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Wednesday, March 11, 1992 [2]

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3/11/92

Mr. President:

✓ Ray Scott called to talk with me. Wanted to apologize for his behavior last week. As it was, it worked out beautifully. I asked him how much he raised and he said \$344,500.

✓ Also mentioned he auctioned off your fishing license for \$2,500, and wanted to use the presidential seal when he got it framed. Told him this was a no-no per Counsel's office.

Rose

3/11/92

Mr. President:

~~Senator Al Simpson would like you to give him a call.~~ (10:09)

2) Jack Fitch called to say he heartily endorses Thad Grundy for Ambassador to Ecuador. Also said they moved into their new home, which is right next door to their old one, and next to your lot. Address did not change.

> *cm*

*Mr President -
Note phone call
from Jack Fitch
recomm.
Thad Grundy
for this p.p.
R2*

RZ

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3/11/92

Note to Rose Zamaria

From: Susan Slye *SSS*

Re: President Reagan's Nice Comments

Mr. Skinner asked me to let you know so that you can tell the President that President Reagan's nice comments about President Bush came from a statement he made on Monday night, March 9, at a fundraiser for Senator McCain at the Regency Club in Beverly Hills, just west of Los Angeles.

ASSOCIATION EXECUTIVES
MARCH 11, 1992
WASHINGTON, D.C.
1:20 P.M.

02 MAR 11 AM : 57

CHAIRMAN FONDREN, MY FELLOW TEXAN, THANK YOU FOR THAT INTRODUCTION. PRESIDENT TAYLOR. I HEARD A STORY ABOUT HOW WHEN L.B.J. MOVED FROM THE HOUSE TO THE SENATE, JAKE PICKLE AND GENE FONDREN, THEN TEXAS STATE LEGISLATORS, FLIPPED A COIN TO DECIDE WHO'D RUN FOR OFFICE AND GO TO WASHINGTON. WELL, CONGRESSMAN PICKLE'S BEEN CALLING FOR A REMATCH EVER SINCE.

ROBERT FROST ONCE WROTE THAT "AN IDEA IS A FEAT OF ASSOCIATION." WELL, ASSOCIATION IS AN IDEA AS OLD AS THE AMERICAN DREAM ITSELF. ACTUALLY, TOQUEVILLE OVER 150 YEARS AGO HAD MUCH TO SAY ABOUT YOU. HE SAID, "AT THE HEAD OF SOME NEW UNDERTAKING ... IN THE UNITED STATES YOU WILL BE SURE TO FIND AN ASSOCIATION." SINCE THAT TIME ASSOCIATIONS HAVE PLAYED A VITAL ROLE IN OUR COUNTRY'S PROGRESS, AND THEY CONTINUE THAT MISSION TODAY, DEFINING NEW FRONTIERS AND EXPLORING NEW TERRITORY.

BEFORE I SPOKE, PRESIDENT TAYLOR PRESENTED THE ASSOCIATIONS ADVANCE AMERICA AWARDS TO SALUTE THOSE WHO'VE FOUND A WAY TO HELP, TO BE IN FACT, POINTS OF LIGHT. WE HEAR TOO OFTEN ABOUT WHAT'S WRONG IN AMERICA. WELL, THIS IS WHAT'S RIGHT IN AMERICA, AND I SALUTE YOU FOR WHAT YOU ARE DOING TO HELP YOUR COMMUNITIES.

OF COURSE, IT'S AN ELECTION YEAR. INDEPENDENT OF THE CURRENT PREOCCUPATION WITH THE HYPE AND SPIN OF THE CAMPAIGNS, THERE WILL REMAIN THE ISSUES, THE BIG THINGS -- THE CORE CONCERNS OF EVERY AMERICAN -- JOBS, FAMILY, PEACE. THEY HOLD US TOGETHER AS A SOCIETY. THEY ARE MORE THAN ISSUES WE BRING TO THE NEXT ELECTION -- THEY ARE THE LEGACY WE MUST GIVE TO THE NEXT GENERATION.

THAT IS WHAT I WANT TO TALK TO YOU ABOUT TODAY -- NOT JUST THE ISSUES, BUT OUR MOOD AS A NATION, AND HOW WE MUST ACT NOW ON IF WE ARE TO CHANGE AMERICA FOR THE BETTER.

TODAY, WEIGHING MOST HEAVILY IN THE HEARTS AND ON THE MINDS OF AMERICANS IS THE STATE OF THE ECONOMY -- JOBS -- PRESERVING JOBS, CREATING JOBS. YOU IN THIS VERY ROOM KNOW BEST VIRTUALLY EVERY INDUSTRY AND EVERY PROFESSION IN AMERICA. I DON'T HAVE TO TELL YOU THAT PEOPLE ARE WORRIED ABOUT THE FUTURE.

FRANKLY, WE'VE HAD TOUGH ECONOMIC TIMES BEFORE, WITH HIGHER UNEMPLOYMENT -- BUT LESS NATIONAL ALARM. THERE'S SOMETHING DIFFERENT ABOUT TODAY'S TIMES -- SOMETHING THAT TOUCHES A NERVE. IT STRIKES AT THE HEART OF WHAT DRIVES THIS COUNTRY FORWARD -- OUR CONFIDENCE. IT CHALLENGES OUR BELIEF IN OURSELVES.

I'LL GIVE IT TO YOU STRAIGHT: UNEMPLOYMENT IS 7.3% -- ABOUT 9 MILLION PEOPLE OUT OF A TOTAL WORKFORCE OF 126 MILLION. DURING THE 1982 RECESSION, UNEMPLOYMENT HIT ALMOST 11% -- A LEVEL NOT EXPERIENCED SINCE THE GREAT DEPRESSION. SO WE ASK OURSELVES -- WHY IS CONFIDENCE TODAY LOWER THAN AT THE DEPTH OF THE 1982 RECESSION?

I'VE HEARD A LOT OF THEORIES. SOME SAY THOSE T.V. ANALYSTS ARE THE PROBLEM -- REJOICING IN BAD NEWS. OTHERS SAY IT'S THE POLITICIANS. I MYSELF HAVE NOTED THAT IN A POLITICAL YEAR CANDIDATES OFTEN SHOWER THE VOTERS WITH A MESSAGE SO BLEAK AND HOPELESS -- AT THE SAME TIME THEY PROMISE THE RAINBOW IF THEY'RE ELECTED. THAT STEADY DRIZZLE ON THE PEOPLE'S SHOULDERS CAN WEAR AWAY CONFIDENCE, AND WASH AWAY HOPE. SO IT'S EASY TO SUPPOSE THAT THE CONSTANT DRUMBEAT ABOUT WHAT'S WRONG IN AMERICA IS A SELF-FULFILLING PROPHECY.

THERE MAY BE SOME TRUTH TO THAT. BUT I THINK THERE ARE OTHER REASONS FOR OUR COUNTRY'S MOOD. PEOPLE ARE FEELING THE WAY THEY DO BECAUSE AMERICA'S GOT SOME REAL PROBLEMS -- SERIOUS, STUBBORN, NATIONAL PROBLEMS.

BUT I THINK IT WOULD BE UNFAIR AND UNTRUE TO SUGGEST TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT WE CAN'T OVERCOME THESE PROBLEMS -- TO IMPLY THAT AMERICA IS A COUNTRY IN DECLINE. SO TODAY I WANT TO TALK ABOUT WHAT WE MUST DO TO MEET THE ECONOMIC CHALLENGE THAT IS BEFORE US -- HOW WE CAN BUILD ECONOMIC VITALITY INTO OUR COMMUNITIES -- HOW WE MUST ENSURE THAT OUR CHILDREN SEE A FUTURE THAT IS AN IMPROVEMENT OVER THE PRESENT.

SOMETIMES IT HELPS TO TAKE SOME OF THESE ENORMOUS ISSUES AND BRING THEM DOWN TO THE PERSONAL LEVEL. SO WHEN I TALK ABOUT AMERICA'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS THIS IS WHAT I MEAN:

THEY ARE THE WORRIES OF PARENTS WHO HAVE WORKED ALL THEIR LIVES TO GET THEIR KIDS THROUGH COLLEGE -- AND THOSE KIDS CAN'T FIND WORK. THEY ARE FOUND IN DISCOURAGED FAMILIES WHO CAN'T AFFORD TO PAY OFF ANYTHING BUT THE INTEREST ON THEIR CREDIT CARDS, MONTH AFTER MONTH AFTER MONTH. THEY ARE THE DOUBTS OF YOUNG PEOPLE WHO BELIEVE THAT TIMES WILL NEVER BE AS GOOD FOR THEM AS THEY WERE FOR THEIR PARENTS. THESE ARE THE THINGS THAT DIM OUR HOPE AND DRAIN OUR CONFIDENCE.

AMERICAN WORKERS CAN SEE THAT TECHNOLOGY AND COMPETITION ARE CHANGING THE WORKPLACE FASTER THAN EVER BEFORE. THEY CAN FEEL THE HEAT -- BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD. THEY KNOW AMERICAN INDUSTRY IS BEING CHALLENGED TO KEEP UP OR STEP ASIDE -- I'LL TALK FURTHER ABOUT THAT LATER IN THE WEEK IN DETROIT, MICHIGAN. WE LIVE IN A COMPETITIVE WORLD, AND PEOPLE WORRY ABOUT OUR ABILITY TO COMPETE. AMERICAN HOMEOWNERS -- THAT'S ALMOST 70 MILLION PEOPLE -- WORRY THAT THE BIGGEST ASSET THEY WILL EVER HAVE -- THEIR HOME -- WILL LOSE ITS WORTH BECAUSE REAL ESTATE VALUES HAVE DECLINED. THE SAME IS TRUE OF ANY BUSINESS, ASSOCIATION, OR CHARITABLE ORGANIZATION THAT OWNS PROPERTY -- THEY'RE CONCERNED TOO.

FINALLY, AS I DISCUSSED EARLIER THIS WEEK WITH THE LEAGUE OF CITIES, THE DETERIORATION OF THE AMERICAN FAMILY IS VERY SERIOUS -- A ROOT PROBLEM WITH TREMENDOUS RAMIFICATIONS FOR OUR ECONOMIC WELL-BEING AS A NATION.

BUT THE PICTURE IS NOT ALL GLOOM AND DOOM. AMERICA IS NOW THE ONLY SUPERPOWER IN THE WORLD. MILLIONS OF IMMIGRANTS STILL LOOK TO US AS THE LAND OF OPPORTUNITY -- BECAUSE WE ARE. AND OUR ECONOMY IS POISED FOR RECOVERY. INFLATION IS DOWN. INTEREST RATES LOW. INVENTORIES LOW. EXPORTS AT RECORD HIGHS. BUT THIS RECOVERY WILL COME SOONER, AND STRONGER ONLY IF WE IN GOVERNMENT ACT NOW.

IN JANUARY, I SENT THE CONGRESS A PLAN OF ACTION -
- A STRAIGHTFORWARD SET OF INITIATIVES BASED UPON TRIED AND TRUE ECONOMIC REALITIES. I PROPOSED INCENTIVES FOR BUSINESS TO BUY EQUIPMENT, UPGRADE THEIR PLANTS, AND START HIRING AGAIN. I PROPOSED A SHOT IN THE ARM TO GET THE HOUSING INDUSTRY BACK ON ITS FEET -- LEAD US INTO ECONOMIC RECOVERY THIS SPRING. I PROPOSED A TAX CUT ON CAPITAL GAINS.

THEN I OFFERED A BROADER PLAN OF ACTION TO KEEP US STRONG AND ECONOMICALLY VIGOROUS IN THE YEARS AHEAD. IT INCLUDED: EDUCATION REFORM CALLED AMERICA 2000 TO BRING THE SKILLS OF OUR FUTURE WORKERS UP TO A STANDARD OF EXCELLENCE. IT INCLUDED A CLAMPDOWN ON EXCESSIVE REGULATIONS THAT HURT OUR COMPETITIVENESS AND REFORM OF OUR LEGAL SYSTEM SO THAT AMERICANS CAN SPEND MORE TIME INNOVATING AND LESS TIME LITIGATING. I PROPOSED RECORD FEDERAL SUPPORT OF RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT TO KEEP OUR NATION ON THE CUTTING EDGE OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES, AND NEW INCENTIVES FOR BUSINESS INVESTMENT. I PROPOSED A FORWARD LOOKING TRADE POLICY THAT DEMANDS FOREIGN MARKETS OPEN UP TO HIGH-QUALITY AMERICAN GOODS AND SERVICES. AND I REITERATED OUR DETERMINATION TO HOLD THE LINE ON GOVERNMENT SPENDING AND OPPOSE NEW TAXES.

BIG ISSUES. BIG CHALLENGES. THIS IS THE PLAN I PROPOSED -- AND I SET A DEADLINE FOR CONGRESS TO ACT. AND WHILE THE CONGRESS DIDN'T HAVE A COMPREHENSIVE PLAN OF ITS OWN, IT DIDN'T LIKE THE NOTION OF A DEADLINE. INSTEAD, WITH GREAT AND EARNEST DELIBERATION, THE CONGRESS FIXATED ON HOW MUCH MORE TO TAX THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. THEY WOULD HIKE TAXES BY 100 BILLION DOLLARS. THEIR PLAN DESTROYS JOBS. MY PLAN CREATES JOBS.

THE LAST THING THIS ECONOMY NEEDS NOW IS A MASSIVE TAX INCREASE. ANY ECONOMIST WORTH HIS SALT WILL TELL YOU THAT. BUT THIS IS NOT NEW. CONGRESS ROUTINELY REFUSES TO TAKE ACTION TO STIMULATE THE ECONOMY -- BUT INSISTS ON JOB DESTROYING TAX INCREASES. EVERYONE KNOWS THAT GOVERNMENT IS TOO BIG AND SPENDS TOO MUCH. EVERYONE KNOWS THAT. AND THERE'S SOMETHING ELSE EVERYONE KNOWS: TOO OFTEN CONGRESS SPENDS THE MONEY OF ITS CUSTOMER, THE AMERICAN TAXPAYER, THE WRONG WAY -- INEFFICIENTLY, INEFFECTIVELY, WITHOUT ACCOUNTABILITY, AND FRANKLY, WITHOUT COMPASSION. SO I CALL ON THE CONGRESS AGAIN: PASS MY PLAN BY MARCH 20,
FOR THE GOOD OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

THIS ALL MAY SOUND LIKE SIMPLY AN ELECTION YEAR BLAST AT A CONGRESS CONTROLLED BY THE OTHER PARTY. BUT IT'S NOT. WE NEED A NEW WAY OF LOOKING AT THINGS.

I HAVE MADE PROPOSALS TO BRING BACK RESPONSIBILITY AND ACCOUNTABILITY TO A SYSTEM ANSWERABLE TO NO ONE BUT ITSELF. THEY ARE BASED ON SOME FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES. RELY ON WHAT WORKS. WHEN POSSIBLE, DECENTRALIZE. INSTITUTE CHOICE TO FORCE COMPETITION INTO THE SYSTEM. GIVE PEOPLE MORE POWER TO MAKE THE BIG DECISIONS IN THEIR LIVES. MAKE THE SYSTEM ACCOUNTABLE. UNDERSTAND THE NEW REALITIES OF AMERICA'S GLOBAL POSITION -- THAT WE MUST BECOME MORE COMPETITIVE. THESE ARE IMPORTANT WAYS TO REFORM AND CHANGE AMERICA.

CHAIRMAN FONDREN ONCE SAID THAT "LEADERSHIP...REQUIRES FORTHRIGHTNESS. HIDDEN AGENDAS RARELY, IF EVER, LEAD TO PROGRESS AND VERY OFTEN SUCCEED IN SPOILING THE BREW." I'VE NEVER BEEN VERY GOOD AT HIDING MY AGENDA, AND I'M NOT ABOUT TO START NOW.

MY AGENDA HAS BEEN TO CREATE JOBS, PROTECT THE FAMILY, AND PROMOTE WORLD PEACE. TOO MANY TIMES I RUN UP AGAINST A WALL -- A PARTISAN GUARD MORE DETERMINED TO TAKE SIDES THAN TO TAKE THIS COUNTRY FORWARD. MARCH 20 WILL BE AN IMPORTANT DATE. IF THE CONGRESS ENACTS MY ACTION PLAN ON THE ECONOMY BY THEN, THE REAL BENEFICIARIES WILL BE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

IF THE CONGRESS CANNOT ACT, OR IF IT SENDS TO ME A BILL IT KNOWS TODAY THAT I CANNOT AND WILL NOT SIGN, I WILL TAKE THIS MESSAGE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE: THE PROBLEM IS CONGRESS. SEND A NEW CONGRESS TO WASHINGTON NEXT NOVEMBER. IN THE MEANTIME I WILL ACT ON MY OWN IN THE INTERESTS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

I DREW A LINE IN THE SAND A LITTLE OVER A YEAR AGO IN THE PERSIAN GULF. I KEPT MY WORD THEN AND WE LIBERATED KUWAIT. I HAVE DRAWN A LINE IN THE SAND ONCE AGAIN -- RIGHT HERE IN OUR OWN BACKYARD. I WILL KEEP MY WORD AGAIN AND IF WE ALL DO OUR PART, WE CAN ENSURE THAT OUR ECONOMY, AND OUR COUNTRY GET BACK ON THE RIGHT TRACK.

- 13 -

THANK YOU. AND GOD BLESS YOU FOR ALL THE GOOD WORK
YOU DO.

#

March 11, 1992

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Good morning. Yesterday was a great day. I am extremely grateful that so many people worked so hard to turn out the voters on my behalf. We have been victorious in 15 states and I will continue to seek the endorsement of my party in every primary.

I have tried to let the people of this country know that we can turn our economy around. Our great nation should be a world-class leader in every category of economic and social activity.

We need jobs for everyone and medical care that is available to everyone. We need to build an education system that prepares kids for the competitive challenges of tomorrow. We need housing that is affordable and plentiful. We need safer neighborhoods and job security. We need to compete internationally for world markets and increase our exports. There are many problems and opportunities that face the presidency. And the voters of these eight states have given me their support because I have the experience and leadership to take America in new directions, to reach out for the complex solutions that we must undertake.

As we renew ourselves at home, we cannot relinquish our leadership role abroad. The world is a vastly changed place from

even a year ago. Democracy has won and the Cold War is over. Now we have an opportunity to secure peace. We cannot let this opportunity pass. Americans must not heed the lone trumpets of retreat. We must successfully meet every challenge, domestic or foreign.

One of these important challenges is space. Our civil space program has had remarkable technological success over the last 30 years. America has taken great pride in the achievements of astronauts and our space scientists. Now the genius of that program must focus on new initiatives for the 90's. We intend to deploy a space station by the end of this decade. We must develop a new launch system that augments the space shuttle -- a new system that can carry payloads which will give America superiority and flexibility in commercial as well as scientific fields.

I want to acknowledge the work of Admiral Dick Truly in providing valued leadership to the space program as an astronaut and as NASA administrator. He deserves enormous credit for so many of the successes of our space effort.

As we consider new directions in space, I intend to nominate Daniel S. Goldin, Senior Vice President of TRW, Inc., to head NASA. Dan is a leader in America's aerospace industry and a man of extraordinary energy and vitality. Working with the Vice President, as Chairman of our National Space Council, Dan Goldin will ensure America's leadership in space as we enter the 21st century. Thank you very much.

March 11, 1992

Questions for Today's Press Conference

1. Will you fire Rich Bond in order to get Pat Buchanan's support?
2. Would you compare Pat Buchanan to David Duke?
3. What do you say to Buchanan's charges that he is winning the national debate on issues?
4. Some people have criticized your recent breakneck campaigning as not "presidential". Are you going to make any changes in the way you travel or make any changes at the campaign?
5. If the Democrats send you a tax package which you would veto and the Republicans can't get your growth package passed, how do you get past the stalemate?
6. How will you mark your March 20 deadline? Will you have a primetime television address or press conference?
7. Will you index the capital gains tax rate and try to make a line item veto after March 20th?
8. Do you blame the media for not getting your message out?
9. Can you win Michigan with just one day in the state?
10. What is your message to Michigan voters?
11. What is your agenda for the second term?
12. Should all 66 House check bouncers be identified?
13. Will President Nixon endorse you today?
14. Why did President Reagan withhold his public support?

more than 80 bill offsets = long term
cost 6 bill one sym. = short term
paid by
1) collect more on student
lump sum pay - civil service
pers. health. guaranty corp -

March 11, 1992

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7. Will you index the capital gains tax rate and try to make a line item veto after March 20th?
8. Do you blame the media for not getting your message out?
9. Can you win Michigan with just one day in the state?
10. Are you going to continue the trend of making conservative decisions to appease Buchanan and his supporters?
11. Do you think it is right that Jim Lake, a senior member of your campaign staff, is also the spokesman for Sheik Zayed, the owner of BCCI?
12. Why did you fire Admiral Truly?
13. What is your message to Michigan voters?
14. What is your agenda for the second term?
15. Should all 66 House check bouncers be identified?
16. Will President Nixon endorse you today?
17. Why did President Reagan withhold his public support?
18. Why did you allow one of the Korean ships to dock in Iran and what are you doing to prevent Korea from providing Scuds to Syria or Iran?

19. What is the new proposal that you are offering to move the GATT Round forward?
20. What will your speech be about tonight at the Nixon dinner?
21. What is the status of the Israeli loan guarantees?
22. Will you take military action if you don't get assurances from Aziz that Iraq will allow full inspections and destruction of missile-related technology?
23. How are you going to force Libya to comply with the UN resolutions on Pan Am 103?
24. Any comment on reports Pakistan continues to purchase arms and space parts from the U.S., despite our ban on military exports?
25. Why did you veto the latest attempts by Congress to place conditions on MFN for China if you shared the same goals and objectives?
26. When you meet King Hussein tomorrow, are you going to raise Jordan's support for Saddam Hussein and its failure to stop shipments in and out of Iraq in violation of the U.N. sanctions?
27. When will you recognize the individual Yugoslav republics?

BIOGRAPHY

Daniel S. Goldin

**Vice President & General Manager
TRW Space & Technology Group**

Daniel S. Goldin is vice president and general manager of the TRW Space & Technology Group. In this position he is responsible for the development, design and manufacture of complex space systems, leading-edge technologies and equipment for space and missile systems customers in defense, scientific and commercial aerospace markets. The work in the Group under Mr. Goldin's direction had four major successes concerning NASA programs during 1991: 1) the flawless shuttle launch of Tracking and Data Relay Satellite -5, 2) the launch of the Compton Gamma Ray Observatory by the Shuttle, 3) successful grinding and end-to-end testing of the world's two largest x-ray mirrors for the Advanced X-ray Astrophysics Facility, and 4) the launch of the Shuttle of the Air Force Defense Support Program spacecraft.

Mr. Goldin joined TRW in 1967, and during his career with the company has assumed a variety of management posts. These include the direct broadcast payload for NASA's communications technology satellite that became a forerunner of current direct broadcast television systems. He held leadership positions on several NASA advanced studies for interplanetary and asteroid fly-by missions, human interplanetary voyages, and an electric propulsion techniques for planetary exploration.

From 1983 to 1985, Mr. Goldin was vice president and manager of the MILSTAR payload for TRW Electronic Systems Group. In this role, he was responsible for the design, development and production of highly complex space communications payloads. In 1985, he returned to the Space & Technology Group as vice president of Defense Projects Division, an operating unit that is responsible for programs of national priority. He held this post until 1987, when he was named to his current position.

Before joining TRW, Mr. Goldin worked for NASA as a research scientist in the field of electrical propulsion for interplanetary space travel. He received a bachelor of science degree in engineering from City College of New York in 1962. He is a graduate of the University of California at Los Angeles Executive School of Management.

As a strong proponent of technology, Mr. Goldin has participated in many technical and professional panels, including WINCON '82, the annual IEEE

military electronics conference where he served as Chairman of the Board. In 1990, he addressed an international space summit on "An Alternative View for the Start-up of the Space Exploration Initiative." In 1989, he chaired the American Astronautical Society's Annual Meeting and co-authored its final report, "The US. Competitive Position in Space." The report was delivered to Vice President Dan Quayle and the National Space Council.

His activities have been recognized by many awards. He is a fellow of the institute for the Advancement of Engineering, a fellow of the American Astronautical Society, and was elected as founding trustee of the Ohio Aerospace Institute in 1989. That same year he was presented with a Meritorious Award by the National Association of Small & Disadvantaged Business for his leadership in the advancement of equal opportunity.

Mr. Goldin and his wife, Judy, live in Manhattan Beach, California.

✓ Daily 3/11
Cabinet room
11:00 A

Attachment A

PARTICIPANTS LIST

The President

Dick Cheney, Secretary of Defense
Richard Darman, Director of OMB (late)

~~Congressman Jim Bacchus (FL)~~
Congressman Charles Bennett (FL)
Congressman Albert Bustamante (TX)
Congressman Buddy Darden (GA)
Congressman Chet Edwards (TX)
Congressman Ben Erdreich (AL)
~~Congressman Ralph Hall (TX)~~
Congressman Jimmy Hayes (LA)
Congressman Sonny Montgomery (MS)
Congressman Bill Sarpalius (TX)
Congressman Charles Stenholm (TX)
Congressman Robin Tallon (SC)
Congressman Tim Valentine (NC)

White House Staff

Samuel Skinner, Chief of Staff
Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security
Affairs
Henson Moore, Deputy Chief of Staff
Nicholas E. Calio, Assistant to the President for Legislative
Affairs
Gary Andres, Deputy Assistant to the President for
Legislative Affairs (House)
Steve Hart, Deputy Assistant to the President and Director,
Office of Legislative Affairs
Jack Howard, Special Assistant to the President for Legislative
Affairs (House)
Virginia Lampley, Special Assistant to the President for National
Security Affairs

Others

Dave Gribbin, Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs,
Department of Defense
David Taylor, Associate Director for Legislative Affairs,
Office of Management and Budget

Meeting with House Democrats
on Budget Firewalls

David
Taylor

Dave
Gribbin

Ginny
Lampley

Dick
Darman
(late)

Dick
Cheney

Brent
Scowcroft

Jim
Bacchus

Bill
Sarpalius

Albert
Bustmante (late)

Tim
Valentine

Chet
Edwards

Jimmy
Hayes

Robin
Tallon

Ben
Erdreich

Cabinet Table

Buddy
Darden

Ralph
Hall

Sonny
Mont-
gomery

President

Charlie
Stenholm

Charles
Bennett

Henson
Moore

Nick
Calio

Sam
Skinner

Gary
Andres

Steve
Hart

Jack
Howard

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 11, 1992

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

re White House Volunteer story
(the other side)

The proposal for a maximum number of hours for volunteers was made by Shirley Green and by the volunteer coordinator who works with the volunteers every day and it was a proposal I agreed with.

The rationale was (1) quite a number of volunteers have become very sporadic in their attendance and there was a need for a more stable volunteer base, (2) exceedingly long list of people on waiting list waiting to volunteer, (3) the number of required hours amounts to less than 1 hour a week per year (approx. 1 hour a week for 35 weeks per year), and (4) Secret Service will not allow us to have more than 450 volunteers on approved list.

AO

Reliable Source

By Lois Romano

Balancing the Books

■ Nestled among the serious history and classified documents at the Reagan Library, one can apparently now find two not-so-flattering tomes about Ronald and Nancy. In the interest of creating a "full and balanced account of the Reagan presidency," Carol Publishing thoughtfully sent the library copies of its books "What Does Joan Say?: My Seven Years as White House Astrologer to Nancy and Ronald Reagan" by Joan Quigley and "A House of Secrets," considered a critical autobiographical novel by renegade daughter Patti Davis.

Instead of getting the books back, as expected, Publisher Steven Schragis received a gracious thank-you from Ralph Bledsoe, director of the library. But no word from Bledsoe on whether the books will be filed under history. Or fiction.



Joan Quigley, above; Patti Davis, right.



ad on cover.

Not Just an Empty Swimsuit

■ If Kathy Ireland's career as a pin-up, model and actress stalls, this year's Sports Illustrated cover girl says she'd be happy to take a dive with the dolphins. "I've always dreamed of being the next Jacques Cousteau," says the California-bred Ireland, who plans to study marine biology one day. As for protests that the annual swimsuit issue is sexist, the 28-year-old says, "I grew up on the beach in a bathing suit, so I feel comfortable [with it]." Plus, "I think the pictures are more erotic than lusty."

And, yes, she's married.

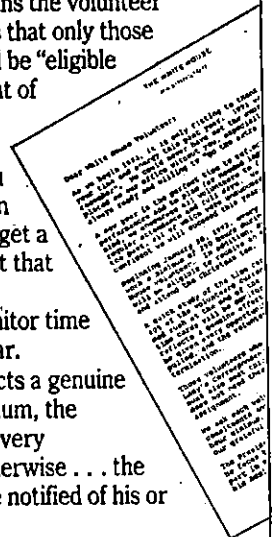
White House Volunteers: Stuff It . . . or Else

■ Seems some White House volunteers are finding that George Bush's "kinder, gentler" approach may not apply to them. A White House letter sent to the 450 volunteers who stuff envelopes and answer phones at the White House warns in unequivocal language that this year they must work a minimum of 250 hours—or take a hike.

C. Dian Moore, who runs the volunteer program, further informs that only those who put in said hours will be "eligible to receive an enlargement of the Christmas card and attend the Christmas tea." And if you think you can squeeze your quota in at the end of the year to get a sip of holiday tea—forget that too. Moore asserts that volunteer police will monitor time cards throughout the year.

"If the time card reflects a genuine effort to meet the minimum, the volunteer will be given every opportunity to do so; otherwise . . . the volunteer will have to be notified of his or her termination."

White House spokesman Gary Foster says that volunteers have always been asked to work one full day a week, which actually amounts to 350 hours a year. Some apparently weren't keeping their commitment, says Foster, and the White House wants to "get people who are dedicated—not just those who want to come in once a month." Hustlers, obviously—looking for Christmas tea.



**SECRETARY CARD SWEARING-IN \ AIR AND SPACE MUSEUM
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1992 \ 9:15 AM**

**THANK YOU ADMIRAL BUSEY FOR THAT INTRODUCTION. MY
THANKS TO REVEREND KELLER FOR THE INVOCATION, AS WELL
AS THE COAST GUARD BAND AND THE HINE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL
CHORUS. I'M PLEASED THAT SO MANY MEMBERS OF THE CABINET
AND CONGRESS COULD JOIN US THIS MORNING. GOOD MORNING
TO OUR MASSACHUSETTS CONTINGENT: LT. GOV. PAUL CELLUCCI
AND STATE TREASURER JOSEPH MALONE.**

- 2 -

**AND A SPECIAL WELCOME TO THE FORMER DOT SECRETARIES WHO
ARE PRESENT: JAMES BURNLEY; NEIL GOLDSCHMIDT; WILLIAM
COLEMAN; AND ALAN BOYD. IT'S MY GREAT PLEASURE TO BE
HERE TODAY. I KNOW SAM SKINNER, MY CHIEF OF STAFF WHO
SERVED THIS DEPARTMENT SO ABLY, SHARES MY GREAT PRIDE
FOR ANDY CARD, FOR HIS FAMILY AND HIS FRIENDS. //**

**AND SINCE THIS IS A REAL FAMILY AFFAIR, LET ME
THANK ANDY'S TALENTED DAUGHTER, TABATHA, FOR SINGING
THE NATIONAL ANTHEM.**

92 MAR 10 P6:47

THOSE OF YOU WHO KNOW OUR NEW SECRETARY KNOW HE DOESN'T SEEK OUT THE SPOTLIGHT. I PROMISED I'D KEEP THE POMP AND CIRCUMSTANCE TO A MINIMUM, BUT, ANDY, I SHOULD WARN YOU: IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO SPEND THE NEXT FEW MINUTES SAYING A NUMBER OF NICE THINGS.

ANDY CARD IS ONE OF THIS TOWN'S BEST KEPT SECRETS -- ONE OF THE BEST-LIKED, MOST WELL-RESPECTED MEMBERS OF MY TEAM. YOU KNOW THE SAYING, "NICE GUYS FINISH LAST." WELL, LEO DUROCHER NEVER MET ANDY CARD. //

THIS NEWEST MEMBER OF MY CABINET CAN CLAIM A DISTINGUISHED CAREER IN PUBLIC SERVICE AT BOTH THE NATIONAL AND STATE LEVEL. HE HAS SERVED THREE TOURS IN THE WHITE HOUSE -- FIVE TERMS IN THE MASSACHUSETTS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES -- WITH SIX YEARS AS A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE LEADERSHIP. TRANSPORTATION WAS ONE OF THE ISSUES ANDY GAVE GREAT ATTENTION TO DURING HIS TIME IN THE LEGISLATURE.

BEFORE HE CAME TO PUBLIC SERVICE, ANDY WAS TRAINED AND WORKED AS A DESIGN ENGINEER. HE WAS TALKING ABOUT "MULITMODALISM" OR INTERMODALISM LONG BEFORE IT WAS FASHIONABLE. IN FACT MY FIRST MEETINGS WITH ANDY WERE USUALLY INTERMODAL CAMPAIGN EXPERIENCES. HE WOULD PICK ME UP AT LOGAN AIRPORT, PUT ME IN HIS CHEVY CHEVETTE AND DRIVE ME AROUND THE STATE. ONE NEWSPAPER CALLED HIM THE "COMMUTERS' FRIEND."

WELL, THE "COMMUTERS' FRIEND" HAS FOUND AN APT HOME AT THE DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION, AND I KNOW HIS SERVICE WILL PROVE AS LOYAL AS OUR ENDURING FRIENDSHIP.

I KNOW ANDY CARD TO BE A PROVEN LEADER AND TALENTED MANAGER -- EXPERIENCED, EFFICIENT AND ENERGETIC; A PUBLIC SERVANT OF THE FIRST ORDER -- AND ABOVE ALL, A MAN WHO GETS THINGS DONE. //

[[AND THAT'S IMPORTANT. FOR THIS JOB, IT'S NOT ENOUGH TO KNOW YOUR WAY AROUND INSIDE THE BELTWAY. AT DOT, YOU'RE WORKING WITH THE PEOPLE WHO BUILT IT.]]

ANDY TAKES THIS NEW POSITION AT A CRITICAL TIME. THIS DEPARTMENT BEARS PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR PUTTING THE LANDMARK SURFACE TRANSPORTATION ACT OF 1991 INTO ACTION. THIS ACT IS CREATING JOBS TODAY -- JOBS TO UPGRADE OUR NATION'S HIGHWAY SYSTEMS, JOBS TO PROVIDE FOR MASS TRANSIT AND MEET THIS COUNTRY'S TRANSPORTATION NEEDS.

WHEN I SIGNED THE NEW SURFACE ACT INTO LAW LAST DECEMBER, IT MADE AVAILABLE SOME ELEVEN BILLION DOLLARS TO THE STATES. WE DIRECTED THIS DEPARTMENT, AND URGED THE STATES, TO PUT THOSE DOLLARS TO WORK RIGHT AWAY. IN THE NEARLY THREE MONTHS SINCE I SIGNED THE ACT, WE'VE DELIVERED TWENTY PERCENT MORE HIGHWAY MONEY THAN DURING THE SAME PERIOD A YEAR AGO.

DOT CONTINUES TO PLAY A PIVOTAL ROLE HELPING THE AIRLINE INDUSTRY ADAPT TO THE CHANGES BROUGHT ON BY DEREGULATION -- CHANGES WHICH ARE PRODUCING ECONOMIC BENEFITS THROUGH MORE EFFICIENT SERVICE. DOT ALSO REMAINS A FAITHFUL SUPPORTER OF OUR MILITARY AND THEIR TRANSPORTATION NEEDS.

WITH YOUR ENERGY AND ABILITY, ANDY, I KNOW THE DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION WILL CONTINUE TO ENSURE THAT THE U.S. REMAINS A WORLD LEADER IN PROVIDING SAFE AND EFFICIENT TRANSPORTATION.

TO MEET EACH OF THESE CHALLENGES, ANDY WILL BE ABLE TO CALL ON DOT'S DEDICATED TEAM OF TRANSPORTATION PROFESSIONALS. I THANK ALL OF YOU FOR THE WORK YOU'RE DOING TO MOVE THIS COUNTRY INTO THE NEXT CENTURY.

NOW, IT IS WITH GREAT PLEASURE THAT I TURN THE PODIUM OVER TO MR. JUSTICE THOMAS FOR THE SWEARING-IN OF OUR NEW SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION, ANDREW H. CARD, JR.

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

RZ

DATE: 3/10/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ---

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: SWEARING IN OF ANDY CARD
SUBJECT: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	HORNER	☐	☒
SKINNER	☐	☒	MCBRIDE	☐	☒
SCOWCROFT	☐	☒	MOORE	☐	☒
DARMAN	☐	☒	PETERSMEYER	☐	☒
BRADY	☐	☒	PORTER	☐	☒
BROMLEY	☐	☐	ROGICH	☐	☒
CALIO	☐	☒	ROLLINS	☐	☒
DEMAREST	☐	☒	SMITH	☐	☒
FITZWATER	☐	☒	YEUTTER	☐	☒
GRAY	☐	☒	FINDLAY	☐	☒
HOLIDAY	☐	☒	KAUFMAN	☐	☒
			MCGROARTY		☒

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY
 Assistant to the President
 and Staff Secretary
 Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 10, 1992

02 MAR 10 PM 12:32

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST *DD*

FROM: DAN MC GROARTY *DMG*

SUBJECT: PROPOSED REMARKS FOR SWEARING IN OF ANDY CARD

I. SUMMARY

On Wednesday, March 11 at 9:15 a.m. you will deliver brief remarks to an audience of 300 at the National Air and Space Museum at the swearing in ceremony of Andy Card as Secretary of Transportation. More than 20 members of Secretary Card's family will attend. Justice Clarence Thomas will minister the oath.

This draft includes the Department of Transportation's comments.

II. DISCUSSION

Your remarks (approximately 5 minutes / cards) focus on Secretary Card's distinguished career in public service at the state and national levels, and highlight his proven leadership.

McGroarty/Bunton
March 10, 1992
1:30 p.m.
[CARD]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: SECRETARY CARD SWEARING-IN
NATIONAL AIR AND SPACE MUSEUM
MARCH 11, 1992
9:15 AM

[Introductory acknowledgements.] It's my great pleasure to join all of you here today. I know Sam Skinner, my Chief of Staff who served this Department so ably, shares my great pride for Andy Card, for his family and his friends. //

And since this is a real family affair, let me thank Andy's talented daughter, Tabatha, for singing the National Anthem.

Those of you who know our new Secretary know he doesn't seek out the spotlight. I promised I'd keep the pomp and circumstance to a minimum, but, Andy, I should warn you: it will be necessary to spend the next few minutes saying a number of nice things.

[[And don't worry Andy: I won't breathe a word about your grandmother story.]]

Andy Card is one of this town's best kept secrets -- one of the best-liked, most well-respected members of my team. You know the saying, "Nice guys finish last." Well, Leo Durocher never met Andy Card. //

This newest member of my Cabinet can claim a distinguished career in public service at both the national and state level. He has served three tours in the White House -- five terms in the Massachusetts House of Representatives -- with six years as a member of the House leadership. Transportation was one of the

issues Andy gave great attention to during his time in the legislature.

Before he came to public service, Andy was trained and worked as a design engineer. He was talking about "multimodalism" or intermodalism long before it was fashionable. In fact my first meetings with Andy were usually intermodal campaign experiences. He would pick me up at Logan airport, put me in his Chevy Chevette and drive me around the state. One newspaper called him the "commuters' friend." Well, the "commuters' friend" has found an apt home at the Department of Transportation, and I know his service will prove as loyal as our enduring friendship.

[[And to go back to the very beginning, Andy's family tells me his favorite book as a child was "The Little Engine that Could."]]

I know Andy Card to be a proven leader and talented manager -- experienced, efficient and energetic; A public servant of the first order -- and above all, a man who gets things done. //

[[And that's important. For this job, it's not enough to know your way around inside the Beltway. At DOT, you're working with the people who built it.]]

Andy takes this new position at a critical time. This Department bears primary responsibility for putting the landmark Surface Transportation Act of 1991 into action. This act is creating jobs today -- jobs to upgrade our nation's highway systems, jobs to provide for mass transit and meet this country's

transportation needs. When I signed the new Surface Act into law last December, it made available some eleven billion dollars to the states. We directed this Department, and urged the state, to put those dollars to work right away. In the first four months alone, we've delivered twenty percent more highway money than during the same period a year ago.

DOT continues to play a pivotal role helping the airline industry adapt to the changes brought on by deregulation -- changes which are producing economic benefits through more efficient service. DOT also remains a faithful supporter our military and their transportation needs. To meet each of these challenges, Andy will be able to call on DOT's dedicated team of transportation professionals. //

With your energy and ability, Andy, I know the Department of Transportation will continue to ensure that the U.S. remains a world leader in providing safe and efficient transportation. I thank all of you for the work you're doing to move this country into the next century.

Now, it is with great pleasure that I turn over the podium to Mr. Justice Thomas to witness the swearing-in of our new Secretary of Transportation, Andrew H. Card, Jr.

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

EL

DATE: 3/10/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ---

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NIXON LIBRARY SPEECH
SUBJECT: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	HORNER	☐	☐
SKINNER	☐	☒	MCBRIDE	☐	☒
SCOWCROFT	☐	☒	MOORE	☐	☒
DARMAN	☐	☒	PETERSMEYER	☐	☒
BRADY	☐	☒	PORTER	☐	☒
BROMLEY	☐	☐	ROGICH	☐	☒
CALIO	☐	☒	ROLLINS	☐	☒
DEMAREST	☐	☒	SMITH	☐	☒
FITZWATER	☐	☒	YEUTTER	☐	☒
GRAY	☐	☒	FINDLAY	☐	☒
HOLIDAY	☐	☒	DELAND	☐	☒
			KAUFMAN		☒

REMARKS:

MCGROARTY

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY
 Assistant to the President
 and Staff Secretary
 Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

32 MAR 10 P1:59

March 10, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST 
FROM: CURT SMITH 
SUBJECT: NIXON LIBRARY SPEECH

On Wednesday, March 11 at 9:35 p.m., you will address a foreign policy forum sponsored by the Richard Nixon Library at the Four Seasons Hotel. Your remarks (17 minutes, teleprompter) focus on President Nixon's achievements in foreign policy; the lessons learned from his stewardship; and how those lessons can help build the New World Order.

(Smith/Aarhus/Chia)
March 10, 1992
Draft Four
A:3692RNIX

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NIXON LIBRARY
FOUR SEASONS HOTEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1992

Mr. President. Secretary Kissinger, Ambassador Annenberg.
Julie and David Eisenhower, Tricia Cox, distinguished guests,
ladies and gentlemen. / It is indeed a pleasure to be among good
friends, and to renew old ties. //

((Let me say how impressed I am by this audience. / I'm
especially glad to see Henry Kissinger. / I didn't always
understand Henry, but I've now spent enough time around Arnold
Schwarzenegger that I understand him perfectly.)) //

A writer once said of Henry's boss, "His life was somehow
central to the experience of being an American in the second half
of this century." / I am proud tonight to salute a President who
made a difference -- not because he wished it, but because he
willed it. //

Richard Nixon was born in the house his father built. Like
Dwight Eisenhower, he had the "great and priceless privilege of
being raised in a small town." // Later, as 37th President, he
founded the Environmental Protection Agency / placed crime and
drugs on the national agenda / created a pioneering cancer
initiative / and ended the draft. More people voted for him as
President than any other man in history. //

Yet as I said when his Library opened, Richard Nixon will be
remembered for another reason: Dedicating his life to the

noblest cause offered any President -- the cause of peace among nations / a cause told in his books -- now, nine of them -- each written out long-hand on his famous yellow legal pads. /

So, I could not be more pleased than to be here this evening to speak before this gathering devoted to exploring "America's Role in the Emerging World." The subject could not be more timely. And the auspices could not be more appropriate. / The Richard Nixon Library stands as a monument to a President and to an administration devoted to an active, thoughtful and above all, realistic approach to the world. //

The challenge faced by President Nixon could hardly have been more daunting: How to maintain domestic support for a foreign policy mandated by a growing Soviet threat at a time an over-burdened America was fighting an unpopular war in Vietnam. What emerged -- the policies of detente and the doctrine that bears the name of the 37th President -- provided a balance between confrontation and cooperation. //

President Nixon managed this and more, extricating us from a war / negotiating the first comprehensive U.S.-Soviet arms control agreements / opening up relations with China, mediating disengagement pacts in the Middle East / all while preserving a consensus at home favoring continued engagement in world affairs.

To be sure, today's challenge is fundamentally different. Yet it does bear some resemblance. Once again we must find a way to square the responsibilities of world leadership with the requirements of domestic renewal. / What we must do is find a

way to maintain popular support for an active foreign policy and a strong defense in the absence of an overriding external threat to our nation's security. In this post-Cold War world, ours is the wonderful yet no less real or difficult challenge of coping with success. //

This challenge is by no means unprecedented. Think back to the era after World War I or the years in the immediate wake of World War II. In both instances, the American people were anxious to bring their victorious troops home, to focus their energies on making the American dream a reality. //

Perhaps more instructive, though, are the differences between our reactions following this century's two great wars. After World War I, the United States retreated behind its oceans. Likewise, our initial reaction to victory in World War II showed little learning. // But, galvanized by an emerging Communist threat spearheaded by an imperialist Soviet Union, the United States acted. NATO, the IMF, the World Bank, the Marshall Plan - these and other institutions prove that Americans grasped the nature of the challenge and the need to respond. / Our military was modernized, free trade nourished, U.S. support for former adversaries Germany and Japan made generous. It was fitting that Dean Acheson titled his memoirs "Present at the Creation", for these years were truly creative. //

The result, as they say, is history. We kept the peace. We won the Cold War. Democracy is today more the rule than exception. Now, for the third time this century, we have emerged

on the winning side of a war -- the Cold War-- involving the great powers. The question before us is the same: We have won the war. But are we prepared to secure the peace?

That is the challenge we must face. Yet already, there are voices across the political spectrum calling -- in some cases, shouting -- for America to "Come Home." // "Gut defense," they say. "Spend the peace dividend." "Shut out foreign goods." "Slash foreign aid." //

You all know the slogans. You all know the so-called solutions: Protectionism. Isolationism. America First. But now we have the obligation, the responsibility to our children, to reject the false answers of isolation and protection, to heed history's lessons. // Turning our back on the world is no answer. To the contrary, the futures of the United States and the world are inextricably linked. //

Just why this is so could not be more clear. Yes, the world is a safer place. Yes, the Soviet Union that we feared is no longer. But the successor republics are still struggling to establish themselves as democracies, still struggling to make the transition to Capitalism. We invested so much to win the Cold War. Can we not afford to invest what is necessary to win the peace? / If we fail, if we repeat the experience of the Weimar Republic, we will create new problems for our security and that of Europe and Asia. We must support reform, not only in Russia, but throughout the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. //

As a former President, Richard Nixon is a prolific author. As President, he wrote an early chapter of the New World Order. / Today, like my friend and predecessor, Ronald Reagan, we are building on RN's roots planted in Tel Aviv and Cairo and Moscow and Beijing. We are building our New World Order not by shutting out -- but by including others through the personal diplomacy that must mark America's role in the emerging world. / Look at the lands of the former Soviet Union, reaching out toward Western ways. / Or at the fledgling democracies here in our own hemisphere. / Look at Cambodia and its neighbors in Southeast Asia, yearning for peace. Or at the historic peace process in the Middle East -- one that holds out hope of reconciling Israel and her Arab neighbors and where the U.N. may be at long last in a position to fulfill the vision of its founders. / The success of each depends on U.S. support and leadership. / Look, too, at the threats that know no boundaries: drugs, terrorism, disease, pollution -- and above all, the spread of weapons of mass destruction and the means to deliver them. They, too, will yield only to an America that is vigilant, and strong. //

In the Nixon Library in Yorba Linda there is a "World Leaders" room of giants who provided such leadership -- Churchill, Chou En-Lai, Charles deGaulle. / President Nixon not only knew the greatest statesmen of the 20th Century -- he became one of them -- like them, judged both by disasters averted and dreams achieved. / Crucial to the New World Order is preventing crises before they happen -- as President Nixon did, for

instance, in 1970 in Jordan. Another part is stopping already bad crises from turning worse -- as RN did in 1973, airlifting arms to Israel in the Yom Kippur War. //

Former aide William Safire tells of how once President Nixon asked about a foreign policy speech. Safire shook his head. "Frankly," he said, "it's not going to set the world on fire."

President Nixon shook his head. "That's the whole object of our foreign policy," he said almost to himself, "not to set the world on fire."

Yes, carrying out a leadership role in determining the course of the emerging world will cost money. But like any insurance policy, the premium is modest compared to the potential cost of living in a warring and hostile world. //

Those who would have us do less, ignore the potential for overseas developments to affect life here at home. If we had not resisted aggression in the Gulf a year ago -- if we had not liberated Kuwait and defeated Iraq's invading army -- we would now be facing the economic consequences not of a mild recession, but of depression brought on by Saddam Hussein's control over the majority of the world's oil. It is a pipedream to believe that we can somehow insulate our society or our economy or our lives from the world beyond our borders. //

This is not meant to suggest that we should not do more here at home. Of course we should. But foreign policy must not be made the scapegoat for what ails America. //

Isolationism is not the only temptation we need to avoid. Protectionism is another. It too will be difficult to resist. There are many examples of unfair trade practices where U.S. firms get shut out of foreign markets owing to trade barriers of one sort or another or owing to government subsidies. / But the way to bring down barriers abroad is not to raise them at home. In trade wars there are no winners, only losers. It is not hard to see why. Prices go up. Quality and choice go down. Our goal should be to increase -- not restrict -- trade. Export growth is a proven engine for economic growth. Every billion dollars in our exports creates 20,000 jobs for Americans. And we should have no doubts about the ability of our workers and farmers to thrive in a competitive world. //

We all have thoughts on how best to cope with the challenges of the emerging world. What matters most is that we understand the nature of the challenges and commit ourselves to engaging them. Opting out, be it under the banner of protection or isolation, is nothing more than a recipe for weakness, and ultimately, disaster. //

If I can choose a theme for you to take away from what I have to say tonight, it is this: there is no distinction between how we fare abroad and how we live at home. Foreign and domestic policy are but two sides of the same coin. True, we will not be able to lead abroad if we are not united and strong at home, but it is no less true that we will be unable to build the society we

seek here at home in a world where military and economic warfare is the norm. //

Ladies and Gentlemen, the responsibility for supporting an active foreign policy is one for every American. But this task falls especially upon those in this room tonight. Many of you helped form the consensus that served us so well over the past half-century. Now we face a challenge no less daunting. // If I may cite your conference chairman Jim Schlesinger, "The Cold War, despite its menace, had an elegant simplicity." I quote this not out of any regret over the Cold War's passing, but to point out the risks we face in its wake. / We are entering a world that promises to be more rather than less complicated, more rather than less difficult to lead. And again you have a special responsibility to help show the way. //

Mr. President, there have been literally millions of words written about you. / As President Reagan said, some even have been true. / But let me close with words that you used 33 years ago, in the kitchen in Moscow, with former Premier Khrushchev. //

You describe the scene memorably in your latest book, Seize the Moment. When Khrushchev bragged that, "Your grandchildren will live under communism" -- you responded that his grandchildren would live in freedom. / He was wrong, but at the time you were not sure you were right. Today, we know you were -- just as you were right in helping build a safer, more peaceful world. /

As we look toward the future, the only thing that is certain is that it will bring a new world. Our task -- our opportunity - is to make it orderly, to build a new world order of peace, democracy and prosperity. Let us dedicate ourselves to making the most of this precious opportunity, of this privilege. Thank you. And may God bless the United States of America.

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

R2

DATE: 3/10/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ---

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SOCIETY OF ASSOC. EXECUTIVES
SUBJECT: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	HORNER	☐	☒
SKINNER	☐	☒	MCBRIDE	☐	☒
SCOWCROFT	☐	☒	MOORE	☐	☒
DARMAN	☐	☒	PETERSMEYER	☐	☒
BRADY	☐	☒	PORTER	☐	☒
BROMLEY	☐	☐	ROGICH	☐	☒
CALIO	☐	☒	ROLLINS	☐	☒
DEMAREST	☐	☒	SMITH	☐	☒
FITZWATER	☐	☒	YEUTTER	☐	☒
GRAY	☐	☒	BOSKIN	☐	☒
HOLIDAY	☐	☒	FINDLAY	☐	☒
			KAUFMAN		☒

REMARKS:

MCGROARTY

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY
 Assistant to the President
 and Staff Secretary
 Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 10, 1992

32 MAR 10 P1:53

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

DAVE DEMAREST *AD*

SUBJECT:

SPEECH TO AMERICAN SOCIETY OF ASSOCIATION
EXECUTIVES

Tomorrow, at 1:45 p.m., you will deliver remarks (22 minutes/teleprompted) to 2,200 of the American Society of Association Executives at the Washington Convention Center. You will be introduced by Chairman Gene Fondren.

Your remarks praise the represented associations for their positive role in society -- specifically their contributions as volunteers. You touch on Americans lower levels of confidence in their future, then delve into possible explanations -- the economy, the media, the politics of partisanship. You focus on the bloat and breakdown of the federal government as largely responsible for a loss in confidence. You highlight reform initiatives promoted by this administration, and urge all to get involved in reinventing government.

(Demarest)
March 8, 1992
Draft Two
ASAE

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ASSOCIATION EXECUTIVES
MARCH 11, 1992
WASHINGTON, D.C.
1:45 P.M.

Chairman Fondren, my fellow Texan, thank you for that introduction. President Taylor. I heard a story about how when LBJ moved from the House to the Senate, Jake Pickle and Gene Fondren, then Texas state legislators, flipped a coin to decide who'd run for office and go to Washington. Well, Congressman Pickle's been calling for a rematch ever since.

Robert Frost once wrote that "an idea is a feat of association." Well, association is an idea as old as the American Dream itself. Actually, Toqueville over 150 years ago had much to say about you. He said, "at the head of some new undertaking ... in the United States you will be sure to find an association." Since that time associations have played a vital role in our country's progress, and they continue that mission today, defining new frontiers and exploring new territory.

Before I spoke, President Taylor presented the Associations Advance America Awards to salute those who've found a way to help, to be in fact, points of light. We hear a too often about what's wrong in America. Well, this is what's right in America, and I salute you for what you are doing to help your communities.

Of course, it's an election year. Independent of the current preoccupation with the hype and spin of the campaigns, there will remain the issues, the big things -- the core concerns of every American -- jobs, family, peace. They hold us together as a society. They are more than issues we bring to the next election -- they are the legacy we must give to the next generation.

That is what I want to talk to you about today -- not just the issues, but our mood as a nation, and how our government must reform if we are to change America.

Today, weighing most heavily in the hearts and on the minds of Americans is the state of the economy -- jobs -- preserving jobs, creating jobs. You in this very room know best virtually every industry and every profession in America. I don't have to tell you that people are worried about the future.

Frankly, we've had tough economic times before, with higher unemployment -- but less national alarm. There's something different about today's times -- something that touches a nerve. It strikes at the heart of what drives this country forward -- our confidence. It challenges our belief in ourselves.

I'll give it to you straight: Unemployment is 7.3% -- about 9 million people out of a total workforce of 126 million. During the 1982 recession, unemployment hit almost 11% -- a level not experienced since the Great Depression. So we ask ourselves -- why is confidence today lower than at the depth of the 1982 recession?

I've heard a lot of theories. Some say the talking heads of the media are the problem -- always running the country down. [You've heard the saying "no news is good news?" Well, the joke is that for the media, "Good news is no news."]

Others say it's the politicians. I myself have noted that in a political year candidates often shower the voters with a message so bleak and hopeless -- at the same time they promise the rainbow if they're elected. That steady drizzle on the people's shoulders can wear away confidence, and wash away hope. So it's easy to suppose that the constant drumbeat about what's wrong in America is a self-fulfilling prophecy.

There may be some truth to that. But I think there are other reasons for our country's mood. People are feeling the way they do because America's got some real problems -- serious, stubborn, national problems.

But I think it would be unfair and untrue to suggest to the American people that we can't overcome these problems -- to imply that America is a country in decline. So today I want to talk about what we must do to meet the economic challenge that is before us -- how we can build economic vitality into our communities -- how we must ensure that our children see a future that is an improvement over the present -- most importantly, why we must change the way we do business in Washington D.C.

Sometimes it helps to take some of these enormous issues and bring them down to the personal level. So when I talk about America's economic problems this is what I mean:

They are the worries of parents who have worked all their lives to get the kids through college -- and those kids can't find work. They are found in discouraged families who can't afford to pay off anything but the interest on their credit cards, month after month after month. They are the doubts of young people who believe that times will never be as good for them as they were for their parents. These are the things that dim our hope and drain our confidence.

American workers can see that technology and competition are changing the workplace faster than ever before. They can feel the heat -- both at home and abroad. They know American industry is being challenged to keep up or step aside -- I'll talk further about that later in the week in Detroit, Michigan. We live in a competitive world, and people worry about our ability to compete.

American homeowners -- that's almost 70 million people -- worry that the biggest asset they will ever have -- their home -- will lose its worth because real estate values have declined. The same is true of any business, association, or charitable organization that owns property -- they're concerned too.

Finally, as I discussed earlier this week with the League of Cities, the deterioration of the American family is very serious -- a root problem with tremendous ramifications for our economic well-being as a nation.

But the picture is not all gloom and doom. America is now the only superpower in the world. Millions of immigrants still look to us as the land of opportunity -- because we are. And our

economy is poised for recovery. Inflation is down. Interest rates low. Inventories low. Exports at record highs. But this recovery will come sooner, and stronger only if we in government act now. As self-evident as this mandate for action may seem, we have not been able to muster the necessary political unity of purpose.

In January, I sent to the Congress a plan of action -- a straightforward set of initiatives based upon tried and true economic realities. I proposed incentives for business to buy equipment, upgrade their plants, and start hiring again. I proposed a shot in the arm to get the housing industry back on its feet -- lead us into economic recovery this spring. I proposed a tax cut on capital gains. Once you get through all the tax-break-for-the-rich demagoguery, economists agree such a measure would create jobs.

Then I offered a broader plan of action to keep us competitive and economically vigorous in the years ahead:

1) Education reform to bring the skills of our future workers up to a standard of excellence. 2) Reform of our legal system so that Americans can spend more time innovating and less time litigating. 3) Health care reform to improve access to the best quality care in the world. 4) Welfare reform to break the sorry cycle of dependency that's become a way of life in many of our cities. 5) Tangible support to strengthen the family -- a \$500 increase in the tax deduction for children. 6) A trade policy that demands foreign markets open up to high-quality

American goods and services. 7) Record federal support in research and development to keep our nation on the cutting edge of new technologies.

Big issues. Big challenges. This is the plan I proposed - and I set a deadline for the Congress to act. The Congress didn't like the notion of a deadline. And while the Congress didn't have a comprehensive plan of its own, it is doubtful that it will enact the plan I proposed. Instead, with great and earnest deliberation, the Congress is fixated with how much more to tax the American people. They would hike taxes by 100 billion dollars.

Imagine: giving the Congress more taxpayer money to spend. Why add to the billions already spent on big government programs -- does anyone believe that more spending money for the Congress is the answer? Does anyone believe that this money will be more wisely spent than the trillion and a half dollars spent now?

The last thing this economy needs now is a tax increase. Any economist worth his salt will tell you that. But this is not new. Congress routinely refuses to take action to stimulate the economy -- but insists on job destroying tax increases. I believe Congress is incapable of passing my economic action plan -- or a plan of their own. They are incapable of meeting my March 20 deadline -- or any other deadline, for that matter. Let me tell you why.

Everyone knows that government is too big and spends too much. Everyone knows that. And there's something else everyone

knows: too often the government spends the money of its customer, the American taxpayer, the wrong way -- inefficiently, ineffectively, without accountability, and frankly, without compassion.

When Americans think about their government what often comes to mind is the latest scandal involving their money. Today, we are cleaning up the Savings and Loan scandal. Jack Kemp deserves a lot of credit for straightening out the abuses in our public housing system. Dick Cheney launched the Ill Wind investigation at the Defense Department and made the necessary reforms in defense procurement. But to the taxpayer, these issues, like the latest scandal with the House bank, just reinforce the notion that the government is more the problem than the solution.

This is all part of why confidence in America's future is under siege. Many people have already lost confidence in government. There is irony here. Americans are a compassionate people -- willing to foot the bill to help make this country better. But there is an extraordinary mismatch between their willingness to help and their skepticism that government actually will use their hard earned tax dollars and get results. My apologies to David Osborne for borrowing his phrase, but it is truly time to reinvent government.

This is no slight to the four million hard-working people who work for the federal government. But the fact is that they work in a system that was good for its time, but now must change and change radically. I know that government can't run like a

business -- but we can improve its performance. Right now, within the halls of these giant centralized bureaucracies, it is almost impossible to reward success, much less punish failure.

Because government forgets the customer, it issues counter-productive regulations. It shelters perpetual programs that have outlived their function but not their funding. But this kind of government doesn't just happen. It is the Congress that creates these bureaucracies, lays down the mandates, funds the programs. Then, it is the Congress that protects them, harasses them, investigates them, micro-manages them. With a Congressional subcommittee Chairman as godparent, they become stepchildren of the Congress.

This is not to criticize all people serving in Congress. I served there and I know many fine people on both sides of the aisle serve there now -- decent, hard-working, patriotic Americans. The problem isn't the people, it's the system. And the system must change.

The people on Capitol Hill are victims of an unaccountable, inefficient, and ineffective system of their own making as well: 284 committees, 35,000 staff members, over 2 billion dollars of taxpayer money, and a web of special interest influence and money. This is not a system that can promote reform and change. Rather, it promotes the status quo. Over the years, this has piled up to create a Congress that is out of touch. Gridlocked. Paralyzed. A Congress totally and utterly incapable of addressing the central issues of our time.

How many people in this room -- people who work with the Congress every day -- haven't had a private conversation with a Senator or Congressman and heard exactly the same thing?

There's nothing wrong with the Congress passing a proclamation heralding "Crime Victims Week", but that's no substitute for a comprehensive crime bill that actually does something to make people safer in their communities. They may pass "National Asparagus Month", but the problem in American agriculture is our national vitality not our national vegetable. (Haven't seen "National Broccoli Week" -- could have some trouble signing that one). For every one of these bills there is staff assigned, paper processed, constituents contacted, newsletters written, taxpayer money spent. Nearly one third of all the legislation that reaches my desk is like this. Much of what's left simply keeps the basic machine of government running. The focus is clearly not on addressing new challenges.

This all may sound like simply an election year blast at a Congress controlled by the other party. But it's not. We need a new way of looking at things. The gap between private sector efficiency and government's ineptness has become a chasm. I have made proposals to reform government -- proposals to bring back responsibility and accountability to a system answerable to no one but itself. They are based on some fundamental principles. Rely on what works. When possible, decentralize. Institute choice to force competition into the system. Give people more power to make the big decision in their lives. Make the system

accountable. Understand the new realities of America's global position -- that we must do what makes us more competitive.

These are important ways to reform and change America.

I have also called for the Congress to stop exempting itself from the laws it imposes on everyone else. I have called for Campaign Finance Reform to break the influence of special interest groups. I have talked about term limits for members of Congress. When the system is broken you have to fix it.

Chairman Fondren once said that "Leadership...requires forthrightness. Hidden agendas rarely, if ever, lead to progress and very often succeed in spoiling the brew." I've never been very good at hiding my agenda, and I'm not about to start trying now.

For four years, my agenda has been to create jobs, protect the family, and promote world peace. Too many times I ran up against a wall -- a partisan guard more determined to take sides than to take this country forward. March 20 will be an important date. If the Congress enacts my action plan on the economy by then, the real beneficiaries will not be me, or my re-election, nor the Congress. The real beneficiaries will be the American people who will regain the confidence that they have lost in the ability of Washington to act in their best interest.

If the Congress cannot act, or if it sends to me a bill it knows today I cannot and will not sign, I will take this message to the American people: the problem is Congress. Send a new

Congress to Washington next November. In the meantime I will act on my own in the interests of the American people.

I drew a line in the sand a little over a year ago in the Persian Gulf. I kept my word then and we liberated Kuwait. I have drawn a line in the sand once again -- here in our own backyard. I will keep my word again and if we all do our part we can ensure that our economy, and our government gets back on the right track.

Thank you. And God bless you for all the good work you do.

#

Ceremony for the Presentation of Credentials by Foreign Ambassadors -

changed Monday, March 2, 1992 - 04:00PM
March 11 - 2 PM

THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH

Ms. Barbara Adams
Protocol Officer, Department of State

Mr. John P. Becker
Acting Bureau Representative (Fiji), Department of State

Mr. Timothy Carney
Director for Asian Affairs, National Security Council

Hon. James P. Covey
Acting Assistant Secretary, Department of State

Hon. & Mrs. Anatol Dinbergs (Ruth)
Ambassador of the Republic of Latvia

Mr. Lawrence Dunham
Office of Protocol, Department of State

Ms. Louise C. Eaton
Protocol Officer, Department of State

Hon. (Miss) Jennifer A. Fitzgerald
Deputy Chief of Protocol, Department of State

Miss M. Catherine Gerardi
Protocol Officer, Office of Protocol

Ms. April Guice
Office of Protocol, Department of State

Hon. (Dr.) Edward A. Hewett
Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
& Senior Director for Soviet Affairs, National Security Council

Hon. Edmund Hull
Director for Near East & South Asian Affairs, National Security Council

HE(Amb.) Syeda Abido Hussain
Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan
Miss Umme Iman
Miss Sughra Iman

Mr. Ralph R. Johnson
Deputy Assistant Secretary for European Affairs, Department of State

Hon. Stasys Lozoraitis, Jr.
Ambassador of the Republic of Lithuania

Ms. Lynne Miller
Protocol Officer, Department of State

HE(Amb.) & Mrs. Pita Kewa Nacuva (Mereseini)
Ambassador of the Republic of Fiji
Miss Salaima Nacuva
Miss Marica Nacuva
Mr. Bruce Riedel
Director for Near East & South Asia, National Security Council
Ms. Teresita C. Schaffer
Bureau Representative Pakistan
Ms. Sim Smiley
Interpreter, Department of State
Hon. (Amb.) & Mrs. John G. Weinmann (Virginia Lee)
Chief of Protocol
Ms. Mary Carol Wolter
Interpreter, Department of State
HE(Amb.) & Mrs. Nouredine Yazid Zerhouni (Fatiha)
Ambassador of the Democratic & Popular Republic of Algeria
Mr. Amine Zerhouni
Miss Zakia Zerhouni
Miss Samira Zerhouni

REPORT DATE 02/24/92

REPORT TIME 05:13PM

GATE LIST

Ceremony for the Presentation of Credentials by Foreign Ambassadors -

Monday, March 2, 1992 - 04:00PM

Contact Social Office X7787

THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH

ACCEPT AND NO RESPONSE

NAME

NAME

Adams, Barbara (Ms.)	A	Schaffer, Teresita G. (Ms.)	A
Becker, John P. (Mr.)	A	Smiley, Sim (Ms.)	A
Carney, Timothy (Mr.)	A	Weinmann, John G. (Hon. (Amb.))	A
Covey, James P. (Hon.)	A	Weinmann, Virginia Lee (Mrs.)	A
Dinbergs, Anatol (Hon.)	A	Wolter, Mary Carol (Ms.)	A
Dinbergs, Ruth (Mrs.)	A	Zerhouni, Amine (Mr.)	A
Dunham, Lawrence (Mr.)	A	Zerhouni, Fatiha (Mrs.)	A
Eaton, Louise G. (Ms.)	A	Zerhouni, Nouredine Yazid (HE(Amb.))	A
Fitzgerald, Jennifer A. (Hon. (Miss))	A	Zerhouni, Samira (Miss)	A
Gerardi, M. Catherine (Miss)	A	Zerhouni, Zakia (Miss)	A
Guice, April (Ms.)	A		
Hewett, Edward A. (Hon. (Dr.))	A		
Hull, Edmund (Hon.)	A		
Hussain, Syeda Abido (HE(Amb.))	A		
Iman, Sughra (Miss)	A		
Iman, Umme (Miss)	A		
Johnson, Ralph R. (Mr.)	A		
Lozoraitis, Jr., Stasys (Hon.)	A		
Miller, Lynne (Ms.)	A		
Nacuva, Marica (Miss)	A		
Nacuva, Mereseini (Mrs.)	A		
Nacuva, Pita Kewa (HE(Amb.))	A		
Nacuva, Salaima (Miss)	A		
Riedel, Bruce (Mr.)	A		

05:13PM

TOTAL COUNTS

NUMBER OF ACCEPTS:	34
NUMBER OF REGRETS:	0
NUMBER OF NO RESPONSES:	0
NUMBER OF UNKNOWN GUESTS:	0
NUMBER OF EXPECTED ATTENDEES:	34

SEQUENCE OF EVENTS: RECEPTION
PRESENTATION OF DIPLOMATIC CREDENTIALS
BY NEW AMBASSADORS WITH FAMILIES
Wednesday, March 11, 1992

TIME: 1:30 p.m. - 3:00 p.m.

LOCATION: State Floor
(Music: Harpist/State Dining Room)

ENTRANCE: North Portico

DRESS: Business Suit/Day Dress

NUMBER OF GUESTS: 35

FROM: Laurie Firestone *y. 7. ex*

1:30 p.m. Guests arrive Northwest Gate, North Portico, and proceed to State Dining Room for refreshments.

2:00 p.m. **THE PRESIDENT** arrives State Floor via elevator and proceeds to Blue Room.

Each Ambassador and family will be escorted into Red Room to sign guest book and then into Blue Room by the Chief of Protocol for **photo with THE PRESIDENT.**

After each photo, the families will be escorted to the Green Room, East Room and Diplomatic Reception Room by protocol officers, during **THE PRESIDENT'S** meetings with the Ambassadors.

After meetings, protocol officers will then escort each Ambassador to the South Portico to depart.
(Six Ambassadors)

3:00 p.m. **THE PRESIDENT** departs State Floor via elevator.

Ceremony for the Presentation of Credentials by Foreign Ambassadors

Wednesday, March 11, 1992 - 2:00 PM

THE PRESIDENT

Ms. Barbara Adams
Protocol Officer, Department of State

Mr. John P. Becker
Acting Bureau Representative (Fiji), Department of State

Mr. Timothy Carney
Director for Asian Affairs, National Security Council

Hon. James P. Covey
Acting Assistant Secretary, Department of State

Hon. & Mrs. Anatol Dinbergs (Ruth)
Ambassador of the Republic of Latvia

Mr. Lawrence Dunham
Office of Protocol, Department of State

Ms. Louise C. Eaton
Protocol Officer, Department of State

Hon. (Miss) Jennifer A. Fitzgerald
Deputy Chief of Protocol, Department of State

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& Senior Director for Soviet Affairs, National Security Council

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Ms. Mary Carol Wolter
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HE(Amb.) & Mrs. Noureddine Yazid Zerhouni (Fatiha)
Ambassador of the Democratic & Popular Republic of Algeria

Mr. Amine Zerhouni
Miss Zakia Zerhouni
Miss Samira Zerhouni

✓

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 11, 1992

Dear John:

Thank you for your kind note and for the copy of your recent op-ed piece on mixed credits and tied aid. I agree that it was a very big trade victory.

I will make sure Nick knows how much we appreciate his efforts on this matter.

Many thanks for a job well done.

Sincerely,



The Honorable John Macomber
President and Chairman
Export-Import Bank of the United States
811 Vermont Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20571

Jan Burmeister

The Honorable Max M. Fisher
27751 Fairway Hills Drive
Franklin, Michigan 48025

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 11, 1992

Dear Max:

I just got to thinking about all you have done for me,
and I want to thank you.

Yesterday you came here and spoke from the heart and in a
very constructive way about the settlement/loan guarantee
problem. You also talked about the angst in the Jewish
community. You are a loyal friend, Max, and I want you
to know how grateful I am for your many inputs. I hope
the matter we discussed yesterday can be resolved
satisfactorily, but even if it is not, you, our friend,
have gone the extra mile to be helpful and to explain the
situation to me.

Don't answer this; I just wanted you to know that friends
really do count with me. Warmest regards.

Sincerely,



The Honorable Max M. Fisher
27751 Fairway Hills Drive
Franklin, Michigan 48025

CC:
Rose Zamaria
(1 copy)

JAN'S

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 11, 1992

Dear Heinz:

Thanks for your recent letter endorsing
Joe Antonini's invitation.

I understand that the Scheduling Office is
currently handling the request, and they will
be back in touch as the May calendar begins
to unfold.

Hastily, but with warm regards.

Sincerely,



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

daily

March 11, 1992

GEORGE BUSH

Gov "P"

Warren

Moon

sends

his

best

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. George Prescott Bush
6875 South West 96th Street
Miami, Florida 33156

To George "P"
Be the Best
Nau Moon
#1



DINNER

*In recognition of
The United Negro College Fund*

Smoked Salmon Mousse & Rosettes
Caviar Sauce
Paillettes Parmesan

Médaillons of Veal with Wild Mushrooms
Duchesse Potatoes
Asparagus & Baby Carrots

Spring Salad
Port Salut Cheese

Honey Vanilla & Chocolate Terrine
Fresh Strawberries
Cookies

FLORA SPRINGS SURLIES Chardonnay 1987
KENDALL JACKSON Merlot 1987
SCHARFFENBERGER Blanc de Blancs

THE WHITE HOUSE
Tuesday, March 10, 1992

daily.
3/4

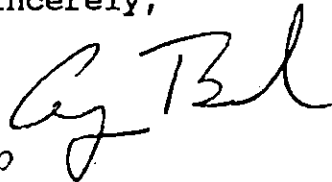
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dear Louise:

Barbara and I were very saddened to learn of your loss. While the days ahead will not be easy, maybe it will help a little bit to know that your friends are thinking of you.

We send our sincere condolences to you and your family.

Sincerely,



*All Wallers & Bushes
Send our family love.*

Mrs. Edgar G. Lowell
Box 409
Kennebunkport, Maine 04046-0409

CC:
Mrs. Bush (FYI)

51
How is Mrs Dorothy Walker Bush?
Please give her my love. Hope to
see you all this summer
Love
Louise

She is the cleaning
lady in Kennebunkport.

Dear Mrs Bush:

I thought you might ~~to~~ know
that my husband Ed Passed away
Tuesday. I knew that he thought
a lot of the Walker & Bush family
I hope that the President get in
again I know he would of had

Eds Vote.

Good Luck & we hope & Pray
that he will be our next President
Louise Lowell

JISE LOWELL
X 409
KENNEBUNKPORT ME 04046-0409



President & Mrs George Bush
White House
Washington D.C
20501

Edgar G. Lowell
KENNEBUNKPORT Edgar G.
Lowell, 74, of High Street, died
Feb. 25 at his home after a lengthy
illness.

He was born in Biddeford on Dec.
29, 1917, a son of Nathan and Hatie
(Emerson) Lowell.

Mr. Lowell was first employed by
Saco-Lowell Shops as a machinist.
During World War II he was em-
ployed at the Portsmouth Naval
Shipyard in Kittery rewinding mot-
ors. He then was employed by Bid-
deford Box Co. as a steam engineer
for 27 years and at Aerofab in
Sanford as an aircraft fabricator for
10 years.

He attended Village Baptist
Church in Kennebunkport.

Surviving, besides his wife of 50
years, Louise Higgins Lowell, are
two sons, Ronald of Sanford and
Byron of Kennebunkport; two
daughters, Mary Osgood of La-
Grange and Patricia Mallock of
Kennebunkport; several brothers and
sisters, nieces and nephews and 10
grandchildren and a great-
grandchild.

A funeral will be held at 11 a.m.
Thursday, Feb. 27, at Bibber Me-
morial Chapel, 67 Summer St.,
Kennebunk. The Rev. James Lufkin
will officiate. Spring burial will be
in Arundel Cemetery, Ken-
nebunkport. Friends may call at the
chapel 2 to 4 and 6 to 8 p.m.
Wednesday.

Memorial donations may be made
to the Shriner's Hospital for Cripp-
led Children, 516 Carew St.,
Springfield, MA 01104, in Mr.
Lowell's memory.

The Honorable Max M. Fisher
27751 Fairway Hills Drive
Franklin, Michigan 48025

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 11, 1992

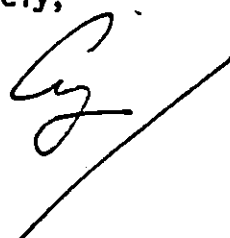
Dear Max:

I just got to thinking about all you have done for me,
and I want to thank you.

Yesterday you came here and spoke from the heart and in a
very constructive way about the settlement/loan guarantee
problem. You also talked about the angst in the Jewish
community. You are a loyal friend, Max, and I want you
to know how grateful I am for your many inputs. I hope
the matter we discussed yesterday can be resolved
satisfactorily, but even if it is not, you, our friend,
have gone the extra mile to be helpful and to explain the
situation to me.

Don't answer this; I just wanted you to know that friends
really do count with me. Warmest regards.

Sincerely,



The Honorable Max M. Fisher
27751 Fairway Hills Drive
Franklin, Michigan 48025

CC:
✓ Rose Zamaria
(1 copy)

92512

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable Ted Stevens
United States Senate
522 Senate Hart Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

(Personal)
(By Courier)



THE PRESIDENT

3-11-92

Ted -

I've told Greg Chapados
had a good meeting with
Barbara Franklin. Thanks
for your note about Greg.
He must be A+. Agg

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

03/1
32 MAR 10 P2: 39

March 9, 1992

NOTE TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: CONSTANCE HORNER *CH*

SUBJECT: Greg Chapados

Greg met with Barbara Franklin on Friday, and I'm told that the interview went extremely well. Greg is a very strong candidate for the NTIA job.

GB
Please advise!
note
+ two persons
in reply to
tell Ted Stevens
What shall I
cc Nick Cadie
Connie:

To

3-3
C.H. & M.C.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

FEBRUARY 27, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: NICHOLAS E. CALIO

SUBJECT: LETTERS FOR THE READING FILE

4

Enclosed are four letters which you recently received from Members of Congress.

Sen. Phil Gramm (R-TX)

"It's not every day that you wake up to the President of the United States calling to tell you that he liked your speech. I was flattered, proud, and immensely appreciative. Your personal touch and kindness never ceases to amaze me. Of course, like any good American, I immediately called my mama and told her that the President had just called her son. Thanks for your friendship."

Rep. Larry Hopkins (R-KY)

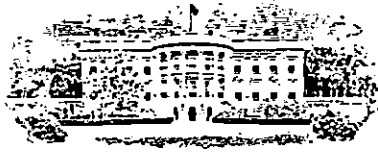
Provides his thoughts and suggestions on your campaign and primary opponents. Advises you not to forget your strong farm record. Adds a personal P.S.

Sen. Joseph Lieberman (D-CT)

"Thanks for your kind good wishes on my Birthday."

Sen. Ted Stevens (R-AK)

"God knows you have enough worries right now. And, I don't recall writing to any President about a member of my staff before. BUT - my Chief of Staff, Greg Chapados, seeks the National Telecommunications and Information Post at Commerce. He's my right arm and I'd hate to lose him but he is absolutely qualified for that position - and wants it. There is no Alaskan in any position at or above that level. I would urge you to look at his qualifications and approve his selection for NTIA. P.S. Greg and I have worked to support your Administration on Cable issues and spectrum competitive bidding. He knows the people here on the Hill who can help formulate a telecommunications policy that can last into the next century. He's young and good!"



March 11, 1992

Dear Barry -

Congratulations! All
your collaborators up here
are very proud of you.

Now, on to victory in the
fall. Great going - Cy Burl

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Barry Williamson
9523 Hillview
Dallas, Texas 75231

CC: (in & out)

Rose Zamaria

(1 copy)

Jan Burmeister

(note address/Bobby

Holt's son-in-law)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 11, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RON KAUFMAN *(ack)*
SUBJECT: Barry Williamson

- - - - -

FYI: Barry Williamson can be reached at
(512) 479-6601 between 3:30-5:00pm today.

Williamson is
husband of Holly
Williamson, former
AD of Cab. Affairs

Guerrero on track to face election test in November

Compiled from Staff and Wire Reports

AUSTIN — Incumbent Railroad Commissioner Lena Guerrero beat challenger David Young for the Democratic nomination Tuesday, then turned her attention to the November election.

With 65 percent of the precincts reporting in the Republican primary, Barry Williamson was ahead of Carole Keeton Rylander for the nomination to run against Guerrero.

He had 52.4 percent, while Rylander had 47.6 percent.

In the Democratic primary, with 72 percent of precincts reporting, Guerrero had 57.8 percent, and Young had 42.2 percent.

In Bexar County balloting, Guerrero beat Young by a 2-1 margin.

But in the Bexar Republican



GUERRERO



WILLIAMSON



RYLANDER



YOUNG

balloting, Rylander edged out Williamson.

The Railroad Commission regulates the state's oil, gas and trucking industries.

Guerrero, 34, first was appointed by Gov. Ann Richards to fill a commission vacancy.

She is the first woman and first Hispanic to serve on the century-old panel.

She currently chairs the commission.

Young, 47, is a Texas Depart-

ment of Insurance regulator who has lost three previous bids for statewide office.

On the Republican side, Rylander, 52, is a former three-term Austin mayor who serves on the National Petroleum Council.

A former Democrat, Rylander joined the Republican Party in 1985.

Williamson, 34, of Dallas, is a former West Texas oilman who has held federal energy posts.

daily

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Dr. Charles A. LeMaistre
President
The University of Texas
MD Anderson Cancer Center
1515 Holcombe Boulevard
Houston, Texas 77030

PERSONAL



THE PRESIDENT

3-11-92

Dear Mitch,
Will you pass along
this additional check and
letter to Dr. Deisseroth
also, Tell Dick Johnson how
much I enjoyed that briefing
Warm regards. Ag 13rd

THE AMERICAN BICENTENNIAL PRESIDENTIAL
INAUGURAL COMMITTEE INC.

COMPUTER ACCOUNT NO. 1
228 S. WASHINGTON STREET, SUITE 200
ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA 22314

SOVRAN BANK
Sovran Bank/DC National Washington, DC 20006

8726

March 11 19 92

15-120/540 D01

PAY Forty-Thousand and 00/100***** DOLLARS \$ 40,000.00

TO
THE
ORDER
OF

Bush Leukemia Fund
c/o M. D. Anderson Cancer Center
1515 Holcombe Boulevard
Houston, TX 77030
Attn: Dr. Albert Deisseroth

John H. Hickey
Lisa Rogers

⑈008726⑈ ⑆054001204⑆ 310108 8⑈

THE AMER. BICENTENNIAL PRESIDENTIAL
INAUGURAL COMMITTEE INC.
COMPUTER ACCOUNT NO. 1

DETACH AND RETAIN THIS STATEMENT
THE ATTACHED CHECK IS IN PAYMENT OF ITEMS DESCRIBED BELOW.
IF NOT CORRECT PLEASE NOTIFY US PROMPTLY. NO RECEIPT DESIRED.

DELUXE - FORM WVCP-3 V-2

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
3/11/92	Charitable Contribution	\$40,000.00



The American Bicentennial Presidential Inaugural

Co-Chairman
Bobby Holt

March 11, 1992

Dr. Albert Deisseroth
The Bush Leukemia Fund
M. D. Anderson Cancer Center
1515 Holcombe Boulevard
Houston, TX 77030

Dear Dr. Deisseroth:

As was stated in our previous letter, one of the most important tenets of the Bush Administration has been that community service and the efforts of individual citizens can significantly improve our communities and our nation. After further consideration, it has been determined that the Bush Leukemia Fund genuinely deserves an additional contribution.

On behalf of the privately funded American Bicentennial Presidential Inaugural Committee, it is again a pleasure to send the enclosed contribution to the Bush Leukemia Fund. The President and Mrs. Bush are aware of this additional contribution.

With hopes for the continued outstanding work of the Bush Leukemia Fund and our warmest best wishes.

Sincerely,

Bobby Holt
Chairman

Enclosure

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 11, 1992

The President today announced his intention to appoint George H. Walker, IV, of Missouri, to be a Member of the Commission on Presidential Scholars. He would succeed Betty L. Holmes. Currently, Mr. Walker serves as an Associate with The Palmer Group in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 11, 1992

The President today announced his intention to appoint William R. Neale, of Indiana, to be a Member of the Council of the Administrative Conference of the United States for a term of three years. He would succeed Edward L. Weidenfeld. Currently, Mr. Neale serves as a Partner with the law firm of Krieg Devault Alexander & Capehart in Indianapolis, Indiana.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 11, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE SPRING CONVENTION OF
AMERICAN SOCIETY OF ASSOCIATION EXECUTIVES

The Convention Center
Washington, D.C.

1:10 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Chairman Fondren, fellow Texan, thank you for that introduction. May I salute President Taylor and all the award winners here today. I heard a story about how when Lyndon Baines Johnson moved from the House to the Senate, Jake Pickle and Gene Fondren, then Texas state legislators, flipped a coin to decide who'd run for office and go to Washington. Well, Congressman Pickle's been calling for a rematch ever since. (Laughter.) And this organization is very fortunate to have as its chairman a man of this strength and a man of this conviction.

Robert Frost once wrote that "an idea is a feat of association." Well, association is an idea as old as the American Dream itself. Actually, de Toqueville 150 years ago -- more than that -- had much to say about you. He said, "at the head of some new undertaking in the United States you will be sure to find an association." Well, since that time associations have played a vital role in our country's progress, and they continue that mission today, defining new frontiers and exploring new territory.

Before I spoke, President Taylor handed out the Associations Advance America Awards to salute those who've found a way to help -- to be, in fact, points of light. We hear too often about what's wrong in America. Well, this is what's right in America, and I salute you for what you are doing to help your communities. And again, I single out the awardees here who have starred in all of this.

Of course, it's an election year. Independent of the current preoccupation with the hype and spin of the campaigns, there will remain the issues, the big things -- the core concerns of every American that transcend political party or philosophical ideology -- jobs, family, peace. They hold us together as a society. They are more than issues we bring to the next election -- they are the legacy we must give to the next generation.

And really, that's what I want to talk to you about today -- not just the issues, but our mood as a nation, and how we must act now if we're to change America for the better. Today, weighing most heavily in the hearts and on the minds of Americans is the state of our economy -- jobs -- preserving jobs, creating jobs. You in this room know best virtually every industry and every profession in America. I don't have to tell you that people are worried about the future.

Frankly, we've had tough economic times before, with higher unemployment -- but less national alarm. There's something different about today's times -- something that touches a nerve. It strikes at the heart of what drives this country forward -- our very confidence. It challenges our belief in ourselves.

MORE

Let me give it to you straight: Unemployment is -- what -- 7.3 percent -- about nine million people out of a total work force of 126 million. During the 1982 recession, 10 years ago, unemployment hit almost 11 percent -- a level not experienced since the Great Depression. So we ask ourselves, why is confidence today lower than at the depth of the 1982 recession?

I've heard a lot of theories. Some say those TV analysts are the problem -- rejoicing in bad news. Others say, well, it's the politicians. I myself have noted that in a political year candidates often shower the voters with a message so bleak and hopeless -- and at the same time they promise the rainbow if they're elected. That steady drizzle on the people's shoulders can wear away confidence and can wash away hope. So it's easy to suppose that the constant drumbeat about what's wrong in America is a self-fulfilling prophecy.

There may be some truth to that. But I think there are other reasons for our country's mood. People are feeling the way they do because America's got some real problems -- they're serious, stubborn, national problems. But I think it would be unfair and certainly untrue to suggest to the American people that we can't overcome these problems -- to imply that the United States of America is a country in decline. So today I want to talk about what we must do to meet the economic challenge that is before us -- how we can build economic vitality into our communities -- how we must ensure that our children see a future that is an improvement over the present.

Sometimes it helps to take some of these enormous issues and bring them down to the personal level. So when I talk about America's economic problems this is what I mean:

They are the worries of parents who have worked all their lives to get their kids through college -- and those kids can't find work. They are found in discouraged families who can't afford to pay off anything but the interest on their credit cards month after month after month. They are the doubts of young people who believe that times will never be as good for them as they were for their parents. Now, these are the things that dim our hope and drain our confidence.

American workers can see that technology and competition are changing the workplace faster than ever before. They can feel the heat -- both at home and abroad. They know American industry is being challenged to keep up or step aside -- I'm going to talk further about that later in the week out in Detroit, Michigan. We live in a competitive world, and people worry about our ability to compete.

American homeowners -- that's almost 70 million people -- worry that the biggest asset they will ever have, their home, will lose its worth because real estate values have declined. The same is true of any business, of association, or charitable organization that owns property -- they're concerned, too.

Finally, as I discussed earlier this week with the League of Cities -- and this one is fundamental -- the deterioration of the American family is very, very serious -- a root problem with tremendous ramifications for our economic well-being as a nation.

But the picture -- these are the problems, but the picture is not all gloom and doom. America -- we're now the only superpower in the world. Millions of immigrants still look to us as the land of opportunity -- because we are. We're the undisputed leader of the world that has a propensity for much more peace. And our economy is poised for recovery. Inflation is down. Interest rates low. Inventories are low. Exports at record highs. But this

recovery will come sooner, and stronger only if we in government can come together and act now.

In January, as most of you know, I sent a message to the Congress -- a plan of action. I felt it was a straightforward set of initiatives based upon tried and true economic realities. I proposed incentives for business to buy equipment, upgrade their plants, and start hiring again. I proposed a shot in the arm to get the housing industry back on its feet -- lead us into economic recovery this spring. I proposed a cut on the capital gains. And then I offered a broader plan of action to keep us strong and economically vigorous in the years ahead. And that included, as some of you all may remember, education reform called -- we call it America 2000 -- to bring the skills of our future workers up to a standard of excellence.

It included a clampdown on excessive regulations that hurt our competitiveness and reform of our legal system so that Americans can spend more time innovating and less time litigating. And I proposed record federal support -- research and development support -- to keep our nation on the cutting edge of new technologies, new incentives for business investment. I proposed a forward-looking trade policy that demands foreign markets open up to high-quality American goods and services. And I reiterated our determination to hold the line on government spending and oppose new taxes.

Well, big issues, big challenges. This is the plan I proposed -- and I set a deadline for the Congress to act. And while the Congress didn't have a comprehensive plan of its own, it didn't like the notion of a deadline. Instead, with great and earnest deliberation, the Congress fixated on how much more to tax the American people. And they would hike taxes by \$100 billion. And that plan, in my view, destroys jobs. Whereas, the plan, the incentives I've outlined here create jobs.

The last thing that this economy needs now is a massive tax increase. (Applause.) Any economist worth his salt will tell you that. But this is not new. Congress refuses routinely to take action to stimulate the economy -- but insists on these job-destroying tax increases. Everyone knows that government is too big and spends too much. Everyone knows that. And there's something else everyone knows, too: too often Congress spends the money of its customer, the taxpayer, the wrong way -- inefficiently, ineffectively, without accountability and, frankly, without compassion.

So again, I would like to call on the Congress to pass my plan by March 20 for the good of this economy and the good of the American people. (Applause.)

Now, I realize this all may sound like simply an election year blast at the Congress, controlled by the opposition party. But it is not. We really need a new way of looking at things. And I have made proposals to bring back responsibility and accountability to a system answerable to no one but itself. They are based on some fundamental principles: Rely on what works. And when possible, decentralize. Institute choice to force competition into the system. Give people more power to make the big decisions in their lives. Make the system accountable. And understand the new realities of America's global position -- that we must become more competitive.

We are not going to retreat into the failed policies of uninvolvedness, disengagement, isolation, protectionism. We cannot do that. That would shrink markets and throw people out of work in this country. So these are -- staying involved, then, is the fundamental answer on international trade. These are the important ways to reform and change our country.

Chairman Fondren once said that "Leadership requires forthrightness. Hidden agendas rarely, if ever, lead to progress and very often succeed in spoiling the brew." Well, I've never been very good at hiding an agenda, and I'm not about to try to start that now.

The agenda has really been to create jobs, protect the family, and promote world peace. (Applause.) Too many times I run up against a stone wall -- a partisan guard more determined to take sides than to move the country forward. So March 20th will be an important date. And if the Congress enacts my action plan on the economy by then, the real beneficiaries will be the American people. (Applause.)

If the Congress cannot act, or if it sends to me a bill that it knows today that I cannot and will not sign, I will take this case to the American people, and say the problem is the Congress; send a new Congress to Washington next November. But before that, I want to see us move something forward. I want to see us get something done.

And it's tough in an election year. I know that; I'm involved right up to my neck, just from coming from eight of these darn things yesterday. So I'm not being unrealistic, but I think we still have time to set aside the politics and try to pass something that most economists agree -- I think all economists agree -- would stimulate this economy and get this country back to work again. In the meantime, I will act on my own in the interests of the American people.

I drew a line in the sand -- Jane referred to it -- a little over a year ago in the Gulf. When you look back, that wasn't an easy decision. But we kept our word and we liberated a tiny country. And in the process, we sent the world, the whole world, a message. And the message was: Aggression will not stand. And that message is clearly understood. And because that message is so clearly understood, we have a newfound credibility all around -- all around the world. Travel abroad and find out that we are the United States, second to none. (Applause.)

And so now, in a figurative stance, I've drawn a line in the sand once again, right here in our own backyard. And I will keep my word again, and if we all do our part, we can ensure that our economy and our country get back on the right track.

In the meantime, keep up the wonderful work that these associations do. Government can do a lot. I know I've got to do it better. I know that Congress has to do its work better. But it can never replace that thing that de Tocqueville found so amazing about this country -- association, the propensity of one American to help another.

And when I talk about points of light, sometimes my critics say, well, he's simply forgoing his responsibility. He's simply trying to lay off on the back of private citizens the responsibility of a government. That's the farthest thing from my mind when I commend you and thank you for being points of light. Government can help. Government must help. Government must reach out a hand to those that are hurting. But it is the points of light -- it is the private sector, it is the associations that are going to make a difference in the lives of the men and women and, especially, the children of this country.

So may God bless you for your work. And thank you for letting me come back. (Applause.)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 11, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AND SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION ANDREW H. CARD
IN SWEARING-IN CEREMONY

Air and Space Museum
Washington, D.C.

9:04 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Admiral, and all of you. And I feel just as excited as you do about this occasion. May I thank Reverend Keller for those stirring words, as well as the Coast Guard Band and the Hine Junior High Chorus. And I'm pleased that so many members of the Cabinet and the Congress and the White House staff could be with us this morning. We have a nice contingent from Massachusetts, led by our Lieutenant Governor, whom I don't see this minute, but who is with us -- over here, Paul Cellucci; and our State Treasurer up there, Joe Malone, longtime friends of Andy Card's. A special welcome to the former secretaries who are with. I've seen Sam Skinner and Alan Boyd; perhaps others. But it's just a great pleasure to have you all here.

I know that Sam, now Chief of Staff, who served this department -- oh, I see Bill Coleman sitting over here. Who am I missing? Let's get the former secretaries out there. Well, I think we got it -- Alan and Bill and Sam Skinner. And, as I say, I know that Sam shares my great pride for Andy Card and this wonderful family of his on this very special day. And since this is a real family affair, I think I could speak for all of us when I singled out Tabatha for singing the National Anthem so beautifully. That was first-class work.

And to those of you who know our new Secretary, you know he doesn't seek the spotlight. And I promised I'd keep the pomp and circumstance to a minimum, but, Andy, I should warn you, it will be necessary to spend the next few minutes saying some nice things about you. (Laughter.) Andy is one of this town's best-kept secrets -- one of the best-liked, most well-respected members of the team. You know the saying, "nice guys finish last"? Well, Leo Durocher never met Andy Card. (Laughter.)

And this newest member of my Cabinet can claim a distinguished career in public service at both the national and state level. He served three tours in the White House, five terms in the Mass House of Representatives, with six years as a member of the House leadership there. Transportation was one of the issues Andy gave great attention to during his time in the state legislature. Before he came to public service he was trained and worked as a design engineer. He was talking about multimodalism -- or intermodalism -- long before it was fashionable. In fact, my first meetings with him were usually inter-modal campaign experiences. (Laughter.)

And he would pick me up at Logan Airport -- I'm not going to criticize his car, it was a Chevy Chevette -- (laughter) -- and drive me around the state. One paper called him the "commuter's friend." Well, the commuter's friend has found an apt home at the Department of Transportation. And I am just totally confident that

MORE

his service will prove as loyal as our friendship -- as our enduring friendship.

I know Andy to be a proven leader and a talented manager -- experienced, efficient, energetic, a public servant of the first order, and above all, a man who gets things done. And that's important. For this job it's not enough to know your way around inside the beltway -- at DOT or working with the people who built the beltway.

So you've got a good leader. And Andy takes his new position at a very critical time. This department bears primary responsibility for putting the landmark Surface Transportation Act of 1991 into action -- the act that Sam, his predecessor, worked so hard on. This act is creating jobs today -- jobs to upgrade our nation's highway system, jobs to provide for mass transit and meet this country's transportation needs.

And when I signed the new Surface Act last December, it made available some \$11 billion to the states. And we directed this department and urged the states to put those dollars to work right away. In the nearly three months since I signed the act, we've delivered 20 percent more highway money than during the same period a year ago.

DOT continues to play a pivotal role, helping the airline industry adapt to the changes brought on by deregulation, changes which are producing economic benefits through more efficient service. DOT also has a faithful supporter of our -- been a faithful supporter of our military and their own transportation needs. And with your energy and ability, Andy, I know that this department will continue to ensure that the United States remains a world leader in providing safe and efficient transportation.

To meet each of these challenges, and they are big, Andy will be able to call on a really dedicated team of transportation officials in the department.

And to each and every one of you who serve over there, we are grateful to you. You exemplify the very, very best in public service. And I want to salute you along with your new Secretary.

And now, with all of that said, it is with great pleasure that I turn the podium over to Mr. Justice Thomas for the swearing-in of our new Secretary of Transportation, Andrew H. Card, Jr. Thank you. (Applause.)

(The oath is administered.)

SECRETARY CARD: Thank you, Justice Thomas. Thank you very much, Mr. President, for your kind remarks. My respect and admiration for you are unbounded. The United States and the entire world are fortunate to have you and your leadership of this great country.

Mr. President, I'm also grateful for the confidence that you have placed in me to guide the best agency in government, and I am truly honored. It was special for me to have Justice Thomas administer the oath, and I say thank you to you. You're a true and valued friend. And thank you, too, Reverend Keller, for your kind inspiration.

Cabinet colleagues, members of Congress, distinguished guests and friends, thank you for sharing this day with me and my family. Seeing my predecessors here -- Bill Coleman and Alan Boyd, Sam Skinner -- and remembering the fine work that John Volpe did at the Department of Transportation, I realize that I have very, very

big shoes to fill. And I am grateful for the work that was done to make it possible for me to head the department.

I also want to thank our Deputy Secretary, Admiral Bill Busey. He's provided outstanding leadership during this time of transition, and he ably guided the department as Acting Secretary. Jim, I'm honored to have you on my team.

From Holbrook, Massachusetts, to the White House, I've been blessed and have been benefited to have had the opportunity to work with so many talented and dedicated people. Each and every one of them contributed to this moment. I think back on the days when Paul Cellucci and Leon Lombardi, Andrew Natsios and I worked so hard to get the President the recognition that he so rightfully deserved. They contributed to this moment, and I'm grateful to them.

Yet those of you who know me know this: That none are more important to me, and there are none from whom I have derived more support and happiness than my family. You've already met my daughter, Tabatha, and I'd like to introduce some of the other members of my family who are with me here today. I'll ask them to stand. I won't go through every name. But my grandmother from Conway, New Hampshire, is here, and my parents from Holbrook -- and why don't the family all stand up. (Applause.)

Mr. President, I promised not to tell my grandmother story today. (Laughter.) But I would be remiss if I didn't add to those that I have to thank my grandmother. I must give thanks to her because she instilled in me an early desire to be an activist in politics; to serve, to contribute, and to try to make a difference. She taught that to my father and he taught that to me, too.

As Secretary of Transportation I can assure you that I will do just that. Ethics will be my guide. And my decisions each and every day will be based on promoting safety, accessibility and efficiency in our transportation system. I know that I have the firm commitment of the Department of Transportation in support of this mission.

Mr. President, I'm deeply impressed with what happens at the Department of Transportation every day. The dedicated men and women of that department make a real difference. The Coast Guard saves a life every 90 minutes. Our FAA traffic control work force guides more than 170,000 operations a day. Our highway safety program saved nearly 20,000 lives a year. That's 52 lives every single day. Talk about responsibility and then think about the people who are making a difference on the job.

We have here with us today, Mr. President, many DOT employees whose work affects the lives of all Americans. With willing hands and open minds they make things happen, whether it's behind a desk, out at sea, in the air or on the road throughout our nation's transportation system. All of you accomplish so very much every single day, year in and year out. And I am very, very proud to be joining your team.

In closing, we know that things do not simply happen, things are made to happen. And this museum is proof that vision requires hard work and total commitment. From the Wright Brothers to Chuck Yeager, to the crew of the aircraft carrier Voyager -- that's the plane that accomplished the amazing feat of flying all the way around the world nonstop without refueling -- through all of this represented in this building, Americans have been at the forefront of making their dreams reality.

This same spirit of innovation animates America's transportation professionals. From the days our ancestors drove spikes to span the nation by rail, to a more recent construction of

true intermodal transportation links, we are a country that thrives on meeting difficult challenges.

On April 1st the Department of Transportation becomes 25 years old. The theme of our 25th year is "The Future Starts Here." How true that is. How we travel to jobs, to markets and to our homes tomorrow depends on how well the job is done at DOT today.

So let me say that all of us at the Department are ready to face head on the demanding challenges, to create jobs now and to ensure safe accessibility and efficiency in our transportation system in the coming years.

I am honored to be a member of the President's cabinet. And I'm proud to have you share in this moment. Thank you very, very much.

THE PRESIDENT: Well done, Andy.

END

9:20 A.M. EST

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 11, 1992

The President today appointed David R. Clare, of Florida, to be a Member of the President's Drug Advisory Council. He would succeed Albert Vincent Casey. From 1976-1989, Mr. Clare served as President of Johnson & Johnson and Chairman of the Executive Committee.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE

DAILY PRESS CLIPPINGS

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1992

Mrs. Bush	(in folder)
Secretary Skinner	West Wing
Marlin Fitzwater	West Wing
Constance Horner	West Wing
Carol Powers	West Wing
Patty Presock	Residence
First Lady Detail	Staircase
Karen Connell	Room 58 OEOB
Shirley Green	Room 94 OEOB
Anne Griffith	Room 98 OEOB
Diana Kellogg	Room 157 OEOB
Gregg Petersmeyer	Room 100 OEOB
Marguerite Sullivan	Room 268 OEOB
Carolyn Washington	Room 268 OEOB
Benita Somerfield	hold one copy
Ann Brock	
Julie Cooke	
Joan DeCain	
Laurie Firestone	
Jane Moore	
Susan Porter Rose	
Sally Runion	
Peggy Swift	
Anna Perez	
Sondra Haley	
Jean Becker	
Jay Suchan	(plus originals)

HOUSTON

Lifestyle & Entertainment

Houston Chronicle

Section D ☆

Tuesday, March 10, 1992

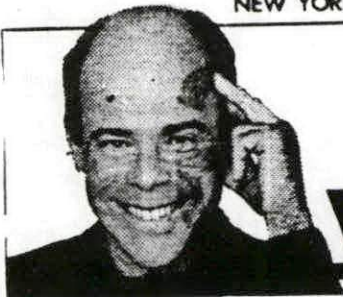


**Maxine
Mesinger**

Big City Beat

Party to honor Barbara Bush

SHE snoops to conquer: Georgette Mosbacher is hosting a cocktail buffet for Barbara Bush April 20 at her and Bob's new River Oaks swankiend. It being campaign time, it's not hard to figure out that the purpose of the party is to raise funds for George Bush's presidential campaign. Also, as you know, Bob Mosbacher is chairman of Bush's re-election campaign. If you remember, the Mosbachers bought their home here from Loraine McMurrey, who now lives in Four Leaf Tower. . . . Investor Joe Reid and Kim Smith will tie the knot Saturday. . . . Hard to believe, but Channel 13's fair-haired girl Shara Fryer hit the big 4-0 last weekend. . . . Larry Hagman was in Houston again last week to tape some more commercials for the Chevy First Team. Larry was spotted at Harold's to be outfitted for the cameras. . . . Houston Grand Opera publicist Karen Cardell will exit HGO following the April 4 Opera Ball. She's moving to San Francisco where she'll resume her former position with the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra. Karen's husband is working in SF, and she said, "I'm a career woman, but my marriage is equally important. I will be very sorry to leave y'all". . . . Incidentally, Opera Ball chair Billye Halbouty is off again with hubby Michel, this time to Thailand, where Mr. H. is chairing an international geological meeting in Bangkok. The meeting will be opened by H.R.H. Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn, as well as a special address by the prime minister of Thailand, Anand Panyarachun. . . .



WILLIAM NORWICH

12

DO YOU remember the part when the pearls were twirling and Princess Caroline of Monaco was meant to move to America? Caroline was going to function as a sort of p.r. for Monte Carlo's tourism trade, but Prince Rainier didn't really approve. Although he liked the profitability prospects, he didn't cotton to the idea of Caroline, beloved daughter and the closest thing Monaco has to a first lady, living so far away from home.

The solution? It's said Caroline has found herself a rather grand house, a little palace really, in Versailles — France, not Kentucky — for a reported \$3 million, with another \$2 million for renovations. A pretty price for papa Rainier to keep his eldest in the nest, a nest which, companionship speaking, includes actor Vincent Linden, Caroline's consort of late.

WITH much ado, meaning a ladies' lunch Beverly Hills-style, Barbara Davis, wife of financier Marvin Davis, recently launched her now famous Carousel of Hope Ball for 1992.

Slated for Oct. 2 at the Beverly Hilton Hotel, the benefit intends to raise \$5 million to fight diabetes. Roger Moore, Michael Caine and Merv Griffin will emcee the do, and Natalie Cole will perform. Gerald and Betty Ford and Ronald and Nancy Reagan are the honorary chairmen — Mrs. Davis

says she is still waiting to hear from President and Mrs. Bush — and with six months still to go before the event, already 65 of the 100 tables have been sold. Impressive stuff in recessionary-day charityland.

Philadelphia Inquirer

Wednesday, March 11, 1992

Bush Wins

The GOP faced with discontent

1 of 2

By Robert S. Boyd
INQUIRER WASHINGTON BUREAU

WASHINGTON — President Bush, as expected, swept the eight Republican primary elections on Super Tuesday, but a wave of protest ballots marred his shutout and threatened his chances of beating the Democratic nominee in November.

Even in Texas, his adopted state, and Florida, usually considered his most loyal base, the anti-Bush vote was running above 30 percent in the exit polls and partial returns.

In Florida, Bush was outpolling his most persistent challenger, columnist Patrick J. Buchanan, by 2 to 1 — even though Buchanan had previously conceded the state to Bush and barely campaigned there.

In Texas, about a third of the voters were going to Buchanan or former Louisiana State Rep. David Duke, or declaring themselves uncommitted, according to the exit polls.

Also voting yesterday were Louisiana, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Rhode Island and Tennessee. Buchanan was contesting all eight states, Duke all but Florida. Bush won them all handily, some by ratios well over 2 to 1.

Among them, the Super Tuesday states will send 420 delegates to the Republican National Convention in August — the richest haul of the entire primary season.

By today, the President will have won 16 straight victories in Republican primaries and caucuses. He will have collected more than half the 1,105 delegates he needs to be renominated for a second term.

"It sounds wonderful," Bush said as the returns rolled in.

Nevertheless, the President cannot seem to escape the cloud of discontent that has haunted him throughout the campaign. In the eight earlier contests, the protest vote never dipped below 30 percent, even when there was no other candidate on the ballot.

Two disillusioned 1988 Bush voters who cast their ballots for Buchanan yesterday illustrated the President's potential problems this fall.

Jake and Carolyn Smith of Southaven, Miss., supported Bush in 1988 but have given up on him now. "He turned somewhat liberal on us," said

See REPUBLICANS on A 12

cont.

3 11-92

2 of 2

Bush captures primaries, but discontent trails him

REPUBLICANS from A1

Jake Smith, 65, a construction worker. "He signed that darn quota bill and went back on the tax pledge. You just can't trust him." The Smiths said they would write in Buchanan's name in November.

Vice President Quayle acknowledged that "there is a protest vote — about one-third. We intend to get that vote back." In an interview on CBS, the vice president said, "We've gotten the message: People are fed up with Washington, fed up with taxes, fed up with a bad economy."

In Florida, 40 percent of Republicans who voted Tuesday said they disapproved of Bush's performance. In Texas, the disapproval rate was 36 percent. A vast majority of those voted for Buchanan.

The President got almost no help from his triumph in the Persian Gulf a year ago. Only 8 percent of Florida Republicans said the war was a major factor in their decision. The most significant issues, according to the exit polls, were the economy, taxes and international competition, in that order.

Buchanan did well among his fellow Roman Catholics and among conservative fundamentalist Christians, who may have been swayed by his attacks on the President for permitting federal financing of art. Buchanan called "obscene and blasphemous."

Even before the voting began, Buchanan had discounted his chances of winning any state, but he vowed to carry on his campaign until the Republican National Convention in August. And yesterday he demanded the resignation of Republican National Chairman Rich Bond,

a close Bush ally, for maligning him.

Duke, the former Ku Klux Klan leader, was getting only a smattering of votes, and was expected to fold his campaign shortly. Even in his native Louisiana, Duke was being outpolled by Buchanan.

Bush passed up his usual custom of watching the election returns in the White House family quarters. Instead, he and Barbara Bush were to host a dinner for the United Negro College Fund in the State Dining Room.

Bush's son and Florida campaign manager, Jeb Bush, expressed high confidence about the primaries but hinted at concern about November.

"Pat Buchanan is not the problem for George Bush. The problem is the fall," he said on Cable News Network.

Later, in an interview on CBS, the President's son conceded there was trouble with "disaffected Republicans," but hastened to add, "I think we're going to be in pretty good shape in the fall."

A poll published yesterday by the Washington Post and ABC News found only 39 percent of those surveyed approved of Bush's job performance, while 58 percent disapproved. Among Republicans, the President's approval rating was 65 percent, down 9 points in the last five weeks.

The poll showed Bush narrowly behind Democrats Bill Clinton and Paul E. Tsongas, although their lead was within the margin of error.

Buchanan has been under increasing pressure from the White House and other leading Republicans to get out of the race so as not to weaken Bush when his political stock is plunging.

"Certainly, he has a right to run, and he's worked hard," said Senate Republican leader Bob Dole of Kansas. "But when it's over, it's over, as Tom Harkin and Bob Kerrey found out," he said, referring to two recent Democratic dropouts.

There was no sign, however, that Buchanan was thinking of giving up. In fact, he toughened his rhetoric yesterday with a demand that Bond step down as chairman of the Republican National Committee.

Earlier in the week, Bond had accused Buchanan of "race-baiting" and "hijacking David Duke's message and putting it in a jacket and tie."

In return, Buchanan threatened to choke off the conservative money supply to the Republican National Committee and urged his voters to withhold support of Bush in the fall unless Bond goes.

"I think he ought to resign or be fired," Buchanan said at a news conference at the New Orleans airport. "I'm going to tell every Republican I know not to give another dime to the Republican National Committee."

S.A. Paolantonio and Ellen Warren of the Inquirer Washington Bureau contributed to this article.

The economy and taxes — not the gulf war — occupy the thoughts of Republicans.

3-11-92

Buchanan's quiet side

X The Republican challenger's wife is as little-known as the incumbent's wife is renowned.

While Barbara Bush is a popular first lady, literacy crusader and national grandma-figure, Shelley Buchanan serves as a quiet, smiling second to her husband, commentator Patrick Buchanan. His aides say the candidate's wife is not giving interviews. Staffers don't know even simple facts about her — such as her age. She has carved out no issues of her own.



BUCHANAN

Would-be profilers have gleaned only a few, unadorned facts: the former Shelley Ann Scarney met Patrick Buchanan when both worked in the White House — he for Richard Nixon, she for Nixon's secretary, Rose Mary Woods. They married in 1971, have no children, and live in a \$900,000 house in McLean, Va.

Even in Buchanan's own book, *Right from the Beginning*, published in 1988, Shelley Buchanan is mentioned in only three passages — the same number as George Bush.

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SEQUEL

BEDFORD HILLS, 10507

In a book of her letters from prison, Jean Harris tells a bleak story of life behind bars ■ by Cynthia Sanz



FROM A WINDOW NEAR HER CELL, JEAN Harris can watch as the seagulls that circle the Bedford Hills Correctional Facility sail over the 12-foot fences topped with razor wire and swoop down among the prison's cinder-block and redbrick buildings. Watching the birds, she says, "leaves you suspecting that if you don't think you're a prisoner, then maybe you aren't one. The trick is just to keep looking up."

After 11 years in the maximum-security prison 40 miles north of Manhattan in New York's Westchester County, Harris has learned to treasure such artifice. Serving a 15-year-to-life sentence for the 1980 shooting death of Dr. Herman Tar-

nower, her longtime lover and the creator of the celebrated Scarsdale Diet, Harris, 68, is four years away from being eligible for parole and light-years from the life she once led as headmistress of the exclusive Madeira School for girls in McLean, Va. But Harris, who describes prison as a place where "good is bad and black is white and decency and truth are held laughable," has little use for bitterness. "You find very quickly in here that you've been one of the lucky ones," she says. "To sit around and nurse your wounds just makes you look like an idiot."

Instead, Harris, the mother of two grown sons, fills her days teaching parenting classes to the pregnant

▲ "If you thought about all the things you wished hadn't happened, you'd end up a pretty miserable creature," says Harris.

women and new mothers among her 690 fellow inmates. She spends six hours a day caring for the infants in the prison nursery (inmates are allowed to keep infants under 12 months of age at the prison) and also helps Sister Elaine Roulet, founder of the prison's children's center, organize a summer visiting program in which local families host children of inmates. "You're lucky if you find a place where you can do some things that are useful," she says.

Her other outlet is writing. In her tenure at Bedford Hills, she has writ-

Photograph by Harry Benson

cont..

2 of 3

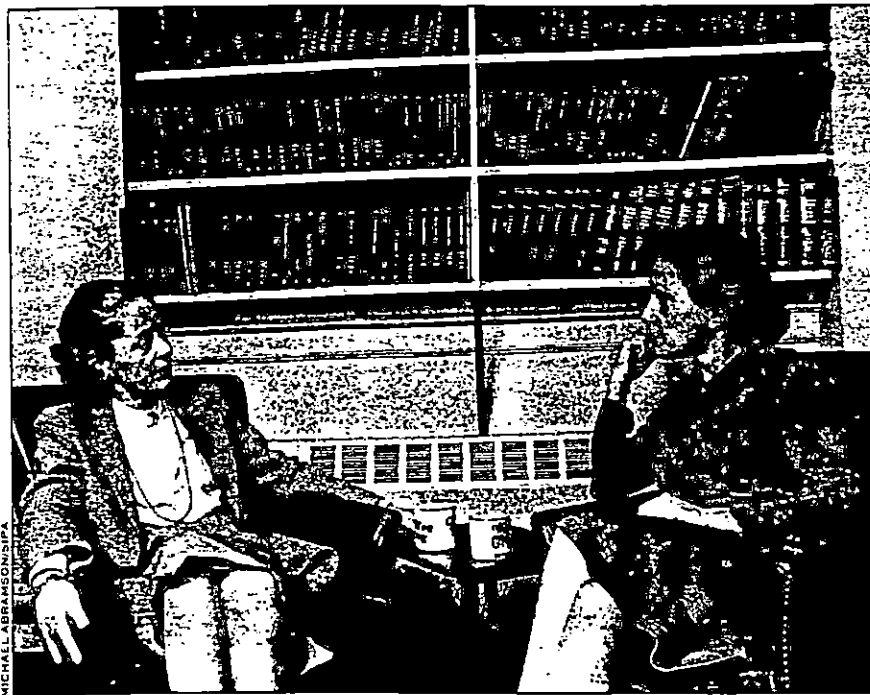
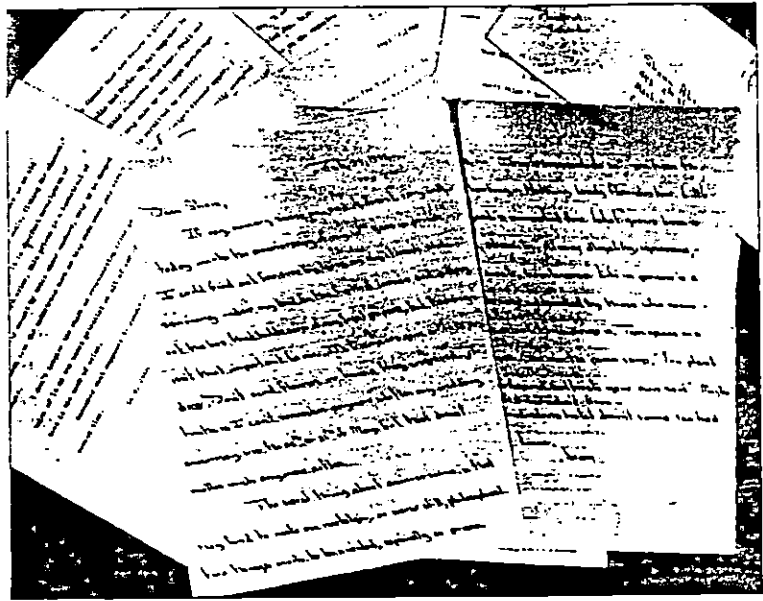
SEQUEL



◀ Dr. Herman Farnower in 1979, a year before he was shot to death at his Scarsdale home.

➤ Harris's letters to Shana Alexander discuss prison's hardships: "It isn't an exposé. It's what my life is like."

▼ "I can say things to Shana I couldn't put down any other way," says Harris (with Alexander during the trial).

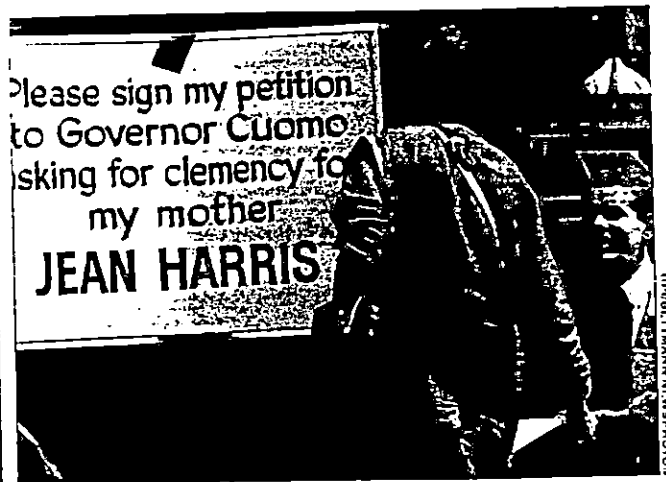


ten three books, the latest of which, *Marking Time*, is a heart-wrenching collection of letters she wrote to author Shana Alexander. The two met when Alexander covered Harris's trial (her book *Very Much a Lady* detailed Harris's relationship with Farnower) and became fast friends. "Jean's emotional strength is so powerful," says Alexander, who is currently teaching advanced nonfiction at the University of Southern California. "She didn't have that in the beginning. She just cried all the time." Written between January 1989 and February 1991, the letters roughly chronicle Harris's life be-

tween New York Gov. Mario Cuomo's second and third refusals to grant her an early appearance before the parole board—a sore point with her supporters. While revealing Harris's bouts of frustration and despondency over her failing health (she has suffered two heart attacks during her time at Bedford Hills), the letters also paint a tragic portrait of her fellow inmates and their children. Says Harris: "I know a hundred women who make Job look like a crybaby." Galvanized by what she has seen in prison—a woman who, along with her infant, is dying of AIDS; another who had the first of her 14 children when

she was raped at the age of 10—Harris has become a crusader for the care and education of children. She has written Barbara Bush to encourage passage of national child care legislation (the First Lady wrote back offering her support), sent information on the Bedford Hills children's programs to other prisons around the country and studied everything she could about child development. "I hope that people will listen to some of the things I say about babies when I get out of here," she says. "It's illogical to be so careless about our children. It's coming back to haunt us." As close as she is to the infants at Bedford Hills, Harris says that most of her fellow inmates remain strangers. "We've sort of gotten used to one another," she says. "Most of them have a lot of respect for their grandmothers, and I'm the closest thing to a grandmother around." As for her own children (from her 19-year marriage to salesman Jim Harris, which ended in 1965), Jim, 38, owns a property management business on Long Island, and David, 41, a banker, lives in nearby Connecticut. Both visit their mother frequently. Although she lives on an honor floor, "the cleanest and brightest housing" at Bedford Hills, Harris says that prison life can be grim. Up each morning at 5:30 for the first of the day's many head counts, Harris works in the nursery until 4 P.M., when she returns to her 6-foot by 10-foot cell to read "the mail, the paper, my magazines, anything I can get my hands

cont.



A In 1986, Harris's son Jim petitioned New Yorkers in an effort to persuade Governor Cuomo to grant his mother clemency.

on." She cannot answer all the thousands of letters she has received since she was put behind bars. Still, the letters have comforted her during her imprisonment. "There are an awful lot of women in this country who have had a lot of tragedy in their lives because of a man they loved," she says. Harris, who maintains that the shooting of Tarnower was an accident (she says she intended to kill herself, and the gun went off during a struggle), does not like to discuss him. "I'm sick of seeing book reviews that talk about the famous diet-doc murderess," she says. "I've grown far beyond that, and I deserve better."

Harris packs up all the letters she receives and ships them off to be stored at her alma mater, Smith College, in Northampton, Mass. "They don't have too many people convicted of murder who went to Smith," she laughs. "The library wanted them."

Almost every evening, Harris has dinner with two other honor-floor inmates in the unit's rec room. They prepare their meals in a small kitchen shared by 30 to 50 women. "I make the salads and wash the dishes, but they do most of the cooking," she says. "Until I started eating with these women, I had cereal and toast." Afterward she watches the *MacNeil-Lehrer NewsHour*, then has the guards lock her into her cell early to read until she falls asleep. "I get out of prison by reading," she explains.

Unsuccessful in their attempts to persuade Cuomo to allow Harris an early parole hearing, her lawyers are now petitioning the U.S. district court to overturn her conviction on grounds that her trial lawyer—Joel Aurnou—did not present the argument that Harris was severely emotionally disturbed at the time of the shooting. A hearing is expected next spring, but Harris isn't getting her hopes up. "I'd have to be an idiot to be optimistic," she says. "I've lost every appeal unanimously."

Sometimes, though, Harris does let herself dream about what life will be like when she is finally able to leave Bedford Hills. She has a cabin in New Hampshire where every fall friends plant crocuses and tulips in the hope that Harris will be home to enjoy them come spring. "I used to lie in bed and redecorate the living room and think about what I was going to do, but I've stopped doing that," she says. "Now I think I'll worry about that when I get up there. If I can just keep breathing long enough." ■

The Reliable Source

By Lois Romano

Balancing the Books

■ Nestled among the serious history and classified documents at the Reagan Library, one can apparently now find two not-so-flattering tomes about Ronald and Nancy. In the interest of creating a "full and balanced account of the Reagan presidency," Carol Publishing thoughtfully sent the library copies of its books "What Does Joan Say?: My Seven Years as White House Astrologer to Nancy and Ronald Reagan" by Joan Quigley and "A House of Secrets," considered a critical autobiographical novel by renegade daughter Patti Davis.

Instead of getting the books back, as expected, Publisher Steven Schragis received a gracious thank-you from Ralph Bledsoe, director of the library. But no word from Bledsoe on whether the books will be filed under history. Or fiction.



Joan Quigley, above; Patti Davis, right.



Kathy Ireland on the SI cover.

Not Just an Empty Swimsuit

■ If Kathy Ireland's career as a pin-up, model and actress stalls, this year's Sports Illustrated cover girl says she'd be happy to take a dive with the dolphins. "I've always dreamed of being the next Jacques Cousteau," says the California-bred Ireland, who plans to study marine biology one day. As for protests that the annual swimsuit issue is sexist, the 28-year-old says, "I grew up on the beach in a bathing suit, so I feel comfortable [with it]." Plus, "I think the pictures are more erotic than lusty."

And, yes, she's married.

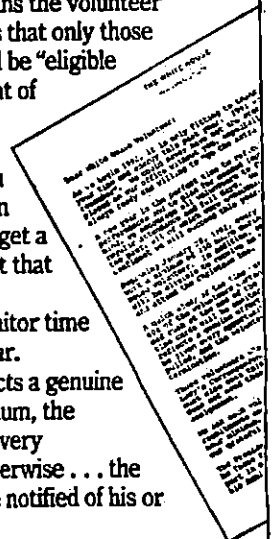
White House Volunteers: Stuff It . . . or Else

■ Seems some White House volunteers are finding that George Bush's "kinder, gentler" approach may not apply to them. A White House letter sent to the 450 volunteers who stuff envelopes and answer phones at the White House warns in unequivocal language that this year they must work a minimum of 250 hours—or take a hike.

C. Dian Moore, who runs the volunteer program, further informs that only those who put in said hours will be "eligible to receive an enlargement of the Christmas card and attend the Christmas tea." And if you think you can squeeze your quota in at the end of the year to get a sip of holiday tea—forget that too. Moore asserts that volunteer police will monitor time cards throughout the year.

"If the time card reflects a genuine effort to meet the minimum, the volunteer will be given every opportunity to do so; otherwise . . . the volunteer will have to be notified of his or her termination."

White House spokesman Gary Foster says that volunteers have always been asked to work one full day a week, which actually amounts to 350 hours a year. Some apparently weren't keeping their commitment, says Foster, and the White House wants to "get people who are dedicated—not just those who want to come in once a month." Hustlers, obviously—looking for Christmas tea.



DATE: March 11, 1992

DAILY NEWS CLIPS

The Washinton Post

The Washington Times

The Wall Street Journal

USA Today

The New York Times

Office of Media Affairs

Bush Calls Democratic Bill 'Huge Tax Increase'

As Senate Takes Up Revenue Measure, Republicans Announce Plan to Raise Child Exemption.

By Eric Pianin and Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writers

President Bush, beginning the early political jockeying over congressional action on tax and budget legislation, called Republican leaders to the White House yesterday and denounced Democrats for embracing what he called a "huge tax increase that will kill job creation."

Bush's statements came as the Senate began debating the Democratic tax bill. Republican leaders said they would offer the president's seven-point tax plan as an alternative to the Democratic bill and also seek approval of a \$500

increase in the personal tax exemption for children.

Bush mentioned the child exemption for middle-income families in his State of the Union message. But he excluded it from the tax package he subsequently submitted to Congress for immediate action—in part because he was unable to find a way to pay for it without raising taxes or breaking the budget agreement between the administration and Congress. That exclusion became an embarrassment for the White House because Patrick J. Buchanan, who is challenging Bush for the Republican presidential nomination, used it to suggest that the only mid-

dle-class element of Bush's plan was a sham.

Republican leaders said Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.) will propose using about \$26 billion in defense savings to finance most of the cost of an increased tax exemption. They said the increased exemption would be offered separately from the president's other proposals—which include a reduction in the capital gains tax and tax breaks for the real estate industry—because a number of Republicans are opposed to any measure that would require tampering with the budget agreement.

"The increased exemption has a lot of support [among Republicans]

but not as much as the president's broad-based proposal," said Sen. Pete V. Domenici (N.M.), ranking Republican on the Budget Committee.

The budget agreement requires that any savings in defense be used to reduce the deficit, not pay for domestic programs. The administration has indicated it would go along with a change in the budget agreement only to pay for the increased tax exemption. House and Senate Democratic leaders, meanwhile, are seeking a change in the budget agreement to utilize defense savings to bolster domestic programs next year.

Domenici and Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) also said that, in the package they will offer, Republicans agreed to drop provisions in the president's plan that would have helped finance some of the tax breaks with changes in accounting procedures.

"Some of us have reservations on the accounting methods offered," said Sen. John H. Chafee (R-R.I.).

Senate Finance Committee Chairman Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.) yesterday dismissed the president's approach as resorting to "the shifting sand of creative accounting," and said it would add to the deficit.

Bentsen stressed that the Democratic plan, financed with a tax increase on the wealthy, contains variations on all seven of the president's proposals.

"If he would just quit worrying about Pat Buchanan, the president will see this bill for what it is: an

honest effort at finding a solution," Bentsen said in a floor speech. "For despite the differences that have attracted the headlines, one of the deep, dark secrets about this bill is that it seeks common ground among Congress and the president, among Democrats and Republicans."

But Bush yesterday said there was no common ground. "There's got to be no mistake about this. Raising taxes on the American people . . . is simply not acceptable and I'm going to veto that tax increase bill as soon as it's sent to me."

The president is poised to use the eventual Democratic tax legislation that emerges from a Senate-House conference committee as a vehicle to issue a veto and launch a campaign against the Democratic-controlled Congress for failing to meet the March 20 deadline he set for passage of his plan.

WHO WON WHERE



TSONGAS
Delaware
Massachusetts
Rhode Island

CLINTON
Florida
Louisiana
Mississippi
Missouri
Oklahoma
Tennessee
Texas

REPUBLICANS



Florida
Louisiana
Massachusetts
Mississippi
Oklahoma
Rhode Island
Tennessee
Texas

BUSH
State-by-state vote, Page A25.
Exit poll results, Pages A26, A27.

heading into the Midwest. He has invested heavily in Illinois over the past five months, building an organization designed to show he can win outside his own region.

The results there and in Michigan are likely to determine whether the nomination fight is effectively over or whether it will continue into the later contests in Connecticut (March 24), New York and Wisconsin (April 7), Pennsylvania (April 28) and eventually California (June 2).

In addition to his victories in Texas and Florida, Clinton won primaries yesterday in Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi and Oklahoma, all by wide margins. He built those victories in the South with overwhelming support among black voters (10 to 1 over Tsongas) and a 2 to 1 majority among white voters.

Clinton also easily won the Missouri caucus. See DEMOCRATS, A27, Col. 3

Delegate Surge For Arkansan

By Dan Balz and Thomas B. Edsall
Washington Post Staff Writers

Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton took a giant step toward the Democratic presidential nomination yesterday with a Super Tuesday sweep of six southern primaries, including delegate-rich Texas and the pivotal Florida contest.

Former Massachusetts senator Paul E. Tsongas easily won his home state and neighboring Rhode Island. But he failed in his goal of gaining a significant share of the delegates to the Democratic National Convention from Clinton's home region, braving whatever momentum he had been able to develop. The showdown that was once expected in Florida, the state Tsongas

chose as his southern battleground, never materialized. Clinton won easily, with about half the vote to slightly more than a third for Tsongas. Former California governor Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr., the other remaining Democrat in the race, was not competitive in any of the primary states.

Clinton's southern sweep, long the cornerstone of his strategy, sets the stage for a midwestern showdown that could determine the nomination when Illinois and Michigan hold their primaries next week. Tsongas, who strained last night to put the best face on the results, now must bounce back quickly or allow Clinton to gain a virtual lock on the nomination.

Four years ago, Super Tuesday turned out to be a three-way dead heat among the Democrats, but yesterday the 11-state battleground lived up to the expectations of its southern creators, who sought to bundle their states together and give the South a dominant voice in the selection of a Democratic nominee. The boost Clinton received yesterday, both in popular vote and in delegates, will give his campaign additional lift



Clinton Sweeps South, Surges in Delegates

DEMOCRATS, From A1

cuses, while Tsongas narrowly carried the Delaware caucuses. Democrats also caucused in Hawaii and Clinton took an early lead.

Clinton was in Chicago campaigning last night as he celebrated his southern sweep. "I must say, it is only tonight that I fully understand why they call this Super Tuesday," he said. Alluding to the allegations about his personal life and Vietnam War draft record that have dogged his candidacy for the past month, Clinton said, "The people of the South heard the worst about me, but they saw the best."

He said the results of yesterday's contests showed that the American people "are calling for genuine change, because they are hurting. Everywhere in America the people know—even if they themselves are all right—that most people are not, that the future is insecure, that we have lost our economic leadership, that we are coming apart when we should be coming together."

Tsongas, speaking to supporters in his home town of Lowell, Mass., tried to deflect attention from yesterday's results to his earlier victories elsewhere as proof that he, not Clinton, is the candidate with national appeal. "Super Tuesday was meant to eliminate somebody like me," Tsongas said. "Well, I'm still here."

But he appeared disappointed by the results of the day and renewed his attacks on Clinton. "There are those that believe the American people are not intelligent, that you can be Santa Claus, that you can pander to them and give them things like a middle-class tax cut that are just terrible economics," he said. "Well, I'm going to tell you something, Bill Clinton, you're not going to pander your way into the White House as long as I'm around."

Brown, wearing a blue United Auto Workers jacket during a television interview, said last night that he would fight for labor support, particularly in Michigan, with a message he said would appeal to angry workers who either are out of work or fearing for their jobs. Brown said he would offer a sharp contrast to Clinton, promising to take the country back "from the rip-off artists" now in control.

Clinton led the delegate race going into Super Tuesday with 275.245 of the 2,145 delegate votes needed to win the Democratic nomination, according to the Associated Press. Tsongas was second with 137.25, Brown third with 56.25.

Based on yesterday's results, Clinton will add at least 419 delegates to that total, Tsongas 207 delegates and Brown 23 delegates. Clinton campaign officials also said they expected the governor's big showing yesterday to influence many of the 218 House members who will be selected as "super delegates" to the convention later this week to endorse Clinton.

Florida was the only real southern battleground yesterday, the one state that offered the possibility of a test between the two front-runners because of the high percentage of northern immigrants and the fact that Michael S. Dukakis carried the state in 1988. But despite a signif-



"I'm still here," Tsongas, with wife Nikl, told hometown rally in Lowell, Mass.

icant effort there by Tsongas, Clinton won with almost half the vote.

Tsongas, who once appeared to have a chance of winning Florida, fell far short of his goal as Clinton combined strong support from white voters in the northern part of the state with overwhelming support among blacks, heavily concentrated in South Florida.

Tsongas had hoped to stop Clinton in the state by carrying well-educated, upper-income voters. He won among those with post-graduate degrees and split the college-educated voters, according to exit polls. But together, those voters constituted slightly more than one-third of the total electorate, not enough to offset Clinton's sizable margins among those with less than college degrees.

Exit polls showed that Jewish voters split almost evenly between Clinton and Tsongas, after spirited campaigning in the final 48 hours by both men.

Clinton clinched his Florida victory with strong support from voters over age 60, who constituted almost half the Democratic electorate yesterday.

Clinton and Tsongas's support continued to split along the racial and class divisions that have characterized the contest from the start.

Cumulative exit poll data from Florida, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi and Tennessee showed Clinton running up strong margins among those with family incomes below \$30,000, among those with high school degrees or those who have not graduated, native southerners, fundamentalists, and among those who identify strongly with the Democratic Party.

Clinton did well among those who said welfare, health care and imports were important issues. His margin fell significantly among those emphasizing their concern with the environment and international economic competition.

A fifth of the Democratic electorate said the controversy over Clinton's draft status during the Vietnam War made them feel less favorable toward him, and his vote fell well behind Tsongas's in this group. An almost equally large segment of the southern electorate voiced concern over Tsongas's bout with can-

cer and support for Tsongas fell sharply among this group.

The exit poll data also suggested that the more Clinton can persuade voters that Tsongas is too pro-business—a central theme of Clinton's television advertising—the more he will erode support for the former senator. A quarter of the southern electorate viewed Tsongas as too pro-business, and these voters backed Clinton over Tsongas by 11 to 1.

Clinton is likely to intensify his criticism of Tsongas's economic platform as the campaign heads to Illinois and Michigan, both states with high levels of unemployment.

Clinton did only slightly less well among veterans than among all voters, but he did relatively poorly among those voters who seek courage and a belief in family values in the candidates they support.

Tsongas, in direct contrast, did significantly better than his overall percentage in the South among those seeking a courageous nominee, those seeking candidates with ideas and those seeking a candidate who upholds family values.

Tsongas's support shot up, sometimes to levels higher than Clinton's, among very affluent southerners, among those with post-graduate degrees and among independent voters.

In a pattern that first became apparent in the March 3 Georgia primary, black turnout has nose-dived this year compared with 1988, when Jesse L. Jackson was a candidate. In Tennessee, Mississippi and Louisiana black turnout as a share of the total vote was way below 1988 percentages.

From the day he announced his candidacy last October, Clinton has looked to the South as the springboard to the nomination. His strategy was based on organization and endorsements from southern politicians and support from black voters, who comprise a significant share of the Democratic primary electorate in the South.

Clinton aides said the biggest break of the campaign occurred early this year when Virginia Gov. L. Douglas Wilder withdrew from the race. Wilder's absence, coupled with Jesse L. Jackson's decision last fall not to become a candidate in 1992, gave Clinton a huge opening to the black community.

Even with Wilder in the race, Clinton had hoped to attract a sizable portion of the black vote in the South. Late last fall he began to court black leaders and to campaign before black audiences whenever he could. "That early courtship made a big, big difference," said George Stephanopoulos, Clinton's deputy campaign manager.

Once Wilder dropped out, Clinton had virtually no competition from the other Democratic candidates in the black community. "The plan was fairly simple," said Jeff Eller, Clinton's Florida campaign director. "One was to build an organization so that if we needed to fight a ground war, we would have the organization in place to do that. Second was that in the last 10 to 14 days you used paid and free media to carry the candidate's message out in a broader sense."

Tsongas also was thrown off by a bad week of campaigning last week, as he scrambled to make strategic decisions on where to spend his time and television money while his campaign organization struggled to cope with an influx of new people and bigger demands.

Polling director Richard Morin, senior polling analyst Sharon Warden and staff researcher Mark Stencel contributed to this report.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1992

The Washington Post

The first column of numbers for Democrats and Republicans is labeled % Voters. Numbers in those columns add down the column for each demographic category. For example, 49% of Democrats who voted Tuesday in Democratic primaries in the South were males and 51% were females. Not all demographic categories will add to 100% because "don't know" is not included and because of the way the numbers are rounded.

The remaining columns represent the percentage of a category who voted for each of the listed candidates, and those numbers are to be read across the row. For example, of the 49% of males who voted in Democratic primaries in the South, 62% voted for Clinton, 22% for Tsongas and 9% for Brown. Those numbers probably will add to less than 100% because not all candidates are listed.



DEMOCRATS



REPUBLICANS

	% Voters	Clinton	Tsongas	Brown	% Voters	Bush	Buchanan	Duke
SEX								
Male	49%	62%	22%	9%	52%	64%	31%	3%
Female	51	64	22	8	48	75	21	2
AGE								
18-29	10	63	21	10	12	67	26	5
30-44	31	59	24	11	27	64	31	3
45-59	26	62	24	8	24	69	25	3
60+	33	68	20	7	37	75	23	1
INCOME								
Under \$15,000	19	74	11	8	8	73	122	4
\$15,000-\$29,999	31	68	20	7	23	68	26	5
\$30,000-\$49,999	27	58	27	8	31	68	28	2
\$50,000-\$74,999	16	57	27	13	23	67	29	2
\$75,000 or more	8	41	40	14	15	75	22	1
RACE								
White	75	59	26	9	94	68	27	3
Black	18	81	8	7	1	-	-	-
Hispanic/Latino	6	63	20	11	4	88	12	0
Asian	0	-	-	-	0	-	-	-
WHICH OF THESE BEST DESCRIBES YOUR VOTE FOR PRESIDENT								
Strongly favor my candidate	39	70	16	9	45	79	18	2
Like my candidate but with reservations	42	63	25	8	36	69	27	3
Dislike other candidates	15	49	30	11	16	45	47	3
WHEN DID YOU FINALLY DECIDE WHOM TO VOTE FOR								
Today	18	55	25	11	9	54	35	5
Within last three days	16	53	28	14	7	50	42	4
Within last week	19	63	25	9	8	50	44	4
Within last month	21	64	25	8	14	50	46	1
More than a month ago	24	77	12	4	60	81	16	2
POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY								
Liberal	27	56	26	14	9	72	23	3
Moderate	45	69	20	6	34	74	22	2
Conservative	28	60	23	7	57	66	29	3
PARTY IDENTIFICATION								
Democrat	68	70	18	8	2	49	40	6
Republican	6	43	29	10	73	74	22	2
Independent/Other	26	50	32	11	24	57	36	3
CONDITION OF NATIONAL ECONOMY								
Excellent	1	-	-	-	2	94	15	1
Good	6	53	25	13	22	87	11	2
Not so good	42	59	26	9	53	73	22	3
Poor	50	68	19	8	22	41	52	3
FINANCIAL SITUATION COMPARED TO FOUR YEARS AGO								
Better today	11	49	31	13	28	82	14	2
Worse today	48	68	19	8	27	47	46	4
About the same	39	62	23	9	45	75	21	2
WHICH APPLY TO YOU								
No health insurance	15	67	20	8	9	59	36	2
Born-again Christian/fundamentalist	20	67	19	6	25	66	29	4
Veteran/active military/reserves	24	63	22	8	26	68	27	3
Blue-collar worker	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	60	31	8
Someone in household is:								
Unemployed	15	70	16	9	11	56	37	3
A union member	13	68	18	7	7	61	34	5
Voted for Bush in 1988	34	55	27	8	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Born in the South	52	69	18	7	42	68	25	5
Moved to this state in last ten years	15	52	32	12	23	67	29	2
ISSUES THAT INFLUENCED VOTE								
Education	20	64	20	8	23	77	20	1
Environment	10	49	27	22	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Taxes	14	66	19	9	28	64	32	2
Health care	30	68	18	9	18	73	24	1
Welfare reform	6	71	16	7	8	61	26	13
Poverty/Homelessness	9	68	19	10	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Quotas/Affirmative action	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	44	42	13
Persian Gulf War	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	8	94	6	0
Economy/Jobs	48	64	25	6	34	63	32	2
Foreign imports	3	69	16	8	3	59	36	4
U.S. ability to compete economically	10	46	39	6	22	74	23	1
CANDIDATE QUALITIES THAT INFLUENCED VOTE								
Has specific ideas	31	51	33	13	15	38	53	6
Has experience	15	64	18	13	44	97	2	0
Knows my part of country	6	92	2	3	12	75	12	9
Can win in November	11	81	12	3	12	94	6	0
Did well in debates	6	71	16	8	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Will shake things up	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	12	5	85	8
Has strength and courage	21	48	39	8	19	83	14	2
Cares about people like me	22	71	15	9	7	48	41	8
Will uphold family values	9	54	33	6	18	66	31	2
Best represents my party	18	75	13	9	20	68	31	1
EDUCATION								
High school not completed	10	81	12	4	4	73	24	3
High school graduate	27	70	16	7	19	69	24	5
Some college	30	64	22	9	32	70	26	2
College graduate	18	57	29	10	26	68	28	1
Post-graduate study	15	45	36	14	19	70	26	2
RELIGION								
Protestant/Christian	65	64	23	8	73	70	25	3
Catholic	20	53	29	11	49	65	32	2
Jewish	5	48	41	8	1	-	-	-
Other	4	51	30	15	2	66	27	1
None	5	34	41	18	4	55	36	5

THE RACE FOR PRESIDENT

A Daily Digest

Buchanan to Stress Economy in Michigan

Tsongas Garners Expatriate Vote

By Karlyn Barker
Washington Post Staff Writer

Patrick J. Buchanan did not wait to see how he fared in yesterday's primaries down South before heading to Michigan to court voters in next Tuesday's primary.

Buchanan told supporters in Detroit that he would spend four to five days in Michigan addressing what he called the central issue: the sagging economy and President Bush's inability to do anything about it.

"We intend to make the case that the Bush administration has failed Michigan as it has failed America with its economic prescription," Buchanan said. "We anticipate this will be fairly fertile ground for us."

In New Orleans earlier, Buchanan called for the resignation of Republican National Committee Chairman Richard N. Bond, saying Bond had "smeared" him and his supporters by saying Buchanan had "hijacked" David Duke's message on race and religion.

Buchanan was responding to Bond's remarks Sunday on ABC's "This Week With David Brinkley." Calling Bond's statement "a stupid, stupid thing to do," Buchanan said, "He ought to resign or he ought to be fired."

Bush's conservative challenger said Bond had given up "any pretext of neutrality" in the GOP primaries and had demeaned Buchanan and his supporters.

Buchanan said he was making "the assumption that Mr. Bond did this on his own volition" and not with the approval of Bush. He said replacing Bond was the only way to "bring the party together." In the meantime, Buchanan said, "I'd urge everyone not to contribute another dime to the Republican Party." He also said he would not support the party in the fall if Bond is chairman.

Calling Duke a "bogus" Republican and "bogus" conservative, Buchanan said he was proud of the way his campaign had responded to Duke's candidacy, which he said was basically to ignore it.

RNC spokesman B.J. Cooper responded to Buchanan, saying, "Last week, Pat called for the president to withdraw. This week, he's calling for Bond to resign. We are in good company. As he gets fewer and fewer voters, his sights are sinking."

Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton's marathon Super Tuesday campaign took him to more than 25 cities and logged nearly 9,000 miles in a single week aboard a posh jet leased from the Los Angeles Kings hockey team. Yet when the big day came, he was temporarily grounded.

Bad weather in Chicago kept the peripatetic candidate at home in Little Rock until past noon. Then the weather cleared slightly, Clinton was airborne, and the marathon resumed: meetings with editorial boards at Chicago's two major daily newspapers, a private fund-raiser and a rally to celebrate the fruits of his Southern labors.

Democratic Party officials overseas said yesterday only about 1,150 U.S. citizens abroad had participated in caucuses and a straw poll in 22 foreign countries to help choose the party's presidential nominee.

With 862 votes counted in 20 countries, officials said Paul E. Tsongas led with 40.3 percent, to Clinton's 28.6 percent and 13.6 percent for former California governor Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr. The rest went for other candidates or were undecided. Officials said they expected another 300 ballots from delayed results in Canada and Mexico.

The result was not much of a surprise because many Democrats abroad fit the higher socioeconomic profile to which Tsongas appears to have the most appeal. He did even better in London, where a well-dressed, well-educated all-white crowd of about 150 gave him 55 percent of their votes.

Staff writers Glenn Frankel in London and David Von Drehle in Chicago contributed to this report. Barker reported from Detroit.

Battle Shifts to Illinois, Michigan

By Defining Strengths, Primaries May Decide Democratic Nominee

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

Certified by the South as the Democratic front-runner, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton today moves into the vastly different battleground of Illinois and Michigan—where he can virtually cinch the presidential nomination next Tuesday or stumble as previous contenders have done.

Although the two Midwest states gave the bulk of their delegates in 1988 to losers—Illinois voting for favorite son Sen. Paul Simon and Michigan's caucuses going for Jesse L. Jackson—party officials expect them to anoint the eventual winner this year, as they usually do in the November general election.

"Not only will they define the strongest candidate," said former party chairman John C. White, "they will decide who eventually will be the nominee."

The southern sweep—and especially the win in Florida, which White and others said exceeded their expectations—adds momentum to Clinton's battle for Illinois' 164 and Michigan's 131 delegates.

Clinton pollster Stanley Greenberg said he expected Clinton's support in both states to increase as news of his southern victory spreads, just as his March 3 win in Georgia boosted support in Florida and other Dixie states that voted yesterday. "People would like to vote for Clinton but have doubts about him," Greenberg said, "and his victories in these states help resolve them."

But Dennis Kanin, campaign manager for former

Massachusetts senator Paul E. Tsongas, who won primaries in his home state and Rhode Island and the Delaware caucuses yesterday, said the "Super Tuesday bump" for Clinton would be at most a 24-hour phenomenon. "The fact is he won his home region and we won ours," Kanin said. "Big deal."

Last time around, Illinois and Michigan ignored the Super Tuesday results. But Clinton has been targeting Illinois from the start of the race, recruiting David Wilhelms, the architect of Chicago Mayor Richard M. Daley's successful races, as his national campaign chairman. In Michigan, former governor James J. Blanchard has helped Clinton line up support.

But Tsongas was only 5 points behind Clinton in a Chicago Sun-Times/Fox News Gallup Poll of Illinois published Sunday. Significantly, Tsongas led Clinton in the suburban areas that now often outvote the city of Chicago, where Clinton built his whole lead.

Michigan, which this year holds a primary instead of caucuses, is regarded as a more uncertain battleground for both Clinton and Tsongas. Former California governor Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr. threatens to make it a three-way race in that state.

With unemployment at 8.5 percent in Illinois last month and 9 percent in Michigan, "economic issues will drive the debate," said Democratic National Chairman Ronald H. Brown. "Those are our issues for November, so the outcome in these two states is absolutely crucial"

See CAMPAIGN, A27, Col. 1

CAMPAIGN, From A25

in deciding who has the best message for the general election.

This Thursday and Friday, House Democrats will elect 218 of their number as "super-delegates" to the July convention, and Clinton is expected to push for a number of early endorsements from this group to build his already impressive delegate lead. After Illinois and Michigan, no large state holds a primary until New York votes on April 7.

Four years ago, the three men who shared Democratic honors on Super Tuesday—Massachusetts Gov. Michael S. Dukakis, Sen. Albert Gore Jr. (Tenn.) and Jackson—stumbled over the rock of Simon's favorite-son candidacy the following week in Illinois. Michigan's endorsement of Jackson further endangered the candidacy of eventual nominee Dukakis.

From the start of his candidacy, Clinton made preparations to ensure that he would follow the very different path of Georgian Jimmy Carter, who solidified his grip on the 1976 nomination by his victory in Illinois and used the same state to administer the *coup de grace* to the 1980 nomination challenge from Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (Mass.).

James M. Wall, who led the Carter efforts in Illinois and now is aiding Clinton, said the Arkansas governor's campaign "is far stronger than what we had here for Carter in 1976. He [Clinton] has the kind of insider support we were able to get for Carter only when he was already in the White House."

Although Daley is officially neutral, Wilhelms has brought many of the city's "regulars" aboard the Clinton campaign and has welded support from downstate Illinois, parts of which are politically close to the South.

Tsongas's strength is in the Cook County suburbs and the "collar counties" wrapped around Chicago, but to win the state and be competitive

in Michigan, his advisers said, he "must get back to the jobs-and-economy message" he emphasized in winning New Hampshire and other northeastern states. Except in New England, Clinton has won good margins among low- and middle-income whites and his support from black voters—important in both the upcoming midwestern states—has been overwhelming.

While Tsongas tries to rediscover his winning

"The outcome in these two states is absolutely crucial."

—Democratic National Chairman Ronald H. Brown

formula, Brown—who got to Michigan ahead of his rivals yesterday—clearly senses a chance to make a strong showing. "There's a lot of room to the left of Clinton and Tsongas," he remarked the other day, especially in a state where organized labor is looking for a champion.

"A lot of our people are disenchanted," said Joe Mangone, the national political director of the UAW. "We were geared up to go for [Iowa Sen. Tom] Harkin but now he's withdrawn, and we're telling people just to use their own judgment."

All three surviving candidates are bidding for labor support, but Tsongas and Clinton carry heavy burdens in wooing the UAW. Tsongas is expected to emphasize his role in crafting the Chrysler Corp. "bailout" bill, which his campaign says "saved 100,000 jobs" in Michigan. But his current opposition to legislation banning permanent hiring of replacements for striking workers is "atrocious . . . totally unfair," Mangone said.

Clinton aggravated the UAW leadership by praising in stump speeches and a weekend television interview the UAW workers in Arlington,

Tex., who "took matters in their own hands, went against the leadership of their own union and agreed to new, flexible work rules" in order to keep their plant open and nudge the General Motors management to close instead the plant in Ypsilanti, Mich., that refused the same concessions.

"That kind of talk about union bosses raises a red flag," Mangone said. "We expect to hear that from the right-to-work people, not a Democratic presidential candidate."

Mangone was also critical of Brown's "flat tax" proposal but other union officials said they expected that to be less of a hang-up for union members than the Clinton and Tsongas positions. Brown is the only one of the three to endorse labor's opposition to fast-track consideration of the free-trade agreement with Mexico, a step labor contends would speed the exodus of jobs from the United States.

Brown is also hoping that some of Jackson's Michigan magic rubs off on him. For weeks he has been telling crowds that he would offer the vice presidential nomination to Jackson, and aides said he hopes Jackson will campaign with him in Michigan—as he did, to little apparent effect, in some of the southern states.

Rep. John D. Dingell (D), dean of the Michigan delegation, and Michigan AFL-CIO president Frank Garrison told the Detroit Free Press yesterday they would urge support for an uncommitted slate of delegates on the Michigan ballot, in hopes a deadlocked convention would recruit a new candidate.

But others in the Michigan labor movement and the state's congressional delegation expressed skepticism that the "uncommitted" movement would get very far, even though they agreed that there is widespread unhappiness with the available choices.

Staff writer Maralee Schwartz and researcher Mark Stencel contributed to this report.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1992

The Washington Post

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The Old South Effectively Deals Mortal Blow to Duke's Candidacy

By Thomas B. Edsall
Washington Post Staff Writer

Southern voters have effectively buried the presidential candidacy of former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke.

In a decisive repudiation, with 95 percent of the vote counted, Duke received 9 percent in the Republican primary in his native Louisiana, while 62 percent of Republican votes were cast for President Bush, whom Duke sought to unseat. Patrick J. Buchanan got 27 percent.

"We didn't get, certainly, the votes I would like to have gotten, but we've made a point. A lot of people are voting for Pat Buchanan on some of these ideas and that's fine with me," Duke said in an interview with CNN. "I'm ecstatic that Mr. Buchanan and even

Mr. Bush today is starting to talk more like me, and that [Democratic candidates former California governor Edmund G. "Jerry"] Brown is talking about a flat tax, and [Arkansas Gov. Bill] Clinton is talking about workfare instead of welfare."

Interviews with voters suggested that Buchanan offered an equally articulate and more acceptable alternative to Bush than did Duke. The conservative television commentator's attacks on homosexuality, quotas and the Voting Rights Act touched on the same racial and sexual themes as Duke.

"We just finished interring the political career of David Duke in a bayou in Louisiana. . . . We've taken back our cause and our party in the South from Mr. Duke," Buchanan told supporters in Dearborn, Mich.

Duke's poor showing in the southern-dominated

Super Tuesday contests weakens, if not ends, his threat to run as an independent in the general election. "I'm looking forward to not running for office for a while," Reuter quoted him as saying.

If there are any models for the Duke effort, they are those of former Alabama governor George C. Wallace, who ran in Democratic presidential primaries in 1964, 1972 and 1976, and in the general election in 1968 as a third-party candidate. But Wallace won numerous primaries, and even carried five states in the 1968 general election.

After a highly visible announcement of his candidacy last year, Duke failed to build on what appeared to be a strong base of conservative and right-wing donors willing to support his candidacy, stressing opposition to welfare and quotas.

His campaign appearances appeared random, and he lost the ability to keep himself in the news and in front of television cameras. Those are critical factors for any politician, and a matter of life and death for a candidate trying to elbow his way out of the fringes.

The pattern of voter rejection, which was set in the Saturday primary in South Carolina, was repeated yesterday virtually everywhere Duke was on the ballot.

In South Carolina, Duke got 7 percent although he campaigned more in that state than either Bush or Buchanan.

In Tennessee, Duke appeared headed for a 3 percent showing, compared to 22 for Buchanan and 73 for Bush. In Texas, he was also headed toward a dismal 3 percent.

See DUKE, A26, Col. 1

Southern Voters Reject Duke Decisively

DUKE, From A25

The only state in which Duke appeared likely to finish with double-digit figures was Mississippi. There, his support of about 11 percent is barely large enough to attempt to draw some conclusions about its demographic structure:

Duke's support is significantly stronger among men than women, especially those who believe the national economy is in bad shape and who see their own financial situation as worse than it was four years ago. Duke voters are disproportionately blue-collar, and he does the best by far among the one-

fifth of the electorate that identifies welfare as a major issue influencing their vote.

He did better among Mississippi voters seeking a candidate with ideas and one who "will shake things up." But his performance lagged behind his statewide average among voters seeking a candidate who upholds family values, and he received virtually no support from those seeking a candidate with experience.

Duke's showing outside of the South was no better. In Massachusetts, where Duke fought successfully to get on the ballot, he was headed toward a 2 percent showing, just a percentage point less than his support in Oklahoma.

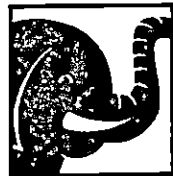
Buchanan Urged to Quit

By E. J. Dionne Jr. and Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writers

President Bush swept yesterday's eight Republican primaries with solid victories over Patrick J. Buchanan, prompting Republican congressional leaders to call on the winless Buchanan to drop out of the presidential race.

But Buchanan told a cheering crowd in Michigan, where he was already campaigning for next week's primary: "In the Buchanan lexicon, there is no word meaning quit."

Bush won near or more than 70 percent of the vote in Florida, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Tennessee and Texas. He got more than 60



percent in Louisiana, Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Buchanan seemed unlikely to win anything close to the 37 percent he scored in the New Hampshire primary last month, though he did get about a third of the vote in Florida and Rhode Island.

The clearest loser in the voting on Super Tuesday was former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke. He was pushed into poor third-place showings everywhere, reduced to single digits in every state he contested except Mississippi.

Even in his home state of Louisiana, where Duke won 39 percent in last November's election for governor, he was running far behind Bush and Buchanan and seemed likely to finish with less than 10 percent of the vote. Among Republicans who said they had voted for Duke for governor, four-fifths abandoned him yesterday.

Last night's results, Bush's best showing of the year, left him with almost two-thirds of the delegates he needs for the nomination, counting states and districts where Buchanan is not opposing him. Associated Press preliminary estimates gave Bush 376 delegates from last night's contests, compared with 26 for Buchanan.

The president's showing strengthened the administration's resolve to have Bush ignore Buchanan as much as possible. "I wouldn't characterize it as a 'Rose Garden strategy,'" said Robert M. Teeter, chairman of the Bush campaign, "but he is going to be focused more on governing."

That was exactly the note that Bush struck in a written victory statement. "As a party and a nation, let us turn our attention to our future. We must focus on the complex task of job creation in this country. Congress must act on my economic stimulus plan," he said.

Despite Bush's victories, administration officials are worried that a fight by Buchanan until the June 2 California primary will consume resources the campaign would like to spend to prepare now for an increasingly challenging fall campaign.

Buchanan did everything he could to

deepen those fears. "We may be losing the battle for delegates," he said in Michigan, "but we're not losing this national debate—and everyone knows it."

The results of yesterday's primaries confirmed the existence of a solid core of protest against Bush in his own party, but failed to produce the breakthrough Buchanan had hoped for.

As a result, Republican leaders escalated their calls on Buchanan to quit. House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (Ga.) said that by continuing his campaign against Bush, Buchanan would endanger not only the president's reelection, but also the chances of Republicans farther down the party's ticket.

Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (Kan.), who lost the Republican nomination to Bush in 1988 after being swept aside in southern voting, spoke from experience when he declared after a White House meeting yesterday: "Look, when it's over, it's over."

But Buchanan said he was winning support from the "swing voters" Bush will need in November, and Frank Luntz, Buchanan's pollster, said the results "demonstrated once and for all that there is a significant segment of the GOP primary vote that is unhappy with George Bush."

"Is it overwhelming? No. Is it significant? You bet," Luntz said.

He said that Buchanan's apparent failure to break through demonstrated that "when our resources are spread so thinly, when we have a day per state, we don't have the ability to intensify the primary."

Buchanan's trip to Michigan made clear that he did not intend to make the same mistake again, and he plans to concentrate virtually all his money and attention on that economically troubled state over the next five days. After that, Buchanan's likely targets include Connecticut on March 24, Wisconsin on April 7—and perhaps Pennsylvania on April 28, North Carolina on May 5, Nebraska on May 12 and Oregon or Washington on May 19.

The exit polls in the states at stake on the GOP side yesterday suggested nagging problems for Bush, especially where the economy has been hit hard by the recession.

Among Massachusetts Republican primary voters, for example, nearly 40 percent said they disapproved of the president's handling of his job.

Bush did better in the South, which has been more likely than the rest of the country to stick with the president in hard times. But even among southern primary voters yesterday, more than a third disapproved of Bush's job performance and one in eight said they planned to defect to the Democrats in November.

Buchanan was once again hurt by his poor showing among women. In the South, Buchanan won a third of the votes cast by men, but only a fifth of those cast by women. The Bush campaign made heavy use in the South of a television ad quoting an old Buchanan column in which he said that women were poorly suited to compete in the work force.

While the Bush team publicly discounts any effect of Buchanan remaining in the race, senior officials privately admit it poses more than a nuisance—it would, they say, be a constant drain on campaign funds that the Bush team would rather use to prepare for the general election.

"We are working under the assumption that regardless of [the] vote and regardless even when the mathematical nomination is reached, he will go to California and sit there for three weeks and terrorize us," said a senior Republican official. "That means we will have to get Bush and Quayle in there; we will have to advertise to counter him, we will have to do mailings... and that all costs money."

Under federal rules, each candidate can spend \$27 million in the primary contests. Before Buchanan launched his candidacy, the Bush team had planned to do what President Ronald Reagan did in 1984: spend most of the money on voter registration and identification, advertising and other efforts aimed at the

fall—and at keeping a pro-Bush message before the voters in states where Democrats were battling.

"What we could do with that primary money in 1984 really contributed to the margin in the fall," said Edward J. Rollins, Reagan's campaign chairman in 1984. "Having Buchanan in through California is not just a distraction; it's a drain on resources. He keeps everyone off balance in that they have to keep watching for him; it takes up money and energy that obviously is going to be needed for the fall."

Rollins said his campaign "got a significant leg up" on the Democrats in 1984 by being able to devote so much of the spring and summer to the "Morning Again in America" Reagan advertising and voter group efforts.

Frederic V. Malek, Bush's deputy campaign chairman, said, "We have spent a lot of money we might otherwise not have spent" had it not been for Buchanan. But he added that the campaign is husbanding its resources and allowing Buchanan to outspend them—as he did by about 3 to 1 in South Carolina—rather than see their cash drained off. "We have not panicked and we are not going to panic," he said.

The Bush team's greatest fear is running out of money because of the Buchanan challenge and facing a period from June until the August Republican convention with the spotlight on the Democratic Party.

In 1988, Bush had to spend a major chunk of his primary allotment of funds in Super Tuesday contests to put Dole away. As a result, he found himself with no money in the spring and summer as he slipped 17 points behind Michael S. Dukakis. One Bush strategist said the campaign was worried about facing "the spring of 1988 all over again."

Campaign and White House officials said they would hold no discussions with Buchanan about his withdrawing from the race, and they were wary about any direct White House effort to do so publicly.

But GOP leaders feel no such constraints, and several of them emerged from the White House before the voting was completed yesterday to say the nomination fight was over and that Buchanan should behave like the defeated candidates on the Democratic side.

"I believe that after tonight, we have won the nomination," said Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.), who predicted that "we are not going to see him at our convention" unless Buchanan exits the race.

Staff writers John E. Yang in Washington and Karilyn Barker in Michigan and staff researcher Mark Stencel contributed to this report.

String of House Scandals Saps Public Confidence

By Guy Gugliotta and Kenneth J. Cooper
Washington Post Staff Writers

For the last six months the House of Representatives has treated the nation to a series of scandals worthy of Peyton Place.

Following bounced checks and unpaid restaurant bills, as well as thievery and dope dealing in the House Post Office, public confidence in Congress, seldom high, has plunged. A new Washington Post-ABC News poll recorded a lowest-ever 22 percent approval rating for Congress.

The soap opera began last September when the General Accounting Office published a report detailing how House members kited thousands of checks at their private bank, a casual mom-and-pop payroll cashing facility on the first floor of the Capitol. In all cases the bank covered the bad checks without penalty.

Last week, after 20,000 bad checks, an inves-

tigation, finger-pointing and recriminations all around, the House ethics committee recommended that the names of the 24 worst check-cashing abusers—19 current members and five former members—be published. A floor vote on making the 24 names public is likely by the end of the week.

Some House members are satisfied with the ethics committee's recommendation, but others are not. Public outrage, some dissenters say, will not be assuaged with less than full disclosure of all members' bad checks.

Acting ethics committee Chairman Matthew F. McHugh (D-N.Y.) and ranking minority member James V. Hansen (R-Utah) today are releasing a committee report on the bank scandal. The report shows that the top abuser ran overdrafts in excess of a month's pay in 35 out of 39 months. The 24 had overdrafts of at least \$899,000. [Details on Page A7]

HOUSE BANK, From A1

July 1988 and August 1989. High-ranking congressional sources say Russ will soon depart the House's employ.

Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) wrote a bad House Bank check to buy stereo equipment in Spokane, and Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) acknowledged writing three bad checks. Gingrich said on "John McLaughlin's One on One" recently that bank abuses will cause "between 30 to 65" House members to lose their seats in November elections. A week earlier, anxiety ran high in the House after Gingrich told reporters he had heard that "60 Minutes" had a list of the 50 biggest check kitters. There is no evidence to support either assertion.

For an institution that deals routinely with legislative esoterica beyond the grasp of most ordinary citizens, the inability—or unwillingness—of House members to balance their checkbooks, pay their restaurant tabs or otherwise manage the affairs of their insular village on Capitol Hill strained belief.

A closer look, however, shows most of the practices that led to scandal had been in place so long that people had forgotten how they began. Congressional Quarterly documented hanky-panky at the bank in 1832. The ethics committee investigation found that the custom of making overdrafts good was at least 40 years old.

Members of Congress have been eating, shopping, getting their parking tickets fixed and having their hair trimmed at cut-rate, subsidized prices for years. It is all part of a system of perks and patronage almost 200 years old. Congress was coasting along on its inertia, ripe for abuse and mired in an "I'm all right, Jack" mentality that assumed that somehow, somewhere, there was someone that knew what was going on.

But few members did. The vast majority of check bouncers—Foley and Gingrich among them—pleaded ignorance, and it was believable. Bad checks were coded with marks only the bank understood. Many members were never informed of their overdrafts, which were covered when the next month's pay was deposited. Many members with 10, 15 or even 20 years in the House didn't know they didn't have to have their paycheck deposited in the House Bank.

Still, the ethics committee concluded, all that was no excuse. "I'm getting a little tired of them [colleagues] coming up on the floor and saying 'Oh, gosh, they didn't tell me,'" Hansen said. "We consider you're a big boy when you make it here."

And besides, if many House members didn't know what the bank was doing, many others obviously did and took full advantage. The ethics committee examined 66 bank accounts in which systematic abuse was discernible. The 24 cited were the worst offenders, members who apparently used the bank as a source of interest-free loans worth tens of thousands of dollars.

The scope of the bank scandal is enough to have made McHugh remark, "I don't know how some of these folks slept at night." To make the committee's list of 24, a member had to have had overdrafts in excess of his next month's pay for 20 percent of the months he or she had an account dur-



TV crews photograph House Bank. Inquiry found practice of making overdrafts good was longstanding.

ing the 39 months ending Oct. 3, 1991. If a member had an account through the entire period, it needed to be overdrawn for at least eight months—or from \$18,400 on up.

In all, the committee said, its investigation examined 20,000 bad checks written by 296 members and 59 former members. McHugh acknowledged that the aggregate face value amounts of one member's bad checks "approached" \$700,000. Another committee member said a single abuser—not among the 24—wrote 800 bad checks with a face value of \$150,000. Rep. Jon L. Kyl (R-Ariz.) said more than 50 members had been overdrawn by more than one month's pay at least once, and "scores" had written more than 100 bad checks.

The committee will send a resolution to the House floor this week asking to disclose the names of the 24 worst abusers. Leaders of both parties agree that disclosure will probably be fatal to the careers of those named. For this reason, there is little quarrel with the committee's decision not to pursue further legal action.

The resolution will allow 10 days for the abusers to be notified and, if they wish, examine the evidence and appeal their case. "If one can establish that a mistake was made," McHugh and Hansen said in a "Dear Colleague" letter, "the individual will be taken off the list before the committee discloses the list publicly."

The four committee Republicans who dissented from the resolution filed a minority report last night that calls for identifying 55 of the biggest abusers and releasing account information on all 355 members and former members who bounced checks. The 55 had overdrafts that exceeded a month's pay in at least two months.

"We fear the majority report will be seen as Congress conducting 'business as usual,' protecting its own," the dissenters concluded.

After several meetings yesterday, House Re-

Although many members would like to clear the air, the bank affair is only one of several pending scandals. The public has been treated to reports of House members running up more than \$700,000 in arrearages at the House restaurants (almost all has subsequently been accounted for). In the House Post Office, four tellers have been charged with robbing the till of \$35,000 (three have pleaded guilty), and one has been reported to have sold small amounts of cocaine.

House Sergeant-at-Arms Jack Russ, former manager of the House Bank, board member of the U.S. Capitol Police and friend of the great and near-great, was shot in the cheek March 1 in what he reported as a street robbery. Russ is singled out in the ethics committee report by name and criticized for his slipshod handling of the bank. The ethics panel report said Russ wrote 19 bad checks worth \$56,100 between-

See HOUSE BANK, A6, Col. 3

publican leaders still had not agreed on how many members' bank records ought to be disclosed. Gingrich said the number would be at least the 55 cited in the minority report. House Republicans are scheduled to discuss the bank issue today at a caucus.

The solution for some House members—notably, House Republican Conference Chairman Jerry Lewis (Calif.) and seven Republican freshmen—is full disclosure, not altogether discounted in the resolution, which allows any member or former member to request and obtain by the end of this year a written accounting of his or her overdrafts.

This provision, said Rep. Porter J. Goss (R-Fla.), a full-disclosure advocate, could be an "ace in the hole," especially in an election year. Challengers will demand that incumbents show their ethics committee letters, creating what Goss called a "tremendous hue and cry to make all the records public."

Foley and the Democratic leadership, however, are expected to support the ethics committee resolution. Aides said they regarded House Bank records as similar to private bank and tax records and should be held confidential as a general rule.

Whatever happens, it is clear that the scandal, refreshingly free of partisan carping during the ethics committee investigation, is about to become a political cause celebre.

Democrats believe Republicans want full disclosure because any list of check bouncers is sure to contain a lot more Democrats, who have a 102-member House majority.

Republicans, by contrast, believe the Democratic leadership wants to establish a high standard for disclosure because it is afraid powerful Democratic chieftains are major abusers.

One additional step the House might take this week, Foley spokesman Jeff Biggs said, is to bring the bank resolution to the floor along with a second resolution establishing a professional manager—accountable to the speaker and House Administration Committee—to oversee the activities of the four elected House officers: sergeant-at-arms, doorkeeper, clerk and postmaster.

This plan has the additional—and crucial—purpose of giving Foley the authority to dismiss a House officer without the approval of the Democratic caucus. This would stop the officers from currying favor with powerful Democrats as a hedge against efforts to oust them.

Republicans are mulling over this proposal, and thinking of an additional wrinkle. Rep. William M. Thomas (R-Calif.), ranking member of the House Administration Committee, said he thought that "institutional" organizations—the Capitol Police, the post office, purchasing, payrolls, the restaurant, and many functions of the clerk—should be bipartisan in operation.

Whatever the outcome, a panicky House has clearly had enough scandal: "Members are fed up," said Administration Committee Chairman Charlie Rose (D-N.C.). "They want this place managed and run better."

Staff writer Walter Pincus contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

Clinton's 'Big Mo' Helps Fill Ballroom

By David Von Drehle
Washington Post Staff Writer

CHICAGO, March 10

The bigger the "Mo," the bigger the room. Simple political mathematics. Because only a campaign that has some momentum will risk renting a room that takes a large crowd to fill. A big room with a small crowd is sad as a one-car funeral.

Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton filled the ballroom at the Chicago Hilton & Towers tonight with abundant ranks of this city's famous Democratic political machine. A lot of people hungry to see a candidate show some forward momentum—"Big Mo," as George Bush called it in 1980—cheered as the Super Tuesday winner said, "The message of the voters tonight is that it's time to go beyond plain old politics."

He was riding high. Today's polling gave Clinton more delegates than the 1988 nominee, Michael S. Dukakis, won on the original Super Tuesday. Results like that, he said, should put an end to the questions of character that have trailed him for more than a month.

The voters know, he said, "the true measure of a politician can never be perfection, because if it were, no one could pass. The true measure is commitment."

Clinton stuck to the non-perfection theme during several television interviews tonight, telling CNN that he could not "tell you for sure that nobody will be able to pay anybody" to allege new scandals. But, he said, "I don't think so."

In his victory speech, Clinton never mentioned challenger Paul E. Tsongas, the former Massachusetts senator who won his home state and Rhode Island but lost by huge margins across the South, from Texas to Florida. Instead, he drew a rhetorical bead on President Bush and fired round after round. Change... change... change... the word echoed through the speech like a mantra.

Saying he was "tired of something for nothing," Clinton called for "a new politics of responsibility, a new politics that says we can do better. This election is, more than ever, a choice between more of the '80s or something new in the '90s."

Themes that Clinton has been developing in dozens of appearances over the past week were warmly received—though some more warmly than others.

In the Bush-bashing parts, the crowd roared, as when he promised to tell the president, "You don't want to do anything about welfare. You've had 12 years and you haven't taken a lick at it." The applause was less enthusiastic when Clinton called on

See CLINTON, A27, Col. 5

CLINTON, From A25

labor to "take the responsibility to examine every work rule, every job classification" to root out the union practices that impede economic growth.

In both cases, it was clear Clinton is working to take back two of the issues that have been winners for the Republicans for years: the failing welfare system and the recalcitrant unions.

This was clearly a man with his eye on November. "Pat Buchanan is running the administration," he said scornfully, suggesting that the president is a mere puppet of divisive dissenters to his right. "The people of our country are aching to come together again. Don't let them take

our country away from us anymore," Clinton said.

And with that, he plunged into a sea of handshakes, as the music began blaring from the bandstand. Magic Slim and the Teardrops, wailing the blues in lusty, surging Chicago style.

That's another simple political equation:

The bigger the Mo, the better the band.

For the latest election returns, phone Post-Haste at 202-334-9000 and enter Category Code 5500.

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

Washington viewers pledged a record \$1,873,744 during last Sunday's Easter Seal Telethon on Channel 7...

The local total was up about \$250,000 from last year. WJLA has aired the telethon for 12 years...

The 21st annual national telethon raised \$46 million over the weekend on 123 stations around the country, an increase of some \$2 million over last year...

Locally, Safeway Stores contributed \$1,020,691.29 to the total...

On another Money Front, the first four days and endless nights of the WETA spring fund-raising drive netted \$151,912 on 2,396 pledges...

Biggest night so far: Monday, as the Metropolitan Opera Silver Anniversary Gala took in \$34,000...

The first weekend results compare unfavorably with last year's, which were good for \$286,579 (on 5,288 pledges) over just three nights when the station twice aired a special featuring Jose Carreras, Placido Domingo and Luciano Pavarotti, attracting more than \$120,000 each evening with the singers. Prego, prego!...

The public station is seeking 700 big ones before closing down the 17-day drive on Sunday, March 22...

Fox Broadcasting will introduce a new sitcom, "Stand by Your Man," on Sunday, April 5, in the 10 p.m. timeslot...

"Stand" stars Rosie O'Donnell and Melissa Gilbert-Brinkman as two New Jersey sisters from opposite sides of the tracks who move in together after their husbands are imprisoned for bank robbery. C. Airwaves thought the pilot to be "quite amusing" when he viewed it while visiting Marina Del Rey, Calif., in January...

To make room for "Stand," "Get a Life" moves to 10:30 that same night while "Sunday Comics" goes on hiatus...

We're not so sure we can handle the young doctor (or that windy disc jockey or even the always-smiling Native American, for that matter) for two more years but that's how long CBS Entertainment has signed "Northern Exposure" for renewal...

(We should warn you that a very contrary Airwaves almost always Loses Interest in a series once it starts Catching On)...

And NBC has renewed "Wings" for a third year. "Northern" is tied for 16th in the season-to-date rankings, "Wings" is 19th among 126 series seen so far on the four networks...

On the Personnel Scene

Beth O'Connell has been named senior producer of NBC's "Today" show. She replaces Bob Wheelock, who was named London bureau chief by NBC News earlier this year...

O'Connell has been supervising producer for the morning show since last October. She has been with the network since 1981...

No replacement has been named for that job...

Sarah Purcell replaces Beth Ruyak as co-host with Gary Collins on ABC's "Home" show starting tomorrow. Executive producer Marty Ryan says, "Beth is a wonderful person but she just didn't click, and Sarah has a good relationship with daytime audiences"...

Allen Alter, deputy foreign editor and senior foreign producer, CBS News, has been promoted to foreign editor. He replaces Al Ortiz, who was recently named vice president, Europe, and London bureau chief. This is all effective on Saturday...

Also at CBS News, Marcy McGinnis has been named deputy bureau chief, London, and director, CBS Newsnet, Europe. She's been executive producer of Newsnet—which supplies news to affiliates and overseas customers—since August 1989...

The P.M. Primary Post-Mortems: Tonight, Paul Tsongas talks to Judy Woodruff on "The MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour" and Pat Buchanan chats up Chris Wallace on ABC News's "Nightline"...

"ABC World News Tonight" was the easy winner in the network race last week, averaging a 10.7/21, compared with a 9.1/18 for "CBS Evening News" and an 8.6/17 for "NBC Nightly News." We've left off the names of the anchors so as not to unduly embarrass anybody...

CBS had no trouble winning Monday night this week (see below), averaging a 16.8/26 as a repeat "Murphy Brown" did an 18.5/28. A new "Northern Exposure" did a 15.3/25...

ABC was second at 13.8/22, although a repeat of "Lethal Weapon" was good for a 15.2/24. NBC's 12.6/20 included a 12.6/20 for a repeat of "Danielle Steel's Kaleidoscope"...

NBC, which has already announced a Saturday morning version of the "Today" show for

next fall, will also introduce three live-action series aimed at the teen/tween audience on Saturdays...

The "Today" show debuts Aug. 1; the rest of the schedule on Sept. 12...

The new shows include "California Dreams," about five teenagers in the "fun-loving Armstrong family who share the dream of forming a rock-and-roll band"; "Name Your Adventure," in which young viewers get to fulfill "their most exciting dreams" if their letters hit the producers just right; and "Double Date," a dating game show hosted by J.D. Roth, featuring "a real-life brother and sister and three potential hidden dates for each of them"!!!...

Meanwhile, "Saved by the Bell" will be back for a fourth season on Saturdays, as will "NBA Inside Stuff," back for a third year...

TV Ratingzzzz

Following are the top 20 network prime-time shows last week, ranked according to the percentage of the nation's 92.1 million TV households that watched, as measured by the A.C. Nielsen Co. A share represents the percentage of actual sets-in-use tuned to a particular program when it aired.

Rating	Share	Network
1 22.7	38	CBS
2 22.2	33	ABC
3 19.8	29	CBS
4 19.6	31	ABC
5 18.9	28	ABC
6 18.0	28	ABC
7 18.0	27	CBS
8 17.5	27	NBC
9 17.0	25	CBS
10 16.6	26	ABC
11 16.4	26	NBC
12 16.3	26	CBS
13 16.3	25	CBS
14 16.2	30	ABC
15 15.9	25	NBC
16 15.6	24	NBC
17 15.5	25	CBS
18 15.5	24	CBS
19 14.8	22	NBC
20 14.7	23	CBS

CBS continued to win the weekly primetime race but only by the narrowest of margins, averaging a 12.956818 rating and a 21 share last week, compared with a 12.893182 rating and a 21 share for ABC. Which Airwaves, having run out of fingers and toes, guesses is a difference of about 4,500 TV homes between the two networks every night...

Also last week, NBC averaged a 12.0/20; FOX, up 37 percent from the same week a year ago, an 8.1/13...

The NBC movie "Woman With a Past" knocked CBS out of the Monday night win column for a change, leaving the erstwhile Tiffany network with only Sunday to celebrate. NBC took Monday, Thursday and Saturday; ABC, Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday...

In the always-interesting Series Premiere challenge, Norman Lear's "The Powers That Be" debuted on NBC with an hour on Saturday and finished in a tie for 32nd. Its 13.0/23, however, was down a teensy from the "Golden Girls" 13.7/25 lead-in at 8. And an "Empty Nest" rerun that followed at 9:20 was 36th at 12.5/22, two points off its usual performance as the network's top Saturday night series...

Over on ABC, two airings of the two-hour special that introduced the "Young Indiana Jones Chronicles" last week had wildly different results. The Wednesday debut, despite a special appearance on CBS by "Murphy Brown," averaged a 16.6/26, but the Saturday night repeat was 73rd among 88 programs ranked for the week, averaging just 7.9/14 (Murphy's special appearance on Wednesday, an original, tied for 34th)...

Among the fairly recent Arrivals (and Returns), NBC's "I'll Fly Away" was 60th, CBS's "The Boys of Twilight" were 66th, and NBC's "Nightmare Cafe" was 74th...

An Airwaves favorite—it's great to see those old "Hotel" scripts out of the mothballs—CBS's "Hearts Are Wild," tied for 76th...

In other highlights last week, ABC's "Prime-Time Live" tied for 21st, and a CBS "48 Hours" on stalkers tied for 28th. FOX's top performer was a "Married... With Children" repeat, in 34th...

In the Sunday Battle of the Movies, the CBS "In Sickness and in Health" in 12th was the easy winner, as NBC's "The Nightman" and ABC's "Never Say Never Again" had the good manners to tie for 44th...

A Paul Rodriguez special on Saturday night for FOX was 83rd, thus qualifying for the Final and Unless the Sun Suddenly Decides to Rise in the West Fatal Five Plus One for the week, just ahead of three other FOX shows—"Totally Hidden Videos," "Sunday Comics" and "Totally Hidden Videos II"—and two NBC entries, "Eerie, Indiana" in 87th and a Lyndon LaRouche political special, dead last in 88th place for the week ending March 8...

(By comparison, a Feb. 1 LaRouche-paid address on ABC averaged a 3.6/7 to finish 84th out of 85 programs that week)...

IMF Sees Russia Needing \$12 Billion

By Steven Mufson
Washington Post Staff Writer

The International Monetary Fund will tell its members next month that Russia needs about \$12 billion in food donations, debt relief and other financing to meet its import requirements during 1992, according to sources familiar with talks between the republic and the IMF.

The IMF also has concluded that a \$6 billion fund would be needed to bolster confidence in the Russian currency, the ruble, and to stabilize the ruble when it becomes freely convertible into foreign currency.

Russia's representative for cooperation with international financial organizations, Konstantin Kagalovsky, met with IMF officials yesterday to hammer out an agreement on Russia's financing needs and to complete the memorandum that will accompany Russia's application for IMF membership.

The fund's directors meet April 27.

The IMF is not specifying how international institutions and industrialized countries would meet Russia's need for aid totaling \$12 billion; only

billion due this year and use that money to pay for imports.

Russian Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaidar said in a commentary in the Financial Times this week that Russia needs imports to "keep production going in factories . . . and to prevent the foreign exchange crisis from driving living standards to intolerable low levels."

He said Russia would pay its debts, but "only if our reforms are given the chance to take hold."

Earlier this week, former president Richard Nixon called the Bush administration's support for the radical reform government in Moscow "pathetically inadequate."

In a four-page essay circulated to friends, Nixon said, "The stakes are high, and we are playing as if it were a penny-ante game."

He added that the West risks "snatching defeat in the cold war from the jaws of victory."

Yesterday President Bush defended his record and denied that there was any rift between him and Nixon.

"There are certain fiscal, financial constraints on what we can do," Bush said at a photo session during a meeting with Republican congressional leaders.

"Certainly we've done a lot in terms of supporting the people that are, that might be afflicted by starvation, real hunger, and similarly on medicine," Bush said.

"So there's a lot of taxpayer money going into this already, most, a lot of it in terms of guarantees for agricultural products, which was their emergency requirement," he said. "And we will do what's right."

"There are certain fiscal, financial constraints on what we can do."

— President Bush

about \$5 billion would be covered by the commitments already made by Western nations for contributions of food and medicine.

Obtaining the remaining \$7 billion could prove difficult, especially from the United States, where the economic slowdown and election-year politics have made Russian aid unpopular.

Secretary of State James A. Baker has said that Washington would consider providing help for a ruble stabilization fund but would not be willing to provide money to help cover the republic's import needs.

Other possible sources of money for the strapped former Soviet republic include Western export credit guarantees, World Bank balance-of-payments support, an IMF standby loan or aid from the Group of Seven major industrial countries.

If Western governments and banks put off principal repayments on debt amassed by the former Soviet Union, Russia could postpone \$3

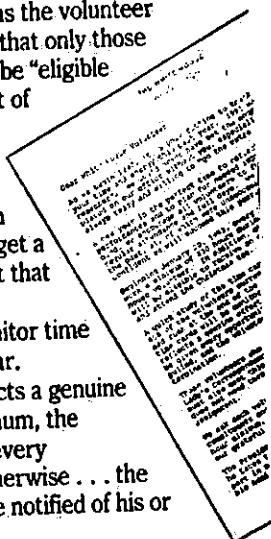
White House Volunteers: Stuff It . . . or Else

■ Seems some White House volunteers are finding that George Bush's "kinder, gentler" approach may not apply to them. A White House letter sent to the 450 volunteers who stuff envelopes and answer phones at the White House warns in unequivocal language that this year they must work a minimum of 250 hours—or take a hike.

C. Dian Moore, who runs the volunteer program, further informs that only those who put in said hours will be "eligible to receive an enlargement of the Christmas card and attend the Christmas tea." And if you think you can squeeze your quota in at the end of the year to get a sip of holiday tea—forget that too. Moore asserts that volunteer police will monitor time cards throughout the year.

"If the time card reflects a genuine effort to meet the minimum, the volunteer will be given every opportunity to do so; otherwise . . . the volunteer will have to be notified of his or her termination."

White House spokesman Gary Foster says that volunteers have always been asked to work one full day a week, which actually amounts to 350 hours a year. Some apparently weren't keeping their commitment, says Foster, and the White House wants to "get people who are dedicated—not just those who want to come in once a month." Hustlers, obviously—looking for Christmas tea.



Ethics Report Shows Bank Scandal's Extent

24 Overdrew Accounts by at Least \$899,000

By Guy Gugliotta
Washington Post Staff Writer

The 24 House members and former members identified as the worst abusers of check-cashing privileges at the House Bank overdrew their accounts by hundreds of thousands of dollars during a 39-month period ending Oct. 3, 1991, an ethics committee report on the bank scandal shows.

The 24—19 current and five former members—ran overdrafts in excess of one month's pay for at least eight months during the period. Three members, the report said, exceeded the limit in more than 30 of the 39 months, and the top offender had overdrafts greater than a month's pay in 35 of 39 months. In all, the 24 offenders exceeded the limit 391 times.

Last week, acting ethics committee Chairman Matthew F. McHugh (D-N.Y.) said the House Bank accepted members' salary deposits in amounts ranging from \$2,300 per month to "close to \$6,000." The variation reflects different deductions and three pay raises that occurred during the period. Using the lowest figure, the 24 major abusers would have overdrawn their accounts by a minimum of \$899,300.

In all, the report described 40 years of member abuse at the bank, and had sharp words for its chain of command—the House leadership, the House Administration Committee and the House sergeant-at-arms—for allowing overdrafts to persist through the years.

The only person singled out by name in the report is House Sergeant-at-Arms Jack Russ, criticized for laxity in remedying bank shortcomings even after they were pointed out to him. For this, the report said, Russ "must accept ultimate responsibility for the bank's management."

The report by the ethics committee, formally known as the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, is the product of a five-month subcommittee investigation

chaired by McHugh. A copy of the report, scheduled for official release today, was examined by The Washington Post.

The report's findings, calling for disclosure of the names of the 24 worst abusers, will be embodied in a resolution that may reach the House floor as early as Thursday. Republican dissenters on the committee will offer a minority report and a second resolution identifying the top 55 abusers and providing some information on the 355 members and former members who wrote at least one bad check during the 39 months.

The 60-page committee report named no House members, reflecting the investigators' determination to code individual accounts so the committee could examine them impartially. A numbered list of the 24 worst cases noted that the first eight were current members. Numbers nine, 10, 16, 17 and 21 were identified as former members. Under terms of the resolution, the 24 abusers will be named 10 days after the committee resolution is passed.

Among the 24, the report said, one member had written 996 bad checks, and all had bounced at least 81. Only five of the 24, however, had overdrafts returned by the bank. In the rest of the cases, the bank covered the overdrafts without penalty to the individual members.

The report confirmed earlier statements by McHugh and other committee members that 296 current members and 59 former members had at least one overdraft in the 39 months covered by the investigation, but discounted reports that members' spouses or a large number of other non-members had abused check-cashing privileges.

Among non-members, the report concluded, the biggest abuser was Russ, who wrote 19 bad checks worth \$56,100 between July 1988 and August 1989. The report said five of the checks were kicked back to Russ, who bounced them a second time. The only other non-member cited by the committee was an

unnamed former bank teller who wrote \$9,138 in bad checks, the report said.

The committee discovered that the bank was covering members' overdrafts as a matter of policy as far back as 1951. The General Accounting Office, charged with auditing the bank, noted in 1954 that some members had overdrawn their accounts by more than a month's pay and "one-third of all active members' accounts" had overdrafts.

In all cases, the GAO remarked, the sergeants-at-arms described the overdrafts as "advances" on the next month's salary, the report said. The bank covered overdrafts and cleared members' accounts when paychecks were deposited at the beginning of the subsequent month.

The report said the GAO consistently warned of the overdrafts in its reports to the Speaker, remarking in 1969 that the number of bounced checks had tripled in 10 years, and noting later that in 1972 alone members had bounced 12,309 checks. In each of the four years 1973-1976, the report said, "well over one-half of the members wrote overdrafts."

Beginning in 1977 the GAO reports were made public and direct criticism of the overdraft system was eliminated. Instead, the report said, the GAO had a "curious ac-

SOME OF THE PERKS OF CONGRESS

■ **The frank:** Letters, packages, newsletters, news releases and other material can be sent with the signature of a member of Congress at taxpayers' expense. It is one of Congress's oldest privileges, adopted in 1775.

■ **Foreign travel:** Members of Congress defend the custom because it provides for fact-finding, oversight of government operations and monitoring of U.S. aid. Critics argue that many trips are unnecessary. Often cited as junkets are annual trips to meetings intended to bring U.S. and foreign legislators together and to events like the Paris International Air Show, where aviation companies display their products.

■ **Official allowances:** In addition to salary, members of Congress receive expense allowances for Washington office clerks, committee legislative assistants, general office expenses and telephones, stationery, office equipment and furnishings, district and state office costs, automated correspondence, audio and video recordings, photography and domestic travel.

■ **Other benefits or discount services:** Life and health insurance, first aid stations, doctors' offices, ambulance service, prescription drugs, library services, underground subway service, surplus books, legislative counsel, legal counsel, chaplains, tax preparation, gymnasiums, swimming pools, exercise rooms, restaurants and dining rooms, merchandise discounts, free parking on Capitol Hill and at Washington-area airports, discount car washes, paint shop, furniture factory, shoe repair, barber and beauty shops, office decorations, airline and railroad ticket offices, radio and television studios and satellite service for broadcasts.

SOURCE: Congressional Quarterly's Guide to Congress

counts receivable line item" labeled "due from members." This item, described in a GAO "note," included all kinds of bad checks, including overdrafts.

The report said the scandal began to emerge in 1988, when the GAO mentioned to Russ that they found that he and a bank employee had cashed a "significant number of bad checks." Russ promised to correct the practice, but did not do so, the report said. The comptroller general then met in late 1989 with newly elected Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.), and Russ subsequently promised a series of reforms.

In February 1990, however, the GAO published an audit sharply critical of the overdraft practices, leading to a spurt of news coverage and prompting Foley's office to call on Russ to tighten up bank operations immediately. Throughout the final phase of the bank scandal, the report said, Russ was called upon to act, but "necessary reforms were either not implemented, or were pursued in a half-hearted and untimely fashion."

Finally, on Sept. 18, 1991, the GAO filed its last bank audit detailing further repeated abuses and describing thousands of bounced checks. On Oct. 3, the House voted to close the bank by year's end and ordered the ethics committee to investigate.

Who's Afraid of the Arts?

TAMPA, Fla.—Former chairman John Frohn-mayer of the National Endowment for the Arts will undoubtedly find another job, and Sid Yates will probably figure out how to keep the funding going. But the battering the arts agency has taken in this campaign is no joke.

When Patrick J. Buchanan decided to steal a leaf from Jesse Helms's playbook and add the anti-pornography theme to his know-nothing campaign against President Bush, the administration's craven response was to dump Frohn-mayer from his job as head of the arts funding agency. Predictably, the capitulation only encouraged Buchanan to step up his attack on the NEA. And on television Sunday, Republican National Chairman Richard Bond said he might urge the president just to abolish the agency.

Other usually sensible people are saying the same thing. But it's a bad idea, and if the politicians won't speak up in behalf of the arts, then maybe a newspaperman has to try.

The NEA spent \$175 million last year. That is less than two one-hundredths of one percent of the federal budget. Of that sum—which is the most Rep. Sidney Yates of Illinois, the appropriations subcommittee chairman, can get for his favorite agency—only a handful of grants involving a pitifully few thousand dollars have come under fire from NEA's critics.

Nearly all the money has gone to help main-

"Rarely do I see politicians and elected officials ... among those taking in an exhibition, a concert or a show."

stream institutions carry forward the kind of arts projects and programs that communities, schools and citizens show by their own support that they deeply value. With its state and local affiliates, NEA has made it possible for millions of Americans to see great art exhibits, hear stirring music and meet face-to-face with writers, artists and musicians.

The prospect that all this will be sacrificed because craven politicians cannot stand up to a bully-boy presidential candidate and the right-wing fund-raiser/lobbyists who love to exploit this issue is appalling.

I would have more confidence that they won't capitulate if I thought that many of the politicians shared Yates's own appreciation of the arts. But that is not my impression.

I do not want to level a blanket charge of philistinism against the government of the United States. One Sunday afternoon, I remember seeing Sen. Nancy Kassebaum of Kansas taking a friend through the Vuillard show at the Phillips Gallery. Rep. John Conyers Jr. loves both African art and the Smithsonian Jazz Orchestra. Sen.

Pat Moynihan and his wife, Liz, whose children are art and theater professionals, are regulars at the Folger's Shakespearean productions. Secretary of Education Lamar Alexander, House Minority Leader Bob Michel, Rep. David Obey of Wisconsin—and, I'm sure, many others—are talented amateur musicians themselves.

But although Washington is blessed with a rich menu of art, theater and music, rarely do I see the politicians and elected officials I make my living covering among those taking in an exhibition, a concert or a show.

The tendency in Washington is to value everything in terms of power. The capacity to touch people's imaginations and stir their souls, which is the realm of the arts, is devalued. If you gave most of the members of Congress a choice between dinner with the conductor of the National Symphony and the assistant director of the Federal Highway Administration, they'd pass up Mstislav Rostropovich and deal with the guy who has dollars to spend.

To pit people like these—and a president who goes out of his way to pretend he has cowpoke

tastes—against the self-appointed purity cops looks like a mismatch to me. The idea that public funds should go only for pictures you'd want on your kitchen wall and poetry you can recite in the sixth grade is popular—but wrong.

Of course, some of the stuff the NEA funds is offensive—to me, or you or somebody else. But the notion that this nation will be damaged or degraded by a single subsidized sculpture or sonnet is a neurotic confession of distrust in ourselves. The audience for outrageous experimental arts is tiny; more people saw that homosexual film in Buchanan's TV ads than ever would have seen the original. What are we so afraid of?

As for that famous argument that "I don't want my tax dollars going to pay for..." whatever, the answer is clear. I don't want my tax dollars going to soldiers who kill their comrades with "friendly fire" or to cops who punch out a manacled suspect—but I don't therefore favor abolishing the police force or shutting down the Pentagon.

Bureaucracies make mistakes. The NEA has made fewer than most. But a nation that cannot afford to finance its arts—even the occasionally tasteless or offensive variety—is a nation that has lost its perspective, its self-confidence and probably its soul.

Keeping the U.S. First Pentagon Would Preclude a Rival Superpower

By Barton Gellman
Washington Post Staff Writer

In a classified blueprint intended to help "set the nation's direction for the next century," the Defense Department calls for concerted efforts to preserve American global military supremacy and to thwart the emergence of a rival superpower in Europe, Asia or the former Soviet Union.

The 46-page memorandum describes itself as "definitive guidance from the Secretary of Defense" for preparation of defense budgets for fiscal 1994 through 1999. It defies the predictions of some outside analysts that the Pentagon would relax resistance to further budget cuts after the turmoil of the election year.

Instead it mounts a detailed argument for maintaining the current "base force" of 1.6 million active-duty troops to the end of the decade and beyond.

Though noting that "the passing of the Cold War reduces pressure for U.S. military involvement in every potential regional or local conflict," the document argues not only for preserving but expanding the most demanding American com-

mitments and for resisting efforts by key allies to provide their own security.

In particular, the document raises the prospects of "a unilateral U.S. defense guarantee" to Eastern Europe, "preferably in cooperation with other NATO states," and contemplates use of American military power to preempt or punish use of nuclear, biological or chemical weapons, "even in conflicts that otherwise do not directly engage U.S. interests."

The memo was drafted under supervision of Paul Wolfowitz, undersecretary for policy. Although it is not supplied to Congress and was not intended for public release, the document represents a response at the highest levels of the Pentagon to a growing call in the American political debate for retrenchment from commitments abroad. First reported Sunday in the New York Times, it provides the rationale for U.S. involvement around the world as "a constant fixture" in an era of fundamental change.

The central strategy of the Pentagon framework is to "establish

See DEFENSE, A4, Col. 1

Pentagon Plan Aims to Preclude Emergence of a Rival Superpower

DEFENSE, From A1

and protect a new order" that accounts "sufficiently for the interests of the advanced industrial nations to discourage them from challenging our leadership," while at the same time maintaining a military dominance capable of "detering potential competitors from even aspiring to a larger regional or global role."

"While the U.S. cannot become the world's 'policeman,' by assuming responsibility for righting every wrong, we will retain the preeminent 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," the document states.

Much of the document parallels the extensive public statements of Defense Secretary Richard B. Cheney and Gen. Colin L. Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Believing this year's defense debate is a pivotal moment in development of a post-Cold War security framework, the two men have given unusually detailed briefings to Congress of the rationale for the force they designed after collapse of the Warsaw Pact in late 1989.

Like their public statements, the classified memo emphasizes the virtues of collective action and the central U.S. interest in promoting increased respect for international law and "the spread of democratic forms of government and open economic systems."

Also like their public statements,

the document describes a reorientation of U.S. defenses away from the threat of global war with the former Soviet Union and toward potential regional conflicts.

But the new memo gives central billing to U.S. efforts to prevent emergence of a rival superpower, a diplomatically sensitive subject that has not been prominent in public debate.

That objective, the document states, "is a dominant consideration underlying the new regional defense strategy and requires that we endeavor to prevent any hostile power from dominating a region whose resources would, under consolidated control, be sufficient to generate global power. These regions include Western Europe, East Asia, the territory of the former Soviet Union and Southwest Asia."

Distributed Feb. 18 to military service chiefs and secretaries, the commanders in chief of worldwide military theaters and other top Pentagon officials, the memorandum is a nearly final draft of this year's long overdue "Defense Planning Guidance," the defense secretary's cornerstone statement of policy and strategy.

Senior officials said the document has not been given final approval by Wolfowitz or Cheney.

But they acknowledged that both had played substantial roles in the document's creation and endorsed its principal views. "This is not the piano player in the whorehouse," one official said.

The policy plan restates support for a set of seven classified scenar-



PAUL WOLFOWITZ
... supervised drafting of memo

ios prepared by the Pentagon describing hypothetical roads to war by the end of the century. Those scenarios, reported late last month by the New York Times and Washington Post, included an American-led defense of Lithuania and Poland from invasion by Russia, wars against Iraq and North Korea to repel attacks on their southern neighbors and smaller-scale interventions in Panama and the Philippines.

The scenarios came under congressional attack by political figures in both parties, and senior defense officials then suggested that they might be revised or abandoned.

Air Force Secretary Donald B. Rice, for example, said in an interview that the scenario set "was a

staff product. It was just about to be circulated for higher level review, and it could have benefited from that review."

The new document, by contrast, directs military services and defense agencies to measure their purchasing and training decisions against the requirements of the war scenarios.

The services are told, for example, to buy enough "threat-oriented munitions"—such as missiles, bombs and artillery shells—to provide 80 percent confidence that they would destroy 80 percent of the expected targets "in the two most demanding Major Regional Conflict scenarios."

Among Democrats on Capitol Hill, the policy memorandum has already come under bitter attack. Sen. Robert C. Byrd (D-W.Va.), an advocate of deep cuts in defense spending to pay for domestic needs, called the Pentagon strategy "myopic, shallow and disappointing."

"The basic thrust of the document seems to be this: We love being the sole remaining superpower in the world and we want so much to remain that way that we are willing to put at risk the basic health of our economy and well-being of our people to do so," he said.

Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-Del.), attacking what he said was the document's emphasis on unilateral action, ridiculed it as "literally a Pax Americana. . . . It won't work. You can be the world superpower and still be unable to maintain peace throughout the world."

Senior Pentagon officials angrily

disputed the charge, first made in Sunday's New York Times, that the new strategy was "the clearest rejection to date of collective internationalism."

They cited the document's pledge, on its first page, to "continue to support and protect those bilateral, multilateral, international or regionally based institutions, processes and relationships which afford us opportunities to share responsibility for global and regional security."

"What is just dead wrong is this notion of a sole superpower dominating the rest of the world," a ranking defense official said. "The main thrust of what the secretary has to say and what that draft also says is that the key to maintaining the rather benign environment we have today is sustaining the democratic alliances we've shaped over 40 years."

Harold Brown, a former defense secretary, agreed in an interview yesterday that there is no contradiction between collective security and desirability of maintaining the United States as the world's strongest military power.

"Take the Persian Gulf situation," he said. "That was clearly a collective security arrangement but it clearly wouldn't have happened if the U.S. hadn't taken the lion's share, by which I mean almost all, of the military burden. That is a demonstration of how you can have both at the same time."

Academic criticism of the new strategy centered, by contrast, on its treatment of Russia. Michael Mandelbaum, a foreign policy analyst at Johns Hopkins University, argued that the logic of preventing

reemergence of a hostile superpower suggests "far greater involvement in the economy and democratization of the Russians and the Ukrainians."

But in the current political debate, he said, "giving them money seems to be a taboo word."

Cheney has spoken in glowing terms of potential U.S.-Russian friendship "if democracy matures," even suggesting the possibility of combined military action against regional aggressors.

But he has also expressed skepticism that the United States or Western Europe possesses any great influence over Russia's internal development.

The new strategy describes a delicate balance between supporting the former Soviet republics "in their efforts to become peaceful democracies with market based economies" and the need to "hedge against the possibility that democracy will fail."

"Our strategic challenge," the memo states, "is to construct the security hedges against democratic failure in such a way that we do not . . . increase the likelihood of a democratic failure."

In that context, Brown and others also criticized the document's suggestion that the United States or NATO might extend security guarantees to Eastern Europe, describing it as provocative of Russian nationalism and ignoring "the same grave danger of nuclear war" that prevented Western intervention there for 45 years.

Staff writer John Lancaster contributed to this report.

Birthday Bash Excitement Divides on Party Lines

Democrats Urge Bipartisan Bicentennial

By Mary Jordan
Washington Post Staff Writer

With many Americans in no mood to celebrate Capitol Hill leaders, Democrats have decided to throw themselves a party.

According to a bill to be introduced today by Rep. Charlie Rose (D-N.C.), Democrats want to form a 20-member commission to raise money for a national, Democratic Party birthday bash. On May 13, the party founded by Thomas Jefferson will be 200 years old.

This, Rose says, deserves attention.

"The problems with the post office, the checks or the restaurants" is a "momentary glitch on the history of the legislative branch," said Rose, who envisions "events, activities and studies" commemorating the Democratic milestone.

However, some Republicans are not itching to don their dancing shoes for such a gala.

Before the final tributes to John F. Kennedy, FDR, and Jefferson are over, the Republicans say, the Democratic partymakers will have run up a bill even the House bank wouldn't cover.

"Obviously, this is an attempt by the Democrats to get the imprimatur of the government on behalf of the Democratic Party and we are against it," said Tony Blankley, spokesman for House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.).

"They laughingly say it will have no cost," said Blankley. "There will be 20 people, presumably they will need offices. There will be public service spots on TV. Somehow all of this is not going to happen for nothing," he said.

Not so, counter Rose and Sen. Terry Sanford, (D-N.C.) who sponsored a corresponding bill in the Senate, which passed last November.

The Democratic Party birthday commission (officially called the Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States' Democratic Party)—unlike other short-term commissions that seem interminable—would be short-lived. By law, it will disperse on Feb. 13, 1993, according to the House bill. It would require no government funds, but

rely on private donors. "The commission is authorized to accept donations of money, personal services, and property related to the commemoration of the Democratic Party," the Rose resolution reads.

But Blankley said he doesn't believe taxpayers want "hundreds of thousands of dollars, even millions" of private money spent celebrating a party that has "marvelous history but no future."

Rose, already "disappointed" by his Republican colleagues who refused to pass his bill by unanimous consent, said he is further disheartened that Gingrich and others cannot "lay down their partisan swords even for a minute to wish the party 'Happy Birthday.'"

Lest people forget the Democratic Party is the "party of the working men and women, the laborers, the farmers, the party of Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy and Carter," this bill should be passed, said Rose.

Sanford, who said "gracious Republicans" in the Senate allowed his bill to sail through, has "been surprised at the pettiness that has emerged in the House."

Gingrich, he said, is a "very negative kind of person" anyway. Still, he says, those of his mindset in the House are overlooking the fact that the birthday of what is now the Democratic Party, and what was once called the Republican Party, is really the anniversary of the beginning of the party system.

"It's a great historic event regardless of what party you are in. . . . This is the beginning of real democracy," the Sanford said.

Today's GOP didn't emerge until 1854, 62 years after the predecessor of the Democratic Party was born.

"Whether or not there will be a whole lot of activity [about the bicentennial], I cannot say," said Sanford, who along with other Democrats disputes the Republican estimates over how much private money the commemoration would cost. "But I think we should make people aware of it."

Or at least, as the bill says, the celebration should remind people of why the party was born: "to guarantee that complaints against the government could be redressed."

Tsongas Lays Claim To 'Silver Medal'

By Christopher B. Daly
Special to The Washington Post

LOWELL, Mass., March 10

Claiming to be happy with his silver medal Super Tuesday performance, Democratic presidential candidate Paul E. Tsongas came home to put the best face on today's results and renew his criticism of his chief rival, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton.

Tsongas, who appeared drained and sometimes groping for a winning line, greeted about 1,000 cheering hometown supporters and said that, despite losses in the major primaries today, he had reason to celebrate.

"Super Tuesday was meant to eliminate somebody like me. Well, I'm still here," Tsongas said, breaking into a broad smile. "We had a silver-medal strategy, and every place in the South we won the silver medal," Tsongas said. "Bill Clinton did not win the silver medal in my part of the country."

In his remarks, Tsongas tried out a number of themes, and even claimed to be the Democrat with the most international support. "When we won New Hampshire, they said I was just a regional candidate. No more. Let me tell you the states I've won outside my region: Washington, Utah, Maryland, Arizona and yesterday Americans abroad. And I have an Ethiopian delegation behind me to prove it. So we're not regional. We went national, then yesterday we went international."

Tsongas lashed out at Clinton, accusing him of pandering to the American people by advocating a middle-class tax cut, among other things.

"Well, I'm going to tell you something, Bill Clinton. You're not going to pander your way into the White House as long as I'm around."

Tsongas also leveled a similar charge against President Bush, saying that Bush had failed to confront the "hard choices" facing the nation. "We have a president who will say anything to get elected—and has done so. We as Democrats have to be an alternative," Tsongas said.

The former Massachusetts senator spoke briefly at a hotel in Lowell that is an emblem of the economic rebirth that Tsongas helped bring to his hometown and promises to repeat in the big industrial states that hold primaries in coming weeks. Tsongas is off to Chicago in the morning, and his aides argue that the schedule now favors him.

Deputy campaign manager Dennis Newman, offering the Tsongas campaign's interpretation of today's voting results, noted that six of the Super Tuesday states bordered Clinton's home state of Arkansas and insisted that the contests in Illinois and Michigan will help boost the campaign's fund-raising.

After Tsongas left the stage, his wife, Niki, lingered to pose for photos and sign autographs in a ballroom decorated in the campaign colors of green and blue. Pointedly, she carried with her a panda.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1992

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE CANDIDATES

PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY EXIT POLL RESULTS
(FLORIDA, LOUISIANA, MISSISSIPPI, TENNESSEE AND TEXAS COMBINED)

The first column of numbers is labeled % Voters. Numbers in that column add down the column for each question. For example, 23% of Democrats who voted in Democratic primaries in the South said that they would vote for George Bush in November, 50% for Paul Tsongas and 17% Won't Vote.

The remaining columns represent the percentage of a category who voted for each of the listed candidates, and those numbers are to be read across the row. For example, of the 23% of Democrats who said they will vote for George Bush in November, 62% voted for Clinton, 17% for Tsongas and 10% for Brown in the primary. Those numbers add up to less than 100% because not all candidates are listed.

ASKED ONLY OF DEMOCRATS

	% Voters	Clinton	Tsongas	Brown
Q If these are the choices in November, will you vote for:				
A:				
George Bush	23%	62%	17%	10%
Paul Tsongas	50	52	35	9
Won't vote	17	87	1	7
B:				
George Bush	19	33	41	12
Bill Clinton	70	77	14	6
Won't vote	5	13	45	25

Q Which describes you best?

I am satisfied with my party's candidate for president	56	70	19	7
I would like to see someone else enter the race	39	55	26	11

Q Regardless of how you voted today, are you concerned about Paul Tsongas's ability to serve effectively as president because he had cancer?

Yes	19	77	9	8
No	77	59	26	9

Q Did Bill Clinton's actions regarding his Vietnam draft status make your opinion of him:

More favorable	8	75	10	9
Less favorable	19	33	45	12
Have no effect on my opinion	70	71	18	8

Q For a Democratic candidate, do you think Paul Tsongas:

Is too pro-business	23	77	6	12
Has the right economic views	41	42	46	8
Is too anti-business	15	83	5	7

ASKED ONLY OF REPUBLICANS

	% Voters	Bush	Buchanan	Duke
Q If these are the choices in November, will you vote for:				
George Bush	80%	81%	16%	2%
The Democrat	12	18	73	3
Won't vote	3	3	76	10

Q Regardless of how you voted today, has either of these candidates given you a clear idea of what he stands for?

Buchanan has	20	19	76	3
Bush has	41	97	2	1
Neither has	20	59	29	6
Both have	15	75	21	3

Q Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as president?

Approve	62	93	5	1
Disapprove	34	26	65	4

Q Was George Bush breaking his "no new taxes" promise a very important factor in your vote today?

Yes	32	35	57	5
No	65	86	11	2

Q Do you feel either of these candidates is prejudiced against minorities?

Patrick Buchanan	18	92	5	1
George Bush	3	48	49	2
Both are prejudiced	7	48	41	5
Neither is prejudiced	65	65	31	3

NOTE: Data show adjusted exit poll results for 6,741 Democrats and 5,308 Republicans randomly selected at the polls through 9:45 p.m. (EST) Tuesday, March 10. Final percentages may differ slightly. Poll results were provided by Voter Research and Surveys of New York, an association of ABC, CNN, CBS and NBC News. Margin of sampling error for overall results is plus or minus 1 percentage point. Results based on part of the sample will have larger margins of error. Interviewing was conducted by Chilton Research of Radnor, Pa.

Compiled by Senior Polling Analyst Sharon Warden

Working on Both Sides Of Incumbency Street

Two Illinois Politicians Poised to Survive

By Edward Walsh
Washington Post Staff Writer

CHICAGO, March 10—It has been a performance worthy of the Wizard of Oz. From his office on North Franklin Street here, where the elevated train tracks serve as a kind of figurative curtain, political consultant David Axelrod is busily waging war on the corrupt ways of Washington insiders.

"I'm about to break the rules," says a distinguished looking gray-haired man in one Axelrod ad created for television. "I'm running for the United States Senate where the rules say that you have to be everybody's pal, sell yourself to the special interests and tap dance around the tough issues. . . . If you're fed up like I am, then let's break the rules."

From the same office, Axelrod is just as busy reminding voters of the rewards of being on the inside.

"I went to Congress with one thing in mind—to fight for Chicago and for ways to ease the burden on working families and retirees," says a gravelly voiced man in an Axelrod radio ad. "Now I'm in a position to lead that fight."

These are the two sides of Incumbency Street, and Axelrod's clients are working both. The gray-haired man, invariably pictured in a crisp white shirt and red tie, is Al Hofeld, a millionaire personal-injury lawyer who has spent \$3 million of his personal fortune trying to unseat Sen. Alan J. Dixon (D-Ill.) in the Illinois Democratic primary next Tuesday. Not a "career politician" like Dixon, he

When the gravelly voiced man stands up to the representatives of big-money interests, they are often on a golf course. He is Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.), chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, a product of Chicago machine politics and part of the House Democratic majority since 1959. His promises are simple. He has delivered jobs, projects and federal money to his district and the city and will continue to do so from his powerful position on Capitol Hill.

Rostenkowski appears headed for an impressive primary victory against Dick Simpson, a former Chicago alderman and veteran of the "reform" movement in local politics.

When the year began, Dixon and Rostenkowski looked like prime candidates for the Endangered Incumbents list. They have totaled more than 80 years in public office, not necessarily an advantage amid growing voter disgust and anger with politics and politicians.

Dixon had to worry about Hofeld's millions financing a barrage of negative advertising. Rostenkowski had to worry about facing an experienced campaigner in a redrawn district, about 60 percent of it new territory for him, and lingering problems among senior citizens still angry about his role in crafting ill-fated catastrophic health insurance legislation that was later repealed.

That these two veteran politicians appear poised to survive their toughest primary challenges in an anti-incumbent climate does not mean that other incumbents can relax. If anything, their campaigns illustrate that incumbents can take nothing for granted this year.

"Any incumbent who gets reelected this year is going to have a moist brow," said Axelrod, whose role as architect of Hofeld's assault on Dixon and Rostenkowski's defense against Simpson gives him an unusual vantage point.

Incumbents used to be considered "innocent unless proven guilty" but not this year, agreed Geoffrey Garin, Dixon's Washington-based pollster.

"Incumbents are going to have to work a lot harder," he said. "The ones who don't figure this out are going to get some nasty surprises."

Dixon figured it out. In a campaign that started on a low level and has descended since then, he countered Hofeld's attempts to portray him as "owned by the special interests" with commercials suggesting that Hofeld opposed a federal investigation of corruption in the Cook County

judicial system that has resulted in dozens of convictions.

The political beneficiary of the enormously expensive Dixon-Hofeld media war has been Braun, a protege of the late Chicago mayor Harold Washington and the first black to win election to executive office in the Cook County government. A Chicago Tribune poll published Sunday put her second with 28 percent of the vote, 10 percentage points behind Dixon and 10 ahead of Hofeld. A Chicago Sun-Times poll published Monday gave Dixon 44 percent, Hofeld 23 and Braun 22.

But Braun's poorly financed campaign has run no television commercials and has been plagued by organizational problems. In a debate here Sunday night, in a perhaps inadvertent display of incumbent solidarity against the self-proclaimed "outsider," Braun joined Dixon in ganging up on Hofeld, whom she described as "a product of his media handlers . . . the test-tube candidacy."

Rostenkowski also has taken nothing for granted. He signaled his seriousness in January by not making his annual golfing trip to the Bob Hope Classic in Palm Springs, Calif. "Sure I was invited," he told reporters, "[but] I'm not going to any golf tournaments until after" the primary.

Rostenkowski, who led Simpson by more than 2 to 1 in a Chicago Tribune poll published last week, also hired Axelrod, whose media campaign has stressed Rostenkowski's support by senior citizen organizations and his ability to shower federal largesse on the city.

"There is something wrong with a system of analysis that says every incumbent is of equal value," Axelrod said in defense of his role as hired gun for Hofeld the outsider and Rostenkowski the entrenched incumbent. "I don't believe Alan Dixon delivers for Illinois."

If Dixon wins, he will still face a potentially tough challenge in November from Republican Richard Williamson, a Chicago lawyer and former Reagan and Bush administration official.

Rostenkowski faces only token GOP opposition in the fall but at least it is someone who understands the spirit of the times. In his filing with election board officials, the Republican listed his name as Elias R. "Non-incumbent" Zenkich.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1992

*When the year
began, Dixon and
Rostenkowski
looked like prime
candidates for the
Endangered
Incumbents list.*

has never held public office. He has promised to serve only two terms if elected and to "stand up to the big-money" interests in Washington.

Hofeld appears headed for what could be an embarrassingly large defeat in a three-way primary race with Dixon and Carol Moseley Braun, Cook County recorder of deeds.

Rowland Evans
And Robert Novak

The Perils Of Bashing Pat Buchanan

The demonization of Patrick J. Buchanan as a race-baiting, antisemitic fascist, spread by colleagues in the Republican Party and the conservative movement, is based on dubious analysis of his past record and his present campaign.

What started as an onslaught by journalists and Democrats has been picked up by Republican establishment stalwarts who share President Bush's anger over being forced to run in primaries. William J. Bennett, a Reagan and Bush Cabinet member, says Buchanan is "flirting with fascism." Rep. Newt Gingrich calls him "an extremist who is closer to David Duke." Republican National Chairman Rich Bond denounces him for "race-baiting."

These assaults not only harden Buchanan's determination to remain a candidate and threaten Bush's alienation of voters on the right but also inhibit the president's ability to employ social issues against the Democrats. What makes this so self-destructive for the conservative cause is that the collective tantrum against Buchanan is based on half-truths and just plain untruths.

The latest and most serious provocation was a New York Times report that Buchanan on March 2 "looked out at" about two dozen Jewish hecklers in Marietta, Ga., and told them, "This is a rally of Americans, by Americans and for the good old U.S.A." That enraged Bennett, who the next night suggested Buchanan might be "antisemitic in his heart." Bond has embellished the story (saying Buchanan "kind of sneered" at the protesters) and questioned "whether or not Pat was deliberately trying to antagonize those Jewish demonstrators by implying that they weren't Americans."

One impeccably conservative Republican of Jewish faith was so outraged on reading this that he told us the incident might make it impossible for Bush to accept Buchanan as a supporter in the general election. Even the confidence of some Buchanan supporters was shaken by what is alleged to have happened in Marietta.

But did it really happen that way? We could not find it reported in any other newspaper, and the reason becomes clear when the tape is viewed. It is doubtful Buchanan is talking to the protesters—an impression confirmed by reporters on the scene who did not question the candidate about it after the incident.

A Feb. 29 account in The Washington Post, asking whether Buchanan is courting racial bias, notes that in a rally at Ellijay, Ga., the challenger said Washington was a nice southern town "before all that crowd came rolling in and took it over." The implication is that he meant blacks, but reporters at the rally are clear that Buchanan was referring to the liberal establishment that took over the nation's capital.

Columnist Charles Krauthammer's attack on Buchanan for "fascistic" instincts, virtually endorsed by Bennett, cites a 15-year-old Buchanan column shown to praise Adolf Hitler as "an individual of great courage." In fact, the burden of the column was a plea for the statesmen of 1977 not to follow the appeasement of their predecessors in 1937 who failed to see "Hitler was marching along the road toward a New Order where Western civilization would not survive."

Antisemitic comments have belatedly been reported as made by Buchanan at a heated meeting in 1986 with American Jewish leaders protesting President Reagan's visit to the Bitburg cemetery in Germany. Nobody present can verify those remarks, including several who have been quoted to that effect.

Gingrich's attack on Buchanan's television commercials in Georgia surrenders the conservative social position on quotas and the National Endowment for the Arts. The House Republican whip contradicts the real opinion of his closest colleagues by saying that the measure finally signed by Bush is not a quota bill. On the NEA, Gingrich claims an offensive film cited by Buchanan was funded during the Reagan administration when it actually was financed in much greater degree by the Bush administration.

On March 3, when Gingrich agreed that Jews would have to consider Buchanan antisemitic, he was ignoring what Buchanan has been saying during the campaign. In an interview with Allan Ryskind of Human Events, Buchanan affirmed a "moral commitment . . . to guarantee the security and survival of the Israeli state." His bashers also ignore that Buchanan has pointed out that American Jews have suffered most from quotas over the course of American history. Buchanan's "antisemitism" actually is tied to his disagreement with the Israeli government's current policies.

That Buchanan bashing is both slanderous and a political mistake is asserted by one of Washington's most outspoken politicians: ex-Reagan campaign manager Ed Rollins, who supports Bush over Buchanan. "I don't think that Pat is any of the things that they [his Republican critics] have made him out to be," Rollins told us. "They've got to do business with him and his supporters."

HIGHLIGHTS

- A Billy Graham special on WTTG.
- "Young Indiana Jones" and other lineup changes on WJLA.
- "Soul Train Music Awards" on WDCA.

Public Broadcasting

Big Band Ballroom Bash (CC). Juliet Prowse and Bobby Short host a variety special with ballroom dancers and music by the Artie Shaw Orchestra (Channel 26 at approx. 8).

Religion Special

Billy Graham Crusade. "Why the Cross" (Channel 5 at 9 p.m.).

Music Awards

Soul Train Music Awards. The awards ceremony is hosted by Luther Vandross, Patti LaBelle, Will Smith and Vanessa Williams; taped. Two hours (Channel 20 at 8 p.m.).

Series

Unsolved Mysteries (R) (CC). Cases include the allegedly haunted St. James Hotel in New Mexico (Channel 4 at 8).

The Wonder Years (CC). Kevin clashes with his dad over his grades and his worship of a high school basketball star (Channel 7 at 8).

Davis Rules (CC). Gwen's ex-fiance tries to rekindle their relationship (Channel 9 at 8).

Doogie Howser, M.D. (CC) believes the feeling is mutual when he is attracted to Nurse Spaulding (Channel 7, 8:30).

Brooklyn Bridge (CC). Part II of two. Tempers flare when Alan admits to Phyllis that he doesn't want to attend the Bronx High School of Science (Channel 9, 8:30).

Seinfeld (R) (CC). George accidentally has a busboy fired, and Elaine spends some time with an old boyfriend (Channel 4 at 9).

Young Indiana Jones Chronicles (CC). Now in its regular timeslot; Indie falls in love with a young suffragist while waiting to join the Belgian army in 1916 (Channel 7 at 9).

Jake and the Fatman (CC). McCabe assigns a rock star's friend to track down the singer's potential killer (Channel 9 at 9).

Night Court (R) (CC). Bull and Wanda are on the brink of engagement (Channel 4, 9:30).

Quantum Leap (CC). Sam leaps into the life of a controversial talk show host in Destiny, N.M. (Channel 4 at 10).

Homefront (CC). The town of River Run awaits news of Sarah's survival chances after the shooting (Channel 7 at 10).

48 Hours (CC). "Survival of the Wildest" explores efforts to save endangered animal species (Channel 9 at 10).

Thursday Morning

Good Morning America (CC). With Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz and a report on being fitted for a hearing aid (Channel 7 at 7).

CBS This Morning (CC). With singer Debbie Gibson and actress Patricia Wettig (Channel 9 at 7).

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WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1992

Senate Takes Up Tax Debate as Bush Maps Next Strategy

By MICHEL MCQUEEN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—The Senate began debate on a tax package that President Bush has vowed to veto, while the White House started mapping out its strategy for the next round of confrontation with Congress.

Senate Democrats hope to complete action on the bill this week and send the measure to the president by the March 20 deadline he set out in his State of the Union address. The House passed its version late last month.

Meanwhile, top White House officials yesterday began internal discussions on ways to maximize the political advantage from the confrontation. It is likely that President Bush will send Congress a revised package that combines tax cuts aimed at business—his so-called short-term measures—with tax cuts aimed at families, along with other proposals the administration views as long-term remedies. A revised proposal would be intended to blunt criticism that Mr. Bush abandoned his commitment to an annual \$500 personal exemption for children shortly after he proposed it.

At the urging of conservatives, Mr. Bush also is mulling several risky moves in an effort to assert executive authority over the budget, such as attempting a line item veto without congressional authorization or proposing that lawmakers rescind already approved appropriations for programs Mr. Bush considers wasteful.

In a series of campaign addresses last week, Mr. Bush vowed repeatedly to veto the Democratic version of the tax plan he originally proposed. GOP lawmakers who met with Mr. Bush yesterday suggested they might even boycott a conference to reconcile the House and Senate versions to highlight their distaste for the bill. Senate Republicans also said they will offer amendments to include the \$500 personal exemption for children, to be paid for out of defense spending, that Mr. Bush proposed but didn't include in his initial tax package.

"The Democrats want to spend this money," said Republican Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas. "I don't want them to spend it. I want to either use it for deficit reduction or let families have it."

Yesterday, Mr. Bush met with about 15 southern Democrats to urge them to uphold provisions in the current budget law that bar cuts in defense spending from being used to increase domestic spending.

Hard Line on Israeli Loan Guarantees Reflects Public's Election-Year Mood

By ROBERT S. GREENBERGER

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—It was an offer Israeli Ambassador Zalman Shoval thought Secretary of State James Baker would find irresistible.

For the first time, Israel would bow to U.S. pressure and limit the expansion of its settlements in the occupied territories. In return, the Bush administration would agree to provide the \$10 billion in loan guarantees Israel desperately needs to help it resettle Jews from the former Soviet Union.

To Mr. Shoval's amazement, Mr. Baker quickly shot down the proposal, made in secret last month at the latest talks by the two diplomats. At a recent news conference, Mr. Shoval—without disclosing the nature of the Israeli proposal—complained that "all the compromises proposed so far are emanating from Israel." The U.S., the Israelis charge, has continually raised the ante for Israeli concessions and seems uninterested in making a deal.

The Israelis are right. The administration's increasingly hard-line stance on the loan guarantees reflects a private calculation that the U.S. election-year political climate is so hostile to foreign aid in general—and to the Israeli deal in particular—that the president won't budge unless Israel basically capitulates to his terms.

"Bush and Baker are better off politically if they don't accept a deal on this," says James Reichley, a political scientist who recently retired as a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution. "The public will support them. Aid to Israel just isn't a highly salient issue with most of the public."

What's more, President Bush and Mr. Baker are further calculating that by turning up the heat on Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, they can affect the course of Mr. Shamir's own re-election test in June—convincing Israeli voters that they will do better if they elect a more moderate government.

There is still a chance that Mr. Baker could make a last-minute deal with Israel. The secretary of state returns from a European trip tonight and is expected to discuss the loan guarantees later this week with President Bush and also with key lawmakers, who are trying to forge a compromise that would be acceptable to the U.S. and Israel.

But unless such a deal emerges shortly—and few think it will—it seems more likely that any further serious discussion of the issue will be put off at least until Mr. Bush is free of the anti-foreign aid "America First" campaign of GOP rival Pat Buchanan, and possibly even until after the U.S. presidential elections in November.

The latest Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll gives Mr. Bush ample reason to be in no hurry to deal with the issue. The nationwide poll of registered voters showed that only 13% favor giving Israel the loan guarantees outright, as it has requested; 32% back the president's stance of putting conditions on the deal, and 49% oppose the guarantees under any circumstances.

The administration's stand on what Israel considers a humanitarian issue has embittered relations between the two nations and between the administration and U.S. Jews. Adding fuel to the fire was a recent unconfirmed report that Mr. Baker, during a private conversation, used an expletive to dismiss any concerns over the loss of Jewish voters.

The State Department has denied that report.

For Mr. Bush, the domestic U.S. political situation dovetails with his desire to keep Mr. Shamir's feet to the fire. Both he and Mr. Baker are sour on the Israeli prime minister and are inclined to extract as high a price as possible from him.

The desire to punish Mr. Shamir politically only adds to U.S. unwillingness to deal. Any U.S. concessions on the terms

Just Say No?

Percentages of U.S. voters who think the U.S.:

Should provide the \$10 billion loan guarantees to Israel

13%

Should provide the guarantees only if Israel stops building new settlements

32%

Shouldn't provide the guarantees under any circumstances

49%

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL/NBC NEWS POLL

would surely bolster Mr. Shamir's election chances: The Israeli prime minister would be able to brag that he stood up to the Americans, was tough with his Arab negotiating partners and still got the aid he sought. At the same time, if Mr. Shamir gives in to the U.S. to secure the guarantees, he will be attacked by his right-wing constituency, which already is calling for him to walk away from the stringent U.S. terms.

Some U.S. officials, meanwhile, suggest that the controversy over the loan-guarantee request may permanently change the rules of the game for getting foreign aid through Congress. The traditional view has been that aid to Israel, pushed by the pro-Israel lobby, was the locomotive that pulled foreign-aid legislation. But, says a senior U.S. official, "Bush and Baker may have decided that the locomotive argument has reached the end of the line."

GOP Is Seeking More Disclosure Of Check Abuse

By JEFFREY H. BURNBAUM
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—The controversy over bad checks at the now-defunct House Bank is threatening to spread like a political wildfire as Republicans press to disclose more than twice the number of "abusers" that the Democratic leadership recommends.

The Republican minority on the House Ethics Committee is seeking to disclose the names of 55 lawmakers who they contend abused the House facility by repeatedly writing overdrafts. They also want every member of the House to receive a letter from the panel that lists the lawmaker's overdraft history, if any, and which could be publicly disclosed by the lawmaker.

The Democrats continue to advocate the disclosure of only 24 names—19 current members of the House and five former members. And the letters detailing overdrafts wouldn't be mandatory.

The number of names disclosed is central to the debate. Merely being labeled an abuser is likely to end many lawmakers' political careers. Some House Republicans are calling for even wider disclosure, and they plan to meet today to discuss their position.

The House Ethics Committee's report, obtained late last night, calls the House Bank "lax" and "haphazard." It singles out for criticism the bank's supervisor, House Sergeant-at-Arms Jack Russ. It said

Mr. Russ "misused" his position by cashing 19 bad checks with a total face value of \$56,100 in slightly more than a year.

The report also said that an unidentified bank teller cashed 28 overdrafts with a total value of \$9,138. Both Mr. Russ and the teller covered the checks eventually.

The check-cashing scandal threatens to rock the House this week, when the lawmakers are expected to vote on how many

"abusers" will be named publicly. Of the 24 lawmakers cited by the Democratic majority, the worst abuser had 996 overdrafts and the least active abuser had 81 over the 39 months ending Oct. 3, 1991, the report said.

The report also found that 100 members wrote at least 45 bad checks during the period, and that 133 others had five or fewer overdrafts.

Check-Kitters' Excuses Won't Fly

By JOHN H. FUND

House members can't believe the mess they've gotten themselves into over the House bank. Some are saying that if they had known last October how much the bank had really been abused they would have closed it without any investigation. "Some of my colleagues acted like they were fraternity pledges out of the movie 'Animal House' who had just found the House's piggy bank," says one member of the Ethics Committee.

The House now faces a Hobson's choice. It can accept the Ethics Committee's recommendation that only the names of the 19 current members who most abused the bank be made public. But that would touch off a firestorm of public anger and accusations of a cover-up. Or the House can release more names and risk so shocking people with the sordid details of the bank's misuse that voters will unfairly punish anyone who kited even a single check.

The members have only themselves to blame for their plight. When the news broke last year that members had kited more than 8,000 checks in a single year, many members couldn't understand why the general public was angry. "If the public is upset over the House's banking flap, I'm ashamed of 'em," said Rep. Bill Clay (D., Mo.). Speaker Tom Foley wanted to declare the whole matter closed.

However, younger members, not yet accustomed to the House's peculiar traditions, forced the bank's closure and the Ethics Committee probe. Now they say only full disclosure of all 296 current members who kited checks can clear the air.

But the House leadership thinks it can ride out the storm. "We're going to move on to other issues," says California Rep. Vic Fazio, who is known as the Prince of Perks for his support of member privileges. "We're not going to spend our time eating our young." Columnist George Will

sums up the attitude of House leaders neatly: "They're stonewalling on the names because they believe the voters won't treat the information responsibly. That only enrages people more." In other words, they just don't get it.

To their credit, some members realize the House needs a financial fumigation. Rep. Dan Glickman (D., Kan.) wants a professional administrator to oversee its operations. "The current system is accountable to no one," he says. "This place is administered by tradition, scandal and surprise," says Rep. George Miller (D., Calif.). "No other private or public institution functions the way this one does."

But before any reforms are enacted, the public's fury will mount as it learns how the bank and the rancid system of political patronage behind it operated. Here are some of the most disturbing facts:

The money in the House bank was public money, and taxpayers were at risk. Congressional Quarterly found that on three occasions Congress has spent public money to pay for losses from previous House bank scandals. The last time was in 1947 when Congress voted \$83,879 (more than \$500,000 in today's money) to repay members who had lost money. At the time, the U.S. Court of Appeals ruled money in the House bank belonged to the government.

When the latest scandal broke, the bank was closed out without a deficit only because some members squared their accounts by borrowing from campaign funds. The House Administration Committee noted: "The fact that no loss occurred was clearly a happy accident."

The abuses involved more than bad judgment. Laws may have been broken. Rep. Frank Riggs (R., Calif.), a former police officer, says, "There should be a criminal investigation. In most states, a pattern of such abuse would get you prose-

cuted." David Mason of the Heritage Foundation says some members received what, in effect, were permanent interest-free loans that could have been worth \$1,000 or more a year. Some members apparently invested their overdrafts in interest-bearing accounts. This income may not have been reported on the House's financial disclosure forms or on tax forms, as the law requires.

Also, the size and timing of some bad checks make it likely that some were written just before an election so members could buy last-minute advertising. If that's true, Federal Election Commission laws could have been broken if the transaction wasn't reported.

The financial behavior of some members verged on the bizarre. The consistency with which some members wrote bad checks indicates they either had a complete lack of control over their lives or unusual financial pursuits. In three years, one member apparently bounced some 1,000 checks totaling more than \$500,000. The House bank was largely unwilling to challenge the behavior of members. A few who were threatened with bank sanctions came up with an ingenious solution. They would walk over to the House Post Office, the center of its own recent cocaine and money scandal, and cash checks for up to \$5,000. They then walked the money over to the House Bank to cover their overdrafts there.

The definition of a serious bank abuser is laughable. As the enormity of the scandal sunk in with Ethics Committee members, they drew up what Rep. Scott Klug (R., Wis.) calls "The Incredible Shrinking List." Of the 296 current members who kited checks, some 200 overdrew their next month's salary at least once, and about 100 of those wrote 45 or more bad checks in three years. The committee found 55 members had a clear pattern of abuse. "There's

no way someone didn't know what they were doing was very wrong," says Rep. Nancy Johnson (R., Conn.).

Originally, the Ethics Committee intended to name all of the kiting 55. Then pressure from the leadership persuaded it to identify only 19 scapegoats. Arizona Rep. John Kyl, a committee member, charges that it "doesn't think the public has the right to know the names of several members who kited 600 or more checks or those who kited checks with a face value of \$100,000 or more."

Most members who will vote on the release of names have a clear conflict of interest. Since 296 members, or two-thirds of the House, overdrew at least one check, check-kitters will get to serve as their own jury and vote on their own punishment.

Members complain they are being held to an ex-post-facto standard. They argue that no written rules governed the bank, that the lax behavior of some members tempted others to follow suit and that some of the bad checks were written by spouses. All of this may be true, but this Congress has used up its reservoir of good will with the public.

The House Bank may serve as a rough-and-ready way to judge how much a member viewed himself as living above the rules that others are expected to follow. The bank's guidelines were unclear, but general ethical norms still applied. More important, none of the members believed the truth about the bank would ever come out. They were therefore free to act in accordance with their own internal moral compass. The voters should now be trusted to decide how well their own representative's was set.

Mr. Fund is an editorial writer for the Journal.

Behind a Scandal

New Records Indicate Sheik of Abu Dhabi Had Key Role at BCCI

As Dominant Shareholder, He Often Had a Voice In the Bank's Dealings

Friends Say He Is a Victim

By THOMAS PETZINGER JR.
And PETER TRUILL

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
To hear his people in the U.S. tell it, he is the closest thing to a hero in the BCCI scandal.

As the dominant shareholder of Bank of Credit and Commerce International, Sheik Zayed bin Sultan al-Nahyan was the biggest loser when the bank collapsed last July, they say. Despite those losses, they continue, the sheik—the ruler of Abu Dhabi and the president of the United Arab Emirates—has agreed to donate at least \$1.7 billion to a fund for BCCI's victims while pursuing his effort to root out the fraud committed by conniving underlings who betrayed him.

James Lake, a Washington PR man who recently became a deputy manager of



Sheik Zayed

President Bush's reelection campaign and who speaks for the sheik in the U.S., typifies the kind of high-powered backing the sheik enjoys in Washington. Mr. Lake argues that the sheik, his Abu Dhabi government and one of his sons, who together constitute the majority shareholder of BCCI, were "passive" investors in the bank. Mr. Lake adds, "They're acting in a very responsible, official way to try to resolve the problem that they're the largest victim of."

But auditors' reports and internal BCCI documents now surfacing offer a very different view. They suggest that far from being a hapless bystander in BCCI's affairs, the sheik and his government were major participants in the bank's business, sometimes even treating it as a kind of global piggy bank.

A review of BCCI's loan portfolio indicates that, shortly before the bank was seized by Western regulators last year, BCCI listed more than \$1.5 billion in loans to Sheik Zayed, his relatives, his government and members of his court. In addition, BCCI's top executives relied on Sheik Zayed's office for approval of certain of the bank's irregular securities transactions. These same managers haven't been allowed to make public statements since Sheik Zayed's government placed them under house arrest last year for allegedly defrauding BCCI.

Friends in the U.S.

An important ally of the U.S. in last year's Gulf War, Sheik Zayed is getting plenty of sympathy in Washington and elsewhere in the wake of BCCI's collapse. Since the BCCI affair broke last summer, becoming the biggest bank scandal in history, the sheik has enjoyed unusually delicate treatment at the hands of investigators and law enforcement authorities. In all the probes of the affair, no one has subpoenaed or even bothered to interview the dominant shareholder himself. And while the Justice Department has been rounding up BCCI assets in the U.S., it has made no move to seize the cash that BCCI's home-office branch in Sheik Zayed's Emirates had on deposit in the U.S.

Perhaps most surprising, BCCI's court-appointed liquidators have agreed to let Sheik Zayed take back \$3 billion in BCCI assets, representing promissory notes he had given to the bank in May 1991 in an abortive effort to prop it up. The liquidators have even agreed to let Sheik Zayed continue his control of BCCI's Emirates branches, meaning that his subjects won't lose a cent on their deposits in BCCI, while depositors elsewhere stand to lose billions.

A Majority of One

The result of all this is that Sheik Zayed will emerge from the bank's scandal a bit poorer but legally unscathed.

But as Mr. Lake tells it, the question of who actually owned BCCI is somewhat amorphous. Asked directly, he identifies the "majority shareholders" as "a governmental entity" in Abu Dhabi.

In actuality, though, the "majority shareholders" boil down to Sheik Zayed himself. The government agencies in Abu Dhabi that own BCCI's stock are themselves owned by Sheik Zayed. Indeed, as absolute ruler, Sheik Zayed owns the emirate of Abu Dhabi and virtually all property in it—and underneath it, including its roughly \$2 trillion in oil reserves.

He exercises immense control over five of the other six Emirates, not only as president of the UAE but as the benefactor of the other emirs and sheiks. Possessing little oil, they are mostly his factotums, proteges and courtiers, living in large part off his generosity, which, by most accounts, is great.

And although people frequently act in his name, there is little doubt about who's boss, particularly where the sheik's investments are concerned. Sheik Zayed maintained "ultimate control over the investments made by him," federal Judge Nicholas J. Buia found in a 1983 opinion in a major commodities case that involved Abu Dhabi.

"In the final analysis," New York state

Please Turn to Page A7, Column 1

Behind a Scandal: Records Show Sheik of Abu Dhabi Was More Than Passive Shareholder in Failed BCCI

Continued From First Page

Judge David Edwards wrote in related litigation in 1983, "It was apparent that he, the ruler, and he alone . . . called the shots about the things that really counted. Those subject to his rule were in awe of him, either by love or fear or respect or obedience."

All this casts doubts on the claim made by Mr. Lake and other of the sheik's U.S. representatives that Sheik Zayed was merely a passive minority investor in BCCI until April 1990, when Abu Dhabi acquired a majority interest in the bank and discovered that it was riddled with fraud. The sheik's and BCCI's histories strongly suggest that the ruler was in fact a long-time, leading player in the affairs of the bank. Rep. Charles Schumer, the Brooklyn Democrat whose criminal justice subcommittee is looking into BCCI, says a basic question remains to be answered about the sheik and his entourage: "Are they friend or foe?"

In the Arab world, BCCI has been looked upon as one of Sheik Zayed's personal assets since its founding in 1972. Indeed, in the Mideast it was for years often called "Zayed's bank." It was Sheik Zayed who provided the initial capitalization—as much as 20% of the equity, according to accounts published in London in the 1970s. That doesn't include the numerous agencies and individuals who invested at his behest.

Fast Growth

Money from the Emirates swelled BCCI's deposit base as well, making it the fastest growing big bank in the world during much of the last two decades. A U.S. bank examiner poring over BCCI's financial statements in 1978 noted that the bank's deposits (then \$2 billion) appeared to be "mainly generated in the UAE."

BCCI, in turn, played an immense role in handling the sheik's fortune. In 1980 Agha Hasan Abedi, the Pakistani founder and chairman of BCCI, joined the four-member committee that oversaw the investment of Sheik Zayed's oil wealth, the only non-Arab to hold such a position.

One of the most notable connections occurred when BCCI and Abu Dhabi joined forces to jump into U.S. banking. Their target was First American Bankshares Inc., the largest bank holding company in the nation's capital. The story of how BCCI used front men to secretly take over First American has been told and retold since the BCCI scandal blew open last summer. Told less often, however, is the fact that some of BCCI's front men were Sheik Zayed's men as well.

BCCI's internal records make it plain that First American was intended only as a stepping stone for a much larger, but still discreet, leap into U.S. banking. Two of Sheik Zayed's sons were among the original four named investors seeking to buy into First American in 1978. One of the sons was represented by Abdullah Darwalsh, who managed the ruler's personal office and the investment of his wealth.

These four bidders claimed they weren't acting in unison, but the Securities and Exchange Commission suspected differently. According to people who were familiar with the transaction at the time, as well as some who are currently investigating it, documents filed with the SEC appear to have been back-dated in order to create the impression that it was these investors, not BCCI, who were doing the buying. The SEC filings identify the attorney of record as Clark Clifford, the powerhouse Washington lawyer and former White House adviser who represented BCCI. There is no evidence linking Mr. Clifford to any back-dating.

'Nominee' Investors

The SEC ultimately foiled the effort, but Sheik Zayed and BCCI soon found another way in. According to documents prepared by the Federal Reserve and other agencies, the bank rounded up more wealthy Arabs, loaned them money and got some of them to sign powers of attorney or undated stock-transfer forms. Using their names, the bank bought shares for itself in First American's holding company.

One such "nominee" investor was the director of presidential affairs for the United Arab Emirates. A second was the ruler of Fujairah, one of the Emirates beholden to Sheik Zayed's oil wealth. A third was the ruler of Ajman, yet another of the Emirates reliant on Abu Dhabi's largess. Sheik Zayed's Washington lawyers assert that despite the presence of his proteges in the takeover, Sheik Zayed and his entourage had "very little involvement" in the takeover.

As the bank's pell-mell growth created the need for more capital, Sheik Zayed turned yet another banking practice on its head. Price Waterhouse, which audited the company's books in recent years, told the Bank of England in June 1991 that "influential people in the Middle East" got the chance to buy BCCI shares with guarantees that they would never lose a penny. "Members of the ruling family of Abu Dhabi," the auditors wrote, were among those who enjoyed these easy terms. Speaking through Mr. Lake's PR firm, the majority shareholders say that "the buy-back arrangement was consistent with UAE law."

If the sheik and his friends put a lot of money into the bank, they also took plenty out. The 1978 examination found that real-estate investors in the Emirates alone had borrowed \$203 million, or about 10% of the total portfolio—a "substantial concentration." A decade later, with BCCI's seizure by Western regulators only weeks away, a computer print-out of all of BCCI's major loans identified six members of the sheik's family as the borrowers of some \$329 million from BCCI, including \$60.5 million by Sheik Zayed himself.

There is danger in relying on the internal records of BCCI, which manipulated and outright fabricated accounts in order to paper over the yawning holes in its balance sheet. And indeed, Price Waterhouse discovered a fictitious loan issued in the

name of the crown prince of Abu Dhabi, who told the auditors that his signature in bank records must have been forged. But there isn't any indication that records describing the remainder of Abu Dhabi's BCCI borrowings were false. In response to written questions submitted through Mr. Lake's public relations firm, Abu Dhabi says it intends to honor its "genuine borrowings from BCCI, should there be any."

Perhaps the most controversial of the sheik's borrowings occurred in New York, where a loan of \$55 million in 1986 was issued by BCCI to a general partnership called 330 Madison Co. to refinance and renovate a 39-story office tower at that address. Publicly, the building owner has long been identified as Bernard Mendik, one of the city's best-known real-estate investors. In actuality, though, 75% of the partnership was owned by units of the Abu Dhabi Investment Authority. Mr. Mendik declines to comment.

For four years, state and federal bank examiners had blessed the loan. But conditions had changed by July 1990. BCCI had recently pleaded guilty to money-laundering charges in Tampa. And the S&L bailout was at its peak.

When representatives of the New York Banking Department and the Federal Reserve Bank of New York showed up to conduct a joint examination of BCCI's New York office, they looked into the 330 Madison file and were taken aback by the apparent laxity of the bank's dealings. For one thing, the \$55 million mortgage had never been recorded in New York County records, making the mortgage potentially unenforceable. For another, the examiners began expressly viewing the mortgage as an insider loan, given Sheik Zayed's shareholding in BCCI, and raised questions about its propriety.

With the examination still under way, and the examiners encouraging BCCI to get rid of the loan, a branch official dispatched a fax to London pleading to have the loan eradicated from BCCI's U.S. books. "This loan should be moved," the worried manager said, adding his "strongest recommendation that you have this matter discussed with our customer"—apparently, Abu Dhabi.

The loan was promptly shifted to BCCI's books in London. But that still left 330 Madison's ancillary cash accounts on the books. BCCI's New York manager went into high gear. "Since the asset is now parked offshore" in London, he wrote to one of his bosses in Abu Dhabi, "it has become imperative that we move the accounts as well." In another memo he cited "our delicate relationship with the regulatory authorities." The accounts were ultimately moved to the Cayman Islands. Abu Dhabi, responding through Mr. Lake's firm, says the 330 Madison partnership didn't violate any banking practices.

When he became BCCI's dominant shareholder of record in 1990, Sheik Zayed injected \$1.2 billion of his personal funds into the bank to help keep it afloat. Al-

though BCCI's managers had treated their founding shareholder with deference from the beginning, they now sensed the need to get the approval of Sheik Zayed's office for even more routine transactions.

For instance, in May 1990 a favored group of BCCI investors decided to sell their stakes in BCCI, cashing in on the bank's promise that they would never lose a cent on the investment. Swaleh Naqvi, the chief executive of BCCI, instructed the Caymans branch to buy back the investors' securities on the usual no-lose terms, but this time the transaction was "subject to the subsequent approval of the majority shareholders," according to the chief executive's memo. Indeed, the entire practice of repurchasing shares on this basis, he wrote, would be "referred to the majority shareholders for their guidance."

Today, with BCCI in ashes and as much as \$15 billion of depositors' money up in smoke, Sheik Zayed is offering to kick in \$1.7 billion, possibly more, based on a formula negotiated with the bank's court-appointed liquidators. Creditors and courts must still approve the agreement.

And what does the sheik get out of the deal? He gets back \$3 billion in promissory notes he gave to BCCI just before its collapse last year; the liquidators say the notes are uncollectable anyway because a provision permitted Abu Dhabi to back out of the obligations if fraud was discovered at the bank. Moreover, under the agreement the sheik would be allowed to keep BCCI's Emirates operations, which he has already renamed United Bank. And Sheik Zayed, his government and his family would be absolved of any future liability to the victims of the BCCI collapse.

Not that they really need such protection. Says Mr. Lake: "I just don't believe they were involved in the affairs of the bank."

Clinton, Bush Score Big Wins In the South

Both Amass Huge Delegate
Leads; Critical Test Due
Next Tuesday in Midwest

By JILL ABRAMSON
And DAVID SHRIBMAN

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON—Bill Clinton and President Bush scored sweeping primary election victories, but must wait until critical Midwestern contests next week to see if they can deliver knockout blows to their challengers.

Mr. Clinton stormed the South on Super Tuesday, winning two-thirds of the vote throughout most of the region and commanding a big delegate lead over former Sen. Paul Tsongas of Massachusetts and former Gov. Jerry Brown of California. In Florida, site of yesterday's most hotly contested primary, Mr. Clinton decisively beat Mr. Tsongas, while President Bush beat Patrick J. Buchanan by a 2-to-1 margin.

At the same time, Mr. Tsongas racked up wins on his native New England turf and in Delaware. He gave Mr. Clinton a 6-to-1 drubbing in Massachusetts, and a more than 2-to-1 beating in Rhode Island. In those three states, Mr. Brown ran neck-and-neck with Mr. Clinton for second place.

While Messrs. Clinton and Tsongas were both winning in their home regions, there were many more delegates at stake in the South than in New England, giving the Arkansas governor an advantage of better than 2-to-1 in Democratic convention delegates to this point.

Major Confrontation

That's why next Tuesday is so important. For the first time, a major confrontation occurs in a location that gives no contender a home-court advantage. If Mr. Clinton sweeps the contests in Michigan and Illinois, he would be the decided favorite for the nomination. But Tsongas victories in both states would hand the Arkansas a serious setback and leave the Democratic nomination picture cloudy.

"It is a super Tuesday for Clinton, but it shows that when he moves out of the South, Tsongas is just as strong in his region as Clinton is as his," says John White, a former party chairman. "We now have two regional candidates, and after all this publicity neither one of these candidates is showing great strength. There's uneasiness except in the region where people know these guys."

Even though Gov. Clinton is still far from clinching the nomination, he is piling up delegates—almost 40% of the delegates needed for the nomination—and is pulling away from Mr. Tsongas.

Mr. Brown failed to win anywhere yesterday, but will continue to pick targets for his campaign against the established interests of American politics. "Jerry Brown is going to stay in the race all the way, and he could be dangerous for Clinton in some of these places," says Paul Maslin, a California-based Democratic pollster.

In the Republican race, President Bush continued to chalk up primary victories across the country, soundly defeating Mr. Buchanan but not driving him from the field. The television commentator repeatedly has said he will stay in the race, probably targeting Michigan next, where protectionist sentiment is strong and the economy weak.

"Bush is five games ahead with four games to play," says Thomas Rath, a Bush strategist. "There aren't many places Buchanan can go for delegates. He's very close to being mathematically eliminated. He does not have the basis to deny the sitting president the nomination. If he stays in it, it has less to do with 1992 than with 1996."

But everything the Bush camp has done to pressure Mr. Buchanan to leave the race has only redoubled his determination to remain. There have been some personal attacks on Mr. Buchanan, including one by Rich Bond, Republican national chairman.

But everything the Bush camp has done to pressure Mr. Buchanan to leave the race has only redoubled his determination to remain. There have been some personal attacks on Mr. Buchanan, including one by Rich Bond, Republican national chairman.

Mr. Buchanan said he wouldn't campaign for President Bush in November if Mr. Bond were still party chief. "I will endorse the president if he wins the nomination, but that guy's got to be out of there," the conservative commentator said in an interview with WBZ radio in Boston. In a television appearance over the weekend, Mr. Bond compared Mr. Buchanan and David Duke, saying that Mr. Buchanan had tried "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."

In the Democratic contest, 783 pledged delegates were at stake in the 11 Super Tuesday contests, accounting for more than one-fifth of all the pledged delegates. The Super Tuesday round of primaries and caucuses were assembled for the 1984 election to give the South, once a Democratic stronghold, a bigger voice in the party's nomination. For the first time, a Southerner reaped the benefits of that calculation.

"The structure of Super Tuesday is perfectly suited to a southern progressive candidate who can put together a blue-collar, white and black coalition," says William Carrick, a Democratic consultant who advised the presidential campaign of Sen. Bob Kerrey, who left the race last week. "Clinton obviously did that."

The engine driving Mr. Clinton's big victories were older and black voters. According to interviews with voters as they were leaving the polls, Mr. Clinton won two-thirds of older voters and four-fifths of blacks. Overall, the Democratic vote appears to have declined some from 1988 in most of the Southern states.

But even Mr. Clinton's formidable performance in yesterday's balloting didn't allay the uneasiness that many Democrats feel about the Arkansas governor, who still

must prove his ability to prevail in northern states.

Party leaders worry that voters' doubts about Mr. Clinton's character, because of allegations of draft dodging and womanizing, could still derail his candidacy. Worse still, they fret about the possibility that new disclosures could emerge during the autumn campaign, especially as the general election map leaves the Democrats with no margin for error.

Party Chiefs Restive

Even as Mr. Clinton moves ahead in the delegate count, there is restiveness among party leaders. In Michigan, for example, Rep. John Dingell, long a supporter of Detroit's auto industry and auto workers, is now saying he will likely vote for "uncommitted" in next week's primary. Some Michigan labor leaders have encouraged other prominent Democrats to do the same.

With Sen. Tom Harkin of Iowa, the favorite of many labor leaders, now out of contention, Mr. Brown is stepping up his pro-union appeal and attacking Mr. Clinton, seeking to portray him as an enemy of labor.

Mr. Brown won't be the only negative voice Mr. Clinton hears during the next six days. Mr. Tsongas has hired media consultant Scott Miller and is almost certain to mount an aggressive broadcast campaign against Mr. Clinton. Despite his wins yesterday, Mr. Tsongas is under extreme pressure to show strength in the Rust Belt.

Although President Bush continues to win primaries, his victories come as he is growing weaker in public-opinion polls. The hammering by Mr. Buchanan, reinforced by the Democrats, is clearly taking its toll, as is the public's pessimism about the economy.

Mr. Duke, the former Ku Klux Klan leader who mounted unsuccessful campaigns for the U.S. Senate and governorship in Louisiana, failed to establish himself as a serious factor and is finished as an even remotely significant presidential contender this year.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1992

COMMENT

Bush and women revisited

Martha Burk, a Washington political psychologist who rendered commentary here Feb. 27, has missed the boat with regard to George Bush having "women trouble."

She stated that Bush would have to become more conservative to better handle Pat Buchanan's challenge and would thereby alienate women voters. She apparently thinks she speaks for all women, that all women are liberal, have the same political concerns, are pro-choice, disliked Dan Quayle's recent remarks about Pat Schroeder, backed Anita Hill in the Clarence Thomas "thing" and are unhappy with Bush.



By Jane Smydo, a dentist in Buchanan, Mich.

But Burk and the graphs with her Comment gave an incomplete picture. There are women who will disconnect themselves from their X chromosomes and vote for George Bush primarily as citizens first, not as a part of a gender group.

For starters, Bush has appointed a woman as surgeon general and more women to Cabinet posts than any other president. That's hardly anti-women.

As for Quayle's comments, let's lighten up. It's amusing to think of Pat Schroeder as secretary of Defense. Just because she's a woman doesn't mean she can't take political humor. That's part of being a person, not just a female.

I hardly think it was a personal directive of George Bush to "rough up" Anita Hill. Anyone, male or female, who comes out of a 10-year shadow to point a finger at someone claimed (with no documentation) to have said bad things to him or her (while maintaining a friendship to maximize professional gain) would get the same treatment. If you want to fight and plan to throw the first punch, better be prepared.

Abortion is another issue dividing women. I know two women who, between them, have had seven abortions in the last three years. Our tax dollars at work! Wouldn't other methods of birth control be cheaper? Of course, but it's more fun to wave coat hangers at abortion rallies.

Women today, as never before, own businesses, are in top management and must deal with wise and long-term investments. Most of the women I know are extremely educated, ambitious and do not believe in throwing money and lip service at problems, hoping they will go away. Some problems can only be solved if people change their behaviors, and huge sums of federal dollars cannot guarantee that.

Of course, we need compassion, determination and hope for the future. You need that no matter what gender you are. But not all women are disenchanted with George Bush, just with the tired old arguments that uninformed people keep dumping on him.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1992

N. Korean ship docks in Iran

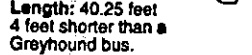
Scud ship finds safe harbor

A North Korean freighter suspected of carrying Scud missiles docked Monday in Iran after eluding U.S. ships attempting to stop and search it. The missiles are a more accurate version of Scuds used in Gulf war.

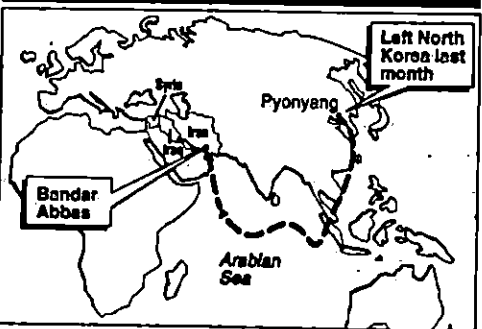
The missile

Range: More than 300 miles Warhead: 1,100 pounds

Length: 40.25 feet 4 feet shorter than a Greyhound bus.



The route



Source: USA TODAY research, Jane's Strategic Weapon Systems

By Rod Lurie, USA TODAY

By Laurence Jolidon and Juan J. Walte
USA TODAY

A North Korean cargo ship suspected of carrying Scud missiles slipped unchallenged through a U.S. Navy net and into an Iranian port near the mouth of the Persian Gulf, the Pentagon said Tuesday.

Pentagon spokesman Pete Williams said the Dae Hung Ho was last sighted a week ago in the Arabian Sea and "I can't tell you why" it was later "lost" by the 22-ship U.S. task force that enforces a U.N. embargo against the shipment of arms to Iraq.

"It either followed a circuitous route, or perhaps it hugged the coastline and wasn't picked out of the heavy coastal traffic in that area," Williams said.

He said a second ship of Iranian registry — the Iran Salam, also sailing from North Korea — was challenged by the USS Ingersoll and allowed to proceed after declaring its destination as Iran, with a load

of steel and oil equipment.

U.S. intelligence officials say both ships might be carrying Scud missiles. The Iran Salam, the Pentagon said, has more of a reputation as an arms carrier than the Dae Hung Ho.

But the North Korean captain's ability to evade the U.S. task force raised military and diplomatic questions:

► Did the captain outsmart the interceptors, or was he allowed through?

► If allowed to sail through unchallenged, was it because the Pentagon decided to back down, or because there wasn't enough evidence that it was carrying missiles, not mundane cargo?

► Was the episode an act of military brinkmanship or another case of sending a message to a hostile government?

Some analysts say the answer lies in a debate in the U.S. intelligence community over North Korea's nuclear weapons ambitions.

In brief, the State Department says North Korea is slowly but surely agreeing to in-

spection of its nuclear facilities, reining in hard-liners who want to build a nuclear arsenal.

The CIA and Pentagon, however, say a North Korean nuclear threat is only months or, at most, a few years away, and the communist regime is stalling efforts to stop its plans.

Stopping the North Korean ship, said Selig Harrison of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, became a test of the different views: "I suspect this is something the Pentagon wanted to do that the White House didn't."

The administration has been "getting many indications," Harrison said, that North Korea will ratify a nuclear treaty by next month. That would bring inspection by international agencies by May.

U.S. military ability to find and stop cargo ships in the Persian Gulf has been a source of Pentagon pride.

Since August 1990, the air-and-sea monitoring operation has intercepted more than 13,000 ships, with many of them boarded and searched.

CAPITAL LINE

USA TODAY'S BRIEFING ON WASHINGTON

Senate debates tax-cut proposal



USA TODAY
RIEGLE: Tax im-
ported minivans

The Senate began debate Tuesday on a Democratic tax-cut proposal, hours after President Bush repeated his vow "to veto that tax increase bill as soon as it is sent to me." The Democratic plan, similar to one already passed by the House, would grant tax cuts to about 31 million people and hike taxes for the wealthiest 800,000. That infuriates Bush, who said last week that his acceptance of a 1990 tax hike was a mistake. "Raising taxes," he said, "is simply not acceptable." The Democratic bill includes some elements proposed by

Bush: a capital-gains tax reduction, a \$3,000 tax credit for some home buyers, an incentive for businesses to buy equipment this year and special tax relief for real estate investors. At the request of Sen. Donald Riegle, D-Mich., the Democrats' bill also would include a provision slapping a 25% tariff on imported minivans. Minivans currently are considered cars by the U.S. Customs Service, subject to a 2.5% import duty. Minority Leader Robert Dole, R-Kan., said Republicans are working on their own tax plan, which might include a repeal of luxury taxes.

RADON TESTING: The Senate approved legislation that would require warnings to many home buyers about potential health risks from radon, although actual tests for the radioactive gas would remain optional. The legislation, approved 82-6, would direct the Environmental Protection Agency to establish "radon priority" areas, estimated to cover about one-third of the country, where radon contamination is considered most likely. Within those areas, people seeking mortgages would have to be given information about health risks posed by radon and testing information.

CHINA SPIES: The FBI is warning Chinese-Americans that Beijing is attempting to recruit hundreds of spies. The prime targets are scientists or business people with access to sensitive information, said Patrick Watson, the FBI's deputy assistant director for intelligence. In recent ads in Chinese-language publications in the USA, the FBI said it was "appealing to the United States Chinese community and to the newly arrived people from the People's Republic of China with a request to help your new home country."

BUSH TAKES NIXON'S HEAT: President Bush, responding to criticism from former president Richard Nixon, defended the White House against what Nixon called a "pathetically inadequate" response to newly democratic Russia. Bush said he wants to be as supportive as possible, but budget problems limit him. In a memo circulated among friends and foreign affairs experts, Nixon said the Bush administration is missing one of the historic opportunities of this century. "The stakes are high, and we are playing as if it were a penny ante game," Nixon wrote. Bush told reporters he had read the memo and talked to Nixon about it, adding: "I don't think president Nixon and I have any differences on this." (Editorial, 10A)

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1992

PARTY PUNDITS

Democrats uncertain about Clinton's chances

By Richard Benedetto
USA TODAY

With Bill Clinton now the odds-on favorite to win the Democratic presidential nomination, party leaders and operatives are increasingly nervous about his chances against President Bush in November.

Publicly, they project confidence in victory regardless of whether Clinton, Paul Tsongas or Jerry Brown is the nominee.

"Party leaders don't pick presidents, voters do, and Bill Clinton is doing pretty well with voters, so far," says Democratic National Committee Chairman Ron Brown.

But privately, many worry that charges of marital infidelity and draft evasion may not only work against Clinton, but also bring down congressional

and state legislative Democrats running on the ticket with him.

"Bill Clinton is one shoe-dropping away from imploding," says Democratic consultant Alan Secrest. "The question is, where and when?"

Indeed, some congressional leaders and candidates still want other Democrats to come in. Republicans, asked to choose between running against Clinton or Paul Tsongas, say Clinton would be the easiest to attack.

Joseph Cerrell, a Democratic strategist in Los Angeles, says, "There's no doubt in my mind that George Bush is vulnerable. But are we putting up our best possible candidate? I don't think so."

With the clock ticking, the only potential Democratic candidate hinting at a late entry is

"George Bush is vulnerable. But are we putting up our best possible candidate? I don't think so."

— Joseph Cerrell, Democratic consultant

Jesse Jackson. "Either those who are running will broaden their message ... or someone else will fill the vacuum," he said Tuesday.

Even Democratic voters aren't entirely happy with the field of candidates.

In Florida Tuesday, nearly half of those voting in the Democratic primary said they would like to see others run. About four of 10 were Clinton voters, a sign those backing him are doing it reluctantly.

Gene Hollander, 72, an inter-

rior designer in Miami, settled for Tsongas Tuesday, but said, "Mario Cuomo is my first choice."

Before he dropped out of the race, Nebraska Sen. Bob Kerrey warned that if Clinton is the nominee, Republicans will open him up "like a soft peanut."

Kerrey expressed doubts about the truth of Clinton's explanation of how he avoided the draft, but promised to work "feverishly" for his election.

Jerry Brown, a long shot for

the nomination, Monday called Clinton unelectable. "You can't elect a candidate with a scandal a week," he said.

Ron Brown, however, has said that after asking Clinton some "tough questions" he's "confident" there's no other "shoe" waiting to drop.

"There are a lot of people out there who feel that if he gets through this, which at least so far he appears to be doing, he will be a stronger candidate and will not be vulnerable in the general election to the same charges ... by the Bush campaign."

Democratic consultant Victor Kamber says Bush will try to make Clinton, and not the economy, the issue. But he has hope: "Clinton has shown he's no shy violet, and is willing to fight back."

Attention now shifts to next week's Democratic showdowns in Michigan and Illinois. How the races are shaping up:

Clinton 'way past anyone else'

By Bill Nichols
USA TODAY

Wary union activists and key Democrats moaning "None of the above" are potential stumbling blocks for Bill Clinton in next week's Michigan primary.

MICHIGAN

But analysts say the Arkansas governor's superior organization and Super Tuesday momentum still give him an edge on Paul Tsongas in a tight race. "Clinton now has kind of jumped way past anyone else," says William Ballenger, editor of *Inside Michigan Politics*.

"Many people here think that when you look at the other two candidates, why would Clinton have any trouble?"

The major Michigan question mark is where the considerable support once pledged to Iowa Sen. Tom Harkin will go.

Detroit Mayor Coleman Young and the United Auto Workers union both had endorsed Harkin. Now that Harkin has quit the race, they're scrambling, analysts say.



By Paul Hirschmann, AP

COURTING UNION: Presidential hopeful Jerry Brown uses 'Business Week' magazine — with a story about Detroit's automotive situation — in a speech to United Auto Workers in Ypsilanti.

Tsongas and Jerry Brown hope Clinton's record as governor of a "right to work" state will limit his union support.

"The labor people understand that Clinton ... is anti-union. They're intelligent," says Jared Collins, Tsongas' Michigan field coordinator.

But indications are that much of the Michigan labor vote will go to Clinton because Tsongas doesn't support the

striker replacement bill, which would ban employers from hiring permanent replacements for striking workers.

Tsongas' plan for long-term economic growth also may have problems connecting in a state plagued by immediate problems — a 9% unemployment rate, General Motors layoffs and drastic welfare cuts.

Others, like state AFL-CIO president Frank Garrison and

Rep. John Conyers, are exploring support for an uncommitted delegation, hoping lightning strikes a new candidate during the national convention.

"I don't believe Bill Clinton's electable," says Garrison, who at the same time admits most labor votes will go to Clinton.

"He's like a battleship that's taken 14 torpedoes and is still floating, but I think more's coming on the guy. I don't want to feel good at the convention and then cry in November."

Former Michigan governor James Blanchard, a key Clinton supporter, cautions that Clinton faces "a real uphill challenge" in a state where another Southerner, former president Jimmy Carter, lost the 1976 primary despite strong party and labor support.

But he says Clinton's support among blacks — he's been endorsed by a group of key Detroit ministers — offers a chance for a biracial coalition.

"If people can get to know Bill this week he'll do well. They need to know the Bill Clinton I know, not some redneck from Timbuktu."

Prairie State offers level playing field



By Bill Fenn Hestoff, AP

SUCCESSFUL DAY: Bill Clinton celebrates Tuesday at a Chicago hotel.

By Richard Wolf
USA TODAY

CHICAGO — This is where the home-field advantage disappears.

Democratic presidential candidates Bill Clinton and Paul Tsongas tangle in Illinois beginning today in what weary party pundits are calling the Civil War of 1992.

With Super Tuesday over, the top two Democratic contenders enter the second half of the nominating process with separate claims on North and South — but with nary a victory in the other's backyard.

That's why next Tuesday's primary in Illinois — a microcosm of the nation's geographic, ethnic and racial diversity — shapes up as a watershed event.

"This is truly neutral turf," says Chicago pollster Michael McKeon. "I don't think the headlines from anywhere else are going to drive it."

Clinton, Tsongas and Jerry Brown face a moody electorate that's taking a second look at even its most popular public officials: Polls show Democratic Sen. Alan Dixon, unbeaten in 42 years, has fewer than half the voters on his side. Rep. Dan Rostenkowski, the influential chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, is campaigning down to dusk.

The most recent poll here showed the Arkansas governor and former Massachusetts senator in a statistical dead heat: Clin-

ton led 31% to 26%, with a 5-point margin of error. Almost a third of voters are undecided. The early line:

► Clinton has the stronger organization, a full slate of delegates and the backing of elected officials. He has a huge lead among black voters and that elusive quality — momentum.

"It seems to me that Clinton does have an edge coming into Illinois," says home-state Sen. Paul Simon, who won the 1988 primary here. "People like to get on board with a winner."

► Tsongas lacks a full delegate slate but has wooed many formerly pledged to Sen. Bob Kerrey. He's strong among college graduates, independents and the upper-middle class.

"It's kind of a David vs. Goliath battle," says Tsongas state director Kitty Kurth. "Clinton has the elected officials on his side. We have the voters."

Winning here cannot be underestimated: In the past century, only Woodrow Wilson and Jimmy Carter have won the White House without taking Illinois.

"We've got a very fickle electorate this year," says Democratic consultant Brian Lunde. "The voters aren't taking their cue from the media or the pundits."

► Political Index, 3A

ELECTION '92

A LOOK AT THE CANDIDATES AND THE ISSUES

Brown finds little solace in South

Jerry Brown didn't move beyond the wild card stage of his presidential candidacy Tuesday, but the day was never his to win. The former California governor and three-time presidential candidate fared poorly in Texas and Florida — the big Super Tuesday prizes.

At best, his insurgent campaign showed sparks, finishing a distant second in Massachusetts, Mississippi and Oklahoma (where Tsongas was not on the ballot). He did well among Hispanic voters, too.

Brown, who spent Tuesday night at a union hall, could still be a factor in Michigan next week if he gets young or labor voters. "Most pundits wrote me off, but this message is so powerful it tells you something is fundamentally wrong," Brown said Tuesday night. He said he expects victories in Oregon and California.

Winning the nomination seems doubtful. "But Jerry Brown could be in the role Jesse Jackson was in in 1984 — the wild card people are afraid to offend or appease," says University of California political scientist Sam Popkin.



AP
DUKE: Even home state said no.

DUKE FALLS FLAT: David Duke's campaign crashed Tuesday with a dismal showing throughout the South. The former Nazi sympathizer and Ku Klux Klan member finished a distant third in the seven states where he was on the ballot, including his home state of Louisiana. Even those who once voted for Duke — he got 39% in the 1991 governor's race — overwhelmingly voted for Pat Buchanan and President Bush, exit polls showed.

The dismal showing finishes Duke, Republicans say. With only one delegate, he will be a minimal factor at the GOP convention. "His appeal doesn't translate," said GOP pollster Glen Bolger. Adds Florida GOP chairman Van Poole: "He wouldn't even be a viable third party candidate."

Duke, at a nearly deserted post-election party, admitted "we didn't get the votes we'd like to have gotten." But he said he'd continue to campaign in Alabama and Arkansas.

Buchanan took credit for, in his words, "inferring the political career of David Duke in some bayou in Louisiana."

THIS JUST IN: Sen. Phil Gramm, R-Texas, says he's discovered a media conspiracy to keep Buchanan in the race. The media's motive: Reporters could lose their jobs in the recession without a hot political race to cover. "This campaign is being pushed to protect your jobs," Gramm told reporters after meeting with President Bush. He said he learned of the conspiracy "from very reliable sources, better than the sources that normally get quoted."

NOT OK IN OKLAHOMA: Oklahoma City voters found themselves playing a game of musical voting booths: Poll locations had been changed due to redistricting, but voters weren't told. Result: Some voters were turned away; others were allowed to vote at the wrong place. "We didn't have time to notify voters," said Marti Hayes, elections secretary. Voting machines at 37 Tulsa precincts wouldn't take Democratic ballots; they had to be counted by hand.

NAME GAME: Paul Tsongas and Jerry Brown will have their names on the New York primary ballot April 7 after all. A state judge cleared the way Tuesday. State Democratic Party Chairman John Marino, a top ally of Gov. Mario Cuomo, said he was "delighted." Cuomo, who's had a strained relationship with Bill Clinton, may be drawn back into the "Who does Mario like?" fray.

NEW CONGRESSMAN: Former state lawmaker Frank Tejeda, 46, of San Antonio, became the first person to win a freshman seat in Congress this year. Tejeda won by default when no candidate — Republican or Democrat — filed against him for a new seat created by population growth.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT: When off the chicken dinner circuit, the candidates say they prepare these meals best, none particularly difficult: Bill Clinton, omelet; Paul Tsongas, vegetable soup; Jerry Brown, pasta with oil, garlic and basil. Among the Republicans, Pat Buchanan likes ham with eggs; President Bush had no comment.

Election coverage

- Bush, Clinton roll, 1A
- Clinton's machine, 1A
- Candidates' wives, 2A
- Results by state, 4A
- TV coverage, 1B

National news: 5A, 6A
Washington/world: 6-7A

Upcoming primaries, caucuses

Date/state	Primary/caucus	Dem.	GOP
Sunday			
Puerto Rico	P	51	14
March 12			
Illinois	P	164	65
Michigan	P	131	72
March 24			
Connecticut	P	53	35
March 28			
Virgin Islands	C	3	4
March 31			
Vermont	C	14	19
April 1			
Alaska	C	13	19
April 7			
Kansas	P	36	30
Minnesota	P	—	32
New York	P	244	100
Wisconsin	P	62	35

1 — Vote has no effect on delegates, which were selected March 3.

CAMPAIGN COMMENT

"Not going to happen."
— Vice President Quayle, when asked if he'd step aside to let Pat Buchanan join the ticket

WHERE CANDIDATES ARE TODAY

Democrats: Jerry Brown: Detroit; Marquette, Mich.; Traverse City, Mich.; Grand Rapids, Mich.; Comstock Park, Mich.; Kalamazoo, Mich.; Bill Clinton: Chicago; Dearborn, Mich.; Carbondale, Ill.; Paul Tsongas: Chicago; Detroit.

Republicans: George Bush: White House; Pat Buchanan: Lansing, Mich.; Washington, D.C.

Compiled by Dennis Cauchon. Contributing: Brian O'Connell, Leslie Phillips, Judy Keen, Robert Davis.

Pork projects: 'Fleecing' taxpayers

INTERVIEW

Former senator William Proxmire, in a political season when voters are concerned about government waste, talks about 'pork-barrel' projects and how to get rid of them.

Q: You used to hand out Golden Fleece awards aimed at outrageous examples of wasteful government spending. Has waste gotten worse over the years?

A: I'm sure it has escalated. I don't think anybody has attempted to cut back on this practice. It's a matter of judgment as to what's wasteful, but the budget itself has just gone right through the roof. When I came into Congress, we had a deficit in the Truman administration of \$2 billion. Then in Eisenhower's, the average deficit was around \$2.5 billion. Now, it's \$400 billion. No matter

what you allow for inflation, that is a fantastic escalation.

Q: Well, this is the budget and election season again. Is any one party more responsible than the other?

A: I made a chart of how much it increased in every administration, and the Republican administrations have increased it a lot more. But that's irrelevant. They all made huge, huge, huge increases. And when you're spending that much more money, you're spending it in these wasteful projects very often. And they get a lot less scrutiny.



USA TODAY
Proxmire

William Proxmire retired from the U.S. Senate in 1988 after representing the state of Wisconsin for 31 years. The author, lecturer and columnist was interviewed by USA TODAY's Richard Wolf.

Q: A \$500,000 Lawrence Welk museum proposal and a research grant for Belgian endive have gotten a lot of publicity. Why do these "pork-barrel" projects, where members of Congress "bring home the bacon" for their district or state, get less scrutiny?

A: It's much easier to slip in a wasteful \$5-, \$10-, \$15-, \$20 million program into a budget that already has several trillion dollars. You get the argument: "Don't worry about it, Proxmire; we're spending \$2.3 billion anyway. What difference does it make if we give a million dollars to so and so?"

Q: Is there anything that can be done about the appropriations process?

A: I don't mean to criticize anybody who is the chairman of the House or Senate appropriations committee, but they're in a position where they could do a lot. They could simply say: "Well, now, wait a minute. I think the Lawrence Welk thing is fine, and I want to help, but this is something that's wasteful, and we're not going to go along with it."

Q: But isn't there pressure that if you shoot down one member's project, you're likely to face rejection on your own proposal?

A: You can't say: "Clinton,

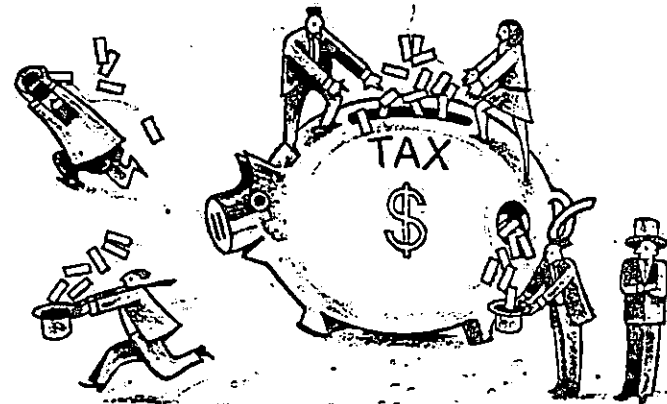
old buddy, sorry about this. We just can't do it." What you do is you try very hard to get something in for everybody on the Appropriations Committee. Everybody in the Senate, if you can do it. That's the only way you could succeed.

Q: So you see it as mostly Congress' fault?

A: I put a lot of the blame on Congress. There's an easy answer about what you can do — and that's the line-item veto. It's disgraceful we don't have a line-item veto. Governors have a line-item veto overwhelmingly. It's something that is long, long overdue.

Q: President Bush wants that power — to veto specific items, rather than whole, complex bills — but Congress has always refused. At least one Democratic presidential candidate, Paul Tsongas, has also called for such power.

A: The line-item veto would also put the monkey on the president's back. Then you can go directly to the president and say: "Mr. President, it's one thing for a member of Congress to want a Lawrence Welk museum back in his district or in his state. But it's something else when the president doesn't veto it." And that would undoubtedly save millions of dollars.



By Marcia Stainer, USA TODAY

Line-item veto 'would be a disaster'

What some call the cure for pork-barrel politics, the line-item veto, would be a disaster, says Rep. Don Edwards.



Edwards

The California Democrat says giving the president that authority would transfer to him enormous power the Constitution reserves for Congress.

"Congress loses its legislative power, and you might as well turn over the entire government to the president," he says.

The civil and constitutional rights subcommittee chairman adds that such a change in power would require more than a statute. It would need a constitutional amendment.

Last month, the Senate rejected a GOP

plan to give President Bush line-item veto power over appropriations bills. The House is considering a similar proposal that Edwards thinks could be linked to the 1993 budget.

Edwards points to the shortcomings of veto power in California, where he says governors have used it to blackmail opponents.

"I know of one case where a state senator didn't vote right on a bill, and the governor of the other party canceled two judges that he was going to appoint in that particular senatorial district."

Edwards thinks the debate about a federal line-item veto is less about reducing pork-barrel projects than it is about political power. The veto, he says, would simply be a tool for the president to "cut out the projects he or she doesn't politically approve of."

— Sharon Shahid

TUESDAY'S VOTE

A QUICK READ ON SUPER TUESDAY'S PRIMARY AND CAUCUS RESULTS

DELEGATES WON

Candidate	Time To date
Republican	
Pat Buchanan	28 46
George Bush	578 550
David Duke	0 0
Uncommitted	1 0
Democrat	
Jerry Brown	23 79.25
Bill Clinton	410 093.25
Paul Tsongas	200 345.25
Uncommitted	46 817.75

Before dropping from the race, Tom Harkin had 75 delegates and Bob Kerrey had 9.

Delegate totals to date include preference of elected officials who are automatically delegates.

Delegates needed to nominate:

Republican	1,108
Democrat	2,145

Key:
✓ AP's declared winner.

DELAWARE

DEMOCRATIC CAUCUS

Numbers reflect delegates elected to state conventions

Candidate	Vote	Pct.
Jerry Brown	1	19%
Bill Clinton	33	21%
Tom Harkin	0	0%
Bob Kerrey	0	0%
Paul Tsongas	48	30%
Uncommitted	47	30%
Others	0	0%

Delegates at stake: 14

Party leaders had advised Democrats to remain uncommitted; some did, but many went for Tsongas. Candidates never visited. Tsongas supporters focused on suburban areas, were helped by last week's Maryland win.

FLORIDA

DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY

Candidate	Vote	Pct.
Jerry Brown	131,350	12%
✓ Bill Clinton	536,630	51%
Tom Harkin	12,696	1%
Bob Kerrey	11,099	1%
Paul Tsongas	360,622	34%

Delegates at stake: 144

Delegates won Tuesday: Brown, 3; Clinton, 87; Tsongas, 58

Tsongas was disappointed after campaigning hard here, hoping this least Southern of Southern states, with large number of Northern transplants, would give him more of Tuesday's second-largest store of delegates. Clinton made appeals to key groups — wearing a yarmulke and affirming support of Israel to a Jewish audience, visiting Miami's poor-black Liberty City neighborhood. Aiming at seniors, he aired TV ads that raised fears about Tsongas' proposal to cut Social Security increases.

REPUBLICAN PRIMARY

Candidate	Vote	Pct.
Pat Buchanan	254,535	31%
✓ George Bush	554,828	69%

Delegates at stake: 97

Delegates won Tuesday: Buchanan, 0; Bush, 97

Buchanan made little effort here, virtually conceding to Bush, who took 62% here in 1988. Former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke was kept off ballot by state GOP. Working against the president, 8.7% unemployment. Bush brought out a big gun — Gulf War hero Norman Schwarzkopf.

MASSACHUSETTS

DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY

Candidate	Vote	Pct.
Jerry Brown	108,173	15%
Bill Clinton	80,337	11%
Tom Harkin	3,502	0%
Bob Kerrey	5,178	1%
Ralph Nader	30,634	4%
✓ Paul Tsongas	489,449	67%
Uncommitted	11,208	2%
Others	7,264	1%

Delegates at stake: 94

Delegates won Tuesday: Brown, 6; Clinton, 0; Nader, 0; Tsongas, 88; Uncommitted, 0

Tsongas beat the 59% Dukakis won here four years ago. He got clear victory needed to avoid embarrassment in home state he'd served as senator. Clinton had support of one-third of Democrats in Legislature. Consumer advocate Ralph Nader's grassroots campaign may have drawn protest votes from Brown.

REPUBLICAN PRIMARY

Candidate	Vote	Pct.
Pat Buchanan	69,656	28%
✓ George Bush	164,557	66%
David Duke	5,171	2%
Uncommitted	9,522	4%

Delegates at stake: 38

Delegates won Tuesday: Buchanan, 11; Bush, 26; Duke, 0; Uncommitted, 1

Bush, who calls Massachusetts one of his home states, did better than some Republicans had feared against challenge from Buchanan. Bush was born in Milton, bordering Boston, and enjoys close ties to Gov. William Weld, who was chosen by late voters to replace Michael Dukakis in 1990 — first GOP statewide officeholder elected in 18 years.

MISSISSIPPI

DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY

Candidate	Vote	Pct.
Jerry Brown	18,193	10%
✓ Bill Clinton	138,627	73%
Tom Harkin	2,437	1%
Bob Kerrey	1,777	1%
Paul Tsongas	15,085	8%
Uncommitted	11,637	6%
Others	1,374	1%

Delegates at stake: 39

Delegates won Tuesday: Brown, 0; Clinton, 39; Tsongas, 0; Uncommitted, 0

Clinton, faced little opposition, had support of Delta's black Rep. Mike Espy. Tsongas, focusing on states more receptive to his message, stayed away. Brown visited with Jesse Jackson but left little impression.

REPUBLICAN PRIMARY

Candidate	Vote	Pct.
Pat Buchanan	25,119	17%
✓ George Bush	107,837	72%
David Duke	15,979	11%

Delegates at stake: 33

Delegates won Tuesday: Buchanan, 0; Bush, 33; Duke, 0

Bush was well ahead of his 66% share in 1988 primary. Suburban-dominated state GOP has long been comfortable with Bush's style and personality. Buchanan made appeals to farmers and shipping-dependent Gulf Coast residents with attacks on Bush as "trade wimp."

RHODE ISLAND

DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY

Candidate	Vote	Pct.
Jerry Brown	9,519	19%
Bill Clinton	10,729	21%
Tom Harkin	295	1%
Bob Kerrey	473	1%
✓ Paul Tsongas	28,473	53%
Uncommitted	669	1%

Delegates at stake: 22

Delegates won Tuesday: Brown, 3; Clinton, 6; Tsongas, 13; Uncommitted, 0

Tsongas helped by local demographics: State is even more ethnic and urban than his home state of Massachusetts. Tsongas had accused Clinton of pandering by supporting continued funding of canceled Seawolf submarines built by state's largest employer, General Dynamics. Brown had his largest percentage of the day here.

REPUBLICAN PRIMARY

Candidate	Vote	Pct.
Pat Buchanan	5,012	32%
✓ George Bush	9,311	63%
David Duke	327	2%
Uncommitted	440	3%

Delegates at stake: 15

Delegates won Tuesday: Buchanan, 5; Bush, 10; Duke, 0; Uncommitted, 0

Republicans here feel kinship with Bush, born in Massachusetts, raised in Connecticut. Backers promoted his Economic Dislocation Adjustment Act, saying it would help laid-off workers; General Dynamics expects 4,000 layoffs after government's cancellation of Seawolf submarine.

TENNESSEE

DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY

Candidate	Vote	Pct.
Jerry Brown	25,415	8%
✓ Bill Clinton	211,488	67%
Tom Harkin	2,180	1%
Bob Kerrey	1,660	1%
Paul Tsongas	60,662	19%
Uncommitted	12,217	4%

Delegates at stake: 68

Delegates won Tuesday: Brown, 0; Clinton, 56; Tsongas, 12; Uncommitted, 0

Clinton, Tsongas and Brown each made a strong effort here. Clinton had best organization and support of Gov. Ned McWherter. Tsongas held pre-election rally in Nashville. Jesse Jackson stood with Brown on balcony of Memphis' Lorraine Motel, where Martin Luther King Jr. was fatally shot.

REPUBLICAN PRIMARY

Candidate	Vote	Pct.
Pat Buchanan	54,328	22%
✓ George Bush	177,173	73%
David Duke	7,662	3%
Uncommitted	5,043	2%

Delegates at stake: 45

Delegates won Tuesday: Buchanan, 10; Bush, 23; Duke, 0; Uncommitted, 0

State's moderate Republicans — anchored in mountainous East Tennessee — have long supported Bush. The president heralded benefits of free trade and economic competitiveness to a receptive crowd at Memphis Federal Express hangar. Buchanan failed to get the write-in votes he needed in most of the state to elect his delegates.

MISSOURI

DEMOCRATIC CAUCUS

With more than half the precincts reporting, Clinton cruised to victory, winning 41 delegates, compared with 27 either undetermined or uncommitted. After weak, late organizing, Tsongas showed little strength. Democrats went back to traditional caucus format after '88 primary. Big beneficiary: Clinton, backed by Lt. Gov. Mel Carnahan.

HAWAII

DEMOCRATIC CAUCUS

Caucus-goers in overwhelmingly Democratic state usually follow party leaders' cues. Gov. John Waihee backed Clinton.

LOUISIANA

DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY

Candidate	Vote	Pct.
Jerry Brown	25,040	7%
✓ Bill Clinton	260,938	69%
Tom Harkin	4,058	1%
Bob Kerrey	2,964	1%
Paul Tsongas	41,918	11%
Others	42,018	11%

Delegates at stake: 60

Delegates won Tuesday: Brown, 0; Clinton, 59; Tsongas, 1

Clinton's attention paid off; he was the only Democrat to campaign here and had support of party leaders, including Sens. J. Bennett Johnston and John Breaux, Gov. Edwin Edwards and New Orleans Mayor Sidney Barthelme. He met with influential Legislative Black Caucus.

REPUBLICAN PRIMARY

Candidate	Vote	Pct.
Pat Buchanan	32,683	27%
✓ George Bush	76,063	62%
David Duke	10,487	9%

Delegates at stake: 38

Delegates won Tuesday: Buchanan, 0; Bush, 32; Duke, 0; Uncommitted, 0

Bush avoided embarrassment, holding challengers' totals down. Buchanan was endorsed by William Nungesser, only state GOP chief to break with White House. Duke was hurt because conservative Democrats couldn't vote in GOP primary.

OKLAHOMA

DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY

Candidate	Vote	Pct.
Jerry Brown	69,883	17%
✓ Bill Clinton	290,571	70%
Tom Harkin	13,974	3%
Bob Kerrey	13,130	3%

Delegates at stake: 45

Delegates won Tuesday: Brown, 7; Clinton, 38

A filing snafu kept Tsongas off the ballot, and endorsement by state's popular Sen. David Boren couldn't undo the damage. Clinton was backed by Gov. David Walters and most of state's Democratic officials. Brown wasn't a factor early on but probably gained when he visited after Bob Kerrey dropped out.

REPUBLICAN PRIMARY

Candidate	Vote	Pct.
Pat Buchanan	57,584	27%
✓ George Bush	150,894	70%
David Duke	5,850	3%

Delegates at stake: 34

Delegates won Tuesday: Buchanan, 0; Bush, 34; Duke, 0

Bush administration support for tax legislation to aid independent oil and gas producers — key issue here — was announced last weekend. Buchanan had railed against taxpayer-funded "obscene" art and U.S. policy of being "trade wimps."

TEXAS

DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY

Candidate	Vote	Pct.
Jerry Brown	101,556	8%
✓ Bill Clinton	885,524	65%
Tom Harkin	18,406	1%
Bob Kerrey	19,452	1%
Paul Tsongas	249,689	19%

Delegates at stake: 196

Delegates won Tuesday: Brown, 2; Clinton, 96; Tsongas, 29

State's combined primary-caucus offered Super Tuesday's largest delegate cache. Clinton was supported by party leaders and major groups of labor, teachers, Mexican-Americans and blacks. Tsongas had hoped to win affluent, highly educated voters in Houston and Dallas suburbs but fell short of his 24% Georgia showing, which he'd hoped to match. Brown stumped colleges and liberal Austin with his "empowerment" message.

REPUBLICAN PRIMARY

Candidate	Vote	Pct.
Pat Buchanan	158,497	24%
✓ George Bush	487,027	70%
David Duke	17,652	3%
Uncommitted	23,079	3%

Delegates at stake: 121

Delegates won Tuesday: Buchanan, 0; Bush, 121; Duke, 0; Uncommitted, 0

Bush did well, as expected, in his adopted home state — improving on his 64% primary showing in 1988. Texans took to heart his proposal for fewer restrictions on trade with Mexico (a pact opposed by Buchanan and Duke) — which they figured means more jobs because of exports to Mexico. Buchanan, who appeared at the Alamo in a Texas-sized Stetson, lacked organization. Republicans held national convention in Houston's Astro-dome Aug. 17-20.

Envoy: Iraq has shown good faith

Showdown today at U.N.

By Lee Michael Katz
USA TODAY

UNITED NATIONS — Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz said Tuesday Iraq's partial compliance with U.N. weapons inspectors should earn eased trade sanctions.

Today he confronts a frustrated Security Council.

Aziz took a rhetorical swipe at the United States and Britain, telegraphing Iraq's strategy in today's debate. He called for a "fair, professional" evaluation of Iraqi compliance. Aziz also urged the council to "remove the biased political motives which are held by a number of states who would like to hurt the people of Iraq."

British Ambassador David Hannay said the council, which has repeatedly threatened "serious consequences" for Iraq's refusal to destroy its weapons, wasn't issuing an ultimatum. Instead, the council would send a "firm message" about Iraq's "flagrant and clear non-compliance."

The Security Council is expected to present Aziz with a laundry list of failures in living up to the requirements of post-war U.N. resolutions. Among the subjects the council plans to bring up: Kuwaiti POW/



AT UNITED NATIONS: Tariq Aziz, Iraq's deputy prime minister, says Iraq is not capable of building a nuclear device, but he did not exclude a 'dormant capability which can be activated' in the future.

MIA's, and Iraq's refusal to sell \$1.5 billion worth of oil under a U.N. plan that would funnel that money to Iraqi humanitarian aid.

But the centerpiece of the debate will be what U.N. officials say is Saddam Hussein's failure to identify and destroy

nuclear, chemical, biological and ballistic weapons. U.N. weapons destruction chief Rolf Ekeus said Tuesday he is convinced Iraq is still hiding some Scud missiles.

Aziz claims Iraq is overwhelmingly in compliance with U.N. requirements, so the

trade sanctions — which ban all imports but food and medicine — should be partly lifted. "We are going to present our case vis-a-vis the lifting of sanctions," Aziz said. "The sanctions should not be imposed eternally on 18 million Iraqi people."

Said council President Diego Arria: "If they are in total compliance, the sanctions will be automatically lifted."

Ekeus wants 100% compliance first. "I can't believe the council will say, within the cease-fire resolution, Iraq can keep 10% (of) chemical weapons, 10% nuclear weapons."

Ekeus, who met Tuesday night with Aziz, said he could negotiate on minor technicalities. But he said he had "no mandate to minimize the council resolutions."

Hannay said there was "nothing partial" about council demands, adding: "No one ever suggested for one minute this was a negotiating session."

Aziz is bringing other top Iraqi officials and experts to argue that equipment that also has civilian purposes shouldn't be destroyed, which U.N. officials are demanding.

"Our experts can prove to the Security Council that there are a lot of items, a lot of equipment, that can be used for civilian purposes," Aziz said. "This is a technical matter."

He also met with sympathetic non-aligned Third World diplomats. A Moroccan diplomat said Aziz was urged not to dither on the sanctions issue, but bring up specific points of Iraqi cooperation.

Indian Ambassador C.R. Gharekhan said Aziz told diplomats Iraq wants sanctions lifted before it will comply totally with U.N. demands.

U.S. backs NATO troops for Soviet conflicts

By Johanna Neuman
USA TODAY

BRUSSELS, Belgium — The United States gave its blessings Tuesday to a proposal that would send NATO troops to regional conflicts in former Soviet republics, such as the one in Nagorno-Karabakh.

"It is an idea that we think well of and that we think should certainly be considered," said Secretary of State James Baker. "But it is not something that has been adopted." NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner also en-

dorsed the Dutch proposal, saying: "In the future, NATO may well lend its material support, or even troops if needed."

The proposal, which would use NATO troops as peacekeepers, was floated in part to pressure Azerbaijan and Armenia to negotiate a settlement to their violent dispute.

But Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev, who met here with his Azerbaijani and Armenian counterparts, said: "That was just one of the ideas floated. What is needed is to continue mediation efforts."

Baker also met with the Eu-

ropean Community on Yugoslavia. The United States — which, unlike the EC, has not yet recognized Slovenia and Croatia — may do so by early April. "It is appropriate that we now have an extended consultation," said Baker. "It is time for us to consider the broad picture."

Baker meets today with Kozyrev to:

► Launch the new Science and Technology Center in Moscow, a move to employ former Soviet nuclear scientists so that they do not sell their knowledge to such international out-

casts as Iraq and Libya. The EC and the United States have each pledged \$25 million.

► Negotiate cuts in the START Treaty so that Presidents Bush and Boris Yeltsin can sign a new pact at their June meeting in Washington.

Kozyrev signaled Monday that Russia is ready to consider eliminating its multi-warhead missiles. His hope: that the United States will then consider a Russian plan to cut missile totals by 50%, which would reduce the U.S. submarine nuclear superiority.

"We will try to achieve mu-

tually acceptable compromises," said Kozyrev. "We have to bring our proposals closer, including eliminating MIRV missiles."

The violence in Nagorno-Karabakh was the main topic of debate for the 35 nations meeting here — 16 in NATO and 19 newly independent Eastern European and Soviet nations, now part of the new North Atlantic Coordinating Council.

NATO, hesitant to let former adversaries vote on the organization's security, has kept the new members in the separate, coordinating council.

Spousal support: The political life of a political wife

By Patricia Edmonds
USA TODAY

With Niki Tsongas and Hillary Clinton have faced the possibility of life without their husbands because of cancer, Clinton because of marital woes the couple has acknowledged.

But now, in this season of do-or-die primaries, each is the consummate political partner, the surrogate, coach and confidante of the man she thinks should be president.

Politically adept six-day-a-week campaigners, the women are the most trusted advisers to their husbands, former Massachusetts senator Paul Tsongas and Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton.

Jerry Brown, the third Democrat in the race, is single.

Hillary Clinton says that as the USA's first lady, she'd work on education, children's issues — "things I've cared about all my life." The Wellesley College graduate met Bill Clinton at Yale Law School, and forsook a big-city law career to join him in Arkansas, where she's been first lady for 10 years.

The Clintons have one daughter, Chelsea, 12, who friends have said may have been the glue that kept their marriage together.

At 44, Hillary Clinton has a five-page résumé of credentials: leader of the Children's Defense Fund and in the



By H. Darr Besser, USA TODAY
TSONGAS: Her first name, Niki, is Greek for 'victory.'

American Bar Association, nationally known authority on education, repeatedly named one of the USA's top lawyers. At a campaign event, she was introduced with a litany of accomplishments, and this line: "Her husband is also active in civic and community affairs."

Hillary Clinton's gripping oratory and her hearty way of working a crowd have sparked suggestions that the wrong Clinton is running for office. "My husband and I are very lucky

to have each other," she reportedly said, "and the country would be lucky to have both of us."

On 60 Minutes and in countless other appearances, she has tried to quell rumors that her husband has strayed. And this week, the campaign is scrambling to answer questions about a 1978 land deal involving the Clintons and a failed Arkansas savings and loan that Hillary Clinton's law firm represented.

Asked last week if she expected more attacks, Clinton



By David Zahabowski, AP
CLINTON: 'My husband and I are very lucky to have each other.'

responded, "Yeah, I think there are more submarines in the ocean — but torpedoes will fly against everybody."

Hillary Clinton says she can abide the campaign if it makes her husband president.

"When you have an opportunity to make a difference," Clinton says, "not to do so would be cowardice."

To Niki Tsongas, the idea of White House life is "humbling — there's an obligation to make a difference in people's lives. I think about it a lot."

The Tsongas camp loves this linguistic coincidence: The Greek word for victory is pro-

nounced niki. But Niki Tsongas is more than slogan fodder.

In the campaign, she is policy adviser, TV spokeswoman and rally spark plug — one of Paul Tsongas' favorite quips is that he may not have charisma, but he has married it.

In private life, she is a gourmet cook, auction buff and the mother of three daughters, 10, 14 and 17.

In 1983, Paul Tsongas was diagnosed with a cancer that is nearly always fatal. To equip herself to support the family, Niki Tsongas entered law school. Her children were young, her husband was fight-

Buchanan's quiet side

The Republican challenger's wife is as little-known as the incumbent's wife is renowned.

While Barbara Bush is a popular first lady, literacy crusader and national grandma-figure, Shelley Buchanan serves as a quiet, smiling second to her husband, commentator Patrick Buchanan. His aides say the candidate's wife is not giving interviews. Staffers don't know even simple facts about her — such as her age. She has carved out no issues of her own.



BUCHANAN

Would-be profilers have gleaned only a few, unadorned facts: the former Shelley Ann Scarney met Patrick Buchanan when both worked in the White House — he for Richard Nixon, she for Nixon's secretary, Rose Mary Woods. They married in 1971, have no children, and live in a \$900,000 house in McLean, Va.

Even in Buchanan's own book, *Right from the Beginning*, published in 1988, Shelley Buchanan is mentioned in only three passages — the same number as George Bush.

ing cancer, her mother was dying from it. She passed the bar exam on the first try.

"Going through the hardships... made her relationship with Paul a lot stronger," says Suzy Sauvage, the youngest of Niki's three younger sisters.

An experimental procedure in 1985 apparently cured Paul Tsongas. Niki Tsongas spent two years practicing law but now campaigns full time.

At 45, she seems tireless on

the road and has a winning style. It was she who convinced him that he needed a makeover after the first debate. Since he hired a voice coach and got telegenic neckties, his reviews improved.

Coach or no coach, she says with affectionate bias, the candidate does have a certain charm. "Charisma for our times," she calls it.

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USA
TODAY

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1992

THE REPUBLICANS

Bush blowout: 'Party's over, Pat'

But 'protest' candidate still hangs on

By Judy Keen
USA TODAY

President Bush's eight-state Super Tuesday stampede gives him an unbeaten 14-0 primary record and a good case for telling rival Pat Buchanan it's time to sit back and wait for 1996.

"Turn out the lights, the party's over, Pat," said Republican pollster Glen Bolger.

But the persistent chunk of GOP protest votes, throbbing again Tuesday like an aching tooth, warn Bush of potential trouble in the fall election.

"We've torn away one-third of GOP voters for good. ... We're going to hold his feet to the fire," Buchanan crowed at a Dearborn, Mich., rally.

Those protest voters are "working-class men under 40" angry about the economy and not necessarily drawn to Buchanan's ideology, said Bush campaign chief Bob Teeter.

"We'll get the great majority of them back," he said. Besides winning, he said, "each week we've won by bigger margins."

Florida GOP Chairman Van Poole predicted the protest vote will shrink: "People are beginning to figure out they should take their frustrations out on Congress."

Bush blurted out his chagrin Tuesday at stinging interpretations of his primary shutouts.

"It's weird out there, man," he said at a White House photo opportunity. "When a 40-point win isn't considered a victory, I've got to know what the hell is going on out there."



HIGH-LEVEL HUDDLE: President Bush is flanked by House Minority Leader Bob Michel, left, and Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole during a meeting Tuesday in the White House Cabinet Room.

But Buchanan, who's recast his campaign as a quest for the conservative core of the GOP, shows no sign of vanishing before the March 17 Illinois and Michigan primaries.

"I can lose 50 primaries or caucuses to George Bush," he said Tuesday, "but we are winning this national debate and bringing them in our direction, and we're going to fight for the heart and soul of the party" at August's GOP convention.

Buchanan's goal: To anoint himself conservatism's protector and heir apparent. "This is not a delegate hunt for Buchanan," said GOP strategist Ed Rollins. "He's running for the nomination in 1996, not today."

Buchanan's upset hopes now rest with Michigan, which has a 9% jobless rate and a cross-

tracked Bush's and Buchanan's appeal and weaknesses in earlier primaries.

Buchanan continues to be poison to women — about three-fourths of Florida women voted for Bush. But he won voters angry about Bush's reversal on his no-new-taxes pledge and those who view the economy as poor.

Bush got more than 80% of Florida's Hispanic vote and won among those who rated experience, electability and courage among key issues.

Only half of Texas Republicans said Bush has communicated a clear idea of what he stands for. Bush's veiled depictions of Buchanan as racially insensitive took hold: A fifth of Texas voters think he's prejudiced against minorities.

Exit polls of Florida and Texas voters mirror those that



By John Gaps III, AP
BUCHANAN: "We're going to fight for the heart and soul of the party" at GOP convention.

GOP officials are telling Buchanan he must get out when he's mathematically eliminated. By mid-May Bush likely will have the 1,105 delegates he needs to be nominated.

Bush last week put a halt to an exhaustive Southern campaign swing to retreat to the White House and begin girding for the general election.

The last thing Bush wants is more weakening body blows from GOP infighting, but Buchanan has raised plenty of conservative money to keep his campaign afloat.

Texas GOP national committeeman Ernest Angelo said Buchanan's challenge has helped Bush by emphasizing issues like family values and opposition to big government "that have been responsible for Republican presidential victories in the last three elections."

Bolger advised Buchanan to "support the president by turning his strong oratorical skills against the Democrats."

THE DEMOCRATS

Tsongas camp struggles to find national strategy

By Bill Nichols
USA TODAY

When Paul Tsongas' aides wanted to spend more money on TV ads in New Hampshire, he said to print more copies of his 86-page treatise, *A Call To Economic Arms*.

But what were once seen as Tsongas' strengths — his insistence on retelling his pro-business message and dislike for a media campaign — now threaten to undermine his ability to overtake Bill Clinton.

After Clinton's Super Tuesday romp, Tsongas — who won in Massachusetts and earlier in Maryland, Washington and Arizona — took the long view.

"When we go outside the South and outside New England, I win," he told CNN. "If we can just stay alive and have our message take root, we're going to win this thing."

But many analysts are less optimistic, saying Tsongas' campaign is still growing up in public — plagued by disorganization and unable to move Tsongas to the next level.

As Jesse Jackson said Tuesday: "It seems as if Tsongas was surprised he got beyond New Hampshire and had laid almost no groundwork."

Tuesday's Illinois and Michigan primaries are crucial for Tsongas. But Clinton's strengths — a skilled organization, key endorsements and a message bridging race and age



HUG AT HOME: Paul Tsongas embraces wife Niki during a rally Tuesday in Lowell, Mass. Tsongas was the overwhelming winner in the Democratic primary in Massachusetts, his home state.

groups — are again in place.

In Michigan, Tsongas "has absolutely nothing going for him ... in terms of endorsements by anybody," says William Ballenger, editor of *Inside Michigan Politics*.

"I don't know what the guy is capable of putting together in

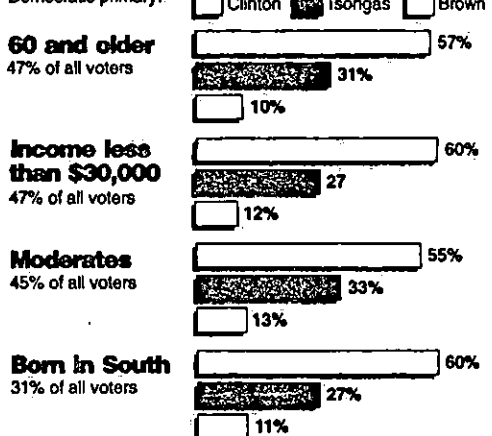
the space of a week."

In the past week, with new aides — like consultant Gerald Austin, manager of Jackson's 1988 campaign — urging him on, Tsongas has tried to define the race as a choice between "message and machine."

Tsongas also has been able

How Clinton won in Florida

Key groups backing Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton in Florida's Democratic primary:



Source: Voter Research and Surveys exit poll of 1,778 Democratic primary voters. Margin of sampling error: plus or minus 3 percentage points

By Ron Coddington, USA TODAY

to garner newspaper endorsements — seven major Florida papers preferred him.

But nothing seems to move his appeal beyond his strength among upper-income, better-educated white voters.

Exit polls from Florida — his best shot in the south — show Tsongas won only:

► 13% of black voters.
► 23% of those without college degrees.

► 31% of those 60 and older
Tsongas also is having problems convincing many voters about his economic program.

Among Florida voters who say the economy is in poor shape, only 29% said they voted for Tsongas.

Likewise, the Tsongas campaign — though relieved that it only must compete in two states next week rather than

Super Tuesday's 11 — is still struggling to match the battle-tested Clinton organization.

In presidential politics, all the little things count.

► In Georgia, Tsongas introduced his main black supporter, state Rep. Michael Thurmond, to his startled House colleagues as a state senator.

► In Michigan, former governor James Blanchard is ready to return reporters' calls to Clinton's campaign, while a Tsongas phone gives a busy signal for hours.

"The hardest thing for Tsongas is you go from a mom-and-pop store to a coast-to-coast supermarket, and you just make a lot of mistakes," says Democratic pollster Peter Hart. "His major challenge is not to rush and take a precipitous step next week."

How issues translated into votes

Voters in the key Florida primary named the economy as the issue that most influenced their vote. Florida accounts for 19% of the Democratic delegates and 23% of Republican delegates up for grabs Tuesday. Here is a look at the issues and candidate qualities that played the biggest role in Tuesday's vote:

THE DEMOCRATS

Clinton Tsongas Brown Other



IN FLORIDA

Voters named these issues most important in their decision. Candidate support within each group:

The top issues

Economy, jobs 2%



Health care 2%



Education 3%



Candidate qualities

Has specific ideas



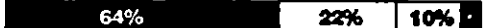
Has shown strength and courage in life 1%



Cares about people like me 1%



Best represents what party stands for 4%



THE REPUBLICANS

Bush Buchanan

The top issues

Economy, jobs



Taxes



Ability to compete with other countries



Candidate qualities

Experience 3%



Best represents what party stands for



Has shown strength and courage in life



Will promote family values



Clinton, Bush sweep delegate-rich South

By Richard Benedetto
USA TODAY



By Gary Cameron, Reuters
BUSH: Primary results 'wonderful'

Bill Clinton marched through the South and over Paul Tsongas Tuesday to become the clear front-runner in the Democratic presidential race.

President Bush, meanwhile, won an eight-state GOP shutout of conservative Pat Buchanan.

It was the busiest day of the primary season, enabling Clinton and Bush to build commanding delegate leads as the campaigns head north to Illinois and Michigan next week.

Bush has nearly two-thirds of the delegates needed to win nomination; Clinton is about a third of the way there.

Tsongas needs to win Illinois or Michigan to stay alive.

Clinton, with support from traditional Democrats including blacks, won Texas, Florida, Tennessee, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Missouri and Mississippi.

Tsongas won home state Massachusetts, neighboring Rhode Island and Delaware.

Ex-California governor Jerry Brown won no states.

Clinton, having denied charges of marital infidelity and draft evasion early in the race, said, "The people of the South heard the worst about me, but they saw the best."

Bush swept Florida, Texas, Oklahoma, Mississippi, Tennessee, Rhode Island, Massachusetts and Louisiana, gaining

two of three votes — and more — in almost each state.

Buchanan, however, still drew a sizeable protest vote.

Bush press secretary Marlin Fitzwater said Bush "for all practical purposes" has won the nomination, and suggested Buchanan end his challenge.

But Buchanan said, "We have been winning the hearts of the American people and we're going to continue."

Ex-Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke ran poorly everywhere he competed, but called his showing "respectable."

Florida was a blow to Tsongas. He had hoped to show he could win in the South.

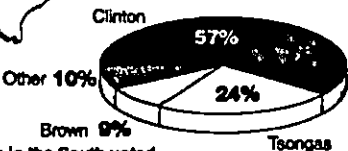
Clinton now has the momentum, but Tsongas warned him: "You're not going to pander your way into the White House as long as I'm around."

The 11th Super Tuesday contest was a caucus in Hawaii.

IN TEXAS

There were few surprises in the other major Super Tuesday state, which represents about one fourth of the delegates up for grabs in each party Tuesday:

Tuesday's Democratic voters who supported President Bush in '88



How people born in the South voted...

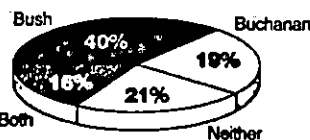


... compared with those who moved to Texas in last 10 years



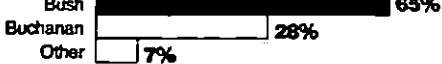
NOTE: "Other" refers to candidates who have dropped out.

Percentage who think the candidate has given a clear idea of what he stands for



The vote by sex

Male



Female



NOTE: David Duke won fewer than 3% among any group and is listed with uncommitted under "other."

Source: Voter Research and Surveys exit poll of 1,776 Democratic primary voters and 1,509 Republican primary voters in Florida and 1,770 Democratic primary voters and 1,480 Republican primary voters in Texas. VRS is a cooperative effort of ABC, CNN, CBS and NBC. Margin of sampling error is plus or minus 3 percentage points.

By Marty Baumann, USA TODAY

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1992

USA TODAY

COVER STORY

Front-runner staggers his rivals

Ark. governor ran well in home region; after Tuesday 'his home region is over'

By Adam Nagourney
USA TODAY

The lopsided lessons of Super Tuesday go way beyond the power of Southern loyalty. Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton swept to victory because he outthrust, outmaneuvered, outflanked and simply overpowered Paul Tsongas in most of the 11 states that voted.

In one week, Clinton shifted the debate into a searing, populist assault on Tsongas' pro-business tendencies. He demonstrated his campaign skills when he took a small vulnerability — Tsongas' candid but politically inept suggestion he might scale back Social Security hikes — and rammed a truck through it.

Clinton forced Tsongas on the defensive with a daily barrage of charges, causing him to drift from the appeal for economic growth and sacrifice that had served him so well.

And Clinton waged a savvy street campaign in Miami condominiums that would impress the most hard-knuckled ward leader, including a devastating leaflet barrage in Jewish neighborhoods portraying Tsongas as hostile to Israel.

In some ways, none of this is surprising. Clinton, elected governor in 1978 at the age of 32, is a man of consuming political drive who has meticulously planned for this mo-

Please see COVER STORY next page ►

COVER STORY

Clinton 'sprinting'

Continued from 1A

ment. He has surrounded himself with some of the brightest — and most brutal — Democratic consultants.

Tsongas, by contrast, is the front-runner who wasn't supposed to be: He was battling cancer at the very time Clinton was plotting his path to the White House. As recently as three weeks ago, his traveling party of aides was two people.

But neither the political calendar nor the electorate seems prepared to cut Tsongas much slack for these inequities.

First, the former Massachusetts senator will be hard-pressed in the coming days to match the political skills, massive consultant operation or sophisticated message that now carries the Clinton campaign. Clinton started planning for next Tuesday's critical Illinois primary five months ago.

But more important, there does not appear to be enough of the voters who have powered Tsongas so far — upper-income, highly educated, white-collar — to help him win states like Michigan and Illinois next week.

"Bill Clinton has thought about this race and figured out this race early on," says Democratic pollster Peter Hart. "And while Paul Tsongas is attempting to get his sea-legs after his early victory, Bill Clinton is sprinting around the track."

Says Terry Michael, a former national Democratic Party spokesman and Clinton partisan: "I don't see any way Tsongas can win the nomination. It's either going to be Clinton or somebody outside the field."

Still, it's early for Clinton to start planning his acceptance speech. Unlike Tsongas or former governor Jerry Brown, Clinton has yet to win a significant victory outside his home region. Polls and interviews with voters — not to mention Democratic Party leaders — suggest lingering concern about how much his personal problems might hurt him against President Bush.

And though the Democratic Party has always seemed happier in times of political turmoil, it's hard to imagine Democrats agreeing on a candidate so early. "There's going to be an overreaction to the sweep of the South," Democratic consultant Brian Lunde says. "This is not going to be an early knockout. The only thing we're going to see developing is a political civil war: A northern candidate vs. a southern candidate."

"Even though Clinton has a huge victory, the burden of proof is still on him: He is not a national candidate yet."

Even after the regional lift of Tuesday night, Clinton still has only about 700 delegates, far from the 2,145 needed for nomination. And he now goes into territory where he has no geographic advantage.

"The important thing to remember is this is the South — this is no big surprise," Tsongas campaign manager Dennis Karin says. "He's running well in his home region — but after today, the home region is over."

It's hard, though, not to overestimate Clinton's advantage. In contrast to Tsongas' limited base, Clinton has managed to cobble together one of the broadest Democratic coalitions in at least a decade, including blue-collar workers, blacks and Jews.

He now enjoys the aura of a front-runner — quite a change from a year ago, when he was the bad boy of the Democratic Party. Then, much to the annoyance of the Democrats' left wing, he was questioning whether the party was captive to special interest, saying help from government must be conditioned on service to government. That meant welfare benefits in exchange for job training.

That approach caught fire as Clinton expanded his message to call for accountability from Wall Street executives as well as welfare recipients. And as Democrats began to believe that he may have stumbled upon the formula to take back the White House, they rallied to his side.

In the past week, Clinton displayed his political skills again, subtly shifting his appeal to run against Tsongas. He positioned himself as a populist, "people-first" candidate who supports programs such as universal scholarships, against a candidate of Wall Street who favors tax cuts.

"He's doing to Paul Tsongas what we wanted to do to Bill Clinton: Main Street vs. Wall Street," says Tim Raftis, who managed the campaign of Iowa Sen. Tom Harkin until he dropped out of the race this week. Raftis laughs, saying: "I tip my hat to him."

The result has been that voters no longer see Tsongas intoning against Clinton's call for middle-class tax cuts, which he says is a gimmick that will do nothing to stimulate the economy. Instead, they saw him attacking Clinton as a "pander bear," a slick politician pandering to voters.

While Clinton is no doubt vulnerable to those kinds of charges, Tsongas might not be the right person to be making them. Tad Devine, campaign manager for former presidential candidate Bob Kerrey, says Tsongas' appeal was as a non-politician — and going on the attack blurred that appeal.

"It was a positive message that worked so well for him in New Hampshire," he says. "Probably the best thing to do for him is to return to that."

Tsongas campaign manager Karin, acknowledged as much Tuesday night: "We got off our message a little bit," he says.

But there was an even more enduring lesson of the last week: On a typical day, Tsongas would start around 8, do maybe three events, then finish up about 12 hours later.

But Clinton would be up at dawn, starting a day of rallies and interviews. At a synagogue in Sunrise, Fla., the other day, a whole motorcade waited as Clinton walked over to chat and shake hands with three voters standing on the grass.

"He is," says Raftis, "extremely driven."

PAUL GREENBERG

Inquiring herd unleashed

The national press corps, if you could call anything so disorganized a corps, will soon hit Arkansas in even greater numbers, cameras in hand and word processors in tow, as its governor zeroes in on the Democratic presidential nomination. As-

Paul Greenberg is editorial editor of the Pine Bluff (Ark.) Commercial and a nationally syndicated columnist.

signment: Find the real, the genuine, the authentic Bill Clinton. Good luck. Even with all the great resources and bad manners of the media-ocracy, it won't be easy.

In full swarm, the Media will begin the search for the essence of The Hollow Man by covering itself. Instead of seeking interviews, I'm now granting them at a rate that increases in direct proportion to the governor's successes in the primaries. The Philadelphia Inquirer called the other day to ask the same, inevi-

table, unanswerable question: What is Bill Clinton really like? That incessant query finally got to me about three weeks before, when it was the New York Post asking, and I burst into a laugh that may have sounded maniacal because it was. (How often can one be asked the same question without an occasional breakdown?)

The young lady from the Post guessed I was laughing because she was a novice on the Clinton Trail while I'd been reporting and appraising Bill Clinton, a k a Slick

Willie, since shortly before The Flood. Her supposition hurt my feelings. I would never be so rude as to laugh at a stranger asking directions.

It's like this, I explained: Here I've been trying to answer that same question myself since circa 1976 with little success. The experience is like visiting a carnival midway and wandering through the House of Mirrors for about 15 years. Unable to find the way out, one day you come back to the same exact point where you entered the mirrored maze years before, only to hear a voice from the New York Post inquire,

see GREENBERG, page F4

GREENBERG

From page F1



"Could you please show me the way to the exit?" What else is there to do at that point but laugh?

To think that Edmund Burke mistook the desperate, disheveled and thoroughly disoriented legion that is the press for a Fourth Estate! His over-used description has to be one of the few misjudgments of an otherwise luminous mind.

An assortment of scouts and stragglers, bushwhackers and camp followers, pundits and suckers recently descended on a special child-welfare session of the Arkansas Legislature to observe Bill Clinton in situ. The inky wretches of the press could not have chosen a better observation point, even if their presence was bound to affect what they observed. (There is a Heisenberg Effect in politics, too, and nothing may determine a politician's message or even his style like proximity to a reporter. The state legislature, its company manners in place, never seemed so ruly.)

The most observant and least obsequious of the visitors soon understood that they were seeing a typical

performance by our ordinarily absent governor. The state had to be deluged with horror stories about child abuse and hit by a lawsuit before his attention was caught. This special session addressed the crisis in Arkansas' child-welfare system only partially, and, more to the point, only after it had become politically embarrassing. Only then, true to form, was some reform legislation wheeled into place.

The action taken was far from complete, and it will not be easy to tell how effective it will prove, yet one thing's for certain: It will be hailed by the governor, and others eager that he took presidential, as a "model" program — groundbreaking in its sweep, noble in its compassion, the best in the country, and an outstanding example of how the political system can be made to work again. The New Covenant in action! (A Bill Clinton Production. Costumes from the East.)

What's the real Bill Clinton like? Arkansas' governor is one of those highly skilled political operatives usually found behind the scenes instead of out front; he is an updated Lee Atwater, James Farley and Marc Hanna all rolled into one. There hasn't been an all-around political talent like his since Richard Nixon trod the boards. He's his own best press agent, and as a campaign manager he outshines the pros he's surrounded himself with. Who else could have emerged as the front-runner in the Democratic presidential race even before winning a single primary?

With so many political abilities, of course there's no room for a person in Bill Clinton's bulging persona. Whatever his political principles may be — and they are the subject of intense but fruitless search these days — they definitely are not Edmund Burke's. ("The principles of true politics are those of morality enlarged.") We tend to become what we do, and what Bill Clinton does is politics — or, more precisely, political advancement. That much should be clear by now. And still this maddening crowd from distant points keeps asking what's inside after all the layers have been peeled away from the onion.

REPUBLICAN RESULTS

Unofficial returns in the Republican presidential primaries yesterday.

FLORIDA

3,899 of 4,759 precincts reporting - 82%

Pat Buchanan . . . 229,708 - 32%
George Bush . . . (I) 495,228 - 68%

LOUISIANA

2,210 of 3,956 precincts reporting - 56%

Pat Buchanan . . . 18,623 - 28%
George Bush . . . (I) 40,891 - 61%
David Duke . . . 5,933 - 9%
Thomas Fabish . . . 60 - 0%
Pat Paulsen . . . 657 - 1%
Tennie Rogers . . . 623 - 1%
George Zimmermann . . . 262 - 0%

MASSACHUSETTS

1,052 of 2,139 precincts reporting - 49%

Pat Buchanan . . . 33,354 - 28%
George Bush . . . (I) 78,450 - 66%
David Duke . . . 2,680 - 2%
Uncommitted . . . 4,532 - 4%

MISSISSIPPI

1,749 of 2,210 precincts reporting - 79%

Pat Buchanan . . . 15,024 - 16%
George Bush . . . (I) 69,506 - 72%
Billy Joe Clegg . . . 229 - 0%
David Duke . . . 11,377 - 12%
Tennie Rogers . . . 118 - 0%

OKLAHOMA

1,689 of 2,219 precincts reporting - 85%

Pat Buchanan . . . 46,067 - 27%
George Bush . . . (I) 120,757 - 70%
David Duke . . . 4,516 - 3%
Isabell Masters . . . 1,481 - 1%
Tennie Rogers . . . 553 - 0%

RHODE ISLAND

226 of 231 precincts reporting - 98%

Pat Buchanan . . . 4,819 - 32%
George Bush . . . (I) 9,328 - 63%
David Duke . . . 318 - 2%
Uncommitted . . . 405 - 3%

TENNESSEE

2,207 of 2,395 precincts reporting - 92%

Pat Buchanan . . . 50,221 - 22%
George Bush . . . (I) 163,056 - 72%
David Duke . . . 7,205 - 3%
Uncommitted . . . 4,803 - 2%

TEXAS

1,639 of 7,237 precincts reporting - 23%

Pat Buchanan . . . 53,761 - 23%
George Bush . . . (I) 160,452 - 70%
David Duke . . . 5,514 - 2%
Tennie Rogers . . . 326 - 0%
George Zimmermann . . . 493 - 0%
Uncommitted . . . 8,275 - 4%

The Washington Times

Bush a battered victor over scrappy Buchanan

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Stick a fork in conservative GOP candidate Pat Buchanan. He's done. "The fat lady is about to sing for Pat Buchanan. We're 15-and-0. . . Buchanan is becoming largely irrelevant," said a senior White House official.

While Mr. Buchanan demonstrated last night that he remains the vehicle for the anti-Bush protest vote, he failed for a second week to make good on his promise to win a primary.

David Duke, the former Ku Klux Klan leader, failed to even get off the ground.

Despite Mr. Bush's sweeping victory, the White House remained worried about how to win back Mr. Buchanan's supporters and energize the president's lumbering re-election campaign.

Conservatives, even those advising the re-election campaign, openly complained yesterday that the campaign has no message or agenda. That problem has administration officials worried that conservatives will choose either to sit out the election or vote Democratic.

The White House hasn't found a way to woo those voters back. Their simplistic message that Mr. Bush is a Reagan-style conservative hasn't worked, largely because it's hollow. And the White House can't shake Mr. Buchanan's attack on the president's flip-flop on his promise never to raise taxes.

Robert Teeter, Bush-Quayle campaign manager, said last night that while the president will offer conservatives nothing new, Mr. Bush will listen to their concerns.

But in the end, he predicted, most

TOTAL VOTE

Current breakdown of all votes cast in the primaries yesterday.

DEMOCRATIC

14,980 of 26,276 precincts reporting - 57%

Bill Clinton . . .	1,512,878	- 55%
Paul Tsongas . . .	719,739	- 26%
Jerry Brown . . .	300,775	- 11%
Tom Harkin . . .	39,784	- 1%
Bob Kerrey . . .	38,527	- 1%
Charles Woods . . .	32,954	- 1%
Uncommitted . . .	25,518	- 1%
Lyndon LaRouche . . .	13,950	- 1%
Ralph Nader . . .	13,749	- 1%
Eugene McCarthy . . .	8,284	- 0%
J. Louis McAlpine . . .	4,182	- 0%
Rufus Higginbotham . . .	3,504	- 0%
Tod Hawks . . .	3,011	- 0%
George Bennis . . .	2,892	- 0%
Larry Agran . . .	2,474	- 0%
Stephen Burke . . .	2,031	- 0%
Jeffrey Marsh . . .	987	- 0%
Tom Laughlin . . .	952	- 0%
Ray Rollinson . . .	527	- 0%
Susan Fey . . .	289	- 0%
John Staradumsky . . .	166	- 0%
Curly Thornton . . .	52	- 0%

REPUBLICAN

13,975 of 25,146 precincts reporting - 56%

George Bush (I) . . .	1,072,020	- 69%
Pat Buchanan . . .	425,080	- 27%
David Duke . . .	35,091	- 2%
Uncommitted . . .	16,946	- 1%
Tennie Rogers . . .	1,457	- 0%
Isabell Masters . . .	1,396	- 0%
George Zimmermann . . .	676	- 0%
Pat Paulsen . . .	559	- 0%
Billy Joe Clegg . . .	198	- 0%
Thomas Fabish . . .	58	- 0%

The Washington Times

of Mr. Buchanan's supporters will come home to roost.

Even after losing all of last night's eight primaries stretching from Massachusetts to Texas, Mr. Buchanan took his "victory" tour to Michigan, seemingly oblivious to

GOP operatives demanding he get out of the way for the "Bush express."

Unable after four months to build on the nationwide protest vote against President Bush, the silver medalist in the Republican primary process now finds himself torn between backing the president or stepping up his damaging fight to take control of the party in preparation for the 1996 elections.

For now, it appears that the columnist will stay in the race for the GOP nomination — all but sewn up by the president — to force the White House to adopt much of his conservative tone, a strategy that has worked so far.

"What he wants is to resume leadership of the party and cleanse it. . . He's certainly a relevant guy for the future," said William Bennett, a conservative and Mr. Bush's former drug czar.

However, Mr. Bennett, one of many conservatives vying for the party's leadership, said that if Mr. Buchanan remains in the GOP nomination fight, "he will continue hurting the president, whacking at his legs," and possibly wounding Mr. Bush enough to let a Democrat win the White House this fall.

That is what has the White House worried. Still scrambling to find a message and a campaign strategy more than two months after forming a re-election team, top Bush aides fear Mr. Buchanan will continue "to goose us and embarrass us," according to an adviser.

Senior Republican and Bush-Quayle re-election campaign officials did not hide their wish last night that Mr. Buchanan and long-shot Republican candidate David Duke would bail out, Tom Harkin or Bob Kerrey-style.

"When it's over, it's over — as Tom

Harkin found out, and Bob Kerrey," said Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole, referring to the Iowa and Nebraska senators who recently quit the Democratic race for the White House after poor primary showings.

But the protest vote remained strong against Mr. Bush.

"There's not much enthusiasm for Bush. He's pretty much on the defensive. That wave of popular sentiment is not there right now. It's like he is kind of on probation," said Merle Black, professor of political science at Emory University and an expert on Southern politics.

One group, however, did vote big for Mr. Bush — Cuban-Americans in Florida, who helped Mr. Bush win more than 60 percent of the vote.

Re-election campaign officials are anxious to get rid of Mr. Buchanan because he has forced the Bush team to fight back and they have done a terrible job.

"The campaign is not strong," explained Mr. Bennett, an adviser to the president.

"The rap is there isn't an agenda. There isn't . . . but he can remedy this," said Mr. Bennett, one of many aggressive Reagan-era campaigners overlooked by the Bush campaign.

South's blacks, Hispanics gave Clinton support

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Bill Clinton built a coalition that crossed racial and ethnic lines in the South on Super Tuesday, cutting Paul Tsongas out of nearly all the black and Hispanic vote.

Voters were still clearly dissatisfied. Forty percent of Democratic voters said they had reservations about the candidate they chose.

Mr. Bush's approval rating continued to run low, even in his adopted home state of Texas. Early figures on ABC showed 36 percent of Texas Republicans disapproved of the way he's handling his job.

Mr. Tsongas, the former Massachusetts senator, continued to do well among high-income and more educated voters. Cable News Network said Mr. Clinton and Mr. Tsongas ran about even among Jewish voters in Florida.

Among Democrats, Mr. Clinton won roughly 60 percent of the white vote and more than 75 percent of the black vote in the South, according to exit polls taken for four television networks by Voter Research and Surveys.

But a quarter of Southern Democrats said they were not satisfied that Mr. Clinton has the honesty and integrity to serve effectively as president, ABC reported.

Mr. Tsongas trailed 59 percent to 27 percent among white voters in the South, Cable News Network reported. Neither Mr. Tsongas nor former California Gov. Jerry Brown got more than 10 percent of the black vote in the South, CNN said.

Mr. Clinton led Mr. Tsongas 57 percent to 18 percent among Hispanics in Texas, where they make up about 14 percent of Democratic voters.

While exit polls allowed the networks to declare by shortly after 8 p.m. that Mr. Bush was winning handily, there was still evidence of marked dissatisfaction with the president.

For example, more than a third of voters in Mr. Bush's own party in his adopted home state of Texas said they disapprove of the way he's done his job. Sixty-one percent said they approved.

In Florida, Republican voters gave Mr. Bush a 55 percent approval rating, CNN said.

"Pat Buchanan doesn't have to campaign. He can just ride on George Bush's disapproval ratings," Mr. Schneider said.

About half of Buchanan voters said they won't vote for Mr. Bush if he is the Republican nominee in November, CBS reported. The Bush campaign is portraying such findings as more an expression of current economic distress than a predictor of voting behavior.



Bill Clinton's support in Southern primaries crossed racial lines.

Still-winless Buchanan calls for ouster of GOP chairman

By Ralph Z. Hallow
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

DEARBORN, Mich. — Pat Buchanan called for Republican National Chairman Rich Bond's head yesterday as voters were handing Mr. Buchanan his own in eight Republican Super Tuesday primaries yesterday.

"He is supposed to be an individual who helps bring the party together at the convention," the GOP challenger said.

He called for Mr. Bond's ouster at an airport news conference in New Orleans yesterday morning before flying to Michigan to begin campaigning here and in Illinois for the March 17 primaries.

Accusing President Bush's 1988 deputy campaign manager of in effect saying that Mr. Buchanan's supporters voted for him because they thought they "were going to get a David Duke," he said:

"Mr. Bond can no longer play that (convention) role. He ought to resign, or be fired."

Mr. Duke, a former Louisiana state legislator and Ku Klux Klan leader, cut into Mr. Buchanan's vote totals in yesterday's primaries, leaving the conservative commentator unable to match his 37 percent showing in New Hampshire or the 36 percent he posted in Georgia on March 3.

The once-popular president still has reason to fear the challenge from the right, however.

Last week Mr. Buchanan said Mr. Bush should quit the race because he is unelectable. As if to lend a measure of credence to the point, national polls released this week showed for the first time that Democrats Paul Tsongas and Bill Clinton were ahead of or drawing even with Mr. Bush.

Mr. Buchanan contends that the conservative Republicans and Reagan Democrats who support him could spell the difference between victory and defeat for the GOP nominee in the general election. The intensity of Bush surrogates' attacks on Mr. Buchanan indicate that the president and his advisers clearly fear him for that reason.

Playing on that fear yesterday, Mr. Buchanan said that unless the president replaces Mr. Bond the "Buchanan Brigades" won't be there for Mr. Bush if he is the nominee.

Charging that Mr. Bond "smeared" him and the "tens of thousands" of his supporters around the country, Mr. Buchanan said he "would urge every single Republican who supports me and every one who believes in fairness not to contribute another dime to the Republican National Committee as long as Mr. Bond is the chairman."

Obviously shaken and personally

hurt by the disparagement heaped on him by such conservative Bush surrogates as William Bennett, Newt Gingrich and Vin Weber, he then came close to saying something that as a loyal Republican he has never said before:

"I have said I will endorse Mr. Bush in the fall if he wins the nomination, but I'm not going to work for the party if Mr. Bond is kept on as chairman."

Mr. Buchanan has been forced to submerge some of his message because of comparisons with Mr. Duke, which clearly sting him.

"I am proud of the way we handled the issue of the gentleman from Louisiana, Mr. Duke," he said yesterday, explaining that one of his goals in running was "to take our party and our movement, especially in the South, away from someone who was reaching out and calling himself a new Mr. Conservative, who was bogus from the beginning."

"We deserve a lot of credit and we don't deserve what we're getting from the chairman of the Republican Party," Mr. Buchanan said.

He added that if Mr. Bush wins the nomination and "asks for help in the general election, I'll say, 'You've got someone there who thinks I'm David Duke and has said so, and if he's commanding the campaign, our troops aren't marching under that character.'"

was provided... by an official who believes this post-Cold War strategy debate should be carried out in the public domain." Ahem. That is usually code describing a liberal leaker who doesn't approve of a hard-line position.

But this preliminary draft deserves to be vetted, even with the Times' breathless hype characterizing a sober document.

As the Times puts it: "The classified document makes the case for a world dominated by one superpower... America's political and military mission in the post-Cold War era will be to ensure that no rival superpower is allowed to emerge... With its focus on this concept of benevolent domination

see WATTENBERG, page F4

Pentagon planning

answers the popular question: Will America remain No. 1?

At issue is the forthcoming bi-annual edition of "Defense Planning Guidance," the first since the end of the Cold War. It is being prepared under the direction of DOD Undersecretary for Policy Paul Wolfowitz, one of America's serious geopolitical thinkers. (A real Clausewitz is Wolfowitz.)

The journalistic genesis of the story is interesting. As described in the New York Times, "the document

ought to do it cautiously.

Not to pursue No. 1 status would be to abandon a historic opportunity offered only rarely, and to few nations.

The Democrats will be tempted to go the wrong way. Liberals faint at the sight of power. Democrats accordingly may well get into an intramural bidding war over who can cut defense the most, down to irresponsibly low levels. They may return to Vietnam era language about "America not being the world's policeman." Count on all that from the resurgent campaign of second-tier candidate Jerry Brown.

But, according to their state-

ments, Messrs. Clinton and Tsongas know better than that. If they don't pander to the Democratic Left, their strongest posture would be to agree with the inherent premise of the Bush document, and then demand to know why Mr. Bush hasn't pursued it.

This is their opportunity to challenge Mr. Bush. Why is America coddling the Chinese totalitarians? Why is Saddam Hussein still around? Why was Boris Yeltsin snubbed? Why don't we have a fully global Voice of America?

This is the election year debate we deserve: how to make America first — in the world.

BEN WATTENBERG

The front-page New York Times leak of an early draft of a Pentagon document has revealed that a serious "America First" candidate still may emerge. It is not Pat Buchanan. It is George Bush. That should offer a creative challenge to Bill Clinton and Paul Tsongas: Can either of them be "First-ier Than Thou?"

Mr. Buchanan's version of "America First" has offered a scared, small-minded, whining, sniveling, wimpy view of America in the world. It is a "first" only in the sense of who can scramble to the head of the line to grab goodies.

The Defense Department report goes the other way: It is about how to keep America in global first place. It offers a plan that affirmatively an-

Ben J. Wattenberg, a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

WATTENBERG

From page F1

by one power, the Pentagon document articulates the clearest rejection to date of collective internationalism.

There will be great consternation about the document. Foreign statesmen, who privately pray that America will remain the sole stabilizing superpower, will profess shock. How else could a diplomat respond to a newspaper story that the United States wants "benevolent dominance?"

The Bush administration will also express shock — at the very

idea of the leak of a preliminary internal document. They will say the final document is what counts, and that the final language will be more moderate than the characterizations of the leaked version.

But President Bush should not overly moderate the philosophy of the document. We do indeed want "a one superpower world." It can offer a global democratic situation friendly to our values, and with less threat from nuclear weapons and terrorism. As the document makes clear, we want to work constructively with our allies, but we also want selective freedom of action. We can now cut defense spending, but we

DEMOCRATIC RESULTS

Unofficial returns in the Democratic presidential primaries yesterday. Leader in bold type.

FLORIDA

4,063 of 4,759 precincts reporting - 85%

LOUISIANA

2,231 of 3,958 precincts reporting - 56%

Larry Agran	1,854	1%
Jerry Brown	13,157	7%
Stephen Burke	2,243	1%
Bill Clinton	136,462	69%
Tom Harkin	2,206	1%
Tod Hawks	781	0%
Bob Kerrey	1,633	1%
Lyndon LaRouche	1,633	1%
Tom Laughlin	1,005	1%
Jeffrey Marsh	1,138	1%
J. Louis McAlpine	450	0%
Eugene McCarthy	8,099	4%
Ray Rollinson	551	0%
Paul Tsongas	22,150	11%
Charles Woods	5,068	3%

MASSACHUSETTS

1,084 of 2,139 precincts reporting - 51%

Larry Agran	870	0%
Jerry Brown	53,117	15%
Bill Clinton	40,158	11%
Tom Harkin	1,736	0%
Bob Kerrey	2,491	1%
Lyndon LaRouche	985	0%
Eugene McCarthy	1,538	0%
Ralph Nader	15,867	4%
Paul Tsongas	242,759	66%
Uncommitted	5,825	2%

MISSISSIPPI

1,814 of 2,210 precincts reporting - 82%

Jerry Brown	12,423	9%
Bill Clinton	106,456	74%
Tom Harkin	1,857	1%
Bob Kerrey	1,229	1%
Lyndon LaRouche	1,161	1%
Paul Tsongas	10,922	8%
Uncommitted	9,268	6%

OKLAHOMA

1,877 of 2,219 precincts reporting - 85%

Jerry Brown	55,635	16%
Bill Clinton	245,155	71%
Tom Harkin	11,529	3%
Bob Kerrey	10,725	3%
Lyndon LaRouche	5,370	2%
J. Louis McAlpine	2,309	1%
Charles Woods	15,158	4%

RHODE ISLAND

226 of 231 precincts reporting - 98%

Larry Agran	68	0%
Jerry Brown	9,028	19%
Stephen Burke	48	0%
Bill Clinton	10,275	22%
Susan Fey	289	1%
Tom Harkin	266	1%
Bob Kerrey	409	1%
Lyndon LaRouche	292	1%
Tom Laughlin	87	0%
Eugene McCarthy	218	0%
Ray Rollinson	78	0%
John Staradumsky	166	0%
Curly Thornton	52	0%
Paul Tsongas	25,424	53%
Charles Woods	396	1%
Uncommitted	619	1%

TENNESSEE

2,202 of 2,395 precincts reporting - 92%

Jerry Brown	24,081	8%
Bill Clinton	198,564	68%
Tom Harkin	2,094	1%
Bob Kerrey	1,553	1%
Paul Tsongas	56,035	19%
Uncommitted	10,936	4%

TEXAS

2,609 of 8,367 precincts reporting - 31%

George Bennis	3,145	1%
Jerry Brown	35,954	6%
Bill Clinton	388,477	67%
Tom Harkin	10,592	2%
Tod Hawks	2,529	0%
Rufus Higginbotham	3,797	1%
Bob Kerrey	12,306	2%
Lyndon LaRouche	5,536	1%
J. Louis McAlpine	1,787	0%
Paul Tsongas	104,618	18%
Charles Woods	14,716	3%

The Washington Times

Media fuel Buchanan, aides to Bush complain

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Senior officials in the White House — where anger is rising over Pat Buchanan's stubborn candidacy — believe journalists are promoting the contest to save their jobs, Republican congressional leaders said yesterday.

"There is a growing suspicion in the country that people in the news media [are] concerned that if they don't have a race to cover in the midst of a recession, that you could be out of work. And so, therefore, this campaign is being pushed to protect your jobs," Sen. Phil Gramm, Texas Republican, told reporters after a political session with President Bush and his advisers.

Mr. Bush was "ticked off" by The Washington Post's headline yesterday playing up a poll that showed his popularity dropping to 39 percent, House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich said. The Georgia Republican called Mr. Buchanan the "pet conservative" of reporters.

Mr. Gramm brushed off the idea that the press was too liberal to support Mr. Buchanan. "No, when you're trying to hold onto your job, liberal and conservative cease to have any meaning," he said.

Mr. Gramm said there was no credibility to Mr. Buchanan's campaign and suggested he could be at the GOP convention in Houston only as a journalist or a T-shirt salesman.

"There's a lot of money in T-shirts," said Mr. Gramm, who predicted Mr. Bush would win every congressional district in yesterday's Texas primary.

The congressional Bush backers seemed to be trying to talk Mr. Buchanan down from his perch after a political meeting with Mr. Bush. They proposed what sounded like the first offer of a post-primary deal to have him made "part of a team" by GOP National Chairman Rich Bond, who attended yesterday's Cabinet Room meeting.

"If Buchanan in the next week or two says, 'Look, I've had a terrific run. I've made my points, but our primary job is to defeat liberal Democrats,' then obviously you'd want him, you'd want him at Houston as part of a team," Mr. Gingrich said.

Both men referred to the wave of criticism against the media inside the White House.

"We are not endorsing the analysis by some people in the White House," Mr. Gingrich said with a grin. "But the truth is, the primary backers of the Buchanan campaign are the news media and the truth is, if Buchanan were not useful to the media, he would not be getting a ride."

Mr. Gingrich complained that reporters don't measure Mr. Buchanan against his own statements as they did Democratic Sens. Bob Kerrey of Nebraska and Tom Harkin of Iowa, both of whom recently dropped out of the



President Bush says Richard Nixon isn't "personally critical" of him on C.I.S. aid.

presidential contest.

"Now here's Buchanan, who said, 'I'm going to win in Georgia.' He didn't win. Remember the standards he set for himself?" Mr. Gingrich said, joining in the prediction he would win no primaries. "There is a point where you begin to be a little bit of a joke, and you begin to look a little like a premature Harold Stassen," a perennial presidential candidate.

"So unless he's going to get his press pass back or unless he's going to drop out here and be a Bush delegate, we are not going to see him at the convention," Mr. Gramm said.

At the start of yesterday's meeting, Mr. Bush brushed off a front-page New York Times story that his administration's policy on aid to the former Soviet republics had been criticized by former President Nixon, who will be his host at a black-tie dinner tonight.

"The stakes are high and we are playing as if it were a penny-ante game," Mr. Nixon reportedly said in a memo that called the efforts "pathetically inadequate."

Mr. Bush said he talked with Mr. Nixon on Monday after reading what he called "a very constructive paper by Richard Nixon" before reading the newspaper story about the document.

"I didn't read it as criticism," Mr. Bush said yesterday. "I didn't take it as personally critical, and I think he would reiterate that it wasn't."

Mr. Gramm said yesterday that something dramatic must be done, but he argued against aid.

"I'd like to see us be a little bit more dramatic than simply trying to send more of our money to solve somebody else's problems. I think we ought to be negotiating a free trade agreement with Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union," he said.

Clinton on top of the world

By Ronald A. Taylor
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

CHICAGO — After the modern equivalent of a whistle-stop tour of the South, the Clinton campaign last night savored its most delicious triumph so far.

"It's far more than anybody has ever done," said deputy campaign manager George Stephanopoulos. "Nobody has scored like this on Super Tuesday."

The campaign, highlighted by a six-day, 9,000-mile marathon of appearances in every Southern state, was part of a twofold strategy for Mr. Clinton, his aides said.

First, they wanted to exceed expectations. As a sitting governor with key political contacts throughout the South, Mr. Clinton was expected to do well yesterday.

According to Georgia party members, one reason for moving up the date of that state's primary to last week was to give Mr. Clinton momentum for Super Tuesday.

In addition, said Clinton aide Rodney Slater, "we were hoping to do some groundwork by getting a message out that would lay the foundation for a general election campaign."

Before leaving Little Rock yesterday, Mr. Clinton told reporters he is upbeat about the outcome of the primary balloting.

"I'm hopeful," he said. "I believe there is a real hunger for change. I think the industrial heartland wants a new partnership between government, business and labor. They want us to organize to win in the global economy."

His surprising margins, especially in Florida and Texas, testified to skillful campaign footwork, according to his political analysts.

The Clinton campaign bought television and radio time early in the campaign in strategic parts of the Super Tuesday states. The substance and timing of the ads forced his chief rival, former Massachusetts Senator Paul Tsongas, to spend money defensively to counterattack.

"We forced Tsongas to spend money he probably didn't want to spend on media time and forced him to deal with Clinton," said a Clinton strategist.

Meanwhile, Mr. Clinton focused on his campaign themes, especially on the idea of racial and class unity, to underscore the differences between the two men. Mr. Tsongas' counterpunches, such as labeling Mr. Clinton a "pander bear" for supposedly pandering to racial stereotypes, drew little blood.

By the end of the Super Tuesday campaign, in fact, Clinton aides had mounted a tiny stuffed panda over the candidate's seat on the campaign plane.

With early and strategically placed media buys of radio and television time, the Clinton campaign forced Mr. Tsongas to spend much of his time defending himself from Clinton counterattacks.

"I do believe that in these states where I campaigned that people were really beginning to be open to the message again," Mr. Clinton said.

DEMOCRATIC DELEGATES

DELAWARE	
100% precincts reporting	
Jerry Brown	2
Bill Clinton	3
Paul Tsongas	5
Uncommitted	4
Others	0
Undetermined	0
Total - 14	
HAWAII	
0% precincts reporting	
Jerry Brown	0
Bill Clinton	0
Paul Tsongas	0
Uncommitted	0
Total - 0	
MISSOURI	
74% precincts reporting	
Jerry Brown	0
Bill Clinton	43
Paul Tsongas	1
Uncommitted	12
Undetermined	4
Total - 60	
FLORIDA	
79% precincts reporting	
Jerry Brown	2
Bill Clinton	88
Paul Tsongas	58
Total - 148	
LOUISIANA	
49% precincts reporting	
Jerry Brown	0
Bill Clinton	59
Paul Tsongas	1
Total - 60	
MASSACHUSETTS	
45% precincts reporting	
Jerry Brown	6
Bill Clinton	0
Paul Tsongas	88
Uncommitted	0
Total - 94	
MISSISSIPPI	
79% precincts reporting	
Jerry Brown	0
Bill Clinton	39
Paul Tsongas	0
Uncommitted	0
Total - 39	
OKLAHOMA	
83% precincts reporting	
Jerry Brown	7
Bill Clinton	38
Total - 45	
RHODE ISLAND	
89% precincts reporting	
Jerry Brown	3
Bill Clinton	6
Paul Tsongas	13
Uncommitted	0
Total - 22	
TENNESSEE	
91% precincts reporting	
Jerry Brown	0
Bill Clinton	56
Paul Tsongas	12
Uncommitted	0
Total - 68	
TEXAS	
28% precincts reporting	
Jerry Brown	1
Bill Clinton	99
Paul Tsongas	27
Total - 127	

The Washington Times

"I think you've got a full-blown election here on the issues."

He said he is confident his message will sell in the Northern industrial states without alienating his constituency among moderate Democrats.

Asked if he agreed with former President Richard Nixon's criticism of the Bush administration's lack of support for democratic reform in Russia, Mr. Clinton said the president and Secretary of State James A. Baker III "have good instincts on what to do with the former Soviet republics, but I think they've been a little too timid in doing it."

"I think they are afraid of looking like they are too preoccupied with foreign policy," Mr. Clinton said.

Arkansan firmly in front of Tsongas

By Donald Lambro
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton's clean sweep of the five Southern Super Tuesday primaries last night makes him the undisputed Democratic front-runner and the odds-on favorite to win his party's presidential nomination.

Demonstrating regional strength on top of earlier victories in Georgia and South Carolina, Mr. Clinton also raised the possibility that Democrats could make their best bid to recapture the old Confederacy since Jimmy Carter's 1976 victory.

Former Massachusetts Sen. Paul Tsongas' failure to win Florida, the only state in which he had a chance to crack Mr. Clinton's Southern stronghold, was a serious blow to his efforts to remain competitive against his chief rival.

The governor's showing across the Deep South, critical to any Democratic strategy to win back the White House in November, gave him the lion's share of the 883 delegates at stake in yesterday's 11 primaries and caucuses.

He won convincingly in both Florida and Texas — two electoral megastates — as well as in Louisiana, Mississippi and Tennessee. He also won in Oklahoma. That places him close to the 1,000 range in delegates, nearly half of the 2,142 he needs to win the nomination.

Mr. Clinton's latest victories, and the media attention that goes with them, give him enormous momen-

REPUBLICAN DELEGATES

FLORIDA	
62% precincts reporting	
Pat Buchanan	0
George Bush	97
Total - 97	
LOUISIANA	
53% precincts reporting	
Pat Buchanan	5
George Bush	26
David Duke	1
Uncommitted	0
Total - 32	
MASSACHUSETTS	
47% precincts reporting	
Pat Buchanan	11
George Bush	26
David Duke	0
Uncommitted	1
Total - 38	
MISSISSIPPI	
77% precincts reporting	
Pat Buchanan	0
George Bush	33
David Duke	0
Total - 33	
OKLAHOMA	
84% precincts reporting	
Pat Buchanan	0
George Bush	34
David Duke	0
Total - 34	
RHODE ISLAND	
97% precincts reporting	
Pat Buchanan	5
George Bush	10
David Duke	0
Uncommitted	0
Total - 15	
TENNESSEE	
92% precincts reporting	
Pat Buchanan	10
George Bush	23
David Duke	0
Uncommitted	0
Total - 33	
TEXAS	
22% precincts reporting	
Pat Buchanan	0
George Bush	121
David Duke	0
Uncommitted	0
Total - 121	

The Washington Times

CLINTON

From page A1

tum as he heads toward the pivotal March 17 primaries in Illinois and Michigan.

Mr. Clinton has established a strong campaign organization and picked up a number of significant endorsements, and recent polls show him leading in both states.

"If Clinton wins in Michigan and Illinois, it will be an expressway to New York City," said John White, former Democratic national chairman. The Democratic National Convention will be held in New York in July.

Both states will be a key test of his ability to show that his appeal is not just a regional one, as Mr. Tsongas has charged. Mr. Clinton has yet to win anywhere in the North.

"Tsongas has to win either the Michigan or Illinois primary" to continue as a viable contender, analyst Robert Shrum said. "If he could win one, that would keep the process open and give him a chance to recover in the later primaries."

Illinois has 164 delegates and Michigan 131. Both are experiencing relatively high unemployment, and economic issues are expected to dominate the contest between Mr. Tsongas and Mr. Clinton.

This may also be a political environment in which Mr. Brown can improve his standing. Last night in Detroit, he made a plea aimed at the support of disaffected members of the United Auto Workers union.

Mr. Clinton's early surge in the delegate count showed how central his Southern base is to his candidacy. It gave many Democrats hope that if he is the nominee, he has a chance of opening the GOP's vaunted "electoral lock" on the White House.

One important source of Mr. Clinton's Southern strength is the black vote. Exit polls showed him taking 73 percent of the black vote in the Florida primary and similarly large percentages in the other four Southern primaries.

His muscular showing also provided the most convincing evidence to date that a majority of his party was dismissing questions of adultery and draft evasion that rocked

DEMOCRATIC CAUCUSES

Unofficial returns in the Democratic caucuses and conventions on Tuesday. The votes in each jurisdiction may differ in meaning, depending on state rules and level of caucus. Leader in bold type.

DELAWARE	
41 of 41 precincts reporting - 100%	
Jerry Brown	31 - 19%
Bill Clinton	33 - 21%
Mario Cuomo	0 - 0%
Tom Harkin	0 - 0%
Bob Kerrey	0 - 0%
Paul Tsongas	48 - 30%
Uncommitted	47 - 30%
Others	0 - 0%
HAWAII	
0 of 284 precincts reporting - 0%	
Jerry Brown	0 - 0%
Bill Clinton	0 - 0%
Tom Harkin	0 - 0%
Bob Kerrey	0 - 0%
Paul Tsongas	0 - 0%
Charles Woods	0 - 0%
Uncommitted	0 - 0%
MISSOURI	
90 of 122 precincts reporting - 74%	
Jerry Brown	9 - 3%
Bill Clinton	236 - 75%
Mario Cuomo	0 - 0%
Tom Harkin	0 - 0%
Bob Kerrey	0 - 0%
Paul Tsongas	13 - 4%
Uncommitted	55 - 18%
Undetermined	0 - 0%

The Washington Times

his campaign earlier.

Nevertheless, many Democrats were still expressing serious misgivings about the impact that these allegations would have in the general election if Mr. Clinton becomes the Democratic nominee.

"A lot of Democrats have a lot of questions about Bill Clinton," said Democratic pollster and strategist Alan Secrest. Mr. Secrest's polling in the South in recent weeks has shown that many Democrats, including Mr. Clinton's supporters, have reservations about what he calls "the character thing."

Until now, however, Mr. Clinton's rivals for the nomination raised the

character issue only sporadically. But that appears to be changing. Mr. Tsongas and former California Gov. Jerry Brown have begun hitting the character issue harder in recent days.

Campaigning in Rhode Island on Monday, Mr. Brown said Mr. Clinton was incapable of winning in November. "You can't elect a candidate with a scandal a week, I'll tell you that," he said.

While campaigning in Florida, Mr. Tsongas ripped into Mr. Clinton, accusing him of making one "blatant lie" after another and stressing that "the larger point goes to character."

From the beginning, Mr. Clinton's strategy has been to position himself as a moderate bent on changing his party's message from its traditional liberal orthodoxy to one that stresses economic growth and middle-class values.

He largely stuck to that strategy and that message until it became evident that Mr. Tsongas was showing strength outside his Northeast base in the Mid-Atlantic states and in some Western states as well in the early primaries.

At that point, Mr. Clinton began attacking Mr. Tsongas as the candidate of Wall Street, suggesting that his pro-business positions, such as cutting capital gains taxes, are inconsistent with the party's economic values.

The governor never mentioned in his speeches that his own economic recovery plan included a capital gains tax cut as well as other economic growth incentives, such as the investment tax credit, that Mr. Tsongas has proposed.

Mr. Clinton's midcourse correction appeared to effectively define Mr. Tsongas to many Democratic voters as "too Republican-sounding," in the words of one party strategist, and broadened his base among the more liberal rank-and-file Democrats who tend to dominate the party's primaries.

"We expect him to come back to his original message," said Al From, president of the Democratic Leadership Council and a principal architect of the governor's "new covenant" message.

Day of reckoning

This congressional check kiting is an issue that most citizen activist groups agree is worth raising a ruckus about. Now we hear that the American Conservative Union, long established for measuring the Rightness of members of Congress through its ACU ratings, is about to issue a "Congressional Accountability Rating."

"It's more than just the business of bounced checks," says Bob Billings of ACU. "Members of Congress exempt themselves from quite a few of the rules that they apply to other people. This isn't pork or ideology; it's a question of legislation that affects the members individually."

Mr. Billings says the new rating will be drawn from key votes on issues such as the pay raise, occupational health and safety laws, wage and hour rules, or any other laws that preach "Do as I say, but not as I do." He says the next step after completing the ratings format is to print up a million copies and get them out to home districts.

Seen the light

It's not like we personally keep up with such things, but a source tells us the Christie Institute hot line was putting out some weird vibes the other day. The recorded message said that Christie was very sorry for having supported the Sandinistas and acknowledged that the group's funding came from Daniel Ortega. The recording then urged everybody to vote as conservatively as possible. We called the hot line yesterday but just got Venetian garble, which is more what we'd expect.

Pat at Jericho

Sen. Phil Gramm, Texas Republican, was out in the White House driveway with Rep. Newt Gingrich, Georgia Republican, talking with reporters. The subject of Pat Bu-

INSIDE THE BELTWAY



Rep. Newt Gingrich says a critical decision confronts Pat Buchanan.

chanan came up. "I miss him on 'Crossfire.' I'd like to have him back," Mr. Gramm said. "Pat, if you're out there, ... we need you back on 'Crossfire.'"

A reporter interrupted, asking Mr. Gramm if he doesn't like current "Crossfire" host John Sununu. Mr. Gingrich took that question. "I am not going to get caught in the newest Washington fight between the Buchanan and Sununu 'Crossfire' supporters, but I'll say this: Pat's got to decide whether it is his primary interest to help defeat liberals, in which case I think the Republican Party would want to cooperate with him, because clearly he has gotten more name identification. He is, you know, a

very good press personality. Or he's got to decide whether it is his strategic intent to defeat the president, bring down the Republican Party and rebuild on the wreckage."

Bucket of worms

The House Government Operations subcommittee on energy and the environment is digging into claims by a Department of Energy employee that he was ousted because he knew about conflicts of interest on the part of Energy Secretary James Watkins and his chief of staff, Polly Gault. The employee, Thomas Williams, says his firing was engineered in part because he knew about details of a 10-day trip to Alaska last year involving Adm. Watkins and his wife, Miss Gault, and Victoria Thornton, a scheduling aide.

The Alaska trip involved flights on aircraft owned or leased by two energy companies, BP and Yukon Pacific Corp., according to a report in Inside Energy newsletter. Also along on the trip was Daryl Owen, a lobbyist for several energy companies who is former staff director of the Senate Energy Committee. Mr. Owen and Miss Gault are old friends, and she has recused herself from participating in contract negotiations involving DOE and his clients.

The subcommittee looking into the matter has asked for the travel records of all public officials involved in that excursion and is investigating Adm. Watkins' travel records.

Mr. Williams, the employee who claims he was fired for knowing too much, says he also became a target because of his testimony in a sex-

ual harassment case at DOE that is another subject of the committee investigation. DOE maintains that Mr. Williams was fired for ignoring orders not to lobby on Capitol Hill for energy programs he favored.

And furthermore

So, let's see. David Duke says through a spokeswoman that there ain't no truth to the story about how he got hacked off over having to sit near a black man and two rabbis on a flight from Atlanta to Miami. The story did have some "urban legend" qualities. On the other hand, the columnist for the Boston Herald who originated the item said her source was first class, so to speak. She said other papers reported the incident independently, without so much detail.

Tip O'Neill says he never called the Democratic presidential field a bunch of turkeys. "In fact, my wife, sons, daughters-in-law and I all support the candidacy of Paul Tsongas and I can assure you if Paul is the Democratic nominee, George Bush will be the world's unluckiest son-of-a-gun to have to run against him."

Which brings us to Sen. Arlen Specter, Pennsylvania Republican. He doesn't exactly deny the item about taking contributions from a porn king because, according to a spokesman, "it's absolutely ridiculous for state Rep. Freind to attack Sen. Specter for accepting contributions from a man who contributed to Ronald Reagan, George Bush, Pennsylvania Gov. Robert Casey and many others." Mr. Specter thinks Mr. Freind may be trying to spin out of a bad situation, "having been stung badly by a Lancaster (Pa.) headline referring to his novel as a 'dirty book.' Now how about an explanation from him about why he wrote a book filled with obscenities, profanities and vulgarities?" the senator asks.

Stay tuned.

— John Elvin

see CLINTON, page A6

Bush sweeps all 8 primaries by wide margin

By Major Garrett
THE WASHINGTON TIMES



• Related Super Tuesday stories, voting results on A6, A7.

Bill Clinton crushed Paul Tsongas in Florida and swept the other six Southern and border states in a Super Tuesday rout that thrusts him into the lead for the Democratic presidential nomination.

President Bush swept all eight Republican primaries, but conservative challenger Pat Buchanan again registered a protest vote of more than 30 percent in some states.

The Buchanan totals in no way inhibit Mr. Bush's eventual nomination, but they remain an irritant as Republicans try to stem the president's sliding popularity and prepare for the Democratic challenge in November.

With the exception of the Florida Democratic results — where Mr. Clinton performed better than expected — yesterday's results were unremarkable: The Arkansas governor triumphed on his home Southern turf and Mr. Bush continued his unbroken string of 15 GOP victories.

Mr. Bush was the projected winner in Florida, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, Tennessee and Texas. He picked up 370 delegates in these states and was well on his way toward securing the 1,105 delegates needed to win the GOP nomination. Mr. Buchanan was set to win 31. The president now has 554 delegates to 51 for Mr. Buchanan.

"The voters of eight states have declared their support for my proposals on behalf of jobs, family and peace," Mr. Bush said in a written statement.

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SUPER

From page A1

ture is insecure... that we are coming apart when we ought to be coming together."

In Florida, with 79 percent of the precincts reporting, Mr. Clinton led with 51 percent to 34 percent for Mr. Tsongas and 13 percent for former California Gov. Jerry Brown. Florida sends 160 delegates to July's national convention.

Mr. Tsongas was winning in his home state of Massachusetts, which he previously represented in the U.S. Senate. With 42 percent of the precincts reporting, Mr. Tsongas had 67 percent, Mr. Brown was second with 14 percent, followed closely by Mr. Clinton at 11 percent.

Mr. Tsongas was also the projected winner in Rhode Island and Delaware. Results were not available in Hawaii.

Mr. Tsongas watched election returns in his hometown of Lowell, Mass., after voting in his own state's primary, which he won handily. Earlier in the day he attended a memorial service for a West Palm Beach, Fla., police officer killed last week in

an accident while serving in the campaign motorcade.

"We're on our way to the White House, folks," Mr. Tsongas said, putting the best face on things before again, accusing Mr. Clinton of reshaping his message to fit each Democratic constituency.

"I'm going to tell you something, Bill Clinton. You're not going to parader your way to the White House as long as I'm around."

In Texas, which awarded 196 delegates, Mr. Clinton was well ahead. With 25 percent of the precincts reporting, he had 66 percent to 18 for Mr. Tsongas and 6 percent for Mr. Brown.

Based on projections from yesterday's primaries and caucuses, Mr. Clinton now has 428 delegates, Mr. Tsongas 205 and Mr. Brown 22. At the Democratic convention, 2,142 delegates are needed for the nomination.

Exit polls showed 40 percent of Democratic voters said they were unenthusiastic about the candidate they chose, according to NBC News. Mr. Brown, the only other Democrat remaining in the race, fared poorly, he concentrated almost all of his and establishment campaign in

TOTAL DELEGATES

Delegates won by each candidate in the Democratic and Republican primaries and caucuses on Tuesday.

Democratic	Republican
Bill Clinton	George Bush
428	369
Paul Tsongas	Pat Buchanan
205	32
Uncommitted	David Duke
26	1
Jerry Brown	Uncommitted
24	1
Undetermined	Total
5	403
Others	
0	
Total	688

The Washington Times

Massachusetts, where he struggled to stay ahead of Mr. Clinton in second place.

On the Republican side, Mr. Fitzwater also said Mr. Bush was "hopeful that Buchanan supporters... will now return to the fold."

But, Mr. Buchanan said he was still seeking "the decisive swing vote

in national politics."

"We have torn away one-third of the Republican Party from the national establishment for good," Mr. Buchanan said in Dearborn, Mich. "We're not losing this national debate and everyone knows it."

Mr. Buchanan again warned the president that he and his followers had no interest in a globalist foreign policy.

"We are not going to let you take our beloved country and lead her hand and foot, bound and gagged into your new world order. We're going to take America back."

Former Ku Klux Klan grand wizard David Duke ran a distant third in Louisiana and Mississippi, showing his campaign has been eclipsed by the conservative-moderate feud between Mr. Bush and Mr. Buchanan.

Exit polls in Florida showed Mr. Clinton won strong support from

retirees, blacks and whites earning less than \$15,000. The governor also had the support of state party leaders he cultivated en route to an impressive victory in a Florida straw poll in December.

Mr. Tsongas banked on an impressive showing in Florida and poured

much of his limited campaign funds into the state. Exit polls showed up-

scale, well-educated whites and independents supported Mr. Tsongas. But the former Massachusetts senator's poor showing could dampen enthusiasm as his campaign shifts to the Michigan and Illinois primaries.

Mr. Clinton's Florida coalition was present in earlier Southern primaries and materialized throughout the region's other states yesterday.

This combination of blacks, relatively poor whites and elderly voters closely approximates Jimmy Carter's 1976 coalition. Both used their regional familiarity to build these coalitions.

As the campaign moves to the industrial Midwest, Mr. Clinton will have to prove himself to unions, farmers and urban blacks. Again he will benefit from strong party backing in Illinois and could secure the labor vote now that Sen. Tom Harkin of Iowa has left the race.

Recent polls showed the two running closely in both states. Michigan will award 131 Democratic delegates and 72 Republican delegates. Illinois will award 164 Democratic delegates and 85 Republican dele-

'Our strategy will succeed,' Tsongas says

By J. Jennings Moss
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

LOWELL, Mass. — Paul Tsongas returned home late yesterday, relieved to be out of the South and looking forward to a matchup with Bill Clinton outside of their respective back yards.

"Starting tomorrow, we head to neutral territory and again present America with the choices it's going to have to make," the former Massachusetts senator said yesterday upon his return in Boston.

At his election-night celebration, he said he had the right mix of economic and social views to win a general election. "To every Democrat and every independent and every Republican who wants to replace George Bush, come on board. We've got room. And to all those people in the Democratic Party who are resisting change, get out of the way. The American people are coming," he told about 1,000 supporters.

Mr. Tsongas' mood changed substantially here. In Boston he cut short a news conference because he was feeling the impact of a funeral he attended in the morning in Palm Beach, Fla. The service was for a sheriff's officer killed Friday while monitoring traffic for the Tsongas motorcade.

Lowell is the city he represented in both the City Council and the U.S. House. At a local firehouse that doubled as his polling place, Mr. Tsongas quipped: "I have to carry Lowell, and I'm committed to doing it."

But it was in Florida and not Massachusetts where he and the Arkansas governor had their biggest confrontation. Expectations for a strong Tsongas showing in Florida were raised by the Clinton campaign as a way to handicap Mr. Tsongas in the next election round in case



Democratic candidate Paul Tsongas: "If you can't get through this, you should not be president."

Mr. Clinton stumbled yesterday.

"He won the South, we won New England. What a surprise," said Ed Jessor, Tsongas campaign communication director. Besides Massachusetts, Rhode Island also held its primary yesterday.

The candidate and his staffers said they hoped to avoid the negative back-and-forth fighting with Mr. Clinton that overshadowed nearly every day of the past week.

"Florida is his home turf. He spent a lot of money, a lot of negative advertising. It worked," Mr. Tsongas said.

The campaign's growing pains, brought about because of the quick rise from discounted candidate to front-runner, caught up with Mr. Tsongas late last week but he seemed to have regained some of his stride by Monday.

"If you can't get through this, you should not be president," he said Monday on his campaign plane when asked about his recent campaign problems.

Shortly after making the comment, Mr. Tsongas huddled around a small TV set with reporters and staffers and listened as ABC News broadcast a poll that showed him beating President Bush 47 to 42 percent.

"Let the record show that, for one day, I could have been president," he said.



On a snipe hunt with Mr. Bush

By George, Phil Gramm (suppressing a wink) thinks he's got it.

"There is a growing suspicion in the country that people in the news media, concerned that if they don't have a race to cover in the midst of a recession, that you could be out of work," he told reporters yesterday at the White House.

He says that's what's keeping Pat Buchanan in the race against George Bush.

"This campaign," he said, just after leaving a strategy session with the president, "is being pushed to protect your jobs." He got this "from very reliable sources, better than the sources that normally get quoted."

Mr. Gramm has a puckish sense of humor, and his little joke was taken seriously enough that the Associated Press put a four-inch dispatch on its main news wire. That's the trouble with *bon mots* in Washington. We must kid you not.

Like all good satire, Mr. Gramm's little aside contains a kernel of truth. Those of us in the news biz do like horse races, double ax murders and cheap, rude and vulgar presidential campaigns. But this cheap, rude and vulgar story has legs of its own.

The senator from Texas has near-perfect political antennae, and, like all successful pols, is a pretty good ham actor besides. He can go on and on about why George Bush deserves a second term, talking for up to five minutes without a single smirk, giggle, chuckle, snicker, titter or even a pucker.

But Mr. Gramm, like most of the president's surrogates, knows better. They all picked up the morning papers yesterday and read where, on the very morning that the entire Congress of the United States stood exposed as a collection of bums, deadbeats and purse-snatchers, Mr. Bush announced that he's calling off his war on the bums, deadbeats and purse-snatchers and from now on will be the wimp everyone loves to make New England succotash of.

"Don't get irritated," said Mr. Bush, describing his new strategy in the wake of having had his



Phil Gramm

pants pulled down once again by the House of Representatives, which sent his vaunted economic recovery plan to the morgue. "Be pleasant. . . . Act, not react."

This is the plan, we all recall, that the president dared Congress to consign to hell, and promised all manner of manly action — not reaction — if Congress tried to get in his way.

Marlin Fitzwater, the president's long-suffering press agent, continues to make vague threats, warning that if the Democratic leaders in the House send their own fraudulent tax package to the White House for a presidential signature they can expect another veto.

Mr. Bush, who now says he wants to be "nice" (his word) to both the Congress that laughs at him and to Pat Buchanan who is trying to skin him alive, declines to "take it personally" (his words) when Richard Nixon accuses him of dereliction of duty to American interests.

"The stakes [for the United States in the abandoned Soviet states] are high," Mr. Nixon says, "and we are playing as if it were a penny-ante game."

"If [Boris] Yeltsin is replaced by a new aggressive Russian nationalist, we can kiss the peace dividend goodbye," Mr. Nixon says. "Not only would the world become more dangerous, but our defense and foreign policies would also become far more expensive."

Several of the Republicans at yesterday's "strategy" session asked the president if he had talked to Mr. Nixon about his remarks, contained in a confidential memo to close friends and associates.

"I don't think President Nixon and I have any differences on this," the president replied, blandly. Well, one difference he has with Mr. Nixon is that Mr. Nixon thinks they have differences on this.

Given his record, it's difficult to blame Mr. Bush for believing that he can continue to make a pudding of his presidency, with no price to pay, and his inevitable good luck will arrive just in time to save him. And maybe it will. The disinterested man from Mars would have concluded by now that there is no way this president can win re-election, but against these Democratic turkeys, how can he lose?

GOP senators warm to tax cut

REUTERS NEWS AGENCY

Senate Republicans, looking at President Bush's slide in popularity this election year, agreed yesterday to modify the administration tax plan and offer their own middle-income tax cut.

The Democratic plan, which was taken up on the floor, raises taxes on the rich to cut middle-income taxes, while the Bush plan includes no cut for the middle class.

No matter what the GOP offers, Minority Leader Bob Dole of Kansas expects it to be rejected so the majority Democrats can pass their own plan. "We'll hopefully offer our substitute," Mr. Dole told reporters after a luncheon meeting of Republican senators.

"What we'd like to do is, anybody who has an amendment, offer it, but finish this as quickly as we can, so we can get it down to the president, he can veto it, and we can still take action on a second package by March 20," Mr. Dole said.

Mr. Bush made it clear earlier in the day at a photo opportunity that he will veto the Senate Democratic bill.

"I'm going to veto that tax-increase bill as soon as it's sent to me," Mr. Bush said. "It's kind of hard to believe that they're . . . trying to raise taxes."

For their part, Republican senators have included the key seven points of the Bush plan, centered on large cuts in the tax on capital gains. Mr. Dole said that, in addition, "we'll probably repeal the luxury tax on all items."

But the Republican senators pay for their plan in a way very different from Mr. Bush's proposal.

Mr. Bush says much of his plan would be paid for by revenue generated from cuts in the capital gains tax.

The Republican senators agree, although the Congressional Budget Office says that would cost money instead of saving it.

Second, the Bush plan relies on a change in accounting techniques widely denounced as a mere gimmick.

Mr. Dole, joining in rejecting that accounting change, said his Republican colleagues plan to use a financing mechanism that "will be legit." He did not say what it was.

Whatever the final version, the Republican plan will be introduced as a single amendment to the Democratic bill.

In addition, Mr. Dole said that Sen. Phil Gramm, Texas Republican, would introduce a separate amendment to the Democratic bill to provide a \$500 annual tax break for children.

Mr. Bush mentioned that in his State of the Union speech but failed to offer it in his economic growth package.

GOP members want names of all with NSF

By Paul M. Rodriguez
The Washington Times

Angry House Republicans are prepared for a bruising floor fight tomorrow to win full House approval for the release of the names of all 335 current and former lawmakers who bounced an estimated \$25 million in bad checks at the house bank.

Led by four GOP members of the House ethics committee, Republicans will argue that if the House can't approve such "an uncomfortable" disclosure, then the names of "at least" 55 current and former lawmakers should be publicly identified "as having abused the privileges of

the House Bank."

These proposals are in stark contrast to the majority opinion of the ethics panel to limit public disclosure to only 24 of the 66 current and former members who were the worst abusers of the house bank. Seven Democrats and three Republicans voted in favor of that position last week.

House Speaker Thomas S. Foley, Washington Democrat, said this week he was confident that the full House would support the majority decision by the ethics panel. But the dissenting Republicans are counting on public outrage to force House Democrats to break

ranks with Mr. Foley and the rest of the Democratic leadership.

Sources on Capitol Hill said yesterday that behind the scenes "a lot of frightened people" whose political futures are in jeopardy are putting "tremendous pressure" on both Democratic and Republican leaders not to disclose more than the 24 names.

The majority of the ethics committee decided after numerous squabbles behind closed doors to a compromise that would identify only those members who bounced checks for at least eight of the 39 months audited.

definition of "abuse" that is so narrow that it excludes an individual who wrote over \$50 NSF (no sufficient funds) checks totaling over \$150,000, with seven separate months of negative balance exceeding next month's net salary deposit, said the four dissenting Republican members. Reps. Nancy Johnson of Connecticut, Jim Bunning of Kentucky, Jon Kyl of Arizona and David Hobson of Ohio.

"We believe the House must be more forthcoming; that all people who abused banking privileges should be identified; and that the public should at least be allowed to know how many insufficient-funds checks were written by current and former representatives," the four Republicans said.

Rep. Jerry Lewis, California Republican and chairman of the House Republican Conference, said yesterday that he will introduce a resolution demanding full disclosure of the names of all members who wrote bad checks even if it hurts some GOP lawmakers.

The Washington Times reported last week that the panel, formally called the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, found 66 current and former members had bounced nearly 20,000 checks with a face value totaling \$10.8 million.

For the 66 House members whose banking transactions were "reconstructed" in detail by the panel, the GOP resolution also would require public disclosure of the number of months that their overdrafts exceeded their net monthly salary during the 39-month audit period, Mr. Kyl said.

"That's going to show a whole bunch of people who wrote over 500 [bad] checks and they're going to have a bunch of full explaining to do" in their home districts, he said.

• George Archibald contributed to this report.

FRANK GAFFNEY JR.

✕ Opportune strategy

Pat Buchanan should be pleased, but he most certainly will not be. On Sunday, the New York Times reported that the Defense Department is developing a strategy that eschews "collective internationalism" — read, the sort of one-worldist,

Frank J. Gaffney Jr. is the director of the Center for Security Policy and a columnist for The Washington Times.

U.N.-dominated "new world order" Mr. Buchanan has frequently denounced. It is a strategy that aims, literally, at putting "America first."

Unlike the neo-isolationist sentiments to which the Buchanan campaign is appealing, however, this Pentagon plan envisions a United States that remains very much engaged internationally. Indeed, according to the draft plan — known as the "Defense Planning Guidance for Fiscal Years 1994-1999" — the United States would "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."

What is more, the draft strategy

quite explicitly aims at thwarting "any hostile power from dominating a region whose resources would, under consolidated control, be sufficient to generate global power. These regions include Western Europe, East Asia, the territory of the former Soviet Union and Southwest Asia."

In other words, the Pentagon planners have developed a strategy that is mindful of history, attentive to America's global interests and adaptive to a highly dynamic international environment. From the excerpts published in the New York Times — which, incredibly, now seems to be on the routine distribution list for even highly classified Defense Department documents — it appears to be a thoughtful, realistic formula for U.S. security in the post-Cold War world.

see GAFFNEY, page F4

✕ GAFFNEY

From page F1

Not surprisingly, the new strategy has provoked anguished outcry from the left. Leslie Gelb, a former Carter State Department official who now writes a column for the New York Times, editorialized sarcastically on March 9: "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 they would be reluctant to admit it, Mr. Gelb and like-minded liberals are no more eager than is Mr. Buchanan to have the United States retain the capability to engage on a unilateral basis in military conflicts around the globe. They part company, however, on the alternative: Mr. Buchanan, the pundit-turned-politico, prefers a demonstrably futile splendid isolation; Mr. Gelb, the politico-turned-pundit, prefers splendid subordination — of U.S. interests and capabilities to the lowest common denominator of "collective security."

The really interesting question though is: How does George Bush view the new Defense Policy Guidance? It would seem to be a brilliant foil for a man seeking to address the irresponsibility of his challengers

on the right and on the left.

It also offers a competent road map for the conduct of U.S. foreign and national security policy at a time when the president needs desperately to burnish his nominal strong suit — the conduct of international affairs — amidst growing evidence that even in this area his stewardship has been unsatisfactory. Consider, to name but a few, the following indictments: Saddam Hussein's continued tenure and growing defiance; the embarrassing fiasco of Mr. Bush's trade mission to Japan; his coddling of the Butchers of Beijing; and his inept handling of democratic movements from Croatia to Vietnam.

In part, Mr. Bush is in trouble on the international stage because of his implicit — if not explicit — embrace of his rivals' competing strategies. For one thing, his own defense budget cuts, for example, will make future U.S.-dominated operations like Desert Storm extremely difficult, if not utterly problematic.

For another, the president's affinity for multilateralism is a matter of record. The most graphic instance, of course, was the immense importance Mr. Bush attached to securing U.N. sponsorship of the campaign to liberate Kuwait. Others include: his decision to defer utterly to the Germans — despite their obvious conflict of interest — and other Europeans on the crucial issue of relations

with the disintegrating Soviet Union and propping up its last czar, Mikhail Gorbachev. He also has systematically downgraded U.S.-Israeli ties in the interest of appeasing a gaggle of Arab despots irreconcilably opposed to the Western values and institutions our two countries share.

Not surprisingly, then, it would appear that the individual who leaked the Defense Guidance — an official who, in the euphemistic words of the New York Times, "believes this post-Cold War strategy debate should be carried out in the public domain" — hoped by so doing to induce Mr. Bush to repudiate the new strategy. As a result, Mr. Bush has an opportunity to demonstrate his leadership qualities: Will he succumb to the temptation to pander to those Americans seduced by one vision or another of defense-on-the-cheap? Will he embrace a Buchananesque abdication of international responsibilities or a Gelb-style fixation with collective security?

Or will the president demonstrate that he does, indeed, have that "vision thing" — at least when it comes to long-term national security interests — by endorsing a coherent U.S. defense strategy for the future as drafted by Dick Cheney's policy guru, Under Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz? Much is riding on the answers to these questions, perhaps ultimately even Mr. Bush's mandate for a second term.

✕ Thomas a 'lost cause' to pro-choicers

By Nancy E. Roman
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Pro-choice groups that have petitioned the Supreme Court to reject new restrictions on abortion said yesterday they have given up on the newest justice, Clarence Thomas.

"He's a lost cause," said Roger Evans, director of litigation for Planned Parenthood of America, referring to Justice Thomas' likely stand on the issue. "He's not done anything since he got on the court but confirm our worst fears."

Mr. Evans joined with eight representatives of other pro-choice groups yesterday to announce their strategy before the high court, which is scheduled to consider Planned Parenthood vs. Casey next month. The case questions the constitu-

tionality of a Pennsylvania law requiring wives seeking abortion to notify their husbands and minors to get written permission from at least one parent.

Representatives of the pro-choice groups said there is no way to uphold the Pennsylvania law without diluting the landmark Roe vs. Wade decision, in which the high court found a constitutional right to abortion.

Although Mr. Evans refused to concede defeat, he said that he is hard pressed to come up with five votes necessary to strike down the restrictive Pennsylvania law. Chief Justice William Rehnquist and Justices Anthony Kennedy, Sandra Day O'Connor and Byron White have indicated in past rulings that they would be willing to restrict abortion. Justice Antonin Scalia has said publicly

he would like to overturn Roe altogether.

Mr. Evans said when pro-choice organizations were working on legal briefs to submit to the court, they began tailoring their arguments to Justices David Souter and Clarence Thomas — the two newest members of the court, neither of whom has weighed in on the abortion question.

He said Justice Thomas' conservative voting record indicates he would not be sympathetic to Planned Parenthood's case. "We started with Justice Thomas, but the decisions that have come down have been so discouraging."

Last week the court ruled 7-2 that excessive use of physical force by prison guards — even when it causes only minor injury — constitutes cruel and unusual punishment prohibited by the Eighth

Amendment. Justice Thomas, joined by Justice Scalia, dissented, saying a beating that "caused only insignificant harm" was neither cruel nor unusual.

On Monday, Justice Thomas was the sole dissenter in a ruling that gave a death row prisoner another chance because a jury violated his rights when it considered his membership in a racist prison gang before sentencing him to death.

Helen Alvare, spokeswoman for the pro-life office of the Conference of Catholic Bishops, said she infers little, if anything, from those decisions that could be used to predict Justice Thomas' position on abortion.

"There just hasn't been enough evidence to allow us to make an informed judgment," she said.

SUPER TUESDAY RESULTS



FLORIDA

79% of precincts reporting

Democrats	Pct.	Del.
Clinton	51%	88
Tsongas	34%	58
Brown	13%	2
Republicans		
Bush	68%	97
Buchanan	32%	0



TEXAS

19% of precincts reporting

Democrats	Pct.	Del.
Clinton	66%	99
Tsongas	18%	27
Brown	6%	1
Republicans		
Bush	70%	121
Buchanan	23%	0
Duke	2%	0



MASSACHUSETTS

45% of precincts reporting

Democrats	Pct.	Del.
Tsongas	67%	88
Brown	14%	6
Clinton	11%	0
Republicans		
Bush	66%	26
Buchanan	28%	11
Duke	2%	0



TENNESSEE

91% of precincts reporting

Democrats	Pct.	Del.
Clinton	68%	56
Tsongas	19%	12
Brown	8%	0
Republicans		
Bush	72%	23
Buchanan	22%	10
Duke	3%	0



MISSISSIPPI

75% of precincts reporting

Democrats	Pct.	Del.
Clinton	74%	39
Brown	9%	0
Tsongas	8%	0
Republicans		
Bush	72%	33
Buchanan	16%	0
Duke	12%	0



LOUISIANA

49% of precincts reporting

Democrats	Pct.	Del.
Clinton	69%	59
Tsongas	11%	1
Brown	7%	0
Republicans		
Bush	61%	26
Buchanan	28%	5
Duke	9%	1



RHODE ISLAND

98% of precincts reporting

Democrats	Pct.	Del.
Tsongas	53%	13
Clinton	22%	6
Brown	19%	3
Republicans		
Bush	63%	10
Buchanan	32%	5
Duke	2%	0



OKLAHOMA

82% of precincts reporting

Democrats	Pct.	Del.
Clinton	71%	38
Brown	16%	7
Republicans		
Bush	70%	34
Buchanan	27%	0
Duke	3%	0

Senior U.S. Officials Assail Lone-Superpower Policy

By PATRICK E. TYLER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 10 — Senior White House and State Department officials have harshly criticized a draft Pentagon policy statement that asserts that America's mission in the post-cold-war era will be to prevent any collection of friendly or unfriendly nations from competing with the United States for superpower status.

One Administration official, familiar with the reaction of senior officials at the White House and State Department, characterized the document as a "dumb report" that "in no way or shape represents U.S. policy."

At the Pentagon today, the spokesman, Pete Williams, pointedly disavowed some of the central policy statements in the draft document, which has been circulating among the military chiefs of staff and the civilian secretaries of the four military services since Feb. 18.

A Tactical Withdrawal

Still, he defended parts of the document and said its basic thrust mirrors the public statements and testimony of Defense Secretary Dick Cheney.

To judge from today's comments by Mr. Williams, reaction in Congress and from senior Administration officials prompted a tactical withdrawal by the Pentagon. Western European and third world diplomats here were sharply critical of some of the language in the document.

In Congress today, Senator Robert C. Byrd, Democrat of West Virginia, called the draft Pentagon document "myopic, shallow and disappointing."

"In the long run, it will be counterproductive to the very goal of world leadership that it cherishes."

Reflects Internal Debate

The final version of the Pentagon's classified "Defense Planning Guid-

ance" may still be weeks away, but it seemed clear today that the draft, disclosed in an article in The New York Times on Sunday, and the reaction to it reflected an internal debate within the Bush Administration over America's military role in the next century.

The draft document disclosed a substantial body of opinion in the Defense Department seeking to justify a large military establishment that would keep much of the peace in a one-superpower world; in this view, any aspirations of allies like Germany, Japan and Russia for regional leadership would be regarded with suspicion.

Opposed to this view are officials arguing for a more diminished American military role, more emphasis on collective action through the United Nations and regional alliances and a strategy to engage the military establishments of former adversaries in new collective security arrangements.

Statement to Indian

Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger was said to have told an Indian delegation to disregard a portion of the document that warns of India's hegemonic intentions in South Asia. Mr. Eagleburger told the visiting Indian officials that the language did not represent American policy, an Administration official said.

One Western official, whose Government works closely with Washington, telephoned from a foreign capital today to express his opinion that the Pentagon text "runs counter to the kind of multilateralism and commitment to the United Nations that we had expected to emerge after the cold war." The official said he believed the document caused alarms to go off in many capitals, with governments asking, "Where do the rest of us fit into the game plan?"

In his remarks at the Pentagon, Mr. Williams said that the Pentagon docu-

ment, when finished, would not assert as the draft does that American military power should be used in the future to both prevent or deter the emergence of regional "competitors" in Western Europe, Asia and in the former Soviet Union.

"The United States is not looking for a unilateral role in the world," he said. "What we are saying is that we want to stay involved with our allies, we want to remain part of the community of nations."

Covering Memorandum

At a Pentagon briefing, Mr. Williams continued to assert that the draft document had not circulated at a high level and had not been read or approved by Mr. Cheney or his undersecretary for

A 'dumb report,' says an Administration official.

policy, Paul D. Wolfowitz, whom other Pentagon officials have said was in charge of its drafting.

A covering memorandum on the draft written by Mr. Wolfowitz's deputy indicates that it was sent on Feb. 18 to Gen. Colin L. Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the President's principal military adviser, as well as to all four military chiefs of staff and the civilian service secretaries.

General Powell's vice chairman, Adm. David E. Jeremiah, and Mr. Wolfowitz have referred in public recently to the preparation of the policy

document, which is meant to guide the preparation and planning of military budgets and forces in a two-year cycle.

Mr. Williams said he could not resolve the conflict between his assertion that the document has been circulating at "the deputy assistant secretary level" and the Feb. 18 covering memorandum that indicates otherwise. The memorandum asks that the senior officials make only substantive comments on the draft and return them to Mr. Wolfowitz's office by the "close of business Feb. 21." This reference indicates, one Pentagon official said, that Mr. Cheney's principal deputies and the military chiefs had fully reviewed and responded to the draft and forwarded their comments on it last month.

In defending the document, Mr. Williams said, "The defense planning guidance does not say, will not say" that "we are abandoning collectivism."

Continuing, he said, "the idea that we are concerned about other nations gaining in prominence is also not correct. We are concerned, and the secretary said over and over in his testimony, that we are concerned about hostile powers dominating any regions of critical interest to us."

Questioned about specific statements in the draft referring to the possibility that "competitors" for global power might arise from Western Europe and East Asia, Mr. Williams said, "What we seek to prevent is the emergence of a hostile power, a hostile superpower."

As an example of what he said were well-known policy statements covered by the draft document, Mr. Williams said: "The secretary was just in Japan and said it's in everybody's interests to have the nuclear protection for Japan come from the United States, not Japan. Is that new? No."

Put Politics in Its Place

By Ernest F. Hollings

THE two Congressional tax-writing committees have passed their anti-recession plans. As the strict party-line votes make clear, these plans have little to do with economic stimulus and everything to do with political stimulus.

It has been a classic election-year set piece: The Democrats stick it to the rich, and the Republicans bullyrag the Democrats for raising taxes. Senator Bob Dole explained the game this way: "While Democrats [get] their issue of 'class warfare,' they've got to explain to the people why they voted to raise taxes." Meanwhile, the President has promised a veto, and the prospect is for no pro-growth package this year.

This charade nicely serves the election-year purposes of Democrats and Republicans. But it grossly deserves a nation starving for economic leadership. The gamesmanship is all the more disgraceful when you consider that both parties essentially agree on the shape of an economic package. Here's the consensus:

Ernest F. Hollings, Democrat of South Carolina, is a member of the Senate Budget Committee.

Capital gains, everybody gains. It is silly to tout a capital gains tax cut as the holy grail and equally silly to demonize it. Most of us appreciate that if a cut is structured to reward long-term investments, it can make a difference. Democrats on both Congressional tax-writing committees have voted unanimously for cuts in capital gains taxes. Indeed, the Ways and Means Committee's plan would be even more generous than the President's.

Lollypops for the middle class? Pollsters tell politicians that this tax cut is a sure-fire vote-getter. But economists from John Kenneth Galbraith to Alan Greenspan, the Federal Reserve chairman, ridicule it. Given our love of Sonys and Nintendos, this consumption-oriented cut is more likely to jump-start the Japanese economy than our own. Most politicians are (vaguely) for a middle-class tax cut in public statements, but in private most admit it is the same old game of buying votes with deficits.

Investment in the private sector. We don't need a jump start, but America's great capitalist engine needs a new battery. To that end, we need investment-oriented tax incentives including a capital gains cut, investment tax credits, accelerated depreciation and more. The challenge is to increase innovation and investment — and jobs. Even Democrats have come to realize that you can't be anti-business and pro-jobs.

A bipartisan economic plan is set to go.

Investment in the public sector. Just as Democrats have embraced business-oriented tax incentives, mainstream Republicans favor robust investment in public-sector infrastructure and human capital. A Democrat could have delivered President Bush's State of the Union Message: he's for a boost in Head Start, in the Women, Infants and Children nutrition program, Pell grants for college students, highway spending and more.

Indefensible defense spending. The President proposes cutting the Pentagon by \$50 billion over five years, and he insists "this much and no more." But just about everyone else believes we can reap a bigger peace dividend. We don't need five more B-2's at \$1 billion each or 150,000 troops in Europe. And, heavens above, why do we still have 45,000 G.I.'s in Japan?

Goose the economy, not the deficit. All must agree on this: with a whopping 20 percent of outlays going to pay interest on the \$3.8 trillion national debt, the anti-recession package must not add a dime to the deficit.

Last week, Mr. Greenspan advised Congress to reject both the President's plan and Democratic alternatives. Many others believe that the best plan is no plan at all. But they are wrong.

Given the remarkable extent of Democratic-Republican agreement, why are we being so disagreeable? Let the Democrats pass their plan, and let the President have his veto. Then let's move a truly bipartisan plan through Congress this month.

For 50 years, we have had great success with American plans for Asia and Europe. Today, we desperately need an American plan for America. □

BANK OVERDRAFTS SPLIT REPUBLICANS

Party Seeks Wider Disclosure
Than House Panel Urged

By CLIFFORD KRAUSS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 10 — With the House poised to begin debate on how many members should be publicly criticized for abusing their House bank accounts, Republican leaders and junior members today maneuvered to coordinate their strategies and maximize their political advantage.

Most Republicans want to disclose the names of more than the 19 members and five former members that the ethics committee recommended last week. But they want to draw the line of disclosure at different numbers, from 66 to as many as the 355 who wrote at least one overdraft in a recent 39-month period.

The question of how to handle the situation divides Republicans along the fault line between traditionalists, who want to protect the institution's reputation, and the generally more conservative and junior insurgents who are not concerned about that if they can elect more Republicans.

Republicans say they know that some in their party will be identified along with the Democrats, especially if the list is enlarged. But they say they can still win political points because the bank was managed by House employees selected through the Democratic patronage system and because the public identifies the Congress with the Democratic Party.

Republicans See Seething

Whether voters decide to punish the Democratic Party rather than simply the members identified as overdrawing their accounts remains to be seen. But several Republicans say that the public is seething in their districts and that their party stands to gain.

Members of the ethics panel who reviewed the House bank's records for five months say they do not know how many Republicans and Democrats are involved. They say they reviewed the records only by account number and do not even know the names of the 24 members who overdrew their accounts beyond their next month's salaries in at least eight months of the 39 audited.

In all, almost 20,000 overdrafts were written, including some for well over \$1,000.

When the overdrafts became publicly known in October, Speaker Thomas S. Foley resisted making the names public because no public money had been involved. Overdrawn checks were covered by the account balances of other members, so in effect members were simply lending each other money. But Mr. Foley's position, which he later reversed, tended to create an image that the Democratic leadership was trying to cover up the matter.

Republican Strategy Session

Republican leaders met for more than two hours this morning to plot strategy. Representative Robert H. Michel of Illinois, the minority leader, voiced concern that an extensive disclosure of names would needlessly hurt the reputations of members who had not abused their checking privileges beyond writing an occasional overdraft. But at the insistence of Representative Newt Gingrich of Georgia, the minority whip, and others, he agreed to go along with a more aggressive strategy.

Several Republican members of the ethics committee said they wanted to introduce two dissenting alternatives when the full committee's recommendation reaches the floor Thursday or Friday. The first would disclose the names of all 355 members who had overdrew even one check, said Representative Jon Kyl, an Arizona Republican who is a member of the ethics committee.

Mr. Kyl said that if the House did not accept the first proposal, he and other Republicans on the ethics committee would introduce a second resolution that would expand the list of 24 names to the 66 members and former members who had the most overdrafts.

Representative Matthew F. McHugh, the New York Democrat who is chairman of the ethics committee, told Republican members of the panel that he supported their right to have their proposals fully debated on the floor. If the Democratic leadership does not agree that the Republicans deserve more than the one hour usually reserved for resolutions on ethics matters, Representative Fred Grandy, Republican of Iowa, said, "there would be a huge fight on the floor and there would be a lot of parliamentary chicanery."

He added, "This will be as important a debate as we've had on the floor since the debate on the Gulf War."

Mr. Gingrich told fellow Republican leaders that he was ready to make sure the issue was raised for a vote every day for the rest of the year if the Democratic leadership tried to obstruct a full debate.

Bush Plans Trade-Policy Change Soon

U.S. Could Sue Units
Of Foreign Companies

By KEITH BRADSHAW

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 10 — Despite a chorus of objections, the Bush Administration is expected to change its antitrust policies within 7 to 10 days to allow Justice Department lawsuits against the American operations of foreign cartels, senior Administration officials said today.

Attorney General William P. Barr said on Feb. 21 that he foresaw such a policy change, but today's comments set a specific time frame on the Administration's action. The comment "provoked criticism from Japanese officials," who called the plan unacceptable, and complaints from the State Department, which had not signed off on the decision.

The change, which would revive a policy in force until the end of the Reagan Administration, is intended to prevent foreign companies from conspiring to avoid buying American exports. It is aimed as much at jawboning the Japanese to enforce their own antitrust laws more vigorously as it is at filing immediate cases, Administration officials said.

No Cases Planned

Although investigations of foreign companies have begun, the Justice Department has no immediate plans to file any cases. The department is changing its policy in principle while waiting to develop a case that it feels sure of winning.

While the policy change is politically opportune during an election campaign in which criticizing Japan has proved popular among candidates, Administration officials insist that

The plan's critics: Japanese and the State Department.

the change has been two years in the planning and is not aimed at any particular country.

Although the Justice Department has stopped filing such lawsuits, a case in the early 1980's illustrates how they work.

The department sued the American operations of a group of Japanese corporations led by C. Itoh & Company, a Tokyo-based conglomerate. Government lawyers contended that these Japanese companies had secretly agreed to buy only small quantities of American shellfish from the Pacific Northwest and to offer only very low prices.

The Justice Department contended that even though the decision to limit purchases might have been made in Tokyo, the case could be brought in United States courts because the American operations of the Japanese companies actually purchased the shellfish. The case never went to trial because the Japanese companies signed a consent decree in 1983 in which they did not admit guilt but agreed not to collude in the future.

Companies are already able to sue



The New York Times

Attorney General William P. Barr remarked recently that he foresaw an antitrust policy change that would permit the Justice Department to sue the American operations of foreign cartels.

the United States subsidiaries of foreign groups of companies that they assert collusively refuse to buy American goods. But few have done so because of the exorbitant cost of antitrust lawsuits, the risk of offending foreign partners in joint ventures and the poor likelihood of success as long as courts can look to a Justice Department policy of not filing such cases.

Hiroshi Hirabayashi, the deputy chief of the Japanese Embassy here, said his Government wanted the United States to consult with the other 23 industrialized nations in the Paris-based Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development before changing any policies.

"We think — many countries think — that it's a violation of established international laws and practices," the diplomat said of the proposed Justice Department change.

A committee of the international organization has been reviewing differences in member countries' antitrust laws for many years, with the United States consistently arguing that countries should be able to apply their laws more often to foreign companies. An American official said today that the planned policy change was not broad enough to be included in the O.E.C.D. talks.

Plan Worries Diplomats

The Justice Department's planned policy change has pitted diplomats worried about possible damage to diplomatic relations with foreign governments against Administration trade officials frustrated by the reluctance of Japanese companies to buy American goods even as the Japanese Government eliminates legal and regulatory barriers to imports.

The Commerce Department and Carla A. Hills, the United States trade representative and a former head of the American Bar Association's antitrust section, both endorsed the policy change last year.

The State Department was unhappy when Mr. Barr made his remarks on Feb. 21 because it had not endorsed the policy change and wanted to set up an interagency process to review all such cases before they are filed, a department official said.

Charles F. Rule, the former Assistant Attorney General for Antitrust, who banned cases filed on behalf of exporters at the end of the Reagan Administration, said that eliminating the ban now would be a mistake. The Justice Department risks reawakening bitter disputes with its allies over international lawsuits and offending Japanese law enforcement officials whose cooperation is needed on many other cases, he said.

The Need to Lead, for Russia

Election year: It's the best time for politicians to show leadership. Freedom in Russia: It's the finest imaginable cause. But even as Russia urgently asks for aid that could mean the survival of reform, President Bush dithers. His response has been, as Richard Nixon puts it, penny-ante — "pathetically inadequate."

Patrick Buchanan still can't win more than a protest vote with his "America first" campaign. Yet he has Mr. Bush covering, leaving Secretary of State Baker to take the lead. The Democrats, meanwhile, hang back, waiting for the President. If America stands for anything, it is freedom. If Mr. Bush stands for anything, he must now explain to Americans the need to help it thrive in Russia.

Notwithstanding President Bush's political travail, Mr. Nixon recently circulated a paper harshly criticizing the Administration's inaction on Russia. But even Mr. Nixon remains transfixed by the all-or-nothing calculus of the cold war, and so he exaggerates the dangers of not aiding Russia. Likewise, he overpromises the benefits of aid. But there are four realistic arguments the President could now make for helping Russia:

It's the chance of a lifetime for America. Russia is no longer the superpower enemy. But it's still armed and dangerous. While there's no guarantee, aid could transform Russia into America's ally and save untold billions in defense spending.

Russian reformers need help. Russia has embarked on a transformation even more dramatic than Europe's in its recovery from the devastation of World War II or Mexico's radical reform of the 1980's. Such leaps forward succeeded only because outsiders provided a safety net.

America can afford to give the aid. A relief package for Russia would cost about \$20 billion a

year for five years. The European Community, Japan and Saudi Arabia would share the burden, leaving \$2 or \$3 billion for the U.S. (put up. That's not insignificant, but would be a small fraction of the potential defense savings.

Aid could pay off for America. Investment in Russia's reforms could return rich dividends if recovery eventually enables it to export markets for U.S. goods and repay its debts.

Of the \$20 billion total, about \$6 billion a year would be reserved to stabilize the value of the ruble. If reform alone gives the ruble purchasing power, that fund need not be tapped. Another \$6 billion would allow Russia to refinance its debt; if reform succeeds, this money would be repaid.

The rest of the \$20 billion would help Russia import food and consumer goods and keep freed prices from soaring out of the reach of ordinary Russians. This money could be a loan, pledged against Russia's oil and gas reserves, to be repaid once the country is back on its feet.

There are hopeful signs that the West is waking up. Secretary of State Baker has invited proposals to set up a stabilization fund for the ruble. Western leaders have decided to bring Russia and other republics into the International Monetary Fund as early as April. The I.M.F. is now in Moscow negotiating a reform package.

But the West has not yet authorized the I.M.F. to pledge much. And a \$12 billion U.S. contribution to the I.M.F. is stalled in Congress. Unless Mr. Bush steps out front to raise the money now, it won't be available when it's needed.

Russia's Boris Yeltsin has offered the West a shining opportunity. After defending democratization against last year's coup attempt, he slashed military spending, decontrolled prices and blunged on to privatize the economy. Now it's the West's turn to defend freedom inside Russia.

CLINTON TAKES FLORIDA EASILY; SURVEYS SHOW SWEEP OF SOUTH; PROTEST VOTES STILL DOG BUSH *Super Tuesday Transforms Campaign*

By R. W. APPLE Jr.
Special to The New York Times

MIAMI, March 10 — Southern Democratic leaders achieved today what they sought in vain to do four years ago: They gave a mighty heave forward to the Presidential bid of a moderate candidate from their own region.

News Whether the heave will prove decisive, and Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas will capture the nomination in New York this summer, remains to be seen, of course. But his sweep of the Southern states on Super Tuesday 1992 established him as his party's undisputed front-runner with a big lead in convention delegates and gave him a shot at clinching things this month.

It was a grim day for former Senator Paul E. Tsongas of Massachusetts. Having failed even to come close in Florida, the only Southern state where he had a fighting chance, he must now win next week in either Illinois or Michi-

A Surge by Clinton Endangers Tsongas

gan, with their big blue-collar voting blocs, both ethnic and black, to reinvigorate his campaign.

'Stalingrad in the Midwest'

Neither today nor in earlier primaries have those voters been much attracted to him, and one of his advisers, Ted van Dyk, said tonight that Mr. Tsongas was facing "a Stalingrad in the Midwest" in whose snags his candidacy could easily perish.

The Democrats' system of proportional representation insured the former Senator, even in defeat, of some delegates from all the major Super Tuesday states. Even if he lost both Michigan and Illinois, he would probably get delegates there, too, and Mr. Clinton would not be able to put a mathematical lock on the nomination until many more states had voted.

But without at least one victory in the big Great Lakes states next week, Mr. Tsongas would run short of money quickly and Mr. Clinton might look unstoppable. Mr. Tsongas's next chance to win a dramatic, image-reversing victory would not come for three weeks, until the New York primary on April 7.

The question that lurked in many minds, even as Mr. Clinton won six primaries in the South, including the hard-fought contest in Florida, was whether the Democrats were playing into the Republicans' hands. The Arkansas Governor, in the view of many political professionals, would be highly vulnerable to assault by the Republicans this fall because of questions about his extramarital relations, his draft status during Vietnam and his financial dealings while Governor.

"He looks like Jack Dempsey at the moment," said a Senator from a border state, "but the Republicans haven't started punching yet."

Richard Murray, a professor of political science at the University of Houston, said that "fear about jobs trumps concerns about character in really hard times." But with Mr. Clinton as its nominee and the economy ticking along a bit better, he continued, the Democratic Party might find itself this fall "having problems not with its message but with its messenger."

President Bush also won everywhere in the South, but once again, he failed to decisively dispatch his main challenger, Patrick J. Buchanan. In the two electoral powerhouses of the region, Texas and Florida, the President once again lost 30 to 35 percent to Mr. Bu-

Continued on Page A18, Column 3

Super Tuesday's Aftermath: A Transformed Race

Continued From Page A1

chanan, as he has around the country. Only in Tennessee was Mr. Bush able to minimize his rival's protest votes.

As a result, he is closer to the nomination, in a numerical sense, but no closer to party mastery.

Voters who backed Mr. Buchanan in Texas and Florida were mostly people who think the economy is stumbling, who are angry about Mr. Bush's breaking his pledge not to increase taxes and who wanted "to shake things up." But nowhere were there enough of them to put him close to victory, and Republican Congressional leaders began urging him tonight to fold his campaign.

In this campaign as in most, expectations and perceptions play a large part, and at the moment, they are working against Mr. Bush and for Mr. Clinton. For the President to lose a third of the

vote in state after state, most of it to a television commentator who has never run for office, seems a signal of weakness to many, but for Mr. Clinton, a much less well-known figure than Mr. Bush, winning 50 or 60 percent of the vote constitutes quite a success.

Why Super Tuesday

Super Tuesday was created as an antidote to the tendency of early-voting states to make inevitable the nomination of liberals like former Senator George S. McGovern in 1972 and former Vice President Walter F. Mondale in 1984. Convinced that they were unelectable, the Southerners grouped their primaries early in the political year as a means of getting leverage. But in 1988 the Southern hope, Senator Al Gore of Tennessee, was buried in the South by the Rev. Jesse Jackson and Gov. Michael S. Dukakis of Massachusetts, both liberals.

Mr. Clinton learned something from Mr. Gore's experience. Although he never seemed likely to beat Senator Tom Harkin in Iowa and knew he faced a fight from Mr. Tsongas in New Hampshire, he plunged into a number of early tests, unlike Mr. Gore, who hung back until Super Tuesday, allowing his rivals to become far better known.

Even when he was taking a daily battering in the newspapers and on television on the "character" issue, even when it was all but impossible to get any attention for his substantive points, Mr. Clinton gritted his teeth and carried on, knowing that every day brought him closer to the South.

Like Mr. Dukakis, he invested money and manpower in Florida and Texas, creating an organization that Mr. Tsongas, like Mr. Gore before him, could not match.

Mr. Tsongas lacked a skill that proved valuable to Mr. Dukakis: his ability to appeal in Spanish to Hispanic voters. Mr. Dukakis scored heavily among such voters four years ago, but a poll of Texas voters leaving the booths by Voter Research and Surveys, a cooperative venture by four television networks, showed Mr. Tsongas gaining the support of only about 20 percent of the Hispanic electorate.

Surprisingly, the same survey showed Mr. Tsongas and Mr. Clinton splitting the Jewish votes in Florida, one of the main building blocks of the Dukakis victory here in 1988. Mr. Clinton had sought to convince Jewish retirees, of whom tens of thousands are clustered in south Florida, that the former Senator was lukewarm in his support of Israel and of Social Security.

In some ways, Florida was a demographically ideal state for Mr. Tsongas, certainly far more suited to him than Illinois or Michigan, with their urban wards filled with Polish, Ukrainian and Italian-Americans.

According to the exit poll, more than 60 percent of the participants in the Democratic primary in Florida had some college education. Those were the kinds of voters among whom the for-

mer Senator had done best in previous elections. He easily carried those with undergraduate and graduate degrees, but Mr. Clinton trounced him among the large group with only some college.

In the end, Mr. Clinton appeared to have won the bitter debate over whose economic plan would do more for the country: in both Texas and Florida, the Governor got a majority of the votes of those who said they thought the economy was in poor shape.

About 20 percent of the voters in the Democratic primaries said that Mr. Clinton's draft experiences made them think less of him, and it cost him some support. Even so, he managed to capitalize on an electoral schedule that was created to help put someone like himself in the White House.

Mr. Clinton's sweeping triumph in the day's eight primaries, broken only by Mr. Tsongas's victories in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, means trouble not only for Mr. Tsongas but also for the third Democratic contender, former Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California. He, too, needs to make a better showing next Tuesday than he did today to avoid seeming irrelevant.

A handful of influential figures will now come into focus as power-brokers in the Democratic race.

What About Labor?

One is Mayor Richard M. Daley of Chicago, a less commanding presence than his father, but still, even without a machine, a good man to have on one's side. Another will be Mayor Coleman Young of Detroit, one of the nation's leading black politicians. And then there are the leaders of the trade unions who had been backing Mr. Harkin before he pulled out, now hard-pressed to find a candidate.

Mr. Tsongas has offended organized labor by advocating the right of companies to hire permanent replacement workers for striking employees. And Mr. Clinton, who comes from a right-to-work state, has never been popular with the A.F.L.-C.I.O. at home, which accuses him of promoting low-paying jobs.

"I think Illinois will be a pivotal state because it is the dessert of the Democratic primary season." PAUL GREEN

Presidential Campaign Moves North for First Big Fight on Neutral Ground

By DON TERRY

Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, March 10 — Before sunset can deepen into night over the South on Super Tuesday, the Presidential campaign will hurry North for what many consider the first major confrontation in regionally neutral territory — the Rust Belt states of Illinois and Michigan.

Some are calling this region "a mini-America," with the outcome likely to be especially important to the Democrats.

Not only do the candidates have no clear geographic links to the region, but both of the states that will hold primaries next Tuesday are also rich in delegates and diverse in people and problems. They have high unemployment, deep budget cuts, closing automobile plants and fading family farms. "They're both large states that are

March 17: A Slice of America in Two States' Primaries

	Delegates at stake	Voting age population	Median age	Per capita income	Unemployment rate	Work force by category
Michigan	R- 72 D- 131	8,923,000	32.6	\$18,360	9.0%	30.1% Industrial 16.3% Government 53.4% Services, trade
Illinois	R- 85 D- 184	8,568,000	32.8	\$20,419	8.5%	27.8% Industrial 14.7% Government 57.1% Services, trade
United States		189,044,000	32.9	\$18,891	7.3%	27.0% Industrial 17.0% Government 56.0% Services, trade

R = Republican; D = Democratic. Projections for November 1992 figures. 1990 figures. February 1992 figures. December 1991 figures, excluding agriculture. "Industrial" includes manufacturing, construction, mining, transportation and public utilities.

Source: Census Bureau; Bureau of Labor Statistics

Bush has a commanding lead over Buchanan in two states.

very reflective of the national population," said James P. Dresler, a spokesman for the Democratic National Committee. "That's a major reason they're so important."

Looking for National Stamp

Michigan and Illinois will also be the campaign's first confrontation in the heavily unionized and urban-flavored industrial North. A big primary winner here, especially if he has done well in the South a week before, will leave the

Rust Belt with "National Candidate" stamped on his résumé.

For months in Illinois, from the skyscrapers of Chicago to the corn fields and coal mines down state, the word had been that Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas had the state sewn up, with plenty of thread to spare.

After all, he had a who's who of Illinois politics on his side; he had the most money, the longest list of endorsements and the prayers and support of black ministers throughout Chicago.

But in recent days, former Senator Paul E. Tsongas of Massachusetts has been nipping at Mr. Clinton's heels. Polls published over the weekend showed that Mr. Clinton had a slight edge, but that Mr. Tsongas had gained considerable ground.

In Michigan, polls showed the Clinton-Tsongas race a tossup.

In both states, a third or more of the likely Democratic electorate remains undecided, meaning so much could change in the next week.

The third Democratic candidate, former Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, is struggling to break into double-digit support in the polls in both states.

"He's a non-factor," said Gary J. LaPaille, chairman of the Democratic Party of Illinois, referring to Mr. Brown. "He's going to have the hardest time selling his message in this part of the country."

"This isn't Colorado where people are looking at mountains and streams every day," Mr. LaPaille said, alluding to Mr. Brown's victory in Colorado, where the environment was a major issue. "In Chicago, you're looking at gray skies and drafs. Your main concern is getting a paycheck every two weeks. It's a whole different attitude."

Mr. Buchanan, the columnist and television commentator, is expected to focus much of his effort in the blue-collar strongholds of Michigan, which have been reeling from layoffs and plant closings in the auto industry. People in Michigan are scared and angry as their plants close or move to Texas or Mexico. Many want protection, or at least the promise of it.

"If Buchanan is going to do well anywhere outside of the Deep South, Michigan should be it," said David W. Rodhe, a professor of political science at Michigan State University. "This is the place where we're going to see a good amount of Japan-bashing. This is where his message against George Bush on economic-trade grounds should have its strongest appeal."

"But if Buchanan comes here and

But Bruce Crosby, a Brown campaign coordinator in Illinois, dismissed the voter surveys, saying the poll takers "can't count."

Before Senator Tom Harkin of Iowa folded his campaign on Monday, he was given a chance, although slim, of making a respectable showing in Michigan because of his strong ties to organized labor.

Spillintering of Harkin Vote

His campaign manager there, Denise Sloan, said Monday that it was unclear who Mr. Harkin's backers would now support. She said some would probably go ahead and vote for Mr. Harkin as a protest while others would support Mr. Clinton. She said she thought there would be little support for Mr. Tsongas.

The race on the Republican side appears clearer and even more lopsided. In the most recent polls, President Bush has a commanding lead in the two states over his challenger, Patrick J. Buchanan. David Duke, the former Louisiana State Representative and ex-leader of the Ku Klux Klan, is on the ballot in Michigan but is given little chance of being a factor. His campaign failed to collect enough signatures to get him on the ballot in Illinois.

Mr. Bush has strong ties to Illinois and its Republican leadership, which has controlled the Governor's office for 16 years. Three of the President's Cabinet members are from Illinois, as is his chief of staff, Samuel K. Skinner.

"On paper, if there is any state that should be pro-Bush, it is Illinois," said George Grey, chairman of Mr. Buchanan's Illinois campaign. "Organizationally, the establishment party here in Illinois has a stranglehold over every major official."

But these days, the candidate preferred by an area's elected officials is less and less important, and that is what Harry Versey, chairman of Mr. Buchanan's Michigan campaign, is banking on.

"There's enormous dissatisfaction," Mr. Versey said. "The question is to what extent will Buchanan be the vehicle for that dissatisfaction."

rt for Buchanan

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"But if Buchanan comes here and



Edmund G. Brown Jr. signing a campaign poster for a supporter yesterday at a rally at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor.

Voter Turnout: Seven Early States

Percentage of all registered voters who cast ballots in any party's Presidential primary, and the delegates at stake and votes cast in each state. In Maryland and South Dakota, only voters registered in a party may vote in that party's primary.

Date	State	Turnout	Votes cast
Feb. 23	New Hampshire Delegates: 180, 25R	66.9%	341,887
Feb. 25	South Dakota 180, 19R	25.9%	104,458
March 3	Colorado 470, 37R	25.5%	435,241
	Georgia 760, 52R	35.2%	905,957
	Maryland 470, 42R	41.3%	798,162
	Utah 230; no R primary	4.0%	31,604
March 7	South Carolina 430, 36R	20.3%	282,321
	TOTAL - 7 STATES	31.3%	2,879,730

D = Democratic; R = Republican.

Source: Associated Press

The Democrats' biggest test will come in the Rust Belt.

had a margin of sampling error of five percentage points.

Despite the closeness of the Democratic race suggested in the poll figures, Mr. Clinton is still the strongest candidate in the state, said Prof. William J. Grimshaw, a political scientist at the Illinois Institute of Technology, largely because of his campaign organization and its many allies. The once mighty Chicago Democratic machine is trying to rekindle its spark and has been pushing its faithful hard to support Mr. Clinton.

Harmony on City Council

The push has been so hard that black and white City Council members, who a few years ago would scarcely sit together at the same table, are now singing his praises in two-part harmony.

Most of the candidates' remaining time in Illinois will be spent in Chicago and its suburbs, where 60 percent of the state's registered Democrats live. Mayor Richard M. Daley is officially neutral, but many of his top political associates and advisers are senior members of both Mr. Clinton's Illinois campaign and his national organization.

"Clinton definitely has the lion's share of elected officials on his side," said Kitty Kurth, the Tsongas campaign manager in Illinois. "They jumped on early. But across the country, we've had voters' support, and that's the support that matters most."

But winning the hearts and minds and votes here will not be easy for anyone. The shaky economy is the major issue in both states, overshadowing everything else. Last month, Michigan and Illinois had some of the highest unemployment rates in the country among the states.

The Presidential campaign had seemed very distant to most people in this region until heavy television and radio advertising began this week. Until now, the only advertisements had seemed to be Mr. Clinton's radio commercials on black- and Hispanic-oriented stations in Chicago.

Mr. Clinton plans to hurry here before the votes are counted on Super Tuesday for an evening of fund-raising events.

Mr. Tsongas is scheduled to arrive in the state on Wednesday for what could be the final shootout of the campaign.

"I think Illinois will be a pivotal state because it is the dessert of the Democratic primary season," said Paul Green, a professor of political science at Governors State University in University Park, Ill. "Super Tuesday is the entree, but we're the dessert. We top off the meal. After Illinois, it's over."

doesn't do well," Mr. Rodhe added, "it probably means his campaign is in decline."

Mr. Clinton is also expected to spend a lot of time courting the blue-collar vote, the so-called Reagan Democrats.

In the poll published Sunday in The Chicago Sun-Times, he scored highest with people earning less than \$49,999 a year. Mr. Tsongas led Mr. Clinton by 15 percentage points among the voters earning more than \$50,000. The survey

The New York Times

Nixon's 'Save Russia' Memo: Bush Feels the Sting

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 10 — By warning that the United States has provided "pathetically" insufficient assistance to Russia, former President Richard M. Nixon has stung the Bush Administration and focused attention on an issue that the Administration and Congress have been hesitating to address for months.

News Analysis
President Bush's discomfort was evident today when he was asked about Mr. Nixon's critique just before a meeting with Republican leaders. First, Mr. Bush said he and Mr. Nixon had spoken and they were actually in total agreement. Then Mr. Bush said his Administration had already done a great deal — contradicting Mr. Nixon's whole critique.

In arguing forcefully that the Administration is missing the opportunity of the century to transform Russia into a democracy, Mr. Nixon has raised the possibility of a "who lost Russia" debate. If the infant democratic institutions in Russia and other former Soviet republics are toppled.

That is perhaps the worst fear of senior Administration officials: that all their foreign policy successes — from German unification to the Gulf war — could be washed away in assertions that they "lost Russia" if President Boris N. Yeltsin is ousted by hardliners.

'Who Lost Russia?'

As Mr. Nixon put it in his memorandum circulated to foreign-policy analysts: "The hot-button issue in the 1950's was 'Who lost China?' If Yeltsin goes down, the question 'Who lost Russia' will be an infinitely more devastating issue in the 1990's."

That is a question that virtually every policymaker in this Administration has in the back of the mind. While they

will never say so publicly, officials acknowledge that they could be vulnerable to a harsh historical judgment on whether they did enough to insure that the democratic revolution in Russia led by Mr. Yeltsin succeeds. Even those who favor Mr. Bush's cautious approach say they know that if Mr. Yeltsin goes down they will be blamed.

Mr. Nixon, of course, is an expert in "Who lost..." arguments, and he knows their political power. It was he and a coterie of post World War II Republicans who began their political careers by leveling such arguments against government officials who they said were responsible for letting China slip into Communism. And yet it was Mr. Nixon who also understood the power of reversing himself in reopening relations with China 25 years later.

The response of Bush Administration officials up to now has been to suppress any fears and try to make as much as possible out of the relatively little that the Administration has done. But at the same time, they are refraining from asking Congress or the American taxpayers for anything more substantial, which they consider politically unwise at this time, and are somehow hoping that Mr. Yeltsin will muddle through.

Democrats Back Memo

Speaking to reporters today at a White House meeting of Republican leaders, Mr. Bush defended the Administration's record, which Mr. Nixon described as "penny ante."

"There are certain fiscal financial constraints on what we can do, but we have a huge stake in the success of democracy in Russia and in the other C.I.S. countries," said Mr. Bush, referring to the Commonwealth of Independent of States. "And so we will be working in every way possible to support the forces of democracy. Certainly we've done a lot in terms of supporting the people that might be afflicted by

starvation, real hunger, and similarly on medicine. So there's a lot of taxpayer money going into this already — a lot of it in terms of guarantees for agricultural products, which was their emergency requirement."

Speaking generally of the Nixon memo, Mr. Bush said, "I didn't take it as personally critical, and I think he would reiterate that it wasn't."

Mr. Nixon's critique has won the respect even of some Democrats, or as Senator Joseph R. Biden, chairman of the Senate Europe subcommittee put it: "It seems to occur randomly, but this time Mr. Nixon has it right. What we need from the Bush Administration

A White House risk: harsh historical judgments.

is a comprehensive plan to buttress democracy from Prague to Vladivostok. I have urged Secretary Baker to submit such plans to Congress and I have pledged to support the Administration in the bipartisan spirit that these crucial issues demand."

'They're Afraid'

Yet Democratic Presidential candidates have not shown much enthusiasm for spending a great deal of money at the moment to support Russian reforms, and tend to get a little vague when the issue is raised.

Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, asked about the Nixon memo, said: "I think Baker and Bush have good instincts on what to do in the former Soviet republics, but I think they've been a little too

timid in doing it. I think they know they ought to be with the republics. They know they ought to be trying to dismantle nuclear weapons. They know they ought to be trying to help convert the currency, but I think they're just a little timid on it. I think they're afraid of looking like they're too preoccupied with foreign policy."

Brad Mackenzie, assistant press secretary for former Senator Paul E. Tsongas of Massachusetts, said the candidate's position is that given the enormous amount of money spent during the cold war to counter Communism, the least the United States could do now is to take \$2 billion immediately out of the defense budget and put it into a large-scale humanitarian effort to get the former Soviet republics through the winter.

Over the long term, he said, Mr. Tsongas supports the establishment of an "Executive Peace Corps," that would be made up of retired businessmen and entrepreneurs who would go to Russia and other republics to help new capitalist enterprises there.

Talks Wwwith I.M.F.

Asked where Mr. Tsongas stood on the big ticket item — the question of the United States contributing to a multi-billion dollar fund to stabilize the Russian ruble, an essential ingredient for economic reform there, Mr. Mackenzie said, "We are taking a look at that, but don't have a position yet."

While that debate was swirling in Washington, Konstantin Kagalovsky, Mr. Yeltsin's chief negotiator with the International Monetary Fund and other international financial institutions, was just completing a round of negotiations at the fund's headquarters here on Russia's financial needs.

Watch for colorful Part 2's of
The New York Times Magazine.

G.O.P. Move In Senate For Tax Cut

By ADAM CLYMER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 10 — Republicans in the Senate called today for passage of a tax cut for families, a cut that President Bush had proposed and then de-emphasized, as they sought a politically comfortable stance for opposing the Democratic proposal of tax cuts for the middle class and increases for the well-off.

They announced their plans, but not how they would pay for the cut, after their leaders met with President Bush in the White House and as the Senate began debating a Democratic tax bill that its sponsors say would make the tax code fairer.

Despite Republican efforts to present a bill with more political appeal than Mr. Bush's, their leaders said today that they expected to lose in the Senate, and President Bush said he would veto the Senate Democrats' bill, as he said earlier he would veto a comparable House Democratic measure. There is no chance that a veto could be overridden.

An Issue for Buchanan

Mr. Bush first proposed a change in tax exemptions in his State of the Union speech. But he said he wanted it adopted later in the year, after a seven-point plan stressing growth. His Republican challenger, Patrick J. Buchanan, told New Hampshire primary voters that the delay showed that Mr. Bush was abandoning the middle class.

Mr. Bush said today of the Democrats' proposals: "The centerpiece of both these bills is a huge tax increase that will kill job creation, particularly by small businesses. So there's got to be no mistake about this: Raising taxes on the American people, given the situation, is simply not acceptable."

Senator Lloyd Benisen, the Texas Democrat who heads the Finance Committee, replied that "our bill will mean higher taxes for fewer than 800,000 people at the top of the income

Republicans in Senate Back Cutting Taxes for Families

Continued From First Business Page

scale in order to cut taxes for the 31 million Americans" who would be helped by the bill's tax credit for children, modifications in the earned-income tax credit, and capital gains changes tilted toward moderate-income taxpayers.

The Democratic bill features a \$300 tax credit for each child under 16, available to parents with incomes under \$70,000. The Republican plan would add \$500 to the personal exemption for a child, raising it from \$2,300 to \$2,800. The addition would thus be worth \$155 to upper-income taxpayers who pay a 31 percent rate, but only \$75 to those in the 15 percent bracket.

The problem the Administration has faced with the exemption is how to pay for it. While estimates vary a bit, the Joint Congressional Committee on Taxation projected its cost as \$23.8 billion for five years, an amount that is hard to raise without a tax increase.

Senator Pete V. Domenici of New Mexico, the senior Republican on the Senate Budget Committee, told reporters today that he expected the cost of the increased exemption to be met largely by counting Defense Department cuts toward it, a change in budget procedures he said he might oppose.

Doing the Accounting

Mr. Domenici said the Republican proposals would be paid for without new taxes and without accounting changes — the main approach relied on by the Bush Administration to support its seven-point program emphasizing capital gains tax cuts, accelerated depreciation on new investment and several aids to the real estate and housing industries. Many Republicans scorn those accounting shifts.

Speaking to reporters after the Republican caucus, Senator Bob Dole of Kansas, the minority leader, said the financing method "will be legal." He was asked if he meant to distinguish that approach from Administration accounting changes. "Right," he said.

While Democrats have been urging for months that the 1990 budget act's prohibitions against transferring military savings to domestic needs be modified, Republicans have generally objected. But in his introduction to the budget in January, Richard G. Darman, director of the Office of Management and Budget, said Mr. Bush would be prepared to consider a modification of the act to pay for the increased tax exemption.

But some Republicans consider that a risky approach, suggesting that advocating a change would lead down a slippery slope that Demo-

crats, with their Congressional majorities, could dominate.

The Republican senators plan to add one other item to Mr. Bush's short list of proposals for prompt action — repeal of the luxury tax on expensive cars, boats, planes, furs and jewelry. Mr. Bush proposed only repeal on boats and planes. The Democratic bill adds repeal of the taxes on furs and jewelry and proposed indexing the tax on cars against inflation.

Those luxury taxes were created, largely for symbolic purposes, in the 1990 budget act to show that the rich were being forced to bear a greater burden. But some of the taxes, especially those on boats and yachts costing more than \$100,000, have been widely attacked in both parties, accused of having cost jobs while raising little money.

The automobile tax is the only one that raises substantial revenues, about \$1 billion over five years. The other four would raise only \$500 million over five years.

The tax increase in the Senate bill to which Mr. Bush objected would increase the maximum individual tax rate from 31 to 36 percent, on taxable income (after deductions) of \$150,000 for individuals and \$175,000 for couples. That would raise \$43 billion over five years. Another \$8.5 billion would come from a surtax of 10 percent on taxes attributable to taxable income over \$1 million, a provision affecting about 60,000 people.

Scheduling the Votes

There were only speeches and no votes today, but action on various amendments will begin Wednesday. A battle more along regional than party lines is expected over an effort backed by Senator Jay Rockefeller, Democrat of West Virginia, to replenish the United Mine Workers Health Fund with taxes on coal companies.

The Republican proposals may not be put forward before Thursday, when Senate leaders hope to have the bill approved.

Because Representative Dan Rostenkowski of Illinois, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, has a primary election next Tuesday, a House-Senate conference on the two differing measures would not be held before next Wednesday, two days before the deadline Mr. Bush proclaimed for Congressional action on his seven-point program.

Continued on Page D20

Almanac

Road to the Nomination

Dates for primaries (P) and caucuses (C) to select delegates to the Democratic National Convention.



Date	State, group or territory	Delegates at stake	Cumulative delegates total	% of pledged delegates*	% of total
FEB. 10	Iowa C	49	49	1.4	1.1
18	New Hampshire P	18	67	1.9	1.6
23	Maine C	23	90	2.6	2.1
25	South Dakota P	15	105	3.0	2.4
MARCH 3	Am. Samoa C	3			
	Colorado P	47			
	Georgia P	76			
	Maryland P	67			
	Minnesota C	78			
	Idaho C	18			
	Utah P	23			
	Washington C	71	488	13.9	11.3
5-19	North Dakota C	14	502	14.3	11.7
7-9	Dems. abroad C	7	509	14.5	11.9
7	Arizona C	41			
	South Carolina P	43			
	Wyoming C	13	506	17.2	14.1
8	Nevada C	17	623	17.7	14.5
10	Delaware C	14			
	Florida P	148			
	Hawaii C	20			
	Louisiana P	60			
	Missouri C	77			
	Mississippi P	39			
	Oklahoma P	45			
	Rhode Island P	22			
	Tennessee P	68			
	Texas P	196			
	Massachusetts P	94	1,406	40.0	32.8
17	Illinois P	164			
	Michigan P	131	1,701	48.4	36.7
24	Connecticut P	53	1,754	49.9	40.9
28	Virgin Islands C	3	1,757	50.0	41.0
31	Vermont C	14	1,771	50.4	41.3
APRIL 2	Alaska C	13	1,784	50.7	41.6
5	Puerto Rico P	51	1,835	52.2	42.8
7	Kansas P	36			
	New York P	244			
	Wisconsin P	62	2,197	62.5	51.2
11-13	Virginia C	78	2,275	64.7	53.1
28	Pennsylvania P	169	2,444	69.5	57.0
MAY 3	Guam C	3	2,447	69.6	57.1
6	D.C. P	17			
	Indiana P	77			
	Ohio P	151			
	North Carolina P	84	2,776	79.0	64.7
12	Nebraska P	25			
	West Virginia P	31	2,832	80.5	66.0
19	Oregon P	47	2,879	81.9	67.1
26	Kentucky P	52			
	Arkansas P	36	2,967	84.4	69.2
JUNE 2	Alabama P	55			
	California P	348			
	New Jersey P	105			
	New Mexico P	25			
	Montana P	16	3,516	100.0	82.0
	Super delegates	772	4,288	100.0	100.0
	Needed to nominate		2,145		

*Does not include super delegates, which are Democratic National Committee members and elected officials who can declare their allegiance to a candidate at any time.

Source: Democratic National Committee

TSONGAS SET BACK

Former Senator Prevails in Massachusetts and Rhode Island

By ROBIN TONER

Special to The New York Times

MIAMI, March 10 — Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas dominated former Senator Paul E. Tsongas today in the biggest test so far of the primary season, winning a string of victories in his native South, according to surveys of voters leaving the polls, and scoring a decisive triumph in Florida.

The Super Tuesday primaries and caucuses, held in 11 states, gave Mr. Clinton a powerful lift in his drive for the Democratic Presidential nomination as the race moves on to the March 17 contests in Illinois and Michigan. For Mr. Tsongas, those contests now become critical as he seeks to repair the damage caused by his heavy losses across the South, most tellingly in Florida, the one Southern state where he had hoped to hold the line.

In Florida, with a third of the votes counted at 9 P.M., Mr. Clinton had 51 percent to 32 percent for Mr. Tsongas. On the Republican side, President Bush won commandingly across the region but was once again given a warning for the November election, that even in Bush strongholds like Texas and Florida, a sizable minority of Republican voters will vote against him. Patrick J. Buchanan, the conservative commentator, continued to reap the benefits of that vote.

Special Pain in Florida

Mr. Clinton, as a son of the South who knew how to use his regional advantage, was widely cited as the favorite of the seven Southern or border states voting today. But Mr. Tsongas had fought fiercely in Florida, hoping that this ever-changing state of Northeastern transplants would prove fertile ground for his message of economic truth-telling. The former Senator from Massachusetts found, however, that the Clinton campaign had succeeded in defining his message for him.

In advertising and in speeches, the Arkansas Governor cast Mr. Tsongas's economics as favoring the affluent over the middle class, with economic sacrifice for average Americans through measures like a higher gasoline tax but little pain for those "at the top of the totem pole."

Brown Runs Behind

Mr. Tsongas complained bitterly of distortions, but he heads north with a critical strategic imperative: to regain control of the debate.

Mr. Clinton also won a major victory today in Texas, the biggest delegate prize of the day, as well as prevailing in Mississippi, Oklahoma, and Tennessee, according to the voter surveys. Mr. Tsongas, as expected, won Massachusetts.

Former Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, the third remaining Democrat in the race, was generally run-

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Primaries and Caucuses

Clinton Gains Momentum, Triumphant Through South

Continued From Page A1

ning behind the two front-runners in the major contests.

This was a daunting day for the Democrats, with contests in 11 states that produced more than a fifth of the pledged delegates to the Democratic National Convention.

Mr. Clinton put together a powerful biracial coalition, combining white voters of moderate means with overwhelming support from blacks. He won the backing of more than 8 in 10 black voters in Texas and three-quarters in Florida, according to the exit polls, affirming the fears expressed by Mr. Tsongas that his own campaign was "behind the curve" in courting black Democrats.

Mr. Tsongas, continuing a pattern set in earlier states, ran well among voters with higher incomes and the most education. In Texas, for example, Mr. Tsongas's vote tripled as it went up the income scale: he carried a tenth of

Once again, warnings from the people for Bush.

those with incomes under \$15,000 but more than a third of those who make over \$75,000. Still, that support was simply overwhelmed by the strength of the Clinton vote.

'A Silver Medal Strategy'

The former Massachusetts Senator tried to play down Mr. Clinton's showing, telling reporters as he landed at Boston's Logan International Airport tonight: "I didn't anticipate winning a Southern state. I said very clearly that we had a silver medal strategy."

But the Tsongas campaign was keenly aware that Super Tuesday sends Mr. Clinton back north with a big edge in delegates and a winner's aura. "The hay is in the barn," Mr. Clinton said as he finished his Super Tuesday campaign, in which he tapped into alliances forged over a lifetime in Southern politics. "I felt ever since the first of the month, I think, the momentum was good." The Governor, whose campaign was nearly derailed just five weeks ago amid accusations of marital infidelity and manipulating his draft status, add-

How the Poll Was Conducted

The Election Day exit polls were conducted by Voter Research and Surveys, an organization created in 1990 by ABC News, CBS News, CNN, and NBC News and were based on questionnaires completed by voters as they left voting stations throughout Florida and Texas.

The Texas results are based on 1,190 voters in the Democratic primary and 1,055 voters in the Republican primary from 60 randomly selected precincts across the state.

The Texas results are based on 1,155 voters in the Democratic primary and 876 voters in the Republican primary. The Democrats were from 60 precincts and the Republicans 47 precincts throughout the state that were randomly selected.

In theory, in 19 cases out of 20, the results from such polls should differ by only four percentage points in either direction from what would have been obtained by interviewing all voters who turned out in Florida and Texas.

Results based on smaller subgroups have a larger potential sampling error. In addition to sampling error, the practical difficulties of conducting any survey of voter opinion on Election Day, including the reluctance of some voters to take the time to fill out questionnaires, may introduce other sources of error into the poll.

Florida deals a staggering blow to Tsongas's hopes.

ed, "I'm gratified that we've pulled back in contention after all we've been through."

His aides were euphoric. "The race is going according to plan," said George Stephanopoulos, Mr. Clinton's deputy campaign manager. "Now we head into the heartland with a head of steam."

Still Angry With Bush

Other Democratic analysts agreed. "This puts him in a very strong position, and if he can follow this up in Illinois and Michigan, it puts him in a commanding position," said Geoffrey Garin, a Democratic poll-taker not committed to any of the candidates.

On the Republican side, the results showed that Mr. Bush faces a continued protest vote of about a third of the Republican primary voters. Even in Texas, his adopted state, more than a third of those voting in the Republican primary said in the exit poll that they disapproved of the way Mr. Bush was handling his job, and two-thirds of the people who felt that way said they backed Mr. Buchanan. Mr. Buchanan also drew strong support from voters who said they were bothered by Mr. Bush's breaking his "no new taxes pledge."

A gender gap — the disparity between the preferences of men and women in Republican primaries this year — was once again on display in Texas. A third of the men voted for Mr. Buchanan, but only about one in five of the women. There was a similar pattern among the sexes in Florida.

Mr. Bush also received powerful support from Hispanic voters in Florida, with more than 8 in 10 of their votes going to the President. But even in Florida, there were trouble signs for the Bush campaign. Almost a fifth of the Republican voters said they would vote for an unnamed Democrat in November; most of them voted today for Mr. Buchanan. Mr. Buchanan also drew almost half of the voters with a union member in the household, and more than half of those who had somebody unemployed in their household.

The Next Battleground

Mr. Buchanan, who has repeatedly declared his intention to stay in the race until the party's convention in Houston, was already on the next battleground today, in Michigan. The television commentator and columnist stressed economic themes, asserting that the Administration's trade policies and regulatory positions contributed to the decline of the automobile industry and of big cities like Detroit.

David Duke, the former Ku Klux Klansman and Louisiana state representative, barely registered in the results in many Southern states.

There was never any doubt that Mr. Clinton would run well on Super Tuesday. He began with a regional advantage and carefully cultivated it for months. Moreover, unlike his fellow Southerner, Senator Al Gore Jr. of Tennessee, who in 1988 hoped to use Super Tuesday as his springboard, Mr. Clinton did not have to compete with the Rev. Jesse Jackson for the support of black voters.

Bill Carrick, a native Southerner who ran the campaign of Representative Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri in 1988, said of Mr. Clinton, "He put together the kind of coalition in these states that you'd put together if you were running for Governor: a biracial, moderate coalition."

Florida seemed to be the place where Mr. Tsongas could make up for lost time. It was a state, after all, that Gary Hart won in 1984, when he too rolled into the South with a victory in New Hampshire but not much of an organization on the ground. Still, in recent days, it was more and more apparent that Mr. Tsongas had lost control of the campaign debate in Florida, as he found himself answering a volley of Clinton attacks, on issues from Social Security to the strength of his support for Israel.

Ed Jessor, communications director for Mr. Tsongas, scoffed at the results: "He won the South, we won New England, what a surprise." But the road from Super Tuesday became a lot steeper for the Tsongas campaign today.

New York

Lawsuit Is Dismissed, Keeping Tsongas and Brown on Ballot

By MICHAEL SPECTER

In the latest battle for places on New York's April 7 Democratic primary ballot, a State Supreme Court Justice yesterday dismissed a lawsuit intended to prevent Paul E. Tsongas and Edmund G. Brown Jr. from competing. But the decision, based on a technicality that apparently has never been invoked before in such a lawsuit, angered members of the New Alliance Party, which had brought the suit.

"Now we can step back and clearly see that the fix was in from the beginning," said Madelyn Chapman, a spokeswoman for the New Alliance Party. The party's Presidential candidate, Lenora B. Fulani, has maintained that the process would be rigged to

include both Mr. Brown, a former Governor of California, and Mr. Tsongas, a former Senator from Massachusetts, even though she said they had not collected enough valid signatures to enter the Democratic primary.

"The State Board of Elections ignored the law and accepted the petitions," Ms. Chapman asserted. "Then the New York State Assembly passed a bill to insure that they could run no matter what. Finally, the Democratic-controlled judiciary found a way to throw our suit out. It doesn't take a genius to follow the dots."

Complicated Election Laws

The New Alliance Party, which has supported psychotherapy groups, the Nation of Islam and the Government of

Libya in various causes, sued after Ms. Fulani was not permitted to participate in several debates before the New Hampshire primary three weeks ago. Under New York's complicated election laws, a Democratic candidate must collect 10,000 signatures, with at least 100 each coming in half of the state's Congressional districts. Mr. Tsongas barely qualified.

But Justice Anthony Cardona of the New York State Supreme Court and representatives of the Board of Elections said they did not want to keep people off the ballot for what they called minor or technical reasons.

"The right to participate in the electoral process is among the most cherished in a democracy," Justice Cardona wrote in his decision. "That right

must not be taken away without a meaningful opportunity to be heard."

He used a technicality — the fact that some prospective Tsongas delegates had not been served with legal notification of the lawsuit — to dismiss the complaint. That means the New Alliance Party will have to limit any further appeal to the narrow question of whether the potential delegates were notified. The merits of the original lawsuit will no longer matter.

The decision was applauded by Gov. Mario M. Cuomo. "I am pleased that this state will give a full opportunity to those candidates that are recognized by the Federal Government as qualified to use taxpayer money," the Governor said. "The difference is that now they will have an opportunity."



Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz of Iraq, in glasses at center, riding an escalator yesterday at the United Nations. Mr. Aziz was warned by third-world members on complying with Security Council demands.

Third-World Lands Tell Iraq to Meet Truce Terms

By PAUL LEWIS
Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, March 10 — Third world members of the United Nations Security Council told the Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister today that he must pledge total compliance with its terms for ending the Persian Gulf war when he appears before the full Council on Wednesday to answer charges that Baghdad is still trying to preserve its weapons of mass destruction.

The Council has already accused Iraq of failing to cooperate with its obligation to eliminate all nuclear, chemical and biological weapons as well as its long range missiles and threatened "serious consequences" if it does not now do so.

American, British and French officials have also warned that such consequences could include renewed air strikes against Iraqi arms factories and suspected nuclear and other sites.

The firm stand taken by the Security Council's third world members today appears to remove any possibility Iraq could split the Council on Wednesday by maintaining it has met most of its cease-fire conditions and that sanctions should be eased, diplomats say.

These six Council members — India,

Zimbabwe, Ecuador, Cape Verde, Morocco and Venezuela — warned the Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister, Tariq Aziz, at a private meeting today not to try to bargain with the Council by offering to surrender Iraq's remains weapons of mass destruction in exchange for an easing of trade sanctions, involved diplomats said.

Instead, they told Iraq to avoid generalities and provide specific answers to the detailed accusations of non-compliance with the Security Council's cease-fire terms. This month's President, Diego Arria of Venezuela, will present the accusations in an opening statement at Wednesday's session.

"We told him the Council will want specific technical answers to each of the accusations of non-compliance the President will make," Morocco's representative, Ahmed Snoussi, the Council's only Arab member, said after the 15 members of the Council completed preparations for the session.

Only when Iraq has met these terms fully will the Council's third-world members seek some easing in the trade embargo imposed on Baghdad after its invasion of Kuwait last year, diplomats from these countries said.

But after today's meeting, Mr. Aziz

called for the economic embargo to be lifted immediately, saying that sanctions were having "a very, very bad effect" and that they "should not be imposed eternally."

Mr. Aziz said Iraq wanted "fair professional implementation" of the cease-fire terms, "not implementation driven by bias and political motives."

Mr. Aziz is leading a 14-member Iraqi team to New York to explain why Baghdad has refused to meet many of the conditions the Council imposed at the end of the war, including surrender of all weapons of mass destruction and the return of all stolen property and captured Kuwaiti citizens.

Manila's Off-and-On Power

MANILA, March 10 (AP) — Power blackouts that have tormented the Philippine capital for six days will soon end, the Government promised today. Electricity was cut again today for three hours in this city of eight million, knocking out traffic lights and creating huge traffic jams. President Corason Aquino's spokesman, Horacio Paredes, blamed the power failures of up to six hours daily on frayed power lines.

C.I.A. Chief Vows Broad Authority to Deputy

By ELAINE SCOLINO
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 10 — Robert M. Gates has ordered the man chosen as his deputy to go over his head and report directly to the President should Mr. Gates ever be seen to be violating the law in his position as Director of Central Intelligence.

Vice Adm. William O. Studeman, the nominee for Deputy Director of Central Intelligence, told a Senate panel during his confirmation hearing today that Mr. Gates "has given me full authority to essentially go around him — in fact, enjoin me — and stand under the strongest possible terms that

that should in fact occur if in fact it is my belief that he is not behaving in the proper manner as it relates to covert action, illegal activities, or other questionable actions.

Admiral Studeman added that if such transgressions occurred "clearly you have to go up essentially to the level of the President."

The 52-year-old Admiral was responding to a question by Senator David L. Boren, the Oklahoma Democrat who heads the Intelligence Committee. He asked what the nominee would do if faced with the situation Mr. Gates found himself in in the mid-1960's. As Deputy Director in those years,

Mr. Gates received reports about the possible diversion of profits from illegal arms sales to Iran to Nicaragua and the fact that information was being given to the Soviet Union by William J. Casey, who was then Director of Central Intelligence.

The issues of what Mr. Gates knew about the Iran-contra affair, whether he told enough to stop it and whether he misled Congress about his role dominated much of Mr. Gates's confirmation hearings last fall. He was repeatedly asked why he took such a passive role and never made his suspicions known to President Ronald Reagan. Mr. Gates testified that he thought that making his discomfort known to his

immediate superior was sufficient. In his testimony today, Admiral Studeman said Mr. Gates "has clearly been, I think, significantly impacted by this experience."

When Mr. Boren again asked the nominee if he would go to the President if he felt that Mr. Gates was "acting improperly," Admiral Studeman replied, "Absolutely."

Most Senators skip hearing today's hearing, revealed more about the confirmation process and the committee members than about the nominee. Unlike Mr. Gates, who was subjected to a six-month confirmation process and grueling hearings that examined in detail his years as a senior intelligence official, the admiral was questioned for only 90 minutes.

Only 3 of the 15 Senators on the committee were at the hearing despite the importance of the job at stake. In addition to Mr. Boren, Senator Frank H. Murkowski, the Alaska Republican who is vice chairman of the committee, and Senator John H. Chafee, Republican of Rhode Island, questioned Admiral Studeman. He is expected to win swift and easy confirmation by the committee as well as the full Senate later this month.

Although the admiral, who now serves as the director of the National Security Agency, said in his prepared statement that the cold war had dominated the focus of his career, there were no questions about such subjects as his assessment of instability in the former Soviet Union or the danger of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Nor was he asked about his

public statement in July 1969 that the security agency's electronic espionage network could be asked to gather economic intelligence on the United States' allies.

The National Security Agency is the largest and most expensive of the country's intelligence agencies. It monitors communications around the world and keeps official United States' communications channels secure.

Admiral Studeman presented himself as a seasoned career military intelligence officer who knows little about covert operations or how to manage them. "Covert action and the details of national clandestine operations are not my forte," he acknowledged.

Look for Science Times on Tuesday.

Bill Clinton, in Black and White

Of all the numbers pouring forth from Super Tuesday, one stands out. While winning half the total Democratic vote in Florida, Bill Clinton, white Southerner, won approximately 75 percent of the black vote.

Governor Clinton may or may not go on to win the Democratic nomination, and he may or may not give President Bush a hard run in the fall. But either way, that one figure gives healthy evidence, probably for the first time since Robert Kennedy's Indiana primary campaign in 1968, that it is politically possible to bring poor blacks and blue-collar white voters together. It is finally possible for Americans to transcend racial division and look instead to mutual interest.

When the Democratic campaign began last fall, Bill Clinton looked like fortune's child. As a progressive Southern Democrat, he knew from the start he could hope to do well in all the Southern races on Super Tuesday. The problems concerned how to get from here to there.

How to loosen the Rev. Jesse Jackson's hold on black voters? Gov. Douglas Wilder of Virginia took care of that by announcing his candidacy. How to resist the national appeal of New York's Mario Cuomo? Governor Cuomo took care of that by checking out at the last minute.

How to neutralize the early psychological effect of the Iowa caucuses? Senator Tom Harkin took care of that; no one could compete with a native son. How to minimize the similar effect of the New Hampshire primary? Paul Tsongas was not exactly a favorite son but his Lowell, Mass., home is barely 10 miles from the border.

Then good fortune suddenly collapsed into what rivals called a scandal a week. Governor Clinton was beset by accusations of marital infidelity and

by skepticism about some of his rebuttal. Days later he came under criticism for supposed dodging the draft, even though his conduct was less honorable than that of millions who despised the Vietnam War.

Now the tide has turned again. Last week, on the way to Super Tuesday, he won his first primary, in Georgia. And now, on the big day, he has in and won and won, most notably in Florida, where Mr. Tsongas, trying to mobilize momentum against money, fought the hardest.

The triumphs pile up a formidable lap of Clinton delegates to the Democratic Convention. And they vindicate the vision of a political analyst named Al From, who in 1985 founded the Democratic Leadership Council as a vehicle to drive Democrats back to middle-class voters. Governor Clinton was one of its founding members.

This council espoused pragmatic positions on national defense, national service and other subjects, but on none has it, or Bill Clinton, been ruder than race. Consider what he said last fall, in remarks repeated during the campaign. For years, he said, when times get tough, the Hard Right finds "the most economically insecure white people and scare[s] the living daylights out of them. . . We want to be part of a nation that's coming together, not coming apart."

The Clinton campaign may yet suffer further jolts; the relationship he and his wife had to a fledgling savings and loan operator remains to be better understood. Or perhaps next week's Illinois primary will give him a decisive lead. But either way the Clinton campaign has already accomplished something worth remembering: It has enabled Americans once more to say, without bitterness, black and white together.

Come Clean on the House Bank

"I don't know how some members slept at night," says Representative Matthew McHugh, chairman of the House Ethics Committee, speaking of the big overdrafts some Congressmen ran up, penalty-free, at the now defunct House bank.

No doubt plenty of lawmakers are having sleepless nights this week. Out of the 435 current House members, fully 296 cashed one or more bad checks, and a bitter, potentially career-killing fight now looms over whose names and bank records the House will make public.

Actually the name "bank" is a misnomer. Administered with taxpayer funds, it accepted deposits and cashed checks for House members, who earned no interest on their accounts. When members' checks exceeded their balance, the overdraft was paid with funds in the other accounts — a practice that apparently tempted many members to go wild with overdrafts.

In effect, they were taking interest-free loans from colleagues, not taxpayers. Still, the public has every right to feel betrayed by the gross mismanagement and the spectacle of special privilege run amok. More important, the systematic abuses raise troubling doubts about the integrity and judgment of individual members.

Should the names of the offenders be made public? Privacy and fairness might ordinarily argue in favor of sparing those who overdrew their account only by accident or for a petty amount. But the institution has made such a mess of things that

the only way to dispel the odor is to reveal the names and the amounts of the deficiencies, the let voters judge for themselves.

Last September a stunning General Accounting Office audit of the bank showed that House members wrote 8,331 bad checks in a single year, with no penalties imposed for the overdrafts. The number of bad checks actually rose after Speaker Thomas Foley ordered a crackdown.

Finally and grudgingly, Mr. Foley shut the bank and had the House authorize an investigation of those who "routinely and repeatedly" overdraw their accounts by "significant" amounts.

The Ethics Committee proposes to confound closure to 24 of the bank's most egregious abusers. But, as four dissenting Republicans point out, the committee's definition of "significant" abuse — overdrafts exceeding one month's pay for 8 of 139 months under review — protects about 40 per serious abusers, some of whom cashed hundreds of bad checks.

Speaker Foley strongly backs the Ethics Committee proposal. But his casual attitude helped get the House in trouble in the first place. And even now, Mr. Foley refuses to call for the dismissal of the sergeant-at-arms, Jack Russ, whose lax oversight and large personal overdrafts are part of the scandal.

If House members truly care about restoring Congressional credibility, they will vote to disclose complete records on all those who overdrafted





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