSE GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS, AT ALL LEVELS, THAT WEAKEN OR STRENGTHEN URBAN FAMILIES; TO ANALYZE WAYS TO IMPROVE PRIVATE EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN FAMILIES; AND TO RECOMMEND NEW POLICIES TO HELP FAMILIES IN OUR CITIES.

I AM CONVINCED THAT WE CAN CORRECT OUR MISTAKES, LEARN FROM OUR FAILURES, AND BUILD ON OUR SUCCESSES. I DO NOT EXAGGERATE WHEN I SAY THAT THE FUTURE OF AMERICA DEPENDS ON OUR EFFORTS. THE FAMILY IS THE IRREDUCIBLE UNIT OF COMFORT AND LOVE, AND FROM FAMILIES RADIATE NEIGHBORHOODS, FROM NEIGHBORHOODS COME TOWNS AND CITIES, AND THEIR HEALTH DETERMINES THE HEALTH OF OUR COUNTRY, FOR BETTER OR WORSE. LIKE YOU I AM COMMITTED TO MAKING OUR HEALTH WHOLE, AND TO ENSURING THAT OUR CITIES, AS THEODORE PARKER SAID, REMAIN THE FIREPLACES OF AMERICA, RADIATING WARMTH AND LIGHT AGAINST THE DARKNESS.

THANK YOU, AND MAY GOD BLESS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

#

REVISED

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 6, 1992

REMARKS TO THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF CITIES

DATE: Monday, March 9, 1992
TIME: 11:30 a.m.
LOCATION: Washington Hilton
THROUGH: Sherrie Rollins
Debra Anderson
FROM: James Snyder

I. PURPOSE

You will be addressing the annual legislative conference of the National League of Cities.

II. BACKGROUND

The National League of Cities (NLC) is a bi-partisan, moderate organization which represents the nations' mayors and other elected city officials.

NLC's President is Orlando City Commissioner Glenda Hood (R) and their executive director is Donald Borut. The organization represents over 17,000 cities.

Via teleconference, you spoke to NLC's Congress of Cities in December of 1991. During that session, you invited former Indianapolis Mayor Bill Hudnut and a delegation of various mayors to the White House to discuss problems facing America's cities.

That delegation met with you in the Roosevelt Room, in January of this year, and presented you with the concept of the Commission on Urban Families. They remain very enthusiastic about the idea, especially since you announced its formation in the State of the Union address, and look forward to the actual creation of the commission.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President

Greeted by National League of Cities officers:

President Glenda Hood
City Commissioner
Orlando, Florida

First Vice President Donald Fraser
Mayor
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Second Vice President Sharpe James
Mayor
Newark, New Jersey

Immediate Past President Sydney Barthelemy
Mayor
New Orleans, Louisiana

Past President Tom Bradley
Mayor
Los Angeles, California

Past President Ferd Harrison
Mayor
Scotland Neck, North Carolina

Past President Cathy Reynolds
Councilwoman-at-large
Denver, Colorado

Executive Director Donald Borut

approximately 2700 city officials

IV. PRESS PLAN

Open Photo/Writing Pool.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

See Advance Office scenario

VI. REMARKS REQUIRED

To be provided by Speechwriting.

REVISED

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT
TO
WASHINGTON, D.C.
MONDAY, MARCH 9, 1992

EVENT: Address National League of Cities' Annual
Legislative Conference

DATE: Monday, March 9, 1992

TIME: 11:38 am - 12:05 pm

LOCATION: International Ballroom, Washington Hilton Hotel

ATTENDEES: 2,800

PRESS: Open

SCENARIO: THE PRESIDENT arrives Washington Hilton Hotel and is greeted by: Mr. Richard Frisch, Resident Manager, Washington Hilton Hotel; and Ms. Elaine Robinson, Executive Assistant Manager, Washington Hilton Hotel. Following the Greetings, THE PRESIDENT proceeds to Cabinet Room. THE PRESIDENT arrives Cabinet Room and is greeted by: Ms. Glenda E. Hood, Commissioner, Orlando, Florida and President, National League of Cities; The Honorable Donald Fraser, First Vice President, National League of Cities and Mayor, Minneapolis, Minnesota; The Honorable Sharpe James, Second Vice President, National League of Cities and Mayor, Newark, New Jersey; The Honorable Sydney Barthelemy, Immediate Past President, National League of Cities and Mayor, New Orleans, Louisiana; The Honorable Tom Bradley, Past President, National League of Cities and Mayor, Los Angeles, California; The Honorable Ferd Harrison, Past President, National League of Cities and Mayor, Scotland Neck, North Carolina; The Honorable Cathy Reynolds, Past President, National League of Cities and Councilwoman-at-Large, Denver, Colorado; and Mr. Donald J. Borut, Executive Director, National League of Cities. Upon conclusion of the Greetings, THE PRESIDENT departs Cabinet Room and proceeds to International Ballroom Off-Stage Announcement Area. THE PRESIDENT arrives International Ballroom Off-Stage Announcement Area and holds

briefly. (NOTE: Dais Guests will be on Stage at this time.) THE PRESIDENT is announced onto Dais to Full Honors by the U.S. Marine Band, and proceeds to Seat at Head Table (Enter Stage Right). THE PRESIDENT is introduced for Remarks by Ms. Glenda Hood. THE PRESIDENT Remarks. (NOTE: A Teleprompter will be used.) THE PRESIDENT concludes Remarks, departs Dais, and proceeds to Holding Room (Exit Stage Right). THE PRESIDENT arrives Holding Room and holds briefly. THE PRESIDENT departs Holding Room and proceeds to Motorcade. THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs Washington Hilton Hotel en route White House.

The Backdrop for the Address will be burgundy drape with a large blue banner with white lettering, reading "National League of Cities" with the NLC Logo. The Head Table will consist of two tiers, totalling 48 people.

The Press Platform will be located straight-on at 100 feet.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Schedule	Schedule of the President for Washington DC [redaction] (2 pp.)	3/9/92	(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Monday, March 9, 1992 [2]

Date Closed: 6/6/2024	OA/ID Number: 90660-001
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S	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

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
FOR
WASHINGTON, D.C.
MONDAY, MARCH 9, 1992

EVENT:

Address National League of Cities' Annual Legislative Conference

DRESS:

Men - Business Suit
Women - Day Dress

CONTACTS:

Presidential Advance Office
Ed Murnane - 202/456-7565

Trip Coordinator
Kris Goodwin - 202/456-7565

ADVANCE:

Jack McDougle - LEAD
John Hutchison - PRESS
" (b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f) -
Doug Furness - WHCA
Russ Cancilla - MIL. AIDE

WEATHER:

Partly Cloudy/Mid 60's

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

FOR

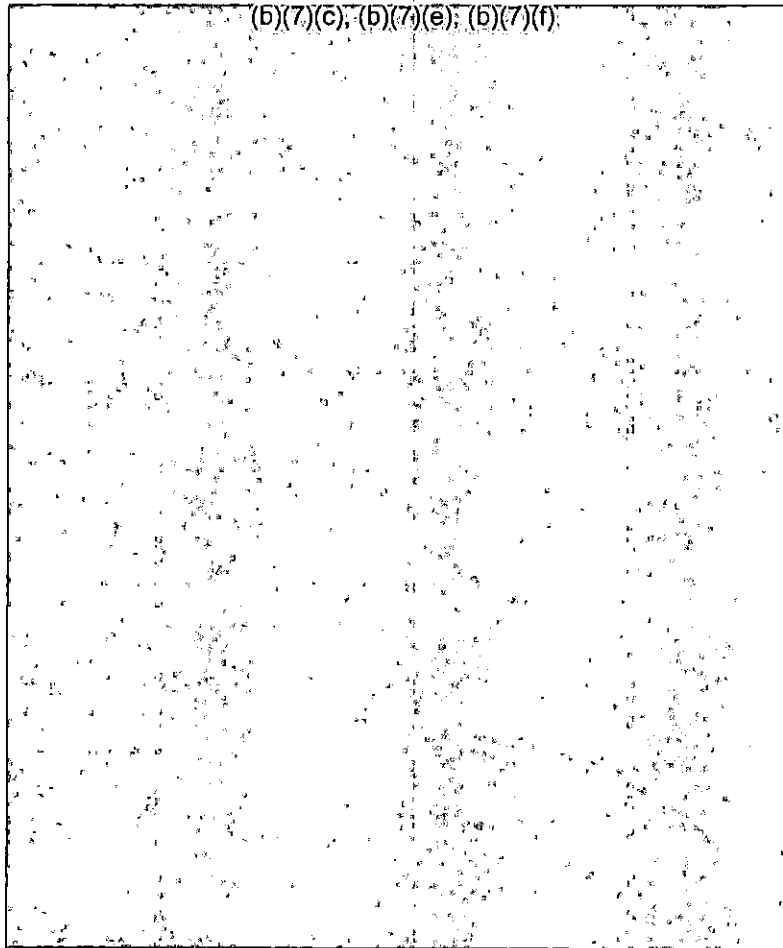
WASHINGTON, D.C.

MONDAY, MARCH 9, 1992

11:25 am

THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs
White House en route Washington Hilton Hotel.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:



(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

11:30 am THE PRESIDENT arrives Washington Hilton Hotel and proceeds to Cabinet Room.

Met by:

Mr. Richard Frisch
Resident Manager, Washington Hilton Hotel

Ms. Elaine Robinson
Executive Assistant Manager, Washington Hilton Hotel

11:32 am THE PRESIDENT arrives Cabinet Room and holds briefly.

Met by:

Ms. Glenda E. Hood
Commissioner, Orlando, Florida and President,
National League of Cities

The Honorable Donald Fraser
First Vice President, National League of
Cities and Mayor, Minneapolis, Minnesota

The Honorable Sharpe James
Second Vice President, National League of
Cities and Mayor, Newark New Jersey

The Honorable Sydney Barthelemy, Immediate
Past President, National League of Cities
and Mayor, New Orleans, Louisiana

The Honorable Tom Bradley
Past President, National League of Cities
and Mayor, Los Angeles, California

The Honorable Ferd Harrison
Past President, National League of Cities
and Mayor, Scotland Neck, North Carolina

The Honorable Cathy Reynolds
Past President, National League of Cities
and Councilwoman-at-Large, Denver, Colorado

Mr. Donald J. Borut
Executive Director, National League of Cities

11:35 am THE PRESIDENT departs Cabinet Room and proceeds to International Ballroom Off-Stage Announcement Area.

11:37 am THE PRESIDENT arrives International Ballroom Off-Stage Announcement Area and holds briefly.

NOTE: Dais Guests will be on Stage at this time.

EVENT: ADDRESS NATIONAL LEAGUE OF CITIES' ANNUAL LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE

OPEN PRESS

RUFFLES AND FLOURISHES

OFF-STAGE ANNOUNCEMENT

HAIL TO THE CHIEF

REMARKS

TELEPROMPTER

11:38 am THE PRESIDENT is announced onto Dais and proceeds to Seat at Head Table.

11:40 am THE PRESIDENT is introduced for Remarks by Ms. Glenda Hood, Commissioner, Orlando, Florida and President, National League of Cities.

11:45 am THE PRESIDENT Remarks.

12:05 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes Remarks, departs
Dais, and proceeds to Holding Room.

12:06 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Holding Room and holds
briefly.

12:08 pm THE PRESIDENT departs Holding Room and proceeds
to Motorcade.

12:10 pm THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs
Washington Hilton Hotel en route White
House.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Same as on Arrival.

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

12:15 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives White House.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 9, 1992

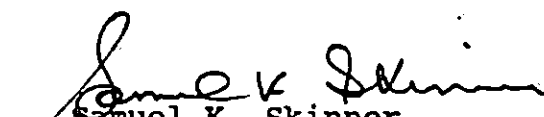
Dear Mr. Lewis:

President Bush has asked me to respond to your letter of February 26, 1992 concerning Chairman Evan Kemp of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

I suspect that your February 26 letter to the President may have crossed in the mail a February 24 letter I sent to you (and to which you have since replied). In my February 24 letter I assured you that the Bush Administration fully supports the work of the Muscular Dystrophy Association (MDA) and that Chairman Kemp's personal views on the MDA's method of fund raising are not the views of the Administration as a whole.

Thank you for writing. I hope that this clarifies the Administration's views on the MDA. You have my best wishes for a successful Labor Day telethon.

Sincerely,


Samuel K. Skinner
Chief of Staff

Mr. Jerry Lewis
Muscular Dystrophy Association
3561 East Sunrise Dr.
Tucson, AR 85718

FEUDS

**Jerry Lewis:
Points of Spite**

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission chairman Evan Kemp Jr.'s feud with comedian Jerry Lewis may cost Kemp his job. Kemp angered Lewis with an October press release alleging that Lewis's annual muscular dystrophy telethon demeans the disabled by presenting them as "objects to be pitied." In a letter to President Bush, Lewis accused Kemp of "misusing the power of his governmental office" by making statements that could hurt the telethon. "If ever there was a 'Point of Light'... I'm it!" wrote Lewis. Administration sources say Kemp, a wheelchair user with a neuromuscular disease, will likely stay on the commission but lose the chairmanship. The White House declined to comment.



"I'm it": The comedian

CONVENTIONAL

'92 Campaign Edi

Per "Casablanca," the CW is mayed about the negative hopes, at the very least, to repose

CANDIDATES 71 Conventio

Bush Bouncing ct

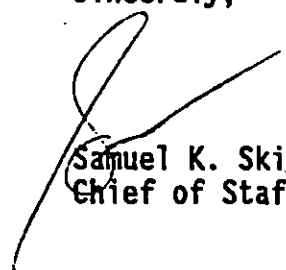
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 4, 1992

Dear Evan:

I think we have put this fire out. The enclosed letter to Jerry Lewis is self explanatory. I have assured him that neither you nor the EEOC will be engaging in any further dialogue regarding this issue and that we will stand behind our commitment in this letter. Thanks for your understanding and cooperation.

Sincerely,



Samuel K. Skinner
Chief of Staff

The Honorable Evan J. Kemp, Jr.
Chairman
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
1801 L Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20507

2011

February 26, 1992

The Honorable George Bush
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Bush:

The appended article from the current issue of *U.S. News and World Report* alarms me because it seems to suggest that the letter I wrote you on February 6 never reached your desk but rather was detoured to that of Evan Kemp. I'm deeply chagrined to see my letter cited in a national newsmagazine in the absence of any indication that you've ever seen it, and with the implication that you haven't.

Having now received a copy of Mr. Kemp's letter to Gregg Petersmeyer transmitting to him my letter to you, I'm doubly alarmed because of the extravagant manner in which Mr. Kemp has misrepresented the situation described in my letter. In fact, his letter to Mr. Petersmeyer contains blatant untruths, as documentation to be provided to Mr. Petersmeyer by MDA Executive Director Bob Ross will demonstrate unmistakably.

But here's the bottom line: Mr. Kemp has now made his attack on our Telethon a high-profile public matter and has moreover indicated that he's speaking on your behalf in doing so. MDA and I have long regarded you and Mrs. Bush as friends and allies and are deeply grateful for the support you've given us consistently over the years. Moreover, I'm certainly cognizant of the pressures you'll be facing in the coming months and certainly realize how little you need your views on a matter of concern to millions distorted. That would I presume make as important to you as to us your positive response to the request in my earlier letter -- that you disavow Mr. Kemp's assault on us.

To give you a clearer picture of just how responsible that assault is, I've appended a copy of a letter to me from MDA Medical Advisory Committee Chairman Leon I. Charash reporting on a phone call from Mr. Kemp shortly following the

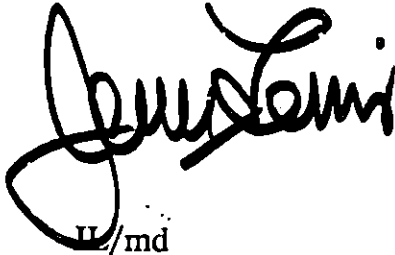
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Department of Energy press conference in which Dr. Charash appeared with Admiral Watkins to announce the breakthrough that ultimately resulted in the attached front-page story in *U.S.A. Today* and a multitude of other news media worldwide. This was only the latest of a recent series of exciting scientific developments that have been achieved, thanks in no small part to your support of MDA. Please extend that support to help end the crisis created by Mr. Kemp.

Sincerely,



JB/md

Attachments

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WASHINGTON WHISPERS

DOES BUSH *campaign need Jim Baker back at the helm?*

BUCHANAN *may get offer to serve as Bush surrogate in the fall*

BUGSY SIEGEL: *Las Vegas's even-money choice to win Oscar*

Private concerns. While the president's inner circle of strategists remains publicly confident about his reelection (story, Page 30), behind the scenes, second-tier party activists are apprehensive, bemoaning the campaign's lack of direction and the difficulty of getting decisions approved by the White House. At a series of post-New Hampshire crisis meetings last week, they argued that if George Bush's fortunes deteriorate further, he will need an experienced campaign leader who can bluntly tell the president what needs to be done. Their candidate: Jim Baker, who has twice served as Bush's national campaign chief. Though the secretary of state enjoys globe-trotting, if the president were to ask, friends say, Baker would surely leave Foggy Bottom. Baker is also aware that if Bush is not re-elected, his own political prospects will be severely, if not fatally, damaged.

Wishful thinking? George Bush's top advisers feel that if Pat Buchanan refrains from personal attacks on the president during the remainder of the primary period, he will earn a prime-time slot to address the August Republican convention in Houston. And in what may be the most glaring example of wishful thinking so far this political season, they promise that if Buchanan were to leave the race gracefully this spring, he could also serve as a highly visible surrogate for Bush during the fall campaign. Buchanan was unavailable for comment, but when an aide was asked about the offer, his only response was a guffaw.

No joke. Hollywood's Jerry Lewis has fired off a furious letter to President Bush asking him to disavow Evan Kemp, chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Lewis charges that Kemp made



Jerry Lewis, telethon maestro
Fire that man!

a "vicious attack" alleging that Lewis's annual Labor Day telethon for the Muscular Dystrophy Association depicts people with the disease—who include Kemp—as objects of pity and charity, thus presenting a false image of the disabled. Kemp professes not to be worried and says he sent a copy of Lewis's letter to Bush, along with his own explanation.

Rough going. With President Bush holding a summit this week with leaders of six Latin American nations, the administration faces rough going on Capitol Hill over its previously undisclosed decision to ask Germany to provide spare helicopter parts to Peru. Democratic Rep. Robert Torricelli, chairman of a key House subcommittee, says the request is a clear effort to circumvent congressional restrictions on narcotics-fighting aid to Peru's military, which he claims has a less-than-stellar human-rights record.

Casework. The Anita Hill-Clarence Thomas imbroglio continues to reverberate at offices of their former employer, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Inquiries about sexual harassment have jumped by 250 percent since the Thomas confirmation hearings, and officials expect the number of charges actually filed to rise accordingly. Moreover, recently enacted federal laws on disability rights and employment bias are expected to produce an additional 30 percent increase in the EEOC workload, threatening to overwhelm an agency already under fire for moving too slowly.

Farewell blast. One of the nation's foremost AIDS specialists has quit government service after issuing a withering blast at interference from Washington politicians. In an eloquent farewell, Donald Francis urged colleagues at the Atlanta Centers for Disease Control to resist political pressures he charges have seriously hurt the fight against AIDS. Francis, 49, who may write a book about the disease, singled out Budget Director Richard Darman, North Carolina Sen. Jesse Helms, former White House Chief of Staff John Sununu and former drug czar William Bennett, accusing them of delaying or preventing implementation of AIDS programs because of a lack of understanding, their political ideology or misplaced propriety. "CDC," he said, "has been forced to give science a back seat to the political whims of extremists and done so at great cost to the American people." A CDC spokesman refused comment.

Favorite son Bugsy. Although Las Vegas shuns making book on national elections, it does offer odds on balloting for the annual Academy Awards, especially when one candidate is a film about a local boy who makes bad. Lenny Del Genio, oddsmaker for Bally's Casino Resort, who predicted four of the six major winners in 1991, has made "Bugsy," the biography of the 1940s-era gangster—considered a founding father of modern Las Vegas—and "The Prince of Tides" even money to win this year's Oscar for best picture.

EDITED BY CHARLES FENYVESI

TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING WITH NATIONAL VETERAN COMMANDERS

March 9, 1992

- o I'm glad to have the opportunity to meet with you. I know that we have had photo ops in the past year but that doesn't usually provide much time for discussion of issues.
- o I know that we have been through a rough period recently and that is part of the reason why I agreed that we should all get together.

- 2 -

- o I want to start by reaffirming my commitment to the veterans of this country. Throughout the debates on foreign policy and national security you have been one of the most supportive voices out there. The encouragement your organizations gave our troops during Operation Desert Storm cannot be measured and I know that your support hasn't stopped just because the fighting is over.
- o Cleve, (DAV) I'll never forget the DAV's "Salute To The Troops of Desert Storm" event you invited me to attend last September. It was an honor to join that crowd and celebrate our service men and women.

- o Bob (VFW), I know that you and Dominic (American Legion) both sent delegations over to the desert to visit our troops and help build the national support for our efforts.
- o But Desert Storm is behind us and many domestic issues lie before us now. I am aware of the concerns you have over health care, education, and employment. Part of the purpose this meeting is to begin a better dialogue and system of communication for the future so that we don't run into some of the problems we've had recently on this issue of rural health.

- o After learning of the serious concerns the veteran community had over the VA's proposed Rural Health Care Initiative, I consulted with Secretaries Derwinski and Sullivan and we agreed to withdraw the program after the Senate vote. I realize that this issue was not handled as well as it should have been and I assure you that in future I will not allow a project of this magnitude to be developed without your input from the very beginning.

RZ

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MARCH 6, 1992

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: GOVERNOR BOB MILLER (D-NV)

DATE: MARCH 9, 1992

LOCATION: VIA TELEPHONE TO SAHARA HOTEL, LAS VEGAS, NEVADA.

TIME: 4:25 p.m. E.S.T.

RECOMMENDED BY: SHERRIE ROLLINS
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR
PUBLIC LIAISON AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

LEIGH ANN METZGER
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR PUBLIC LIAISON

JANE BARNETT LEONARD
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR
OFFICE OF PUBLIC LIAISON

PURPOSE: For you to congratulate the participants in the NEVADA 2000 kickoff for their dedication to AMERICA 2000.

To applaud Governor Bob Miller (D) for his efforts to make education reform a reality in Nevada.

To encourage Nevada communities to keep you informed of the progress they make towards achieving educational excellence.

BACKGROUND: Today Nevada will become the 36th state to officially accept your challenge to launch a statewide effort to help local communities reach your National Education Goals by the year 2000.

Approximately 150 community leaders and educators will gather at the Sahara Hotel to kickoff NEVADA 2000. By talking with Governor Bob Miller (D), you will have the opportunity to thank all of the participants for accepting the challenge to help communities reach the National Education Goals by the year 2000.

This kickoff ceremony will be arranged differently than some of the previous America 2000 kickoff ceremonies that you have called and attended. Instead of a rally, this kickoff will take place at a luncheon as part of an education symposium on the NEVADA 2000 education reform strategy. The audience will be smaller (150 community and education leaders) and will not include a large group of students. Your call to Governor Miller will take place at the conclusion of the NEVADA 2000 kickoff.

The symposium will include panel discussions on key education reform issues. Of particular interest, there will be two high school students serving as panelists. Part of the program will also include a presentation of the national education goals by six fourth grade students from Clark County Schools.

Prior to your call, remarks will be delivered by Ann Lynch (Immediate Past President, National PTA), Mrs. Miller (Governor Miller's wife and Chairperson of the NEVADA 2000 steering committee) and Secretary Alexander.

Your conversation with the Governor will be heard by all those present at the ceremony.

TOPICS OF
DISCUSSION:

1. Governor Miller (Bob), I wanted to call with congratulations to you and that marvelous team that Lamar tells me you've assembled there:
 - Secretary Alexander
 - Dr. Eugene Paslov, Nevada State Superintendent of Public Instruction
 - Brian Cram, District Superintendent, Clark County Schools
 - Rick Millsap, President, Nevada State Education Association
2. Let me also commend the leadership of the NEVADA 2000 Steering Committee, Chairperson Sandy Miller (Governor Miller's wife) and Vice Chairperson Ann Lynch (Immediate Past President, National Parent/Teacher Association - PTA) for the active roles they are

taking in organizing this critical reform effort. Education is a national mission that must include the parents. I know that Ann's work with the PTA will ensure that parental involvement is central to NEVADA 2000.

3. I also understand you've got two students there today that are part of this great education crusade. I'd like to commend them for their involvement and for putting in the long hours to achieve academic excellence in their studies.

-- Neriza (NEREEZA) Martinez, Jr. Class President, Las Vegas High School

-- Shannon Keast, Senior, Yerington High School, Nevada State Student Council Representative on the State Board of Education

2. Lamar tells me that there is great enthusiasm all across NEVADA to take up our AMERICA 2000 challenge. He should know, he's been on the road all across the country as AMERICA 2000 Communities begin their work.
3. How's the day going?
4. Today Nevada is showing the country how education reform can happen at the local level, school by school, community by community.
5. Your AMERICA 2000 effort offers a way for the whole community to pull together to help all students learn. I'm impressed with what you are doing and urge everyone in Nevada to join this great crusade for our kids.
6. Governor Miller (Bob), would you do me one more favor?

Give Lamar a homework assignment. Tell him that I'd like to have regular reports on how all of your NEVADA 2000 communities are doing. We want to be right there with you as we all work toward reaching our six National Education Goals by the year 2000.

7. And lastly let me say that AMERICA 2000 is the right program for our country. And I just commend Lamar for the way he's brought in people and interests from all over the spectrum. Everyone should feel included in this approach, and I'm sure its going to work that way in your great state too.
8. Thank you and God Bless America.

**PARTICIPANTS
IN THE OVAL
OFFICE:**

The President
Sherrie Rollins, Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison and Intergovernmental
Affairs
Jane Barnett Leonard, Associate Director,
Office of Public Liaison

**PRINCIPAL
PARTICIPANTS
AT SITE:**

Secretary Lamar Alexander
Governor Bob Miller (D)
Dr. Eugene Paslov, Nevada Superintendent of
Public Instruction
Brian Cram, Superintendent, Clark County
School System
Rick Millsap, President, Nevada State
Education Association
Sandy Miller, Chairperson, NEVADA 2000
(Governor Miller's wife)
Ann Lynch, Immediate Past President,
National Parent/Teacher Association and
Vice Chairperson, NEVADA 2000
Shannon Keast, Senior, Yerington High School,
Nevada State Student Council
Representative on the State Board of
Education
Neriza Martinez, Junior Class President, Las
Vegas High School

Approximately 150 invited Nevada
community and education leaders.

**CONTACT PERSON AND
TELEPHONE NUMBER:**

Governor Bob Miller (D).
(702) 737-2871

DATE OF SUBMISSION:

Friday, March 6, 1992

MEDIA COVERAGE:

Wire stills in Oval Office

Monday 9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Monday 16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Major International Events													
Colombian peace talks resume in Mexico	NATO FMs in Brussels			CIS FMs in Moscow		Congolese constitutional referendum	EC econ mins in Brussels	White referendum on South African reform				Tatarstan independence referendum	Thai general election
EC-Japan consultation in Brussels											CIS summit in Kiev		French local elections (1st round)
European Parliament plenary							Albanian general elections						
Visits to US													
King Hussein in Ottawa and DC							Bangladeshi PM Zia in DC and NYC						
Indian Foreign Sec Dixit in DC	Norwegian Def. Min Holst in DC						Danish FM Ellemann-Jensen in DC			Kohl in DC and Camp David			
Andreotti in NYC													
Visits Abroad													
Gen. Powell in West Africa							Bulgarian PM Dimitrov in Israel						
Uzbek Pres Karimov in Beijing							Hungarian FM Jeszenszky in Brazil						
Chinese FM Qian in London, Bonn, Brussels													
Australian FM Evans in Latin America and Europe							Russian FM Kozyrev in Beijing and Tokyo						
Tariq Aziz at UN							Fujimori in Japan						
Russian FM Kozyrev in Brussels							Nepalese PM Koirala in China						

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

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

Thanks
Campaign



THE PRESIDENT

(The day before)

3-9-92

Dear Ed,

Thanks for today's
message - upbeat about
our OK City event.

More though. Thanks
for your loyal support

CC: in & out
Rose Zamaria
(1 copy)

SAW'S

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

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



THE PRESIDENT

(The day before)

3-9-92

Dear Ed,

Thanks for today's
message - upbeat about
our OK City event.

More though. Thanks
for your loyal support

CC: in & out
Rose Zamaria
(1 copy)

5/11/92



The President

3-9-92

of the United States of America

Tach -

*I got your FAX (food for
thought there) The article in
the NY Post on Tim Bahr was a
really lousy gut job. I wrote Ed
Koch, a friend, accordingly. GB,*

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable Jacob Stein
15 Winfield Terrace
Great Neck, New York 11023

CC: in & out
Rose Zamaria
(1 copy)

Jan

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable Martin L. Allday, Jr.
Chairman
Federal Energy Regulatory
Commission
Room 900
825 North Capitol Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20426



THE PRESIDENT

Morley
3-9-92

Martin -
today, I'll talk to Boyden
re: Howard Shaferman.
Thanks - Hastely

GB

JAN'S

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Joseph F. Glennon
Number 308-S
740 East Ocean Avenue
Boynton Beach, Florida 33435



THE PRESIDENT

March 9, 1992

Dear Joe,

The Leckie book you sent looks good. I've already done some leafing through, and have sent a note off to Bob.

Thanks for that and for all you and Marguerite are doing for us in Florida.

Hastily, but with warm regards from Barbara and me,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "BJ" or similar, written in a cursive style.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 9, 1992

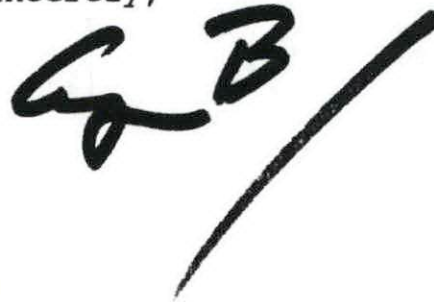
Dear Cardinal Law:

Sam Skinner passed along your kind letter inviting me to address the National Migration Conference, and I am honored by your thoughtful request.

This is something I would like to do, but I cannot make a commitment at this time. I've sent your correspondence on to the Scheduling Office for review as my calendar develops.

Barbara joins in sending warmest regards.

Sincerely,



His Eminence
Bernard Cardinal Law
Archbishop of Boston
2101 Commonwealth Avenue
Brighton, Massachusetts 02135



FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable Griffin B. Bell
King and Spalding
191 Peachtree Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303-1763



March 9 '92

Dear Griffin,

You may recall at Sea
Island we talked about
playing up here.

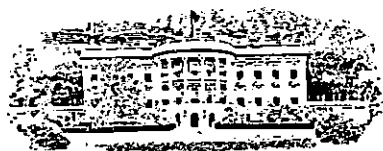
It's a lovely day outside
so my mind is off the ugliness of
the primaries and on to important

Jan Burmeister

things like ~~Golf~~ Golf.

2

In a month or less
the new Robt Trent Jones
course should be close to
perfect. Marvin, our #4 son,
will take us out there or
we can have a double header
and take Reg Murphy up on his
offer to play that "Cave" course



Let us know if you plan
to be up here in April
and I'll figure out how
to escape to the Links.

My warm regards,

By Bud

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 9, 1992

Dear Bill:

Your departure as Deputy Director of the Office of Personnel Management gives me the welcome opportunity to commend your outstanding efforts during the past three years.

In helping the Office of Personnel Management to perform its vital mission, you demonstrated impressive skill and commitment. Many OPM decisions that were made during this Administration -- by Connie Newman and by you and your dedicated staff -- will have a positive impact on the Federal work force for years to come. Thanks to these efforts, the Federal Government will be better able to attract talented and dedicated men and women. We will also be able to ensure that salaries of senior level managers are commensurate with those of the private sector so that these managers can afford to remain in Federal service. The end result, of course, will be better Government for all of us.

Although you will be missed by your colleagues at OPM, I am pleased to know that you will play an important role in the '92 campaign. I appreciate having the continued benefit of your service as we face the challenges and opportunities that lie ahead.

Barbara joins me in sending best wishes for every success and happiness. God bless you.

Sincerely,



The Honorable Bill R. Phillips
8023 Langbrook Road
Springfield, Virginia 22152



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 9, 1992

Dear Shirley:

It is with gratitude for your fine work that I accept your resignation as Assistant Attorney General (Tax Division) and as a Member of the Board of Directors of the Federal Prison Industries, Incorporated. As you complete your duties at the Department of Justice to serve as Commissioner of Internal Revenue, I am pleased to have this opportunity to thank you for your outstanding efforts.

In helping the Department of Justice to perform its vital mission, you demonstrated impressive skill and dedication. You can take pride in knowing that you have made a positive difference in the management of our system of justice and in the lives of your fellow citizens. Certainly, the experience you gained as head of the Tax Division will serve you well as you assume leadership of the Internal Revenue Service, and I look forward to your continuing contributions in this important agency of the Federal Government.

Barbara joins me in sending best wishes for every success in your new post. God bless you.

Sincerely,



The Honorable Shirley D. Peterson
6620 Elgin Lane
Bethesda, Maryland 20034



FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Enclose Leckie
letter copy

Mr. Robert Leckie
67 Surfwatch Drive
Kiawah Island, South Carolina
29455



THE PRESIDENT

March 9, 1992

Dear Bob,

How thoughtful of you to send me your updated book on American wars. As I wrote to Joe Glennon, I've been able to glance through it, and look forward to digesting more later.

Many, many thanks--for the book and the special inscription.

From a fellow World War II airman,

*I started at the end --
Desert Storm. Thanks so
much GR*

bc: Joe Glennon
bc: Gift Unit
(1200-page hardcvr
"The Wars of America"
Robt Leckie/
Harper Collins Publ
Retail \$50.00



3-9-92

*The President
of the United States of America*

Bob -

*Thanks for that super
analysis (yours of March 8th)
Tomorrow will tell us a lot more for
the short run. Sincerely, *Ly B**

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Robert Pack
7702 Old Chester Road
Bethesda, Maryland 20817

CC: in & out
Rose Zamaria
(1 copy)

Jan

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 9, 1992

Dear Heinz:

Thank you for your thoughtful and constructive letter. I appreciate, as always, your commitment to our success as a nation and to helping my Administration provide the necessary leadership.

I particularly like your emphasis on the positive. Our industries are becoming more competitive. The specific instances you mention of plants that have dramatically increased their productivity and of workers who have been successfully retrained illuminate this reality. We need to shine the spotlight on such places.

It not only provides genuine encouragement, but it also helps portray a more balanced picture of what is happening in this country. I agree with you that these success stories are all too infrequently reported in the diet of negative stories that fill the press these days.

As you point out, we are going through a period of necessary restructuring. Adjustment is never easy or painless. But we are doing those things that are crucial to competing successfully in a global economy over the long term.

I will make sure that our scheduling people are made aware of your suggestions of places to visit in Michigan. Finally, I take seriously and share your conviction that we need to be proactive rather than reactive. We will do everything we can here and, with the support of friends like you, I am confident we will prevail.

Sincerely,



Mr. Heinz Prechter
Chairman
ASC Incorporated
One Sunroof Center
Southgate, Michigan 48195

Jan Burmeister

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. William H. Mannon
12308 Ninth Helena Drive
Los Angeles, California 90049



THE PRESIDENT

bc: Mrs. Bush
w/incoming

Dear Bill,

Barbara and I enjoyed your recent letter and photos.
They brought back so many fond memories.

Glad to hear things are going well with you. Tough
times around here, but I remain confident that we'll
get the economy turned around.

Warm regards to you and Diana, in which Barbara joins.

Sincerely,

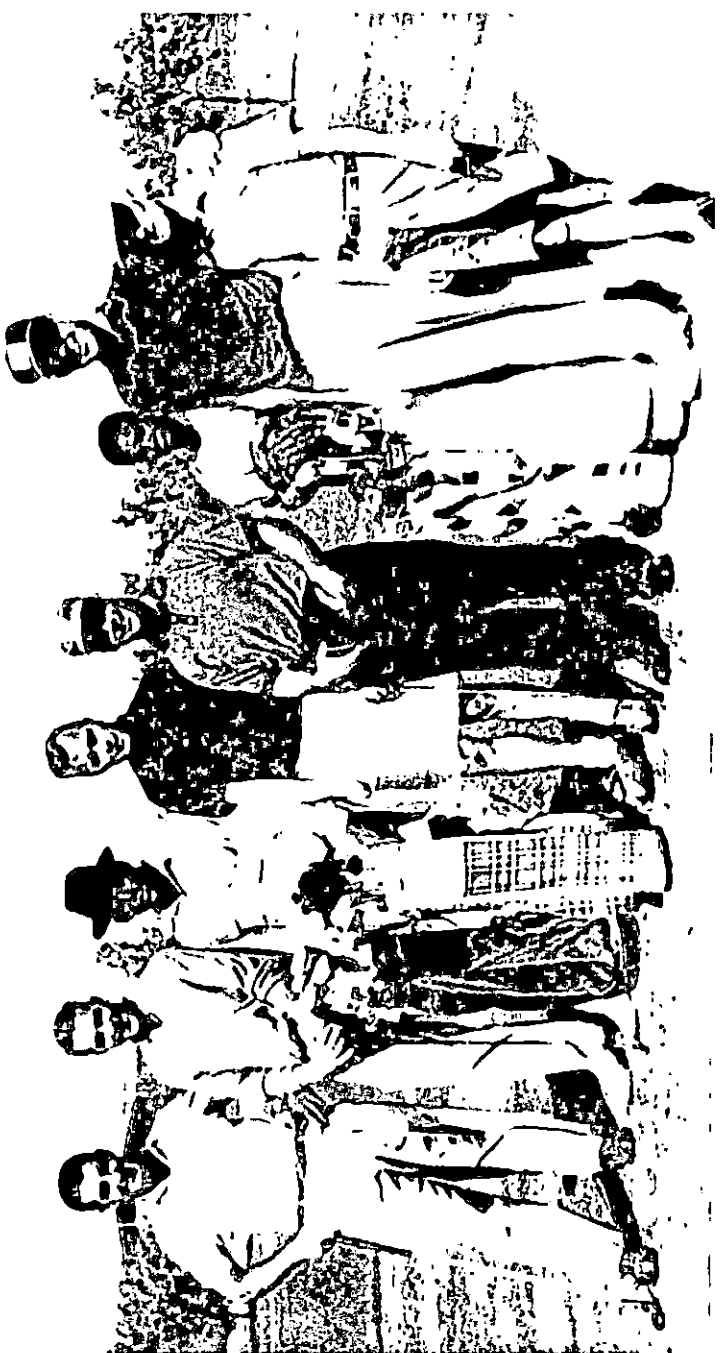
Bill Bush

Copy

From the desk of
George Bush

*send cc
of letter
and the 2
pics to BRB*

done



3-8-92
To my pal Bill Mannon -
with lasting friendship - G. Buck



WILLIAM H. MANNON

OCTOBER - APRIL
12308 NINTH HELENA DRIVE
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
90049
(213) 476-7177

MAY - SEPTEMBER
7119 STARBOARD DRIVE
WHITEHALL, MICHIGAN
49461
(616) 894-8762

February 17, 1992

Dear George and Bar,

Daughter Carolyn came up with these photos recently from an old album of Barbs. Three pretty classy looking Smith Gals, I'd say, and an impressive sixsome at Midland CC in 1953. As I recall - the guy in the dark shirt hit the ball like John Daly!!

Diana and I are enjoying our dual residence arrangement. Good friends and family at both ends keep us very busy and involved.

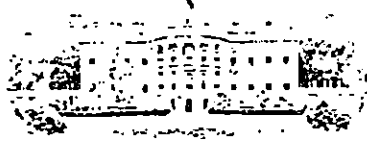
He had dinner with Scobie and Burly recently - they both fine and well however Mother's Limes and Oklander both have passed away in the past month.

What a fine job you guys are doing for our country! In spite of all the second guessing and opposition baloney - we are on the right track. God - what ~~an~~ amazing time the ~~the~~ past decade has been.

Di joins ⁱⁿ sending love and best wishes to you. Keep a strain on things

Sincerely, Bill

daily



March 9 '92

Dear Griffin,

You may recall at Sea
Island we talked about
playing up here.

It's a lovely day outside
so my mind is off the ugliness of
the primaries and on to important

things like ~~Golf~~ Golf.

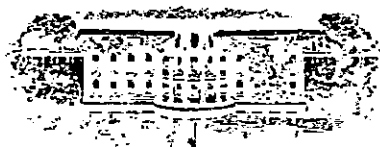
2

In a month or less
the new Robt Trent Jones
course should be close to
perfect. Marvin, our #4 son,
will take us out there or
we can have a double header
and take Reg Murphy up on his
offer to play that "Cave" course

Blind cc:
Marvin Bush

Let us know if you plan
to be up here in April
and I'll figure out how
to escape to the links.

My warm regards,
Bye, Rick



(Holiday draft)

ITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dear Griffin:

Thanks for all the help you've given us in Georgia and for passing along your thoughts from time to time. I appreciate the support.

Hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Griffin B. Bell
King & Spalding
191 Peachtree Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303-1763

I need to find a
way to contact
Griffin Bell -

JAN 21 !!
too late
to answer
this -

KING & SPALDING

191 PEACHTREE STREET
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
30303-1763

404/572-4800
TELEX: 54-2917 KINGSPALD ATL
TELECOPIER: 404/572-5100

32 JAN 24 P1:57

1730 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, DC 20006
TELEPHONE: 202/737-0300
TELECOPIER: 202/626-3737

January 21, 1992

745 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, NY 10151
TELEPHONE: 212/758-8700
TELECOPIER: 212/593-3673

Honorable George H. W. Bush
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I enclose a copy of an editorial which appeared in the January, 1992 issue of *Georgia Trend* magazine.

This editorial was written by Millard Grimes, the owner of *Georgia Trend* and a person who has been in the newspaper business as an owner and businessman for many years. He is very perceptive.

I was recently in the presence of Senator Hollings who made nearly all of the statements which are the focus of the editorial. There is no doubt in my mind that the recession, in large part, is a result of the 1986 tax act, but I do not know how to put the egg back together.

One thing for sure is that a sharp political issue could be created if you recommended a tax deduction for interest on automobile loans if the automobile was made in the United States. This would give a boost to the automobile industry, whether American-owned or foreign-owned. I have no idea whether such a proposal would be in violation of some international trade agreement, but absent some overriding objection of that kind, it would certainly be good politics and would not be on the order of a traditional trade barrier.

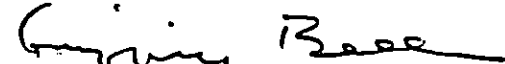
You will note that Mr. Grimes describes the Tax Revision Bill of 1986 as "a marriage made in Hell by Republicans and Democrats in Congress, which joined the worst economic priorities of extremists in each party." Many people would agree that this is not an overstatement.

Honorable George H. W. Bush
January 21, 1992
Page Two

I hope you are doing well and we are looking forward
to the State of the Union address.

Warm wishes.

Yours sincerely,


Griffin B. Bell

GBB/ad

Enclosure

Editor's Reverie

By Millard B. Grimes



A Villain for All Reasons

Two years ago, as 1990 began, the public's attention was distracted by the invasion of Panama and the capture of its dictator, Manuel Noriega. A year ago, as 1991 opened, attention was even more distracted to the Persian Gulf and the pending war against Iraq and its dictator, Saddam Hussein.

As 1992 opens, the chief focus of attention is on the U.S. economy, which probably deserved priority over Noriega and Saddam. Recessionary forces have been at work in the nation for at least two years. The Gross National Product has averaged only .07% a month growth during the past 36 months, and the returns aren't even in for the last quarter of 1991.

Politicians, economists, journalists and people on the street can point to a multitude of villains to blame, but oddly, the most obvious cause of the nation's economic problems goes largely unmentioned.

It is the Tax Revision Bill of 1986, a marriage made in Hell by Republicans and Democrats in Congress, which joined the worst economic priorities of extremists in each party. Truly, that bill is a villain for all reasons.

I have been gratified to hear at least two prominent Americans express this view in recent weeks. Donald Trump, the onetime billionaire who now barely ranks as a millionaire, told a congressional committee that the 1986 Tax Revision Bill was the root cause of the several financial disasters which have crippled the national economy.

And Griffin Bell, the former U.S. attorney general, now a leading Atlanta lawyer and good citizen, remarked in a personal conversation that much of the S&L debacle and the devastation of the housing market could be traced to provisions in that precedent-shattering legislation, which most Americans never realized would change the tax structure more dramatically than any law since the Income Tax Amendment of 1913.

Five key points about the 1986 bill:

■ It sharply reduced federal revenue from the most likely and best-endowed sources.

■ It eliminated important incentives that encouraged investments or improvements in a company's infrastructure, and/or charitable donations.

■ It changed the financial rules in the middle of the game, levying retroactive taxes on investments that had been made on the basis that they were tax-exempt.

■ It penalized consumers in a variety of ways, most notably by eliminating interest payments except on homes, sales taxes and other state and local taxes as federal tax deductions.

■ It effectively abolished the progressive income tax system that had been in effect for 60 years and in general had served the people and the economy well.

The 1986 Revision was advertised as "revenue neutral," that is, it was supposed to bring in enough money from closing so-called loopholes to offset the loss of money from lowering the top income tax rate from 50% to 28% on individuals and from 46% to 34% on corporations.

At the time of passage, the federal deficit had just been reported at \$220 billion for fiscal year 1986, by far the largest dollar amount in the nation's history. Supporters of the bill said its provisions would bring about a balanced budget by 1989.

But five years later the fiscal year deficit is nearing \$400 billion — almost doubled — and without a corresponding increase in the Gross National Product.

As I wrote at the time of the bill's approval: "The revenue-neutral estimates are based on people continuing to behave financially as they do now, and we know that won't happen."

Originally, the Democratic leaders in Congress had agreed to lowering the top marginal rate to 38%. President Reagan held out for 35%. In the compromise that finally produced a grudging majority in both houses, the highest rate dropped to 28%, with ordinary income and capital gains income to be taxed at the same rate. In effect, that raised the tax on capital gains from 20% to 28%, and that has been the only part of the 1986 bill that has received much attention in the years since.

For certain, some of its other provisions put a damper on investment, and have proved much more

continued on page 69

damaging to the economy than raising the capital gains tax.

Georgia's Sen. Sam Nunn, who voted against the bill, said at the time: "My fear is that we have not focused on the microeconomic effects of this bill. It is a gigantic gamble."

Congressman Newt Gingrich, now one of the most outspoken advocates of reducing the capital gains tax, voted in favor of the bill, including the higher tax on gains.

Wyche Fowler, then a House member, but in the middle of a campaign for the Senate seat he now holds, also voted for the bill, as did his opponent in that race, Republican Sen. Mack Mattingly.

Like the two Georgia senators, who split 1-1 — Nunn against, Mattingly for — the House delegation also split evenly in the final vote with Gingrich, Fowler, Ed Jenkins, Doug Barnard and Charles Hatcher in favor, and Richard Ray, Buddy Darden, Roy Rowland, Lindsay Thomas and Pat Swindall opposed.

It is indicative of the bill's contradictory nature that Fowler, considered the most liberal Georgia congressman at that time, voted in favor, and Swindall, who was considered the most conservative congressman, voted against it.

It was actually a bill neither liberals nor conservatives should have been voting for. It was a hybrid conceived from the worst natures of both camps — one determined to close "loopholes" no matter what the financial consequences, the other determined to realize their longtime dream of leveling the tax rate so that Michael Jackson pays the same rate on his annual millions that a garbage collector pays on his few thousand.

The same agendas are being pursued today, even with the consequences of the 1986 bill weighing heavily and ominously on the nation and its economy.

Economists like to say that "a rising tide lifts all boats," which is debatable, but for certain, a receding tide is more selective, and even such yachts as Donald Trump's sometimes get caught in the sand. □

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1. WLBT-TV (Channel 3) Jackson, Mississippi	Bert Case <u>TAPED</u>
2. WLOX-TV (Channel 13) Biloxi, Mississippi	David Elliot <u>LIVE</u>
3. WBIR-TV (Channel 10) Knoxville, Tennessee	Bill Williams <u>TAPED</u>
4. KTVE-TV (Channel 10) Monroe, Louisiana El Dorado, Arkansas	Kelley Johnson <u>TAPED</u> <u>Please Note:</u> Ms. Johnson will anchor from Monroe, Louisiana.
5. WVUE-TV (Channel 8) New Orleans, Louisiana	Warren Bell <u>TAPED</u>
6. KTRK-TV (Channel 13) Houston, Texas	Allen Hemberger <u>LIVE</u>
7. KHOU-TV (Channel 11) Houston, Texas	Steve Smith <u>LIVE</u>
8. KPRC-TV (Channel 2) Houston, Texas	Bill Balleza <u>LIVE</u>
9. WDSU-TV (Channel 6) New Orleans, Louisiana	Norman Robinson <u>LIVE</u>
10. WWL-TV (Channel 4) New Orleans, Louisiana	Bill Elder <u>LIVE</u>



THE PRESIDENT

March 9, 1992

Dear Frank,

Sorry I missed you on my last visit to Houston, but I appreciate your invitation to visit your new printing facility. Time is always so short, but I've passed your letter on to the scheduling office for future consideration.

In the meantime, Barbara joins in sending warm regards.

Sincerely,

Frank
Here's a new photo

bc: Kathy Super
for ACTION

cc: Rose Zamarin

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Frank Guernsey
1616 McGowen Street
Houston, Texas 77004



To my pal Frank
in Rio de Janeiro
3-8-92
C. Smith

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable Richard M. Fairbanks III
Paul, Hastings, Janofsky & Walker
Twelfth Floor
1050 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036



THE PRESIDENT

3-9-92

Dear Dick,

Bob Tetter passed
along your Nixon comments
Thanks so much. I'll see
RN on Tuesday at his Library
Dinner - All Best Amy

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

ROBERT M. TEETER

March 7, 1992

Mr. President,

The attached memorandum concerning
President Nixon is for your information.

Bob

March 6, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB TEETER

FROM: Richard Fairbanks

1. I was in New York last week for an international briefing where we heard from President Nixon. Speaking about domestic politics, Nixon said that Buchanan had been a staff man for him and was fine at coming up with catchy phrases and speech writing, but you couldn't take him seriously as a presidential candidate. He said there was obviously no comparison with President Bush.

If you think it useful in the context of the primaries, I am sure Nixon would say something along the lines of "Both President Bush and Pat Buchanan worked for me in my Administration. Only one has what it takes to be President..." or any similar thought. I am confident he would be delighted to be helpful if asked.

2. One other thought for the future: when the time comes to start discussing presidential debates with whatever Democrat dwarf emerges, you might consider bargaining for one debate on foreign policy/national security policy/trade for each one agreed to on "domestic" or general matters.

cc: Jim Pinkerton

From the desk of

George Bush

Fairbanks
—



*The President 3-9-
of the United States of America*

Tach -

*I got your FAX (food for
thought there) The article in
the ^{NY} Post on Tim Bahr was a
really lousy gut job. I wrote Ed
Koch, a friend, accordingly. GB,*

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable Jacob Stein
15 Winfield Terrace
Great Neck, New York 11023

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

JACOB STEIN
15 WINFIELD TERRACE
GREAT NECK, N.Y. 11023

FAX NO. 516-938-6017

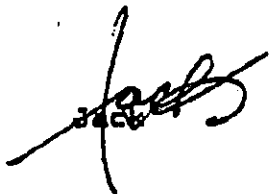
MARCH 8, 1992

TO: MS. ROSE ZAMARIA
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500
FAX NO. 202-456-2397

DEAR ROSE,

I would appreciate your bringing the following 2 page letter
to the President to his attention.

Many thanks for all your support.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Jacob", with a large, sweeping flourish extending from the end of the name.

2 PAGES FOLLOWING

Jacob Stein
15 Winfield Terrace
Great Neck, New York 11023

March 8, 1992

Dear Mr. President,

Dear George,

I returned home a few days ago from a visit to Israel.

At a "four-eyes" meeting with Prime Minister Shamir, I conveyed your good wishes and advised that you sought a compromise on the Loan-guarantee issue, but would not make a 180 degree turn on your position that settlements should stop.

I conveyed the same message to Foreign Minister Levy, and received no encouragement from either party, that the issue of halting settlements would be considered. I remain hopeful that the negotiations between Senator Kasten and Inouye with Jim Baker will be fruitful. Consider the proposal to allow "natural growth," at an established percent, of the several settlements which have a security reason for their existence, and a halt on all further settlements or expansion of settlements. This is a personal compromise suggestion.

My sense is that since Yitzhak Rabin has been elected head of the Labor Party, there is a good chance that Labor will win enough seats in the Knesset in the June 23rd election to head a new government or to form a Unity government with Likud, with Rabin as Prime Minister. Rabin told me that except for security based settlements and East Jerusalem, that he would halt further settlements.

The remarks about Jews and their voting habits alleged to have been made by Jim Baker have added to deteriorating relations with the Administration. I spoke to Jim and suggested a direct meeting with some 20 Jewish leaders of the Presidents and Conference and other sectors to clear the air, as I begin my campaigning for George Bush. There are so many positives to put forward that have gotten lost.

The Buchanan nativism and racism is raising the anxiety level in the community, but your recent remarks against anti-semitism were helpful and bear repeating at every appropriate opportunity. A reference to our continued commitment to Israel's security would go a long way in quieting growing concerns.

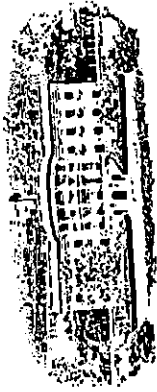
Jacob Stein

Page 2

When the primary season is over I suggest you meet with Jewish groups. The religious sector should be handled separately from the political activist groups. The Anglo-Jewish press should have an interview, and a synagogue visit, would be seen as supportive of the community and of your concern for Jewish support in November.

Written in friendship

Jack



March 9 '92

Dear Harry, the more
Along with the more
forward letter I want this
little note to say "Well Done".
You didn't need another after
really tough assignment done
all you had already done

for your Country; But you
answered the call and
turned in another outstanding
performance.

From the grateful President,
many thanks -

Sincerely, C. B. L.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 9, 1992

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

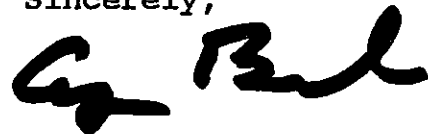
It is with regret that I accept your resignation as Ambassador to Nicaragua. Although I am sorry to see you leave this important post, I am pleased to have the opportunity to thank you for the fine job that you have done.

Harry, I appreciate more than I can say your dedication to our country in undertaking -- at my special request -- the difficult assignment of Ambassador to a nation that was beset by violent polarization and economic collapse. I know that the mission has been a demanding one, but in carrying it out, you have demonstrated, once again, your leadership abilities at the top rank of United States diplomacy.

As Ambassador to the first truly democratic administration in the recent history of Nicaragua, your task was enormously challenging. You provided wise counsel through these difficult times, steering our efforts toward helping the Nicaraguans restore economic stability and strengthening democratic institutions. The highly successful State Visit of President Chamorro was a tribute to the relationship that you forged with her during your tenure. Your success in encouraging all of Nicaragua's political leaders to appreciate how a genuine democratic opposition functions has had a profound influence in moving the parties even closer to a genuine national reconciliation. While I recognize that much remains to be done, I am encouraged by the progress that was made during your watch. You have my gratitude and that of those who have benefitted from your outstanding efforts.

Barbara joins me in sending best wishes for every future happiness and success.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "G. Bush", is written over the typed name of the President.

The Honorable Harry W. Shlaudeman
American Ambassador
Managua



AMBASSADOR

American Embassy, Managua
December 17, 1991

The President
The White House

Dear Mr. President:

Allow me by this means to tender my resignation as Ambassador to Nicaragua.

When you so kindly asked me in May of 1990 to take this post we agreed, I believe, that it would be for a relatively limited time. I have now completed more than 18 months here, am satisfied that our policies and programs are firmly established and believe the time has come for me to return to retirement.

Much, of course, remains to be done in this country. The full transition to a solid democratic order will take years and will require our continuing support and assistance. But I think the beginning has been more promising than is generally realized. In particular, progress toward the restoration of a market economy is most encouraging.

It has been a signal honor for me to serve in your administration. I have spent the greater part of my adult life involved in our relations with Latin America and can testify to the wisdom of your policies in this part of the world. The Enterprise for the Americas is surely the most important and helpful of our initiatives in the hemisphere since the Alliance for Progress.

With my respect and appreciation,

Sincerely,


Harry W. Shlaudeman

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable Martin L. Allday, Jr.
Chairman
Federal Energy Regulatory
Commission
Room 900
825 North Capitol Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20426



THE PRESIDENT

Morley
3-9-92

Martin -
today, I'll talk to Boyden
re: Howard Shaferman.
Thanks - Hastely

GB

From the desk of
George Bush

M.

All day

F. E. R. C.

CHAIRMAN

Rose —



March 4, 1992

Here is one of my letters I called
you about. I do appreciate your
willingness to help get it properly
delivered.

Many thanks —

Martin L. Allday

From the desk of
George Bush

~~EH / call GBSG today~~
Robert
asked
something to
go out
Bayer
for this
to Gary
today
File
CS

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

CHAIRMAN

Mr. President



March 4, 1992

When I was
Solicitor at the Department of the Interior I asked
Howard Shaferman to stay on as my deputy - which
was the smartest thing I did during my short time in
that position. Then when I came to the FERC he agreed
to come with me as my Chief of Staff and Counselor. He is a
strong Christian, a true public servant, a fine father and
husband - and a great and loyal friend.

Howard would like to be appointed to one of the two
existing vacancies on the US Court of Appeals for the Federal
Circuit. I enclose some material about him that

MAY be helpful.

I would truly miss him — but believe that country would benefit from his service on the bench which would of course extend for many years and long AFTER I have completed my tour of service and returned to Midland.

Consequently, I hope you might consider him for the position.

I have visited briefly with Boyden Gray about Howard and given him the same material which is enclosed — Also Bill Barr who knows Howard.

If the position is filled by someone else I will, of course, understand as will Howard.

Many thanks —

Martin L. Alley

I understand there are two vacancies on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit. I'd like to recommend my Chief of Staff and Counselor, Howard Shafferman, for one of the vacancies.

Here's why.

Howard is a solid conservative:

- o He served in both the Reagan and Bush Administrations -- in the Interior Department and then here at FERC.
- o He is a strong supporter of the President, and the kinds of cooperative efforts I've worked on with the White House. (For example, he's one of the "senior officials" I've designated to work on the President's 90-day regulatory initiative.)

He is known favorably by a good number of folks around the Administration, at Justice and in the White House.

He has strong experience in the subject matter areas covered by the Federal Circuit, both from his private practice experience and in the Administration:

- o Takings claims
- o Government contracts
- o Interior issues (energy and mineral royalties, Indian matters, etc.)
- o Supervised employment and patent litigation. Worked closely with Justice.

Howard helped finalize the "Takings Executive Order" late in the last Administration.

- o Helped Interior be one of the first Departments to implement the executive order.
- o Howard made speeches to outside groups in the West in support of it.

Strong educational background: Princeton and University of Virginia Law School.

Lawyer for almost fourteen years.

- o Six years of government contracts practice at one of Washington's top firms (Shaw, Pittman, Potts & Trowbridge)
- o Acting and Deputy Solicitor, at Interior (for Secretaries Hodel and Lujan). Excellent reputation there.

Told
CBG of
+hus
3-9-92
fth

He has the right temperament for appellate judging, and a judicial philosophy that's fully in step with this Administration.

- o Strong lawyer.
- o Keen legal mind, wise and insightful.
- o Asks good questions.
- o In his government positions, has worked hard to find the most defensible legal position that will advance the policy goals.

In my judgment, he's highly "confirmable," even in an election year.

- o Already has top-secret security clearance.
- o Strong credentials.
- o Can obtain Republican support on the Hill. Unlikely to provoke particular opposition from Democratic members of Judiciary Committee.

HOWARD H. SHAFFERMAN

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY:

CHIEF OF STAFF AND COUNSELOR FEDERAL ENERGY REGULATORY COMMISSION February 1990 - present

Senior legal and policy adviser to Chairman Martin L. Allday. Assist Chairman in his efforts to transform federal regulation of natural gas and electricity to a market-based approach which encourages competition and a secure energy future.

Examples of work performed: Lead role in fostering success of tradeable emission allowance program of Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990, as related to electric ratemaking. Member of Administration task force developing energy impact analysis requirements for executive branch rulemakings. Participate in developing major electric and gas rulemakings and orders implementing lighter-handed regulation. Speaker on gas and electric topics before numerous outside groups.

DEPUTY SOLICITOR AND ACTING SOLICITOR U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR Washington, D.C. 1987 - 1990

Responsible for day-to-day management of 350-person general counsel's office with six divisions in Washington and 20 offices nationwide. Provided wide-ranging legal counsel for Secretaries Hodel and Lujan.

Developed litigation strategies with Department of Justice trial and appellate counsel; supervised agency attorneys in wide variety of litigation. Developed successful legal support for policies allowing responsible natural resource development. Areas of legal experience: onshore and offshore energy and minerals, takings, Indian claims, water rights, employment, government contracts, patents, among many others. Speaker on natural resource topics before numerous outside groups.

Examples of work performed: Participated in completion of landmark "Takings" Executive Order, played lead role in Interior's early and successful implementation of Executive Order, spoke in support of Executive Order at Western seminars sponsored by National Cattlemen's Association, American Farm Bureau, *et al.* Lead oversight for complex, multi-case "Pyramid Lake" Federal court litigation involving water users, Indian tribes, two endangered species, and California and Nevada agencies. Author of major opinion confirming broad property rights of holders of rights-of-way across public lands. Chief legal coordinator for ANWR initiatives.

ASSOCIATE SOLICITOR - GENERAL LAW
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
August 1986 - April 1987

Headed 30-person division. Provided litigation management and legal counsel for two Assistant Secretaries concerning government contracts, employment, patent, constitutional and international law.

Examples of work performed: Reviewed proposed American Samoa constitution; resolved high-profile procurement matters; participated in development of Executive Order on federal agency drug testing; assisted in defense of lawsuit challenging Interior's implementation of drug testing Executive Order (while Deputy Solicitor).

SHAW, PITTMAN, POTTS & TROWBRIDGE, Washington, D.C.
1980 - 1986

Practice of government contracts law. Prepared and prosecuted government contract claims, litigated contract award controversies. Counseling, negotiations and advocacy experience. Other practice areas: commercial contracts, telecommunications.

CADWALADER, WICKERSHAM & TAFT, Washington, D.C.
1978 - 1980

Practice of law in litigation and corporate areas.

EDUCATION:

J.D., University of Virginia, 1978

A.B., Princeton University, 1975

National Merit-Scholar

MEMBERSHIPS, PERSONAL DATA:

Member, District of Columbia Bar, Federal Energy Bar Association, Federalist Society.

Admitted to practice before: U.S. Courts of Appeals for the Federal and D.C. Circuits; U.S. District Court (D.C.); U.S. Claims Court.

Born August 21, 1954. Married, two children.

Received Award for Exceptional Service from Secretary Hodel in 1988.

Received FERC Chairman's Superior Achievement Award, May 1991 (for spearheading development of "clear writing" manual for the Commission, and for saving the Commission approximately \$750,000 in complying with a study provision of the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990).

Listed in Who's Who in American Law, Who's Who of Emerging Leaders in America.

Member and past vestryman, The Falls Church (Episcopal)

ADDRESSES, TELEPHONE NUMBERS:

Business:

Room 9000
Federal Energy Regulatory Commission
Washington, D.C. 20426
(202) 208-0550

Residence:

6551 Brooks Place
Falls Church, Virginia 22044
(703) 354-1575

References available upon request



THE PRESIDENT

March 9, 1992

Dear Marge,

I can't thank you enough for sending the beautiful photo of Mother. She is truly a remarkable woman.

Thanks for all you do in caring for her. I am very grateful.

Warm regards, in which Barbara joins.

Sincerely,

GB

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Ms. Marge Grover
c/o Mrs. Prescott S. Bush, Sr.
73 Links Road
Hobe Sound, Florida 33455

cc: Rose Zamaria
2 copies (in and out)

3/2/92

Dear Mr President & First Lady,

Enclosed is a photo
of your Mom taken Feb. 25
1992.

I thought you may like
to have.

Best Wishes

God Bless

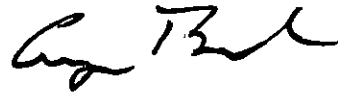
Marge



3-9

*The President
of the United States of America*

Bob -

*Thanks for that super
analysis (yours of March 8th)
Tomorrow will tell us a lot more for
the short run. Sincerely, *

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Robert Pack
7702 Old Chester Road
Bethesda, Maryland 20817

CC: in & out
Rose Zamaria
(1 copy)

Dropped off this
a.m. by Doug
Paul of the NSC.

Robert Pack
7702 Old Chester Road
Bethesda, MD 20817
301-229-3302

9 Mar 92

Robin

March 8, 1992

President George Bush
The White House
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. President,

Thank you very much for your note about The Claws of the Dragon. I agree that Vic Gold is the ideal person to handle the Tiananmen Square crowd. I know that Vic is always in the proper frame of mind for this type of assignment, but in order to guarantee that he is at the very top of his game, I think that as you see Vic off on his way to China you should tell him that the last time you talked to Deng he remarked that "Bear Bryant was a pansy."

As the saying goes, "Don't let the bastards grind you down." I have been involved in a couple of tough political campaigns and I know that at some points during any race, things seem worse than they are. Chances are that come November you will be reelected with ease. Buchanan isn't worth worrying about, and unless he shows unexpected strength in one of the primaries, I wouldn't waste my time and dignity responding to him if I were you. Just grin and bear it and comment, "Well, Pat's Pat." It's easy for the Democrats to snipe at you, but their problem is that they don't have either a candidate or a solution. Harkin is already in the same boat as Kerry; he just hasn't gotten around to acknowledging it. Bill Clinton as a candidate died about a month ago, although he may not have caught on yet. He could even be the nominee---considering who else is in the Democratic field---and he still died about a month ago. He is conducting one of the worst campaigns I have ever witnessed---mistake after mistake after mistake. And he has no one to blame but himself. But there is quite a bit of difference between being governor of Arkansas and running for President, isn't there? He may be fine for Class D ball, but this is the big leagues. His comments about Jesse Jackson were the last nail in his coffin, and a public official has to be aware that the microphones could be working at any time. Jackson is of crucial importance to Clinton's constituency, but Clinton's biggest obstacle, aside from his own performance as a candidate, is that his constituency may win primaries but it doesn't win general elections, as the Democrats have established so conclusively since 1980. There's something about Tsongas that strikes me as unelectable, although I can't quite put my finger on it yet. I think he's kind of a scold who won't wear well with the voters. Besides, his work as a lobbyist leaves him very vulnerable. My first book nearly 15 years ago was a biography of Jerry Brown. On balance I like him and I think he is unfairly dismissed as flaky

(although anyone who keeps Jacques Barzaghi close by must be something of a flake), but he clearly is not going to be President, at least not this time around. He's the past and perhaps the future and it would have been entertaining to observe the havoc he could have caused as a Senator, but his strong showing as a candidate thus far only underlines how weak the Democratic field is. And then there's Dick Gephardt. Some people talk about him as if he were the second coming of FDR, but I have read a lot about FDR, and Dick Gephardt is certainly no Franklin Roosevelt. Those who dream about Gephardt entering the race conveniently forget that he was in the race just four years ago and was trounced by the one and only Michael Dukakis. Gephardt is no more formidable than any of the Democrats who are already running.

I think the message you need to get across is that our economy is going through a very difficult period, which would be true regardless of who is President. Obviously, the buck stops in the Oval Office, but still it isn't your fault. I know you cannot express this publicly, but you clearly are a victim of eight years of Voodoo Economics, and the same would be true no matter who had been elected President in 1988. You need to tell the voters that you are well aware of and sufficiently concerned about our economic situation and that you and your domestic advisers have tried and considered a lot of different fixes, but there is no magic wand. Without being shrill or strident, you should address the specific proposals put forth by the Democrats---more so during the general election than now---and explain either that you have already tried them and found that they are not the solution or that you have not tried them because they clearly are not the solution. What you really need to address is what can be done about the problems facing us and articulate what you are doing and will do in your second term. You need to show that monumental as the problems are, you are doing a better job of handling them than anyone else could. It's more than simply a question of getting reelected; I doubt if it would be worthwhile to win reelection and then go down in history the way Jimmy Carter justifiably has. Which reminds me, and I am a registered Democrat, it certainly is worth pointing out to the voters that the last time a Democrat was in the Oval Office the so-called Misery Index reached levels probably unprecedented since the Depression.

The one issue that I think might really hurt you is abortion, which is going to be a very big deal in the general election and could be an up-and-down issue for more than half the voters. I suspect that privately you are a lot more receptive to abortion than you have revealed, but you are really in a difficult position on this one and I don't know how you get out of it.

Again, thanks for your note about Claws.

With best regards,
Bob Pack

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 9, 1992

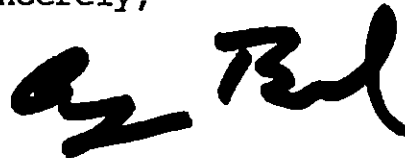
Dear Peter:

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I'm pleased that Helene has joined the Public Liaison team. This is a challenging, yet exciting, year to be at the White House.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Mr. Peter J. Tanous
Chairman, Board of Directors
American Task Force for Lebanon
Legislative Council
Suite 305
2550 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037

920309

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

MAR 9 1992

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GEORGE BUSH

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Chairman, Board of Directors
American Task Force for Lebanon
Legislative Council
Suite 305
2550 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037

920309

GB/BW/SMG/pw (Corres. #: 651728)

✓ cc: w/copy of incoming to Ron Kaufman

CLEAR WITH NSC

CLEAR THRU PHILLIP D. BRADY

PRESIDENT TO SIGN



American Task Force for Lebanon Legislative Council

2550 M Street, N.W., Suite 305 • Washington, D.C. 20037 • Tel.: 202/223-9333 • FAX: 202/223-1399

February 27, 1992

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

Dear Mr. President,

I cannot adequately express my thanks to you for the meaningful, personal inscription you wrote on the photograph of us taken in the Roosevelt Room last November. In the age of the "auto-pen," this memento is very valuable to me, especially since it comes from a President I admire and respect so much.

Last night, Cardinal O'Connor invited a group of Lebanese American leaders to his home here in New York to discuss ways in which the Lebanese American community could enlist more U.S. help for Lebanon. I told the cardinal of our meeting with you and your obvious concern for Lebanon and the Lebanese, and he and the others are eager to follow up with the administration as well as with Congress to enlist a strong commitment by the United States to help the Lebanese regain full sovereignty, democracy, and independence.

As you may know, I have initiated a plan to enlist a group of Arab Americans to show their support for you by becoming members of Team 100. Dr. Joseph Jacobs, of Jacobs Engineering, and I are working closely together and Dr. Jacobs has just joined Team 100. Others will follow. I know of no better way for us to show our support and do our share to ensure your reelection.

As we enter the electoral campaign in earnest, I am frankly cheered by the now obvious signs that an economic recovery is underway. It is a simple fact of life that in our free economic system, recessions will occur from time to time. The good news is that every recession also comes to an end, and this one has ended. Now, as we look to the future, I am certain that all thoughtful Americans will remember both your courage and keen judgment in the crucial decisions our nation faced last

Board of Directors

Peter J. Tanous, Chairman

Executive Director
Tanya Rahall

Ziad K. Abdelnour
Nicholas Abraham
Anthony Asher
Ronald Assaf
Charles Assaly
George E. Bejany
Mounzer Chaarani

Robert A. Chahine, M.D.
Peter Decker, Esq.
Hon. Philip C. Habib
Joseph J. Jacobs, Ph.D.
Hon. Ruth Joseph
Paul M. Kalill, Esq.
George J. Khoury

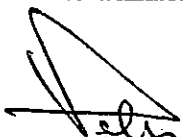
Mae Moussa
Hon. Thomas A. Nassif
Tanya Rahall
David J. Sadd
Peter S. Tanous, Ph.D.
Thomas A. Tanury
Woodrow W. Woody

Deputy Executive
Director
Deeb Keamy

year. The masterful task of assembling the coalition and the superior conduct of our armed forces reflect great credit on the entire nation and fill us with pride not only in ourselves but in our leadership. We must get the message across that the same effective leadership that won the war with Iraq is the same proven leadership that will lead the United States to a new decade of prosperity. Proven leadership. Only you have it, Mr. President, and when measured by that crucial test, no other candidate for the Presidency comes close. But we won't let our guard down! We'll work hard for your reelection and, of course, we will win in November.

Allow me to add a word of thanks and appreciation to your staff in the Office of Public Affairs who work tirelessly on your behalf, and especially Bobbie Kilberg, Sichan Siv, Jim Schaefer and Lisa Battaglia. I'm very happy to add that my daughter, Helene, has joined them and is proud to serve her President as well.

With warmest regards,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Peter J. Tanous", with a stylized flourish at the end.

Peter J. Tanous

Aⁿ

OFFICE OF PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGES AND CORRESPONDENCE
REQUEST FOR CLEARANCE/COMMENT

To: NSC, ROOM 379

Haass

PLEASE REVIEW, CONCUR WITH OR WITHOUT CHANGES, AND RETURN TO ROOM 94.

Date Due: 3/9/92

Type Response:

☐

Multiple Mailing

☐

Form Reply

☒

One-Time Reply

Subject:

POTUS letter to the head of the American Task Force for Lebanon Legislative Council thanking him for support, efforts.

Requested by:

Jim McGrath / Room 94 / x7610

Background:

--see attached

--thank you for your assistance with this matter

Signature:

Jim McGrath

Received 3/5
Date: 3/5

Clearance Office Recommendations:

☒

Approved

☐

Approved w/changes

☐

Disapproved

Comments:

Signature:

G. Huel

Date:

3/5/92

SIGN AND RETURN THIS DOCUMENT TO ROOM 94. OEOB BY COB ON DUE DATE.

QUESTIONS SHOULD BE DIRECTED TO REQUESTOR AT EXTENSION 7610.

DRAFT OF PRESIDENTIAL LETTER

DRAFT DATE: 2/2/92	COMPL
INITIALS: GB/BW	CC
CLEAR WITH: NSC	WHCC
ENCLOSURES, SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS: GB Sig	

Shirley - do you want us to see if we can get R. Hass to sign off on this today to go to W/W?

Yes

BW

Dear Peter:

Thank you for your letter and particularly for your generous words of support. I appreciate all that you are doing, and it's good to know about your meeting with Cardinal O'Connor. The United States remains firmly committed to the ~~unity~~st, independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Lebanon, ^{as well as the withdrawal of all non-Lebanese forces}. We will, of course, be pleased to have the benefit of your ideas about how we can advance toward our mutual goal of Lebanon becoming fully independent.

I'm pleased that Helene has joined the Public Liaison team. This is quite a challenging, yet exciting, year to be at the White House.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

GB

Mr. Peter J. Tanous

Chairman

American Task Force for Lebanon Legislat:

2550 M Street, N.W., Suite 305

Washington, D.C. 20037

American Task Force for Lebanon

BW - pls do non-pol resp - NSC clear CC in & out to Kaufman

GB sig

↑ don't forget!

From the desk of
George Bush

R 2

**I'd like a photo
with Tanou's
daughter - see "A"
attach**

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Following Page

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

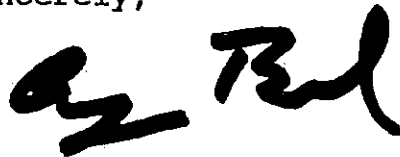
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Legislative Council
Suite 305
2550 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037

From the desk of

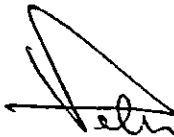
George Bush

R 2

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with Tanous'
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A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Peter J. Tanous', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Peter J. Tanous

Aⁿ

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

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



THE PRESIDENT

(The day before)

3-9-92

Dear Ed,

*Thanks for today's
message - upbeat about
our OK City event.*

*More though. Thanks
for your loyal support* *[Signature]*

CC: in & out
✓ Rose Zamaria
(1 copy)

Monday
March 9, 1991 (11:55 a.m.)

PHONE CALL FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Ed Lawson

He just wanted to pass on a message about your Oklahoma City event on March 6. He thought the event was definitely the "best event he has ever gone to" and that you hit a home run! All the local papers had very favorable reviews. AMT got a good play, and he enjoyed his ride in your limo.. Thank you, and please pass his love to Barbara.

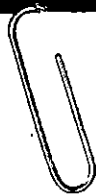
v/r
Robin

From the desk of
George Bush

John Downing
is to point
Mayra Cohn office
on Emute can
give you others

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

3/9



USH
ON

(Kaufman Draft)

Dear Emile:

Thanks so much for the update on the Maine caucuses. You all really produced for us at a most important period in the process.

The campaign team that we have in Maine is outstanding. It's a good thing that John Downing is with us -- he never lets up!

Thanks for all you have done to keep our positive message out there. Now let's see about the South!

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Mr. Emile Roy
7 Ridgeway Avenue
Sanford, Maine 04073

Dear Stanley,
Thanks for your
great work on my behalf
at the Council -
I hope you did a
great job. All Best
C. Bunt

3-9-92



at the caucus.
you did a superb job
Ernie Roy told me

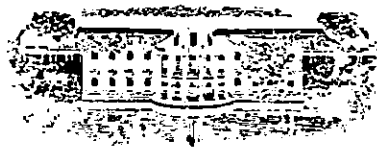
Dear John,

3-9-92



Thanks, thanks
Ernie

3-8-92



Dear Tom,

Ernie Roy, our friend
told me you were present

at the Westbrook caucus.

Many my thanks for Bank

Friday 2/28/92

President Bush

Greetings, my friend

I just received your letter and personalized snapshots of Marlin Fitzwater in the mail. Marvin is a nice guy - I always enjoy seeing him on T.v.

In my last letter, I forgot to let you know that I attended six caucuses in York County last Saturday & Sunday; and one in Westbrook (in Cumberland County).

John Downing from Kennebunk, and Stanley McGeehan of Limerick were the speakers at the York caucus. Their presentation in your behalf was just superb!

Jan Martens Staples, Special Assistant to Senator Cohen, did the Westbrook presentation, in your behalf.

She did a fantastic job also and I told her that I would let you know about it. She was all smiles & happy to hear that I would let you know about her performance.

She said, "give the President my regards."
Once again thank you for keeping in touch.

By the way, I'm going to run to be a national delegate again this year.

Betty joins me in wishing you & Barbara warm regards.

God Bless

*Sincerely
Emile*

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 9, 1992

TEXT OF A LETTER FROM
THE PRESIDENT TO THE SPEAKER OF
THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND
THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE

March 9, 1992

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

The United States has been engaged in nuclear cooperation with the European Community for many years. This cooperation was initiated under agreements that were concluded over 3 decades ago between the United States and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) and that extend until December 31, 1995. Since the inception of this cooperation, the Community has adhered to all its obligations under those agreements.

The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act of 1978 amended the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 to establish new nuclear export criteria, including a requirement that the United States has the right to consent to the reprocessing of fuel exported from the United States. Our present agreements for cooperation with EURATOM do not contain such a right. To avoid disrupting cooperation with EURATOM, a proviso was included in the law to enable continued cooperation until March 10, 1980, if EURATOM agreed to negotiations concerning our cooperation agreements. EURATOM agreed in 1978 to such negotiations.

The law also provides that nuclear cooperation with EURATOM can be extended on an annual basis after March 10, 1980, upon determination by the President that failure to cooperate would be seriously prejudicial to the achievement of U.S. non-proliferation objectives or otherwise jeopardize the common defense and security and after notification to the Congress. President Carter made such a determination 12 years ago and signed Executive Order No. 12193, permitting nuclear cooperation with EURATOM to continue until March 10, 1981. President Reagan made such determinations in 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, and 1988, and signed Executive Orders Nos. 12295, 12351, 12409, 12463, 12506, 12554, 12587, and 12629, permitting nuclear cooperation to continue through March 10, 1989. I made such determinations in 1989, 1990, and 1991, and signed Executive Orders Nos. 12670, 12706, and 12753, permitting nuclear cooperation to continue through March 10, 1992.

In addition to numerous informal contacts, the United States has engaged in frequent talks with EURATOM regarding the renegotiation of the U.S.-EURATOM agreements for cooperation. Talks were conducted in November 1978, September 1979, April 1980, January 1982, November 1983, March 1984, May, September, and November 1985, April and July 1986, September 1987, September and November 1988, July and December 1989, February, April, October, and December 1990, and September 1991. Further talks are anticipated this year.

more

(OVER)

I believe it is essential that cooperation between the United States and the Community continue and, likewise, that we work closely with our allies to counter the threat of proliferation of nuclear explosives. Not only would a disruption of nuclear cooperation with EURATOM eliminate any chance of progress in our talks with that organization related to our agreements, it would also cause serious problems in our overall relationships. Accordingly, I have determined that failure to continue peaceful nuclear cooperation with EURATOM would be seriously prejudicial to the achievement of U.S. non-proliferation objectives and would jeopardize the common defense and security of the United States. I therefore intend to sign an Executive order to extend the waiver of the application of the relevant export criterion of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act for an additional 12 months from March 10, 1992.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 9, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF CITIES

The Washington Hilton Hotel
Washington, D.C.

11:36 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Glenda, thank you so much for that kind introduction. And to all of you -- and may I salute the members of Congress that have been with us here -- let me say good morning to them, and please do us right up on Capitol Hill. (Laughter.) My greetings to all the special guests here at the head table; to Don Borut and Wallace Stickney, who is with us.

Let me just say that I'm very pleased to join you today. I enjoyed -- Glenda referred to it -- I enjoyed speaking to you over the television hookup in December -- it's much better face to face. And I hear that you have had a very energetic, very well attended series of meetings. And I salute your leadership, present leadership; and then, of course, an old former colleague of mine -- or, put it this way -- a still young, but former colleague of mine in the House of Representatives who will be your leader -- what, starting next November, is it -- Don Frazier.

In January, as Glenda said, I had a follow-up meeting with ten of your members. And like your organization as a whole, they represented a broad cross section of urban America's leadership -- Republicans and Democrats, liberals, conservatives, officials from large and small and mid-sized cities.

And, of course, we're all concerned -- all of us here -- about the big issues -- jobs and family, and world peace. And even so, I was struck at this meeting by the unanimity of the message that your members wanted to deliver. It can't be repeated often enough in Washington, or any state capitol or any city hall. Your message was simply this: the enormous problems facing cities today -- from infant mortality to high dropout rates to runaway crime -- are partly, at least, symptoms of one larger problem, the deterioration of the American family.

Now, I understand the breadth of the issues that you deal with daily, poverty to potholes to property taxes. And in addressing myself to this one subject, I don't want you to think that we are less concerned about these enormous problems you face every day.

But this morning, I would like to discuss that same serious issue that you all raised with me: the family. The restoration of the American family is at the heart of much of what we have done these last three years.

Leaving aside for a moment the enormous costs -- the wasted human resources or the billions spent to repair the damage of broken homes -- family breakdown ultimately endangers our position in a world increasingly driven by economic competition.

MORE

Certainly, the integrity of the family is critical on its own merit. As Barbara Bush, my favorite philosopher, says, "What goes on at the White House is not nearly as important as what goes on in your house." And there's a lot of truth in that. But particularly at a time when our efforts must focus on economic growth, the family's disintegration endangers -- for all of us -- our ability to create and to preserve jobs, and to create an economy open to participation by all our citizens.

So we must start with a clear-eyed look at what is really happening to the family in American communities today -- not just in poor urban neighborhoods, but all across America. And then we've got to look inside ourselves, to establish the principles that will shape our approach. And then we must act.

The urgency is clear. We all know the statistics -- perhaps you know them better than most Americans -- the dreary drumbeat that tells of family breakdown. Today, one out of every four American children is born out of wedlock; in some areas the illegitimacy rate tops 80 percent. A quarter of our children grow up in households headed by a single parent. More than two million are called latch-key kids -- who come home from school each afternoon to an empty house. And a large number of our children grow up without the love of parents at all, with nobody knowing their name.

We know from experience the consequences of family decline. Neglected children are more susceptible to the lure of crime and drugs, they're more likely to have poor health, drop out of school early, more likely to lead a life without hope.

Each of you is in a position to know the human costs that these statistics can only dimly sketch. You know, as I do, that for every blip on a chart or dot on a graph, there is a human story to tell, and too often the story is a tragedy.

About 10 days ago, I was in Bear County, Texas, in San Antonio, meeting with Latin American leaders to intensify our war on drugs. And while there, I saw a front-page story in the San Antonio Light. A cabdriver had been murdered last September -- another act of random, selfless violence -- and his murderer had just been found guilty.

But what was truly horrifying -- what would horrify any American -- was this: the murder of a 12-year-old boy. And as the deputies took the boy from the courtroom, according to the newspaper story, they had trouble fitting him with shackles and handcuffs, so slender were his wrists. This youngster was four feet tall, not yet a teenager, but now a convicted murderer.

The drumbeat continues: two teenagers shot dead in a New York public school -- an LSD ring busted up in an affluent Northern Virginia suburb -- or the harrowing stories of runaway kids and the horrors that befall them.

I know that almost all of you could tell stories equally distressing -- stories from your neighborhoods in your cities where the unthinkable has become the commonplace. I am sure that many of you here took office with high confidence in the power to solve these problems, only to discover -- sooner rather than later, I suspect -- that they were far more stubborn than we could imagine. Let's not forget that the trials our citizens face each and every day were generations in the making. We can't expect change overnight. But make no mistake: Change will come because change simply must come.

Let's face it. We can only change things if we work in common purpose. We must call a cease-fire in the war of words that too often consumes us. Casting blame brings no solutions. Nor will questioning each other's motives. We have got to focus every ounce

of our energy to turn back this assault upon the American family and act as one nation to defend and strengthen it. As public servants, we must never forget that the best Department of HHS -- of Health and Human Services -- is, indeed, the family. In restoring the family, we restore to coming generations the values, the sense of right and wrong, the will and confidence to succeed that only a family can provide a child. And in doing this, we will reinvigorate our cities and our communities as well.

We needn't look far for principles to guide us. They are old home truths: Rely on what works -- discard what doesn't. Never be afraid to innovate. Remember that government closest to the people responds best to the needs of the people. And let's not forget this as a guiding principle: If people are to be responsible, they must be given responsibility.

The government's first duty is like that of the physician: Do no harm. But the fact is, with the best of intentions, many past government policies have worked against the institution of the family, undermined young people's desire to marry and stay married, to provide for their children, to plan for their future.

As a practical matter, doing no harm means in part that we ensure parents retain the authority to make the big decisions for their families. This doesn't absolve parents of responsibility; it's just the opposite.

Even if we're able to reform our education system -- and I am determined that the federal government assist all of you in every way in revolutionizing the education system -- but even if we are, parents must still read to their children. The point is that government harms the family when it restricts its autonomy or usurps the authority of responsible parents.

Let me give you another example. Those of us in government can never plausibly claim to fight for families if we insist that government, not parents, must choose who cares for their children. So two years ago our administration waged a fight in Congress over this very issue, and we won. We kept choice of child care out of the hands of government and put it where it belongs -- in the hands of parents.

And now we're engaged in a similar fight, over whether parents should have the right to choose their children's schools. We know the benefits of competition; it is the linchpin of American prosperity. And competition among schools will be the linchpin of education excellence, too. From Minnesota to Milwaukee to East Harlem -- school choice works. (Applause.)

But you see, it's important for other reasons: It restores authority and responsibility to parents. And just as it makes our schools accountable, it also makes parents accountable for the decisions they make. Not only in child care and school choice, but in other areas as well; a key to healing the American family will be restoring parental authority and accountability.

Another example: The initiative that we call HOPE -- H-O-P-E. It took more than a year to get that program through Congress and another year to get even partial funding for it. But HOPE will be crucial to our success by offering low-income families a greater opportunity to own their own homes. HOPE is based on a simple principle: To survive, people need the intangible values of dignity and self-respect. Government can't provide those. But homeownership can. An education can. A job can. And being part of a family can.

The federal government has a positive role in preserving the family, and we welcome that role. It's guided the decisions that we make every single day. Since 1989, for example, we have more than doubled the funding for the program that I bet everybody in this room supports, Head Start. A program that brings children and parents into the classroom, strengthens family ties and reinforces parental responsibility. For the first time in the program's history, we can support now Head Start for all eligible four-year-old children whose parents choose to have them participate.

There are many other examples. We've increased the earned income tax credit for low-income families. And since '89, we've increased the funding for WIC, the supplementary food program for Women, Infants and Children, by 47 percent to \$2.8 billion next year. We've increased other nutrition programs by similar percentages. And this year federal support for childhood immunization grants will top \$340 million, an increase of 18 percent over last year's level.

So all told, funding for children's programs -- from nutrition, education to foster care and child immunization -- has increased 66 percent since we took office.

But, look, we will never measure -- and I think you all would be the first to agree with this -- we would never measure our compassion simply in dollars spent. We will measure it by results. The test will be the health and happiness of our children and, most important of all, the sense of well-being and self-reliance instilled by our families. Our administration has targeted funding to programs that efficiently fulfill government's role in supporting families and keeping them together, programs that work for the family.

Yet, at the same time, we must face another fact. Government can sometimes be a burden as well as a boon. Over the past 40 years, the child tax exemption has lagged far behind the soaring costs of child-rearing. And I have asked Congress to increase the exemption by \$500 per child. For a family with four children that's an increase of \$2000. And it's a crucial first step toward redressing the imbalance, and it's what we can afford to do right now.

And now I come to perhaps the most crucial matter of all. One that concerns you all. We must reform our nation's welfare system. Americans are the most generous people on Earth, but they want to see -- and they are entitled to see -- some relationship between welfare and work. Welfare must never be what Franklin Delano Roosevelt warned it might become, "a subtle destroyer of the spirit." It is not meant to be a way of life or a family legacy passed from one generation to the next. Welfare can eat away at the ties that bind a family together.

And state and local governments are undertaking the brave work of reform -- Learnfare in Wisconsin; REACH, Realizing Economic Achievement in New Jersey; Washington State's FIP -- Family Independence Program. These are all demonstration projects that we support. And my administration is committed to reform and we are acting now on waivers, to loosen up on waivers, to waive unnecessary red tape that impedes reform.

There's no hidden agenda here. This administration, the mayors, the state leaders who press for drastic reform of welfare aren't modern-day Scrooges chiseling one more dime out of some poor family. Democrat or Republican, California, New Jersey, federal or state -- in our heart of hearts, we really believe reforming, reforming the welfare system is the best way to serve people. Break this sorry cycle of despair. Give people real hope. And we're going to keep on trying to do just that because every single American deserves to believe in the American Dream.

Today with family as the center I've highlighted the role of government -- both positive and negative -- because we're men and women of government. But let's never forget the work of private Americans dedicating themselves to the voluntary service of others, who create an environment where families can flourish. Each is a Point of Light, offering service with no thought of reward, though the reward will be reaped by every single American.

And let me be very clear: When I talk about Points of Light, they are not a substitute for the good that government can do, but it's more this -- we will simply not solve our most pressing problems without the dedication of those Points of Light, of those volunteers. And I urge all of you, when you return to your cities, to do all in your power to encourage these caring men and women, to make yours a community of light.

In my State of the Union address, I announced that we would soon institute a Commission on America's Urban Families. Your executive board of directors or whatever group it was -- I've never been sure with whom I was dealing -- but they were all big shots, believe me -- (laughter) -- came together. And their work will be one result of my meetings in January with some of your leaders.

And I have asked Governor Ashcroft of Missouri, a very caring man, Annette Strauss, the former Mayor of Dallas, a very able woman who also cares deeply, to lead the Commission and fulfill its mandate: To identify those government programs, at all levels, that weaken or strengthen urban families; to analyze ways to improve private efforts to strengthen urban families; and to recommend new policies to help families in our cities.

I am convinced that we can correct our mistakes, that we can learn from our failures and build on our successes. I do not exaggerate when I say that the future of America depends on our efforts. The family is the irreducible unit of comfort and love, and from families radiate neighborhoods, from neighborhoods come towns and cities, and their health determines the health of our country, for better or for worse. And, like you, I am committed to making our health whole, and to ensuring that our cities, as Theodore Parker said, "remain the fireplaces of America, radiating warmth and light against the darkness."

Thank you all very much for giving me this opportunity to visit with you today. And my God bless our great country. Thank you so much.

END

11:56 A.M. EST

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 9, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
UPON ARRIVAL

The South Lawn

7:58 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: We're going to have just a little statement here. Thanks for helping with the logistics here.

But what I want to do now is to send our most sincere condolences to the people of Israel and to the family of Menachem Begin, former Prime Minister. His historic role in the peace conference -- peace process -- will never be forgotten; particular emphasis, of course, will always be on his historic, and I would say, very courageous and foresighted role at Camp David.

And now people are talking peace, but people will remember Menachem Begin as the man that made a significant, courageous breakthrough, just as they will remember Sadat for the same thing.

So we send our most sincere condolences to the people there.

Q How do you think the peace talks are going now?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, it's hard to tell. They're talking, though. A year ago nobody would have thought that possible. And it's very important that they keep talking. And that's what our whole policy is about; that's a lot of what post-Desert Storm was about. And I think there's a real chance just as long as people keep talking at the peace table.

Q What's the latest, sir, on this Korean ship that --

THE PRESIDENT: I have no recent information. I talked to General Scowcroft this morning, but nothing to say publicly on that.

Q Do you think Israel will drop its *press for the loan guarantees?

THE PRESIDENT: I have no idea.

Q Do you wish they would agree to --

THE PRESIDENT: We're perfectly prepared to, in accordance with U.S. policy, to go forward.

Q Why do you think Pat Buchanan would stay in --

THE PRESIDENT: Look, I --

Q -- even when it's numerically impossible for him to take the nomination?

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't been trying to analyze that up until now and I don't think I'll start now, if you'll excuse me. We're waging a pretty good campaign; it's high level, it's not --

MORE

it's keeping my sights on the major issues. A lot of them, such as world peace, seem to be obscured by the hue and cry of the campaign trail. But that's still a very important issue and --

Q You're not going to attack anybody?

THE PRESIDENT: Not now, Helen. I might get on your case if you -- (laughter) -- no, I would never -- well, it doesn't matter. (Laughter.)

Q The Democrats are saying that your health plan is simply a theory that you're not getting any way that's it's paid for. How do you respond to those charges?

THE PRESIDENT: I'd say that that's crazy. They haven't looked at it. What most of them want to do is have a nationalized health care. And that would result in far less quality health care. We have a plan that makes insurance accessible to all; that's the key to it. And there's 30 pages of how it's being paid for. So I don't -- I'm surprised to hear -- not surprised really because I think most of them are committed to either -- to plans that have failed in other places.

Q Basically, how does it get paid for?

THE PRESIDENT: It gets paid for through a lot of things -- I'll tell you the main -- one main way it gets paid for, is by cutting down on these frivolous malpractice suits. Somebody estimated that would be \$40 billion. And we're having great difficulty getting it through the trial lawyers' lobby on Capitol Hill. The American people want action on this kind of proposal so --

Q This is going to take care of 90 million people without health care?

THE PRESIDENT: It will take care of \$40 billion. No, our plan takes care of the 90 million by giving -- 90 million? Come on, that's too high a figure.

Q That's what they're saying --

THE PRESIDENT: No, no. No, no, no, that's way high. It will take care of it through giving everybody access to health care.

Q Mr. President, the Democrats are now down to three. You've got two or three on your side. How do you feel about how it's shaping up?

THE PRESIDENT: Let the process work. I thought Saturday was fantastic and I think we'll have a good day tomorrow. Just keep your sights set on the ball; don't get irritated, be pleasant. I've been through the other side of that drill over a period of years, so I don't intend to react. Act, not react.

Q So you're changing your modus operandi?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I have over the last three or four years, yes. (Laughter.) My modus operandi is to be pleasant with you people when you ask me irritating questions. And that isn't always easy. But I think you'll have to give me good marks for having done that, and I don't plan changing now.

Q Well, you say you're willing to do anything you have to do to win.

THE PRESIDENT: But I think being pleasant is the way to do it and keeping your sights set on the major issues facing this country, challenging the Congress to move.

And incidentally, I get credit for a full press conference here, because I was only going to make one statement. Making the 231st since I've been President. Ready access.

Q But you haven't had any lately.

THE PRESIDENT: No, I know it. Ask Marlin why.

Q Mr. President, Michael Dukakis didn't respond and look what happened to him.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, look at the results of the election so far. Anytime you get -- beat somebody by 40 points, that used to be considered a landslide. Now we've changed the -- I don't know what different ground rules are being used, but I think it's fair in my own defense to say 40 points, 40-point victory over the nearest competitor is a pretty good size win. I will settle for that in the fall over the Democratic candidate.

Q Buchanan is hoping to upset you in Michigan, Mr. President, a week from now.

Q Is Pat Buchanan upsetting your agenda, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: No way.

What?

Q Michigan is where Buchanan wants to beat you.

Q Is Pat Buchanan upsetting your agenda?

THE PRESIDENT: We've spelled out our agenda over the last three years. What we want to do is get this country's economy moving and preserve and strengthen world peace. And I think we'll do it. Plus better education, fighting against crime by trying to get some reasonable crime bill passed; winning the fight against drugs where we've made a good start. There are so many issues, but they're all obscured by the noise of the campaign.

But that will be in focus in the fall; you watch.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

8:04 A.M. EST

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 9, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate Susan H. Black, of Florida, to be United States Circuit Judge for the Eleventh Circuit. She would succeed Thomas A. Clark.

Since 1979, Judge Black has served as an United States District Judge for the Middle District of Florida, and since 1990, she has served as the Chief Judge. Prior to this, Judge Black served as a Circuit Judge For the Fourth Judicial Circuit of Florida, 1974-1979; County Court Judge for Duval County, 1973-1975; and as Assistant General Counsel for the City of Jacksonville, 1972-1973. In addition, she served as Assistant State Attorney for the Fourth Judicial Circuit of Florida, 1969-1972; and Assistant General Counsel with the Army Corps of Engineers, 1968-1969.

Judge Black was graduated from Florida State University (B.A., 1965); the University of Florida College of Law (J.D., 1967); and the University of Virginia School of Law (LL.M., 1984). She was born October 20, 1943 in Valdosta, Georgia. Judge Black is married, has one child and resides in Jacksonville, Florida.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

March 9, 1992

The President today recognized Barbara Tschetter of Huron, South Dakota, as the 714th Daily Point of Light for the Nation. Mrs. Tschetter, 48, helps provide quality health care in her community by organizing and facilitating support groups for arthritis, Alzheimer's, and cancer patients and caregivers.

Eight years ago, working in the patient education department of a local hospital, Mrs. Tschetter realized the need for an arthritis support group that would address the concerns not only of sufferers, but also of those providing care. From the Dakota affiliate of the Arthritis Foundation, she secured special video tapes that offer suggestions and illustrate new techniques to benefit victims of acute arthritis. The group now numbers about ten persons at each monthly meeting in this rural area.

Three years later, Mrs. Tschetter established a support group to serve families of Alzheimer's patients. She joined with Nancy Ziggledorf, a local social worker, to offer a confidential setting where relatives of Alzheimer's victims could come to understand and accept the physical, emotional, and mental effects of this terrible disease in their lives. Under Mrs. Tschetter's direction, caregivers meet on a regular basis to discuss pertinent issues, including how to prepare for the death of a family member.

Most recently, Mrs. Tschetter founded a cancer support group, through which she offers a sympathetic ear to patients while educating them about their disease and about ways they can lead normal lives despite it. At semi-monthly meetings, she reads thought-provoking articles, which the members then discuss. The three to twelve participants in this group meet for dinner following each session, which ends with a serenity prayer.

The President salutes Barbara Tschetter for exemplifying his belief that, "From now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others."

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FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT: Tracey Taylor or Miah Homstad
(202) 456-6266

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 9, 1992

The President today announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be Members of the Cultural Property Advisory Committee for terms expiring April 25, 1994:

MICHAEL WARD. of New York. He would succeed Glenn C. Randall. Since 1983, Dr. Ward has served as Founder and Director of Michael Ward, Incorporated in New York, New York.

JAMES MCCREDIE, of New Jersey. He would succeed Thomas K. Seligman. Currently, Dr. McCredie serves as Director of the Institute of Fine Arts in New York, New York.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 9, 1992

The President today announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be Members of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council:

STEVEN E. SOME, of Maryland, for a term expiring January 15, 1995. He would succeed Laurence A. Tisch. Currently, Mr. Some serves as President of Steven E. Some Associates in Washington, D.C.

DALCK FEITH, of Pennsylvania, for a term expiring January 15, 1996. This is a reappointment. Dr. Feith is the owner of Dalco Manufacturing Company and Lansdale Fisheries Incorporated in Lansdale, Pennsylvania.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 9, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate Frederico A. Moreno, of Florida, to be United States Circuit Judge for the Eleventh Circuit. He would succeed Paul H. Roney.

Currently, Judge Moreno serves as a United States District Judge for the Southern District of Florida. Prior to this, he served as a Circuit Judge for Dade County, 1987-1990; and a County Judge for Dade County, 1986-1987. Judge Moreno has served as a Partner with the law firm of Thornton, Rothman & Moreno, P.A., 1982-1986; a Partner with the law firm of Moreno & Smith, P.A., 1981; and an Assistant Public Defender for the United States Public Defender's Office, 1979-1981. From 1978-1979, he served as an Associate with the law firm of Rollings, Peebles & Meadows, P.A.

Judge Moreno was graduated from the University of Notre Dame (A.B., 1974) and the University of Miami School of Law (J.D., 1978). He was born February 21, 1975 in South Bend, Indiana. Judge Moreno is married, has three children and resides in Coral Gables, Florida.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 9, 1992

The President today signed the following legislation:

H.R. 3866, which (1) provides for the designation of the Flower Garden Banks National Marine Sanctuary; (2) amends financial responsibility requirements for companies that consolidate cargo for transport on certain ships; (3) permits gambling on certain U.S.-flag cruise ships; and (4) implements a maritime agreement between the United States and the former Soviet Union.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 9, 1992

EXECUTIVE ORDER

- - - - -

NUCLEAR COOPERATION WITH EURATOM

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including section 126(a)(2) of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended (42 U.S.C. 2155(a)(2)), and having determined that, upon the expiration of the period specified in the first proviso to section 126(a)(2) of such Act and extended for 12-month periods by Executive Orders Nos. 12193, 12295, 12351, 12409, 12463, 12506, 12554, 12587, 12629, 12670, 12706, and 12753, failure to continue peaceful nuclear cooperation with the European Atomic Energy Community would be seriously prejudicial to the achievement of United States non-proliferation objectives and would otherwise jeopardize the common defense and security of the United States, and having notified the Congress of this determination, I hereby extend the duration of that period to March 10, 1993. Executive Order No. 12753 shall be superseded on the effective date of this Executive order.

GEORGE BUSH

THE WHITE HOUSE,
March 9, 1992.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 9, 1992

The President today announced his intention to designate the following individuals to the Arkansas-Oklahoma Arkansas River Compact Commission:

UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER:

RONALD N. FULLER, of Arkansas. He would succeed J.J. Vigneault, III. He will serve as Chairman. Currently, Mr. Fuller serves as President of Fuller Enterprises in Little Rock, Arkansas.

UNITED STATES ALTERNATE COMMISSIONER:

JOE M. ALLBAUGH, of Oklahoma. He would succeed Baren Healey. Currently, Mr. Allbaugh serves as Deputy Secretary of Transportation with the Oklahoma Department of Transportation in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

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DATE: March 9, 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 9, 1992

May I say who's calling, please?

THE OFFICE OF MEDIA AFFAIRS

Voter-Card-Carrying 'Condo Commandos' Are Democratic Beachhead

By William Booth
Washington Post Staff Writer

SUNRISE, Fla.

Edith Morrison may look like a little old lady in sensible shoes, as sweet and harmless as only a grandmother can be. But don't be fooled. Edith Morrison has got more on her plate than milk and cookies.

Morrison is the boss of perhaps the most awesome political machine in Florida. She is the battle-scarred president of the 800-member Sunrise Democratic Club, one of dozens of party cells known collectively to political operatives here as the "condo commandos."

It is not hyperbole to say that the Democratic race for president in this state may be won or lost in the sprawling condo communities of Southeast Florida. In other words, the battle will be fought in Edith Morrison's back yard.

The condos are credited with giving Massachusetts Gov. Michael S. Dukakis (D) his Florida victory in 1988. And it is to the condos, and their nearby synagogues and churches, that the candidates are now flocking.

"No one ignores the condos," said Lance deHaven-Smith, political science professor at Florida Atlantic University in Fort Lauderdale. "They are without doubt the single most organized political force in Florida."

Imagine three-story stucco-lathered condominiums as far as the eye can see. Now imagine those condos filled with former milkmen, bakers and shopkeepers from the East Coast. Miles and miles of working-class, ethnic retirees. A gigantic hive of shuffleboard-playing, gin-rummy-dealing Democrats.

And not just fair-weather Democrats, but life-long Democrats in their 60s and 70s who carry their voter registration cards in their old wallets and new handbags. Democrats with time on their hands. Democrats who do not view voting as a right, but an obligation.

"If I need a hundred people to stuff envelopes with



Democratic candidate Paul E. Tsongas greets supporters at a North Miami Beach condominium over the weekend.

an hour's notice, I call the condos," said Margie Zender of the Broward County Democratic Party. "They are quite simply the most amazing people."

Saturday morning, the presidents of the various Democratic clubs met to discuss politics in the community room of the California Federal Bank in Sunrise. There was an urn of coffee and boxes of Dunkin' Donuts. There were men in yellow pants and white shoes and women with new permanents and blue eye

shadow. And there were surrogates for former Massachusetts senator Paul E. Tsongas and Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton.

"We are always wooed," said Sonny Needle, a friend and neighbor of Morrison, who lives in Phase III of Sunrise Lakes, home to 6,600 retirees. There are four phases, and 20,000 people, making Sunrise Lakes the largest complex in South Florida, with five polling precincts.

The 39 Democratic clubs in Broward County (Edith Morrison belongs to five of them) do not usually endorse candidates if more than one Democrat is in the race. But it is clear that among the condo commandos, the race is between Tsongas and Clinton. Iowa Sen. Tom Harkin and former California governor Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr. appear to be bit players.

New York Gov. Mario M. Cuomo broke their hearts when he decided not to run. A few of the die-hard former New York Democrats plan on writing in his name on the ballot, a kind of political valentine to an old love.

As for Tsongas and Clinton, it's hard to say. Recent polling by Mason-Dixon Florida Polling, done for the Miami Herald, shows the two running neck-and-neck.

"Look, we're all grandpas and grandmas here," said Max Streisand of Las Vistas condominiums and president of the Lauderhill Democratic Club. "We look at the man's personality. That's a big deal for us. Maybe even more important than the issues. Since the issues all change the minute they get in office anyway."

Streisand says that as senior citizens and as veterans of a long life, "most of us know the fallacies of the human flesh."

Translation: They don't care about accusations of Clinton's infidelities. "If his wife has forgiven him," Streisand said, "who are we to condemn?"

Tsongas? Though he lacks Clinton's charisma, the seniors here say they like him, they like his ethnicity, his seriousness. But many of the condominium residents were wary of his health.

"The man had cancer," Streisand said and put his hand on his heart. "God forbid it comes back."

This is Morrison's concern also. "I don't care what they say. He had cancer. He still has cancer. It stays in you forever."

Sonny Needle is going with Clinton. Clinton is by far the best organized in the area, and has been running for president here for the longest time.

And it doesn't hurt, said Needle, that Clinton is also handsome.

MONDAY, MARCH 9, 1992

The Washington Post

William Raspberry

The Underutilized Black Franchise

The black vote could make an enormous difference tomorrow. It probably won't. The likelihood is for a relatively light turnout of black voters, a result that could further erode black political influence—and provide blacks with yet another reason for not voting.

The potential is there because more than half the Super Tuesday states—and well over half the delegates at stake—are in the South, where the black vote can be critical. The prospect of a low turnout is there because there is no black presidential candidate on the ballot and, aside from Bill Clinton, no candidate who has demonstrated any particular skill at courting the black vote.

Why this frustrating gap between potential and prospect? Ask around, and the answers you get fall into three unsatisfactory categories:

- There's nobody to vote for—meaning that there is (a) no black politician seeking the Democratic nomination or (b) no white candidate who wants to be seen as particularly pro-black.
- It doesn't make any difference whether I vote or not—meaning either that there is no discernible difference among the Democratic hopefuls or that George Bush is going to be reelected anyway.
- The Republicans ignore us, and the Democrats take us for granted—meaning that no candidate from either party is trying to appeal to black voters as black voters.

There's truth in all the responses, but there is something else there as well: a view of the ballot as a favor to be granted to an earnest suitor, rather than as a tool to be wielded on one's own behalf.

Strangely enough, that view of the vote has grown as the ease of voting has increased. People with fresh memories of disenfranchisement would hustle to the polls even for the privilege of voting against someone whose politics they truly deplored. And because they did, the candidates got better, more solicitous. The exercise of the ballot does that.

Most of the time, anyway. It didn't happen that way for black voters four years ago, although they voted in droves. The problem was, they voted for Jesse Jackson—so, predictably that the white candidates vying for the Democratic nomination essentially conceded the black vote to him, while they busied themselves with more general issues.

"One key to black voter turnout," says University of Michigan political scientist Michael Dawson, "is the degree to which they see participation as critical to their interests. When there's a black on the ticket, the assumption is usually that their inter-

ests will be addressed. White candidates, on the other hand, may have to be far more direct in their appeal. My research shows that African-American voter choice is extremely shaped by their perception of racial issues, intertwined with perceptions of group economic status."

But if Dawson understands the black reluctance to support candidates who woo them only slyly and in general, he also understands the reluctance of white politicians to be more specific.

"Candidates that are seen as overly committed to black voters may solidify their black support, but at the expense of losing white support," he said. "So for the candidates to avoid being tied to any specifically black agenda may be entirely rational. Rational, but dangerous for Democratic candidates."

Two examples of the danger: Michigan governor Jim Blanchard and Mississippi governor Ray Mabus, both moderate incumbents defeated by conservative challengers, primarily because of a light turnout of black voters. Neither, apparently, could figure out how to increase his white support without seeming to take his black support for granted.

It's a dilemma, and not just for the candidates. Black voters can punish moderate candidates for their diffidence (and punish themselves in the process), or they can submit to being taken for granted. Is there no reasonable third approach?

"It's something that needs to be talked about, in terms of what do we do over the next 10 or 15 years," Dawson says. His own preference is for political pragmatism.

"There are some issues that affect blacks especially but that also cut across racial lines—issues like unemployment, poverty, economic concerns, the devastation of the cities. We should ask candidates of all parties to take a stand on these issues, but we don't have to do it in a racial way. We shouldn't insist that these concerns be overtly racialized."

As a matter of fact, that's probably the attitude most regular voters (including most black voters) take most of the time. We vote for candidates we like, against candidates we abhor, for issues that concern us, even for the lesser of evils.

But the potential for growth—in numbers, in influence, in political clout—is in the irregular voters, the ones who turn out only if there is a clear-cut black issue on the table. Those are the voters who could have such a dramatic impact tomorrow—and who probably won't.

For Democrats, Florida Looms As Key Test on Super Tuesday

Clinton Victory Might Mean Sweep of 7 Southern and Border States

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer

MIAMI, March 8—For the past several elections, the Florida Democratic presidential primary appears to have followed a predictable path: a candidate wins in New Hampshire, rides the momentum south and wins the primary here.

In varying degrees, that worked for Jimmy Carter in 1976, Gary Hart in 1984 and Michael S. Dukakis in 1988. The circumstances of each are slightly different, but the issue here this weekend is whether former Massachusetts senator Paul E. Tsongas can repeat history or if Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton has found a way to break the string.

Big, sprawling and diverse Florida now looms as the key Super Tuesday contest. On a day when 10 other states hold primaries or caucuses, Florida may have the largest impact on the Democratic nomination fight as it heads north to Illinois and Michigan.

Clinton had an impressive win Saturday in South Carolina's primary and also won the Wyoming caucuses. In Arizona, he had an edge with delegates although Tsongas captured the Arizona caucus vote by winning in the Phoenix and Tucson metropolitan areas.

A Clinton victory in Florida likely would give him a clean sweep of the seven southern and border states on Tuesday, a big edge in the delegate count and considerable strength heading to the Midwest. A Tsongas victory here, however, could dampen Clinton's celebration and give Tsongas a big boost for the potentially crucial contests on March 17.

Former California governor Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr. also is campaigning here but appears to be far behind the two front-runners.

Tsongas, campaigning in Nashville early today, said he did not have to win Florida. "We have to do credibly on Bill Clinton's turf," he said, "but after Tuesday, we go into neutral territory, and I think a lot will be determined there."

Dennis Kanin, Tsongas's campaign manager, said Clinton's showing in South Carolina, coupled with his big win in Georgia last week, suggests Florida may already be out of reach for Tsongas.

"My own feeling is that Clinton should win it because it is in his region and he will have a big lead in north Florida," Kanin said. "Our strategy has always been to go in and pick up delegates, not win. That remains our strategy."

"Florida has been very susceptible to the New Hampshire bounce," said state Rep. Michael Abrams, who was Nebraska Sen. Bob Kerrey's top supporter here, "and that's clearly helping Tsongas. But it's nowhere near what it was with Hart in '84, which was near a hurricane."

But others here believe the state could be well-tailored for a candidate like Tsongas, and he got a late boost of his own today, when seven newspapers—the St. Petersburg Times, Orlando Sentinel, Tampa Tribune, Tallahassee Democrat,

SATURDAY'S RESULTS

UNOFFICIAL

SOUTH CAROLINA

Republicans:

99% of precincts reporting

Candidate	Votes	% Delg.
Bush	99,073	67 36
Buchanan	38,085	26
Duke	10,494	7

Democrats:

99% of precincts reporting

Candidate	Votes	% Delg.
Brown	6,872	6
Clinton	71,887	63 36
Harkin	7,120	6
Tsongas	21,172	19 7
Uncommitted	3,650	3

ARIZONA

Democrats:

98% of precincts reporting

Candidate	% Delg.
Brown	28 12
Clinton	29 15
Harkin	8
Tsongas	34 14
Uncommitted	1

WYOMING

Democrats:

100% of precincts reporting

Candidate	% Delg.
Brown	23 3
Clinton	28 13
Harkin	14
Tsongas	12
Uncommitted	22 2

2 delegates to be determined

Florida Times-Union (in Jacksonville), Gainesville Sun and Palm Beach Post—endorsed his candidacy.

There are two ways to look at the race in Florida, as a battle of demographics or a battle of geography.

Demographically, Tsongas hopes to put together the same kind of coalition that has worked well for him in states like New Hampshire and Maryland, a coalition of well-educated, upper-income voters who are attracted to his economic message.

That is the same coalition that propelled Dukakis and particularly Hart to victory in the past two primaries. Both men received about 40 percent of the vote in winning. But 40 percent of the vote might not be enough to win here this year.

"It comes down to less an ideological battle than class warfare, with the upper strata positioned maybe to win with Tsongas," said Bob Joffe of the Mason-Dixon poll.

But Florida Lt. Gov. Buddy McKay said today he thinks that pattern of support for Tsongas and Clinton that has been established so far this year may be broken here in Florida.

"This is the first primary where you're really going to get to see the Clinton-Tsongas message one-on-one before a kind of a montage of eastern America," McKay said. "I don't think it's fair to say one of these appeals to better-educated voters and one is more of a blue-collar idea."

In a campaign that has grown nasty, the two candidates are battling over their respective economic plans. Clinton has been running his television spot attacking Tsongas's plan, while Tsongas has responded with an ad saying Clinton has distorted his record.

While Clinton has stressed differences on economics, Tsongas said the differences are more a reflection of character. "This is a campaign between a machine and a message," Tsongas said here in Miami late today.

Geographically, there are three fights underway. In north Florida, closely akin to the rest of the Deep South, Clinton expects heavy support.

In central Florida, Tsongas appears to have the edge because the population is more suburban, mobile and well-educated. To cut into Tsongas's appeal there, the Clinton camp has been running ads stressing Tsongas's support for a 5-cent-per-year hike in gasoline taxes for 10 years.

The fiercest battle comes along the Atlantic coast in south Florida, in three of the most populous counties in the state. Tsongas hopes to attract suburban voters in this region. "There's an uncandidate appeal to him, and if it works, it will work along the coast," said Jeff Eller, Clinton's state director.

But Clinton is countering with strong support among black voters and a deep organization. "What provides the safety net for Clinton here in Florida," Abrams said, "is a fairly stupendous organization."

Both men are appealing strongly to Jewish voters, who constitute about 10 percent of the Democratic primary vote. Tsongas flew into the state late today for an event at a Holocaust memorial, while Clinton surrogates appealed to Jewish voters to turn out for their candidate on Tuesday.

Clinton has circulated a flier to Jewish voters pointing to Tsongas's 1979 Senate vote against an amendment that would have prohibited any aid to Syria, suggesting that Tsongas's position was pro-Syria. Tsongas denounced the flier here today, saying that "virtually all the supporters of Israel" voted the same way and that six of seven Jewish senators did the same. "That is a purposeful attempt to mislead people," Tsongas said of the Clinton fliers.

"If turnout is extremely high across the northern tier and in the black community, then we realistically don't have a chance to win," said Rob Schroth, who is running Tsongas's campaign here. "If turnout patterns are fairly flat across the state, we do."

Clinton campaign officials say privately they are relieved that Tsongas has not spent more time in the state and suggest their rival may have made a mistake in spreading himself around the country the past 10 days.

But Kanin said victories elsewhere are more essential for Tsongas. "To have gone into Florida earlier would have meant sacrificing victories in Maryland or Washington state or Arizona," Kanin said. "So based on where we've won up to now, all of those were smart decisions." And, he added, "Florida's not over."

Clinton Faced With Questions On Land Deal, Wife's S&L Work

Governor's Longtime Friend and Former Aide Is at Center of Issues

By Michael Weisskopf
and David Maraniss
Washington Post Staff Writers

Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton, primed to sweep the southern primaries on Super Tuesday, found his campaign distracted again yesterday by a story from his past. This one involved a late 1970s land deal in the Ozarks and his wife Hillary's potential conflict in representing a failing Arkansas savings and loan association before state regulators.

The real estate deal and savings-and-loan action center on the same figure, Jim McDougal—a boyhood friend of and former aide to the Arkansas governor. A one-time whiz kid in Arkansas politics and business, McDougal brought the Clintons into a plan to sell vacation lots in the Ozarks in the late 1970s and later became majority owner of the now-failed Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan.

An article in yesterday's New York Times said the Clintons were at little risk in but had half ownership of the Ozarks land venture. The Clintons responded yesterday that not only were they liable for the roughly \$230,000 the company borrowed, they lost about \$25,000 on the deal.

McDougal's lawyer, in a statement, said there was no link between the land deal and Hillary Clinton's 1985 role in representing Madison Guaranty before a state securities commissioner who had been appointed by her husband.

There "was no impropriety," Clinton said at a news conference in Austin during a long campaign trek through Texas, the largest of 11 states holding primaries and caucuses Tuesday.

ence, Clinton said that he, his wife and McDougal signed loans for \$203,000 to buy the investment properties, and that the Clintons borrowed another \$30,000 on behalf of the company to build a model house on the riverfront property.

But the project never got off the ground. "We never made a penny," said Clinton, who estimated his loss at over \$25,000. "At least by my standards, we lost quite a bit of money."

Clinton said that when he entered the deal, McDougal had not yet acquired his interest in the state-regulated savings and loan. He became majority owner of Madison Guaranty in 1982, three years after Clinton became governor. At that point, Clinton conceded, "I think you can argue maybe we should have gotten out of it, but frankly at the time it never crossed my mind because we were losing money."

McDougal's banking problems did not surface until 1984, at a time when many of the nation's savings

The Times also said that the Clintons improperly deducted a total of \$5,000 from their personal taxes in 1984 and 1985 for interest payments made by the land venture, White Water Development Co. Clinton lawyers told the Times that the deductions were honest errors.

Clinton said last night that since he has been in public office, professional accountants have prepared his returns. If it turns out that those accountants "made a mistake in my favor, I will reimburse the government," he said. How much the deductions reduced his taxes is unclear.

In his campaign for the presidency, Clinton's fortunes have fluctuated wildly in the wake of questions and allegations about his past—first about extramarital affairs, then about his avoidance of the military draft during the Vietnam War. Each new report or allegation seems to have a double effect—first on its own merits, then as part of a larger character theme. But Clinton has survived every accusation so far.

The most recent allegations shift the spotlight to Hillary Clinton and the role she played as a lawyer in Little Rock, the state capital in which her husband was the dominant political figure for most of the last 14 years.

In April 1985, her firm, the Rose Law Firm, asked then-Arkansas securities commissioner Beverly Bassett Schaffer if she agreed with the firm's legal interpretation that its client, the financially troubled Madison Guaranty, could sell preferred stock to raise capital to comply with federal requirements. The unsigned letter listed Hillary Clinton as the firm's contact, and she received the letter from Schaffer saying she agreed the savings and loan had the right to issue stock.

and loans were getting into difficulty because of bad loans and other investment problems. Federal Home Loan Bank Board examiners reported late in 1984 that Madison Guaranty lacked the required minimum liquidity—3 percent of assets—to cover potential loan losses.

About the same time, Schaffer, a securities lawyer in a Little Rock firm that represented Madison Guaranty, said she approached Clinton for the job of state securities commissioner. She said she had heard that the incumbent commissioner was planning to leave and she had worked for Clinton when he was attorney general.

In her meetings with Clinton to discuss the job, Schaffer said, he never mentioned either McDougal or Madison Guaranty.

Schaffer said she confronted Madison Guaranty's troubles soon after she was appointed in January 1985. By that spring, an independent auditor affirmed that while the bank still had significant assets and was

not insolvent, it fell short of the federal minimum capital requirements.

Her first and only contact with Hillary Clinton was the exchange of letters in the spring of 1985 in which she said Madison Guaranty would not be in conflict with state law if it chose to issue \$3 million in preferred stock.

When Madison Guaranty sought formal approval to issue the stock in September 1985, Richard Massey, another lawyer in the Rose firm, wrote Schaffer. Schaffer's office approved the proposal but set a Dec. 31 deadline for raising the funds that Madison Guaranty failed to meet. In early 1986, the Madison Guaranty, at the behest of federal examiners, removed McDougal. McDougal was subsequently indicted for bank fraud but was acquitted.

A federal audit in July 1987 showed that Madison Guaranty was insolvent, and the institution was put into receivership.

Yesterday, Schaffer said in a telephone interview that the governor's wife never disclosed that she and her husband were partners with McDougal, the president of Madison Guaranty, in the land development company.

Hillary Clinton did not get involved in the Madison Guaranty case after the initial correspondence, said Schaffer. Nor did representation by the governor's wife influence the state office's decision in regulating Madison Guaranty, she said.

A fact sheet issued by the Clinton campaign yesterday said, "Hillary Clinton did not intervene or attempt to influence in any matter concerning Madison Guaranty with the state securities commission or any other state regulator." Nor was Hillary responsible for soliciting Madison Guaranty as a client. The case was brought to the Rose firm by another lawyer who is a friend of the bank's chief executive officer, according to the statement.

Bill Clinton and McDougal shared an interest in Democratic politics and both worked in the office of then-U.S. Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.) In 1979, McDougal joined the Clinton administration in its economic development agency.

McDougal invited the Clintons into the White Water deal in 1978, while Clinton was Arkansas attorney general and McDougal was a developer. According to the Arkansas Democrat Gazette, the firm owned 230 acres along the White River in north-central Arkansas and planned to sell lots for vacation homes.

It is not clear how much money the Clintons put down. The Times article said they invested little money in the deal and had little to lose. But at yesterday's news confer-

Meg Greenfield

'Where's the Rest of Them?'

It's dangerous for the candidates to avoid discussing foreign policy. The world didn't go away with the Soviet Union.

Maybe it will all change any day now, but this year's election dog that didn't bark is foreign policy. Only fitfully or derivatively (Japan-bashing, foreign aid-bashing) do some of the candidates talk about it at all. Why? There are several reasons, but when you inspect them you find that they are all pretty feeble excuses for failing to discuss a subject that cries out for a role in our calculations about who should be president.

Start with fear. George Bush has been scared by his own belated discovery of the country's raging economic discontents and the corollary resentment of any substantial expenditure of government energy or money abroad. Ironically, the Democrats have in turn been scared by Bush's reputed expertise in foreign policy (which he half disowns as he becomes Mr. I-care-about-you). The most you get so far between the parties is a little bit of sparring about who was where on the gulf war and why Saddam Inc. is still open for business.

The next reason for the silence is the fact of the Soviet collapse. For nearly half a century the Soviet Union had been at once the prime determinant and the prime target of American foreign policy; it shaped everything from our federal budget to our attitudes toward almost every other people on Earth, whom we defined ("allies," "neutrals," "non-aligned" etc.) strictly in terms of our conflict with the Soviet Union. And now it is no more. From this some assume that there is nothing more for the United States to do than (1) go around mopping up some of the Cold-War wreckage, (2) detach ourselves from Third World and other foreign conflicts, which are now to be guided by the great post-Cold-War principle of "who cares?" and (3) go into intensive training for a showdown fight with the Japanese and, in time, the Europeans for markets and economic pre-eminence worldwide.

This last point leads to the final reason given for ignoring foreign affairs: that every moment spent on the subject is a moment stolen from what should be our priority concern of getting our economy back on its feet, improving our educational sys-

tem and otherwise taking the steps needed to re-establish our competitive edge. Those amusing ancient maps whose distortions reveal how unrealistically some countries viewed the world and their place in it could have a counterpart in this country today. Surely the uninstructed child told to draw a map of the world based on what he overheard the grownups talking about would present a gigantic Japan and a gigantic Iraq and (maybe) a dot called Russia somewhere and a great big sad-faced us in the middle.

Only that is not the world, not the successor world to the Cold-War construct that has just been deconstructed. To think it is, is dangerous, not to say mindless. Bush last year, at the time of the anti-Saddam coalition, talked about the New World Order. But even though the titanic U.S.-Soviet struggle with its ramifications in reflected small wars all over the world is a thing of the past, and even though the United Nations has come to play an enormously improved role in mediating and defusing disputes, there is new disorder, not new order. North Korea is shipping improved Scud missiles to Iran; the United States and governments of the former Soviet Union are trying to figure out ways to keep Soviet nuclear technology, materials and know-how out of the hands of surpassingly rich and surpassingly reckless would-be nuclear powers. These are but a couple of examples of how a complicated, hard-to-track traffic in deadly explosives, deliverable from long distances, is likely to become a main feature in a world in which violent disputes among traditional enemy states and tribes are rekindling. On every continent, tidal waves of refugees are surging from country to country. These are not circumstances that we can insulate ourselves from by putting up a "stay out" sign as we pursue our internal concerns.

And, importantly, we are in need of new ways of thinking about and dealing with the impact of these post-Cold-War conditions. The old analogies (as usual) don't work: neither Munich nor Vietnam, the two favorites, instructs us in this morass.

Nor do the Cold-War scenarios, the much brooded-over putative Soviet and Warsaw Pact invasion of Western Europe or the insanely surgical first strike/second strike war games that people played out in such unconvincing detail over the years. We had studied these things to death. They had a reassuring unreality to them, a quality of the academic exercise that had, in the face of a well understood mutual capacity to obliterate all, become a substitute for warfare.

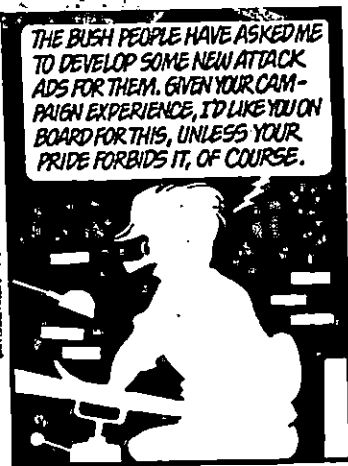
Now there is a much more diffuse and elusive threat. And our institutions seem as ill-suited as our imagery and mind-set to deal with it. Our intelligence, foreign policy-making and defense establishments were all created in the wake of World War II to deal with a wholly different set of realities and, in addition, over the years have in many respects been bent out of shape and rendered imperious or rickety or, worse, both at once. Before we decide how the national-security apparatus of government should be reshaped and what kind of a defense we need, we have to have some generally agreed-on answers to the prior questions: How should this country relate to the former No. 1 adversary? To those other states that, minus a Cold-War significance, have never been much noticed by us? What responsibility should we assume for the economic privation, the population displacements, the multiplying violence, the newly frenzied arms bazaar seen around the world? What are the values we should pursue? What are the practical, self-interested objectives?

I don't say that America's economic woes should not be center stage, only that even acute as they are, they do not eliminate the urgencies of American foreign policy. The world didn't go away with the Soviet Union. And it didn't become a swell, happy place or a safe one for us or anyone else. A president has a prime responsibility in this area. Yet oddly it seems off most of these candidates' election-year screen. As dear old Ronald Reagan might have put it: "Where's the rest of them?"

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By G.B. Trudeau

DOONESBURY



GOOD. BE IN MY OFFICE IN AN HOUR.

Divergent Views on Economic Policy

Clinton, Tsongas Focus on Growth but Offer Contrasting Approaches

By Steven Mufson
Washington Post Staff Writer

One leading presidential candidate says "we must move beyond the old Democratic theory that says we can just tax and spend our way out of every problem we face." The other leading candidate asserts his program is "Pro-business . . . aggressively so."

They sound like Republicans, but these are words from the mouths of the two Democratic front-runners, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton and former Massachusetts senator Paul E. Tsongas. The two candidates have

built economic platforms with attacks on Democratic as well as Republican orthodoxy.

Clinton, in his call for a "New Covenant," and Tsongas, in his "Call to Economic Arms," have continued the redefinition of the Democratic Party that began under Jimmy Carter. They have cast aside the old dividing lines of liberal versus conservative, government versus business, labor versus management and federal government versus state government.

Instead, they form part of a widening consensus that economic

growth is the best social program, that government spending should be tilted toward investment in the future rather than income support and that free trade, not protectionism, best serves the economy.

"You cannot redistribute wealth that is never created," Tsongas said. "Corporate America must survive, indeed thrive, if our Democratic social agenda is to have any hope of implementation."

Yet differences between Clinton and Tsongas loom as large as the similarities, prompting a series of interviews. See CONTRAST, A8, Col. 1

Clinton, Tsongas Agree on Economic Growth but Differ on Policies

CONTRAST, From A1

creasingly bitter attacks between the two as they seek the party's nomination.

Clinton stresses education and training, or in the current lingo investment in human capital. He wants to cut taxes on the "forgotten middle class" and raise taxes on the wealthy.

Tsongas stresses investment in physical capital: factories and equipment. He said the working person needs work and he wants to create jobs with tax incentives for business, relaxed antitrust oversight and corporate reporting requirements, and an industrial policy in which the government would aid certain industries and technologies.

While Clinton wants more government investment, Tsongas wants more private investment.

Clinton criticizes Tsongas as paying more attention to the needs of business than the needs of working, middle-class individuals. Tsongas rejects Clinton's call for a middle-class tax cut, sounding a no-nonsense theme of "I'm no Santa Claus."

"They've got the two big issues," said Lester Thurow, an economist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a long-time Tsongas acquaintance. "One for strategic reasons has played the growth card and one has played the equity card."

"It is clear from Tsongas's perspective that what drives growth" and makes companies more efficient is the availability and cost of money for investment, said Robert J. Shapiro, an economist at the Progressive Policy Institute here and a Clinton adviser. "In Clinton's view, the crucial factor is not the availability of capital but the capacity of firms and workers to innovate."

Underlying their different views are different experiences. Clinton draws upon a decade in state government, focusing on making government better. Tsongas draws heavily on his experience on corporate boards and with the government-business partnership that for a

time revitalized his hometown of Lowell, Mass., a one-time textile mill town that turned to high-tech companies for development.

Neither candidate offers "feel-good" politics. Both Clinton and Tsongas believe that the United States economy is suffering from more than just a passing business cycle. "The American Dream is in trouble," Clinton said. "America faces great economic peril," Tsongas said.

Both candidates point accusing fingers at what they say is the legacy of the Reagan-Bush era: the rapid increase in the national debt, stiff competition from Japanese and German companies, the lackluster performance of American industry, and the declining fortunes of the American working class.

But they differ in focus and in their prescriptions for the ailing economy.

■ **Budget deficit.** Tsongas lambasts President Bush for engaging in "happy talk" on the federal budget. He parodies Bush's 1988 pledge of "read my lips: no new taxes" and translates it as, "read my lips, add more debt."

"At the current rate we will either be in total hock to the outside world or the outside world will own us," Tsongas said.

Tsongas endorses the 1990 budget agreement, which attempts to cut deficits by \$500 billion over five years by restraining the growth in government spending and modestly increasing taxes.

"Would the Congress support a policy of reducing the yearly increase in entitlements by 1 percent below the cost of living?" he said in what appeared to be a tentative proposal to sharply limit the growth of Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid programs. Medicare and Medicaid, in particular, are growing two to four times as fast as the cost of living. The Bush administration discusses, but does not propose, a similar strategy in its budget plan. Tsongas gives no further details.

Clinton would scrap the 1990 budget agreement and adopt a plan advocated by Harvard University economics professor Rob-

ert Reich to divide the budget into three parts: service debt and bank failures; current services; and investments in the future. Clinton would limit the growth in spending on current services to the rate of increase in personal incomes, but he would double the investment budget as a share of federal spending to 18 percent from 9 percent.

Clinton also would cut "federal administrative costs" by 3 percent, although it is not clear how he would achieve the savings. Nor does Clinton describe the consequences of limiting current-services spending, a proposal that would slash billions from projected spending on a wide variety of government programs.

■ **Personal taxes.** Clinton wants to cut income taxes on the middle class by 10 percent and offset that with higher taxes on households making more than \$200,000. He said the measure would stimulate the economy and make "the richest Americans . . . pay their fair share."

Most economists doubt, however, that such a tax shift would add much stimulus to a sluggish economy as long as the government was collecting the same tax revenue overall, as Clinton suggested. He said the plan has merit on the basis of fairness alone.

Clinton also would adapt a proposal made by adviser Shapiro that would expand the existing tax credit for the working poor. He would replace the \$2,150 tax exemption per dependent with a tax credit of \$800 per child. The credit translates into an extra tax savings up to \$480 per child, depending on a person's tax bracket. Unlike the Bush proposal to increase the personal exemption for children, Clinton's proposal gives equal benefits to every taxpayer, while Bush would give bigger benefits to wealthier Americans in higher tax brackets.

Tsongas opposes middle-class tax cuts, which he said the nation cannot afford. But he favors increasing taxes for individuals who earn more than \$200,000.

Tsongas would expand tax breaks for individual retirement accounts (IRAs) to encourage Americans to save more. Expanded IRAs have the support of Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady and Senate Finance Committee Chairman Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.), but most economists believe there is no evidence that shows IRAs increase savings.

■ **Business taxes.** Clinton and Tsongas both favor targeted cuts in the capital gains tax.

Clinton would reduce by half the capital gains tax for profits from investments in new businesses held at least five years. Tsongas would cut the capital gains tax for profits from the sale of corporate stock held long-term, with the tax rate decreasing the longer the stock is held, up to 10 years. Both measures are far more narrow than those proposed by Congress or the Bush administration.

Like Bush, both candidates would make tax credits for research and development permanent. Clinton would grant tax credits for investment in plant and equipment, but only for small- and medium-size companies. Tsongas would grant a one-year 10 percent tax credit for business investment in productive assets.

Clinton also would curtail tax breaks for highly paid executives.

■ **Other industrial policies.** Both candidates see an active role for the government in setting industrial policy. Though labeled "conservative" by more liberal Democrats, neither candidate trusts the free market to funnel enough money into appropriate investments for the future.

Clinton and Tsongas propose creating a federal agency to direct research on critical technologies needed for civilian products and would shift research spending to civilian projects from defense projects.

Tsongas would undertake an effort to relax laws and regulations on corporate disclosure and directors. He would replace quarterly corporate financial reports with semi-annual ones, which he said would thwart investors who respond to short-term profit fluctuations.

Tsongas would also protect corporate boards from shareholder suits so directors could pursue long-term goals. Tsongas would ease antitrust laws, especially where it would help companies compete overseas.

■ **Energy.** Clinton would encourage research, development and reliance on natural gas and renewable energy sources and push to achieve European standards of energy efficiency. He opposes federal research and development of new nuclear power plants.

Tsongas would push for renewable energy sources, energy conservation and efficiency and he would offer profit incentives for efficient utilities.

But Tsongas differs in proposing that the federal government share the costs with industry of developing smaller, safer nuclear power plants. He said its risks must be weighed against the risks of global warming that come from burning coal and the risks of shortages that come from burning oil and natural gas.

Tsongas would encourage automobile fuel efficiency by increasing the gasoline tax by three cents to five cents a year. Part of the tax would go to expanding mass transit.

Clinton uses the gas tax as evidence of Tsongas's callousness toward lower and middle-class Americans. Tsongas supporters note that the price of gasoline, adjusted for inflation, in the United States is cheaper now than any time since World War II. Moreover, they compare the cost in pennies with the cost in lives if another war were needed to secure Middle East oil fields.

■ **Trade.** Both Clinton and Tsongas favor free trade and the "fast track" negotiations on a free-trade pact with Mexico. "Protectionism is just a fancy word for giving up," Clinton said. But he vows to try to "open up markets now closed to American products."

Tsongas calls protectionism "competitive retreat," but he clothes his position in rhetoric urging Americans to show "economic loyalty" by buying American products.

MONDAY, MARCH 9, 1992

The Washington Post

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DAVE BARRY

Wake Me Wednesday

The political world is throbbing with excitement as we approach "Super Tuesday," which could turn out to be the single most pivotal political event ever to occur in this nation since whichever pivotal event we had last Tuesday. A large wad of delegates will be up for grabs as crucial primaries are held in the following key states: Florida, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Texas, Massachusetts, Louisiana, Maryland, North or South Dakota, Quebec and New Hampshire. Granted, some of these states already *had* crucial primaries, but they decided to hold more, because they're good for the local economy.

This is mainly because of revenues from TV commercials. For example, just last week Pat Buchanan spent tens of thousands of dollars broadcasting alleged homosexual pornography all over Georgia. Really. Georgia voters would

See BARRY, B4, Col. 1

DAVE BARRY

Another Week, Another Major Election

BARRY, From B1

turn on their TVs, and there would be a commercial, paid for by the Buchanan campaign, featuring bare-chested men dancing around with their naked buttocks hanging out of studded leather outfits. The announcer stated that this was actual film footage of a Bush Cabinet meeting.

No, not really. The announcer stated that this was federally funded pornography, which of course Pat is opposed to, which is why he was paying to broadcast it over and over and over to the voters of Georgia until they got the central message: "Vote for Pat Buchanan, or He'll Whip You, and You Might Like It."

Meanwhile President Bush, who according to the polls is now so unpopular that he could be beaten by any Democrat in the world except for the ones who might actually get nominated, has stopped taking Halcion and has shown a marked improvement in his ability to produce sentences with verbs. That is the good news. The bad news is, he is now hearing messages. "I hear you!" he keeps saying, looking off into the distance. "I'm

getting your message!" But there's nobody there. Medical experts think it could be some kind of Vision Thing.

Over on the Democratic side, everybody is getting very cranky. The Democratic candidates have been campaigning as a group for months now, holding a formal debate about once every two hours, and they've reached the hostility level of children who have spent too much time together in the back seat of a car, as is shown by this actual debate transcript of an exchange between Paul E. Tsongas and Tom Harkin on the issue of nuclear power:

Tsongas: AM NOT!

Harkin: ARE TOO!

Tsongas: AM NOT!

Harkin: ARE TOO!

Tsongas is especially edgy lately, as his campaign has been plagued by revelations that his middle name is "Efthemios," which is Greek for "Man Whose Voice Is Provided by the Late Mel Blanc." Meanwhile his arch-rival, Bill Clinton, made a powerful showing in Georgia, where he captured 54 delegates, tied them up, shoved them

into his rental-car trunk and had nearly reached the state line before being stopped by police. As usual he talked his way out of it, but he needs to stop having these scandals. One more felony arrest and he's out, that is the feeling among political observers.

Meanwhile, Jerry Brown continues to courageously refuse large donations, not that anybody is offering him any.

Look for the campaign action to reach a fever pitch today as the major candidates work hard to earn the trust and support of the American public, which hates them all. The American public has pretty much given up on politicians, as is evidenced by the unusually high number of voting machines this year that have malfunctioned because of spit.

Fear in mind, however, that the public mood could improve rapidly if the economy starts to turn around. In fact there already have been some signs that an economic recovery may be underway, spurred by a sudden, unexpected boom in sales of studded leather in Georgia.

Knight-Ridder

Harkin to Announce Withdrawal Today

Outspoken Liberal Didn't Win Single Primary

By Thomas B. Edsall
Washington Post Staff Writer

Iowa Sen. Tom Harkin will announce today that he is withdrawing from the Democratic presidential race, according to sources close to Harkin. Two of his rivals, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton and former Massachusetts senator Paul E. Tsongas, confirmed the plan.

Harkin, the most outspokenly liberal of the candidates, did not win a single primary and was the victor in just three caucus states, including his home state.

Harkin's announcement will be made first here at Gallaudet University to symbolically reflect both his commitment to those with disabilities and his view of where the loyalties of the Democratic Party should belong, according to a source close to Harkin. Harkin will then go to Des Moines to tell his constituents of his decision.

Harkin's appeal to traditional elements within the party, especially organized labor, was widely expected to gain him a firm base of support that would keep him competitive through the early contests. But he was able to generate little momentum, while Clinton and Tsongas, whose campaigns in different ways offer substantial challenges to orthodox liberalism, have emerged as front-runners.

The remaining major candidate in the Democratic race, former California governor Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr., has built his campaign on a general challenge to the political system. He won the Nevada caucuses yesterday.



SEN. TOM HARKIN

... victor in just three caucus states

Harkin's decision to withdraw comes after a weekend in which he was virtually shut out in South Carolina's Democratic primary, despite a concerted effort to attract black voters, and did poorly in caucuses in Arizona, Nevada and Wyoming.

Clinton won in South Carolina with 63 percent of the vote to 19 percent for Tsongas and 6 percent each for Harkin and Brown. On the Republican side, President Bush got 67 percent to 26 for Patrick J. Buchanan and 7 for David Duke.

In Arizona, Harkin got 8 percent for fourth place behind Tsongas, Clinton and Brown.

In Wyoming, where Clinton placed first, followed by Brown and

See CAMPAIGN, A8, Col. 3

CAMPAIGN, From A1

Tsongas, 14 percent of the caucuses went for Harkin.

In Nevada, Brown was trailed by Clinton, Tsongas, "uncommitted" and Harkin.

"I don't know what to make of this. Here is the most progressive candidate running in what is supposed to be the progressive party, but he can't win," said a supporter who privately confirmed Harkin's plans.

In the short term, the major beneficiary of Harkin's withdrawal is likely to be Clinton, who is expected to pick up some of the backing from organized labor that had been flowing to Harkin.

Clinton said after talking to Harkin that "While we plainly had our differences in this race, I think he made a real contribution. . . . He stood up for ordinary people. He also raised the visibility of his work for the disabled."

Tsongas said he talked to Harkin yesterday about his intentions, and "I asked him to help me with my speaking style." Tsongas said he will try to appeal to Harkin's sup-

CAUCUS RESULTS UNOFFICIAL

NEVADA

Democrats:

96% of precincts reporting

Candidate	% Delg.
Brown	35 6
Clinton	26 5
Harkin	1
Tsongas	20 3
Uncommitted	17 3

porters, including those in the labor movement.

Harkin had had the backing of 11 unions, including the large and politically active industrial and manufacturing unions: the United Auto Workers, the Mine Workers, the Communication Workers and the International Union of Electrical Workers.

He leaves the race just as union support could become crucial. After the southern-dominated primaries on Tuesday, the battleground will shift to the industrial Midwest and Northeast. On March 17, Michigan, the base of the UAW, and Illinois, a

strong union state, will hold primaries.

In addition, the ability of organized labor to produce troops makes it a powerful force in virtually every state in the nation that conducts caucuses instead of a primary. Union sources said some of the pro-Harkin unions may decide to back Clinton while others are likely to sit the race out in the hope that someone along the lines of New York Gov. Mario M. Cuomo enters the fray at the last minute.

Harkin finished fourth in the New Hampshire primary, but perhaps even more damaging was his second-place finish in South Dakota, which was viewed as a testing ground between two regional candidates, Harkin and Nebraska Sen. Bob Kerrey. Kerrey won, but he was forced out of the contest last week.

A number of liberals who were attracted to Harkin's message—a kind of 1990s version of New Deal domestic spending combined with massive defense cuts—said Harkin was hindered by the disorganization within his campaign.

Harkin, who opposed a middle-

class tax cut, contended he could achieve a revival of the job marketplace through what he called "resource-based economics," which called for substantial increases in public works spending. He contended that his political history serving 10 years in the House followed by two elections to the Senate in tough races showed that he knew how to battle Republicans.

In Nevada, Brown drew strong support from the biggest union in Las Vegas, Culinary Local 226, which was set to back Kerrey but endorsed Brown the day after Kerrey withdrew. Brown had joined striking casino workers on a picket line and focused on the environment, declaring that the nuclear waste dump the Energy Department plans to construct about 100 miles from Las Vegas should not be built.

State Democratic Chairman Richard Segerblom told the Los Angeles Times the nuclear waste dump is the "No. 1 political issue in Nevada."

Staff writers Dan Balz in Florida and David Von Drehle in Texas contributed to this report.

The President's Tip Slip

■ Get this man some pocket money. After having eaten on the house Friday night, President Bush left the Skopelos Seafood & Steak Restaurant in Pensacola, Fla., without tipping the waitress. When told of the blunder, Bush had Secret Service agents deliver a generous tip as well as a handwritten note to the owners, reports the Pensacola News Journal. "He said his staff usually takes care of the bill and the tip," co-owner Gus Silivos relayed, "but since there was no bill, they just forgot the tip."



Bush: Not enough gratuity acuity.

Brown and Clinton Trade Jabs

At Church, Tsongas Is Lauded as 'Tough but Tender'

By Maralee Schwartz
Washington Post Staff Writer

The heated thrust and parry between various presidential candidates did not cool down yesterday as former California governor Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr., appearing on NBC's "Meet the Press," described Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton as "the candidate of the hacks, the insiders and the politicians that have gotten this country into the mess that it's in."

Clinton, campaigning in Texas, shot back: "Jerry Brown is the all-time champion on raising special interest money. . . . There is a limit in a presidential campaign to how much money you can take—\$1,000—unless you take PAC [political action committee] money. I don't take PAC money. I think Governor Brown is making a point which a lot of us can relate to, but I don't think it's a point he can use very well against me."

But Clinton showed little inclination for the Paul E. Tsongas-bashing of previous days. In Austin, he took a turn in the pulpit at David Chapel Missionary Baptist Church, normally the province of the Rev. James Obey. The pastor's wife, Hazel, is a member of the Democratic National Committee and a "super delegate" pledged to Clinton. "Governor Clinton is a good ol' Baptist," Obey told his congregation in perhaps the pithiest endorsement of the campaign season.

Tsongas went to church yesterday too. He visited a black Baptist church in downtown Nashville, where the Rev. James Thomas called him "tough but tender" and "sensitive to the needs of mankind."

The former Massachusetts senator responded to the powerful mixture of music and prayer in the church with an unusually personal and emotional address, saying that his battle with cancer had left him with "a sense of obligation" that motivated him to take stands he knew would be unpopular. "I am in this race not for ambition but for purpose," he said.

Earlier, in an appearance on ABC's "This Week With David Brinkley" and a follow-up news conference in Nashville, Tsongas had demonstrated his point by making explicit his support of homosexual marriages.

Asked if he was opposed to church bans on such unions, he said, "Yes, I am," adding, "I am opposed to any kind of discrimination against anybody. I don't walk away from this kind of issue."

Republican National Committee Chairman Richard N. Bond, who also appeared on the Brinkley show, praised Tsongas for "running a brilliant cam-

paign" and said, "I have a lot of respect for him." But Bond said that despite Tsongas's avowedly pro-business economics, "he goes hard left on social issues and would be vulnerable to attack on that front if he were the nominee."

But Bond reserved most of his attention for the challenger from his own party, Patrick J. Buchanan. Bond criticized Buchanan's comment to Jewish protesters that a recent Georgia rally was "for Americans only and for the good old U.S.A."

"I question whether or not Pat was deliberately trying to antagonize those Jewish demonstrators by implying that they weren't Americans," Bond said.

The GOP chief said "there are some very good parts" in Buchanan's message. "But if he's going to basically hijack David Duke's message on race and religious tolerance and put a jacket and tie on it and try to clean it up, I'm just not comfortable with that."

Nevertheless, Bond said Buchanan's candidacy was "a good vehicle for people to get this out of their system now, register their message with the president, and come home in the fall."

In Boston yesterday afternoon, Buchanan said he intends to spend the next two days in Massachusetts and Rhode Island courting votes for Tuesday's primaries. He called himself the "only candidate in this race on either side" who has committed himself to reducing the growth of government and the size of the deficit.

Buchanan, who said his fund-raising efforts had topped the \$6 million mark—significantly better than the \$3.5 million goal set by his campaign—was asked how he could continue in the race when he has yet to win a primary.

"We think we're winning," Buchanan said, adding that there is more at stake than delegates. His candidacy, he said, is a success because "Mr. Bush is being driven toward the conservative position."

The conservative commentator said people must be wondering how Bush "is going to govern the country for the next four years when he's getting so much rejection in his own party. . . . People are getting tired and fed up that he hasn't gotten anything done, and it doesn't look like he's going to get anything done."

Buchanan said that what is saving Bush in the campaign "is the legendary loyalty of the Republican women."

Staff writers Karlyn Barker in Massachusetts, David S. Broder in Tennessee and David Von Drehle in Texas contributed to this report.

WE'VE HEARD THAT...

■ LaSalle Leffall, chairman of the surgery department at Howard

University Medical School, last night became the first recipient of the Charles R. Drew Chair in Surgery.

■ Potential

Democratic voter

Larry Fowler from

Waldorf called to complain that campaign materials he requested from Bill Clinton arrived with 17 cents postage due. "If he can't handle his paperwork," griped Fowler, "how can he handle the economy?"

■ Saddam Hussein-bashing may be on

the downswing. A New Orleans

merchant who imported 350 pinatas in the likeness of the Iraqi leader last year still has 200 left—and he gave 100 away as Christmas presents.

■ At least four

big-screen projects

on the late media

mogul Robert

Maxwell are

reportedly in the

works. Word is that

Marlon Brando is

one desired leading

man.

■ Ronald and Nancy

Reagan renewed

their marriage vows

yesterday to commemorate their 40th

anniversary last Wednesday. Ron gushed

in a statement that on his wedding day, he

"moved into a world of happiness," and

Nancy assured that "Ronald Reagan is

exactly what he seems to be to the public."



LaSalle Leffall.



Robert Maxwell.

Labor Secretary Martin Finds Criticism Is Par for the Political Course

By Frank Swoboda
Washington Post Staff Writer

As far as organized labor is concerned, Lynn Martin has developed an annoying habit of reminding everyone just how few workers belong to unions these days. At least twice last month during a single closed-door meeting with top AFL-CIO leaders in Florida, Martin reminded union brass that their troops represent only 16 percent of the nation's work force.

So it was probably no surprise that AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, emerging from the Florida meeting, chose to paraphrase President Dwight D. Eisenhower when asked about Martin's accomplishments since she joined the Bush administration a year ago. "If you give me a week, I might be able to think of something," Kirkland said.

As for the meeting itself, Kirkland said, "The areas of disagreement and disparity of views that surfaced were nicely coated with expressions of concern."

These are not good times between organized labor and the Bush administration—particularly in an election year in which the economy remains mired in recession, unemployment is high and companies are shuttering plants at a once unimaginable rate.

For Martin, a tough, sharp-tongued veteran of 10 years as a

Republican congresswoman from Illinois, the criticism is par for the political course, a price she is willing to pay for being part of President Bush's team.

A year after she took over the helm of the \$35 billion department, Martin is getting high marks for charm but low grades for program initiatives from the civil servants she rules. If Martin is concerned about her record and her critics, she doesn't show it.

Unlike many of her predecessors at the department, Martin has no labor relations background. "I really have had a very different apprenticeship: the Hill and the Bush [campaigns]," she said in a recent interview. Before coming to the department, Martin had worked closely with Bush in his election campaigns and had dealt with most of the Bush Cabinet as a congressional advocate for much of the president's program during his first two years in office.

Because of these political connections and her partisan political background, Martin has gained a reputation in labor circles as one of the most political animals to occupy the Cabinet's labor post, a charge she doesn't completely deny. Career employees at the department joke that since Martin came on board, the second-floor suite of offices that houses the secretary and her top aides at the foot of Capitol Hill has

“I really have had a very different apprenticeship: the Hill and the Bush [campaigns]”

—Labor Secretary
Lynn Martin



begun to look like a congressman's office—decorated with pictures of the secretary and various politicians and framed letters from schoolchildren. She has even put rugs embossed with the Labor Department seal in the elevators there.

Martin sees her political activity and connections as a plus for both the department and the American worker, insisting it gives her unusual access to the White House for a secretary of labor in a Republican administration. "It makes things easier,"

she said of her personal relationships with White House policymakers.

She also sees the role of the Labor Department in today's society as bringing about "change," and change is often upsetting to people, particularly unions. The Labor Department, she said, has to change from its old role of having organized labor as its major client to serving the broader interests of all working people.

Martin also said part of labor's problem with the administration is that the leaders of the AFL-CIO "are

from a different generation. They are watching diminution, not growth; it's very difficult, it's very frightening. It's going to require change, not just in this department, but they are going to have to change."

In an interview last month with the Daily Labor Report, a Bureau of National Affairs publication, Martin accused the union leaders of sometimes being "out of touch with what the people they represent want."

Martin said the Labor Department has to "act as a broker through these times" by helping people acquire new skills and training. "We've got to prepare ourselves differently, because you're not going to go back to the 1950s no matter how much anybody wants to. We're going to move ahead," she said.

Pointing to concerns over a lack of skills and growing diversity in the work force, Martin said the government has to focus more on the 75 percent of high school graduates who never go on to earn a college degree.

Most of the initiatives Martin has been involved in at the department in the past year began under previous secretaries. The "power proposal" to make it easier for small businesses to provide pensions for their workers, the effort to shatter the "glass ceiling" that keeps women and minorities out of top management and the commission to upgrade the basic

skills of high school graduates all began before she arrived.

One area where Martin recently exercised a great deal of her own initiative and angered many business leaders was when she cracked down on companies that had tampered with dust samples taken in underground coal mines, measurements taken to protect miners from black lung disease. But even this effort began under her predecessor, Elizabeth Hanford Dole, and is part of the normal regulatory enforcement process.

To quell her critics, Martin points out that she has not made campaigning for Bush a "full-time job." Still, in going out to the many primary states—as she does frequently—she doesn't lose sight of who's boss. She said, "I'm not talking about what I've done. These are not Department of Labor programs, they are the administration's programs."

When out on the campaign trail, Martin has no set stump speech, but aides say each talk covers the same basic themes. She pumps up "Workforce 2000," the government's push to upgrade workers' skills to meet the challenges of the next century. And she emphasizes the need to create jobs. Both can be accomplished, she says, if Congress approves the president's economic package.

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Debate Rises Over Decline In Federal Prison Furloughs

By Michael Isikoff
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Willie Horton ad—publicizing the case of a convicted murderer who committed assault and rape while free on a Massachusetts state prison furlough—provoked a national debate over crime and race during the 1988 presidential campaign.

But there is no place where the Republican ad had a greater impact than at the federal Bureau of Prisons. Since 1988, officials there have cracked down hard on the granting of furloughs—a move that is prompting growing criticism from prisoner-rights groups.

"There's heightened sensitivity to the fact that we only want to put people on furlough who . . . are not going to put people in jeopardy," said J. Michael Quinlan, director of the U.S. Bureau of Prisons. "Certainly, [the Horton case] was a factor Hopefully, I'm not immune from general common sense here."

That restrictiveness is illustrated in new figures compiled by Quinlan's bureau. In 1991, 3,190 furloughs were given to federal prison inmates, down from 4,610 four years earlier.

But the relative decline is actually far more drastic. During the same four-year period, the federal prison population skyrocketed, from 44,679 to 63,041. So the bureau's "average furlough rate," the number of furloughs granted per 100 inmates, has actually dropped by more than 50 percent.

Quinlan says there are sound correctional policies for the decline that transcend the controversy over the Horton ad, which was produced by the National Security Political Action Committee, a group that has said it had no affiliation with the Bush campaign. The federal government's war on drugs has produced a flood of new drug offenders pouring into federal prisons. Quinlan says such offenders, now more than half of all federal inmates, tend to be more violent and therefore more of a risk to let loose on a furlough. "Our population has changed dramatically," he said.

But some critics question the bureau's reasoning. Many of the new drug offenders in federal prisons are low-level couriers convicted under stiff mandatory sentencing laws—and have no record of violence. Moreover, the crackdown has been equally noticeable at minimum-security prisons. A report last year by Human Rights Watch found "visible" cutbacks among female inmates at the minimum-security prison in Danbury, Conn.

Alvin Bronstein, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union's National Prison Project, calls the furlough crackdown a clear response to political pressure. "They're not putting rapists, murderers and armed robbers in the federal system," he says. "They're putting in petty drug offenders and some white-collar criminals This is another example of how we make criminal justice policy in reaction to anecdote, not real policy concerns."

Although the issue was greatly inflamed by the Horton ad, the granting of furloughs has long been viewed by most correctional experts as a useful means of helping inmates become reacquainted to the community. Under longstanding federal guidelines in effect well before the crackdown, federal inmates were entitled to 15-hour unescorted furloughs within two years of their release and only then after they had been placed in "community custody"—an internal prison ranking that means they were judged no threat to society.

A recent survey by a newsletter for corrections experts found that all 50 state prison systems and the District continue to operate furlough-type programs. But experts say that, since the Horton ad, many states have begun to change the names of such programs, labeling them work-release or putting them in some other category.

"You get into definitional problems," said Lawrence Greenfeld, associate director of the Justice Department's Bureau of Justice Statistics. "The [states] will use all kinds of words rather than furlough."

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak An October Surprise?

In an effort to repeat past glories and exploit his foreign policy strong point, President Bush has amassed a wealth of new intelligence justifying a massive air attack against Saddam Hussein in a pre-election surprise that might revive Bush's forlorn presidency.

Bush has been given data showing that the United States underestimated by 50 percent Iraq's weapons of mass destruction: nuclear, chemical and biological. Two defectors claim Iraq had eight nuclear research facilities, double the four that were known. Even worse, the CIA now believes 800 Scud missiles remain intact, far more than reported at war's end.

The president will trumpet this new intelligence if he decides to strike against the Iraqi president and his war machine, which Bush boasted had been destroyed in Desert Storm. In a fortuitous throw of the political dice, the new intelligence could be used to justify putting Bush back at the helm in a glorious foreign policy crisis. His fallen presidency is in need of revival, as is his chaotic, leaderless reelection campaign.

But presidential aides are aware of the high political risk of a new foreign adventure that might fail. Even if it succeeded in ending Saddam's rule, voter suspicion of Bush's political motivation is so strong today, it might backfire. One administration source privately calls Bush "almost craven" in the abject way he is courting voters with self-criticism and sudden policy shifts that shatter his old principles.

Signals of possibly imminent action against the Iraqi dictator are plentiful in Washington, at the United Nations and in the government of British Prime Minister John Major. Major himself faces an early election. On Thursday, for the second time in five days, British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd raised the option of a military strike against Saddam Hussein. If Saddam persists in defying U.N. orders, he said, Major's government will consider a military strike—surprising language for the tired old British lion unless the United States was known to agree.

Commander-in-Chief Bush is well prepared for such a strike. He has stationed a "composite" air wing in Saudi Arabia, with stealthy F-117Cs, F-15Es and other strike aircraft. In the Persian Gulf and the nearby Arabian Sea, Bush now has an awesome capacity of 1,500-kilometer Tomahawk missiles. Backup submarines and aircraft carriers are available from the Mediterranean.

The threat of Iraq's hidden Scud arsenal has already had a frightening impact on Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates and Qatar. These states alone, according to the intelligence estimates, have placed orders for more than \$16 billion in U.S.-manufactured Patriot missiles. Although the Patriot's performance was far from perfect in the anti-Scud war before U.S.-led forces threw Iraq's forces out of Kuwait, it is still the best weapon available.

For months, Democratic politicians have been wondering whether Bush would try an "October surprise," a phrase coined in 1980 by Republicans who feared that President Carter would pull a pre-election "surprise"

Signals for a strike against Iraq come out of Washington, London and the United Nations.

and negotiate the freedom of American hostages in Tehran.

As Bush has sunk deeper into the quicksand of recession and faced humiliation from Patrick J. Buchanan in his campaign for the Republican presidential nomination, a decision by the president to unsheath his national security sword has looked more likely. Bush's surrogate campaigners have attacked Buchanan for having opposed the war against Iraq before it actually started.

A new war, which the Pentagon has informed the White House could be "packaged" at between four and 10 days of air attacks, might help dramatize Buchanan's 1990 pre-war opposition to freeing Kuwait. In fact, however, Buchanan's current "America first" foreign policy theme may fit the views of average voters today better than a new foreign adventure.

Thus Bush's tub-thumping over his victory in Desert Storm seems to leave many citizens more angry than grateful. They've forgotten, or want to forget, that long-ago war because it cannot solve unemployment, the high cost of homes, poor schools, dangerous streets or drugs—the meat and potatoes of the 1992 election.

In assessing the political effect of a new war against Saddam, the president's men will serve him better if they do not forget these mundane considerations.

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MONDAY, MARCH 9, 1992

The Washington Post

EPA's 2 Voices on Pollution Risks to Minorities

By Michael Weisskopf
Washington Post Staff Writer

Lewis Crampton, associate administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, privately called it "one of the most politically explosive environmental issues yet to emerge."

Yet when the EPA issued a report late last month on the risk of pollution to minorities, the public findings were as airy as the usual diagnosis of swollen glands: There seems to be a problem, but not enough data to know how bad.

Enough was known, however, for a top agency official to gauge the political stickiness of the issue and to chart a strategy for extricating the EPA. The "Environmental Equity Communication Plan," drafted by Crampton, shows how government often speaks in two voices—one modulated for public consumption, the other turned up internally for political damage control.

The published study hemmed and hawed on the question of environmental racism. But Crampton was less restrained in his memo stamped "priority confidential" in which he mapped out a detailed plan to win over mainstream civil rights groups critical of the EPA on the issue.

Crampton recommended the report be released in the days before the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday, when the news media were likely to give attention to such issues. He also recommended ways to show sensitivity to ethnic groups by translating air pollution regulations for dry cleaners into Korean and dispatching EPA Administrator William K. Reilly to address Hispanic leaders in Spanish.

These initiatives, Crampton wrote to Reilly's chief of staff, would burnish the agency's image before minority activists succeeded in making the EPA a "potential target" of protest, alongside polluters and local officials.

The EPA's 49-page study, entitled "Environmental Equity," was publicly released Feb. 24, 19 months after minority activists questioned the disproportionately high risks of pollution facing inner-city blacks, Hispanic farmworkers and American Indians.

The activists criticized the study as inconclusive.

But on Capitol Hill, even harsher criticism was reserved for the Crampton plan. Rep. Henry A. Waxman (D-Calif.), who released Crampton's memo at a hearing, said it shows that on environmental equity, the EPA is "concerned about appearance, not substance."

"The communication plan is a cynical divide-and-conquer strategy," Waxman said. "It seeks to drive a wedge between activist groups and traditional civil rights organizations."

EPA spokesman Dave Cohen said the plan was intended "solely to bring minority problems more prominent attention." Cohen said the memo was never seriously considered.

For example, the report was released more than a month after King's birthday was celebrated.

The "primary track" of Crampton's plan, Cohen said, was aimed at winning over such old-line groups as the NAACP with a series of "practical steps." Among them: the naming of a special assistant on environmental equity. The EPA's press office would then "persuade" the magazines Jet and Ebony, which have predominantly black readerships, to profile the new assistant.

A "second track" suggested ways to "deflect some of their [activists'] hostility from the agency by taking the initiative to grant them the respect and access they want and by finding some common group on which we can agree."

"Both tracks depend entirely on the degree to which our messages are credible," Crampton wrote.

One activist, however, found the communications plan only undermined the EPA's credibility. "It was pretty pathetic," said Benjamin F. Chavis Jr., executive director of the United Church of Christ's Commission for Racial Justice.

"If the EPA had a genuine concern about improving its relationship with the civil rights community, it would engage in dialogue with the community on some of its critical issues," Chavis said. "What the EPA has attempted to do is avoid dialogue and seduce certain members of the community."

How Congress Can Preserve Choice

MONDAY, MARCH 9, 1992

Pro-choice advocates are understandably worried that the Supreme Court will soon overturn or narrow the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision protecting a woman's right to choose abortion. They and their Congressional supporters are therefore moving to protect that right legislatively with a bill known as the Freedom of Choice Act. President Bush is already promising a veto.

Mr. Bush is hostile to liberty on two fronts. He first attacks on the judicial front, appointing Supreme Court justices likely to be unsympathetic to safeguards that have existed for nearly 20 years. Those justices want to force women to fight politically for their liberty. But then Mr. Bush says that even if women muster a political majority in Congress, their bill "will not become law as long as I am President."

Very well, let Congress work its will, and let President Bush work his. That would define the issue for the November elections regardless of how the Supreme Court decides the pending Pennsylvania abortion case. Such a political skirmish might help affirm that while nobody likes abortions, most people support the right to choose.

The bill says that states may not restrict that right at all before a fetus is viable. They may restrict the right after viability, but not when the woman's life or health is threatened. The Administration argues that this goes well beyond *Roe*

v. *Wade*; the language may indeed need clarifying.

Congress has clear power to secure this freedom by Federal law. Section 5 of the 14th Amendment says Congress may enforce due process and equal protection of rights with appropriate legislation. The power to regulate interstate commerce is another strong basis; a Court decision giving individual states the power to decide — meaning that a woman's rights are defined by where she lives — could impose excessive burdens on states that provide abortions.

The only shadow on Congress's power comes from some of the newer Supreme Court justices and the Justice Department; both have questioned rulings by the Warren and Burger Courts sustaining, for example, the Federal Voting Rights Act. But the present crew of judges and lawyers, who seek to topple established gains in civil rights and liberties, are not yet in total command. Congress need not be intimidated.

The freedom of choice bill is a regrettable necessity. Congress should not have to protect rights recognized in *Roe v. Wade*. That decision vindicated a woman's right to control her own destiny yet accommodated the public's increased interest in potential life in late pregnancy. But given the hostility of the executive branch and the justices it has appointed, Congress is rightly summoned to exercise its legitimate power.

The Editorial Notebook

The Beauty of the Flat Tax

Jerry Brown's upset victory in the Colorado primary has forced his opponents to pay attention to his campaign proposals, even those that sound oddball. Take the tax plan he extols in every debate: Scrap all Federal taxes and replace them with a 13 percent "flat tax" on each taxpayer's personal and corporate income. Mr. Brown is able to set such a low rate because he would eliminate nearly every deduction and exemption. Families would be allowed to deduct only mortgage interest, rent and charitable contributions.

Mr. Brown says his plan would cure nearly every national ailment. Because Congress would be taken out of the business of dishing out tax breaks, the political choke hold wielded by most powerful special interests would be broken. And because the marginal tax rates would be low, investment should spurt — bringing rapid rises in productivity and wages.

O.K. Mr. Brown exaggerates. But by less than seems obvious. While Mr. Bush and Congress are mired in petty debate over small-bore tax cuts, Mr. Brown is onto something wonderful.

To see why, first note that the existing tax code is riddled with wasteful contradictions. Everyone agrees, for example, that the U.S. desperately needs higher rates of saving and investment. Yet the existing code singles out investment income for double taxation: first at the corporate level, then again at the individual level when profit is distributed to shareholders as dividends. Congress builds in progressive tax rates so the rich will pay more than the poor. Then it builds layers of complexity and loopholes so that the progressive rates are effectively undone.

Enter Mr. Brown. Actually, enter Robert Hall, an ingenious economist at Stanford University who co-authored a dazzling tax plan that forms the basis of Mr. Brown's flat tax. Mr. Hall's plan shows how to build a code that taxes every dollar of income only once, subsidizes saving, favors the poor and is simple, simple, simple. Mr. Brown had the vision to seize a smart idea.

Under the Hall plan, individuals would pay tax on all labor income — wages, salaries and pension distributions. Corporations would pay tax on all capital income —

Jerry Brown Seizes Something Wonderful

interest and dividends — paid to creditors and shareholders and all fringe benefits provided to workers. Thus every dollar of income would be taxed once and only once. One

more wrinkle: Corporations would be allowed to deduct the full cost of investment in the first year.

What's the beauty of the plan? For starters, Mr. Hall's (and Mr. Brown's) plan would cleverly exempt saving. How so? To economists saving and investment are mirror images of the same activity; investment funds come from savings. By fully deducting investment, Mr. Hall and Mr. Brown thereby exempt savings. Mr. Brown rightfully boasts that investment should spurt, pulling wages up with it.

But tax codes that exempt savings are notoriously unfair to the poor, who typically save only a small percentage of their income. To make sure the poor come out ahead, all Mr. Brown would need to do is build generous tax credits and exemptions into the personal income tax. He'd no longer have a perfectly flat tax, but it would nonetheless work beautifully.

Look further. By exempting investment, corporations would no longer need to calculate allowances for wear and tear — depreciation. Gone would be a zillion pages of tax complexities. Also gone would be the need for individuals to pay tax on capital gains — which would be indirectly captured by the corporate levy. Throw out another zillion pages of tax code.

Indeed, under Mr. Hall's plan, tax forms would be no bigger than a postcard. Simply brilliant.

There are problems with the Hall plan, especially in figuring out how to make the transition from the current code to the new code. But the problems are solvable, leaving America with a code that would be simple, fair and — the President would be wise to listen — pro-growth.

The Hall plan does, alas, embrace one flaw, almost certainly fatal. If passed, it would create a small but devastating form of unemployment: among the 56 members of the House and Senate tax-writing committees. Hall-Brown is dead even before arrival.

MICHAEL M. WEINSTEIN

Experts Ponder the Politics of Declining Incomes

By ROBERT D. HERSHEY JR.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 8 — Americans' after-tax income is lower than it was three years ago, when George Bush became President, the Government has reported.

Many economists say the decline in this income gauge during the Bush Presidency could be an ominous portent for his re-election chances, and they cite the so-called pocketbook index to prove it.

For more than four decades, the correlation between personal income, after taxes and Presidential re-election rates has been tracked. Derived from the work of Edward Tufte, a Yale University professor, the index found that incumbent administrations had won 50 percent of the popular vote only when incomes had risen by annual rates of 3.4 percent.

The increase, after taxes and adjusted for inflation, is measured by comparing the personal income rates of the third quarter of 1988 with those of the July-to-September quarter of the previous year.

'It's Not Possible'

But with incomes over the latest four quarters contracting at an annual rate of six-tenths of 1 percent, and the economy still struggling to mount a sustainable recovery, many economists think there is practically no chance this standard can be met.

"I would think it's not possible" even if a solid recovery took hold this spring, said Lynn O. Michaelis, the chief economist for the Weyerhaeuser Company, the wood-products concern based in Tacoma, Wash. "Zero" possibility, added Bruce Steinberg, an economist with Merrill Lynch & Company in New York.

Jay N. Woodworth of the Bankers

Trust Company is one of the analysts who asserts that Mr. Bush is in danger of suffering the fate of the incumbent parties "in 1952, 1960, 1968, 1976 and 1980 who lost the election chiefly because of the poor performance of the U.S. economy."

Consumer sentiment and Gallup Poll popularity ratings are both "reasonably correlated" with incomes, Mr. Woodworth said, noting that in all five elections, incomes had risen by less than 2.8 percent a year. The losers, in some cases a President's would-be successor of the same party.

Few Presidents are re-elected when the 'pocketbook index' falls.

ty, rather than the President himself, were Adlai E. Stevenson, Richard M. Nixon, Hubert H. Humphrey, Gerald R. Ford and Jimmy Carter.

To be sure, several analysts are more sanguine in their economic outlook for election time, thinking the recovery is already under way. They point to the nation's total output, or gross domestic product, having risen, albeit at an average rate of less than 2 percent, for the latest three quarters. And other politico-economic barometers suggest brighter prospects for Mr. Bush.

Take the formula for predicting election outcomes created by Ray C. Fair, also a Yale professor, that stresses output and inflation. The more important of the two, he said, is the growth rate of the country's gross domestic product, adjusted for popu-

lation growth, in the six to nine months before Election Day. The other is the inflation rate in the two years before Election Day.

Assuming recovery takes hold and pushes the gross domestic product up this year at a 2 percent to 3 percent clip — somewhat higher than the 1.6 percent consensus of the economics fraternity — Professor Fair figures the President to get 53 percent to 59 percent of the vote.

Advantages of Incumbency

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able income as the most crucial factor in election results acknowledge that the traditional guides may not work this year because of different economic conditions.

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Other Side of the Coin

And what happens with jobs, can, of course, be seen in more than one light. "If you look at the 93 percent of the population still employed, you see their incomes are doing very poorly," said Lee Price, a senior economist for the Joint Economic Committee of Congress. The decline in income, many analysts say, is an important factor in the low state of consumer confidence, which in turn is holding back recovery.

However they view the numbers, economists generally agree that the figures will not get dramatically better for the President and that each month the recovery is delayed will make re-election less likely.

Already, said Mr. Steinberg of Merrill Lynch, "it's a contestable election."

How Congress Can Preserve Choice

Pro-choice advocates are understandably worried that the Supreme Court will soon overturn or narrow the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision protecting a woman's right to choose abortion. They and their congressional supporters are therefore moving to protect that right legislatively with a bill known as the Freedom of Choice Act. President Bush is already promising a veto.

Mr. Bush is hostile to liberty on two fronts. He first attacks on the judicial front, appointing Supreme Court justices likely to be unsympathetic to safeguards that have existed for nearly 20 years. Those justices want to force women to fight politically for their liberty. But then Mr. Bush says that even if women muster a political majority in Congress, their bill "will not become law as long as I am President."

Very well, let Congress work its will, and let President Bush work his. That would define the issue for the November elections regardless of how the Supreme Court decides the pending Pennsylvania abortion case. Such a political skirmish might help affirm that while nobody likes abortions, most people support the right to choose.

The bill says that states may not restrict that right at all before a fetus is viable. They may restrict the right after viability, but not when the woman's life or health is threatened. The Administration argues that this goes well beyond *Roe*

v. Wade; the language may indeed need clarifying. Congress has clear power to secure this freedom by Federal law. Section 5 of the 14th Amendment says Congress may enforce due process and equal protection of rights with appropriate legislation. The power to regulate interstate commerce is another strong basis; a Court decision giving individual states the power to decide — meaning that a woman's rights are defined by where she lives — could impose excessive burdens on states that provide abortions.

The only shadow on Congress's power comes from some of the newer Supreme Court justices and the Justice Department; both have questioned rulings by the Warren and Burger Courts sustaining, for example, the Federal Voting Rights Act. But the present crew of judges and lawyers, who seek to topple established gains in civil rights and liberties, are not yet in total command. Congress need not be intimidated.

The freedom of choice bill is a regrettable necessity. Congress should not have to protect rights recognized in *Roe v. Wade*. That decision vindicated a woman's right to control her own destiny yet accommodated the public's increased interest in potential life in late pregnancy. But given the hostility of the executive branch and the justices it has appointed, Congress is rightly summoned to exercise its legitimate power.

The Editorial Notebook

The Beauty of the Flat Tax

Jerry Brown's upset victory in the Colorado primary has forced his opponents to pay attention to his campaign proposals, even those that sound oddball. Take the tax plan he extols in every debate: Scrap all Federal taxes and replace them with a 13 percent "flat tax" on each taxpayer's personal and corporate income. Mr. Brown is able to set such a low rate because he would eliminate nearly every deduction and exemption. Families would be allowed to deduct only mortgage interest, rent and charitable contributions.

Mr. Brown says his plan would cure nearly every national ailment. Because Congress would be taken out of the business of dishing out tax breaks, the political choke hold wielded by most powerful special interests would be broken. And because the marginal tax rates would be low, investment should spurt — bringing rapid rises in productivity and wages.

O.K. Mr. Brown exaggerates. But by less than seems obvious. While Mr. Bush and Congress are mired in petty debate over small-bore tax cuts, Mr. Brown is onto something wonderful.

To see why, first note that the existing tax code is riddled with wasteful contradictions. Everyone agrees, for example, that the U.S. desperately needs higher rates of saving and investment. Yet the existing code singles out investment income for double taxation: first at the corporate level, then again at the individual level when profit is distributed to shareholders as dividends. Congress builds in progressive tax rates so the rich will pay more than the poor. Then it builds layers of complexity and loopholes so that the progressive rates are effectively undone.

Enter Mr. Brown. Actually, enter Robert Hall, an ingenious economist at Stanford University who co-authored a dazzling tax plan that forms the basis of Mr. Brown's flat tax. Mr. Hall's plan shows how to build a code that taxes every dollar of income only once, subsidizes saving, favors the poor and is simple, simple, simple. Mr. Brown had the vision to seize a smart idea.

Under the Hall plan, individuals would pay tax on all labor income — wages, salaries and pension distributions. Corporations would pay tax on all capital income —

Jerry Brown Seizes Something Wonderful

interest and dividends — paid to creditors and shareholders and all fringe benefits provided to workers. Thus every dollar of income would be taxed once and only once. One more wrinkle: Corporations would be allowed to deduct the full cost of investment in the first year.

What's the beauty of the plan? For starters, Mr. Hall's (and Mr. Brown's) plan would cleverly exempt saving. How so? To economists saving and investment are mirror images of the same activity; investment funds come from savings. By fully deducting investment, Mr. Hall and Mr. Brown thereby exempt savings. Mr. Brown rightfully boasts that investment should spurt, pulling wages up with it.

But tax codes that exempt savings are notoriously unfair to the poor, who typically save only a small percentage of their income. To make sure the poor come out ahead, all Mr. Brown would need to do is build generous tax credits and exemptions into the personal income tax. He'd no longer have a perfectly flat tax, but it would nonetheless work beautifully.

Look further. By exempting investment, corporations would no longer need to calculate allowances for wear and tear — depreciation. Gone would be a zillion pages of tax complexities. Also gone would be the need for individuals to pay tax on capital gains — which would be indirectly captured by the corporate levy. Throw out another zillion pages of tax code.

Indeed, under Mr. Hall's plan, tax forms would be no bigger than a postcard. Simply brilliant.

There are problems with the Hall plan, especially in figuring out how to make the transition from the current code to the new code. But the problems are solvable, leaving America with a code that would be simple, fair and — the President would be wise to listen — pro-growth.

The Hall plan does, alas, embrace one flaw, almost certainly fatal. If passed, it would create a small but devastating form of unemployment: among the 56 members of the House and Senate tax-writing committees. Hall-Brown is dead even before arrival.

MICHAEL M. WEINSTEIN

Experts Ponder the Politics of Declining Incomes

By ROBERT D. HERSHEY Jr.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 8 — Americans' after-tax income is lower than it was three years ago, when George Bush became President, the Government has reported.

Many economists say the decline in this income gauge during the Bush Presidency could be an ominous portent for his re-election chances, and they cite the so-called pocketbook index to prove it.

For more than four decades, the correlation between personal income after taxes and Presidential re-election rates has been tracked. Derived from the work of Edward Tufte, a Yale University professor, the index found that incumbent administrations had won 50 percent of the popular vote only when incomes had risen by annual rates of 3.4 percent.

The increase, after taxes and adjusted for inflation, is measured by comparing the personal income rates of the third quarter of 1988 with those of the July-to-September quarter of the previous year.

'It's Not Possible'

But with incomes over the latest four quarters contracting at an annual rate of six-tenths of 1 percent, and the economy still struggling to mount a sustainable recovery, many economists think there is practically no chance this standard can be met. "I would think it's not possible" even if a solid recovery took hold this spring, said Lynn O. Michaelis, the chief economist for the Weyerhaeuser Company, the wood-products concern based in Tacoma, Wash. "Zero" possibility, added Bruce Steinberg, an economist with Merrill

Trust Company is one of the analysts who asserts that Mr. Bush is in danger of suffering the fate of the incumbent parties "in 1952, 1960, 1968, 1976 and 1980 who lost the election chiefly because of the poor performance of the U.S. economy."

Consumer sentiment and Gallup Poll popularity ratings are both "reasonably correlated" with incomes, Mr. Woodworth said, noting that in all five elections, incomes had risen by less than 2.8 percent a year. The losers, in some cases a President's would-be successor of the same party.

Few Presidents are re-elected when the 'pocketbook index' falls.

ty, rather than the President himself, were Adlai E. Stevenson, Richard M. Nixon, Hubert H. Humphrey, Gerald R. Ford and Jimmy Carter.

To be sure, several analysts are more sanguine in their economic outlook for election time, thinking the recovery is already under way. They point to the nation's total output, or gross domestic product, having risen, albeit at an average rate of less than 2 percent, for the latest three quarters. And other politico-economic barometers suggest brighter prospects for Mr. Bush.

Take the formula for predicting election outcomes created by Ray C. Fair, also a Yale professor, that stresses output and inflation. The more important of the two, he said, is the growth rate of the country's gross

national product, in the six to nine months before Election Day. The other is the inflation rate in the two years before Election Day.

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Israelis Say They May Drop Bid for U.S. Loan Support

By CLYDE HABERMAN
Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, March 8 — Israeli Government leaders have strongly suggested in a series of recent statements that they are ready to abandon their request for United States loan guarantees in the face of American demands that they stop building Jewish settlements in occupied territories.

A growing number of senior officials have actively urged the Government to withdraw its aid request, which involves \$10 billion in loan guarantees to help resettle hundreds of thousands of new immigrants from the former Soviet Union.

The most recent such advice came from Housing Minister Ariel Sharon, the driving force behind a boom in settlement construction that has taken place over the last two years.

"I would give up on the matter," said Mr. Sharon, who strengthened his political position last week as the governing Likud Party picked its candidates for June parliamentary elections.

"I would announce, 'Thank you very much,'" he told a group of high-school students on Friday, "and make a very big effort to raise these funds from other sources."

No Dictating by U.S.

Other Likud Cabinet ministers have said that if the Bush Administration insists on telling Israel to choose between loan guarantees and settlements, they would tell the Americans to keep their aid. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir sounded a similar note this weekend with a warning that Israel would not allow Washington to tell it what to do, either in this case or in the Middle East peace talks, which ended another inconclusive round in Washington last week.

"I think almost all the political factions in Israel would not accept a situation in which the American Administration would dictate our policy, whether about settlements today or about other territorial issues tomorrow," he told the army radio.

Mr. Shamir's advisers say he still wants the loan guarantees, and believes that a compromise can somehow

be worked out despite the unbending insistence of Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d that settlement-building must first come to an end. But on a not-for-attribution basis, senior officials acknowledge that they have essentially given up hope for the aid, certainly until after the June 23 elections here.

In a further sign that the Israeli Government was ready to pass up the assistance, its Ambassador to the United States, Zalman Shoval, said in Washington that if there were "tough conditions" in a compromise bill being worked on in Congress, it was possible that "Israel will have to reassess its request."

Mistrust of Baker Deepens

The Israeli Government's mistrust of Mr. Baker seems to have deepened in the last few days. It follows press reports — denied by Mr. Baker's office — that he discussed with senators the possibility of cutting Israel's regular economic aid of \$1.2 billion a year if it does not freeze settlements, and that he used a vulgar Anglo-Saxon verb in talking about American Jews with Bush campaign advisers.

The obscenity was reported on Friday in a column written for The New York Post by former Mayor Edward I. Koch of New York City. Although the report was dismissed as "garbage" by Mr. Baker's spokeswoman, Margaret Tutwiler, it was carried today in all Israeli newspapers. One of the more sober dailies, Haaretz, splashed the supposed remarks, in English and startlingly uncensored, across the top of page one.

Another newspaper, Maariv, said in an editorial that whether or not the Koch report was accurate, "those who claim that the man cannot serve as an honest broker in the Israeli-Arab conflict will use this as proof."

Israel has sought the guarantees so it can borrow money from private banks at more favorable interest rates than it would normally get. The United States is not being asked to lend the money itself but rather to stand by as a guarantor. In that position, it would probably be required under the law to

set aside several hundred million dollars to be used in the event — an improbable event, officials here say — of an Israeli default.

Senior officials here accuse Mr. Baker of interfering in their domestic poli-

tics, seeking, they charge, to create a climate that would enhance the opposition Labor Party's chances for electoral victory in June. Labor is calling for the settlement freeze that Washington wants.

Senator Bentsens Soft Sell Of a Hardball Tax Package

By ADAM CLYMER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 8 — The favorite fallback Presidential candidate of many Democrats is managing the most partisan tax bill in years, and the Republicans aren't complaining about it.

Senator Lloyd Bentsen is trying to put the President between an election year rock and a hard place. If Mr. Bush signs a bill like Mr. Bentsen's, he will be approving a tax increase for the well-to-do. If he vetoes it, the President will be rejecting a \$300-a-child tax credit for middle-class parents, wider access to health insurance and easier conditions on Individual Retirement Accounts and college loans. The White House is threatening a veto, but it does so without the bitter scorn it heaped on a similar tax bill the House passed after angry debate.

Some of the difference in tone is institutional, for in the long run nothing important gets done in the Senate without some bipartisan cooperation; smart Senators do not burn political bridges.

And some of the difference can be explained by the minimal enthusiasm

many Republican Senators have for Mr. Bush's proposals and the innovative accounting that is supposed to make those proposals fiscally sound. The measures were drafted to cater mostly to conservative House Republicans like Newt Gingrich of Georgia.

But Mr. Bentsen's style matters even more. The chairman of the Senate Finance Committee expected no Republican votes in committee last week. But even so, he explained the bill patiently to Republican Senators one on one. He will need their help, and they will need his some other time.

No Personal Attacks

And when the courtly 71-year-old Texan justifies the bill and particularly the \$300 credits, he does not get personal. He does not call Mr. Bush or Republican senators tools of the wealthy or accuse them of being heedless of the needy. He usually leaves it to other Democrats to point out who was President when the tax burden on the middle class rose in the 1980's.

He does say that it looks like Mr. Bush's policies are being held hostage by Patrick Buchanan's threat from the right. But even here, Mr.



Senator Lloyd Bentsen

Bentsen seems to be pulling punches, giving the impression but never saying outright that he considers Mr. Bush's retreats on issues like the 1990 budget agreement cowardly.

At the committee meeting last week, some Republicans derided Mr. Bentsen's bill as worth only "84 cents a day" per child. His response was

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Soft-Selling a Hardball Tax Package

Continued From First Business Page

not so much to them individually as to critics "inside the Beltway." He said in an interview that "out there where the folks are, when they are sitting down to talk about how they'd pay the grocery bill or the doctors' bills or keep the car from being repossessed, they think that is meaningful."

Another factor that turns away G.O.P. wrath is that Mr. Bentsen does not seem to be doing any of this for himself. He has long said that he will not run for President, and he kept saying it even when other Democrats begged him to change his mind when the heat was on Governor Bill Clinton of Arkansas.

He says he is "a happy man," who considers tax cuts and health insurance important. "I'm in a position of responsibility where I think I can make a difference," he said. "That's what I hired out to do."

But there is a faint crack left open. He does not deny wondering if he made the right choice when he decided not to run last summer, at a time when President Bush seemed unbeatable. And, when asked how he thinks the Democratic race will shake down, he observed: "For the first time in a long time, we could certainly get to the convention without anyone a clear winner. That is a possibility."

And it is the one possibility, if the process continued at the convention past a couple of ballots, that might get Mr. Bentsen — the 1988 Vice Presidential nominee and a hopeful in 1976 — into the 1992 race.

But that prospect is remote, and the tax bill is close at hand.

The way Mr. Bentsen assembled the legislation is instructive, for at its heart, the bill is his: Mr. Bentsen proposed the \$300 credits last fall, scaling back their reach a bit in this bill. He and Senator William V. Roth Jr., Republican of Delaware, proposed the renewed deductibility of I.R.A. contributions and other new I.R.A.'s with income that would be tax

Smart senators, Mr. Bentsen knows, burn no political bridges.

free. And it was Mr. Bentsen who proposed legislation to ease access to health insurance, especially for small businesses and their workers.

Basically, the bill is paid for by raising the maximum individual tax rate from 31 to 36 percent on couples with incomes over \$175,000, and applying a 10 percent surcharge on taxes owed for income over \$1 million. Mr. Bentsen contended last week that "over 70 Senators would be affected and some of them pretty hard hit" by these provisions. He added, "that includes the chairman."

Aside from its revenue source, however, the bill is a basic Senate tax bill, with lots of little provisions that appeal to one or more of the 11 Democrats on the Finance Committee. Mr. Bentsen made no changes in it after talking to the nine Republicans. "We didn't offer him anything," explained Senator John C. Danforth of Missouri, one of his good friends in the Senate.

But the Democrats each had something to demand in exchange for their votes. Unless all of them voted for the bill, the nine Republicans on the committee could keep it from passing.

Each Vote Has a Price

Senator Jay Rockefeller of West Virginia may have been bluntest. He insisted that the bill include a tax on coal companies to replenish the United Mine Workers Health Care Fund. He got that provision after scaling it back but making clear that it was the price of his vote.

There are other examples: Senator Donald W. Riegle of Michigan got a provision raising tariffs on imported mini-vans and other recreational vehicles. Mr. Bentsen said, "I think we had his vote before that, but he certainly did it with much more enthusiasm after that."

Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York won a postponement of one year, and a savings of \$450 million, in the application of new tax rules for securities dealers, whose industry is centered in New York even more than cars are concentrated in Michigan or coal in West Virginia.

Not every provision was particularly local in application, however. Senator Bill Bradley of New Jersey got a new sort of college loan included, on a pilot basis. Senator David L. Boren of Oklahoma secured the addition of a measure allowing college student loan interest to be treated

either as a deduction or a tax credit. Senator John Breaux of Louisiana won inclusion of an apprenticeship program. Mr. Moynihan argued successfully for eliminating the \$150 million limit on bonds issued by private universities.

And so on. "We put in some long hours," Mr. Bentsen said. "That goes with the job."

Still, the general expectation is that this bill will be vetoed. That may diminish controversy around it in the Senate, reducing, for example, liberal pressure to make the credits refundable to provide cash to families whose incomes are too small for the credits to count.

But why have there been amendments if the bill is going nowhere? "All of us think this gives us our first footnote," explained Mr. Moynihan. "There it is in print."

There will be another bill sometime, perhaps even this year, and pet clauses that survive even to the veto stage have improved their chances of becoming law someday.

Mr. Bentsen says he does not know when there will be another bill. Until then, he will keep on with the sort of exercise that seems perfect for the Senate: jogging 30 to 40 minutes on a treadmill every morning, working up a sweat just staying in the same place.

Mexico Grew 3.6% in 1991

MEXICO CITY, March 8 (Reuters) — The Mexican economy expanded at a rate of 3.6 percent in real terms in 1991, the Finance Ministry has reported. The figure fell short of the Government's forecast of 4 percent growth.

The Finance Ministry said the preliminary results were affected in part by a revision in the 1990 figure to 4.4 percent growth from 3.9 percent.

Including 1991 data, the Mexican economy has grown by an average 3.8 percent in the last three years, the statement said.

Growth last year was led by strength in investment and exports, the ministry said.

The service sector — including restaurants and hotels, transportation, and financial services — grew at a rate of 4.3 percent and its share of total gross domestic product climbed to 61 percent.

The industrial sector grew 3.1 percent from 1990 levels, lifted by a 3.7 percent growth in manufacturing, a 2.6 percent jump in construction and a 4.1 percent rise in the electrical sector.

My Partner, the Pope

By Mikhail S. Gorbachev

I have carried on an intensive correspondence with Pope John Paul II since we met at the Vatican in December 1989. And I think ours will be an ongoing dialogue.

The sense of mutual affection and understanding that resulted from our meeting is to be found in each of our letters. I cannot help but say that we share a desire to move forward and complete what we began together. Personally, I would be glad to take any opportunity to continue working with the Pope, and I am certain that this desire is mutual and will prove lasting.

It is very difficult to describe the relationship which took shape between the Pope and myself because

This article first appeared in the Italian newspaper La Stampa of Turin. It was translated from the Russian by Richard Lourie.

the intuitive, personal element is always of great importance in such relationships. Simply put, when I was with him, I realized that the Pope had also played a role in what we came to call the new political thinking.

I am prepared to acknowledge that his speeches included many ideas that were in harmony with ours. The closeness between us of which I have just spoken was not only personal, but intellectual. What I have always held in high esteem about the Pope's thinking and ideas is their spiritual content, their striving to foster the development of a new world civilization.

Besides being Pope, John Paul II is also a Slav and, of course, that too was conducive to our mutual understanding. I remain convinced, however, that the closeness of spirit that was established between us was of much greater significance than the fact that we both are Slavs.

Now it can be said that everything that took place in Eastern Europe in recent years would have been impossible without the Pope's efforts and

We're both Slavs, but our affection runs much deeper.

the enormous role, including the political role, he played in the world arena.

I think that the very significant steps we took in our own country played a part in developing relations with the Vatican; in particular, we understood the need for ties between the Russian Orthodox and Catholic churches. This facilitated the establishing of relations between our country and the Vatican.

One of perestroika's especially important contributions in this regard was the passing of a law on freedom of religion. We restored the rights of the Russian Orthodox Church which had suffered greatly in the years of Stalinism.

At the same time, we also acknowl-

edged the role of other religions — and nearly all the world's religions are to be found in our country. Here I am speaking of the process of liberation which is of enormous moral significance for all our citizens, both the religious and non-religious alike.

I am certain that the actions undertaken by Pope John Paul II are of immense significance. I have already spoken of his high spirituality.

I was also struck by his human qualities. In a word, he is a great man: I would not wish to exaggerate, but it is my impression that the Pope is a great source of energy, and he elicits a deep sense of confidence. Pope John Paul II will play an enormous political role now that profound changes have occurred in European history.

We are currently in a transitional period when the human being, the human person, must truly have the decisive role in society.

Everything that can serve to strengthen man's consciousness and spirit is today of much greater importance than ever before. □

Democratic and Republican Women Take 2 Paths Toward Abortion Rights

By MARTIN TOLCHIN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 8 — Seeking an election-year showdown on abortion rights, Democrats and Republicans in Congress have begun separate initiatives intended to preserve a woman's right to an abortion.

Republican women in the House and Senate are among the sponsors of a new group formed to raise money for female Republican candidates who support abortion rights.

The group calls itself Wish List, for "Women in the Senate and House," its goal. But the group also intends to support candidates for governor, and even mayor, when there are races it considers strategically important.

Freedom of Choice Act

At the same time, a group of House Democrats is seeking passage for a bill called the Freedom of Choice Act that would prohibit a state from restricting the right of a woman to terminate a pregnancy before fetal viability, or at

any time if necessary to protect the life or health of a woman. When a fetus can live by itself outside the womb is a matter of debate.

"We want abortion rights to be a focus in this election," Representative Patricia Schroeder, the Colorado Democrat who is a sponsor of the legislation, said in an interview. "Congress is the only thing standing in the way of repeal of Roe v. Wade," the 1973 Supreme Court decision that established a woman's right to an abortion.

Wish List, which last month raised \$100,000 for female Republican candidates who support abortion rights, was founded by Senator Nancy Kassebaum of Kansas, the only Republican woman in the Senate, and six of the nine Republican women in the House.

"I think it's long overdue," Representative Olympia J. Snowe, a Republican of Maine and member of Wish List, said in an interview. "There are so few Republican women in the U.S. Congress, and no governors. Once you have

Congress is asked to approve abortion rights legislation.

an organization devoted to electing more Republican women who are pro-choice, you assemble the necessary resources to achieve that goal."

Although President Bush strongly opposes abortion, Republican leaders are concerned about a possible loss of support in the face of judicial restrictions of abortion rights and have said the party was large enough to accommodate all views on the issue.

Ms. Schroeder cited opinion polls that she said indicated that 69 percent of all voters, including more than 60 percent of Republican voters, favored

Federal legislation to guarantee abortion rights.

But Douglas Johnson, legislative director of the National Right to Life Committee, said: "We don't see a ground swell of support for abortion in the polls. We see pollsters who ask Americans, 'Under what circumstances should abortion be legal?' and find a majority or near majority supporting the President's position that abortion should be unlawful except to save the mother's life or in cases of rape or incest."

Backlash Is Predicted

Representative Christopher H. Smith, a New Jersey Republican who opposes abortion, said he welcomed a Congressional showdown because "the penalty for supporting abortion on demand will attach itself to Congressional incumbents and challengers."

A New York Times-CBS poll of 1,281 people conducted last Jan. 22-25 found that 40 percent believed that "abortion should be generally available to those

who want it," 39 percent thought that "abortion should be available but under stricter limits than it is now," 19 percent agreed that "abortion should not be permitted," and 2 percent had no opinion. The poll had a margin of sampling error of plus or minus three percentage points.

Even if Congress passed the Freedom of Choice Act, there is no certainty that the President would not veto it. But Kate Michelman, president of the National Abortion Rights Action League, said, "The President has bowed to pressure on other issues, and who knows, the pro-choice pressure may get so great that a miracle might happen."

But some Congressional Democratic leaders said that even though they favored abortion rights, they had reservations about the bill. Senator George J. Mitchell of Maine, the majority leader, said last month that although he supported the bill's purpose he had "concerns about the use of a statute to define and secure a constitutional

right." If a majority of Congress could establish abortion rights, he said, a future Congress could undo those rights.

The House Speaker, Thomas S. Foley of Washington, told reporters on Wednesday that he wanted to wait until the next Supreme Court ruling on an abortion case before bringing the bill to the floor. A Foley aide said that the Speaker felt that the legislation could be tailored to restore any rights that were lost in the pending case, involving Pennsylvania's restrictions on abortions, which were upheld last October by a Federal appeals court.

Under the Pennsylvania law, women under 18 years of age would need parental consent for an abortion or a court ruling waiving such consent. Another provision would require that women seeking an abortion must give their "informed consent," which would require them to wait 24 hours after counseling from a doctor before an abortion is performed.

The 1992 Campaign

"If Clinton or Tsongas think Jerry will be out soon, they've got a big surprise coming." TOM QUINN

Political Memo

Tsongas Runs Hard on a Tightrope As He Reluctantly Goes on Offensive

By RICHARD L. BERKE
Special to The New York Times

NASHVILLE, March 8 — Paul E. Tsongas, who leapt to the top of the Democratic Presidential field as a candidate above rough-and-tumble politics, sat back in his stocking feet on his campaign plane and allowed that his one big regret so far was using commercials that attacked Gov. Bill Clinton.

"I don't like it," he confided. "It doesn't sit well with me."

But when Mr. Tsongas stepped off the plane the other night his tone turned from docile to hostile. Pouncing hard, he heaped adjectives like "unprincipled" and "cynical" about the Arkansas Governor.

Could it be that Mr. Tsongas, the anti-politician, the candidate who would not be packaged, is really like those he professes not to like?

Though he has tried out new frames for his glasses and now wears telegenic red-striped ties, Mr. Tsongas will always look more like a math teacher than a would-be President. He looked downright sour this morning in Nashville, where he was campaigning for Tuesday's Tennessee primary, as his aides powdered his nose for his appearance on the ABC News program "This Week."

A Delicate Predicament

Yet as he seeks to sell himself to a national audience, the former Massachusetts Senator has recently begun to behave more like one of the slick politicians he says he is not. As the primary campaign escalates into a hard-fought contest with Mr. Clinton, Mr. Tsongas is now facing the delicate predicament of trying to package himself to compete against a more polished and better organized opponent, but do so in a such a way that he does not lose the aura of not being packaged at all.

The man who called for a moratorium on attack commercials is now broadcasting them. The man who says he is not Santa Claus proposed

tax breaks to oil and gas producers just days before the Texas primary on Tuesday. And the man who is clearly more enthusiastic talking about things like "strategic investments" and "global equilibrium" is now slicing into his opponent with personal attacks.

Guiding Mr. Tsongas's behavior is the ghost of Michael S. Dukakis, another Greek-American from Massachusetts. The former Senator's aides say the candidate, and they themselves, are terrified that unless he is

The candidate tries to remember what got him where he is.

perceived as a fierce competitor he will be written off as a pushover like Mr. Dukakis, who refused to respond quickly and aggressively to George Bush's attacks in 1988 and lost the election.

"You're damned if you do, damned if you don't," Mr. Tsongas said in an interview as he picked at a fajita on the 727 charter that carries his entourage. "What are my alternatives? Not responding subjects me to, 'Is he tough enough?' Or I respond. Those are my two choices."

But There Are Risks

But Mr. Tsongas's new aggressiveness has risks, too. This weekend Mr. Clinton, in an effort to strip his chief rival of his tell-it-like-it-is veneer, branded Mr. Tsongas as "a very carefully calculating politician."

When he ran against and defeated Senator Edward W. Brooke in 1978, Mr. Tsongas said, "that was just sheer ambition." He now says that after leaving the Senate in 1984 to

battle life-threatening cancer pure ambition is "not how I think anymore — I can say no to things that other people cannot."

Mr. Tsongas points out that he rejected pleas from his advisers that he favor a tax cut for the middle class, a proposal he called "economic nonsense," as well as suggestions to abandon his gasoline-tax proposal.

While he has not enlisted a battery of image makers, Mr. Tsongas does take advice on how to present himself, and he listened to advisers who told him that his self-deprecating comments did not make him look Presidential. "Some people have said I should not be so self-effacing," he said, "so I've stopped a lot of that."

The Bears Have Claws

Yet it seemed like politics as usual on Saturday when Mr. Tsongas, appearing before a Jewish group in Miami Beach, called upon Mr. Clinton to join him and "not attack each other."

That prompted Thelma Strassberger, who was in the audience, to mutter under her breath, "So put away the teddy bear." The night before, Mr. Tsongas waved around a prop — a teddy bear — as he accused Mr. Clinton of being a "pander bear."

Campaigning in Texas the other day, Mr. Tsongas proposed \$450 million in annual tax incentives for small oil and gas producers, a proposal he defended by saying it would be financed by his gasoline tax.

The same day at the University of Dallas, a conservative Roman Catholic institution, Senator David L. Boren of Oklahoma introduced Mr. Tsongas at a noontime rally by declaring, "We have had enough of politicians telling us what they think we want to hear."

Polishing the Message

But in addressing the college audience, Mr. Tsongas left out of his speech his standard lines that he has the strongest stands of the Democratic contenders on homosexual rights and abortion rights.



In Nashville, where Paul E. Tsongas was scheduled to campaign for tomorrow's Tennessee primary, young spectators tried to catch a glimpse of the

candidate Saturday night as he arrived at Nashville airport from Miami. The children were, from left, Cody and Lacey Brown, and Matthew Green.

Denying that he was being overtly political, Mr. Tsongas defended himself. "I don't use the same thing in every place," he said. "This was a religious college, and I wanted to talk about purpose and spirituality. And with the energy producers, I don't talk about manufacturing."

Robert Shrum, a consultant who advised Senator Bob Kerrey of Nebraska before the Senator withdrew from the race last week, said Mr. Tsongas "could afford to come off as more polished."

But he said it was foolish for Mr. Tsongas to travel to Texas offering incentives for oil and gas producers.

"It calls into question the authenticity of his basic message," Mr. Shrum said, "and I think it's a big mistake."

Though polls show that credibility is one of the best things Mr. Tsongas has, not all voters are buying his earnest, unvarnished approach.

Rustling Up Votes?

After the candidate appeared Friday at the financially troubled America West Airlines Inc. in Phoenix, Randall Stonchouse, a 30-year-old jet mechanic, said he was not impressed with Mr. Tsongas's assurances that he would improve prospects for American workers.

"Career politician," Mr. Stonchouse said. "He just came here to rustle up votes. I'm working two jobs, and I make \$37,000 to \$40,000. But I still can't afford to buy a house."

Ed Jesser, Mr. Tsongas's communications director and a veteran Democratic worker, said people should not confuse the former Senator's lack of polish with political naiveté. "It's not for no reason that he's never been beaten at all," Mr. Jesser said. "His candidacies, without exception, have been a joke. The joke is, of course, that he won them all."

No Longer Target of Jokes, Brown Becomes a Force

By ROBERT REINHOLD
Special to The New York Times

SANTA MONICA, Calif., March 8 — Former Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, the butt of so many Republican jokes, is no longer a joke.

The introspective, ascetic Mr. Brown has developed a loyal, even passionate, following with his message of disaffection and calls for a national health care system and a program for nonpolluting energy sources. Yet he has a campaign staff of only seven paid workers, only two of them with political experience, no paid political consultants or speech writers, little advertising and almost no money because he has imposed a limit of \$100 per contributor, a 10th the legal limit for individuals.

Mr. Brown has now emerged as a potent force after winning the Colorado primary last Tuesday and making strong showings in Maine, Utah, Washington and other states.

Many political experts are beginning to say that he could well go to the Democratic National Convention in New York with enough delegates to play a pivotal role should neither of the

front-runner, Gov. Bill Clinton and former Senator Paul E. Tsongas, have enough votes to win the nomination. Just what Mr. Brown might want in exchange for his support remains uncertain.

All this has been achieved by one of the most unlikely major political campaigns in many a year. Mr. Brown, who will turn 54 years old on April 7 and has been in politics for more than 20 years, has portrayed himself as an "insurgent" outsider against the established system. As of March 3, he had raised only \$1,070,108, most of it through a toll-free telephone number, from 19,406 small contributors. This is less than a fifth of what Mr. Clinton has raised.

'A Natural Constituency'

"Because Jerry is so irritating to many people, offensive to many in the press, there is a proclivity to say he's a jerk," said Richard Maullin, a Los Angeles political strategist who Mr. Brown appointed chairman of the California Energy Commission when he was Governor. "But there is a segment of the electorate that is a natural constituency for him."

That constituency, according to recent exit polls conducted at state primaries, tends to be those voters who have grown up in the post-Vietnam, post-Watergate era of political cynicism. "It tends to be a person who has not voted before," said Mr. Brown's campaign manager, Jodie Evans, his long-time aide and fund-raiser.

An exit poll conducted by Voter Research and Surveys of voters leaving polling places in Colorado last Tuesday



Edmund G. Brown Jr.

Profile

Jokes Silenced, Brown Becomes a Force

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found significant differences between Brown voters and those who preferred Mr. Clinton or Mr. Tsongas. The Brown voters tended to be younger, better educated, more liberal and far more concerned about the environment.

Joseph Scott, a Los Angeles political commentator, calls it the "MTV vote." For example, of the Colorado voters who cited the environment as a top issue influencing their votes, 55 percent supported Mr. Brown, 19 percent Mr. Tsongas and 12 percent Mr. Clinton. On the other hand, the much larger number who cited the economy and jobs as the top issue were much less likely to vote for Mr. Brown.

Mr. Brown has commissioned only two polls, one in Iowa and the other in New Hampshire. Donald D. McDonough of Evans/McDonough Inc., which did the surveys, said the results showed Mr. Brown benefits from cynicism and pessimism over government.

Slightly Disorganized

The national Brown campaign operates out of a high-ceilinged ground-floor suite of offices in a modernistic office park in this seaside Los Angeles suburb. About 50 volunteers, most of them too young to remember the Vietnam War, do the drudge work. The mood reflects the candidate's personality: slightly disorganized and easily distracted.

The operation is hand-to-mouth, orders for television time and other decisions being made day to day depending on how much money comes in daily through the 800 number. "Operators standing by and so is media consultant," joked the media consultant, Sidney Galanty, whose Santa Monica firm, Galanty & Company, produced a 30-minute documentary-style commercial on Mr. Brown that is being shown on various television and cable channels in crucial states.

But what the campaign lacks in money and professional support is offset by Mr. Brown's intellect and energy. "People who write off Jerry Brown do not realize he's the brightest guy running for President," said Tom Quinn, who managed some of his earlier campaigns. "He's willing to work day and night."

Unlike the other campaigns, the small Brown entourage usually travels by commercial flight, though in recent days that has become more difficult with the addition of newly interested news crews. To save money, Mr. Brown usually sleeps at the homes of supporters rather than in hotels.

For political advice, Mr. Brown relies mainly on Ms. Evans, his campaign manager, and Michael Ford, a political strategist from Maryland. Aides say he also regularly consults with the political strategist who engineered Jimmy Carter's 1976 race for President, Patrick H. Caddell, who is not paid.

Religion and Introspection

During the recent Colorado race, Mr. Brown talked about his race with the mixture of religion and introspection that have long marked the political career of this former Jesuit seminarian. He said he meditated in a Trappist monastery for a few weeks before be-

ing to make sure of "purity of intention." Asked if he succeeded in being pure, he responded, "That's the goal — the ego is always intruding."

Friends say Mr. Brown, the son of former Gov. Edmund G. Brown of California, has eyed the Presidency since 1971, soon after he was elected California Secretary of State when he was 33. Four years later, he was elected Governor and while in office ran for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1976, winning six late primaries but losing to Jimmy Carter. After re-election in 1978, he again tried for President in 1980, but won no primaries. In 1982, his political career went into eclipse after he lost a race for the United States Senate to Pete Wilson, who is now the Republican Governor of California.

Having a cushion from a substantial financial base provided by his wealthy father, Mr. Brown, who is not married, took seven years after that defeat to work with Mother Teresa and study Zen Buddhism in Japan. His return to politics came in 1989 when he sought

ably. By August 1988, with Mr. Brown out of office and away, the rating turned negative, 50-44. By February 1991, just after he announced his intention to run for Senate, the rating was 40-40, and it had hardly changed by the time he dropped out of the Senate race to run for President, standing at 42 percent favorable to 41 unfavorable. (The margin of sampling error ranged from 3 to 5 percentage points either way, depending on size of sample.)

Message of Change

His campaign for President rests on several pillars. The main one is a vague attack on the system in which he promises to "deliver a message to those who run the United States of America like a private club that we are going to work change." His platform includes a flat 13 percent Federal tax on income and goods and services, with deductions only for charitable giving, home mortgage interest and rent; a national health care system, and a vigorous program to develop energy sources that are nonpolluting.

For now, the goal is to stay alive in the primaries. Without money to buy much television advertising, Mr. Brown relies mainly on free broadcast time, like radio talk shows. In addition, Mr. Galanty has bought television time for the 30-minute commercial in primary states and some unconventional national outlets, like the Discovery science channel on cable. He spent only \$65,000 on media in New Hampshire and \$38,000 in Colorado, compared with hundreds of thousands by the Clinton and Tsongas campaigns.

The program confronts directly the "Gov. Moonbeam" problem, saying that conventional politicians and big companies began to call him names because he would not go along with their game.

Mr. Brown's main vulnerability is the charge that he is a hypocrite because, in previous campaigns and as Democratic chairman, he raised millions from the special interests he now denounces. As recently as Sept. 24, 1990, when he was chairman, he applauded a Federal judge's ruling that struck down a initiative voters passed to pay limits on campaign contributions, calling it a "pernicious" measure that aids incumbents. Now he says such limits are needed to oust incumbents.

His explanation for the apparent discrepancy is that he learned the corrupting influence of major contributors when he was chairman.

While many leading Democrats here are dubious about this change of heart, few dismiss the Brown candidacy. "All of us laughed at Paul Tsongas 10 months ago," said Phil Angelides, who succeeded Mr. Brown as chairman of the California Democratic Party.

The experts are divided over whether Mr. Brown, given his high negatives in his home state, can win the June 2 primary here. But almost all agree he has a rock-solid support of one-third to one-half of Democrats, assuring him a good portion of the delegates from the largest state.

And given the low cost of his campaign, there is every reason to believe he will stay for the duration. As Mr. Quinn put it: "If Clinton or Tsongas think Jerry will be out soon, they've got

With no money
and no staff, a
bona fide
campaign.

and won the chairmanship of the California Democratic Party, then quit that post in March 1991 to run for the Senate, only to drop out of that race in September to run for President.

Strong, Divided Opinions

As Governor, Mr. Brown was seen as a visionary thinker by some, a flake by others. His insistence on living in a \$250-a-month apartment with a mistress on the floor rather than the Governor's mansion and driving an old Plymouth rather than riding in a limousine struck some as virtuous, others as immature and self-indulgent. (Campaigning in New Hampshire, he said he would live in the White House.)

As Governor, he pushed for passage of a landmark bill giving farm workers the right to collective bargaining, created the California Conservation Corps, pressed for using less-polluting energy sources and tried to bring California's growth into conformity with limited natural resources. His airy spiritualism and focus on blue-sky technology earned him the derisive nickname "Gov. Moonbeam."

To this day, Mr. Brown elicits strong reactions among Californians, both positive and negative. According to the most recent California Poll, which is conducted by an independent private organization, 45 percent of California Democrats were inclined to vote for him for President and 47 percent were not, with only 8 percent having no opinion.

He has long elicited strong opinions. In 1981, before his Senate loss, the California Poll found 53 percent of all Californians rated Mr. Brown's per-

Continued on Page A13, Column 4

Super Tuesday: Primaries and Caucuses In 11 States Tomorrow

State	Delegates at stake	Hours (Eastern time)	Who can vote	Voter registration	Winner in '88 primary	Outlook
DEMOCRATIC PRIMARIES						
Florida	148	Polls close 7 P.M.	Democrats	2,921,339	Dukakis, 41% of the vote	Clinton's organization is superior to Tsongas's, which could be the deciding factor in this key state.
Louisiana	60	Polls close 9 P.M.	Democrats	1,632,551	Jackson 35%	Clinton has all major endorsements. Tsongas is not known to have a campaign office in the state.
Massachusetts	94	Polls close 8 P.M.	Democrats Unaffiliated voters	1,342,239	Dukakis 59%	Tsongas's home state, so outcome is certain, but Clinton has endorsements from some Democratic elected officials.
Mississippi	39	Polls close 8 P.M.	All voters; no party registration	About 1.6 million	Jackson 44%	Large margin for Clinton is likely. Tsongas has made only slight effort.
Oklahoma	45	Polls close 8 P.M.	Democrats	1,302,278	Gore 41%	Clinton has the edge. Aides' mistake left Tsongas off ballot.
Rhode Island	22	Polls close 9 P.M.	Democrats Unaffiliated voters	155,000 350,000	Dukakis 70%	Tsongas has neighboring-state advantage, but Clinton has some key endorsements, including the governor's.
Tennessee	68	Polls close 8 P.M.	All voters; no party registration	2,480,871	Gore 72%	Clinton, from neighboring state, has endorsements of governor and other top Democrats and has campaigned heavily, but Tsongas is making a genuine effort.
Texas	196	Polls close 8 P.M.	All voters; no party registration	7,968,224	Dukakis 33%	Another Clinton-neighbor state but some anti-Clinton sentiment would work to Tsongas's advantage.
DEMOCRATIC CAUCUSES*						
Delaware	14	6:30-7:30 P.M.	Democrats	121,428	Jackson 46% (caucus)	Party leaders are urging voters to remain uncommitted. Tsongas may have a slight edge among those who do not.
Hawaii	20	Beginning at 12:30 A.M.	Voters must declare party allegiance	376,668	Dukakis 55% (caucus)	Clinton's friendship with the governor should translate into victory.
Missouri	77	Beginning at 7:30 P.M.	Voters must declare party allegiance	2,266,617	Gephardt 59%	Clinton is heavily organized and visited Saturday, but a strong push for uncommitted delegates is likely.
REPUBLICAN PRIMARIES						
Florida	97	Polls close 7 P.M.	Republicans	2,322,321	Bush 62%	Bush should win easily. Buchanan has put forth little effort.
Louisiana	38	Polls close 9 P.M.	Republicans	410,989	Bush 58%	Bush will win, but Buchanan is making a strong effort, and is endorsed by the state party chief. Duke support in double digits likely in his home state.
Massachusetts	38	Polls close 8 P.M.	Republicans Unaffiliated voters	441,942	Bush 59%	Bush is expected to outdistance Buchanan by a wider margin than he did in neighboring New Hampshire.
Mississippi	32	Polls close 8 P.M.	All voters; no party registration	About 1.6 million	Bush 66%	Substantial Bush victory is likely, but Buchanan's last-minute visit could narrow the gap. Duke only a slight factor.
Oklahoma	34	Polls close 8 P.M.	Republicans	654,828	Bush 38%	Bush appears safe. Buchanan visited but has minimal support.
Rhode Island	15	Polls close 9 P.M.	Republicans Unaffiliated voters	35,000 350,000	Bush 65%	Protest vote for Buchanan could embarrass Bush, whose surrogates flooded the state over the weekend.
Tennessee	45	Polls close 8 P.M.	All voters; no party registration	2,480,871	Bush 60%	Bush has campaigned hard, visiting twice, and is expected to do well.
Texas	121	Polls close 8 P.M.	All voters; no party registration	7,968,224	Bush 64%	Bush should win handily, but economic discontent will help Buchanan.

Florida

Democratic Race in Crucial State: Organization Versus Popularity

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM
Special to The New York Times

TAMPA, Fla., March 8 — The first thing Bernard Craighead did Friday when he arrived here from Georgia, where he ran Gov. Bill Clinton's successful primary campaign, was to get leaflets printed and distributed in black and Hispanic neighborhoods and retirement centers.

Then he arranged for volunteers to spread the word about Mr. Clinton by knocking on doors and visiting churches in the Tampa-St. Petersburg area over the weekend. He spent most of today lining up drivers to take Clinton supporters to the polls on Tuesday.

If the Arkansas Governor wins the Florida primary, the most hotly contested of the 11 Democratic primaries and caucuses on Super Tuesday, it will be largely because he has professional political coordinators like Mr. Craighead working around the state.

No Tsongas Organization

Mr. Clinton's main competitor, former Senator Paul E. Tsongas of Massachusetts, has no such organization behind him — no phone banks, no canvassers, no drivers. And in this state where most voters never see the candidates in person and where many poor and elderly Democrats do not drive, elections often turn on organization and planning.

Mr. Tsongas is relying instead on his popularity among college-educated white professionals, who tend to vote in large numbers in Democratic races here and who can make it to the polls on their own.

Mr. Tsongas's campaign got a lift today from endorsements by four of the state's biggest newspapers, the St. Petersburg Times, The Tampa Tribune, The Orlando Sentinel and The Florida Times-Union in Jacksonville, whose editorial pages normally agree on very little. This may carry weight with the kind of voters Mr. Tsongas is especially trying to reach. Mr. Clinton has not been endorsed by any of the state's large newspapers.

President Bush is expected to run away with the Republican primary here, and he and his main challenger, Patrick J. Buchanan, have spent little energy campaigning here.

Polls Show Close Race

Public opinion polls taken last weekend showed Mr. Clinton and Mr. Tsongas each with the support of about one-quarter of the likely Democratic voters here, and about one-third of the potential primary voters undecided. No new polls have been published, but both camps see the race as close.

"We have a fight on our hands," said Jeff Eller, Mr. Clinton's state campaign director. The Clinton campaign is conducting daily polls, the findings of which Mr. Eller will not divulge publicly.

Rob Schroth, who is running the

Tsongas campaign in Florida without the benefit of polling, calls the primary election here "the best test of the two front-runners so far," and says "he cannot test is 'too close to call.'"

Under the party rules, the 141 Democratic delegates at stake here on Tuesday will be divided according to the proportion of the vote each candidate wins in the 19 Congressional districts and statewide.

Former Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California and Senator Tom Harkin of Iowa do not seem to be factors here. If the Clinton-Tsongas race is as close as the candidates seem to think it is, they may end up dividing the delegates fairly evenly.

Florida seems to be the only state voting on Tuesday where the race is tight. So Mr. Clinton and Mr. Tsongas have concentrated their resources here this week, spending most of their time in the state and allotting \$500,000 or more apiece on television advertising. On the air and in person, appear-

2 camps focus on Florida for Super Tuesday.

ances, the two candidates have mostly traded insults. Mr. Tsongas calls Mr. Clinton "cynical and unprincipled" and waves a stuffed bear at rallies, saying, "This is my opponent, pander bear."

Mr. Clinton portrays Mr. Tsongas as a patsy for Wall Street, less than a true friend of Israel and an advocate of cuts in Social Security.

The basis of the Israel accusation is flimsy, and whatever strength it had probably vanished this weekend when Mr. Tsongas won the endorsement of Representative William Lehman, the popular Congressman from the heavily Jewish area of Miami Beach.

But the Tsongas camp is clearly nervous about the Social Security question. Twenty percent of Floridians receive Social Security benefits, and more than \$1.5 billion in benefit checks come into the state each month, making it one of Florida's main sources of income. With the state's economy flagging and 8.6 percent of the residents unemployed last month, well above the national average of 7.3 percent, the stream of income from government retirement benefits is especially important.

The Clinton campaign hammers away at a line in Mr. Tsongas's campaign issues book where he suggested "reducing the yearly increase in entitlements by 1 percent below the cost of living."

Voters

In Florida, Democrats Face Critical Electorate

By JEFFREY SCHMALZ
Special to The New York Times

SUNNY ISLES, Fla., March 8 — Up one stretch of Collins Avenue and down the other, the political drums are beating night and day here in the heart of condo country, flashing the latest take on the Democratic Presidential candidates from high-rise to high-rise.

With just two days until the primary election, here one minute is former Senator Paul E. Tsongas at a condominium rally, here the next is Gov. Bill Clinton at a synagogue, both of them come again and again to pledge their commitment to Social Security and Israel in this, the bastion of the Jewish retiree.

About half the registered voters in Dade County are Jewish, and the elderly ones in the condominiums have a voter turnout rate of 70 percent, even in primaries. Led by elderly activists within the high-rises — the dreaded "condo commandos" — is a political operation that makes the former Daley machine in Chicago look wimpy.

"Maybe We'll Have a Nosh"

"People from the condo called to see if I wanted to hear Tsongas," said Abe Feldman, a 70-year-old retired dentist in this community just north of Miami Beach. "I said no. They said, 'For you, Abe, maybe we'll have

a nosh.' I said, 'For you, maybe I'll come.'"

In three days of interviews and chats at synagogues, beach clubs and condos, voters said their favorite was Mr. Clinton. For one thing, they know him better: He has had a political operation in place here for months canvassing key people in the condos. Many condo political leaders said they had never been contacted by Tsongas representatives.

And Mr. Clinton's advertisements accusing Mr. Tsongas of planning to cut Social Security benefits also seem to be taking their toll. Mr. Tsongas, asked about it at a forum, said he would consider limiting cost-of-living increases for those with incomes above \$125,000. The line got by without any boos, and some people said they resented the advertisements as cruelly scary.

Others weren't so sure.

"I'm 62. I'm going to be 65 soon, and I worry," said Elaine Drubin. "Will I be able to afford Medicare? Are they going to touch Social Security? I wonder about Tsongas especially, it's true. But you know something? I'm not sure I fully trust any of them."

Steadfast Liberals

This was Dukakis country in 1988, a land of steadfast liberals transplanted from the New York area who helped him win the Florida primary and propel him toward the Democratic nomination. Many of them do not consider Mr. Tsongas worthy of carrying the banner. He is too conservative, his message too long on business and too short on compassion.

"Tsongas seems too much like a Republican to me," said Adele Klein, 74. "He's not a true Democrat."

One matter that had merely been the source of jokes elsewhere — Mr. Tsongas's diction and New England accent — seems to have grown into a full-scale problem here, where some people's hearing and concentration are a bit dimmed by age.

Clinton's Edge: Electability

"I'd feel a lot warmer toward Tsongas if I could understand him," said Thelma Strassburger. Her age? "Just say I've been collecting Social Security quite a few years now."

Edna Klar, 64, said, "I'm sorry, but I can't understand the man. He talks like Elmer Fudd."

Many people in the condos feel they

wasted their time with Mr. Dukakis, and a candidate's electability is now their main concern. Here, that issue seems to be decided in Mr. Clinton's favor, with many saying Mr. Tsongas lacks the charisma needed to win. A week ago, in interviews with Maryland primary voters, many of whom also originally came from the Northeast, the issue was in Mr. Tsongas's favor, with people saying accusations of marital infidelity made Mr. Clinton unelectable.

The difference in attitudes seems partly a result of Mr. Clinton's subsequent big victory in Georgia. But mostly it seems to be a result of his having appeared extensively here and run a big advertising campaign, neither of which he did in Maryland.

"Tsongas doesn't present himself that well," said Sam Sofer, 75. "Clint-

on is bright, an experienced Governor. The sex, they all do it. Women run after politicians. It's like being an athlete."

With that, his friend Frances Krummerman, 82, leaned across to him, saying, "Sam, maybe you should run for President."

Then someone at the recreation center shouted "Cuomo!" and it caught on with half a dozen others around the pool. "Cuomo! Cuomo!"

Telling It Like It Is

All this is not to say Mr. Tsongas is without support. His advertisements, accusing Mr. Clinton of pandering everywhere he goes, have caused some to wonder about the Governor.

Mrs. Klar, for example, was downright incensed at him for what is a routine practice of politicians, and the women around her nodded in agree-

ment. "Clinton talks to Jewish groups and he wears a yarmulke," she said, pretending to gag. "A yarmulke!"

Once again, as in Maryland, people said Mr. Tsongas was to be respected for telling it like it is, for saying it would take sacrifice to rebuild the nation. But the supporters seem to be those who respond more to his public appearances than to his ads. With time running out, that does not bode well for the former Senator.

"I like him very much," Morris Levy, 85, a former Brooklyn pharmacist, said after hearing Mr. Tsongas speak. "He speaks the truth about this country. He's a man you can trust. I wasn't sure about him until I heard him."

The condos are overwhelmingly Democratic, so the discussions at the meetings focus on the Democratic

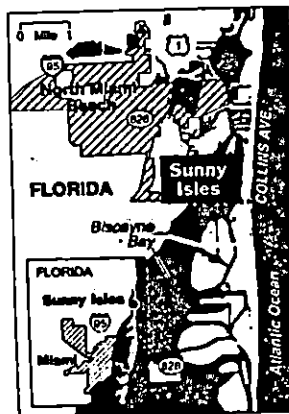
race. But now and then, someone brings up President Bush, apparently for no other reason than to delight in the boos that automatically follow. He is detested by many of the Jews here, but by no means all, for favoring the linkage of loan guarantees for Israel to a suspension of new settlements on the Israeli-occupied West Bank.

"I'm a Democrat who voted for Bush in '88," said Mrs. Drubin. "But forget it. He's anti-Semitic."

Farther north along the beach, Mr. Tsongas having been heard, Mr. Bush having been booted, the meeting of another condo group was coming to an end, as was another political day in northern Miami Beach: a little nosh, a little talk, a little look-see, then home to the condominiums. Time again for the night's drums along Collins Avenue.



About half the registered voters in Dade County are Jewish, and the elderly ones in condominiums have a voter turnout rate of 70 percent, even in primaries. Sitting by the pool at their condominium in Surfside, Fla., were, from the left, Beatrice Sofer, Frances Krummerman and Frieda Prinz.



In Sunny Isles, political talk is constant and colorful.

Foreign Affairs

LESLIE H. GELB

They're Kidding

The Pentagon has come up with a new idea for American security policy in the post-cold-war era. It is to make the U.S. into the world's only policeman — in fact but not in name, not everywhere but almost everywhere. No kidding.

"While the U.S. cannot become the world's 'policeman' by assuming responsibility for righting every wrong," Pentagon planners state, "we will retain the pre-eminent responsibility for addressing selectively those wrongs which threaten not only our interests, but those of our allies or friends, or which could seriously unsettle international relations." This latest secret brainstorm of military planners and their civilian chiefs can be found in yesterday's New York Times.

The idea is to keep U.S. forces large enough and strong enough to protect our interests as well as almost everyone else's. And the thinking is that if we do a really great job of protecting almost everyone against almost everything, then no country — especially Germany, Japan and a revitalized Russia run by bad guys — will ever want to develop forces of its own that could challenge American interests. No kidding.

Our leaders "must maintain the mechanisms for deterring potential competitors from even aspiring to a larger regional or global role," according to the planning document obtained by The Times's Patrick Tyler. "Mechanisms" must be the latest euphemism for Administration plans to spend \$1.2 trillion on the military over the next five years. It seems we have to be prepared to do a great deal of policing to justify \$1.2 trillion after we won the cold war and can't find even one nation capable of seriously threatening our security interests.

There is little in the planning document about developing regional security arrangements of which the U.S. would be a part. There is practically nothing about trying to nurture collective security through the United Nations, despite clear public commitments by President Bush to move in that direction.

The whole thrust of the document is to lay almost all responsibility at America's doorstep — at the very moment when the public mood and common sense would suggest otherwise.

The Pentagon planners do themselves and their cause an injustice by being unable to unhook themselves from their big brother, big bucks mentality. For if you get over the

shock of the document's basic thrust and look at some of the specific things the planners feel the U.S. should be doing, they have some good and important thoughts and objectives:

- "Preserve NATO as the primary instrument of Western defense and security, as well as the channel for U.S. influence and participation in European security affairs." That makes sense, especially if — as the document states — Washington will also try to help along European-based security arrangements.

- "Maintain our status as a military power of the first magnitude" in Asia. Right again, and it is what virtually all the nations of that area want us to do.

- Be ready to use force to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction to nations like North Korea and Iraq. Here, again, the goal is right, but there is nothing said about taking

No, the Pentagon still yearns to police the globe.

on this dangerous task in conjunction with allies.

The document also would push the U.S. toward some rather major new commitments: With our European allies, we would defend Eastern Europe against a Russian attack. And again presumably with allies, the U.S. would make itself responsible for "regional stability" in the Persian Gulf. These kinds of enormous undertakings need a great deal of public scrubbing.

Curiously and disturbingly, the document seems to be silent about any American role in insuring Israeli security. An attack on Israel by Syria in conjunction with Iran and other states is far from unimaginable. It would seem more likely than virtually all the scenarios Pentagon planners say they are worried about. Congress ought to press Defense Secretary Cheney to explain this disturbing omission.

But most of all, the Bush Administration should take a cold shower. Maybe then, Bush planners would stop daydreaming about being the world's policeman and \$1.2 trillion defense budgets, and take a look outside their windows.

Black Politicians Discover AIDS Issue

By LINDSEY GRUSON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 8 — Nearly ignored even as it became a virtual plague in inner-city neighborhoods, AIDS has finally caught the attention of black political leaders, largely because of Magic Johnson's candid acknowledgment that he is infected with the virus that causes the disease.

Since Mr. Johnson's announcement in November, members of the Black Congressional Caucus have protested plans by the Federal Centers for Disease Control to cut \$14 million in financing for 24 groups working on AIDS projects in minority neighborhoods. The caucus has also said it would make AIDS one of its legislative priorities. And about 200 ministers joined the Rev. Jesse Jackson at a recent news conference in Chicago to call attention to the disease's impact on black as well as Hispanic residents of inner cities.

"Magic Johnson caused many black community leaders to flip over," Reggie Williams, executive director of the National Task Force on AIDS Prevention, a group that organizes education programs, said in a recent interview.

Belinda Rochelle, program director for the AIDS Action Council, a not-for-profit group that represents 500 AIDS service organizations, said, "Since Magic Johnson's announcement everybody is asking, 'What are you doing about AIDS?'"

Limits to Involvement

But even though talking about the disease is no longer taboo for black politicians, it is not their primary, or even central concern. And there are still limits to some lawmakers' involvement.

Ms. Rochelle said she was recently called by a staff member for a black Representative who wanted to become associated with an AIDS program. But she added, the lawmaker said he would have nothing to do with any project serving homosexuals or drug abusers, the most frequent victims.

"He wanted something safe," Ms. Rochelle recalled. "So I suggested pediatric AIDS and he said, 'That's good.'"

Until recently, leaders of black organizations tended to steer clear of all association with the disease. When advocates for programs to fight the spread of AIDS organized a workshop here last summer for the 26 members of the Congressional Black Caucus, all but two of the legislators said they were too busy to attend.

"It felt like a slap in the face," said Mr. Williams, who also is a director of the Black Coalition on AIDS, a San Francisco organization founded six years ago. "We'd spent a lot of time, a lot of effort to bring them the information to take back to their constituencies and save lives."

Black lawmakers have generally voted for money for AIDS programs. But spokesmen for groups working to



Associated Press

Magic Johnson, whose acknowledgment that he is infected with the virus that causes AIDS has helped focus the attention of black political leaders on AIDS.

help the disease's minority victims say the lawmakers have generally resisted providing the leadership needed to mobilize black and Hispanic groups and slow the spread of AIDS.

The criticism leveled against black political leaders recalls accusations by leaders of gay-rights groups that the political system has been slow to confront the disease. But groups dealing with AIDS say the silence of blacks speaks particularly loudly because they traditionally have been vocal advocates for America's dispossessed, and because their districts are especially hard hit.

"The non-involvement of the elected black leadership has been close to scandalous," said Harlon Dalton, a Yale Law School professor and a member of the National Commission on AIDS, which was created by Congress two years ago.

Many black politicians acknowledge that they have not done enough and say their reticence has been rooted in their constituencies' hostility to any discussion of the disease. But others say they have been overwhelmed by the many desperate problems afflicting inner-city neighborhoods, like drugs, crime and homelessness, and dismiss criticism as reflecting the narrow priority of advocacy groups.

"AIDS has had to compete with other crises," Mr. Jackson said in an interview. "AIDS is in the competition for the champion crisis in a community that has been abandoned. AIDS is working its way up to be a priority."

AIDS in this country began primarily as a disease of homosexual white men, but it has become something of an

inner-city plague. As education and prevention programs have succeeded in slowing the spread of AIDS among gay white men, the proportion of minority victims has steadily risen. Now almost half of those infected are minorities, according to the Centers for Disease Control.

Recent statistics compiled by officials in New York, which has been one of the hardest-hit cities, show that about 46 percent of all cases among black women were reported in the last 18 months. The number of new cases among black women is four times the number among white women.

In seeking to combat the spread of the disease in New York's black neighborhoods, advocacy groups say they have often been forced to turn to white politicians, like Representative Ted Weiss, the Manhattan Democrat who has been a leader in the battle and heads a subcommittee that oversees the Food and Drug Administration.

"When we need help, we generally let black legislators know, but usually enlist white legislators to do the nitty-gritty work," said Ronald S. Johnson, executive director of the Minority Task Force on AIDS, which provides services to minority victims of the disease in New York City. "Most political leadership on AIDS has been white, but even they haven't been so good. You don't have a constituency of black voters demanding their representatives deal with AIDS."

Representative Edolphus Towns, the Brooklyn Democrat who is the current chairman of the Black Congressional Caucus, agreed that black political leaders, and their constituents, have generally been indifferent, even hostile, to efforts to battle the disease. He said he was widely criticized a couple of years ago for writing and publishing an article calling on blacks to wake up to the devastation caused by AIDS.

"It got a bad reaction," he recalled. "The reaction wasn't, 'Right on, keep doing it.' It was, 'Why are you dealing with that?'"

Lawmakers and officials of AIDS groups say the hostility is rooted in the conservative theology of black churches, where discussion of sexuality is often taboo.

"As a black gay man, I've always felt I had to choose: Am I gay or am I black?" Mr. Williams said.

The hesitancy to confront sexual issues and AIDS, advocacy groups say, has been reinforced by distrust of the medical community and the fear that blacks would be blamed for the disease, which is thought to have originated in Africa.

The result has been what advocacy groups call a conspiracy of silence.

"Any high-visibility politician can point to the one time a year where the A-word is mentioned," Professor Dalton of Yale said. "But there haven't been any votes there. Gay black men don't exist, black men don't vote and babies don't vote."

Clinton-Tsongas Ads Provide a Little Drama in Florida Race

By ELIZABETH KOLBERT
Special to The New York Times

TAMPA, Fla., March 8 — For all their griping about the clogged airwaves, Floridians ought to be grateful for the commercials that Paul E. Tsongas and Bill Clinton have put on television here. What little drama there is to this state's fly-by Presidential campaign, they are providing.

It is true that the commercials are not particularly sensational when compared with, say, ones about furloughed murderers. But for Floridians watching the campaign on television, they are pretty much all there is to see.

On the newscasts here in Florida's second-largest metropolitan area, the state's upcoming Presidential primary has trailed far behind items with more local interest, like the rape trial of a young Tampa man — a sort of William K. Smith trial redux — and the recent firing of the St. Petersburg police chief.

Uncluttered Setting for Ads

What primary coverage there has been has tended to be dominated by reports of how the voters have been uninspired by the candidates and how few are expected to vote on Tuesday. Candidates who appear in Tampa, as former Gov.

Edmund Brown of California did Saturday, can expect to get about 45 seconds on the evening news. Those who do not have to content themselves with less.

This paucity of television news coverage has reduced a lot of the clutter that often surrounds advertising campaigns. With the other

People say they hear the ads but are not listening.

Democratic candidates too poor to advertise and the Republicans forgoing commercials, the television battle between the once-friendly Mr. Tsongas and Mr. Clinton has taken on an intriguingly intimate quality, like a private spat being carried out in public.

After listening to the two men harp at each other for a few days running, one cannot help feeling somehow implicated in their dispute. Perhaps, one wonders, it is time to find them professional counseling.

The techniques that Mr. Clinton, the Governor of Arkansas, and Mr. Tsongas, a former Senator from Massachusetts, are using against each other should be familiar to most married couples. Each man has found the other's vulnerabilities and has tried to make caricatures of them.

Frog in His Chair

Mr. Clinton went first with a commercial that tries to discredit Mr. Tsongas's economic policies while at the same time taking advantage of his sometimes school-marmish expression.

"Time Magazine says, 'Much of what Tsongas says smacks of trickle-down economics,'" the narrator intones, while in the corner of the screen there appears a picture of Mr. Tsongas looking as if he has just discovered a frog on his chair.

The screen then flips around, and a friendly-looking Mr. Clinton takes Mr. Tsongas's place. "Bill Clinton wants change," the narrator says. "More education and job training and making the rich pay their fair share."

The commercial closes with a full-screen shot of Mr. Clinton bathed in a warm orange light.

Mr. Tsongas responded to this

After seeing ads, one wonders if 2 candidates need professional help.

advertisement with one that plays off Mr. Clinton's ill-concealed ambitions. The first shot is a black and white picture of Mr. Clinton looking like a circus Barker. "Some people will say anything to be elected President," the announcer says.

Then a black and white shot of Mr. Tsongas appears. He is poring over his work in a pose reminiscent of the young Abraham Lincoln. "Isn't it time we sent a message that we've had enough negative campaigning?" the announcer asks as a full-color Mr. Tsongas emerges onto the screen shaking hands with supporters.

Both of the candidates have been trying to amplify their commercials by using the same themes on the stump. Thus, the other day Mr. Tsongas held up a stuffed bear and said, "This is my opponent: pander bear." Mr. Clinton meanwhile has

been traveling around with a clipping of a New York Times article reporting that the richest 1 percent of Americans took in about 60 percent of the increase in after-tax income in the 1980's. At the same time he accuses his opponent of espousing "growth first, fairness later."

Aides to Mr. Clinton say he has spent roughly \$500,000 to broadcast his commercials in Florida; Mr. Tsongas's aides say he has spent about \$300,000. By Presidential campaign standards, this is not a heavy budget for a state with half a dozen media markets. But it is enough to insure that most television viewers have seen the exchange at least a few times.

Several potential voters interviewed in the indoor cool of University Square Mall in Tampa recalled having seen Mr. Tsongas and Mr. Clinton cut each other down on television. But it was unclear whether either candidate had achieved anything, since few of those interviewed could recall what it was the two men were fighting about.

"I tell you how it is," said one Tampa resident, who would give her name only as Ann. "I hear them, but I'm not listening."

Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

Whine, Women, Tsong

FORT LAUDERDALE, Fla.
Let us now phase out famous myths.

Myth 1. President Bush's popularity will rebound as economic growth resumes this summer.

A whining question permeates the Bush campaign: Why are people unfairly blaming him for hard times that statistics show are not really here?

The Federal Reserve "hit the gong," as central bankers say, last Dec. 20, at the culmination of a quarter in which interest rates were lowered dramatically and other stimulants were administered. The economic consensus is that real economic growth will resume six months afterward, and that come Fiscal New Year's Eve — June 30 — the economy will be merrily popping its cork again.

But economics ain't beanbag. As we come out of recession or stagnation, the last statistic to show good news is the unemployment rate.

Perking-up sales with lean payrolls mean productivity and profits, which will help the stock market, but the President's performance will be judged on the lagging unemployment figures. A summer turnaround, even if it develops, may be too late to do much for the jobless figures or for Presidential popularity.

Myth 2. Governor Clinton's campaign has overcome the worst of the bimboic plague.

The word is around that at least one young woman has been stripping for political action to illustrate her magazine memoirs. Punchy Clinton supporters are hoping it is only a past Miss Arkansas, which would at least show gubernatorial state loyalty.

The brighter side: The number of voters lost to Clinton on this character issue will probably remain the same. They demand marital fidelity, period, and it matters not to them if a candidate slipped once or a dozen times. However, the unforgiving judges can only walk out on him once.

As night follows day, any new life given the peccadillo brigade will encourage it to go for even more prestigious game. At a full-scale Presidential news conference (and whatever happened to them?) some reporter — ostensibly in the interests of fairness — will ask the dread have-you-ever question of the President of the United States.

If he denies it — thereby condoning the asking — the great hunt for even a hint of refutation will begin. But if Mr. Bush coldly denounces the fishing inquisition as unworthy of a place in politics, he will be doing what is right

but will help level the playing field for Governor Clinton.

Myth 3. The health issue has been laid to rest by the candor of former Senator Tsongas and his doctor.

The most knowledgeable and responsible medical journalist in our business, Dr. Lawrence Altman of The New York Times, was given access to both the candidate and his personal physician. He wrote a straight news story that, despite its upbeat headline, had to be troubling to any serious voter.

I read it closely and reached two conclusions: first, that Mr. Tsongas has greater inner strength than most

Three myths of the spring campaign.

of us realized, making his political comeback after his cancer went into remission all the more admirable. His emergence from the shadow of death to the spotlight of national prominence is nothing short of inspirational.

Second, several leading cancer specialists expert in the lymphoma that nearly killed Mr. Tsongas do not share the hopefulness of his doctor's prognosis. As I read the story that bears careful study and follow-up, this candidate may be in greater danger of not surviving his term than the younger Mr. Clinton or even the older Mr. Bush.

If Mr. Tsongas becomes the Democratic nominee, his complete medical record should be subject to inspection by doctors who could then make their independent judgments public. We need to learn more about his claustrophobia, too, the existence of which he freely asserted in his interview with Dr. Altman. (Perhaps a fear of confined spaces would be good in a President.)

With unemployment remaining high for Mr. Bush; with Mr. Clinton under continued sexual harassment; and with Mr. Tsongas's health to be more closely examined — does this mean a fault-free last-minute entrant will scoop the pools?

I think not. Let's pin on our "Nobody's Perfect" buttons, recognize a choice of three pretty good candidates and stop sniveling. This is shaping up into the best campaign in 12 years.

Article Questions Sale Of Stock by Bush Son

By KEITH BRADSHAW

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 8 — President Bush's oldest son had access to detailed information on a Texas energy company's finances when he sold \$48,560 worth of its stock a week before the company announced poor quarterly earnings, U.S. News & World Report has reported.

In its issue published this weekend, the magazine said George W. Bush, the President's son, was a director of the Harken Energy Corporation and on a company committee reviewing ways to restructure the business when he sold the shares on June 22, 1990. Citing documents filed at the Securities and Exchange Commission, the magazine said membership on the committee gave Mr. Bush "detailed knowledge of the company's deteriorating financial condition."

The magazine did not say that Mr. Bush knew of the quarterly results when he sold his shares, nor did the magazine accuse him of any wrongdoing.

White House Response

Mr. Bush, who is the managing general partner of the Texas Rangers baseball team, could not be reached for comment. He has an unlisted telephone number in Dallas, and Rangers officials did not return calls for comment. The S.E.C. also declined to comment.

The White House dismissed the magazine report today as old news. "This has been reported before and George W. Bush has done nothing wrong regarding Harken Energy," a White House spokesman said.

The Wall Street Journal has reported previously on the sale of the stock.

U.S. News & World Report did not identify the quarterly results it was citing. Harken Energy reported its first-quarter results for 1990 on May

22, and reported its second-quarter results on Aug. 21.

Shares in Harken Energy fell 62.5 cents, to \$2.375, on Aug. 21, 1990, when the company announced a \$23.2 million second-quarter loss. The stock recovered to \$3 the following day, but then sank until it was trading near \$1 a share by the end of the year.

Mr. Bush sold his stock on June 22, 1990, for \$4 a share.

Joel Seligman, a professor of securities law at the University of Michigan Law School, said there were two crucial legal questions in cases like Mr. Bush's. Professor Seligman declined to discuss Mr. Bush specifically because he did not have the facts.

One question, he said, would be whether an inside seller knew about the quarterly results when the stock was sold.

Second Question

If such a seller sold the stock "while in possession of nonpublic, material information, he may be in violation" of the Federal statute prohibiting insider trading, Mr. Seligman said.

The other question in reviewing stock sales by corporate directors concerns how a stock reacts when news becomes public, Professor Seligman said.

After trading around \$3 a share in the spring of 1990, Harken Energy stock slowly fell until it approached \$1 near the end of the year. It then recovered to about \$5 a share in September.

Harken Energy closed on Friday at \$3.125 a share on the American Stock Exchange, up 37.5 cents for the day but down \$1.25, or 28.6 percent, for the week. Bernard J. Picchi, an oil industry analyst at Salomon Brothers, said that large weekly swings in percentage terms were common in low-priced stocks.

Harken Energy won a contract two years ago to explore for oil in Bahrain

HARKIN ENDS QUEST AS CAMPAIGN RISES TO NEW INTENSITY

IOWAN PULLING OUT TODAY

Withdrawal to Set Off Scramble by 3 Remaining Democrats for Support of Labor

By ROBIN TONER

Special to The New York Times

MIAMI, March 8 — The Democratic field will narrow to three on Monday with the withdrawal of Senator Tom Harkin of Iowa, signaling a new intensity of the race as it moves through the battlegrounds of the South and on to the industrial Midwest.

Mr. Harkin, who campaigned as a "real Democrat" and a tough voice for traditional liberalism, told supporters today that he intended to withdraw, according to senior Democrats who spoke on condition that they not be identified. The decision will trigger a scramble for Mr. Harkin's backing among the ranks of organized labor. And it is emblematic of the grim winnowing now under way in the Democratic field, coming only three days after the withdrawal of Senator Bob Kerrey of Nebraska.

Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, former Senator Paul E. Tsongas of Massachusetts and Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California were all hustling across the South today, seeking votes in the Super Tuesday contests in 11 states two days ahead.

Tempering Expectations

Mr. Clinton was campaigning across Texas, one of seven Southern or border states voting on Tuesday. Mr. Clinton hopes to replicate his showing in the South Carolina primary, in which he captured 63 percent of the vote Saturday.

Mr. Tsongas returned to Florida today, where he hopes to make his best stand below the Mason-Dixon Line. But he is trying to temper expectations for his showing across the South on Tuesday, after placing a distant second in South Carolina with 19 percent of the vote.

"I think Tuesday will be his day, I acknowledge that," Mr. Tsongas said of Mr. Clinton at a news conference earlier today in Nashville. "I think he'll do well in his territory." The former Senator, who has fought bitterly with Mr. Clinton in recent days, added, "After Tuesday, we go into neutral territory."

Senior Democrats, who spoke on condition that they not be identified, said Mr. Harkin began informing top supporters about his decision to withdraw this afternoon. The political math had been grim for Mr. Harkin for several weeks now, with his resources dwindling and his rankings in the primaries and caucuses never giving him the lift he desperately sought.

His campaign spokeswoman de-

Continued on Page A14, Column 1

even though it lacked experience in overseas offshore drilling. The White House said in December that the deal did not reflect any Presidential influence.

For the first nine months of last year, the company lost \$1.7 million on sales of \$5.4 million.

Primaries and Caucuses

Harkin Will Give Up Quest For Democratic Nomination

Continued From Page A1

clined to comment on his plans, saying only that Mr. Harkin had scheduled news conferences Monday at Gallaudet University in Washington and later in the day in Des Moines. John Roehrick, the chairman of the Iowa Democratic Party, said in an interview today that Mr. Harkin's candidacy had succeeded in that "he got folks to look at domestic issues and the lack of attention focused on them by the President."

A Tough, Early Voice

Mr. Harkin had, in fact, been one of the most aggressive voices in the party in the summer of 1991. At a time when President Bush was still towering in the public opinion polls, the Iowan was insisting that his party had nothing to fear in a battle against Mr. Bush in 1992.

Mr. Harkin had attracted considerable labor support, and many Democrats had expected him to stay in the race until Michigan's primary on March 17, the same day as Illinois's. "Right now, the big question is where does labor go, as we head into Michigan," said a Democratic official.

George Stephanopoulos, deputy campaign manager for Mr. Clinton, said, "Governor Clinton is going to do everything he can to gain support among Tom Harkin's constituencies, and we think they'll be attracted to Mr. Clinton's message of people-first economics."

Mr. Brown is also building some appeal among labor, some Democrats said. And Mr. Tsongas said at a news conference here tonight, "I'm the candidate of economic growth," an argument meant to be appealing to labor. Still, Mr. Tsongas has disagreed with unions on legislation to outlaw the hiring of permanent replacements for striking employees.

This stage of the Democratic primary campaign features struggles on a variety of fronts, but the underlying dynamic is simple: the accumulation of the 2,145 delegates needed to win the nomination.

After Saturday's primary in South Carolina, and the caucuses in Wyoming and Arizona, a delegate tally by The New York Times showed Mr. Brown with 51 delegates, Mr. Clinton with 293, Mr. Tsongas with 141, Mr. Harkin with

A signal of the new intensity of the Democratic race.

86, and Mr. Kerrey, who dropped out of the race last Thursday, with 27. The tally includes the preferences of super-delegates, who are national committee members, governors and distinguished former leaders.

In addition to his strong showing Saturday in South Carolina, Mr. Clinton won Wyoming with 28 percent of the vote, followed by Mr. Brown with 23 percent and Mr. Tsongas with 12 percent. Mr. Tsongas won Arizona.

A poll conducted by Voter Research and Surveys of people leaving voting booths in South Carolina showed Mr. Clinton forging a powerful coalition for a Democratic primary in the South, capturing 77 percent of the black voters and 55 percent of the white. Mr. Tsongas received just 5 percent of the black vote in South Carolina, and he acknowledged today, "We are way behind the curve on this."

Still, Mr. Tsongas said, "We have tried to reach out," and as if to underscore this he spoke this morning to a predominantly black church in Nashville.

As in Georgia and New Hampshire,

How the Poll Was Conducted

The Election Day poll was based on questionnaires completed by voters as they left voting stations throughout South Carolina on Saturday.

The poll was conducted by Voter Research and Surveys, an organization created in 1990 by ABC News, CBS News, CNN, and NBC News.

The results are based on replies by 870 voters in the Democratic primary, and 1,368 voters in the Republican primary from 30 randomly selected precincts around the state.

In theory, in 18 cases out of 20 the results from such polls should differ by four percentage points in either direction for both Democrats and Republicans from what would have been obtained by seeking to interview all voters in the South Carolina primary.

Results based on smaller subgroups have a larger potential sampling error. In addition to sampling error, the practical difficulties of conducting a survey of voter opinion on Election Day, like the reluctance of some voters to take time to complete questionnaires, may introduce other sources of error into the poll.

Mr. Tsongas's strongest showing in South Carolina was among the voters with the highest incomes. Ten percent of the voters in the Democratic primary there had incomes over \$75,000 a year, and Mr. Tsongas captured more than half of their votes. He split the voters with the highest level of education with Mr. Clinton.

Stan Greenberg, the poll-taker for Mr. Clinton, asserted that Mr. Clinton had succeeded in putting together "the closest thing to a Robert Kennedy coalition we've seen in a long time," combining black voters with "white Democrats with moderate means and moderate views to form a very large coalition in the South." Clinton allies seem increasingly optimistic about the strength of their showing on Super Tuesday.

On the Republican side, Mr. Bush received 67 percent of the vote in South Carolina, considered one of his strongholds, while Patrick J. Buchanan won 26 percent and David Duke, the former Ku Klux Klan leader and Louisiana State Representative, won 7 percent.

Mr. Buchanan, the conservative political columnist who has not won a primary, campaigned in New England today and tried to slough off Mr. Bush's showing. "In South Carolina, his very best state where we could only campaign two days, he lost a third of the vote and 40 percent of the men," Mr. Buchanan said.

Hoping to Undercut Duke

Still, Mr. Buchanan acknowledged that he would soon have to win a state. He clearly hopes that the results in South Carolina will undermine Mr. Duke's credibility. Mr. Duke has as a race date, on several occasions today, I said Mr. Duke, whom he never mentions by name, was "not an authentic Republican or an authentic conservative."

The exit poll in South Carolina showed a continued protest vote against Mr. Bush: 22 percent of Republican primary voters said they were sending a message, and among the group 66 percent voted for Mr. Buchanan and 22 percent voted for Mr. Duke. Again, Mr. Bush prospered from the votes of women: 59 percent of the men voted for Mr. Bush, 32 percent for Mr. Buchanan and 8 percent for Mr. Duke. But 76 percent of the women voted for Mr. Bush, 18 percent for Mr. Buchanan and 6 percent for Mr. Duke.

Moreover, the exit poll showed that economic concerns ranked high among those voting in the Republican primary: Nearly three-quarters said they considered the nation's economy either not so good or poor.

"After Tuesday, we go into neutral territory." PAUL TSONGAS

Results

Vote and precincts reporting are in percent.

	South Carolina	Alabama	Wyoming	Nevada
DEMOCRATS				
Precincts reporting	99	98	100	13
Delegates at stake	43	41	13	17
BROWN	6	28	23	14
CLINTON	63	29	28	18
HARKIN	6	8	14	1
TSONGAS	19	34	12	8
OTHER	6	0	26	59
REPUBLICANS				
Delegates at stake	36			
BUCHANAN	26			
BUSH	67			
DUKE	7			

Vote percentages do not translate directly into numbers of delegates. "Other" includes other candidates and uncommitted delegates. *Caucus states; no Republican voting.



Gov. Bill Clinton campaigned yesterday across Texas, one of the seven Southern and border states voting tomorrow where he hopes to replicate his showing in the South Carolina primary, in which he captured 63 percent of the vote. He addressed supporters in Austin, Tex.

South Carolina Voters: Republicans

Percent of total	Voted for			
	Bush	Buchanan	Duke	
SEX				
53% Men	59%	32%	8%	
47 Women	76	18	6	
POLITICAL IDENTIFICATION				
65 Republicans	74	20	6	
30 Independents	56	31	11	
29 Moderates	71	20	9	
64 Conservatives	65	28	6	
FAMILY FINANCIAL SITUATION				
31 Better today than four years ago	74	20	5	
46 About the same as four years ago	74	20	6	
23 Worse today than four years ago	42	43	13	
MAIN REASON FOR VOTING FOR A CANDIDATE				
76 Because he would make the best President	84	14	3	
22 To send a message	8	68	22	
CANDIDATE HAS GIVEN CLEAR IDEA OF WHAT HE STANDS FOR				
45 Bush has	96	1	3	
19 Buchanan has	7	67	5	
17 Neither Bush nor Buchanan has	52	26	20	
16 Both Bush and Buchanan have	72	20	7	
ISSUES THAT MATTERED MOST				
36 Economy, jobs	60	34	6	
26 Taxes	58	38	6	
23 U.S. ability to compete economically	74	22	3	
GEORGE BUSH BREAKING HIS NO-NEW-TAXES PLEDGE...				
30 Was a very important factor	26	60	13	
68 Not a very important factor	85	10	5	

Based on a poll conducted by Voter Research and Surveys of 1,308 Republican primary voters leaving 30 polling places throughout South Carolina on Saturday.

South Carolina Voters: Democrats

Percent of total	Voted for				
	Clinton	Tsongas	Brown	Harkin	
SEX					
48% Men	61%	21%	6%	6%	
52 Women	67	17	5	5	
RACE					
56 Whites	55	29	6	3	
43 Blacks	77	5	4	11	
EDUCATION					
10 Less than high school	70	5	17	5	
30 High school graduate	75	9	3	8	
23 Some college	67	19	3	6	
18 College graduate	55	23	6	5	
19 Post graduate education	40	41	10	5	
PARTY IDENTIFICATION					
74 Democrats	69	13	6	7	
21 Independents	47	34	6	4	
FAMILY FINANCIAL SITUATION					
11 Better today than four years ago	42	39	9	5	
41 About the same as four years ago	58	20	7	7	
46 Worse today than four years ago	71	15	5	6	
OPINION OF TSONGAS'S VIEWS					
19 Too pro-business	80	3	8	4	
46 Has the right economic views	42	40	8	7	
13 Too anti-business	78	2	3	5	
CLINTON'S ACTIONS ON DRAFT STATUS MADE OPINION OF HIM:					
11 More favorable	68	7	15	5	
68 Had no effect	71	14	4	8	
17 Less favorable	24	50	8	9	

Based on a poll conducted by Voter Research and Surveys of 970 Democratic primary voters leaving 30 polling places throughout South Carolina on Saturday.

High-flown stump oratory

By Don Kowet
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

"Papal Tigers" isn't the Vatican's first pro sports team. And "Rusty Bowlers" isn't a fast-fix plumbing franchise. Nor is "Youngbloods" a reunion of the '60s rock band.

In the parlance of political consultants, as Campaign magazine notes, these exotic labels refer to "devout Catholics," "low- to middle-income whites" and "white under-30s." They are some of the persuadable voters who decide the outcomes of presidential primaries.

To sway these swing votes, the candidates of both major parties are creatively using satellites, fax machines, telephones, videotapes, cable and computers.

But that's just the beginning of "media tech" as the presidential hopefuls hurtle toward tomorrow's phalanx of Super Tuesday primaries.

Such cost-saving, high-tech gadgets are helping President Bush and his rivals transmit their messages over the heads of reporters, directly to the people. On several occasions, candidates have managed to turn these communications tools into weapons of political warfare, damaging a rival's credibility.

Satellite technology, in particular, is changing political campaigns by permitting candidates to be almost everywhere at once.

Consider a conference on global warming held early last month in Tallahassee, Fla. All the Democratic candidates made "live" addresses to the audience of environmentalists.

But only former California governor Jerry Brown was physically there. The other Democrats spoke from different states, over closed-circuit television feeds bounced off a high-flying satellite.

Using portable microwave transmitters, candidates also can conduct interviews via closed-circuit satellite transmission with dozens of local news anchors around the country.

On Oct. 3, Democrat Bill Clinton announced his candidacy from Little Rock, Ark. Thanks to a satellite orbiting 22,500 miles above the earth, CNN was able to carry the governor's speech live across the nation.

Candidates step up use of satellites, faxes, and some play video games

But here's the kicker: Within hours, Mr. Clinton was doing live, one-on-one interviews with 50 local TV anchors in critical primary states. And the cost of producing this series of "teleconferencing" sessions was a paltry \$5,000.

The use of such customized local interviews is "exploding" this election year, one industry expert says.

Why?

"It's relatively inexpensive compared to what it would cost to reach those same markets with paid advertising, on the one hand, or with individual visits to the local station on the other," explains David Bartlett, president of the Radio and Television News Directors Association.

"Satellite time costs only about \$300 an hour, and you can get in a lot of interviews in an hour. The price differential between appearing on closed circuit and appearing live is just enormous."

Closed-circuit satellite television isn't only cost-efficient, Mr. Bartlett says, it's politically efficient.

"It allows the candidates' spin doctors to bypass the network news gatekeepers," he says. "Clearly the candidates are gambling — and I think to some degree successfully — that they won't face as tough a time being interviewed on one of those satellite hookups as they would face if they were being grilled by a big-

time network correspondent."

In New Hampshire, both Mr. Clinton and his Democratic rival from Iowa, Sen. Tom Harkin, even found a way to make end runs past the local media. Each candidate staged a half-hour "infomercial" — a program that looks like news but isn't — on local TV.

Mr. Clinton's show replaced the sitcom "Baby Talk" on a Friday evening. Mr. Harkin's 30-minute infomercial also aired on a Friday, in place of "Entertainment Tonight." A woman "interviewer" asked Mr. Harkin softball questions.

No presidential contender has been engaging in as many closed-circuit interviews with local news anchors as the incumbent, George Bush.

In fact, the tactic has been a cornerstone of the White House's "re-

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MEDIA

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gional" media strategy devised by Dorrance Smith. Mr. Smith, the president's assistant for media affairs, is the former producer of ABC's "Nightline." He joined the White House last March.

"There's no rule that says a national political figure can only communicate his message through national media," Mr. Smith told the Chicago Tribune, bluntly summing up his strategy.

But even satellites can have a downside. Candidates fall prey to the dreaded "open-mike syndrome," forgetting that their microphones are still "live" in between interviews, and that participating stations still are receiving a satellite feed.

Three weeks ago, during such a lull, Mr. Clinton was told erroneously that former presidential candidate Jesse Jackson had decided to support Mr. Harkin. When Mr. Clinton responded angrily by accusing Mr. Jackson of "backstabbing," the comment was picked up by an open microphone and beamed across the country, creating a media flap.

Video games

While satellites help resolve candidates' time-and-distance dilemmas, videotapes help candidates target individual voters with specific messages. In today's ever-more impersonal electoral process, tapes are the closest a candidate may come to meeting a voter face to face.

During the closing stages of the New Hampshire primary campaign, 1,000 Clinton volunteers gave that tactic a high-tech twist. In a door-to-door drive over a single weekend, they distributed 20,000 videotapes to Democratic and independent voters targeted as "undecideds."

The videotapes, Clinton campaign spokeswoman Mary Ellen Glynn says, were designed to "bring Bill Clinton into [voters'] living rooms."

Each 12-minute tape included a "personal" pitch by the Arkansas governor, snippets from his campaign commercials, endorsements from major backers and a segment of his October announcement speech.

If a video recipient didn't own a VCR, he could view the tape at a public library — or one of Mr. Clinton's dozen field offices.

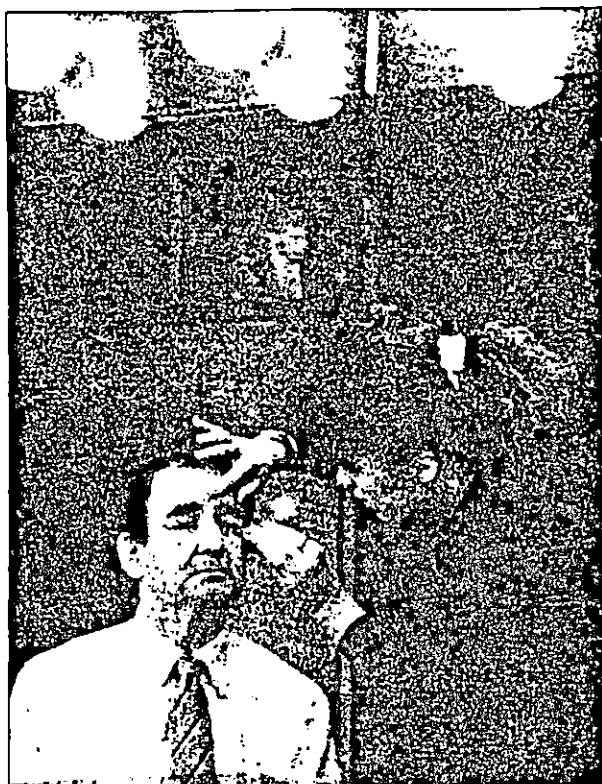
Later, analysts suggested that the last-minute videotape barrage helped halt Mr. Clinton's eroding support in the wake of allegations of marital infidelity and questions about his draft status during the Vietnam War.

But videos can be a double-edged sword, as Republican challenger Patrick Buchanan learned.

Mr. Buchanan got bloodied by a tape at a Saturday-night banquet in New Hampshire that marked former President Ronald Reagan's 81st birthday. The event was billed as "non-political."

Midway through the evening, though, Mr. Buchanan — Mr. Reagan's White House communications director — was "ambushed" by a videotaped message from the former president. In it, Mr. Reagan endorsed Mr. Bush for re-election.

■ More than ever, the candidates are using the medium to combat the monster of network news — the incredibly shrinking sound bite.



Pat Buchanan prepares for a network "news conference" in Boston.



Paul Tsongas' newspaper ads were old-fashioned by the standards of this year's high-tech campaign.

Cable calling

Perhaps the biggest change in this year's presidential primaries is in cable television. More than ever, the candidates are using the medium to combat the monster of network news — the incredibly shrinking sound bite.

Studies have shown that between 1968 and 1988, sound bites — the portions of candidates' comments that actually get on the air in news programs — shrank by 75 percent

from an average of 43 consecutive seconds to only nine seconds.

And, industry sources say, sound bites are shrinking even more this primary season.

But not on C-SPAN, cable's public-service network.

"This is the only place where you're guaranteed that your whole message will get out," C-SPAN Chairman Brian Lamb says. "And you can't blame anybody for cutting something you said out or editing it or only taking the exciting things."

Candidates pop up in front of C-SPAN's cameras nightly. In fact, the traffic has been so heavy that one prominent political analyst says — but not for attribution — that C-SPAN and CNN have "replaced ABC, CBS and NBC as the networks of record" in presidential politics.

"First of all, people who watch C-SPAN vote," Mr. Lamb notes. "In 1988, 92 percent of our viewers voted." That compares with 51 percent of eligible voters overall, he says.

"Secondly, the political infrastructure of the country watches the network. So if you come on here, you're guaranteed that you're going to get to an audience that will make a difference to you."

C-SPAN and CNN aren't the only places on cable where candidates are venturing. Last night, the Discovery Channel was scheduled to air

a commercial-free program called "The Presidential Candidates: Address to the Nation."

Hosted and produced by former CBS anchor Walter Cronkite, the program was to feature the four top Democratic hopefuls plus the GOP's Mr. Buchanan. Each candidate was to get 20 uninterrupted minutes to present a pretaped "picture of their vision for America and how they plan to achieve that vision."

Why is Discovery, the 24-hour documentary channel, getting into presidential politics? Jim Boyle, Discovery's public-affairs director, has the answer.

"Our chairman, John Hendricks, personally feels frustrated with the coverage of presidential politics and the emphasis on sound bites and nasty exchanges at debates," he says.

Fax facts

Closed-circuit satellite setups, videotapes and telephone hookups aren't the candidates' only high-tech tools in long-distance campaigns. Add to that list the ordinary fax machine, now found in almost every business office and in many private homes.

In September, Jerry Brown became the first presidential hopeful ever to announce his candidacy by fax. As Newsweek magazine put it, Mr. Brown "faxed his hat into the ring" by transmitting to reporters a 10-page report outlining his platform.

By last week, Mr. Brown was sending his press releases and position papers into an electronic "bulletin board" of Compu-serve, the on-line computer service. Compu-serve users also could engage in a "conversation" with the candidate by typing out questions, then downloading his answers.

Meanwhile, other presidential hopefuls have taken Mr. Brown's fax technology a step further.

They've begun using a system called "fax broadcasting," marrying a computer to a fax machine. By dialing up banks of computerized telephone lists, a candidate can fax his message to hundreds of reporters across the country at once.

Before he pulled out of the Democratic race Thursday, Bob Kerrey's campaign was the "fax broadcasting" pacesetter.

Last month, the Department of Labor slapped penalties on the Nebraska senator's restaurant chain for violating child-labor laws. Mr. Kerrey used a fax-broadcasting service to inform several hundred news outlets simultaneously that his only link with the chain was a financial one.

But Mr. Kerrey also got burned by an explosive fax that backfired.

His main media adviser, Harrison Hickman, anonymously faxed reporters at the Boston Globe and CBS News a three-page analysis of alleged discrepancies in Mr. Clinton's explanation of the draft question.

After the Globe traced the fax to Mr. Hickman's office machine in Washington, the Kerrey adviser confessed to being the author. He said he had sent the fax "in error." Mr. Kerrey, calling Mr. Hickman "Harrison Hitman," suspended him.

Low tech

And finally, what about former Massachusetts Sen. Paul Tsongas?

Typically, in New Hampshire Mr. Clinton's main rival for the Democratic nomination marched to his own drummer. Mr. Tsongas' newspaper ads were about as old-fashioned as could be.

The ads quoted rave reviews from newspaper writers — the kind of ads that producers run in Variety when they have a hit Broadway play.

By last week, with tomorrow's 11-state "Super Tuesday" shootout looming, Mr. Tsongas' mostly anti-Clinton TV and radio ads had turned a notch nastier. His handlers were striving to toughen up their candidate's professional image.

But that rougher spin soon collided with reality in a Dallas airport. Bathed in the glare of dozens of camera-crew lights, Mr. Tsongas stepped off his plane carrying a pink box.

A press aide quickly grabbed the box away, but not before viewers had seen a label identifying it as Mr. Tsongas' inseparable traveling companion. What was it? Some bold new frontier on the media-tech front?

No. It was the personal humidifier that Macho Man lugs around to every hotel room.

JOSEPH SOBRAN

The appeasement thing

A Republican can be described as a guy whose strategy is to lose slowly, even when he's winning. That's George Bush, and that's his problem.

For 50 years, the "mainstream" Republicans were those who assumed that socialism was going to prevail everywhere but weren't happy about it. Basically snobbish, they figured they were outnumbered by those horrible "masses" and "common men" for whom the Democratic Party professes to speak.

These well-to-do Republicans hoped to delay the inevitable day of reckoning by buying off the egalitarians with a series of little concessions. It was a pusillanimous ambition, but it became a habit they still can't shake.

George Bush went along for the ride on two Reagan landslides and happened to be the occupant of the Oval Office himself when the Soviet Union, the great embodiment of the socialist idea, collapsed. He still

Joseph Sobran, critic-at-large for National Review, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

doesn't get it. The event came as a terrible embarrassment to him; he did everything he could, in true Republican fashion, to shore up the status quo a little while longer.

Mr. Bush inherited a winning hand — the political equivalent of a full house — from Ronald Reagan, but when the Democrats bluff, he folds. He still thinks this is "prudent." It's more like prudery.

He inherited a winning hand — the political equivalent of a full house — from Ronald Reagan, but when the Democrats bluff, he folds. He still thinks this is "prudent." It's more like prudery — a fastidious refusal to mix it up with the other side.

SOBRAN
From page E1

single, flat tax rate of 13 percent. That won't get him the Democratic nomination, but in the right hands it could produce another Republican landslide. Not only would it be fairer and more intelligible than the current tangled code, it would give the taxpayers a unified interest against the government.

That's why the government is unlikely to enact it. And Mr. Bush is too unimaginative even to ponder it. As long as he lasts, he'll be cutting deals with whoever he thinks of as holding power on the other side. Creating a new dynamism of political power, and using it to defeat the other side, just isn't his style. As the economist Paul Craig Roberts puts it, Mr. Bush believes in the government, not in the people.

Thanks to the Buchanan revolt, the Republican Party may soon stand firmly for property rights, without which no freedom can last long. If you can't own, you will be owned.

The modern state, American as well as Soviet, has been distinguished by its war on property, especially income. Though the Supreme Court has "expanded" some of our rights, finding in the Constitution unsuspected "emanations" and "penumbras," since the New Deal it has construed property rights very narrowly. There are no known emanations and penumbras from the Fifth and 13th Amendments, for example; and what may not be taken from us without due process may now be taken by "democratic" process.

Hence comes it that we are taxed without limit, a condition Mr. Bush pledged only to prevent from getting any worse for the time being. The taxpayers didn't even ask him to improve their lot, only to freeze the plunder level. And he didn't even have enough honor to do that.

Now he finds himself in the strange position of trying to appease not the Democrats, but the very people who put him in office. It all makes sense, if you can make any sense of it.

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

It's the presidential election season, and the hyperbole is in full bloom.

Pat Buchanan promises in an ad that if elected, he'll "use the line item veto to stop wasteful government spending." The problem is, the president doesn't have such veto power.

One of Tom Harkin's ads contends the Iowa senator was the "only one with the guts to stand up for your family" and vote against allowing the president fast-track authority to negotiate a free-trade agreement with Mexico. In truth, 38 other senators and 192 House members joined Mr. Harkin in voting no.

Voter beware.

Campaign watchers say presidential hopefuls are trying to be

more specific about issues and their differing positions than they were four years ago when images of candidates in military tanks and flag factories dominated the airwaves.

But with that effort has come an increase in inaccuracies, distortions of opponents' records and exaggerations of their own positions.

Voters, says Brookings Institution fellow Stephen Hess, have some savvy when it comes to political hyperbole.

"Quite frankly, we expect that of politicians and to some degree we adjust everything they tell us," Mr. Hess said.

But while the news media and opposing candidates have made huge strides in immediately denouncing false claims in political ads, Mr.

"The problem is, [inaccuracies] do get into the bloodstream, and you can't get rid of them."

Hess says erroneous information continues to influence voters.

"The problem is, [inaccuracies] do get into the bloodstream, and you can't quite get rid of them," he said.

Among the half-truths in this season's political advertising:

• Mr. Buchanan contends that President Bush signed into law the "largest tax increase in the history of the United States."

Not so.

Although Mr. Bush did break his no-new-taxes pledge, the 1990 tax increase will generate only \$189 bil-

lion over the next six years, short of the \$266 billion generated in the six years after the 1982 tax increase, according to Congressional Budget Office figures.

• Former Massachusetts Sen. Paul Tsongas criticizes Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton and Nebraska Sen. Bob Kerrey for their proposed middle-class tax credits, saying the plans would "borrow from our children" and worsen the deficit.

• Mr. Bush says Mr. Buchanan opposed Operation Desert Storm.

The real story: Mr. Buchanan

used his columns and television appearances to repeatedly oppose increased U.S. presence in the Persian Gulf during Operation Desert Shield. But when the war became imminent, Mr. Buchanan urged in his column: "We ought to stand behind the men and women in the Gulf until victory is won." His support for the war remained steadfast thereafter.

• The Buchanan camp used footage from "Tongues Untied," a show in which scantily clad homosexual men danced in leather straps and chains, to suggest that Mr. Bush supported "pornographic and blasphemous art" through the National Endowment for the Arts.

That project, however, was funded during the Reagan administration.

In other ads, candidates may make promises but omit information that would help voters evaluate their claims. Some are guilty of exaggeration or misstatement by using numbers that assume the absolute worst or ideal scenario to convince voters of their positions.

Most strategists and ad makers say such tactics tend not to work in the best interest of candidates.

"It may initially pick up points for you, but it will cost you down the line. It becomes fodder for the opposition's cannon," said Karen Johnson Cartee, co-author of a book on negative political advertising.

"By and large the consultants try to be pretty careful simply because the mass media or the opponents will certainly find out," she said.



Maybe columnists should stay home

Newspaper columnists are too kind, too gentle to run for office.

You could ask Pat Buchanan. He has inspired other journalists, some no doubt envious of the \$500,000 he is said to make every year, to sift through his columns to find errors, gaffes and Politically Incorrect outrages.

Some of it is not fair, but if you want fair you should stay out of politics and journalism and stick to flower-arranging and hair-dressing.

Pat the columnist modeled himself on the early Westbrook Pegler, an enormously popular columnist of the '40s, who took particular delight in skewering FDR and the first lady, Eleanor, who was the first of the first ladies to imagine that she was elected to something along with her husband. Pegler called Mrs. Roosevelt "La Boca Grande," which is Spanish for "the big mouth."

But some of the things Pat has written about the heterophobic lobby, the threadbare "leadership" of the civil rights movement and the radical feminists, though eminently sensible, are the stuff of the journalism of a more robust age when American newsrooms were populated by newspapermen, a collective noun including both sexes. The shortage of hair dressers and flower arrangers is directly related to the explosion in the numbers of journalists, poseurs who infest Washington like rats and roaches.

Pat says things a lot of other people are saying, only more colorfully. Nothing has got him in more trouble than his columns on AIDS, though the specific examples the heterophobic lobby regularly cites bear rational analysis as fair comment. The trouble comes from the fact that only irrational analysis is allowed in discussing this disease.

"The poor homosexuals," he once wrote. "They have declared war on nature and now nature is exacting an awful retribution."

This infuriates the heterophobic lobby, though every AIDS researcher in the world knows it's the homosexual love rites, centered on the sewer opening



La Boca Grande

of the human body, that are driving the AIDS epidemic. But you can't say that, because it's Politically Correct to say that "now we're all at risk."

This, too, is myth. Straight people are little more at risk from AIDS than from bungee jumping, as nearly all AIDS researchers will privately tell you.

The radical feminists are after Pat, too, for say-

ing common-sensical things like this: "Less equipped psychologically to 'stay the course' in the brawling arenas of business, commerce, industry and the professions, women are physically unequipped to compete in the worlds of athletics and arms."

Many women, many of them rational feminists, are beginning to say the same things — not that women should be prevented from "staying the course" in business, commerce, industry and the professions, if they want to, but we should not be surprised when many of them decide they don't want to. If women want to try to make it as middle linebackers in the National Football League, maybe they should be allowed to, but nobody will be surprised that few of them will survive the first cut.

Common sense has been largely driven out of the media, and it's scarce enough in politics. In a profile of Mr. Buchanan, the Associated Press, gasping for breath, notes Mr. Buchanan's fusillades at fat, easy targets: "He even took aim at fellow journalists, [italics mine], writing during Democrat Walter F. Mondale's campaign for the presidency in 1984, 'As ideological bulwark of the Democratic Party, polemical and publicity arm of American liberalism, the Big Media are the strategic reserve of the Mondale campaign.'"

A rhetorical exaggeration, but not by much. But you're not supposed to say it. The candidate is an extension of the columnist, appreciated in more intellectually demanding places than our own. "Politicians have a responsibility in a democracy to talk freely about the things that are worrying people," London's Daily Telegraph observed the other day. "[Mr. Buchanan] is discharging that responsibility with gusto."

Some of the stuff Pat Buchanan is saying is not my cup of coffee, either, but those who don't like it should order a sasparilla with a wedge of lime, and sit down until they feel better.

PAUL CRAIG ROBERTS

No one ever dreamed that deposit insurance would result in the destruction of our legal system, but by busting the Treasury that is what is happening.

Consider the woes of a prosperous and well-heeled law firm with 400 lawyers, whose partners enjoyed an average income of \$660,000 in 1990.

If government prosecutors can blame Kaye, Scholer, Fierman, Hayes & Handler for the failure of savings and loans whose legal work it handled, freeze the assets of the law firm and its partners, and sue the firm for \$275 million in damages, the government can do what it wants to the rest of us who don't have 400 lawyers to mount a defense.

The government's suit against Kaye, Scholer is a frontal attack on the attorney-client privilege, without which everything we tell our lawyers would become evidence against us in court. The government's prosecution of the law firm is based on a "theory" by federal Judge Stanley Sporkin that lawyers should be held accountable for the acts of their clients. In practice, this means that lawyers who don't snitch on their clients have not met their "obligation to the public" and can be sued by the government for damages.

In other words, the government has no statutory basis for its suit and is going for a legal precedent that will turn everyone's lawyer into a government informer — just as the government has done with our bankers. The Bush administration has so overspent its budget that it sits silent while the federal government illegally assaults our basic legal protections.

It is all part of the government's determination to find private sector scapegoats to stick with the bill for the real estate and savings-and-loan debacles. Ill-considered federal legislation and regulation have destroyed real estate values and cost taxpayers \$500 billion to bail out federally insured depositors. Rather than admit that it made mistakes, the government is dismantling our legal system in order to blame the innocent. Are Americans so gullible that they believe that the country's

A scapegoat to pick up the tab?

most prestigious law and accounting firms, with an endless flow of legitimate clients, had to resort to "S&L fraud" in order to make money?

Two generations of Americans have lost sight of the extreme danger to liberty that is posed by our own government. The 45-year struggle against the Soviet Union focused our attentions on the external threat to our freedom and liberty. Meanwhile, at home the erosion of our property rights and legal protec-

tions against government predation accelerated, as traditional watchdogs such as the American Civil Liberties Union limited their attention to our First Amendment rights to print four-letter words, view dirty pictures, and burn the flag.

Now we are reaping the consequences as aggressive government prosecutors run roughshod over such basic legal protections as innocent until proven guilty. Increasingly, there are cases of government

prosecutors fabricating evidence, lying to the court and relying on perjury by government witnesses to convict innocent defendants.

There is nothing new about the abuse of government power, but today in America it is taking on Gestapo dimensions. The U.S. government is so broke and so desperate for money that it will frame the innocent in order to confiscate their money.

Whenever governments establish new legal precedents that undermine liberty, they pick a defendant who doesn't elicit the public's sympathy. Few Americans can identify with the tribulations of a rich and powerful law firm, and many believe that lawyers deserve all the punishment that can be given. But in the end, the same abusive precedent that gets the "S&L crook," "junk-bond king," and arrogant law firm gets us all.

WORTH/AMARILLO GLOBE-NEWS/CREATORS SYNDICATE



Paul Craig Roberts, an economist at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, is a columnist for The Washington Times and is nationally syndicated.

In any language

Trouble is brewing for the U.S. English organization founded by the late S.I. Hayakawa. All sorts of allegations about illegal political contributions and high living abound, apparently documented in American Express bills that were routinely paid for out of contributions. Tales of the organization's problems began surfacing following the Feb. 27 death of Mr. Hayakawa, a revered educator and former senator from California.

Leaks began catching the attention of those in the press after five staff positions were eliminated on the day of Mr. Hayakawa's death. The rift was attributed to the organization's "rapidly deteriorating financial condition."

Concerns also were expressed by staffers over the firing of Ron Saunders as executive director. Stanley Diamond, a longtime associate of Mr. Hayakawa's, now serves as chairman of the board and acting executive director.

U.S. English was founded by Mr. Hayakawa in 1983 to advocate the designation of English as the nation's official language. It is said to have taken in from \$23 million to \$29 million in donations since that time.

You'll be seeing more on this one.

Gobbie, gobbie

They're all turkeys.

Former House Speaker "Tip" O'Neill was in town the other day. In a conversation with a present member of Congress, the subject of the current Democratic field came up. "Boy," said Mr. O'Neill, "George Bush is the luckiest SOB that ever lived to have those five turkeys running against him."

This is a bipartisan report, by the way.

Last week, Conservative columnist George Will said he boycotted

INSIDE THE BELTWAY



Tip O'Neill sees a bunch of turkeys in the primary barnyard.

the Maryland Republican primary, abstaining from a vote for Mr. Bush or Pat Buchanan. "I'll be damned if I'm going to tell either of those turkeys they're ready to be president," he said. As for the Democratic nominee, Mr. Will said cryptically that it would be Bill Clinton, "barring another high-heeled shoe dropping."

Protect the image

So it seems you can only use a picture of President Bush if the White House thinks it's appropriate. The Drug Policy Foundation, an organization highly critical of the administration's drug policy, recently received a wrist-slapping letter and a set of Better Business

Bureau guidelines on advertising etiquette from Mark R.A. Paoletta, assistant counsel to the president. Having seen the president's picture used in the DPF's promotional material, Mr. Paoletta writes, "We request that you cease this practice immediately."

The picture in question was of Mr. Bush holding a bag of crack cocaine grabbed from a dealer near the White House.

Mr. Bush didn't mention "that the seller of the drug had to be aggressively lured to Lafayette Park," Kevin B. Zee, counsel to the DPF, says in his letter of reply. "The act by the president demonstrated the false foundation of his drug control policy." In conclusion, "Our First Amendment Rights are more important than the Better Business Bureau guidelines."

Speed bumps

• We have it fairly authoritatively that the longtime public relations partnership of David Keene and Craig Shirley is splitting. The firm, Keene Shirley and Associates, is located in Alexandria. "It's an amicable split," said our source. Mr. Shirley ducked a call yesterday seeking comment. As we hear it, he'll be promoting a new movie, "Death at Chappaquiddick."

• Very strange column by Jack Anderson in the OP yesterday about how Vice President Dan Quayle is out of control. The thesis is that Dan's all pumped about The Washington Post series starring himself, particularly about how he danced through it without David Broder or Bob Woodward laying a glove on him. So now he figures

he's invincible, and he won't mind his handlers. Meanwhile, the Bush campaign has pretty much told him he's on his own, and those used to guiding his every move are trying to figure how to get him back on the reservation.

• Iraq's leadership has been singing the blues about how terrible things have gotten there because of the sanctions. So what signs of being deprived do they show the West? Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz will be buzzing into the United Nations today with a couple of colleagues, arriving at JFK first class via Royal Jordanian Airlines.

• Mild hysteria is reported over at the Agency for International Development late last week after our reports on its really novel formula for showing Congress that it buys American. One official was blitzkrieging the place, telling bureaucrats not to talk to the press, while the formula's designer, Sandy Owens, endured the wrath of AID Director Ron Roskens.

• Oliver Stone continues his efforts to manipulate release of files on the assassination of John F. Kennedy. It's a new trend in Hollywood activism: Make a movie, force an issue.

Robert Redford, producer and narrator of the just-released documentary on Leonard Peltier, "Incident at Ogilala," is quoted in TV Etcetera newsletter on his hopes for the film. He wants it to force the Bush administration to act on executive clemency for the convicted murderer of two FBI agents.

• Ann Stone of Republicans for Choice took another hit when the College Republican National Committee adopted resolutions at its latest board meeting. "The CRNC urges Ann Stone to find a different way to save her sagging fundraising business than plaguing the Republican Party with her empty rhetoric," it was resolved.

— John Elvin

CHRISTOPHER MATTHEWS

President Bush has unleashed his bloodhounds on Patrick Buchanan. They sniff at his old columns, bark at his speeches, bite at his heels.

Mr. Buchanan laughs, mocks Mr. Bush's canine posse of Dan Quayle, Jack Kemp, William Bennett and Newt Gingrich as "kennel-fed conservatives." He taunts the president on what happens when a "kennel-fed conservative" tangles with a real "huntin' hound" like him. "They get tore up."

Welcome to the battle for the heart and soul of the Republican Party, 1992. And while most of us watching this spectacle reject Pat Buchanan's racial and ethnic jibes as the distilled essence of un-Americanism, it's hard to root for the pathetic pack chasing after him, delivering to every accessible TV mike the daily White House barking points.

The truth is, and a little cross-checking of the news clips will prove this, Patrick J. Buchanan owns a first-class Republican pedigree. His papers are as good as the pack attacking him, and they know it. Until his challenge to Mr. Bush, few said otherwise.

I include in this indictment that red-coated gent in the White House, the above-the-battle squire who sent this yelping pack to the hunt.

"To know what conservatives are thinking," George Bush wrote for the flap of a certain columnist's 1988 autobiography, "you have to read Pat Buchanan."

Christopher Matthews, Washington bureau chief for the San Francisco Examiner, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

Battling for the GOP's soul

Bush backers, such as former Education Secretary Bill Bennett, now argue that Mr. Buchanan's forfeited his GOP legitimacy by refusing to condemn ex-KKKer David Duke. They have a point. When I asked Mr. Buchanan in Savannah, Ga., Monday what his moral verdict is on someone who joined the Nazi Party or the Klan, he bit hard only on the Nazi part of the question. "Anybody who joins that party makes a statement that he hates people."

As for his differences with the Klan, the former White House speechwriter was less direct. "People who join those organizations make a totally different kind of statement" than he does. Mr. Buchanan opposes racial discrimination of any kind, including quotas or affirmative action. People like Mr. Duke, he said, continue to champion historic, white-against-black discrimination. Why, then, won't he join Mr. Bush in condemning Mr. Duke? "The White House has made Duke into a global figure. I'm going to deal with this in my own way."

For most of us, Mr. Buchanan's answer is starkly unacceptable. Why would anyone running for president of the United States have a problem condemning as downright un-American a guy who would march in Nazi uniform, make a living selling "Mein Kampf," wear a sheet and burn crosses?

Tragically, this moral failure of Mr. Buchanan doesn't separate him from the pack now in hot pursuit of

him. Who used the specter of the black male criminal who rapes white women as the central image of his presidential campaign? Who made Willie Horton a household word? Who made "Quotas!" his battle cry all last year even as he beat the drum for the Senate re-election of North Carolina's Jesse Helms? George Bush.

Who used the cartoon picture of the Chicago "welfare queen" growing fat on government checks? Of the young "buck" waiting in the supermarket line, his hand fat with food stamps, ready to use the change for a bottle of vodka? Ronald Reagan.

What makes Pat Buchanan different from these Great Danes of the Republican pack on matters of ethnic division in this country? What sets him apart from the pack that de-Americanized Michael Dukakis limb by limb for protecting the civil liberties of citizens who resist, because of religious or other reasons of principle, reciting the Pledge of Allegiance on command?

What makes Mr. Buchanan's assertion about women being "less equipped psychologically" for the business world so alien to a party that continues to oppose the Equal Rights Amendment? What makes his nasty words about the Voting Rights Act so out of place to the party of Barry Goldwater, the leader who opposed the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964 on constitutional grounds, the leader the Republican

convention intends to honor this summer?

The same can be said, and just as easily, about Mr. Buchanan's recent exploitation of a government-sponsored film on the gay black male lifestyle. Mr. Buchanan wasn't the first right-tilting Republican to throw a stone at gays. Remember how the entire 1984 Republican convention exploded into giggles when neo-conservative Jeane Kirkpatrick coined that cute little phrase "San Francisco Democrat" for her newfound political party?

No wonder the Republican hounds are sniffing at Pat Buchanan's old columns to find something that disqualifies him for GOP legitimacy. His new stuff is standard Republican lingo. What he says on the stump, what wins him a third of the Republican votes even where he doesn't campaign is the same hard-right line that George Bush knows all too well.

No wonder the huntsman in the White House sends out his "kennel-fed" hounds to do the dirty work on his No. 1 primary challenger. Who knows? When fall comes around, a certain desperate Republican we all know may be out there in the moonlight himself barking the familiar Buchanan line.

WE HAVE TO BURY BUCHANAN IN THE SOUTH... IT'S TIME WE CAPITALIZED ON THE ADVANTAGE OF MY INCUMBENCY.

BY STRESSING YOUR ACCOMPLISHMENTS AS PRESIDENT?



NO, BY OUTSPENDING HIM...



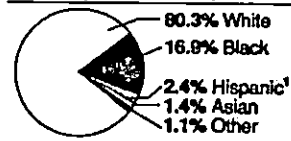
THE STATES OF SUPER TUESDAY

The 11 states that will hold primaries or caucuses tomorrow. Figures are for 1990, except for unemployment numbers, which are from December 1991.

DELAWARE

■ Democratic delegates: 14

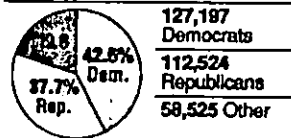
Population: 666,168



■ Unemployment: 5.4%

■ Voting age population: 502,827

Registered voters: 298,246

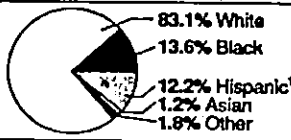


FLORIDA

■ Democratic delegates: 148

■ Republican delegates: 97

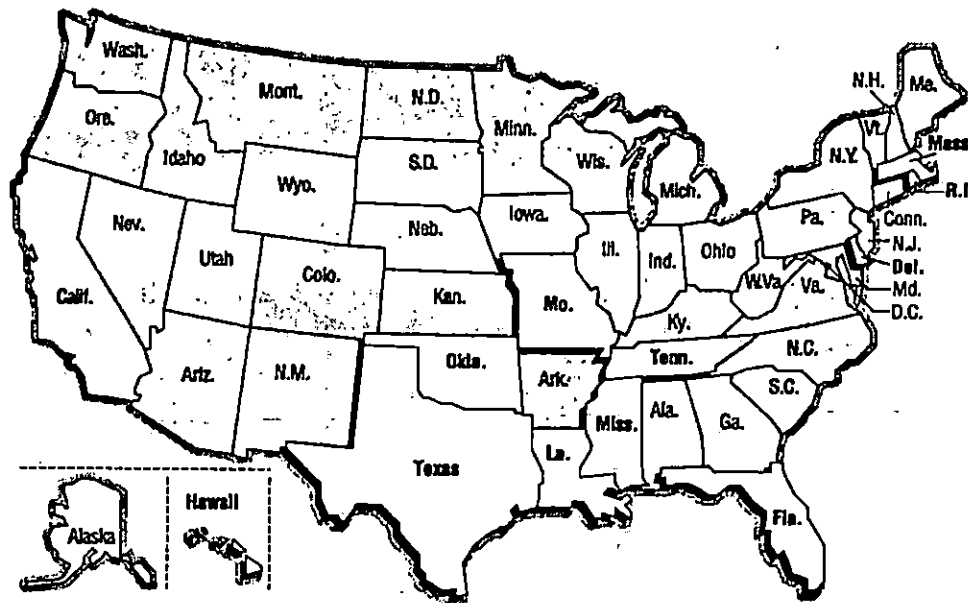
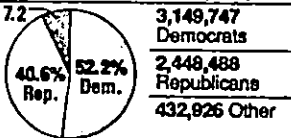
Population: 12,937,928



■ Unemployment: 7.3%

■ Voting age population: 10,071,689

Registered voters: 6,031,161

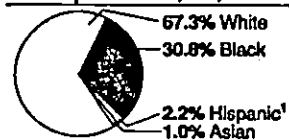


LOUISIANA

■ Democratic delegates: 60

■ Republican delegates: 38

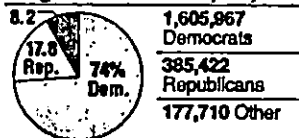
Population: 4,219,973



■ Unemployment: 6.4%

■ Voting age population: 2,992,704

Registered voters: 2,169,089

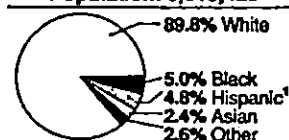


MASSACHUSETTS

■ Democratic delegates: 94

■ Republican delegates: 38

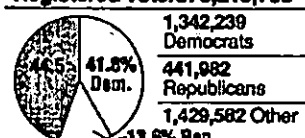
Population: 6,016,425



■ Unemployment: 7.9%

■ Voting age population: 4,663,350

Registered voters: 3,213,763

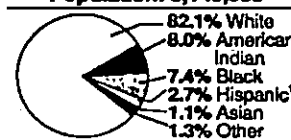


OKLAHOMA

■ Democratic delegates: 45

■ Republican delegates: 34

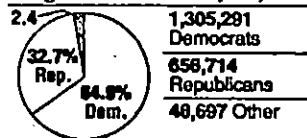
Population: 3,145,585



■ Unemployment: 6.4%

■ Voting age population: 2,308,578

Registered voters: 2,010,684



MISSISSIPPI

■ Democratic delegates: 39

■ Republican delegates: 33

Population: 2,573,216



■ Unemployment: 7.5%

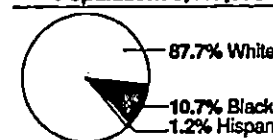
■ Voting age population: 1,828,455

Registered voters: 1,592,992

MISSOURI

■ Democratic delegates: 77

Population: 5,117,073



■ Unemployment: 5.8%

■ Voting age population: 3,802,247

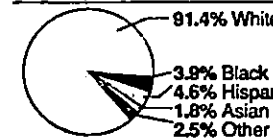
Registered voters: 2,747,000

RHODE ISLAND

■ Democratic delegates: 22

■ Republican delegates: 15

Population: 1,003,464



■ Unemployment: 7.7%

■ Voting age population: 777,774

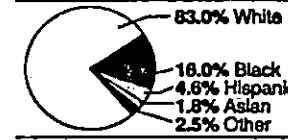
Registered voters: 536,773

TENNESSEE

■ Democratic delegates: 68

■ Republican delegates: 45

Population: 4,877,185



■ Unemployment: 6.5%

■ Voting age population: 3,660,581

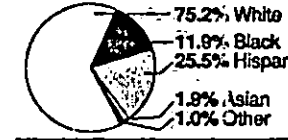
Registered voters: 2,460,968

TEXAS

■ Democratic delegates: 196

■ Republican delegates: 121

Population: 16,968,510



■ Unemployment: 6.7%

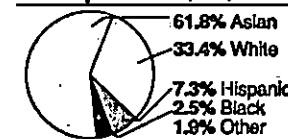
■ Voting age population: 12,150,871

Registered voters: 7,701,499

HAWAII

■ Democratic delegates: 20

Population: 1,108,229



■ Unemployment: 3.0%

■ Voting age population: 628,103

Registered voters: 453,389

¹ Hispanic people can be of any race.

² Hawaii, Mississippi, Missouri, Rhode Island, Tennessee and Texas have no party registration.

Blacks make big difference in South

By Ronald A. Taylor
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

HOUSTON — Even without the Rev. Jesse Jackson's candidacy to energize them, Southern black voters are keenly aware that they are hot property in this phase of the presidential sweepstakes.

But at the same time black officials and political analysts see a failure in the current crop of Democratic candidates to respond to the concerns of black voters.

By the time the polls close tomorrow night, one-fourth of the delegates needed for the Democratic presidential nomination will have been selected by voters in 11 states, including seven Southern and border states.

Roughly 40 percent of those voters are blacks whose political clout — though not sufficient to elect one of their own — can mean life or death to a would-be officeholder in the South.

In the past week, without nearly 80 percent of the black vote in South Carolina, 70 percent in Georgia and 49 percent in Maryland, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton would not have the momentum he is carrying into the Super Tuesday primaries.

"The modern-day white politician has to have some kind of relationship with black people," says Julian Bond, the former civil rights activist turned talk-show host.



Jesse Jackson gets a hug in Miami's Liberty City section Saturday.

And the black vote can be courted without damaging a candidate's relationship with white voters, says Hastings Wyman, editor of the Washington-based Southern Political Report.

"As long as there are no racially polarizing issues in the campaign, such as affirmative action, going after the black vote won't hurt you with white voters," he says.

Since last fall, Mr. Clinton has been a presence at such black political and social gatherings as the Congressional Black Caucus prayer

breakfast, a gathering of 4,000 black clergy and elected officials in Washington last September.

Even the Democratic presidential contest's lone black hopeful, Virginia Gov. L. Douglas Wilder, had a tough time getting an endorsement from black Arkansas legislators at a reception last December. While endorsing Mr. Wilder's candidacy, most of the legislators declined to criticize Mr. Clinton.

The other Democratic candidates also have important touchstones to link them with black voters.

Iowa Sen. Tom Harkin is often in the company of Rainbow Coalition leader Jesse Jackson. Mr. Harkin's most recent television advertisements prominently show him with Mr. Jackson. The 1988 Democratic presidential hopeful who sat out this year's race has no speaking role in the 30-second ads and has not endorsed any presidential candidate.

Former Massachusetts Sen. Paul Tsongas' staff made sure he was photographed at the Martin Luther King Jr. memorial in Atlanta during a Georgia primary campaign stop. He later unveiled endorsements of his candidacy from Martin Luther King III and Michael Thurman, a Georgia state representative and chairman of the state's caucus of black legislators.

But Mr. Bond and other political analysts stress that black support cannot be taken for granted, espe-

cially in a year in which the crowd-pleasing Mr. Jackson is not running and the only other black candidate, Mr. Wilder, was an early casualty in the presidential nomination race.

"Nobody is really mobilizing blacks," says Earl Black, a University of South Carolina political science professor and the co-author of "The Vital South," an examination of southern presidential politics.

"When I look at the campaign, I'm not so sure that there's been much mention of issues of concern to blacks," says George Wright, a black studies scholar at the University of Texas at Austin.

The New York Times last week quoted a number of black officials and voters in the South complaining they were being ignored by Democratic candidates more interested in courting the middle-class white male vote.

Democrats should not assume that black support is automatic, says Hazel Obey, a black official of the Texas Democratic Party. "Blacks are withholding their support until someone reaches out to them and addresses their needs."

Mr. Tsongas' campaign has missed some black support for that very reason, according to Marvin Dunn, a black Florida International University psychology professor and the author of a book about the racial disturbances in Liberty City, a Miami, Fla., ghetto.

Tsongas tripped up in strike at Clinton

By J. Jennings Moss
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

MIAMI — Paul Tsongas' weekend attempt to question Bill Clinton's integrity hit a snag Saturday as a critical press corps dissected his remarks and forced him to explain every nuance of his criticisms.

By yesterday, Mr. Tsongas seemed to have regained his stride. Along with a more confident tone, he was able to reflect on some of the miscues since he vaulted from being a largely dismissed presidential candidate to one of the top two contenders for the Democratic nomination.

"I acknowledge that a lot of this is growing pains, and we're not as smooth as we should be, but hopefully it will all work out," the former Massachusetts senator said yesterday in Nashville, Tenn.

Still, it was Mr. Tsongas' deepening tussle with the Arkansas governor that again attracted the most attention.

"I'm left with two choices, neither of which I find enjoyable. No. 1, Tsongas doesn't respond and gives everybody the impression... that you can trash Paul Tsongas, he won't fight back," he said. "The second choice is to fight back, to respond. I don't want to do that. It gets me off my message."

Given the two choices, he picked the second.

Leading up to the Feb. 18 New Hampshire primary, Mr. Tsongas generally was the picture of civility — encouraging others to run when he was the only one in the race, praising several of his opponents' ideas and building what he thought would be a long-lasting friendship with Mr. Clinton.

But as Mr. Tsongas' support grew, so did his opponents' criticism of him, notably for his pro-business economic policies and his support for nuclear power.

What his rivals said they were doing was pointing out legitimate policy differences. Mr. Tsongas said they were going negative.

"I think Democrats are going to start listening much more closely to what Tsongas is saying, and they're going to see that Clinton's criticisms are not negative campaigning. They're an intellectual, honest assessment of that message," Florida Lt. Gov. Buddy McKay said yesterday at a Miami Beach rally in support of Mr. Clinton.

Mr. Tsongas responded by challenging his opponent's tax proposals. Last week, he called Mr. Clinton "cynical and unprincipled."

He said Mr. Clinton was pandering for votes in Connecticut by supporting the Seawolf submarine program. Mr. Tsongas also took offense at a remark Mr. Clinton made about his



Paul Tsongas holds the hand of Justin Moose, 3, at a prayer service yesterday.

economic proposals being "un-American," saying Mr. Clinton's words were in effect an ethnic slur.

"The word un-American is not existential. That is a very strong charge and it comes in a milieu of all these comments made by his staff about me," Mr. Tsongas told reporters Saturday.

When pressed on what comments he was referring to, Mr. Tsongas could not give a specific list. Later, a campaign aide mentioned a remark by Clinton strategist James Carville calling Mr. Tsongas a "pro-choice George Bush."

Yesterday, he turned the phrase around to defend his support for a homosexual-rights bill and same-sex marriages.

"The fact is that people who are gay are gay. And they have to live their lives as well. And somehow to say that they're not Americans and not equal to anybody else, you have all these people who have been identified as being gay who are major contributors in the United States," he said on ABC's "This Week."

The latest twist in the Tsongas-Clinton feud came yesterday when Mr. Clinton's supporters, campaigning among Jewish retirees in Miami Beach, distributed a flier showing the differences in the two candidates' positions on Israel that gave the impression Mr. Tsongas was pro-Syria.

"All I'm saying is that let's be fair, let's give the entire impression, not pick out pieces and try to give false impressions," Mr. Tsongas said.

Texas win for Clinton could call nomination

By Ronald A. Taylor
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

AUSTIN, Texas — This state is not famous for its shrinking violets, so it's no surprise that politically active Texans predict that their primary tomorrow will be decisive in the race for the Democratic presidential nomination.

"You can lose Oklahoma, Tennessee and Alabama, but if you win Texas, you win more convention votes than in any of those states," said Art Brown, a state Democratic Party committee member, referring to the 196 convention delegates from the state at stake in the Super Tuesday balloting.

"We're part of the North, South and the West," said Mr. Brown, one of 350 party faithful gathered in an Austin beer garden yesterday at a rally for Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton.

A Clinton victory tomorrow would mean a trip to the party's nominating convention in July as a delegate for Mr. Brown, 62, an insurance broker.

The only possible hitch in those plans would be a turnout lower than expected. But Mr. Brown said a heavy turnout of Hispanic voters will more than compensate for a black turnout deflated by the absence of the Rev. Jesse Jackson.

An active party member, he said Mr. Clinton has been "courting the vote here for the last year." As if on cue, Mr. Clinton greeted the crowd at the beer garden by saying, "I've been to this place so many times I know where the restrooms are."

The candidate spent yesterday in a last-minute blitz around the state, making a half-dozen 20-minute appearances from the academic and intellectual epicenter here south to farm country in McAllen and east toward the hill country and the Louisiana border.

He told crowds he was renewing old ac-

quaintances and trying to boost the turnout for tomorrow's primary.

In the first reference he has made to the November election, Mr. Clinton said this region is an important proving ground for Democratic presidential candidates.

"This area could be meaningful to me for the general election," he said. "I've spent a lot of time in the West and the people here think that we Democrats can carry the West if we bring a different message."

That message varied little from what Mr. Clinton has been conveying on the political stump the past few weeks, with an emphasis on the idea of middle-class restoration and the promise of opportunity in exchange for increased responsibility.

"Here's the difference between me and George Bush," he told the rally in Austin. "I don't want to give somebody something for nothing."

He cited as an example his program to guarantee college tuition for all high school graduates in exchange for a pledge to either pay the money in the form of a loan or submit to a period of national service as a teacher or police officer.

At his last stop, in McAllen, he reacted to reports that Iowa Sen. Tom Harkin will announce his withdrawal today.

"He was aggressive," Mr. Clinton said of Mr. Harkin. "He made a real contribution. He stood up for ordinary people. He also raised the visibility of his work for the disabled by virtue of this campaign, which I think is very, very important."

Texas' role in the presidential selection process was enhanced when the date of delegate selection was moved from May to March, said David Hudson of Tyler, Texas.

Mr. Hudson, whose Eagle Scout son Joseph opened Mr. Clinton's rally in Tyler with the flag salute, said 1988 "was the first time we had a real primary."

Says he lost \$25,000 on land deal

By Michael Hedges
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Bill Clinton, the Democratic presidential front-runner, worked swiftly yesterday to limit the impact of a New York Times dispatch detailing questionable business dealings he and his wife had with the owner of a failed savings and loan.

"There was nothing inappropriate," Mr. Clinton said of his half-interest in a real estate partnership with James B. McDougal, a longtime friend and aide who headed the since-failed Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan of Little Rock.

The Clinton campaign released several documents, including statements from several of the principals in the real estate deal, disputing the charges raised in the Times. Among the documents was a statement by Mr. McDougal's attorney accusing the Times of "reckless disregard of the facts."

Nevertheless, several of Mr. Clinton's past political foes said the article hit close to a truth that would emerge as the campaign unfolded:



Courting blacks: Bill Clinton (left) speaks at Lyon's Unity Baptist Church in Houston yesterday as the retired minister, Horace Anderson, listens.

the Arkansas governor's involvement in questionable business dealings.

It is also the second time that a Clinton-McDougal business arrangement has attracted media attention.

"This is a very distinct abuse of power," said Sheffield Nelson, a Little Rock businessman who was the Republican candidate against Mr. Clinton in 1990. "During our campaign he said time and again that his

wife, Hillary, had never done business with any of his aides. It is another case of Clinton having lied to the people of Arkansas."

Mr. Clinton brought Mr. McDougal into his first administration in the late 1970s as an aide for economic development. They went into business at about the same time, forming Whitewater Development, a real estate joint venture. The two

see CLINTON, page A7

CLINTON

From page A1

had known each other since the 1960s when both worked for J. William Fulbright, the former Democratic senator from Arkansas.

Mr. McDougal was chairman of Madison Guaranty when it was shut down by federal regulators in 1989. He was indicted for fraud in the wake of the S&L's collapse but was acquitted in 1990.

J.E. Dunlap Jr., a former chairman of the Boone County (Ark.) Democratic Party, who is editor of the Harrison (Ark.) Daily Times, said he investigated Mr. McDougal's background on behalf of Rep. John Paul Hammerschmidt in 1982. Mr. McDougal was challenging the Arkansas Republican for his House seat.

Mr. Dunlap said Mr. Clinton was questioned by the Arkansas media in the late 1970s when he was state attorney general about a land deal he entered with Mr. McDougal in Marion County, deep in the Ozarks.

"They owned two or three hundred acres together," he said. "I remember when it became an issue Mr. Clinton came out the next day and said he didn't see any problem with it and it went away as a story."

Mr. Hammerschmidt, who defeated Mr. Clinton in his first race for office, a congressional run in 1974,



Candidate Jerry Brown displays allegations against Bill Clinton.

said yesterday, "I'd always heard about land transactions between Clinton and McDougal. I'd known they were very close for a long time."

Mr. Clinton was able to escape from questionable dealings relatively unscathed in Arkansas because he was popular with the dominant state media, Mr. Nelson said. "I think this is the tip of the iceberg," he said of the New York Times story.

Whitewater Development was organized in 1978 and at times money from Mr. McDougal's S&L was used

to subsidize it, the Times said. Whitewater Development purchased 200 acres of land in the Ozark mountains of northern Arkansas, with the intention of reselling it in smaller lots.

Records appear to show that the Clintons invested little or no money in the partnership with Mr. McDougal but stood to get half the profits if the venture had been successful, the New York Times said.

The Times also reported that the Clintons improperly deducted at



James B. McDougal

least \$5,000 in interest payments on their personal tax returns in 1984 and 1985 in a transaction involving the partnership. The deductions saved them about \$1,000 in taxes.

Mrs. Clinton borrowed \$30,000 from Mr. McDougal's financial institution and the Clintons took deductions for interest payments. But it was Whitewater that actually made the payments.

A lawyer for the couple, Susan Thomases of Little Rock, told the Times that the deduction "clearly is

an error." But since the "error" occurred more than three years ago, the Clintons are not liable under Internal Revenue Service regulations.

Complicating the matter is the fact that the location of key financial documents related to the venture is under dispute, according to the Times.

Mr. McDougal told the newspaper that he delivered the documents to the Arkansas governor's mansion at Mr. Clinton's request. The Clintons say many of the documents have disappeared.

At a hurriedly assembled press conference en route to a campaign stop in Austin, Texas, yesterday, Mr. Clinton said Whitewater "was nothing but a big money-loser for me."

"I know we lost more than \$25,000 — never made a penny on it," he said, noting that Mr. McDougal didn't own an S&L when the real estate business got started in 1978.

Mr. Clinton said he perhaps should have thought about terminating the deal when he returned to the governor's office in 1983 because Mr. McDougal's S&L was under state regulation.

"Frankly, at the time, it never crossed my mind (to get out) because we were losing money," he said, adding that S&Ls weren't the "bugaboo" they are now.

Asked whether this latest round of accusation could further wound his presidential hopes, Mr. Clinton

replied angrily, "On that theory, the press gets to decide who gets to stay and who gets to go whether the allegations have any merits or no...."

In a telephone interview from his home in Arkadelphia, Ark., Mr. McDougal said, "I've never done anything illegal, and as far as I know Bill Clinton has never done anything illegal or unethical."

Mr. Hammerschmidt said he developed an extensive file on Mr. McDougal's financial dealings during the 1982 campaign but decided not to use the information.

"He developed a savings and loan empire without any equity, as others did, and of course it all fell apart," Mr. Hammerschmidt said.

Mr. McDougal was indicted by a federal grand jury in November, 1989. The government contended that as owner of a majority of the stock in the Madison Guaranty, he arranged sham deals to generate bonuses for himself totaling \$75,000 in 1985 and 1986.

The indictment also charged that Mr. McDougal set up a company, Master Developers, to buy land using Madison Guaranty funds. He also was charged with conspiracy and submitting false documents.

Mr. McDougal was found not guilty of all counts in May 1990.

• Ronald A. Taylor in Austin, Texas, contributed to this article, which is based in part on wire service reports.

DONALD LAMBRO

You can analyze last week's Democratic primaries 12 different ways from Sunday, but one overriding reality emerged: Paul Tsongas showed for the first time that his unorthodox, pro-business message has considerable national support in his party.

That is saying a lot in a party whose presidential candidates over the past two decades have mounted campaigns that were largely driven by anti-business, corporate-bashing, class warfare messages. Mr. Tsongas, in contrast, is running to "change the Democratic Party forever" by positioning it as the party whose economic policies promote business investment, expansion, growth and — a word that Democratic leaders here seemed to hate — profit.

The former Massachusetts senator's victory in Maryland over Bill Clinton, plus his strong showing in a clutch of Western states, showed him to be much more competitive against the Arkansas governor nationally, far from his New England regional base.

Mr. Clinton scored decisively in Georgia, his first victory of the season, and that sent a strong signal that he could sweep through most of the 11 Super Tuesday primaries and caucuses, five of which are in his native South.

Even so, it is reasonable to argue that Georgia was his regional home turf — just as New Hampshire was Mr. Tsongas' home turf — where the governor was expected to do well since he was the only Southern candidate in the race.

Yet Mr. Clinton's failure to win outside of his region suggested that he has yet to prove he is anything other than a regional candidate who appears to be the prohibitive favorite son of the South. It also sent disturbing signals that he may have suffered much deeper damage than has been acknowledged from the controversies and questions about his character that have plagued his campaign

Donald Lambro, chief political correspondent of The Washington Times, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

Finding a broader base of support



Paul Tsongas

from the beginning.

Lost in all of the hoopla of last week's primary campaigns were several voter surveys, which showed Mr. Clinton's unfavorable public opinion ratings have shot up significantly, from 15 percent in January to 31 percent now, according to the Times Mirror poll. "Clinton's negatives have ballooned over the past six weeks," the poll found, while Mr.

Tsongas' have remained relatively low at 17 percent.

Meantime, the continued poor showing by Sen. Tom Harkin of Iowa suggested that the field will be narrowing even further soon. Already Sen. Bob Kerrey of Nebraska has dropped out in the face of low ratings in the polls, and it has effectively become a Tsongas-Clinton race.

Mr. Harkin, who has yet to win a primary contest outside his home state, also appeared to be near the end of his rope.

He had billed himself as a "real Democrat," believing that his unvarnished liberalism would win back working class Democrats who have deserted the party over the last decade. Yet there seemed to be little attraction for his call for a return to a "new New Deal."

Indeed, the story of this year's Democratic sweepstakes appeared to be that the party has had enough of liberals who have led it to defeat in five out of the last six presidential elections.

Both Mr. Tsongas and Mr. Clinton have run largely as moderates on economic issues, while staking out liberal positions on social issues such as abortion and civil rights.

Only former California Gov. Jerry Brown, the arch-reformer bent on overthrowing the political system's dependence on special interest campaign financing, appeared capable of staying in the race. His surprising win in Colorado showed that his anti-establishment message remains a strong one, but his reputation as a bizarre, fringe candidate prevents him from being seriously considered as the nominee of his party.

For now, the Democrats have turned to the two candidates who want to move their party toward a more market-oriented, economic opportunity message that contains strains of the GOP's winning strategy in the 1980s.

Of the two, Mr. Tsongas' pro-business message appears to have more clarity and focus and has clearly struck a more responsive national chord in a party desperate for an economic message with broad-based appeal. Mr. Clinton began his campaign by stressing his economic growth platform, but that message became blurred when his candidacy turned defensive in the face of the allegations that were made against him.

Mr. Clinton is in many ways the more skillful stump candidate who can excite a crowd with his delivery. But Mr. Tsongas' carefully nurtured image as a thoughtful, no-nonsense, pro-growth candidate has become a stronger political force than most political analysts had thought possible.

As Democratic strategist Alan Secrest puts it, in today's anti-politician, anti-establishment climate, "slick is not necessarily better this year."

JONATHAN ADLER

A greenhouse road to serfdom

On Feb. 27, the Bush administration announced that it was beginning to give in to the demands of environmentalists and Third World countries by pledging \$75 million in aid to developing countries.

This aid is intended to induce these countries to forego the use of those energy sources that produce "greenhouse" gases. While this action marks a decided turn in administration policy, the environmental establishment is far from satisfied. As Michael Oppenheimer of the Environmental Defense Fund told the New York Times, "If it's the last thing we hear about global warming, then it's a sham."

What the environmental community is demanding is that the United States commit to reducing emissions of greenhouse gases to 80 percent of 1990 levels by the year 2000. Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell has charged that "eventually, we must ourselves reduce consumption of fossil fuels by 50 percent or more."

However, in these calls to action, there is little discussion of the costs of such measures. Given the results of a recent study by the Energy Department, this is not at all surprising. According to this report, reducing carbon dioxide emissions 20 percent below 1990 levels over the next decade would bring an annual price tag of \$95 billion dollars by the year 2000. This would represent a more than 50 percent increase in annual expenditures on environmental regulations, and would surely have dire economic consequences. Such an effort would require massive energy taxes, and would be likely to as much as double the price of gasoline.

Merely freezing greenhouse gas emissions at 1990 levels, considered the baseline for any serious talks on climate change by the European Community, would also be quite expensive. This would require the imposition of a \$100 per metric ton carbon tax, and would likely increase gasoline, heating oil and electricity prices by more than 25 percent. As goes without saying, much of the economic impact of these changes would fall upon the working class

and urban poor. Given the costs of these "modest" scenarios, just imagine the impact of Mr. Mitchell's 50 percent reductions.

All this is based on the assumption, regularly repeated in journalistic circles, that a scientific consensus supports the need for such actions. After all, any price would be a small price to pay to save the world. However, a recent survey by the Center for Science, Technology & Media (CSTM) demonstrated that there is hardly a scientific consensus that industrial emissions of greenhouse gases will have catastrophic conse-

Congressional leaders and environmental activists have been urging that President Bush listen to the scientific "consensus" and embrace the apocalyptic scenario of a catastrophically warming world. Yet now members of the scientific community are demonstrating that this supposed consensus does not now, and never did, exist.

quences. According to this survey, conducted by the Gallup organization, only 41 percent of experts believe that the current scientific evidence supports the possibility of "human-induced global warming." Interestingly enough, a companion CSTM study revealed that among scientists who had been quoted in major media outlets, there was greater support of global warming theories than in the scientific community as a whole.

What is more, a statement just released by the Science and Environmental Policy Project, and signed by more than 40 U.S. atmospheric scientists, goes even further,

charging that the environmental agenda being pushed at the U.N. Conference on Environment and Development, which includes a proposed global climate treaty, "will have catastrophic impacts on the world economy, on jobs, standards of living, and health care, with the most severe consequences falling on developing countries and the poor." Not only does the public statement directly challenge the "unsupported assumption" that human activity is causing global warming, but it also points to the wealth of scientific evidence that carbon dioxide enrichment of the atmosphere has "beneficial effects on most crops and on world food supply."

Most startling about the public statement was the willingness of so many climate scientists who had previously kept quiet to challenge what passes for the conventional wisdom on climate change and take a stand against the rush to embrace the "Earth Summit." As the statement read, "We are disturbed that activists, anxious to stop energy and economic growth, are pushing ahead with drastic policies without taking notice of recent changes in the underlying science."

For the past few months, congressional leaders and environmental activists have been urging that President Bush listen to the scientific "consensus" and embrace the apocalyptic scenario of a catastrophically warming world. Yet now members of the scientific community are speaking out and demonstrating that this supposed consensus does not now, and never did, exist.

For the first three years of the Bush administration, the president held firm against the calls for precipitate U.S. action on this issue. The cries of the environmental establishment notwithstanding, the demonstrated absence of a scientific consensus justifies what has been a rational and prudent approach to global climate change.

Yet now it appears that the administration is on the verge of capitulating to the green establishment in a cynical attempt to woo the environmental vote. No "gimmick," embracing a policy of massive reductions in greenhouse gas emissions will cost the American people dearly. If the president is serious about jump-starting the flagging economy, it would be best not to cut off its fuel.

Jonathan H. Adler is an environmental policy analyst at the Competitive Enterprise Institute.

Native son poised to sweep South

by Donald Lambro
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Bill Clinton, propelled by his big weekend victories, is poised to sweep most of tomorrow's Super Tuesday contests in the South, which would give him a commanding lead for the Democratic presidential nomination.

At the same time, Democratic insiders say pressure is already building in the party's highest councils to "shut down" their presidential selection battle as soon as a clear front-runner emerges in the next few weeks.

Iowa Sen. Tom Harkin has scheduled news conferences today in Washington and Des Moines, and two state party officials told the Associated Press he will announce his withdrawal from the race.

On the Republican side, President Bush, with an 8-0 victory record over Pat Buchanan, now foresees a big triumph in Tuesday's contests as his chance to defuse Mr. Buchanan's intransigence and "begin focusing on his Democratic opposition," according



Giving a high five: Democratic presidential candidate Paul Tsongas greets admirers after arriving in Nashville, Tenn., Saturday night.

to a senior strategist.

Meantime, former Massachusetts Sen. Paul Tsongas remains in a tight race with the Arkansas governor in Florida, a key Southern battleground where he hopes to prevent a Clinton sweep of the South and give his candidacy a boost for the Northern industrial-state primaries to come.

A Florida victory for Mr. Tsongas in Clinton territory would strengthen his claim that his support

is truly national while the governor has yet to win a party contest in the North, or in Mr. Tsongas' Northeast region.

But after his big victory Saturday in the South Carolina primary and the Wyoming caucus, Mr. Clinton clearly has the most momentum going into tomorrow's 11 primaries and

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TUESDAY

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caucuses in a two-man race that party leaders believe will be all but over within a few weeks.

There are 783 Democratic delegates up for grabs in Super Tuesday contests, seven of which are in Southern and border states. And Mr. Clinton is likely to take the lion's share of them, even by the most conservative estimates.

He is strongly favored to win in Texas, where 196 delegates are at stake, as well as in Tennessee, Mississippi and Louisiana, and in two border states, Oklahoma and Missouri. Mr. Tsongas is expected to win his home state of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and could do well in the Delaware and Hawaii caucuses.

Mr. Tsongas has won party contests in New Hampshire, Maine, Maryland, Washington and Utah, as well as the popular vote in the Arizona caucus over the weekend. Mr. Clinton has won in Georgia, South Carolina and Wyoming.

Each has been playing to his regional strengths, though Mr. Tsongas has shown more national appeal than Mr. Clinton has demonstrated so far. A key test for both will come on March 17 in the Illinois and Michigan primaries.

"If Tsongas wins in Florida, that would balance off Clinton's win elsewhere in the South," said Democratic campaign consultant Alan Secrest. "And that would keep him in the game."

But most strategists, such as Democratic pollster Mark Mellman, believe that "this contest is going to be settled very early after Tuesday. I don't see this fight going to California."

In fact, Democratic National Chairman Ron Brown and other party officials were said to be preparing to end the nominating contest as quickly as possible, according to

reliable party sources.

"There's a lot of financial and political pressure being brought to bear to do just that," said a prominent party adviser who did not want to be identified.

"There's a growing view [in the party's inner circle] that Clinton is going to be the candidate," he added. "The feeling is that he's the best they are going to get and they are looking to circle the wagons around him. They want to close down the debate as soon as possible after Michigan and Illinois. And there's a lot of whispering and money going around aimed at doing that."

While former California Gov. Jerry Brown, who narrowly won in last week's Colorado primary, remains in the race, he does not appear to pose a serious challenge for the nomination.

Mr. Brown did win the Nevada Democratic caucuses yesterday. With most of the caucuses reporting, he had 34 percent to 25 percent for Mr. Tsongas and 24 percent for Mr. Clinton. But his delegate harvest was only six, with five for Mr. Tsongas, three for Mr. Clinton and three undetermined or uncommitted.

On the Republican side, Mr. Bush is hoping to deal a major blow to Mr. Buchanan by defeating him so decisively tomorrow that he will be persuaded to end his candidacy.

But the conservative challenger, who has yet to win a primary, vows he will stay in the race through the California primary in June and take his battle all the way to the Republican convention in Houston in August.

But after Mr. Bush's 67 percent weekend showing in South Carolina, there was growing pressure from GOP leaders for Mr. Buchanan to abandon his campaign for the good of the party.

"He's holding Bush to a much higher standard than he held Nixon to in 1972 when he tried to get Congressman [John] Ashbrook out of the race," Housing and Urban Development

A LOOK AT THE PAST

The top finishers in the past three presidential primaries for the eight states holding primaries on Super Tuesday 1992. Delaware, Hawaii and Missouri hold caucuses, so previous results are unavailable.

1990			
Democratic		Republican	
Florida			
Carter	61%	Reagan	56%
Kennedy	23%	Bush	30%
Others	7%	Anderson	9%
Louisiana			
Carter	56%	Reagan	75%
Kennedy	23%	Bush	19%
Uncomm.	12%	Uncomm.	5%
Massachusetts			
Kennedy	65%	Bush	31%
Carter	29%	Anderson	31%
Others	4%	Reagan	28%
Rhode Island			
Kennedy	68%	Reagan	72%
Carter	26%	Bush	19%
Others	4%	Uncomm.	6%
Tennessee			
Carter	75%	Reagan	76%
Kennedy	18%	Bush	18%
Others	7%	Anderson	5%
1984			
Democratic		Republican	
Florida			
Hart	40%	Reagan	100%
Mondale	32%		
Jackson	12%		
Louisiana			
Jackson	43%	Reagan	90%
Hart	25%	Uncomm.	10%
Mondale	22%		
Massachusetts			
Hart	39%	Reagan	89%
Mondale	26%	Others	11%
McGovern	21%		
Rhode Island			
Hart	45%	Reagan	91%
Mondale	35%	Uncomm.	9%
Jackson	9%		
Tennessee			
Mondale	41%	Reagan	91%
Hart	29%	Uncomm.	9%
Jackson	25%		
1988			
Democratic		Republican	
Florida			
Dukakis	41%	Bush	62%
Jackson	20%	Dole	21%
Gephardt	14%	Robertson	11%
Louisiana			
Jackson	35%	Bush	56%
Gore	28%	Robertson	18%
Dukakis	15%	Dole	16%
Massachusetts			
Dukakis	59%	Bush	50%
Jackson	19%	Dole	26%
Gephardt	10%	Kemp	7%
Mississippi			
Jackson	44%	Bush	66%
Gore	33%	Dole	17%
Dukakis	8%	Robertson	13%
Oklahoma			
Gore	41%	Bush	38%
Gephardt	21%	Dole	35%
Dukakis	17%	Robertson	21%
Rhode Island			
Dukakis	70%	Bush	65%
Jackson	15%	Dole	23%
Gephardt	5%	Robertson	6%
Tennessee			
Gore	72%	Bush	60%
Jackson	21%	Dole	22%
Dukakis	3%	Robertson	13%
Texas			
Dukakis	33%	Bush	64%
Jackson	25%	Robertson	15%
Gore	20%	Dole	14%

*Oklahoma, Mississippi and Texas switched from caucus states to primary in 1988, so no previous results are available. Source: *The Almanac of American Politics, 1994*, pp. 92. Politics in America, 1990

*Oklahoma, Mississippi and Texas switched from caucus states to primary in 1988, so no previous results are available.
Source: The Atlantic of American Politics, 1984, pp. 32. Politics in America, 1990.

opment Secretary Jack Kemp said in an interview.

Mr. Kemp's barbed reference was to Mr. Buchanan's behind-the-scenes efforts, when he was a top aide in the Nixon White House, to get the Ohio

conservative to end his opposition to Mr. Nixon in the primaries in the interests of party unity.

Other Republican strategists maintained that by withdrawing after Super Tuesday and supporting

YING FOR DELEGATES

With 783 delegates at stake in Democratic contests, Super Tuesday is the key date in the primary calendar.

Delaware Democratic caucuses — None of the Democrats are targeting the state; results from Maryland's primary are likely to spill over, making Paul Tsongas the voters' choice.

Florida primary — The second biggest prize for both parties on Super Tuesday, Democrats traditionally vote for the winner of the New Hampshire primary; in this case, Tsongas. But Bill Clinton has the best organization, won the party's December straw poll and is a clear favorite.

Hawaii Democratic caucuses — Gov. John Waihe'o's endorsement gives Clinton an edge, but the state is not on anyone's priority list.

Louisiana primary — Among Democrats, Clinton has the support of state party leaders and is the clear regional favorite. President Bush is the likely GOP winner although Pat Buchanan thinks he could do well here because of his Georgia showing and David Duke is hoping his home state supports him.

Massachusetts primary — Tsongas, who hails from Lowell, is the likely Democratic winner. Bush, who was born in the state, should take the Republican primary. But the lingering effects of Buchanan's ads in New Hampshire could stick in voters' minds.

Mississippi primary — Clinton and Bush are the easy favorites here although Buchanan has eyes on conservative Democrats to cross over and cast GOP ballots for him.

Missouri Democratic caucuses — As in much of the terrain, Clinton takes the edge with endorsements.

Oklahoma primary — Tsongas is not on the ballot because of procedural errors and Clinton is expected to take the state. For Republicans, Bush is the favorite.

Rhode Island primary — It should be the neighbor vote with Tsongas and Bush the likely victors.

Tennessee primary — Clinton's support from state party officials and among black leaders gives him an edge among Democrats. Bush is heavily favored by Republicans.

Texas primary and caucuses — The largest prize on Super Tuesday. Clinton's organization and endorsements are massive but the other candidates are hoping to capture a share of the delegates. Bush, who claims Texas as his legal residence, has a clear advantage even though Buchanan and Duke are on the ballot.

The Washington Times

the president, Mr. Buchanan would earn his party's good will and thus improve his chances in 1996.

"He's got a different role now in the party and an important decision to make if he wants to have a future in presidential politics," said GOP pollster Linda DiVall. "He must decide when it's time to bow out gracefully."

Mr. Bush is expected to sweep all the Super Tuesday contests. The latest polls in Texas, for example, show the president getting between 70 and 80 percent of the GOP vote there. Mr. Buchanan is hoping to make his strongest showing in Louisiana.

Buchanan hits smaller races in Mass., R.I.

By Ralph Z. Hallow
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

WEST QUINCY, Mass. — Pat Buchanan, searching hither and yon for that elusive primary victory he said he needs, amended his Super Tuesday "Southern strategy" yesterday to include two New England states not noted for their conservatism.

"The heart of our campaign message in Massachusetts and Rhode Island is that it is time to get the country back up on freedom road," said

NEWS ANALYSIS

Mr. Buchanan on arriving at Logan Airport in Boston. "We are the only candidate in this race on either side that will reduce the growth of government, freeze spending, cut taxes deeply for investors, manufacturers and the middle class and deregulate the American economy," he said.

His first stop was D'Arcy's Pub in the Irish working-class suburb of West Quincy, where he was dogged by the same handful of Jewish protesters from New York that followed him from New Hampshire.

A Massachusetts poll taken for the Boston Globe and WBRZ-TV March 4-5 showed him trailing President Bush by a lopsided 69-17.

On paper, his search for votes in states so near his first face-off with Mr. Bush in New Hampshire made good sense — for maintaining some momentum if not for garnering shiploads of delegates.

The Boston media and newspapers covered his New Hampshire campaign, for one thing, so voters here are already acquainted with him: as a candidate and with his ideas.

Mr. Buchanan likes to make stump jokes about Sen. Edward M. Kennedy's being the only 59-year-old who still takes spring break in Florida. But in Mr. Kennedy's Massachusetts, which is not a cross-over state, only about 13 percent of the electorate is registered Republican. That may be good for Mr. Buchanan because, as the state GOP has shrunk over the years, its conserva-

tive base has grown in relative strength.

And although the state's independents — about 40 percent of the electorate — tend to be liberal and vote Democratic, those who choose to vote in the GOP primary can wreak havoc, again because of the party's small size.

Buchanan state co-chairman Robert A. Semonian, who is executive director of the Massachusetts Conservative Caucus, said he expects independents who vote Republican Tuesday to opt for Mr. Buchanan.

But he and Buchanan state campaign director Tony Caruso aren't exactly projecting big numbers for their man Tuesday.

Tiny Rhode Island offers almost precisely the same opportunities as Massachusetts for the same reasons, only in spades, because it is so small and easy to target for a limited-budget campaign that is also short on time, as Mr. Buchanan's is.

On his arrival in Boston, Mr. Buchanan was candid about his nomination chances. "We're not getting the delegates, there's no doubt about it, and delegates are what the nomination is about," he said.

Today he heads back to Dixie — to Jackson, Miss., to begin a last full day of campaigning before tomorrow's primaries and caucuses.

Among the other Super Tuesday states, he has kissed off Tennessee, spent only a day and half in Florida, worked selected congressional districts in Texas and concentrated on Louisiana and Mississippi.

"But the campaign is about more than simply the nomination," he said. "It's about the heart and soul of the Republican Party and moving it back in the right direction. I think we are already moving this country in a new direction."

He said Mr. Bush must know that "Buchanan's message is resonating, because he is trying to articulate it himself."

Mr. Buchanan has a point when he says he has been driving the campaign issues from the beginning. He forced Mr. Bush to fire John Frohn-mayer as head of the National Endowment for the Arts and to

Skinner put to the test quickly, often

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

When Andrew Card Jr., the new secretary of transportation, got up to address a meeting of county officials last week, he was mistakenly introduced as Sam Skinner. "My name is Card," he quipped, "but Sam Skinner wishes he were still secretary of transportation."

Mr. Skinner, White House chief of staff during 12 of the roughest weeks of the Bush presidency, could appreciate the humor.

He's had a baptism by fire as President Bush's point man, fending off shots from conservatives, scrambling to defuse the challenge from Pat Buchanan and trying to overcome reports of disarray inside the White House.

Mr. Skinner left his last job with a reputation for coolness under fire in the Exxon Valdez oil spill and the California earthquake. But since he replaced the embattled John Sununu, the crises have been non-stop for the Bush White House.

First there was Mr. Bush's embarrassing "jobs, jobs, jobs" trip to Japan and the Far East, which Mr. Skinner sat out.

Then came the president's much-ballyhooed State of the Union challenge to Congress to pass an economic recovery package by March 20. Democrats on Capitol Hill made short work of the proposal.

And on each of the last three Tuesdays, Mr. Bush has endured rebukes at the hands of Mr. Buchanan and a significant minority of GOP voters in New Hampshire, South Dakota, Georgia and elsewhere.

Mr. Skinner, a onetime federal prosecutor in Chicago who knows something about the rough and tumble of politics, says his boss is getting a bum rap.

"For some reason the media is having a feeding frenzy on President Bush," Mr. Skinner said in an interview in his capacious West Wing office. "With the exception of David Duke, he's got more negative coverage than anybody in government."

He complained that the press misreported as a snub Mr. Bush's recent private visit to the Bel Air, Calif., home of former President Reagan.



Sam Skinner

"It was so far from fact that it just belied logic, but it carried," he said. "Hopefully, the negative feeding frenzy will end soon. It's manifestly unfair."

Some of Mr. Bush's negatives are driven by his challenger from the right, Mr. Buchanan.

Mr. Skinner fumed about the attention Mr. Buchanan got last Wednesday when, after losing three more primaries, he called on Mr. Bush to quit running. "An absurd request," he said; "yet the three morning shows all played it up. It is just somewhat frustrating."

The chief of staff found himself enmeshed in his own controversy with conservatives after telling The Washington Times, "You've got to remember they are a group of people that no candidate ever nominated is conservative enough for."

Mr. Skinner later denied that Mr. Bush was taking conservative votes for granted.

He also heard some barbed critiques of the Bush record from Heritage Foundation trustees at a recent luncheon.

The criticism from conservatives "bugs me a little bit," Mr. Skinner said.

apologize for violating his no-new-taxes pledge. He also has forced the president to attempt to redefine his globalist New World Order as something that will, somehow, put America first. Mr. Buchanan's tough trade policy positions forced Mr. Bush to go to Japan with U.S. auto executives

to sound tough about reciprocity.

But Mr. Buchanan, whose campaign may be coming to a crossroads soon, was of two minds from the beginning as to whether its real purpose was to win nomination — the "impossible dream" he has called it — or to force Mr. Bush to the right.

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MONDAY, MARCH 9, 1992

Freer Markets Would Protect Northwest Salmon

By ZACH WILLEY

The energy bill now being considered by Congress contains an opportunity to prove that markets can be used to protect endangered species. The rivers that run into the Pacific Ocean from Alaska to California were once home to one of the world's largest populations of salmon and steelhead. Most of these wild runs have now vanished.

The danger to the fish is the consequence of more than 50 years of market-suppressing congressional legislation. This year's energy bill ought to help reverse that trend.

Over the years Congress has authorized hundreds of hydropower, water supply, flood control, shipping, timber, agriculture and fishing programs on the rivers of the Northwest—30 major dams and reservoirs on the Columbia River alone. Operated by more than a dozen federal agencies without much input from markets, they have been major destroyers of salmon and steelhead habitats.

To be more salmon-friendly, water releases and reservoirs should produce more hydro-electricity in the summer and fall, when adult salmon need high water levels to swim upstream to spawn, and less in the spring, when young salmon require a quick journey to the sea.

Fortunately, summer and fall is also when the demand for power is greatest in the air-conditioned Western states. The needs of the fish and the market meet. Unfortunately, the needs of fish and 50 years of accumulated government-imposed rules do not.

The dams of the Northwest do not release water when the salmon and most Western states need them to because their electricity output's access to the Western electric power grid is extremely limited. So they have no incentive to reduce power reservoir levels and releases in the spring, thereby making more water available for electricity generation later in the year.

A major source of the problem is the Western water rule, "Use it or lose it." Holders of water rights are often not allowed to resell their rights to others willing to buy them:

- Idaho's water law prohibits sales of diversion rights to out-of-state users—even to protect Idaho salmon.
- Washington state allows transfers, but only state agencies can hold these rights.
- Oregon's law discourages water market transactions by skimming portions of any sale into the state's accounts.
- California has a hard-line system featuring a state-monopoly water bank, fixed prices, the selection by government of "qualified" buyers and sellers—and a deficit this year of more than \$35 million.

If the law permitted water rights and power contract-holders to resell their electricity through the Western transmission grid into the inter-regional market, many would do so—especially in the peak summer and fall seasons—since the market price is at least double their own cost. They, and the salmon, would profit.

The House version of the energy bill authorizes the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission to determine the conditions and prices under which electric utilities and other power line operators would be required to grant access to the power grid. But the bill contains a special exemption for the Columbia River transmission system—the system most crucial to the salmon.

Similar changes could be made in the laws governing water supplies. Excessive diversions of water for irrigation farming and mining can make rivers uninhabitable for wild salmon. If farmers were allowed to sell their water rights to other users, many farmers would find it lucrative to reduce water use, and sell their rights to downstream hydroelectric producers instead. This "freed up" water could then remain in the river—and would, incidentally, produce a better habitat for wild salmon and other fish and wildlife.

Water law reforms by state legislatures are urgently needed to remove barriers to water transactions, as are bills in Congress to allow extra-project water sales of all federal water contracts. Current bills attempting to do this for California's Central Valley Project and Washington's Yakima Project represent progress.

Government subsidies to farmers, cattle-ranching and the timber industry add to the salmon mortality rate. Subsidies keep production of grain, beef and wood going on otherwise unprofitable land. Wild salmon spawning grounds and migration routes are degraded by the resulting runoff of silt and agrichemicals, as well as by water temperature increases and reduced river flows. There are already many reasons for the abolition of farm subsidies, and the reform of the Taylor Grazing Act and the Multiple Use-Sustained Yield forestry law. Saving salmon and steelhead is one more.

Improvements in salmon habitat will come to nothing, however, if the salmon continue to be overfished. The U.S.-Canada Pacific Salmon Treaty aspires to "prevent overfishing and provide maximum production" of salmon from Oregon to Alaska. The treaty does not, however, define or cap salmon catch rights, undermining both sustained fishing and international trading. Domestically, regulations under the Magnuson Act try to limit the salmon catch by "time on the water," and not by actual numbers of fish caught.

The predicament of the salmon in the Pacific Northwest is a difficult one for both environmentalists and industrialists. The long history of government allocation of natural resources—with the original intent to promote water and power use and the later intent to save species—has to be considered outmoded at best. Government can solve some problems, but the blanket exclusion of markets, the present situation on the rivers of the Northwest, is not wise policy.

Mr. Willey is an economist at the Environmental Defense Fund in Oakland, Calif.

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MONDAY, MARCH 9, 1992

U.S. Doesn't Expect Iraqi Envoy to Have Much to Offer U.N. on Arms Inspections

By GERALD F. SEIB

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — Bush administration officials express little hope that a high-level Iraqi envoy arriving at the United Nations this week will carry a compromise good enough to head off a dangerous showdown with Saddam Hussein over his military arsenal.

Instead, U.S. officials suspect that the Iraqi envoy, Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz, is coming more to argue for an end to economic sanctions against Iraq than to retreat on Baghdad's refusal to cooperate with a recent U.N. team that sought to destroy military machinery. As a result, there is likely to be a round of angry bickering and denunciations this week, followed by efforts to exert new pressure on Iraq to force it to cooperate more fully with the U.N.

The most likely outcome, according to diplomats from some Security Council nations, will be an attempt to impose new economic constraints on Baghdad by freezing more of its assets. But U.S. and British officials pointedly refuse to rule out military strikes.

Military Strike Is Possible

Officials won't discuss military options, but the U.S. has enough aircraft at bases and on aircraft carriers in the area to easily conduct a strike against selected weapons installations if President Bush wants to vividly demonstrate his seriousness.

"One way or the other, there will be compliance" with U.N. resolutions, declared one senior U.S. policy maker.

In fact, public discussion of the military option has picked up in the past few days. Just yesterday, British Prime Minister John Major said in a British Broadcasting Corp. interview that he would support military action if the U.N. approved it. And a group of U.S. lawmakers has sent President Bush a letter urging him to announce that military force will be used if necessary to enforce the terms of U.N. resolutions that ended last year's war to drive Iraqi troops from Kuwait.

Mr. Aziz, the Iraqi envoy, is expected to arrive in New York today and address the Security Council later in the week. He is expected to argue that Iraq is complying with U.N. resolutions as it interprets them and press the case for lifting economic sanctions imposed more than a year ago, at the conclusion of the Gulf War.

The immediate purpose of Mr. Aziz's visit is to explain Iraq's refusal to cooperate with a team of U.N. specialists that left Iraq more than a week ago after the Baghdad government blocked it from destroying equipment used to enhance the performance of Iraq's Scud missiles. Iraq argued that the machines could be converted to civilian use and therefore weren't subject to destruction under U.N. resolutions calling for elimination of weapons of mass destruction.

Behind that argument lies a far broader issue, however. Iraq appears to have decided it is time to signal that it won't cooperate further with intrusive U.N. missions to dismantle its weapons programs until it gets some reward in the form of an easing of international economic sanctions. Iraq is still under an international trade embargo for most goods except food and medicine. And Baghdad hasn't been able to sell any of its oil since the war's end, because it has refused to accept terms under which the U.N. would control the proceeds to ensure that they went to purchase only food and medicine or to pay war reparations.

Some U.N. diplomats think Mr. Aziz may come with a modest concession to try to entice the world body to accept Iraq's pleas for relief. But the diplomats also indicate they doubt that the Iraqi official, who was foreign minister during the war, will fully back down or have much leeway to negotiate a compromise. Saddam Hussein doesn't tend to give his emissaries much independent authority to bargain.

In any event, senior U.S. officials said they will refuse to be drawn into negotiations over the terms under which Iraq will cooperate with the U.N. efforts to destroy its chemical, biological and nuclear weapons facilities.

Political Risks

Outside of Britain and the U.S., though, there doesn't seem much enthusiasm for military action. "Iraq has been destroyed enough," said a diplomat from one Security Council nation. And for President Bush, a turn to military action would be a high-stakes move in a politically charged election season. A quick and error-free mission might be a political plus for him, refocusing attention on the Gulf War and his strengths in national security. But any mission in which there were American losses would pose a ticklish problem.

The Bush administration continues to look for ways to turn up the heat on Saddam Hussein. One idea would be that the U.N. would freeze Iraqi assets, and use some of them to finance humanitarian aid that U.N. teams would distribute in Kurdish and Shiite areas inside Iraq, where many oppose Saddam Hussein's Sunni Muslim-dominated government.

In addition, Iraqi opposition leaders claim that in recent weeks Bush administration aides have met with Kurdish foes of Saddam Hussein and with at least one prominent former Iraqi military leader now in exile. U.S. officials won't comment, although the Bush administration has often said it would like to incite an insurrection among Iraqi army officers.

Separately, tensions are rising around the Persian Gulf because of an unrelated U.S. concern about a North Korean ship suspected of carrying Scud missiles. Though the ship appears headed for Iran, Israel and the U.S. suspect the missiles ultimately may be sent over land to Syria, and Israel would like to see the shipment stopped. So the U.S. is hinting that it may use ships that are in the region to enforce the economic blockade on Iraq to stop and inspect the North Korean ship.

Federal, State Agencies To Share Antitrust Data

By G WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

WASHINGTON — Federal antitrust agencies will share information with state governments that are conducting antitrust investigations of proposed business mergers.

The Justice Department and the Federal Trade Commission announced procedures that would allow merging parties to request such coordination. Separate probes "can result in duplicative, overlapping and sometimes inconsistent requests for information," according to the Justice Department statement.

Merging parties would have to waive certain confidentiality provisions before federal officials could make their information available to their state counterparts.

The FTC won't start sharing information until the commission approves the plan after a 30-day comment period. The Justice Department program begins immediately.

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MONDAY, MARCH 9, 1992

Stop Playing 'Catch Up' With the Japanese

If American business is guilty of anything in the ongoing competitiveness battle with Japan, it is lack of imagination.

For the past five years, U.S. executives have been mired in trench warfare, stuck in the same uninteresting, uninspired—and fundamentally unhelpful—debates: Should we shift to managed trade to fend off the Japanese? Should we put a formal quota on Japanese auto sales? Should we impose tariffs and dumping penalties on auto parts, computer screens, machine tools?

The problem with these tedious questions is that they all proceed from the same faulty assumption: the assumption that we are dangerously behind the Japanese because they are unfair, and that we are reduced to playing "catch up" to minimize the damage that Japan will do to the U.S. corporate landscape. This is all defense, no offense.

But this is precisely the time for U.S. businesses to launch an offensive to claim the strategic high ground. Here are three components of such a strategy:

- **Launch a financial strike to capture strategic outposts in the Japanese economy.** In the late 1980s, a surging Japanese stock market, low interest rates and a soaring yen made it easy for Japan to "buy up" America. Today the financial tides are reversed. While the Japanese stock market is off 50% from its high at the end of 1989, the U.S. stock market is at record highs. Interest rates in the U.S. are the lowest anyone can remember. The obvious response: Launch a few careful, strategically targeted offers at Tokyo.

For all the talk of Japan's closed financial markets, there are remarkably few obstacles to this under-used tactic. Indeed, in a major study of corporate control in the Japanese financial system, Harvard Business School professor Carl Kester concluded that foreign investors can in fact acquire a substantial minority equity position without a Japanese company's consent.

When T. Boone Pickens tried something like this several years ago, his "raid" on Koito—a Toyota-related company—rapidly became a farce. But a better approach to investing would be guided by strategic logic, not political grandstanding. Specifically, U.S. companies should buy into Japanese firms that have mastered critical technologies we currently don't have.

For example, much has been made of the lack of American-based technology for manufacturing liquid-crystal displays, the next generation of computer screens. Now is the time for companies like Hewlett-Packard, Sun Microsystems, and Apple to take advantage of their healthy stock prices and take the offensive with Japan. These three companies could issue a total of \$750 million in new equity, combine that with a total of \$1.5 billion in low-interest borrowings, and buy 20% of Sharp, one of Japan's leaders in high-resolution displays.

Of course, Sharp, like other Japanese

companies, already participates in joint ventures and alliances with American competitors. But the track record on genuine technology sharing in such alliances is spotty at best. Ownership gets you "seats at the table" in ways that joint venture agreements don't. The model here may be Ford's successful alliance with Mazda—an alliance helped, no doubt, by Ford's status as a 25% owner of Mazda.

- **Take back the living room.** Next, using the financial strikes like air cover, America's leading high-technology compa-

Manager's Journal

By William Taylor

nies move against the soft underbelly of Japan's economic empire: the living room. There is a palpable buzz in high-tech circles these days about America's chances for a comeback in consumer electronics. Still, there is precious little strategic commitment among America's big technology players to making it happen.

To see what is possible, all you have to do is visit a company like Frox in Silicon Valley. Frox is now selling a dazzling "television" and "audio" system that is, essentially, a Sun computer workstation equipped with remarkable software and simple-to-use controls. The FroxSystem is a neat glimpse of what an American comeback might look like—and 90% of its content is made in the United States. But for all its promise, Frox is targeting high-income consumers willing to spend big bucks on "home theater," not millions of middle-American homes.

Making it big in computerized consumer electronics requires big factories and deep pockets as well as innovative technology. Companies like IBM, Motorola, and Microsoft should leverage their global dominance of computer hardware and software and move aggressively into mass communications and home entertainment. The technology is there. So is the market and the strategic opening. It's just a matter of making the first charge.

- **Open a second front in Asia.** By forging strategic alliances with South Korean companies, U.S. businesses can keep the Japanese busy in their own pond. For too long, we've looked at Korea as a "mini-Japan" that deserved tough talk and hard trade bargaining. That's wrong—it's bad analysis, bad business, bad tactics. In fact, for its own reasons of history and national pride, Korea is even more concerned with the Japanese challenge than we are. Moreover, many of Korea's leading companies are strong where we are weak—in the high-quality mass production of sophisticated consumer and industrial goods.

American companies could swap product know-how for Korean manufacturing process know-how and engineering talent

in a range of industries. Telecommunications is one good candidate. Korea has targeted telecommunications as a growth area, and its giant *chaebols* (corporate groups) are making real strides. U.S. companies should see these investments as an opportunity, not a threat, and leverage them to increase their presence in Asia.

For example, AT&T has been collaborating with Korea's Goldstar in building telecommunications switches, fiber-optic cable and transmission equipment. However, most of the AT&T-Goldstar products are destined for the Korean market under Goldstar's nameplate. Why not use Korea as an export platform to other countries in the region?

Of course, economics isn't warfare. So one of the pleasant aspects of talking about a U.S. offensive is that there would be no casualties on either side. In fact, there would be real benefits for both sides. A U.S. that would stop playing dull-headed defense and start putting some points on the board with a little fleet-footed offense might be less belligerent overall toward Japan.

Mr. Taylor is a contributing editor of the Harvard Business Review.

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MONDAY, MARCH 9, 1992

Bush Plans to Offer Pollution Credits To Firms That Buy, Then Junk Old Cars

By BOB DAVIS
And JOHN HARWOOD

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON—Looking to dump your old clunker of a car? President Bush has a deal for you.

White House officials said they are assembling a plan that would provide marketable pollution credits for companies that buy old cars and junk them. Under the plan, consumers could expect offers of \$700 to \$1,000 for their old cars. Getting clunkers off the road, officials said, would reduce pollution and give a boost to new car sales.

The plan is part of a regulatory relief package for the auto industry that the White House plans to unveil late this week, a few days before the Michigan primary on March 17. Details of the plan, such as which cars would qualify and exactly how much would be paid for them, are still being discussed.

Timed to Affect Primaries

The Bush administration has regularly been timing the announcement of regulatory changes that benefit industry to coincide with important primaries. On Friday, for instance, while the president was campaigning in Oklahoma, he announced measures designed to prop up the ailing natural gas industry in Oklahoma and Texas, which are to vote tomorrow.

The auto plan is the administration's most far-reaching proposal under its regulatory moratorium, and the first to touch consumers directly. Along with cash for clunkers, the White House is considering reducing the requirement for car-fleet fuel economy to 26.5 miles per gallon from the current 27.5 mpg. And it may give auto makers a further break on fuel economy standards if they research and develop cars that use methanol and other alternative fuels.

But the fuel-economy proposals, which are expected to be attacked by lawmakers and environmentalists, may be withdrawn or modified. Some administration officials said car makers are wary that these proposals could result in an environmentalist backlash and a renewed drive for a far tougher economy standard than the current one.

As part of the auto package, the Energy Department is expected to announce the formation of a research consortium, called "Auto Leap," to map a transition from in-

ternal-combustion-powered cars to battery-powered ones. The department recently began a consortium to research the batteries that would run cars.

In addition, the Environmental Protection Agency plans to kill a proposal that would have forced auto makers to install special canisters in new cars to recapture gasoline vapors that seep out during refueling. Vice President Dan Quayle, White House economist Michael Boskin, and White House Counsel Boyden Gray are scheduled to discuss the plan this week and decide its final form.

The heart of the program is the cash-for-clunker deal, which is being prepared by the EPA. The plan is designed to cost the federal government little, as companies looking to reduce pollution-rules burdens and car makers trying to boost sales would be expected to put up the money to buy the cars.

The plan has its origins in the Clean Air Act of 1990, which envisions reducing smog levels in polluted cities by requiring factories and businesses there to cut emissions. Companies that do better than the pollution standards can earn credits, which they can then sell to companies that can't.

The White House now plans to broaden that plan to include cars. Under federal supervision, states would offer pollution credits, whose value hasn't yet been precisely determined, to car makers or other companies, such as utilities, that buy old cars. For example, the electric utility in Denver could buy old cars and use the pollution credits to reduce their own cleanups in the Denver area or sell the credits to other businesses there. Consumers would get cash, which they could use to buy newer cars. The trading is expected to begin in 1994.

"You could shop your clunker around and get the best price," says an administration official working on the plan. This plan is designed for polluted cities and isn't expected to apply to rural areas.

Previous Program

In 1990, Unocal Corp., a Los Angeles oil company, bought and scrapped 8,376 cars built before 1971 for \$700 apiece as part of a corporate program to reduce pollution in the Los Angeles area—and to show that oil companies shouldn't bear the brunt of pollution-reduction demands. Marika Tatsutani, a researcher at the Natural Re-

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Bush Plans Incentives For Companies to Buy And Junk Old Cars

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sources Defense Council who studied the Unocal program while she was a graduate student, calls the program "a cost-effective way to reduce pollution." She estimates that cars made between 1971 and 1975 emitted 20 times the amount of pollutants as cars made in 1990.

But she and other environmentalists warned that car-buying programs can backfire unless the government carefully weighs the value of the pollution credit it does out to encourage car purchases. (Unocal didn't get any pollution credits for its experiment.)

She said about 10% of the cars bought by Unocal were so old they were rarely driven. On average, the company calculated the cars would have been driven another 16,000 miles before the owners would have junked them anyway. "If it's done honestly as pollution control, it's a good

program," she said, "but not if it's done as a sneaky way to get more pollution credits to industry."

Ford Motor Co. participated in the Unocal program, buying and junking 1,000 old cars. Al Chambers, a Ford spokesman, said the company offered all those who sold cars in the Unocal program a \$700 coupon, in addition to the \$700 they were paid for their cars, to buy a new Ford. But only a few hundred took the Ford offer. To enhance the Bush program, he said, it should apply to cars built before 1983, when cars were generally equipped with advanced catalytic converters. "In retrospect, people who owned pre-1970 cars weren't the group to buy new cars," he said.

Michael Stanton, director of federal relations at the Motor Vehicle Manufacturers Association, said the clunker-for-cash program would benefit car makers even if those who sold their cars then purchased newer-model used cars. That starts a chain reaction of buying, he maintained. "To the degree you increase demand for used cars," he said, "people are willing to part with their used cars and buy new ones."

Separately, the Bush administration announced regulatory moves on Friday that

it said would help the natural gas business. Branko Terzic, commissioner at the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, said the agency would give natural gas pipeline companies the choice of replacing FERC's conventional regulation with what he called "incentive regulation." Currently, pipeline companies are allowed to recover their costs plus a percentage of their investment as profit.

But under the new rule, pipeline companies would be able to ask the FERC to approve other forms of regulation that don't look primarily at profit. For instance, pipelines could choose regulation that limits overall charges to customers, but lets pipelines increase profits by cutting costs. The Federal Communications Commission has chosen that method to regulate much of telecommunications.

For its part, the EPA also said it would issue within two weeks a final rule allowing electric utilities to upgrade their power plants without having to undergo time-consuming reviews mandated under the Clean Air Act. The EPA had once proposed tougher requirements under the so-called Wepco rule, which is named for a case involving Wisconsin Electric Power Co., a unit of Wisconsin Energy Corp. But the

agency relented under pressure from the White House and the Energy Department.

David Hawkins, a senior attorney with the Natural Resources Defense Council and former EPA regulator, charged that the EPA rule is a sellout to polluters. "The real effect is to let coal-fired plants patch up boilers and continue to burn coal without worrying about [tougher] pollution standards," he said. But Janet Habicht, the EPA's deputy administrator, said that easing the reviews would encourage utilities to convert power plants so they could use cleaner-burning natural gas.

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MONDAY, MARCH 9, 1992

Slowing Down

Super Tuesday Dawns On a Changed South As Torrid Growth Ebbs

Jacksonville, Fla., Facing Lag
In Navy and Service Jobs,
Now Courts Technology

An Obstacle: Weak Education

By MARTHA BRANNIGAN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
JACKSONVILLE, Fla.—Living in this port city in the northeast corner of Florida, Larry Anders never gave a thought to college or trade school. There was really no need.

Jobs were plentiful. The city, the state—indeed, much of the Southeast—were swollen with newcomers and with businesses eager to cater to them. After leaving the Navy in 1989, Mr. Anders worked odd jobs in construction, landscaping and a nearby paper mill.

These days, however, Mr. Anders, 26 years old, can be found standing in a busy intersection here, holding a hand-written cardboard sign: "Will Work For Food or Money. Have Family and Babies." At a ramshackle mobile-home park nearby, his girlfriend, her mother and his 22-month-old son face the bum's rush unless \$350 in overdue rent gets paid fast.

"Three years ago, jobs in Jacksonville were good," Mr. Anders says. "Now, there ain't nothing."

A Simple Sales Pitch

When presidential hopefuls stormed the South in March 1988, they found a region almost smug in its success. Atlanta and Charlotte, N.C., had become major financial centers. Florida was adding some 1,000 residents a day. Tennessee and Kentucky boasted shiny new auto plants.

The region's sales pitch was simple: If an employer was looking for low taxes, low wages and low-cost production, the South was waiting with open arms. As a result, job growth in cities like Jacksonville measured about 4% a year through a good part of the 1980s, almost twice the national average. Agriculture and manufacturing gave way to banking and insurance and a legion of service industries.

Today, on the eve of another "Super Tuesday" of primaries, the South's economy is decidedly changed. Workers are still plentiful, but they are often unskilled and undereducated for the kinds of jobs now emerging. Labor is still cheap, but not as cheap as in aggressive competitors Mexico and Taiwan. Population growth still exceeds the national average, but is nowhere near the levels of the 1980s, a change that has left the region's service industries running for cover. And the South is just now trying to develop and attract the high-tech industries that can generate exports.

To complete the picture, plans to slash U.S. defense spending are expected to mangle the many towns and businesses that serve the South's sprawling military bases. In January, Jacksonville watched the USS Forrestal, one of two aircraft carriers based at the city's naval station, sail away for good, taking its \$92 million annual contribution to the economy with it.

A 'Galloping Pace'

The recession has certainly helped take the edge from the region's dizzying growth and optimism. But even when it is a memory, Southerners awaiting a return to the heady days of the past decade are likely to be in for a shock.

The "galloping pace" of the 1980s was an aberration, a one-time dash to catch up

The Slowing Southeast

Comparison of compound annual growth rates for the total U.S. and the Southeast*, in percent

	1982-'87	1987-'92	1992-'97 (Projections)
EMPLOYMENT			
TOTAL U.S.	2.63%	1.68%	1.49%
SOUTHEAST	3.67	2.82	1.91
WAGES AND SALARIES			
TOTAL U.S.	7.25	5.45	6.49
SOUTHEAST	7.92	6.64	6.75
POPULATION			
TOTAL U.S.	0.97	1.00	0.92
SOUTHEAST	1.25	1.25	1.16

*Includes Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, North Carolina and South Carolina.
Source: The WEA Group

with the rest of the country, says Robert Wenger, an economist with Southern Co., the big electric utility holding company. Now, he says, "our growth is expected to more closely match the nation."

Jacksonville is a window into the South's changing fortunes. Its big paper mills (whose fetid fumes are a periodic annoyance and embarrassment), its three military bases, including the giant Mayport Naval Station, and the shanties that dot its predominantly black northwest neighborhood are clear reminders that the city is still very much a part of the old South. But the cluster of steel and glass skyscrapers that now dominate downtown, combined with a trendy waterfront shopping plaza, testify to its standing as one of the rising stars of the new South.

In the late 1970s, Jacksonville began the transformation from a sleepy backwater into a thriving financial center. The tactics were the same as those used by Atlanta, Nashville, Tenn., and a dozen other cities: build a strong pro-business image, hype

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MONDAY, MARCH 9, 1992

Slowing Down: Super Tuesday Dawns On a Changed South

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the low costs and pour on the Southern charm.

Building on a base of banks and insurance companies, the city scored its first big success in 1983, when American Telephone & Telegraph Co. opened its American Transtech subsidiary here, a telemarketing operation that now employs 2,000 full-time and 3,000 part-time workers. Other back-office services for companies like American Express Co. and Merrill Lynch & Co. soon followed. The Mayo Clinic of Rochester, Minn., built its first satellite operation in Jacksonville in 1986.

In 1990, in what seemed a fitting cap to a breakneck decade, the U.S. headquarters of Chrysler Corp.-owned Lamborghini opened in town.

As with much of the Southeast, however, Jacksonville received its comeuppance in commercial real estate. Wildly overbuilt, downtown is now saddled with office vacancy rates of 19%, a near-doubling since 1988. "A popular trend with developers is they're just giving the dirt back to the banks," says Arnold Tritt, executive director of the Northeast Florida Builders Association. The unemployment rate in Jacksonville in January was 7.8%, compared with 5.3% in January 1987. New jobless claims in the city were up 13.8% in January from a year earlier.

Basic Flaws

The recession hasn't laid Jacksonville completely flat; its diverse business base, along with the Navy, have cushioned the blow. When the slump does end, job growth here should measure about 2% annually through the year 2000, about double the national rate, predicts WEFA Group, an economic forecasting service.

Good—but not great. And certainly a far cry from the growth that Jacksonville and the South had come to take for granted. Business leaders and legislators are just now recognizing that fundamental flaws in their economy and culture will likely prevent a return to anything like the boom times of the 1980s.

At the top of the list is education. The masses of well-educated workers from the Northeast and Midwest who streamed into the South in the late 1970s and 1980s did more than fuel the region's economy; they masked what teachers here already knew: that the South's home-grown talent, to a large extent, is unskilled. "Education is the weak suit of the Southeast," says Bobbie McCracken, a spokeswoman at the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta.

In 1990, Jacksonville's public-school students scored in the 54th percentile nationally on a comprehensive test of skills like reading, writing and math. That put roughly half the nation behind Jacksonville, but the city's scores had dropped three years in a row through 1990. And though spending per student rose slowly through much of the 1980s, it fell 5% this

year, mainly because of state budget cuts.

Meanwhile, jobs, driven by rapid changes in technology and moves toward participatory management, are getting smarter. The gap in the South between job requirements and workers' skills is becoming painfully evident.

At Vistakon Johnson & Johnson Vision Products Inc., a maker of soft contact lenses based in Jacksonville, personnel managers looking to fill production positions typically have to scrutinize scores of applicants to find just a few who measure up. At American Transtech, many applicants who meet Florida's standard of literacy can't pass the company's entry-level exam. "Doing telemarketing doesn't take a rocket scientist," says Susan Datz Edelman, a spokeswoman for Florida Community College at Jacksonville. "But a large number of people can't do it."

Even the region's reputation as a well-spring of low-cost labor is losing some of its gloss. Average per-capita wages and salaries in the South are now 88% of the national average. That compares with 83% in 1970. Looking to the next decade and beyond, cities like Jacksonville face increasing competition from labor markets in Asia and Central America.

Jacksonville and its neighbors also find themselves overly dependent on a service economy, a sure bet in the 1980s but a gamble in the 1990s. Growth itself was one of the biggest industries in the South in the 1980s; Jacksonville alone could count on about 23,000 new arrivals each year. With them came an army of lawyers, brokers, mortgage bankers, architects, real-estate agents and marketers.

But population growth in the region—particularly among baby-boomers, who are less quick to pick up and move as they grow older—has fallen off significantly. Fallen, too, are many of the newcomers who flocked to the region to take jobs, thinking the South's service economy was all but recession-proof.

Already, merger mania in banking has cost Jacksonville and much of the South thousands of jobs in what had long been considered the safest of local industries. In 1990, First Union Corp. in Charlotte, N.C., gobbled up Jacksonville's Florida National Banks of Florida Inc., eliminating hundreds of jobs.

The insurance industry followed suit. "I was given to believe I'd have a job as long as I didn't lie, cheat or steal," says Frank Dorman, who worked in corporate communications at Blue Cross/Blue Shield of Florida. In 1990, however, his number came up when the company reorganized operations. Now he does free-lance communications work. Though he enjoys maneuvering his sailboat around Jacksonville's coastal waters, he says he would pack his bags in a heartbeat for Washington, D.C., or New York if he found a good job.

Businesses that have thrived on growth are reeling. Only two years ago, "I was as busy as I could be, working day and night," says Jay Devine, who owns a landscape architecture company in Ponte Vedra Beach, an exclusive enclave just south of Jacksonville. "Now, it's terrible." Business

ness has fallen off more than 40%.

By betting heavily on its service economy, the South has missed opportunities to build or attract industries like machine tools and computers that now provide high-income jobs and exports in some other regions. It wasn't until 1987 that Jacksonville got its first electrical engineering school, located at the University of North Florida. And plans are just now in the works to build a research and development park next to that college to lure technology-related industries.

Jacksonville and the South can't even depend on the Cold War anymore. The city's three naval bases pump about \$1.7 billion a year into the local economy, according to Navy figures, and account for about 10% of employment. But first the Forrestal left. And now, eight smaller ships that pour \$94 million a year into the area are set to leave or be decommissioned by the end of 1992.

A week ago, the city dispatched a contingent of worried local leaders to Washington to plead to be spared further cuts. They are also lobbying to get the Mayport Naval Station upgraded to allow for berthing of nuclear-powered carriers.

Acknowledging that it has to learn some new dance steps, Jacksonville has mobilized local business leaders, politicians and educators. Henry Luke, who chairs a technology council for the Chamber of Commerce, believes technology businesses will be lured to the region by the engineering school and the planned R&D park, combined with the city's existing medical base (the Mayo Clinic is planning to add a center for the study of Alzheimer's disease). "It's in the beginning stages, and we'll develop a critical mass in the 1990s," he says.

Bells and Whistles

One of the most prominent efforts to date is the \$9.5 million Urban Resource Center at Florida Community College at Jacksonville. It's focusing on matching job training to specific employers' needs and educating the city's large pool of unskilled residents.

In a small white trailer outside Jefferson Smurfit Corp.'s sprawling cardboard box factory in Jacksonville, a group of six men in factory blues are delighting in the conversion of fractions and decimals. Two other laborers are tapping computer keyboards, brushing up on critical reasoning skills aimed at improving their judgment on the factory floor.

The class, conducted on company time, two hours a day twice a week, is one of a series of workplace literacy programs in local businesses across the city run by the Urban Resource Center.

Jefferson Smurfit workers were hired years before "for brawn, not brains," says Charles Hynes, regional general manager. But a new management approach now calls for workers to help solve problems and to take responsibility instead of just taking orders. The company plans eventually to install new equipment that will raise efficiency. But not until workers spruce up their skills. Otherwise, Mr. Hynes says, "They won't know how to use the bells and whistles anyway."

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Riding on a Wave of Concern Over the Economy, Buchanan Seems Somewhat at Sea on the Subject

By ALAN MURRAY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — Patrick Buchanan's bid for the Republican presidential nomination is being propelled by concern over the stagnant U.S. economy. Yet economics is a topic that has never held much interest for him.

"Economics is not the science that sends men to the barricades," he wrote in "Right from the Beginning," his autobiography. "The Abraham Lincoln Battalion did not march into Franco's guns in the Jarama with the Labor Theory of Value in mind; and Pickett's division did not charge up Cemetery Ridge because they feared the economic consequences of abolition."

Although a prominent conservative for decades, Mr. Buchanan largely stayed on the sidelines as the supply-side revolution transformed the economic thinking of the Republican Party in the late 1970s. He supported the tax cuts advocated by supply-siders but wasn't deeply involved in the movement, according to those who were. His book even includes a deprecating reference to supply-side economics as the "Big Rock Candy Mountain" school of conservatism.

"I think he's against the New Deal," says Public Interest editor Irving Kristol, a supply-sider. "That's all I know about his views on economics."

Sketchy at Best

The candidate's thin grounding in economics is illustrated by his campaign proposals, which are sketchy at best. While Paul Tsongas's plan to rescue the U.S. economy takes up 85 pages, Mr. Buchanan's barely fills three.

He would provide income-tax cuts for the "working and middle classes"; abolish the capital-gains tax for people making less than \$50,000 a year and halve it for those making more than \$50,000; and provide investment tax credits for businesses. But he's vague on how big a tax cut for the middle class he favors, or in what form. "The sorts of things he'd be interested in are a tax cut for children, or cuts in the Social Security payroll tax," says Terry

Jeffrey, research director for the Buchanan campaign.

To pay for all of that, Mr. Buchanan would eliminate foreign aid and "freeze federal spending, hiring, and salaries." The broadly stated spending freeze is presented with no detail, but Mr. Jeffrey says such a freeze wouldn't affect Social Security or Medicare—which are the largest and fastest growing domestic-spending programs in the budget. By leaving them untouched, Mr. Buchanan would virtually assure that his large tax cuts would lead to further ballooning of the federal budget deficit.

While Mr. Buchanan has criticized budget deficits, they don't appear to rank very high on his list of concerns. In a column written in January 1990, he even advocated a tax-cut bidding war as a "win-win proposition for the GOP."

"Critics claim tax cuts cause deficits," Mr. Buchanan wrote, "but deficits did not harm the party in '84 or '88. And deficits have benefits: First, they converted the Democrats, rhetorically at least, to the theology of balanced budgets; second, they killed all enthusiasm for new social spending."

For the longer term, Mr. Buchanan's platform offers only general principles. According to his position paper, he would "reorient and revise the tax code for the long term so that investment and saving is never punished, and idleness and indolence never promoted." And he would "make the American business climate the most conducive in the world to technological innovation and development."

He also calls for rolling back congressional pay increases and limiting congressional terms. And he takes a swipe at high corporate salaries. As president, the paper says, Mr. Buchanan would "turn over \$50,000 of the president's pay to charity to set an example of leadership for the country. We've had enough of corporate executives making four to five million dollars in pay and bonuses while their workers are being put out on the street."

The part of the Buchanan message that most disturbs supply-siders—as well as many other economists—is his stance against free trade. "Does free trade make for the efficient allocation of resources? Undoubtedly," Mr. Buchanan wrote in June of last year. "But if the efficient allo-

cation of resources means America's unskilled go jobless, while Mexico's unskilled get work, why not come down on the side of American workers rather than Mexican workers?"

"I think he's a protectionist," concludes supply-side consultant Jeffrey Bell.

Mr. Jeffrey, the Buchanan research director, disagrees. "Pat's not a protectionist," he insists. "What Pat believes in is free trade, but as a national goal, not a national ideology. There are things that are more valuable than free trade as an absolute ideology."

Sweeping Positions

A prolific writer, Mr. Buchanan has devoted columns over the years to economic subjects, often taking sweeping positions. In 1983, for instance, he wrote a column arguing that the Social Security system should be made voluntary. Today, with the Florida primary one day away, "he does not believe in voluntary Social Security," says Mr. Jeffrey.

And in a column written in April, Mr. Buchanan suggested he would support complete abolition of the income tax and a virtual shutdown of the Internal Revenue Service. The result, he argued, would be "an economic boom—with no more audits, no more having to store vast records, no more having to answer indecipherable computer-written IRS letters, no more April 15. Free at last!" At the end of the column, Mr. Buchanan invited readers to write for information to Citizens for an Alternative Tax System, a group founded by members of the Church of Scientology.

"He's not advocating that," Mr. Jeffrey

Buchanomics

Here are the major elements of Patrick Buchanan's economic proposals:

- Cut income taxes for the "working and middle classes."
- Eliminate the capital-gains tax for people making less than \$50,000 a year.
- Halve the capital-gains tax rate for people making more than \$50,000 a year.
- Enact an investment tax credit for business.
- Freeze domestic discretionary spending, and enforce it with a line-item veto.
- Impose a two-year moratorium on new regulations.
- Phase out foreign aid.
- "Play hardball" on trade.

says. "He just floated it as an idea."

On other occasions, Mr. Buchanan's ventures into economic matters have disclosed a lack of knowledge. In a "Cross-fire" program on the Cable News Network last year, he repeatedly insisted that the top tax rate on capital gains when Ronald Reagan took office in 1981 was 70%. In fact, it was only 28%.

Still, a minority of supply-siders say they don't mind the fact that Mr. Buchanan is unschooled in economics. "What does he need an economics program for? Bush doesn't have one," says economist Paul Craig Roberts, who served in Ronald Reagan's Treasury Department.

Mr. Roberts—who generally opposes bipartisan compromises on economic issues—says he likes Mr. Buchanan for his pugnacious style. "I think Pat Buchanan would be wonderful," he says. "There'd be a four-year flatfight in Washington. He'd either clean out this town or they'd kill him."

—Jonathan Weil contributed to this article.

Harkin Is Set To Quit Contest For Presidency

By JAMES M. PERRY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON—Sen. Tom Harkin of Iowa, who boasted he was the only old-fashioned Democrat seeking his party's nomination, will announce today that he is dropping out of the race.

He joins Sen. Bob Kerrey of Nebraska, who said last week he was quitting the contest. That leaves the field to Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, former Sen. Paul Tsongas of Massachusetts and former Gov. Jerry Brown of California.

Mr. Harkin was solidly backed by organized labor in both Illinois and Michigan, which will hold key primary contests on March 17. Labor leaders in those states had urged Mr. Harkin to stay in the race to protect the delegates they had slated that were pledged to his candidacy.

With his withdrawal, the immediate beneficiary will be Gov. Clinton. "Virtually all of Harkin's support [in Illinois] will go to Clinton," predicted Richard Walsh, president of the Illinois AFL-CIO. That gives Mr. Clinton a boost in his increasingly contentious battle with Mr. Tsongas. "Nobody knows Tsongas at all," said Mr. Walsh. The situation in Michigan, where Mr. Harkin had even more labor support, is comparable.

But in other states, Mr. Harkin's withdrawal might help the anti-politics campaign of Mr. Brown, who will now be the

single alternative to the two moderate frontrunners. Mr. Brown will be able to attract environmentalists and other liberals who find no special reason to vote for either Gov. Clinton or Mr. Tsongas.

With Mr. Harkin out of the race, the Democrats will be faced with a contest—the first in many years—in which there is no candidate representing the traditional northern liberal coalition.

Sen. Harkin proudly championed the old heroes of the Democratic Party—Franklin Roosevelt, Hubert Humphrey and John Kennedy. The 52-year-old Mr. Harkin ran an aggressive, frequently abrasive campaign, in which he made no apology for using class-warfare themes. "I come from the wrong side of the tracks," he bellowed during his announcement speech in a cornfield in Winterset, Iowa, last September.

But his appeals to voters to remember old battles and traditional party economic remedies—he called for a massive public-works project—fell on deaf ears. Mr. Harkin won the opening event on the political calendar, the Iowa caucuses, because that's his home state and no one chose to take him on. But he fared badly everywhere else, and had decided to skip entirely this week's 11 Super Tuesday contests.

In weekend balloting, Mr. Clinton won the South Carolina primary with a resounding 63% of the vote, with Mr. Tsongas a distant second at 19%. Mr. Clinton also won caucuses in Wyoming and finished a close second to Mr. Tsongas in Arizona. On the GOP side, President Bush won easily in South Carolina, with 67% of the vote. But once again there was a sizable protest vote, split between Patrick Buchanan, with 26% of the vote, and David Duke, with 7%.

ELECTION '92

A QUICK LOOK AT THE CANDIDATES AND THE ISSUES

Analysts look at what Tuesday may produce

The Super Tuesday Watch is on, with many wondering whether Paul Tsongas can survive a Southern sweep by Bill Clinton. In 1988, Michael Dukakis all but wrapped up the race by winning Texas and Florida (few remember Al Gore and Jesse Jackson won most of the other Southern states). Tsongas is hoping to do well to regain momentum for Illinois and Michigan on March 17. Some pre-spin thoughts:

► Susan Estrich, Dukakis' 1988 campaign manager: "I don't think we'll have a nominee Wednesday morning. But if Tsongas doesn't do well in Illinois or Michigan he'll have to be able to point to somewhere he can win."

► Stephen Hess, political analyst: "Even with a big Super Tuesday win for Clinton there has to be some doubt about the identity of the eventual nominee. With the change in their rules and with proportional representation, they've really designed a system where it's not over till it's over."

► Alan Secrest, Democratic consultant: "Bill Clinton does not have it locked up. The preference of party leaders was for nominees to emerge early in the year. Unfortunately, the voters didn't see it that way. The pitched battle is unlikely to end on Super Tuesday."

THE DUKE FACTOR: KKK ex-leader David Duke drew only 7% of the vote in South Carolina, but it may have been enough to hold Pat Buchanan's tally to 26%, below the 30%-plus Buchanan's been drawing elsewhere. Tuesday, Duke appears on ballots in Texas, Tennessee, Oklahoma, Louisiana, Mississippi, Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

Will he draw from Buchanan's pool of disenchanted voters? If so, that may be bad news for Buchanan, but not the knockout blow the White House is counting on. Duke and Buchanan votes must be combined, says GOP pollster Ed Goetz. "You saw it in South Carolina," he says. "There's a full third of the vote going to other candidates."

THE HARKIN FACTOR: The expected withdrawal today of Democrat Tom Harkin represents more than one fewer candidate. Harkin was in the mode of New Deal Democrats like Hubert Humphrey, Walter Mondale and Michael Dukakis.

"It's unusual," says Southern political analyst Charles Cook. "I don't think we've seen a presidential election year in which a traditional liberal Democrat didn't do better."

A fiery speaker, Harkin's appeal to policies backed by labor and minority groups failed to click in this year of pocketbook politics and memories of lost elections.

"Harkin gave voice to the aspirations of the working men and women of this country," said Jerry Brown, beginning the scramble for Harkin voters. Key to watch: Labor groups, crucial in Illinois and Michigan, were strong for Harkin and are less enamored of either Clinton or Tsongas.

Weekend results

ARIZONA CAUCUSES¹

Democrat	% vote	Deleg.
Clinton	29%	15
Tsongas	34%	14
Brown	28%	12
Harkin	8%	0
Uncommitted	1%	0

NEVADA CAUCUSES

Democrat	% vote	Deleg.
Clinton	26%	5
Tsongas	20%	3
Brown	35%	6
Harkin	1%	0
Uncommitted	17%	3
Undetermined	0%	0

S.C. PRIMARY

Democrat	% vote	Deleg.
Clinton	63%	36
Tsongas	19%	7
Harkin	8%	0
Brown	6%	0
Uncommitted	3%	0
Others	3%	0

Republican	% vote	Deleg.
Bush	67%	36
Buchanan	26%	0
Duke	7%	0

WYOMING CAUCUSES¹

Democrat	% vote	Deleg.
Clinton	28%	4
Brown	23%	3
Tsongas	12%	2
Harkin	14%	0
Undetermined	22%	4

1 — Delegates are won based on district, not statewide, vote totals.

Election coverage

- Harkin is set to withdraw, 1A
- Cancer and Tsongas campaign, 3A
- Super Tuesday preview, 9A

FAMILY TIES: Reports of questionable business deals hit two campaigns over the weekend:

► Democrat Bill Clinton and his wife, Hillary, invested in real estate with the operator of a state-regulated savings and loan that failed, *The New York Times* reported. The Times said the Clintons had little financial risk because the S&L owner, their friend James McDougal, subsidized the corporation. Clinton responded that when the investment began, McDougal didn't yet own the S&L and Clinton wasn't governor. He said he and his wife lost more than \$25,000.

► President Bush's eldest son, George W. Bush, sold \$848,560 worth of stock in Harken Energy Corp. in June 1990 — just one week before a poor earnings report started the stock on a 60% drop in value, *U.S. News & World Report* said. He was on a committee that had knowledge of the company's financial problems. The magazine said George W. Bush declined to be interviewed.

The latest delegate count

Democrats¹

Needed to nominate:	2,145	Delegates
Clinton	259	
Uncommitted	236.75	
Tsongas	136.25	
Harkin	81.25	
Brown	56.25	
Other	32	

1 — Count includes preferences of party and elected officials who are automatically delegates

Republicans

Needed to nominate:	1,105	Delegates
Bush	184	
Buchanan	20	
Uncommitted	45	

Source: The Associated Press

By Julie Stacey, USA TODAY

WHERE CANDIDATES ARE TODAY

Democrats: Jerry Brown: Providence, R.I.; Boston; Detroit; Bill Clinton: Orlando, Fla.; Fort Lauderdale, Fla.; Tampa, Fla.; Tom Harkin: Washington, D.C.; Des Moines; Paul Tsongas: Tampa; Orlando; West Palm Beach.

Republicans: George Bush: Washington, D.C.; Pat Buchanan: Jackson, Miss.; Columbus, Miss.; Tupelo, Miss.; Memphis; New Orleans. David Duke: Metairie, La.

Compiled by Gwen Flanders. Contributing: David Colton, Judy Keen, Bob Minzesheimer, Brian O'Connell.

IN WASHINGTON

NUCLEAR SCIENTISTS: Secretary of State James Baker heads today for Brussels where he'll meet with Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kosyrev to tackle the "brain drain" of nuclear scientists from the former Soviet Union. They hope to establish a nuclear clearinghouse that will find work for Russian scientists who might otherwise be tempted by offers from nations such as Libya and Iraq. The United States has pledged \$25 million toward the center. Germany has offered \$65 million. The European Community has expressed an interest in giving \$25 million as well but wants Japan also to help.

DISPUTED WORDS: Controversy over whether Secretary of State James Baker made an obscene remark about American Jewish voters continued as Israeli newspapers headlined the claim that Baker, in a White House strategy session, said, "F—em. They didn't vote for us." Three Israeli dailies used the quote — without dashes. Former New York mayor Ed Koch, in a Friday newspaper column, claimed Baker made the remarks while defending himself against complaints about his tough stance toward Israel. The State Department's Margaret Tutwiler branded Koch's column as "false, outrageous ... garbage."

ARTS CHIEF: National Endowment for the Arts Chairman John Frohnmayer, in his first interview since announcing his retirement, told *Newsweek* "the White House's impression of how you deal with the arts endowment is 'Just make it non-controversial.'" He also said the nation's cultural leadership was threatened by an "anti-intellectual, hate-based attack" on the endowment.

'Bubba' changes sides as campaign goes to Texas

INTERVIEW

Irreverent Texas columnist Molly Ivins says voters in the Lone Star State go for all kinds of candidates, as long as they're not boring.

Q: There has been a lot of talk about the "Bubba vote" in the South. Who is this fellow Bubba?

A: Bubba is the mythical, stereotypic Texan who drives down the highway in his pickup truck, a gun rack slung across the back window, and throws beer cans out the window. Bubba is known to be voraciously right-wing politically and doesn't care a lot for people who are different colors than he is. All of the Bubbas used to be Democrats. The revolution came down here when they moved over to the Republican Party.

Molly Ivins, who has covered Texas politics for more than 20 years, is a columnist for the Fort Worth Star-Telegram, The Progressive and Mother Jones. She is author of *Molly Ivins Can't Say That, Can She?* Ivins was interviewed by USA TODAY's Bob Minzesheimer.



Ivins

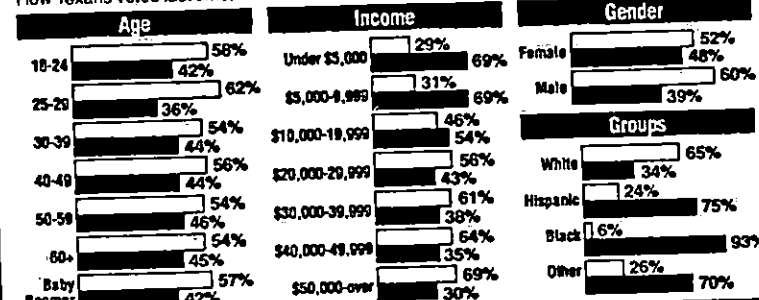
Q: And who's Bubba likely to vote for Tuesday?

A: I think Bubba is voting for Pat Buchanan. There's an interesting symmetry in the protest candidates in both parties. If you're really ticked off and you're a Republican, you're voting for Buchanan. If you're really ticked off and you're a Democrat, you're voting for Jerry Brown. And the college kids at the University of Texas seem excited about Brown. If you really want to change things, he's your man.

Q: How about Buchanan's proposal to erect a fence

How Texas voted in '88

Texas, which President Bush claims as his home state and which he won in 1988, is one of the 11 states voting on Super Tuesday. How Texans voted last time:



Source: ABC NEWS exit poll, 2,605 Texas voters, Nov. 8, 1988

By Marcy E. Muline, USA TODAY

along the Mexican border to keep out illegal immigrants?

A: Actually, that's been tried before. I forget which fool tried it back in the Nixon administration. Some right-winger tried to put up a fence and, of course, people just swarmed over it. That year at the Terlingua Chili Cookoff, a big annual event down here, they put up a 17-foot fence, and we had the first annual Over-Under-Or-Through-Mexican-Fence-Climbing contest. And as I recall, the winner, competing for a case of Lone Star beer, was

over in 5½ seconds.

Q: What's the general talk about Tuesday's primary?

A: You don't hear much general talk. I'm sure we all think the election is important, but it's not causing great, frenzied excitement in the Great State. Not a whole lot of people are running around saying, "My gosh, what do you think about Tom Harkin's health proposal?" Bill Clinton is well ahead in terms of organization. All the Democratic establishment is behind him. There are a lot of

people who are going to vote for him but still aren't too sure about him.

Q: Does Paul Tsongas have any chance?

A: Of the whole pack of them who just came into the state, Tsongas is the only guy we all know because his name is the fifth line on the eye chart when you get your driver's license. But he hasn't put much money into it. And this state is so damn expensive to campaign in. He basically has no presence here.

Q: Calvin Trillin wrote a

George Bush: Is president a 'real' Texan?

Molly Ivins on George Bush as a Texan:

"There are certain minimal standards for citizenship — real Texans do not use the word *summer* as a verb. Real Texans do not wear blue slacks with little green whales all over them. And real Texans never refer to trouble as 'deep doo-doo.'"

poem in *The Nation* called *Texas Remake for the Campaign* about a candidate dropping his "Mister Rogers voice" to "ape the other Rogers (Kenny)" and talking about "bldness." Do presidential candidates treat the South differently?

A: Well, the operating assumption seems to be that all Southerners are slack-jawed, slope-browed ridge runners and you must talk to them very slowly in words of one syllable and play to their well-known prejudices. You must, of

course, promise to have a strong national defense, courageously defend traditional family values and promise never to raise taxes under any circumstances. But look at who won five Southern states on Super Tuesday in 1988: Jesse Jackson, which is logical since it makes no sense. With Southerners, you just never know.

Q: In 1988 you wrote that based on "the tempering experience of Texas politics," you saw "nothing wrong with the people running for president. None of them drools." Do Texans have different expectations of politicians?

A: We like politicians to be entertaining, whether adventurously or inadvertently. Being boring is high on the list of serious sins.

Q: How do the current candidates measure up?

A: Well, you know, George Bush can be very entertaining, even when he doesn't mean to be. But I must say I'm a little worried about him. He's sounding awfully old and tired. I did laugh when I opened up the paper and read that the president had reared back on his hind legs and told the world that "life means nothing without fidelity to principles." Isn't politics just wonderful?

Cancer issue shadows Tsongas

Some feel fear; others find bond

By Tony Mauro
and Bill Nichols
USA TODAY

At nearly every campaign stop, Democratic presidential candidate Paul Tsongas is reminded twice of his experience with cancer six years ago.

First, by journalists who question him ominously about his fitness to serve as president.

And second, less visibly, by survivors of cancer and other traumatic illnesses who tell him of the kinship they feel with him, and to praise his courage. Friends say Tsongas responds to every letter or phone call from a survivor.

But "it cuts both ways," says Tsongas. "I've had people tell me they could not vote for me. ... They could never be sure."

But, he adds, "most of the reaction is: 'You've been through something that most people don't go through. And hopefully ... there's more wisdom in your view of life.'"

More than 6 million people who have been treated for cancer are alive in the USA today, says the American Cancer Society. Millions more have been touched by cancer or other major illness and injury through friends or family.

And, while there may never be a "cancer bloc" of voters who would look favorably on a candidate who survived cancer, it is clear that, for some, Tsongas' experience is a positive, not a negative.

"I feel that I've walked in his shoes," says Mary Ann Cooney, director of school health services for the Manchester, N.H., public schools. Cooney, 36, has overcome malignant melanoma, first diagnosed in 1983.

Among cancer survivors, she says, Tsongas has been an inspiration. "If you talk to anybody who's had cancer, the attitude is, not only is he capable to be president, but he'll be far more empathetic, especially toward health needs."

Says Susan Nessim, founder of the Los Angeles-based support group Cancerive: "He has been a phenomenal role



FEELING FIT: Presidential hopeful Paul Tsongas swims in a January meet in Andover, Mass.



DOCTOR AND FRIEND: Tak Takvorian says many of his cancer patients have drawn inspiration from Paul Tsongas' candidacy.

model. Who knows better what it takes to be president?"

If his primary campaign remains strong, Tsongas is likely to face increasing pressure to spell out the risks that his cancer might recur.

So far, his rivals have avoided the subject, but a New York Times editorial after the New Hampshire primary warned

that questions about his health prospects "could make him vulnerable to hardball politics." The editorial urged Tsongas to give voters a "firmer fix" on the question — possibly by submitting his case to a panel of independent doctors.

A recent CBS-New York Times poll found 54% are not concerned that his health will

interfere with his ability to serve, 19% are. In a Los Angeles Times poll this month of county Democratic Party leaders, one third said the health issue could damage him, while three in five said it would not.

Tsongas, 51, was first diagnosed with a lymph system cancer (non-Hodgkins lymphoma) in 1983, and underwent an aggressive and experimental therapy that has left him free of the disease since 1986.

U.S. News & World Report today says Tsongas' last evidence of cancer was in 1987, when he was treated for a potentially cancerous lymph node. The tumor, "a couple centimeters" in diameter, was removed. The biopsy was inconclusive.

His doctors say that 90% of relapses occur in the first year after treatment, implying that because Tsongas is nearly six years past his treatment, he should be regarded as cured.

"To say whether he's cured, we will need longer follow-up," says physician Bruce Chaeson of the National Cancer Institute

"A lot of people want him to be the cancer candidate, and he doesn't want that."

— Tak Takvorian, Tsongas' cancer doctor

and spokesman for the American Society of Clinical Oncologists.

The former Massachusetts senator speaks freely about his experience, citing it not only as a major factor in his decision to run, but also as something of a badge of courage.

Last week, in applauding Sen. Bob Kerrey for his now-ended campaign, Tsongas compared his cancer with Kerrey's service in Vietnam.

An early New Hampshire television ad for Tsongas showed him swimming hard while an announcer said: "Guts and determination helped Paul Tsongas beat the odds and go on to beat cancer."

Tak Takvorian, Tsongas' friend and cancer doctor, says he and the campaign staff are under instructions to pass on to Tsongas all phone messages and letters from the many cancer patients and survivors who have offered words of support.

"It may be harder now, after New Hampshire, but until now, he has answered every phone call and every letter from a cancer patient," says Takvorian. "He may feel that is small recompense for what he went through."

Takvorian also says many cancer patients at the Dana Farber Clinic where he works have drawn inspiration from Tsongas' campaign.

Still, Takvorian says Tsongas has been careful not to exploit his cancer experience.

"A lot of people want him to be the cancer candidate, and he doesn't want that," says Takvorian. "It's not a crusade."

Some say Tsongas' experience shouldn't matter, one way or the other.

"People should be judged on their merits," says Peg Camp of the American Cancer Society in New Hampshire. "Cancer is no longer a stigma and it should not be viewed as such."

► Politics index, 4A

State-by-state look at Tuesday's contests

Eleven states, including eight Southern or border states, vote Tuesday in the biggest one-day delegate hunt.

Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton hopes to sweep the South while Paul Tsongas looks to surprise in Florida; President Bush hopes strong wins in every state will blunt Pat Buchanan's protest message. The appearance of David Duke in seven of eight GOP contests could draw votes from Buchanan as well. A closer look at the Super Tuesday states:

DELAWARE: Democrat-only caucuses drawing little attention; Tsongas hopes to carry over from win in neighboring Maryland last week; Clinton may score with black vote in Wilmington. Delegates: Democrats, 14 (GOP holds regional meetings throughout April).

FLORIDA: Key for Tsongas if he wants a breakthrough in Clinton's Southern base (recent poll had them tied). Clinton attacking Tsongas' record on Israel and retirement benefits. Buchanan all but conceding state to Bush; Duke not on ballot here. Delegates: Democrats, 148; GOP, 97.

HAWAII: Little campaigning here; Democratic caucuses usually follow cues of party leaders; Gov. John Waihee supports Clinton. Delegates: Democrats, 20 (Republicans meet in April and May).

LOUISIANA: Clinton, backed by biracial coalition, almost uncontested in state where black vote can be key (Jesse Jackson won in 1988); Buchanan, seeing state as his best shot Tuesday, hopes to siphon off David Duke supporters. Local economy has never recovered from oil bust. Delegates: Democrats, 60; GOP, 38.

MASSACHUSETTS: Tsongas should be a lock in his home state, but margin will be watched (Michael Dukakis won 58% in 1988 primary); Ralph Nader running as protest candidate on Democratic ballot. Buchanan hoping New Hampshire ads, coverage will pay off for him in neighboring state; Duke on ballot. Delegates: 94; GOP, 38.

MISSISSIPPI: Recent poll shows Clinton, Bush far ahead; Jerry Brown campaigned here with Jesse Jackson; Buchanan looking to conservative vote; Duke on ballot. Delegates: Democrats, 39; GOP, 33.

MISSOURI: Caucus should go to Clinton, backed by party leaders. Tsongas organization too weak for caucus format. Delegates: Democrats, 77 (GOP caucus is April 14).

OKLAHOMA: Filing problems kept Tsongas off ballot, squandering support from Sen. David Boren; Brown was first Democrat to visit, but state still looks strong for Clinton; Bush, Buchanan campaigned here, with oil industry a key issue; Duke on ballot. Delegates: Democrats, 45; GOP, 34.

RHODE ISLAND: Tsongas should do well in home region; state is even more ethnic and urban than Tsongas' Massachusetts. Bush won big in 1983, but small turnout could help Buchanan in state where voters are angry over recession, local political scandals; Duke on ballot. Delegates: Democrats, 22; GOP, 15.

TENNESSEE: Clinton has largest organization and support of Gov. Ned McWherter. Jesse Jackson joined Brown at campaign event. State traditionally backs moderate Republicans, which could work against Buchanan; Duke on ballot. Delegates: Democrats, 68; GOP, 45.

TEXAS: The day's biggest cache of delegates (about 10% of delegates needed to win the nomination); Clinton has support of party leaders and minority groups; Tsongas hopes to win affluent voters in Houston and Dallas suburbs. Bush should do well in adopted home, but Buchanan targeting discontent over economy; Duke on ballot. Latest poll shows Clinton over Tsongas 54%-16%; Bush over Buchanan 80%-13%. Delegates: Democrats, 196; GOP, 121.

— Compiled by Brian O'Connell

► Super Tuesday looms, 1A, 3A, 4A

Tsongas campaign bogs down

By Adam Nagourney
USA TODAY

MIAMI — If Paul Tsongas needed any reminders of how far away he is from the embracing climes of New Hampshire, he got it this weekend when he turned up for a rally in the economic wasteland here known as Overtown.

The friendly living-room gatherings of a month ago, where he and voters discussed the nation's economic future in front of crackling fires, were a distant memory as he gazed over a nearly empty park ringed by some of the poorest slums in the country.

He rushed through a perfunctory five-minute speech, questioning Bill Clinton's tax-cut plans, and hurried on.

That moment seemed to sum up the trouble the former Massachusetts senator has had in the days since he was elevated from the long shot whom no one took seriously to the suddenly formidable challenger.

An array of problems — some of his own making, some caused by an abrupt transition to large-scale campaigning, and some instigated by Clinton's superior organization — has produced a candidate who seems to have lost his way.

Once, with his good-natured humor, he earnestly rejected middle-class tax cuts and advocated pro-business economics. Now that's given way to attacks on Clinton, replies to Clinton's attacks, or grouchy complaints



IN HOUSTON: Bill Clinton receives congratulations from members of the Lyons Unity Church after a speech Sunday.

about what Clinton is saying about him.

He said he had to go on the attack lest such foreign threats as Saddam Hussein view him as a pushover.

"The rules of the game have changed and he will play the games by the new rules," said aide Peggy Connelly.

There are a number of reasons for Tsongas' difficulties.

First, his appeal was tailored for New Hampshire, with its chance to meet so many voters. That's gone now.

"He loses something on television," retiree Norma Newman said after seeing Tsongas in a small auditorium here. "But I find him in person to be extremely personable."

Second, Tsongas has a host of new political operatives and has begun experimenting with new political styles — accusing Clinton of "pandering" and being a "pander bear" — that sometimes seem an ill fit.

Finally, Tsongas' troubles

are not all of his making.

Miami's vote-rich condo communities are buzzing with concerns about Tsongas' positions on two key issues here — Social Security and Israel.

Both are fueled not so much by TV ads but by an underground conversation and leafletting campaign fueled by the Clinton organization.

Clinton's aides have hammered Tsongas for saying it might be necessary to scale back cost-of-living increases for retirees earning more than \$125,000.

In response, Tsongas noted that Clinton supported a governor's association resolution to freeze government spending, including Social Security.

In Jewish neighborhoods, Clinton's campaign distributed copies of 10-year-old Tsongas quotes criticizing Israeli leader Menachem Begin. And it brought in Rep. Stephen Solarz, D-N.Y., to attack Tsongas' failure to support the use of force against Iraq last year. Clinton, after initially hedging on the war, supported it.

"At a moment when potentially the fate of Israel hung in the balance, Clinton was prepared to use force," Solarz said. "Tsongas was not."

And that's all hurting. "I think Tsongas is weak on some issues — especially Israel," said retired clothing manufacturer Leo Mutterperl.

The attacks have rattled Tsongas and forced his aides to research the obscure quotes the Clinton forces dug up.

Tsongas acknowledged he criticized Israel for bombing Iraqi nuclear plants 12 years ago, but only because it complicated efforts to win Israel more foreign aid. "They don't mention that, I presume," he said testily.

Bush still looking for ignition spark

By Judy Keen
USA TODAY

JACKSON, Miss. — President and Mrs. Bush, holding hands, walked slowly down the steps of the state Capitol.

The descending sun gave the building's columns a golden glow. Green-suited band members and patriotic bunting formed a sublime backdrop for Bush's speech to 2,000 people gathered on the lawn.

But 11 minutes into Bush's standard campaign speech, Hank Carroll grabbed the hand of his son, Billy, 7, and headed for his car. "It's suppertime," the Jackson carpenter said.

Carroll, who'll vote for Bush in Tuesday's primary, came to the Friday rally to soak up presidential spectacle, but he wasn't enthralled by the words.

Bush said: "We're in a battle for our future," citing his commitment to family values and slamming Congress. Carroll's assessment: "Same old stuff."

Bush, who last week galloped around seven Southern states, is running a campaign that's waiting for spontaneous combustion: All the elements are there except the spark.

But after nervously trying to neutralize Pat Buchanan, Bush and his aides decided they'd overreacted. They decided Bush's GOP rival doesn't warrant all the angst. Bush declared victory and went home.

Bush's advisers have concluded Buchanan has lost his momentum and Bush should hoard his firepower until he can aim it at a Democrat.

The strategy was ratified in Saturday's South Carolina primary, where Buchanan was held to 26% — his lowest vote total yet. Bush hopes for a knockout punch Tuesday.

In 11 primaries, 421 delegates will be allocated, most of them probably to Bush. With almost two-thirds of all GOP delegates chosen in winner-take-all contests, Bush may have the 1,105 he needs for nomination by April 28.

After Tuesday, the campaign shifts to March 17 primary

ries in Illinois and Michigan.

Buchanan, who's been controlling the campaign's dialogue with blasts at Bush's handling of the economy and recitations of conservative articles of faith, may not find the Midwest as ripe for his appeals.

And Bush, rather than answering Buchanan's attacks, will stress his experience in world events, hoping to create a stature gap over Buchanan and the Democratic nominee.

Buchanan, no longer talking about needing to win a state, says he'll campaign until August's GOP convention, even as he hints at reconciliation.

"It would not be better for the country to have Bill Clinton picking Supreme Court justices, so I'm going to support the nominee of the Republican Party," Buchanan said Sunday on CBS's *Face the Nation*.

Despite the impression that Bush was shadowing Buchanan last week, Bush political director Mary Matalin said the Southern blitz was aimed at the general election.

"It was a mind-check to adjust to a protest vote, but... we have no belief whatsoever that these folks were not going to come home in the general election," she said.

At the Naval Air Station's museum in Pensacola, Fla., Bush delivered a speech about the need for a strong defense that was a preview of his November strategy.

He accused Democrats of "playing political games with national security" by taking a "meat ax" to military budgets, and he reminded the audience about his gulf war leadership.

In flight training records displayed at the museum, instructors rate Bush above average, but note his trouble "maintaining altitude." He may have the same problem now.

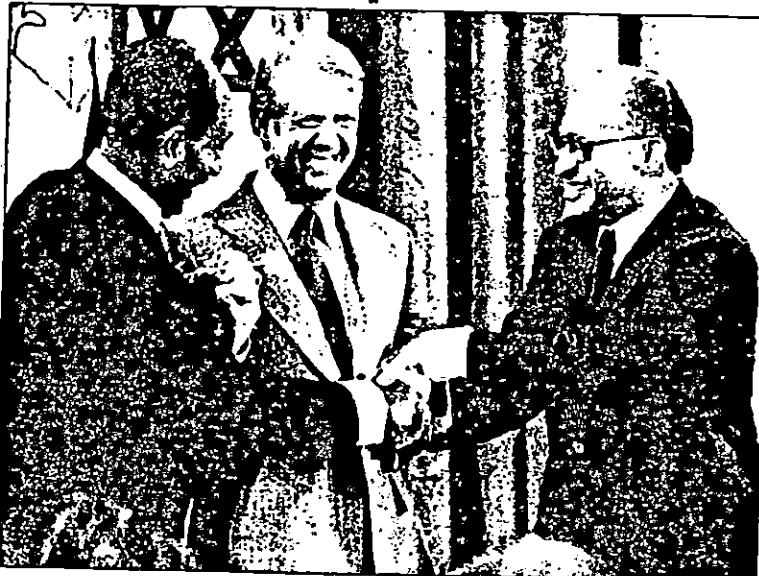
"His heart doesn't seem to be in it yet," said Maryls Ritzytsky, a retired teacher who heard his Oklahoma City speech. "He'll campaign like there's no tomorrow if he's convinced his job's at stake. I don't think it is yet."

MONDAY, MARCH 9, 1992

USA TODAY

Check scandal tears at House

From fighter to peacemaker



HISTORIC AGREEMENT: Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, right, President Carter and Egyptian President Anwar Sadat celebrate the signing of the Camp David peace accords in 1978.

Israel's Begin dead at 78

By Sandra Sanchez
USA TODAY

Menachem Begin, a tenacious guerrilla fighter who became Israel's prime minister and made historic peace with Egypt, died late Sunday, the Israeli government said.

Begin's death came six days after he was rushed to a hospital after suffering from a heart attack. He was 78.

Considered a giant of the reborn Jewish state, Begin was a pugnacious Israeli leader who made peace with Egypt but led his nation into a costly and divisive war in Lebanon.

A Polish Jew whose parents were slain by Nazis, he came to political power through his part in the underground that helped found Israel.

Begin shared a 1978 Nobel Peace Prize with Egypt's President Anwar Sadat for their Camp David peace accords.

For that peace treaty, he sacrificed the Sinai Desert, a prize of the 1967 Mideast war. But he clung stubbornly to other lands captured by Israel, annexing the Golan Heights of Syria and filling the West Bank with Jewish settlements.

He took an aggressive posture toward Israel's enemies, bombing Iraq's nuclear reactor in 1981. The next year, he sent the army into Lebanon to wipe out the PLO in what became Israel's most unpopular war.

TIMELINE: THE BEGIN YEARS

- **1913:** Born in Brest-Litovsk, Russia.
- **1943:** Becomes commander of Irgun underground Jewish fighters.
- **1944-47:** Directs guerrilla campaign against British authorities in Palestine.
- **1948:** Plays leading role in Israel's war for independence; forms Herut Party.
- **1949:** Elected to the Knesset, or parliament.
- **1977:** Right-center Likud bloc wins national elections, Begin becomes prime minister.
- **1978:** Camp David meetings with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and President Jimmy Carter; resulting accords form basis for peace treaty with Egypt; Begin and Sadat win Nobel Peace Prize.
- **1981:** Declares Jerusalem "eternal, indivisible" capital of Israel; annexes Golan Heights.
- **1981:** Orders bombing of Iraqi nuclear reactor.
- **1982:** Orders invasion of Lebanon.
- **1983:** Reportedly depressed over his wife's death and mounting casualties in Lebanon, abruptly resigns from office.
- **1983-92:** Lives in seclusion, rarely leaving home.

He resigned as prime minister in 1983 without explanation. Friends said he was depressed over his wife's death and high casualties in Lebanon.

Begin spent his last nine years as a virtual recluse in his apartment. But every year he visited his wife's grave.

Reaction:

► "He was a man of strength and principle, of passion and of compassion," said Malcolm Hoenlein, head of the New York-based Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. "Given the opportunity for real peace,

He did what no country in history has done; that is, to yield the territory which it secured in a war of defense."

► "I don't think anybody but Begin could have achieved that peace agreement with Egypt," said David Brody, special counsel for the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

► Said Stu Eizenstadt, chief of domestic policy under president Jimmy Carter, who helped negotiate the Camp David accord: "He was a man of great vision who was willing to take risks for peace. His death leaves a void."

GOP 'out for blood' in disclosure dispute

By Judi Hasson
USA TODAY

The House hopes to persuade a skeptical public this week that it is a serious legislative body as it tries to crawl out from under another scandal.

The issue, naming names in the House check-bouncing scandal, threatens to turn the House into a battlefield and re-election campaigns into political nightmares.

► Democrats are scrambling for damage control over an ethics committee report which recommended naming the worst abusers — 19 members and five former members who repeatedly floated checks at the bank in a 39-month period ending October 1991.

► Republicans are pressing to expose them all — about 300 current members who overdraw their accounts. The GOP could use the scandal to fuel the anti-incumbent mood sweeping the country, in particular against the Democrat-controlled Congress.

The House is expected to vote Thursday on releasing the list of 24 worst offenders. They were identified by the ethics panel as writing checks in excess of their next month's pay over at least eight months.

Before the names are released, ethics committee chairman Matthew McHugh, D-N.Y., said account numbers will have to be matched with their owners. Members also will be given a chance to give their side of the story. That could take at least 10 days.

Other members facing challenges by their political opponents to "come clean" about their check-writing habits will be able to get reports on their banking records from the committee, he said.

Republicans are trying to forge a coalition to demand the name of every abuser.

"It's going to be pretty difficult not to vote for full disclosure," says Rep. Rick Santorum, R-Pa.

"Some Republicans are out for blood," said Rep. Gary Ackerman, D-N.Y., a member of the ethics committee.

Some Democrats argue it's unfair to disclose every name since there were no rules governing the now-closed bank.

They say some House members bounced only one check, others were overdrawn for small amounts and the House bank was so poorly run that lawmakers weren't notified when they were overdrawn.

"The committee had a difficult job trying to establish standards that never existed," said Rep. Louis Stokes, D-Ohio, the ethics chairman who removed himself from the probe because he bounced checks. He won't say for how much.

The Republicans hardly agree. They see the check scandal as an example of congressional "perks" ordinary citizens don't enjoy.

"The American people want to know the extent of the abuse," says Rep. Porter Goss, R-Fla., another ethics panel member. "They don't want any more coverups."

Still unresolved is the question of criminal violations.

Although the ethics committee did not investigate how the money was used, several Republicans say there ought to be a criminal investigation.

"The kind of check-kiting here would certainly warrant investigation and prosecution," says Rep. Frank Riggs, R-Calif., who wants the names out. "In most states, a pattern of abuse would get you prosecuted."

Iraq hopes showdown is avoidable

By Lee Michael Katz
USA TODAY

Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz arrives in New York today, hoping to stave off a U.N. showdown over Baghdad's failure to destroy its weapons of mass destruction after losing the gulf war.

Aziz may try to focus world attention on Iraqi hardships caused by trade sanctions. The U.S.-led Security Council is still grappling with additional punishments for Iraq, needed to back up its threat of "serious consequences." That harsh language came after Iraq refused — again — to allow U.N. officials to identify and destroy Iraqi military equipment.

Non-combat options being explored include using money from frozen Iraqi assets.

But allied military action could soon be the ultimate sanction if Iraq won't cooperate with U.N. weapons destruction demands.

U.N. officials believe Iraq still hasn't revealed its full nuclear, chemical, biological and ballistic weapons programs.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 9, 1992

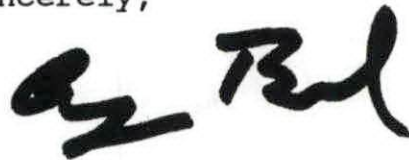
Dear Peter:

Thank you for your letter and your generous words of support. I appreciate all that you are doing, and it's good to know about your meeting with Cardinal O'Connor. The United States remains firmly committed to the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Lebanon, as well as the withdrawal of all non-Lebanese forces. I welcome your support, particularly with Congress, for that policy.

I'm pleased that Helene has joined the Public Liaison team. This is a challenging, yet exciting, year to be at the White House.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Mr. Peter J. Tanous
Chairman, Board of Directors
American Task Force for Lebanon
Legislative Council
Suite 305
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Washington, D.C. 20037

CC:
Rose Zamaria
(in & out)
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