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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 10, 1992

32 MAR 11 P7:00

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: C. BOYDEN GRAY *cmh*
SUBJECT: Friday's Natural Gas Announcement

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R 11
As you can see from the attached news clips, the regulatory reforms you announced on Friday to help the natural gas industry ~~received~~ received a lot of media attention over the weekend, and appear to have been well received in the South. Gas industry officials were also pleased; Mike Baly of the American Gas Association, for example, was quoted in the New York Times as saying the industry was "deeply grateful."

You should know that Admiral Watkins, Martin Allday, and Hank Habicht (the Deputy Administrator of EPA) were very helpful in our efforts to ensure that your announcement was well publicized. At my request, they held a press conference Friday afternoon to explain your proposals and to answer questions from reporters and industry officials.

I have attached some additional recent articles on other aspects of your regulatory reform initiative.

From the desk of

George Bush

R 2

*get me a very
short summary of
the reforms*

↓ "A"

Bush Seeks Rules to Lift Sales of Gas

By MATTHEW L. WALD

President Bush announced his support yesterday for four regulatory changes that he said would raise demand for natural gas and help an industry that has been badly hurt by low prices.

The gas industry applauded the announcement, which came shortly before the primary election in Texas, a leading gas-producing state. But environmentalists and consumer advocates said it was not clear whether the changes, all of them under discussion in Washington for months or years, would mean that more gas would be sold, at least in the near future. They also said that one proposed change could cut gas sales and increase pollution.

The changes are intended to lower costs or remove regulatory barriers. They could result in greater use of natural gas in cars and power plants.

2 Problems Not Addressed

Edwin Rothschild, an energy expert at Citizen Action, a consumer organization, said some of the proposed changes were desirable because they would promote use of natural-gas vehicles, lowering pollution and reliance on imported oil. But the natural-gas industry's real problems, he said, are two phenomena beyond White House control: warm weather and recession.

"I don't see this as stimulating a lot of demand quickly," he said.

But the president of the American Gas Association, Michael Baly 3d, said his industry was "deeply grateful."

Possibly the least controversial proposal was the President's announcement that the Environmental Protection Agency would soon issue an emissions standard for natural-

gas vehicles that would help them compete. Federal standards for gasoline vehicles set a limit on hydrocarbon emissions as a way to control smog, but proponents of natural-gas vehicles complain that natural gas itself, while a hydrocarbon, is not an ingredient of smog. So the E.P.A. will issue a standard for emissions of hydrocarbons other than natural gas.

There are now no standards for the vehicles. Mr. Baly of the gas association said yesterday, "If you want to start mass-producing these, major equipment manufacturers want a standard."

A Greenhouse Gas

But even if emissions of unburned natural gas do not contribute to smog, they are still a pollutant, environmentalists say, because natural gas is a greenhouse gas, contributing to global warming.

David G. Hawkins, an air-pollution expert at the Natural Resources Defense Council, said that allowing natural-gas emissions because they did not cause smog was "an example of tunnel vision," adding, "You could say the same thing about CFC's," which destroy the earth's protective layer of ozone.

The White House also said that the environmental agency would change the rules on when changes to a power plant become so extensive that the plant is considered new, and therefore subject to stricter pollution standards. Named after a case involving the Wisconsin Electric Power Company, the "Wepeco fix" — as it is known on Capitol Hill — would allow utilities to make major changes to dirty old plants without becoming subject to the strict regulations governing new ones. But the fix was rejected by Congress in the debate over the Clean Air Act.

If utilities were not subject to rules on new sources of pollution, according to the gas industry, they might

take inexpensive steps that would significantly reduce pollution, like "co-firing" coal with natural gas. In co-firing — when the two fuels are burned together in the boiler — chemical reactions reduce the total pollution, although the plant is still dirtier than a new one.

The Opposite Case

But environmentalists say the Wepeco fix might not help gas sales at all. Without it, they say, many utilities would be forced to scrap dirty coal-fired plants and build new ones that run entirely on gas; with the fix, they can continue to rely heavily on coal.

A third change would give gas-pipeline companies the option to be regulated under an incentive system, rather than the cost-based system that now prevails, but the details have not been established.

A fourth would remove a regulatory wrinkle that some people have said could hurt natural-gas vehicles: the issue of interstate regulation. In theory, according to some natural-gas executives, if a car were fueled with natural gas in one state and driven to another, the sale would be interstate and thus subject to Federal regulation, although in practice the issue has not arisen, experts said.

The proposed change would make it clear that sales of natural gas for vehicles were not subject to Federal regulation.

Bush aides are preparing a plan to encourage companies to buy old cars and junk them, in a bid to boost new-car sales and get the worst-polluting autos off the road. But the companies would get marketable permits to increase other types of pollution.

(Story on Page A3)

Bush Plans to Offer Pollution Credits To Firms That Buy, Then Junk Old Cars

By BOB DAVIS
And JOHN HARWOOD

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Looking to dump your old clunker of a car? President Bush has a deal for you.

White House officials said they are assembling a plan that would provide marketable pollution credits for companies that buy old cars and junk them. Under the plan, consumers could expect offers of \$700 to \$1,000 for their old cars. Getting clunkers off the road, officials said, would reduce pollution and give a boost to new car sales.

The plan is part of a regulatory relief package for the auto industry that the White House plans to unveil late this week, a few days before the Michigan primary on March 17. Details of the plan, such as which cars would qualify and exactly how much would be paid for them, are still being discussed.

Timed to Affect Primaries

The Bush administration has regularly been timing the announcement of regulatory changes that benefit industry to coincide with important primaries. On Friday, for instance, while the president was campaigning in Oklahoma, he announced measures designed to prop up the ailing natural gas industry in Oklahoma and Texas, which are to vote tomorrow.

The auto plan is the administration's most far-reaching proposal under its regulatory moratorium, and the first to touch consumers directly. Along with cash for clunkers, the White House is considering reducing the requirement for car-fleet fuel economy to 26.5 miles per gallon from the current 27.5 mpg. And it may give auto makers a further break on fuel economy standards if they research and develop cars that use methanol and other alternative fuels.

But the fuel-economy proposals, which are expected to be attacked by lawmakers and environmentalists, may be withdrawn or modified. Some administration officials said car makers are wary that these proposals could result in an environmentalist backlash and a renewed drive for a far tougher economy standard than the current one.

As part of the auto package, the Energy Department is expected to announce the formation of a research consortium, called "Auto Leap," to map a transition from in-

ternal-combustion-powered cars to battery-powered ones. The department recently began a consortium to research the batteries that would run cars.

In addition, the Environmental Protection Agency plans to kill a proposal that would have forced auto makers to install special canisters in new cars to recapture gasoline vapors that seep out during refueling. Vice President Dan Quayle, White House economist Michael Boskin, and White House Counsel Boyden Gray are scheduled to discuss the plan this week and decide its final form.

The heart of the program is the cash-for-clunker deal, which is being prepared by the EPA. The plan is designed to cost the federal government little, as companies looking to reduce pollution-rules burdens and car makers trying to boost sales would be expected to put up the money to buy the cars.

The plan has its origins in the Clean Air Act of 1990, which envisions reducing smog levels in polluted cities by requiring factories and businesses there to cut emissions. Companies that do better than the pollution standards can earn credits, which they can then sell to companies that can't.

The White House now plans to broaden that plan to include cars. Under federal supervision, states would offer pollution credits, whose value hasn't yet been precisely determined, to car makers or other companies, such as utilities, that buy old cars. For example, the electric utility in Denver could buy old cars and use the pollution credits to reduce their own cleanups in the Denver area or sell the credits to other businesses there. Consumers would get cash, which they could use to buy newer cars. The trading is expected to begin in 1994.

"You could shop your clunker around and get the best price," says an administration official working on the plan. This plan is designed for polluted cities and isn't expected to apply to rural areas.

Previous Program

In 1990, Unocal Corp., a Los Angeles oil company, bought and scrapped 8,376 cars built before 1971 for \$700 apiece as part of a corporate program to reduce pollution in the Los Angeles area—and to show that oil companies shouldn't bear the brunt of pollution-reduction demands. Marika Tatsutani, a researcher at the Natural Re-

Please Turn to Page A7, Column 3

Bush Plans Incentives For Companies to Buy And Junk Old Cars

Continued From Page A3

sources Defense Council who studied the Unocal program while she was a graduate student, calls the program "a cost-effective way to reduce pollution." She estimates that cars made between 1971 and 1975 emitted 20 times the amount of pollutants as cars made in 1990.

But she and other environmentalists warned that car-buying programs can backfire unless the government carefully weighs the value of the pollution credit it doles out to encourage car purchases. (Unocal didn't get any pollution credits for its experiment.)

She said about 10% of the cars bought by Unocal were so old they were rarely driven. On average, the company calculated the cars would have been driven another 16,000 miles before the owners would have junked them anyway. "If it's done honestly as pollution control, it's a good program," she said, "but not if it's done as a sneaky way to get more pollution credits to industry."

Ford Motor Co. participated in the Unocal program, buying and junking 1,000 old cars. Al Chambers, a Ford spokesman, said the company offered all those who sold cars in the Unocal program a \$700 coupon, in addition to the \$700 they were paid for their cars, to buy a new Ford. But only a few hundred took the Ford offer. To enhance the Bush program, he said, it should apply to cars built before 1983, when cars were generally equipped with advanced catalytic converters. "In retrospect, people who owned pre-1970 cars weren't the group to buy new cars," he said.

Michael Stanton, director of federal relations at the Motor Vehicle Manufacturers Association, said the clunker-for-cash program would benefit car makers even if those who sold their cars then purchased newer-model used cars. That starts a chain reaction of buying, he maintained. "To the degree you increase demand for used cars," he said, "people are willing to part with their used cars and buy new ones."

Separately, the Bush administration announced regulatory moves on Friday that

it said would help the natural gas business. Branko Terzic, commissioner at the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, said the agency would give natural gas pipeline companies the choice of replacing FERC's conventional regulation with what he called "incentive regulation." Currently, pipeline companies are allowed to recover their costs plus a percentage of their investment as profit.

But under the new rule, pipeline companies would be able to ask the FERC to approve other forms of regulation that don't look primarily at profit. For instance, pipelines could choose regulation that limits overall charges to customers, but lets pipelines increase profits by cutting costs. The Federal Communications Commission has chosen that method to regulate much of telecommunications.

For its part, the EPA also said it would issue within two weeks a final rule allowing electric utilities to upgrade their power plants without having to undergo time-consuming reviews mandated under the Clean Air Act. The EPA had once proposed tougher requirements under the so-called Wepco rule, which is named for a case involving Wisconsin Electric Power Co., a unit of Wisconsin Energy Corp. But the

agency relented under pressure from the White House and the Energy Department.

David Hawkins, a senior attorney with the Natural Resources Defense Council and former EPA regulator, charged that the EPA rule is a sellout to polluters. "The real effect is to let coal-fired plants patch up boilers and continue to burn coal without worrying about [tougher] pollution standards," he said. But Hank Habicht, the EPA's deputy administrator, said that easing the reviews would encourage utilities to convert power plants so they could use cleaner-burning natural gas.

Bush eyes plan to sell new cars

By Susan Cornwell
REUTERS NEWS AGENCY

President Bush is considering a plan to help the struggling U.S. automobile industry by encouraging consumers to sell their old cars and buy new ones, White House officials said yesterday.

If approved in the next few days, the plan would be Mr. Bush's latest bid to boost the economy in states with important primary elections.

In this case, the most directly affected state would be Michigan, home of the Big Three automakers and the highest unemployment in the nation, and host to a primary next Tuesday.

Under the plan, companies such as power plants trying to meet government air pollution standards could do so by offering to buy old cars and scrap them. They would pay consumers between \$700 and \$1,000 each for cars at least 11 years old.

The government would then give the companies a pollution-reduction credit of so many pounds of pollutant per scrapped car. White House officials said an old car may emit as much as 1,500 pounds of pollutants a year.

They said the U.S. auto fleet is older than it has ever been, with the average car 7.8 years old.

"This plan would help pollution, make the nation more energy-efficient, help the automobile industry and the people who want to buy a new car," said one White House official, who asked not to be named.

Officials said the cash-for-clunkers idea still had to be reviewed by the Council on Competitiveness and White House domestic policy chief Clayton Yeutter. But they said the president could make the announcement Friday, when he flies to Detroit on a campaign trip.

It would be the latest in a string of sweeteners the president has offered vot-

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CARS

From page C1

ers as he travels around the country campaigning for re-election.

In Oklahoma Friday, he announced regulatory reforms to encourage electric utilities to switch to natural gas. This would help the depressed natural gas industry in Super Tuesday states like Oklahoma, Texas and Louisiana — all of which have primaries today.

And in Florida Wednesday, Mr. Bush announced the federal government would help restore a major portion of the lower Kissimmee River basin, a \$514 million project. Florida also holds a primary today.

The president has reason to worry about his support in Michigan, where the unemployment rate hit 9 percent in February, compared with the national rate of 7.3 percent. Republican challenger Pat Buchanan plans to spend three or four days campaigning there later this week.

"It probably won't be our favorite state," Bush campaign spokeswoman Torie Clarke said of Michigan. "But it probably won't be our worst either."

In another gesture to automakers, officials said the Environmental

Protection Agency intends to kill a plan that would have made car companies build special canisters in new cars to catch gasoline vapors that seep out during refueling.

Instead, filling stations will be required to build the equipment into gas pumps.

"On that one, it was the auto industry vs. the oil companies, and the auto industry won," one official said.

The White House has been looking for a long time for a way to help the auto industry. Last year, officials considered but rejected a proposal to offer tax credits to people who buy American cars.

When Mr. Bush visited Japan in January, he took with him representatives of the Big Three to try to talk the Japanese into buying more U.S. cars.

In Detroit, Chrysler Corp. spokesman Tom Houston said the company supports the idea of programs designed to encourage scrapping of older vehicles.

"We've said for a long time that one of the best ways to clean up the environment is to get cars that do not meet current emission standards off the road," Mr. Houston said.

However, he declined to comment on whether Chrysler favored Mr. Bush's newest plan.

Plan: Plunk down cash to junk clunkers

By Rae Tyson
and Micheline Maynard
USA TODAY

The Environmental Protection Agency is hoping to get lots of bang for the buck with a proposal to offer cash for air-polluting clunker cars.

The plan would benefit:

► Consumers, who would sell their aging cars, which emit more noxious exhaust, to

companies for \$700 to \$1,000.

► Corporations, which would junk the clunkers and receive credits for meeting pollution-cutting standards.

Those credits are a hot commodity. Firms that meet standards sell theirs to companies that don't, which use them to offset excess emissions.

► The auto industry, because consumers would need to replace the cars they sell.

The plan is expected to be unveiled before Michigan's March 17 primary.

"It's an excellent idea to get ... the old gas-guzzlers off the road," says Rick Heede of the Rocky Mountain Institute.

But some environmentalists are suspicious.

"Just because a car is old doesn't mean it's dirty and inefficient," says Deborah Gordon, a Union of Concerned Scien-

tists transportation analyst.

The plan also would:

► Reduce the auto industry's required 27.5 mpg fleet fuel economy average to 26.5 mpg.

► Develop a program called "Auto Leap" to hasten development of battery-powered cars.

► Kill a plan to require technology in cars to trap gas tank fumes during refueling. Gas stations will have to install vapor-trapping devices on pumps.

Dirty cars

New catalytic converters required since 1981 models have cleaned up exhaust. Number of cars on the road as of 1989:

'81-89: 

Pre-'81: 

Source: Department of Energy

By Marty Baumann, USA TODAY

Bush backs tax changes to aid independent energy producers

By Maria Halkias

Staff Writer of The Dallas Morning News

U.S. independent oil and gas producers finally got some attention from President Bush Friday.

For the first time, the president publicly supported changes in the alternative minimum tax that would allow more deductions for drilling costs.

"We're very pleased. It's been a long road," said Denise Bode, president of the Independent Petroleum Association of America. Changes in the alternative minimum tax for independents has been the trade group's chief

lobbying goal.

While addressing a rally in Oklahoma, Mr. Bush also announced that he is ordering the lifting of regulatory barriers affecting use of natural gas by electric utilities and as an alternative fuel for vehicles.

Dallas-based Central and South West Corp. spokesman Jerry Hunter said electric utilities had sought greater latitude for modifying electric generating units to natural gas.

President Bush's changes, designed to boost compressed natural gas use as a vehicle fuel, were especially welcomed by the depressed

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Bush backs tax cuts to aid energy producers

Continued from Page 1F.

natural gas industry. Mesa Inc. chairman Boone Pickens said the initiatives "are a much-needed shot in the arm for America's natural gas producers."

Mr. Pickens has repeatedly traveled to the White House in recent months to lobby for compressed natural gas, meeting with Mr. Bush, Secretary of Transportation Sam Skinner and C. Boyden Gray, White House counsel.

Oil and gas producers have long argued that the alternative minimum tax deters them from drilling because it prohibits deducting certain expenses — regarded as necessary costs of doing business — from taxable income.

Under the 1986 Tax Reform Act, passed the same year that oil prices collapsed to \$10 a barrel, independent producers lost valuable deductions for drilling costs that they have since been trying to regain.

Changes in the alternative minimum tax would make more projects economically viable and help put more drilling rigs back to work, proponents say. Domestic drilling for oil and gas is at an all-time low

and investors have shied away from the industry.

"We've been redlined by everyone. Our investment capital has been generated from within the industry for sometime," Ms. Bode said. "If barriers are lifted, independents can go after billions of dollars of properties that are being sold by major producers and bring this industry back."

President Bush's endorsement of changes in the alternative minimum tax was considered a significant step by the industry, but actual changes in the law may not occur until next year.

Earlier this week, the Senate Finance Committee approved a bill that would provide some tax relief for oil and gas producers by changing the alternative minimum tax. But those alterations are in a broad tax bill that includes tax relief for middle-income families.

Ms. Bode agreed that it could be some time before tax code changes are approved, but "at least we're on the national agenda now."

But President Bush's offerings to the Oil Patch on the campaign trail Friday were viewed as too little, too late by some.

The decision to offer support for energy issues came very recently, according to industry sources. And Mr. Bush's decision to address independent producers' problems came just in the last few days, according to an industry lobbyist.

"It's just patchwork stuff," said Lee J. Molesworth, president of the Fort Worth-based American Association of Petroleum Landmen.

"I'm so disappointed. We have a person in the Office of the President who grew up in the oil business and has effectively divorced himself or ignored a major portion of the population of the United States," he said. Mr. Molesworth, an independent producer based in Ventura, Calif., cited the industry's loss of more than 350,000 jobs in the past decade.

President Bush is eager to cater to domestic independents just prior to the Super Tuesday primary, said Ed Rothschild, energy policy director for Citizen Action.

FDA to Add 50 Jobs to Speed Reviews

Agency Also Names Biotechnology Chief

By Sandra Sugawara
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Food and Drug Administration has taken steps to speed up the time it takes to review biotechnology drugs by adding 50 reviewers and appointing a new director to run the center that handles most such products, FDA Commissioner David A. Kessler announced yesterday.

Kessler also said the agency intends to take a "long, hard look" at the way its biotechnology review operation is organized and whether the process can be streamlined.

Kessler, who announced the changes at a Boston meeting of biotechnology companies, said the agency is aware that "the time taken up by the FDA review process can mean the difference between success and failure."

Kessler's announcement came less than two weeks after the Bush administration said it was taking steps to design a regulatory framework that would assist the biotechnology industry. Six weeks ago, the FDA broke ground for its first building specifically dedicated to biotechnology review.

"This is a strong signal of the commitment of the Bush administration to the biotechnology industry," said Bruce F. Mackler, general counsel to the Association of Biotechnology Companies.

The appointment of Kathryn C. Zoon as director of the FDA's Center for Biologics Evaluation and Research was praised by industry and FDA sources, who said decision-making at the center had been

stalled because of the lack of a permanent director since 1989.

Industry officials also said the additional 50 positions, which will increase the number of reviewers by 20 percent, will give Zoon the resources to handle the 300 biotechnology drugs that now are being tested and that the FDA will have to decide whether to approve.

To date, the FDA has approved 15 biotechnology drugs. The review process has taken an average of 21.4 months each, an FDA spokesman said.

"They have quite a backlog. They were not equipped to handle this deluge of new products," before the decision to hire more reviewers, said William Small, executive director of the Association of Biotechnology Companies.

Richard Godown, president of the Industrial Biotechnology Association, said he does not expect the 50 new reviewers to cut the amount of time it takes to get FDA approval for biotechnology drugs, but instead will prevent the review time from increasing.

The FDA has not received any additional funds for the 50 reviewers. A spokesman said the new jobs will be funded out of the existing budget. The spokesman said no other positions were being eliminated and was unaware of cuts in other programs to provide the money. The spokesman said the agency did not know the total cost of the additional jobs.

Zoon has been with the Center for Biologics Evaluation and Research, which is responsible for reviewing vaccines, therapeutics and blood products, since 1980. In 1988, she was named director of the division of cytokine biology, which conducts research on cell biology and cellular and molecular immunology.

Gerald V. Quinnan had served as acting center director since 1989, and Quinnan had competed for the permanent position. But according to sources, Quinnan had been under attack from critics in industry and the FDA who claimed that he did not delegate enough, which caused delays in decision making. Sources also said that Quinnan's task was made more difficult because his appointment was temporary.

U.S. Shifts, Agrees to Ease Fiber-Optics Export Curb

Washington Post: 03-06-92
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Sales to Former Soviet Union Now Possible

By Stuart Auerbach
Washington Post Staff Writer

In a reversal of policy, the United States yesterday agreed with its major allies to allow the former Soviet republics to buy state-of-the-art telecommunications equipment that had been long denied to the communist state, administration officials said.

Included in the new list of equipment approved for sale are fiber-optic transmission lines that U.S. spy agencies did not want exported because they impede eavesdropping.

Administration officials who six months ago cited security considerations for denying advanced communications equipment to the former Soviet states yesterday said they now favor relaxing the restrictions to support economic reforms.

The administration signed on to the new rules under pressure from both European allies and U.S. telecommunications firms, sources said.

The broad understandings, reached at a day-long meeting in Paris, came after a German firm last year sold fiber-optic transmission lines to Russia, using a loophole that allows companies in what was East Germany to maintain established commercial ties.

Administration officials said the fiber optics that will be available un-

der the new agreement are "substantially better" than anything the German factory could produce.

Nonetheless, the sale by the German company, Carl Zeiss Jena, sparked an intense lobbying campaign by AT&T that reached high into the State Department and the National Security Council, according to informed sources.

AT&T, for example, made its case within the past month, directly to Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, administration and industry sources said. They added that White House National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft played a major role in shifting the administration position.

In the end, the super-secret National Security Agency, which led the opposition, dropped its objections, administration officials said.

Under the new rules, the former Soviet republics can buy medium-speed, state-of-the-art telecommunication systems that would allow them to transmit voices, data and perhaps advanced video pictures from city to city. For their links with other nations, the former Soviet republics could buy the fastest transmission systems.

In the past, administration officials said, the newly independent nations

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U.S. to Soften Export Curbs

EXPORTS, From D10

were restricted to low-speed transmission systems that experts said were not sophisticated enough to handle the data transmission required by modern communications and an up-to-date banking system that would be part of the shift away from communism.

Administration officials said there still are technical details to be worked out in the new rules, which are expected to be ratified at a meeting of all 17 members of Cocom, the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls. During the Cold War, Cocom policed the sale of potentially dangerous technology to the Soviet Union and its eastern European satellites.

Yesterday's agreement was reached by the eight nations most concerned with telecommunications exports—the United States, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Canada, Japan and Great Britain.

Cocom would maintain some controls over what could be sold, the officials said, to ensure that the advanced technology is not being used near major military bases, nuclear facilities or intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) launching sites.

Under those restrictions, the trans-Siberian fiber optics transmission system proposed by US West Inc., a regional phone company based in Englewood, Colo., would not win approval because it would pass near major ICBM facilities, officials said.

U.S. to Speed Gene-Product Approvals

By PHILIP J. HILTS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 5 — After months of demonstrating that the Food and Drug Administration can be tougher in regulating drugs and medical devices, Commissioner David A. Kessler today announced his second major thrust since taking office: a new program of rapid approval for biotechnology products.

The products, mainly produced through genetic engineering, are considered the next big breakthrough area for the pharmaceutical industry, whose leaders hailed Dr. Kessler's announcement.

Dr. Kessler said he would hire 50 new experts solely to review and approve biotechnology products. He said the drug agency's center that reviews biotechnology products would be reorganized under a new chief, Dr. Kathryn C. Zoon.

A top official of the agency said the announcement was intended to signal industry "that the agency will not be obstructionist."

Assurances for Investors

"When investors think of putting money into biotechnology, they will take a walk if they think the agency is going to be obstructionist," the official said. "We are signaling to the industry that we will keep our standards but we will make things move. After all, this nation is betting a lot on its biotechnology industry."

The official called the step one of the most important since Dr. Kessler took office 16 months ago.

According to a survey by the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association, only two biotechnology products were approved last year at the agency and one the year before. But there are now 21 awaiting approval, 131 being reviewed and several hundred more soon to be reviewed. Most new products are in biotechnology, company officials said.

They include a wide range of products, from human growth hormone to vaccines, quick pregnancy tests to a life-saving treatment for hairy-cell leukemia. President Bush noted in a speech on new biotechnology rules last

week that biotechnology was now an industry with \$4 billion a year in sales, a figure expected to grow to \$50 billion by the end of the decade, assuming the Government does not become an obstacle, he said.

In his announcement today at a meeting of the Massachusetts Biotechnology Council, an industry group, Dr. Kessler spoke of the promise of products created by genetic manipulation. "Not since the discovery of penicillin has there existed the potential for a science to have such a profound impact on the human condition," he said. "We must make full use of it."

Solutions, Not Obstacles

"F.D.A. will not be the bottleneck or the stumbling block when it comes to

**'F.D.A. will not
be the bottleneck'
for new products,
its chief says.**

the development of these new products. We will not be a part of the problem; we will be at the front line probing for and providing solutions."

Richard Godown, head of the Industrial Biotechnology Association, said today's action was especially important because Dr. Kessler had asked for money from Congress to do this but did not get it, "so he had to squeeze it out of an already underfunded agency."

"As far as the industry is concerned he is doing an excellent job," he said.

The Pharmaceutical Manufacturer's Association warned in a recent newsletter that just the 21 products now coming through the agency's approval process could take 13 years to get to market if the agency did not do something to speed review.

G. Kirk Raab, chief operating officer for Genentech, one of the larger independent biotechnology companies, said today: "This is one of the most impor-

tant things he has done in this job, both the appointment of Dr. Zoon who is an outstanding choice, and the addition of 50 new positions. Not long ago they had few biotech products to review. Now they are inundated, and there will be even more in the future."

Dr. Thomas Copmann, an assistant vice president at the pharmaceutical association, said the action was not only important for the Federal agency but was part of a larger effort by the White House's Council on Competitiveness to make major changes in drug approval processes, which have been notoriously slow at the small, heavily burdened agency.

The 50 new reviewers to be hired will be chiefly medical doctors and holders of Ph.D.'s, to add to the approximately 200 now working in the Center for Biologics Evaluation and Research on biotechnology products. About two-thirds of all the applications to test new drugs are for biotechnology products.

The announcement came a week after President Bush announced a new policy on the regulation of biotechnology, relaxing standards of review and taking the position that biotechnology products should be considered no different and get no more scrutiny than any other chemicals, pesticides or drugs to be reviewed.

Dr. Kessler also announced the appointment of a top science adviser to the commissioner, Dr. Elkan Blout.

Dr. Zoon graduated from Johns Hopkins University in 1975 with a Ph.D. in biochemistry, worked five years at the National Institutes of Health on the genetic engineering of interferon, one of the chemicals in the arsenal of the body's immune system. She joined the F.D.A. in 1980, where she is now director of the division of cytokine biology, studying substances that affect cell division. Dr. Blout has spent 30 years working on public health issues at the Harvard School of Public Health and the Harvard Medical School.

**Traveling?
Check the weather...
from Albany to Acapulco.
The New York Times**

REVISED

**NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF STATE LEGISLATURES
MARCH 12, 1992 \ ROOM 450 \ 5:00 P.M.**

I'M PLEASED TO BE HERE TODAY, AND I THANK YOU FOR REARRANGING YOUR SCHEDULE SO WE COULD GET TOGETHER. MY GREETINGS TO N.C.S.L. PRESIDENT, BUD BURKE; EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, BILL POUND; VICE PRESIDENT, BOB CONNER; AND STAFF CHAIRMAN, TERRY ANDERSON.

LAST YEAR, AS YOU KNOW, I WAS UNABLE TO MEET WITH YOU BECAUSE OF PRESSING BUSINESS IN THE AFTERMATH OF DESERT STORM.

- 2 -

THAT WAS A TIME OF GREAT TRIUMPH FOR AMERICA, AND I STILL BELIEVE IT HOLDS ENDURING LESSONS FOR HOW WE IN GOVERNMENT CAN GET THINGS DONE.

OUR COUNTRY SAW A CHALLENGE, AND WE MET IT WITH RESOLVE. WE DEBATED THE SUBJECT VIGOROUSLY. OUR DUTY AS AMERICANS DEMANDED NOTHING LESS. BUT WHEN THE TIME CAME TO ACT, WE PUT ASIDE PARTISANSHIP -- WE PUT AN END TO THE SQUABBLING. AND WE GOT THE JOB DONE. WE LIBERATED KUWAIT.

I DON'T NEED TO TELL YOU THAT WE FACE A GREAT CHALLENGE AGAIN TODAY. WE'RE IN TOUGH TIMES ECONOMICALLY. WE OWE IT TO OUR COUNTRY TO DO ALL IN OUR POWER TO GET THIS ECONOMY MOVING.

I TAKE THIS MISSION VERY SERIOUSLY. I UNDERSTAND THAT THERE'S NO MAGIC WAND WE CAN WAVE TO ACCELERATE RECOVERY. BUT I ALSO KNOW THAT BY TAKING A FEW COMMON SENSE STEPS -- AND TAKING THEM NOW -- WE CAN STIMULATE INVESTMENT, HELP STRUGGLING BUSINESSES BACK TO THEIR FEET, AND PUT AMERICANS TO WORK.

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THANK YOU AND GOD BLESS YOU.

✓ Daily 3/12/92

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

U.S. APPLIES NEUTRALITY ACT FOR ITS OWN INTERESTS

3-7-92

Exiled Cubans' right to fight for their country's freedom

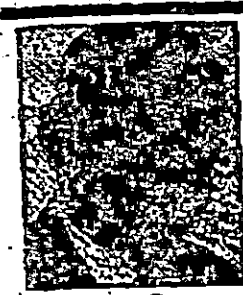
By ANDRES VARGAS GOMEZ

ON FEB. 24, having accomplished what we set out to do, the 100,000-signature campaign ended. That glorious day was a profound encounter with the Cuban spirit, which still beats in thousands of enthusiastic hearts. We demonstrated that the goal of 100,000 signatures was modest. We've received 250,000 signatures. Many are still coming in.

This is not the twisted dream of a few petty exile leaders, as this initiative was judged at the beginning. Rather, it has been a case of popular fervor, because the rallying cry, launched by Radio Miami's Armando Perez Roure, moved the hearts of Cubans who, as if by magic, came forth to support a national aspiration: U.S. recognition of Cuba's and the exiled Cubans' right to belligerence, to fight for the freedom of their country.

The labor of many men, and of the great majority of exile organizations, has gone into this project. It has been an effort of practically the whole Cuban community, which once again teaches us that in problems crucial to our cause, there is nearly absolute unanimity of thought and action.

We consider it appropriate to reiterate some of the ideas stated in our press release of Feb. 24:



Vargas Gomez

This column, which first appeared in El Nuevo Herald, is translated from its original Spanish.

"The message . . . is one of intransigence with an intransigent enemy, and of extreme sacrifice until the ideal is achieved."

"War today . . . is just and necessary. It is a war which we do not want, but which circumstances impose on us, to free the Cuban people from the prolonged horrors of Castro's Cuba."

"These feelings and these ideas are not only ours. We share them with Cubans on the island. They are endorsed by more than 200,000 signatures which have been collected from among those who believe that, unfortunately, there is no alternative other than to use the force of arms to overthrow the despot who oppresses the nation. These signatures

constitute a plebiscite of sorts, addressed to the people of the United States, to President Bush, and to the U.S. Congress, so that this country's protection of Castro's criminal regime, inspired by the Kennedy-Khrushchev accord of October of 1962, ceases and the Cuban people's right to fight for their freedom be recognized."

In the face this tremendous outcry of opinion, the Neutrality Act is cited to us. In response, we declare that the strict concept of neutrality is not what prevails in actual relations between the United States and Cuba. There is manifest opposition to the Castro regime that becomes tangible in the U.S. embargo and broken diplomatic relations. Moreover, the debates in Geneva and numerous public incidents indicate that a definite state of tension prevails between Washington and Havana.

However, the policy inspired by the Kennedy-Khrushchev pact is still in effect, whereby Cuba has been converted into a Russian-American protectorate. Under the pact, the United States accepted the obligation not to invade Cuba and to prevent any attack against Cuba, from its own territory or from any neighboring country.

If we add to this what has recently been made public — that U.S. intelligence agencies hand over to Cuba reports regarding the activities of exiled

Cubans — we may conclude that the United States does not maintain a neutral position toward the Havana regime, but rather that it is its ally, on account of the protection that it provides to it.

In summary, it is an incongruous, contradictory situation — which, of course, has nothing to do with the concept of neutrality. Neutrality is impartiality with respect to two powers that are in a state of war. But with regard to Cuba, the position of the United States does not reflect that concept, because one way or another, it helps the two parties in conflict: the opposition and the government.

However, aside from these considerations, rather than a legally binding document, the so-called Neutrality Act seems to be a policy document that is applied or not, according to American interests. The assistance granted to the rebels in Nicaragua on various occasions by the U.S. President and the Congress, the intervention in Vietnam, in Grenada, in Angola, in the Bay of Pigs, are, technically, flagrant violations of the Neutrality Act, perpetrated by the government itself.

The campaign for recognition of the Cuban people's right to belligerence is intended to re-establish moral equilibrium in U.S. foreign policy, because there can be no neutrality with respect to a situation such as Cuba's.

From the desk of
George Bush

Brent
Feb sent
this -
this guy who
wants to
let's discuss
OK

To
Brent

NRSC INNER CIRCLE \ PENSION BUILDING
THURSDAY, MARCH 12, 1992 \ 7:00 P.M.

THANKS, PHIL [GRAMM]. IT'S GREAT TO SEE YOU⁹² AND
WENDY. GOOD TO SEE SO MANY FRIENDS HERE -- AL AND ANN^{MAR 12 P12: 51}
SIMPSON; BOB KASTEN; LOUIS SULLIVAN; BILL REILLY.
MEMBERS OF CONGRESS. AND, A SPECIAL GUEST, ONE OF THE
SENATE'S ALL TIME GREATS -- STROM THURMOND. \\\

YOU AND I ARE IN THE MIDST OF A BATTLE RIGHT NOW
-- A BATTLE FOR OUR FUTURE. WE'RE DETERMINED TO LEAVE
OUR KIDS THE BEST POSSIBLE LEGACY. WE WANT AMERICA TO
LEAD THE WORLD IN GOOD JOBS WITH PRODUCTIVE WORK.

- 2 -

WE WANT TO REMAIN A FORCE FOR WORLD PEACE AND FREEDOM.
AND WE'RE FIGHTING TO PROTECT OUR MOST BASIC
INSTITUTION -- THE FAMILY. \\\

THAT'S WHY THIS YEAR OF DECISION IS SO IMPORTANT
FOR AMERICA. THAT'S WHY THESE PRIMARY ELECTIONS -- AND
NOVEMBER'S GENERAL ELECTION -- ARE VITAL TO OUR FUTURE.
WE'VE GOT MUCH TO DO TO GET AMERICA ON THE RIGHT TRACK.
SO I'M ASKING YOU FOR FOUR MORE YEARS AS YOUR
PRESIDENT. \\\

WE HAVE OUR WORK CLEARLY CUT OUT FOR US. THIS COUNTRY WAS BUILT ON FAITH, FAMILY AND FREEDOM. WE MUST RENEW THOSE SOURCES OF OUR STRENGTH. LET ME START BY TALKING ABOUT THE FAMILY. WE KNOW THAT AMERICA IS FIRST AS LONG AS WE PUT THE FAMILY FIRST. \\\

PEOPLE ARE COMING HOME TO THE VALUES THAT NEVER LEFT THEIR HEARTS. WE BELIEVE THAT PARENTS, NOT THE GOVERNMENT, SHOULD MAKE THE DECISIONS THAT TRULY MATTER IN LIFE.

PARENTS, NOT GOVERNMENT, SHOULD CHOOSE THEIR CHILDREN'S SCHOOLS. PARENTS, NOT GOVERNMENT, SHOULD CHOOSE WHO CARES FOR THEIR CHILDREN. PARENTS KNOW BETTER THAN SOME BUREAUCRAT IN WASHINGTON. AND, YES, WE BELIEVE THERE'S A PLACE FOR VOLUNTARY PRAYER IN OUR CHILDREN'S CLASSROOM.

IN ADDITION, WE MUST GET COMMON SENSE INTO OUR WELFARE SYSTEM -- RESTORING THE CONNECTION BETWEEN WELFARE AND WORK. AMERICANS AREN'T COLD HEARTED.

WE'RE A CARING PEOPLE -- WE SUPPORT GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE TO FAMILIES IN NEED. WE WANT TO BREAK THE CYCLE OF DEPENDENCY THAT DESTROYS DIGNITY -- THAT PASSES DOWN POVERTY FROM ONE GENERATION TO THE NEXT. AND WE WANT TO START BY TRACKING DOWN THE DEAD-BEAT DADS -- THE ONES WHO CAN'T BE BOTHERED TO PAY CHILD-SUPPORT. \\ WE'RE ENCOURAGING STATES TO INNOVATE WITH WORKFARE, WITH PLANS THAT HELP PEOPLE BREAK WELFARE DEPENDENCY AND BEGIN LEARNING WORK SKILLS. \\

FOR THREE YEARS I'VE HAD TO FIGHT THE LIBERAL LEADERSHIP OF CONGRESS -- AND I WILL CONTINUE TO STAND FOR PRINCIPLE NO MATTER HOW DAUNTING THE ODDS. WE'VE FOUGHT, AND WE'VE PUT JUDGES ON THE BENCH WHO KNOW THEIR ROLE IS TO INTERPRET THE LAW -- NOT TO LEGISLATE FROM THE FEDERAL BENCH. I'M DELIGHTED THAT DAVID SOUTER AND CLARENCE THOMAS ARE NOW MEMBERS OF THE SUPREME COURT.

AND ANOTHER POINT: I'LL CONTINUE TO USE THE VETO WHEN I HAVE TO -- TO STAND FOR PRINCIPLE -- TO STAND UP FOR FAMILY VALUES. SOMETIMES OVER THE PAST THREE YEARS EVEN MY FRIENDS SAID I WAS FLIRTING WITH DEFEAT BY CASTING A VETO INSTEAD OF CUTTING A DEAL. BUT WE'VE NEVER LOST A VETO FIGHT -- AND I'LL NEVER HESITATE TO USE THE VETO WHEN PRINCIPLE IS AT STAKE. \\\

UNFORTUNATELY, ONCE AGAIN THE LIBERAL LEADERSHIP OF THE CONGRESS IS ON A COLLISION COURSE WITH MY VETO.

YOU REMEMBER I ASKED CONGRESS TO PASS TAX CUTS AND INCENTIVES TO GET THE ECONOMY MOVING. TO SPUR BUSINESS INVESTMENT AND JOB CREATION, THAT MEANS PASSING A NEW INVESTMENT TAX ALLOWANCE. TO GET REAL ESTATE UP AND RUNNING, THAT MEANS PASSING INCENTIVES LIKE OUR \$5,000 TAX CREDIT FOR FIRST-TIME HOMEBUYERS.

GETTING THIS ECONOMY MOVING AGAIN MEANS REWARDING RISK:
IT'S TIME TO QUIT PUNISHING PEOPLE WHO CREATE JOBS -- I
SAY TO THE CONGRESS: CUT THE TAX ON CAPITAL GAINS SO
WE CAN GET MORE BUSINESSES GOING.

BUT INSTEAD OF PASSING MY PLAN, THE BIG-SPENDING
DEMOCRATS WHO CONTROL CONGRESS HAD OTHER IDEAS. THEY
PUSHED THROUGH ONE OF THEIR OWN. HERE'S WHAT'S IN THE
HOUSE-PASSED BILL: A TINY TEMPORARY TAX CUT -- 25
CENTS -- A QUARTER A DAY IN YOUR POCKET.

BUT HERE'S THE CATCH: YOU CAN KEEP THAT QUARTER IN
EXCHANGE FOR A MASSIVE TAX INCREASE. THE DEMOCRATS
CALL THAT "NEW REVENUE." I CALL IT: "YOUR MONEY." \\\

IF YOU FEEL THE WAY I DO, YOU'LL TELL THE
DEMOCRAT-CONTROLLED CONGRESS: KEEP THE CHANGE -- AND
KEEP YOUR HANDS OFF THE TAXPAYERS' WALLETS. \\\ AND
HERE'S WHAT I'M TELLING DEMOCRAT CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS:
IF THE LIBERALS SEND ME THEIR SCHEME, I WILL VETO IT
THE VERY DAY I RECEIVE IT. \\\

REMEMBER, I'VE SET A DEADLINE: MARCH 20 -- A WEEK FROM TOMORROW. AGAIN I SAY TO CONGRESS: PASS OUR PLAN, GET OUR ECONOMY MOVING, DO SOMETHING NOW FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. \\\

TO COMPLEMENT OUR EFFORTS AT HOME, I'LL MAKE SURE WE KEEP TO OUR COURSE OF LEADERSHIP IN THE WORLD ECONOMY. TRADE WITH THE WORLD AROUND US IS ABSOLUTELY VITAL. REMEMBER, EVERY BILLION DOLLARS MORE IN MANUFACTURED EXPORTS MEANS 20,000 NEW JOBS. \\\

BUT MY OPPONENTS ARE PEDDLING PROTECTIONISM -- A RETREAT FROM ECONOMIC REALITY. CUT THROUGH THE PATRIOTIC POSTURING, THE TOUGH TALK ABOUT "FIGHTING BACK" BY SHUTTING OUT FOREIGN GOODS. LOOK CLOSELY. THAT'S NOT THE AMERICAN FLAG THEY'RE WAVING -- IT'S THE WHITE FLAG OF SURRENDER. WELL, THAT'S NOT THE AMERICA YOU AND I KNOW. \\\

WE MUST LET THE WORLD KNOW THIS: WHATEVER THE CHALLENGE, AMERICA WILL STAY STRONG. AMERICA WILL WIN.

WE ARE THE UNDISPUTED, TRUSTED LEADER OF THE WORLD --
AND AS YOUR PRESIDENT, I WILL KEEP IT THAT WAY. \\\

THINK BACK A YEAR AGO -- TO THE CALM AFTER DESERT
STORM. ASK ANY ONE OF THE PROUD SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF
AMERICA WHO BECAME LIBERATORS OF KUWAIT: THEY'LL TELL
YOU MILITARY STRENGTH DOESN'T MEAN A THING WITHOUT
MORAL SUPPORT RIGHT HERE AT HOME.

YES, WE ALL KNOW: THERE WERE THOSE WHO DIDN'T
SUPPORT US THEN -- THERE ARE THOSE WHO SECOND GUESS US
NOW. BUT NOT YOU. WHEN I DREW THAT LINE IN THE SAND
-- YOU STOOD WITH ME. NEVER WOULD THIS COUNTRY TUCK
TAIL AND LET AGGRESSION STAND. AMERICA DID WHAT WAS
RIGHT AND GOOD AND JUST. \\\ AND I BELIEVE IT'S ABOUT
TIME SOMEBODY STOOD UP AND SAID WHAT'S RIGHT ABOUT OUR
COUNTRY. \\\

LET ME JUST CLOSE WITH A FEW WORDS FROM THE HEART. FIRST, I THINK OUR FIRST LADY IS DOING A PRETTY FINE JOB FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. \\ AND BARBARA AND I ARE BLESSED -- BLESSED TO SERVE THIS GREAT NATION OF OURS AT A MOMENT WHEN SO MANY OF THE OLD FEARS HAVE BEEN DRIVEN AWAY -- AND SO MANY NEW HOPES ARE WITHIN OUR REACH. SINCE THE DAY I TOOK THE OATH OF OFFICE I MADE IT MY DUTY ALWAYS TO TRY TO DO WHAT IS RIGHT FOR THIS COUNTRY. I'VE GIVEN IT MY LEVEL BEST -- AND I'M NOT DONE YET. \\

YOU AND I HAVE MORE WORK AHEAD. IT'S A BATTLE FOR OUR FUTURE: IT'S ABOUT JOBS, IT'S ABOUT FAMILY, AND IT'S ABOUT WORLD PEACE -- THE KIND OF LEGACY WE'LL LEAVE OUR KIDS. NOW WE'RE APPROACHING AN HOUR OF DECISION. I ASK YOU TO HELP ME WIN FOUR MORE YEARS TO LEAD THE FIGHT FOR THE VALUES WE SHARE. THANK YOU, AND GOD BLESS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

#

REVISED

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 11, 1992

PHOTO OPPORTUNITY WITH THE LIFE MEMBERS OF THE
NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE'S INNER CIRCLE

DATE: Thursday, March 12, 1992

LOCATION: The Pension Building
Washington, D.C.

TIME: 6:47 p.m.

FROM: Ronald C. Kaufman (ccy)

I. PURPOSE

To participate in a photo opportunity with the Inner Circle Life Members and thank them for their support of Republican Senate candidates over the last ten years.

II. BACKGROUND

The Inner Circle Life Members have contributed a minimum of \$10,000 to the NRSC to aid Republican Senate candidates.

In 1992, there are 15 Republican Senators up for reelection including the open Republican seats in Utah and Idaho, and 20 Democrat Senators that will be seeking reelection. It is important that the Inner Circle members understand the significance of their active support and how they can directly affect the outcome of the 1992 Senate races.

There are approximately 5,000 members of the Inner Circle, raising \$10 million annually for Republican Senate candidates. Approximately 400 of these Inner Circle members are Life Members and have contributed \$10-15,000 to the NRSC. This is the only time these members will have a photo opportunity with you.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President
Mrs. Bush
Senator and Mrs. Phil Gramm (Wendy), NRSC Chairman
Approximately 98 Inner Circle Life Members (list attached)

IV. PRESS PLAN

Closed press
White House photographer
Political photographer

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

Please see Advance Office scenario.

VI. REMARKS

None required.

Mr. Adel Taleb Agha	Mr. Louis D. Hambrick	Mr. Michael Stagar
Mr. Sunil Ahuja	Mr. Leopold Hlavacek	Mrs. Marti Stagar
Beena Ahuja	Mrs. Vera Hlavacek	Mr. Floyd L. Tilford
Dr. Florence Alexander	Dr. Robert M. Kershner	Dr. Tich N. Truong
Mr. Stanley Alexander	Ms. Alice Martinelli Kett	Mrs. Toan Truong
Mr. Edward F. Altman, Jr.	Mr. W. A. Koch	Mr. C. S. Tsui
Mrs. Dina Altman	Mrs. Patricia A. Koch	Mr. Benjamin Ventresca, Jr.
Dr. Gurmit S. Aulakh	Dr. Herman L. Koester	Mrs. Susan Ventresca
Ms. Barbara Balboni	Mrs. Herman L. Koester	Mr. John Wall
Laura J. Bell	Mr. Keith Kretschmer	Mrs. Margaret Wall
Ms. Cammie L. Bell	Mrs. Adine Kretschmer	Ms. Mary H. Watson
Mr. Jeffrey P. Bennett	Mrs. Alice Wang Lam	Mr. Alan W. Lindsey
Mrs. Nan E. Bennett	Mr. Lee	Mr. Larry Whitaker
Dr. Fletcher A. Brothers	Mrs. Lee	Mrs. Lynda Whitaker
Ms. Suzanne Burch	Dr. Amil Kumar Makani	Mr. John Wise, Jr.
Dr. Robert Chahine	Regina Makani	Dr. Lee S. Yosowitz
Ms. Amelia I. Charles	Dr. F. Gilbert McMahon	Mr. Victor S. Yu
Mrs. Betty Charles	Sean McMahon	Dr. Dov S. Zakheim
Ms. Mary C. O'Hara	Dr. Thomas J. Misny	Mr. Robert Bozich
Mr. Luke Chu	Mrs. Patrice M. Misny	Mrs. Jean Bozich
Mr. John A. Clark	Mr. Clarence Mitchell	Mr. Russell Morse
Ms. Alice M. Compton	Mr. Hank Duc Nguyen	Mr. Robert Chen
Mrs. Evelyn Yvonne Davis	Mrs. Tu-Anh Nguyen	Mrs. Judy Chen
Comtesse Suzanne De Paris	Mr. Shuji Ohnita	
Dr. Ram Dhawan	Ms. April Parker	
Mr. Gregory D. Dickinson	Mr. Brian A. Palmieri	
Mr. Trevor H. Dickinson	Mr. Manuel Peralta	
Mrs. Valerie Dickinson	Dr. Surendra K. Purohit	
Mr. William Dultz	Mr. John J. Rabon, Jr.	
Mr. Paul Evert	Mr. Tommie Rabon	
Mrs. Sharon H. Evert	Mr. Roger A. Ramsey	
Mr. Moustapha M. Fostock	Ms. Johnnie Raulerson	
Mrs. Elizabeth Files	Mr. Rowe	
Mr. William Lilly	Edwin M. Schottenstein	
Ms. Nancy A. Goss	Diane Schottenstein	
Dr. Robert Hambrick	Mr. Sam Shamie	
Mrs. Judy Hambrick	Mr. C. Dan Smith	
	Mrs. Mamie Stafford	

**NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF STATE LEGISLATURES
MARCH 12, 1992 \ ROOM 450 \ 5:00 P.M.**

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THANK YOU AND GOD BLESS YOU.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

3/12/92

You need to
take money
credit for
collecting

50 Billion
of the 54 Billion
sent debt

PARTICIPANTS LIST

The President

Dick Cheney, Secretary of Defense

Richard Darman, Director of OMB

Congressman Gary Condit (CA)

Congressman Calvin Dooley (CA)

Congressman Ralph Hall (TX)

Congressman Claude Harris (AL)

Congressman Larry LaRocco (ID)

Congresswoman Jill Long (IN)

Congressman Charlie Luken (OH)

Congressman Bill Orton (UT)

Congressman Frank Pallone (NJ)

Congressman Tim Roemer (IN)

Congressman Jim Slattery (KS)

Congressman Richard Stallings (ID)

Congressman Dick Swett (NH)

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

Arnie Havens, Special Assistant to the President for Legislative
Affairs (House)

Jack Howard, Special Assistant to the President for Legislative
Affairs (House)

Virginia Lampley, Special Assistant to the President for National
Security Affairs

Frances Norris, Special Assistant to the President for
Legislative 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

✓ Daily 3/12/92
✓ Meeting w/
Select Members
of Congress
10:45 A / Cabinet Room

David
Taylor

Dave
Gribbin

Ginny
Lampley

Dick
Darman

Dick
Cheney

Brent
Scowcroft

Tim
Roemer

Charlie
Luken

Larry
LaRocco

Jill
Long

Cabinet Table

Richard
Stallings

Calvin
Dooley

Frank
Pallone

Gary
Condit

Claude
Harris

Ralph
Hall

President

Jim
Slattery

Dick
Swett

Bill
Orton

Steve
Hart

Henson
Moore

Nick
Calio

Sam
Skinner

Gary
Andres

Jack
Howard

Frances
Norris

Arnie
Havens

**EXCELLENCE IN SCIENCE AND MATH AWARDS \ ROSE GARDEN
THURSDAY, MARCH 12, 1992 \ 2:30 P.M.**

**THANK YOU, AND WELCOME TO THE ROSE GARDEN. I'M
GLAD MY PREVIOUS MEETING DIDN'T RUN LATE, OR I WOULD
HAVE HAD TO BRING A NOTE FROM BARBARA. **

**IT'S GREAT TO SEE YOU HERE -- SECRETARY MARTIN, DR.
MASSEY, DR. WONG -- AND, MOST OF ALL, LET ME WELCOME
THE 108 VERY SPECIAL MEN AND WOMEN CHOSEN FROM OVER
ONE-QUARTER OF A MILLION SECONDARY TEACHERS IN THEIR
FIELDS. CONGRATULATIONS ON RECEIVING THIS NATION'S
HIGHEST HONOR FOR MATH AND SCIENCE TEACHERS. **

- 2 -

**AS TEACHERS, YOU KNOW FIRST-HAND WHAT THE SPIRIT OF
INNOVATION HAS BROUGHT TO THIS COUNTRY -- THOUGH WE'RE
NOT ALWAYS READY FOR CHANGE. SOMETIMES I THINK THAT IF
EDISON WERE TO INVENT THE LIGHT BULB TODAY, NEWSPAPERS
WOULD HEADLINE THE STORY "CANDLE INDUSTRY THREATENED."
**

**THE ONE I LIKE BEST WAS WHAT LBJ SAID: "IF I
WALKED ACROSS THE POTOMAC, THE PRESS WOULD SAY -- 'LBJ
CAN'T SWIM'." **

YOU HAVE SHOWN THE KIND OF EXCELLENCE THAT WILL
HELP THIS COUNTRY MEET THE AMBITIOUS GOALS WE'VE SET
FOR OUR NATION IN OUR AMERICA 2000 EDUCATION STRATEGY
-- GOALS WORTHY OF THE TALENT YOU HAVE, AND OF THE
POTENTIAL OF OUR KIDS. WE KNOW WE'VE GOT TO BE
COMPETITIVE IN MATH AND SCIENCE IN A CHANGING WORLD.
OUR ECONOMIC HEALTH -- OUR ECONOMIC SURVIVAL -- DEPEND
ON HOW WE EDUCATE OURSELVES TO FACE THE CHALLENGES OF
THE NEXT CENTURY.

WE'VE CALLED ON OUR KIDS TO BE #1 IN THE WORLD IN
YOUR SUBJECTS BY THE TURN OF THE CENTURY -- AND IT'S
TEACHERS LIKE YOU WHO WILL HELP US REACH OUR GOAL AND
WILL HELP AMERICA TO EXCEL. \\\

AS YOU KNOW, WE'RE HELPING TO DEVELOP WORLD-CLASS
STANDARDS FOR NATIONAL ASSESSMENT IN FIVE CORE AREAS
-- INCLUDING MATH AND SCIENCE -- AND WE'VE SET A
DEADLINE FOR THE FIRST PHASE OF THE AMERICAN
ACHIEVEMENT TEST: THE START OF THE 1993-94 SCHOOL
YEAR.

ALL TOLD, WE'VE REQUESTED MORE THAN \$2 BILLION IN FEDERAL SPENDING ON MATH AND SCIENCE EDUCATION FOR NEXT YEAR'S BUDGET --AND, IF MY MATH IS CORRECT -- AND WITH THIS CROWD IT HAD BETTER BE -- \$768 MILLION OF THAT IS FOR PRE-COLLEGE -- THAT'S AN INCREASE OF 123% IN THE LAST THREE YEARS. \\\

BUT I BELIEVE THAT THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT THING WE IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAN DO IS TO HELP YOU DO YOUR JOBS.

FOR INSTANCE, ALSO IN NEXT YEAR'S BUDGET, I PROPOSED AN EXPANDED PROGRAM OF FEDERALLY ASSISTED TRAINING FOR MATH AND SCIENCE TEACHERS, IN PART USING FEDERAL LABORATORIES AND FEDERAL PERSONNEL. INNOVATIONS LIKE THIS WILL HELP US CREATE A WORLD-CLASS CORPS OF TEACHERS.

WE ALSO WANT TO BRING NEW TECHNOLOGY INTO THE CLASSROOM, SO KIDS CAN INTERACT WITH ASTRONAUTS, EXPLORERS AND SCIENTISTS -- SO RURAL SCHOOLS CAN HAVE ACCESS TO STATE-OF-THE-ART RESOURCES -- AND SO ALL AMERICAN KIDS CAN BE EXPOSED TO THE CUTTING-EDGE TECHNOLOGIES AND IDEAS THAT WILL SHAPE THEIR FUTURE.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAN DO A LOT -- BUT WE CANNOT DO IT ALL.

REAL EXCELLENCE DEMANDS COMMITMENT FROM EVERYONE IN EVERY COMMUNITY AS WE WORK TO CREATE A NEW GENERATION OF AMERICAN SCHOOLS. TOGETHER, WE WILL REINVENT THE AMERICAN SCHOOL COMMUNITY BY COMMUNITY, NEIGHBORHOOD BY NEIGHBORHOOD, ACROSS THIS COUNTRY. YOU'RE SHOWING US THE WAY. YOU'RE SHOWING HOW WE CAN BREAK THE MOLD -- TAKE OUR BEARINGS BY WHAT WORKS. YOU'RE HERE TODAY BECAUSE YOU'RE NOT AFRAID TO REACH FOR EXCELLENCE -- AND THAT'S WHY I SALUTE YOU ALL. \\\

I SALUTE WINNERS LIKE JULIE CSONGOR [CHUN-GER], OF PHILADELPHIA, WHO FLED THE PERSECUTION OF HER NATIVE HUNGARY, UNABLE TO SPEAK ENGLISH. NOW SHE GIVES OF HERSELF TO A GENERATION OF AMERICAN KIDS, AND SAYS: "I HAVE MY CAKE IN MY CLASSROOM EVERYDAY. THIS AWARD IS MY ICING." \\\

I SALUTE YOU -- AND I ENVY YOU. YOU SHARE IN OUR KIDS' SHEER JOY OF LEARNING, OF MAKING SOMETHING WORK, OF UNDERSTANDING THE WORLD.

THINK OF THE SCIENTIST OR ENGINEER WHO WILL ONE DAY DISCOVER THE CURE FOR CANCER, OR WHO WILL USE TECHNOLOGY TO PUSH BACK THE FRONTIERS OF SPACE OR WIPE OUT HUNGER -- TODAY THAT MAN OR WOMAN IS A STUDENT, MAYBE IN YOUR CLASSROOM. A KID WHO WILL CATCH A SPARK FROM YOU -- A SPARK THAT WILL CHANGE HIS LIFE, AND HIS WORLD'S. THAT'S YOUR GIFT -- A TEACHER AFFECTS A LIFETIME.

- 11 -

I'M PROUD TO MEET YOU BECAUSE YOU DEMONSTRATE WHAT IT WILL TAKE TO MAKE OUR STUDENTS THE BEST IN THE WORLD. YOU ENCOURAGE STUDENTS BY GIVING THEM DIRECT HANDS-ON EXPERIENCE. YOU FOSTER CURIOSITY NOT JUST IN YOUR STUDENTS, BUT ALSO IN THEIR PARENTS AND IN YOUR COLLEAGUES. YOU STILL HAVE THE JOY OF DISCOVERY, THE EXCITEMENT OF OPTIMISM -- YOU STILL ASK QUESTIONS, AND TRY NEW WAYS. ABOVE ALL, YOU BELIEVE IN YOUR KIDS -- AND IN THE FUTURE OF THIS NATION. THAT'S THE SPIRIT WE ALL NEED. \\\

- 12 -

WE ALL KNOW THE REAL REWARDS OF TEACHING AREN'T THE CERTIFICATES YOU RECEIVED YESTERDAY -- BUT ARE SOMETHING MUCH MORE IMPORTANT. SIR THOMAS MORE DESCRIBED IT IN THE PLAY "A MAN FOR ALL SEASONS." AT ONE POINT, HE SUGGESTS TO A YOUNG MAN THAT HE WOULD MAKE A FINE TEACHER. "AND IF I WAS," THE BOY ASKS, "WELL, WHO WOULD KNOW ABOUT IT?" AND SIR THOMAS REPLIES: "YOU, YOUR PUPILS, YOUR FRIENDS, GOD -- NOT A BAD PUBLIC, THAT." \\\

- 13 -

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, ON BEHALF OF YOUR GRATEFUL NATION, THANK YOU, KEEP UP THE GOOD WORK AND GOOD WORKS, AND MAY GOD BLESS YOU ALL.

REVISED

REVISED

PARTICIPANTS

OVAL OFFICE

U.S.

The President
Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security
Affairs

Jordan

King Hussein
Zayd Bin Shaker, Prime Minister

LUNCH

U.S.

The President
James A. Baker III, Secretary of State
Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security
Affairs
Robert M. Gates, Director, Central Intelligence
Jonathan Howe, Deputy Assistant to the President for National
Security Affairs
Dennis Ross, Director of Policy Plans, Department of State
Edward Djerejian, Assistant Secretary of State
Roger Harrison, U.S. Ambassador to Jordan
Richard Haass, Senior Director for Near East and South Asian
Affairs, NSC

Jordan

King Hussein
Zayd Bin Shakir, Prime Minister
Adnan Abu Odeh, Chief of Royal Court
Talal Bin Mohamed, Military Secretary to His Majesty
Kamal Abu Jabir, Foreign Minister
Basil Jardaneh, Minister of Finance
Hussein Hammami, Jordanian Ambassador to the United States

UPDATE -- 3/12/92

Daily
Chen fel

(1) GROWTH PACKAGE

- o 36 of 43 Republicans held together on President's-Seven-Plus-One.
- o Defectors: Cohen, Durenberger, Jeffords, Kassebaum (all 4 of which were expected); and Rudman, Coats, Kasten (unexpected). Friendly defection: Shelby.

NOTE: Since this was a point of order waiver vote, (not a vote on the bill itself), the Kasten defection was seemingly inexcusable -- given the fact that Kasten has been demanding that we ignore (waive) the Budget Act in order to vote on his various packages!
- o Democrats had to change (shrink) their "middle class cut" to avoid point of order! It's down to a-twinkie-a-day for families under 50K (down from 70K).
- o Veto strength and party unity are generally fine, here.

(2) FIREWALL ATTACK

- o Senate: Domenici letter supporting veto now signed by 35 Senators (and delivered to WH for President).
- o House: Our efforts have forced Dems to reschedule the bill -- and modify it to try to get sufficient votes. (We may still be able to defeat a revised version in the House, but cannot be sure until we see what the leadership does.) NOTE: Today's group is more interested in deficit reduction than defense.

(3) WELFARE WAIVERS

- (a) Meetings with California have been going well. The California proposal is substantively attractive -- and would save both the State and the Feds money. There is at least one significant legal problem, however (to be mentioned orally). NOTE: This issue will be on the California ballot in November. Coordination with Wilson is going very well.
- (b) Meeting with New Jersey (Florio), today. This doesn't look quite as good -- the New Jersey approach may cost, not save -- but we will know more after today's meeting.
- (c) General objective -- to move these along expeditiously and constructively -- is under decent control.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM DATE: 3/12/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: -----PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF STATE LEGISLATURES
SUBJECT: OEOb, ROOM 450, MARCH 12, 1992

	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	☐	☒
			ANDERSON		☒
			MC GROARTY		☒

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

12 MAR 11 P7:14

March 11, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST *DD*

FROM: ANDY FERGUSON *AF*

SUBJECT: NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF STATE LEGISLATURES

On Thursday, March 12 at 5 p.m., you will make remarks to the National Conference of State Legislatures in Room 450 in the OEOB. Your remarks (7 minutes, cards) focus on the need for Congress to pass your economic plan. The remarks also touch upon the effect of unfunded mandates, and block grant proposals on the states.

(Ferguson/Aarhus)
March 11, 1992
Draft Two
NCSL

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NAT'L CONFERENCE OF STATE LEGISLATURES
MARCH 12, 1992
ROOM 450
5:00 PM

I'm pleased to be here today, and I thank you for rearranging your schedule so we could get together. And my greetings to your president, Bud Burke.

Last year, as you know, I was unable to meet with you because of pressing business in the aftermath of Desert Storm. That was a time of great triumph for America, and I still believe it holds enduring lessons for how we in government can get things done.

Our country saw a challenge, and we met it with resolve. We debated the subject vigorously. Our duty as Americans demanded nothing less. But when the time came to act, we put aside partisanship -- we put an end to the squabbling. And we got the job done. We liberated Kuwait.

I don't need to tell you that we face a great challenge again today. We're in tough times economically. We owe it to our country to do all in our power to get this economy moving.

I take this mission very seriously. I understand that there's no magic wand we can wave to accelerate recovery. But I also know that by taking a few common sense steps -- and taking them now -- we can stimulate investment, help struggling businesses back to their feet, and put Americans to work.

My plan is simple: To free up investment capital, I've asked Congress for a new investment tax credit. I want a cut in the capital gains tax -- to create jobs for those looking for work. To invigorate the housing industry, I've asked for a \$5,000 tax credit and penalty-free withdrawals from IRAs for first-time home-buyers.

When I submitted this common-sense plan to Congress, I asked them to put aside partisanship for just 52 days. I asked them to consider my plan, debate it, and then put it to a quick, clean vote. And I gave them a deadline: March 20. The deadline is fast approaching, and Congress has yet to give my plan even serious debate.

Instead, they're talking about sending me a package that I cannot and will not sign. And they know why: They're asking for a massive tax increase on the American people.

I fully believe that a tax increase would be a disaster for our economy, for our future competitiveness, and for the faith the American people place in their government to act responsibly. Congress must not doubt my resolve. If they send me their tax-and-spend plan, I will veto it the minute it hits my desk.

And let them understand: From that minute onward, the battle is joined.

The American people are tired of business-as-usual from Washington. I know, too, how the business-as-usual approach is burdening you in the state Capitols.

I'm talking about unfunded mandates. I understand what happens when an unfunded mandate drops on you from Washington: you have to find the money to pay for someone else's wish list - either by cutting your own programs or raising taxes on your constituents.

In other words, Washington takes the credit and you take the heat. These mandates aren't merely irresponsible. They cut to the heart of the federal system. And I've told Congress point-blank: if they pass a mandate, they can't pass the buck. They have to pay for it -- without raising taxes.

There's another front in our fight to restore federalism. More than a year ago, I proposed a \$15 billion block grant for the states, because I believe that states are the laboratories of democracy. You need -- and your constituents need -- the flexibility and freedom to experiment that this grant would allow.

Your Conference has been invaluable in helping us get this proposal in shape. We will be introducing it to Congress soon, and I call on them to give it swift consideration.

The key is working together -- Republicans and Democrats, the federal and state governments, the legislative and executive branches. Of course I understand the pressures of an election year, but we know what we can do in those moments when we set partisanship aside. That's what the American people ask of us right now. We must not let them down.

Thank you and God bless you.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

3/12/92

DATE: _____ ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: _____

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AWARDS FOR EXCELLENCE IN SCIENCE AND MATH
ROSE GARDENSUBJECT: _____
THURSDAY, MARCH 12, 1992

	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	☐	☒
			MC GROARTY		☒

REMARKS:

FIRESTONE

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

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

(Hinchliffe/Nix)
March 11, 1992 3 p.m.
AWARDS Draft Three

**PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AWARDS FOR EXCELLENCE IN SCIENCE AND MATH
ROSE GARDEN
THURSDAY, MARCH 12, 1992 2:30 P.M.**

Thank you, and welcome to the Rose Garden. I'm glad my previous meeting didn't run late, or I would have had to bring a note from Barbara. \\\

It's great to see you here -- Secretary Martin, Dr. Massey, Dr. Wong -- and, most of all, let me welcome the 108 very special men and women chosen from over one-quarter of a million secondary teachers in their fields. Congratulations on receiving this nation's highest honor for math and science teachers. \\\

As teachers, you know first-hand what the spirit of innovation has brought to this country -- though we're not always ready for change. Sometimes I think that if Edison were to invent the light bulb today, newspapers would headline the story "Candle Industry Threatened." \\\

You have shown the kind of excellence that will help this country meet the ambitious goals we've set for our nation in our America 2000 education strategy -- goals worthy of the talent you have, and of the potential of our kids. We know we've got to be competitive in math and science in a changing world. Our economic health -- our economic survival -- depend on how we educate ourselves to face the challenges of the next century.

We've called on our kids to be #1 in the world in your subjects by the turn of the century -- and it's teachers like you who will help us reach our goal and will help America to excel.\\

As you know, we're helping to develop world-class standards for national assessment in five core areas -- including math and science -- and we've set a deadline for the first phase of the American Achievement Test: the start of the 1993-94 school year.

All told, we've requested more than \$2 billion in Federal spending on math and science education for next year's budget -- and, if my math is correct -- and with this crowd it had better be -- \$768 million of that is for pre-college -- that's an increase of 132% in the last three years. \\\

But I believe that the single most important thing we in the Federal Government can do is to help you do your jobs. For instance, also in next year's budget, I proposed an expanded program of federally assisted training for math and science teachers, in part using federal laboratories and federal personnel. Innovations like this will help us create a world-class corps of teachers.

We also want to bring new technology into the classroom, so kids can interact with astronauts, explorers and scientists -- so rural schools can have access to state-of-the-art resources -- and so all American kids can be exposed to the cutting-edge technologies and ideas that will shape their future.

The Federal Government can do a lot -- but we cannot do it all. Real excellence demands commitment from everyone in every community as we work to create a new generation of American schools. Together, we will reinvent the American school community by community, neighborhood by neighborhood, across this

country. You're showing us the way. You're showing how we can break the mold -- take our bearings by what works. You're here today because you're not afraid to reach for excellence -- and that's why I salute you all. \\\

I salute winners like Julie Csongor [~~CHUN~~-ger], of Philadelphia, who fled the persecution of her native Hungary, unable to speak English. Now she gives of herself to a generation of American kids, and says: "I have my cake in my classroom everyday. This award is my icing." \\\

I salute you -- and I envy you. You share in our kids' sheer joy of learning, of making something work, of understanding the world. Think of the scientist or engineer who will one day discover the cure for cancer, or who will use technology to push back the frontiers of space or wipe out hunger -- today that man or woman is a student, maybe in your classroom. A kid who will catch a spark from you -- a spark that will change his life, and his world's. That's your gift -- a teacher affects a lifetime.

I'm proud to meet you because you demonstrate what it will take to make our students the best in the world. You encourage students by giving them direct hands-on experience. You foster curiosity not just in your students, but also in their parents and in your colleagues. You still have the joy of discovery, the excitement of optimism -- you still ask questions, and try new ways. Above all, you believe in your kids -- and in the future of this nation. That's the spirit we all need. \\\

We all know the real rewards of teaching aren't the

certificates you received yesterday -- but are something much more important. Sir Thomas More described it in the play "A Man For All Seasons." At one point, he suggests to a young man that he would make a fine teacher. "And if I was," the boy asks, "well, who would know about it?" And Sir Thomas replies: "You, your pupils, your friends, God -- not a bad public, that." \\\

Ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of your grateful nation, thank you, keep up the good work and good works, and may God Bless you all.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

02 MAR 11 P7:14

March 11, 1992

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST *DD*

FROM: BETH HINCHLIFFE *BH*

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL SECONDARY AWARDS FOR EXCELLENCE IN
SCIENCE AND MATH

I. SUMMARY

On Thursday, March 12, at 2:30 p.m., you will deliver remarks at a Rose Garden ceremony honoring 108 recipients of the Presidential awards for excellence in science and math teaching.

II. DISCUSSION

Your remarks (7 minutes, on cards) laud the awardees for their dedication to teaching. Additionally, you stress the importance of preparing our children with the kind of cutting-edge knowledge that will keep America competitive as we step toward the future.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 3/12/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: _____PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE DINNER
PENSION BUILDING, THURSDAY, MARCH 12, 1992

SUBJECT: _____

	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:

MC GROARTY

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

02 MAR 11 P6:58

March 11, 1992

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST *DD*

FROM: BETH HINCHLIFFE *BH*

SUBJECT: NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE DINNER

I. SUMMARY

On Thursday, March 12, at 7:00 p.m., you will deliver remarks to an audience of approximately 1200 people gathered for a NRSC dinner. You will be introduced by Senator Phil Gramm.

II. DISCUSSION

Your remarks (10 minutes, on cards) reinforce the basic themes of your recent speeches: jobs, family, and peace.

(Hinchliffe/Nix)
March 11, 1992 3 p.m.
NRSC Draft Four

**PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NRSC INNER CIRCLE
 PENSION BUILDING
 THURSDAY, MARCH 12, 1992**

Thanks, Phil [Gramm]. Good to see so many friends here -- Al and Ann Simpson; Bob Kasten; Louis Sullivan; Wendy [Gramm]; Members of Congress. And, a special guest in this year of the 500th Anniversary of Columbus' discovery of America, an original member of Columbus' welcoming committee -- Strom Thurmond. \\

You and I are in the midst of a battle right now -- a battle for our future. We're determined to leave our kids the best possible legacy. We want America to lead the world in good jobs with productive work. We want to remain a force for world peace and freedom. And we're fighting to protect our most basic institution -- the family. \\

That's why this year of decision is so important for America. That's why these primary elections -- and November's general election -- are vital to our future. We've got much to do to get America on the right track. So I'm asking you for four more years as your President. \\

We have our work clearly cut out for us. This country was built on faith, family and freedom. We must renew those sources of our strength. Let me start by talking about the family. We know that America is first as long as we put the family first. \\

People are coming home to the values that never left their hearts. We believe that parents, not the government, should make the decisions that truly matter in life. Parents, not

government, should choose their children's schools. Parents, not government, should choose who cares for their children. Parents know better than some bureaucrat in Washington. And, yes, we believe there's a place for voluntary prayer in our children's classroom.

In addition, we must get common sense into our welfare system -- restoring the connection between welfare and work. Americans aren't cold hearted. We're a caring people -- we support government assistance to families in need. We want to break the cycle of dependency that destroys dignity -- that passes down poverty from one generation to the next. And we want to start by tracking down the dead-beat Dads -- the ones who can't be bothered to pay child-support. \\ We're encouraging states to innovate with workfare, with plans that help people break welfare dependency and begin learning work skills. \\

For three years I've had to fight the liberal leadership of Congress -- and I will continue to stand for principle no matter how daunting the odds. We've fought, and we've put judges on the bench who know their role is to interpret the law -- not to legislate from the federal bench. I'm delighted that David Souter and Clarence Thomas are now members of the Supreme Court.

And another point: I'll continue to use the veto when I have to -- to stand for principle -- to stand up for family values. Sometimes over the past three years even my friends said I was flirting with defeat by casting a veto instead of cutting a deal. But we've never lost a veto fight -- and I'll never hesitate to

use the veto when principle is at stake. \\\

Unfortunately, once again the liberal leadership of the Congress is on a collision course with my veto. You remember I asked Congress to pass tax cuts and incentives to get the economy moving. To spur business investment and job creation, that means passing a new investment tax allowance. To get real estate up and running, that means passing incentives like our \$5,000 tax credit for first-time homebuyers. Getting this economy moving again means rewarding risk: it's time to quit punishing people who create jobs -- to the Congress: cut the tax on capital gains so we can get more businesses going.

But instead of passing my plan, the big-spending Democrats who control Congress had other ideas. They pushed through one of their own. Here's what's in the House-passed bill: a tiny temporary tax cut -- 25 cents -- a quarter a day in your pocket. But here's the catch: you can keep that quarter in exchange for a massive tax increase. The Democrats call that "new revenue." I call it: "your money." \\\

If you feel the way I do, you'll tell the Democrat-controlled Congress: Keep the change -- and keep your hands off the taxpayers' wallets. \\\ And here's what I'm telling Democrat Congressional leaders: If the liberals send me their scheme, I will veto it the very day I receive it. \\\

Remember, I've set a deadline: March 20 -- a week from tomorrow. Again I say to Congress: pass our plan, get our economy moving, do something now for the American people. \\\

To complement our efforts at home, I'll make sure we keep to our course of leadership in the world economy. Trade with the world around us is absolutely vital. Remember, every billion dollars more in manufactured exports means 20,000 new jobs. \\

But my opponents are peddling protectionism -- a retreat from economic reality. Cut through the patriotic posturing, the tough talk about "fighting back" by shutting out foreign goods. Look closely. That's not the American flag they're waving -- it's the white flag of surrender. Well, that's not the America you and I know. \\

We must let the world know this: Whatever the challenge, America will stay strong. America will win. We are the undisputed, trusted leader of the world -- and as your President, I will keep it that way. \\\

Think back a year ago -- to the calm after Desert Storm. Ask any one of the proud sons and daughters of America who became liberators of Kuwait: they'll tell you military strength doesn't mean a thing without moral support right here at home.

Yes, we all know: There were those who didn't support us then -- there are those who second guess us now. But not you. When I drew that line in the sand -- you stood with me. Never would this country tuck tail and let aggression stand. America did what was right and good and just.\\\ And I believe it's about time somebody stood up and said what's right about our country. \\

Let me just close with a few words from the heart. First, I

think our First Lady is doing a pretty fine job for the United States of America. \\ And Barbara and I are blessed -- blessed to serve this great nation of ours at a moment when so many of the old fears have been driven away -- and so many new hopes are within our reach. Since the day I took the oath of office I made it my duty always to try to do what is right for this country. I've given it my level best -- and I'm not done yet. \\

You and I have more work ahead. It's a battle for our future: it's about jobs, it's about family, and it's about world peace -- the kind of legacy we'll leave our kids. Now we're approaching an hour of decision. I ask you to help me win four more years to lead the fight for the values we share. Thank you, and God bless the United States of America.

#

REVISED

PARTICIPANTS

OVAL OFFICE

U.S.

The President

Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

Jordan

King Hussein

Zayd Bin Shaker, Prime Minister

LUNCH

U.S.

The President

James A. Baker III, Secretary of State

Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

Robert M. Gates, Director, Central Intelligence

Edward Djerejian, Assistant Secretary of State

Roger Harrison, U.S. Ambassador to Jordan

Richard Haass, Senior Director for Near East and South Asian Affairs

Jordan

King Hussein

Zayd Bin Shakir, Prime Minister

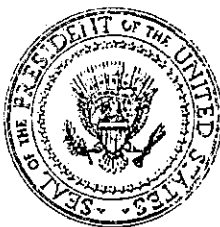
Adnan Abu Odeh, Chief of Royal Court

Talal Bin Mohamed, Military Secretary to His Majesty

Kamal Abu Jabir, Foreign Minister

Basil Jardaneh, Minister of Finance

Hussein Hammami, Jordanian Ambassador to the United States



March 12, 1992

Hey< Kathy-

Branson Missouri, the new home of Country Music, is about 40 miles (?) from Bentonville.

Now how does that grab you.

Remember the Andy Williams invite. How'bout a Matinee, put on for us by Country stars-welcome to Branson.. Christening of Branson, Open House at Branson, Missouri's Governor , our family commission man, join us...etc etc

always thinking !!!'

Gb

*sh-sh-sh -
campaigner with die!*

FROM THE PRESIDENT



March 12, 1992

Hey< Kathy-

Branson Missouri, the new home of Country Music, is about 40 miles (?) from Bentonville.

Now how does that grab you.

Remember the Andy Williams invite. How'bout a Matinee, put on for us by Country stars-welcome to Branson.. Christening of Branson, Open House at Branson, Missouri's Governor , our family commission man, join us...etc etc

always thinking !!!!'

Gb

FROM THE PRESIDENT

3/12/92

Mr. President:

When you went to Thadd Garrett's Church (Lomax) in January, did anyone give you correspondence dealing with

- ✓ 1) housing project
- ✓ 2) someone's VA problem.

We have no record of your bringing anything in the office and Advance doesn't have anything.

We had a call ~~to~~ Correspondence asking what the status of these are.

RZ

Pres.
said
he doesn't
remember
anything

3/12
Courtney find more
will try to track
info & try to track
down. Still call
caller.



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
THE PRESIDENT

Mr President:

You will see more and more stories about weaknesses in the Japanese economy. One of the worries has been the high level of the Nikkei Stock average.

The truth is that it has been too high and probably is based on real estate values that are worrisome.

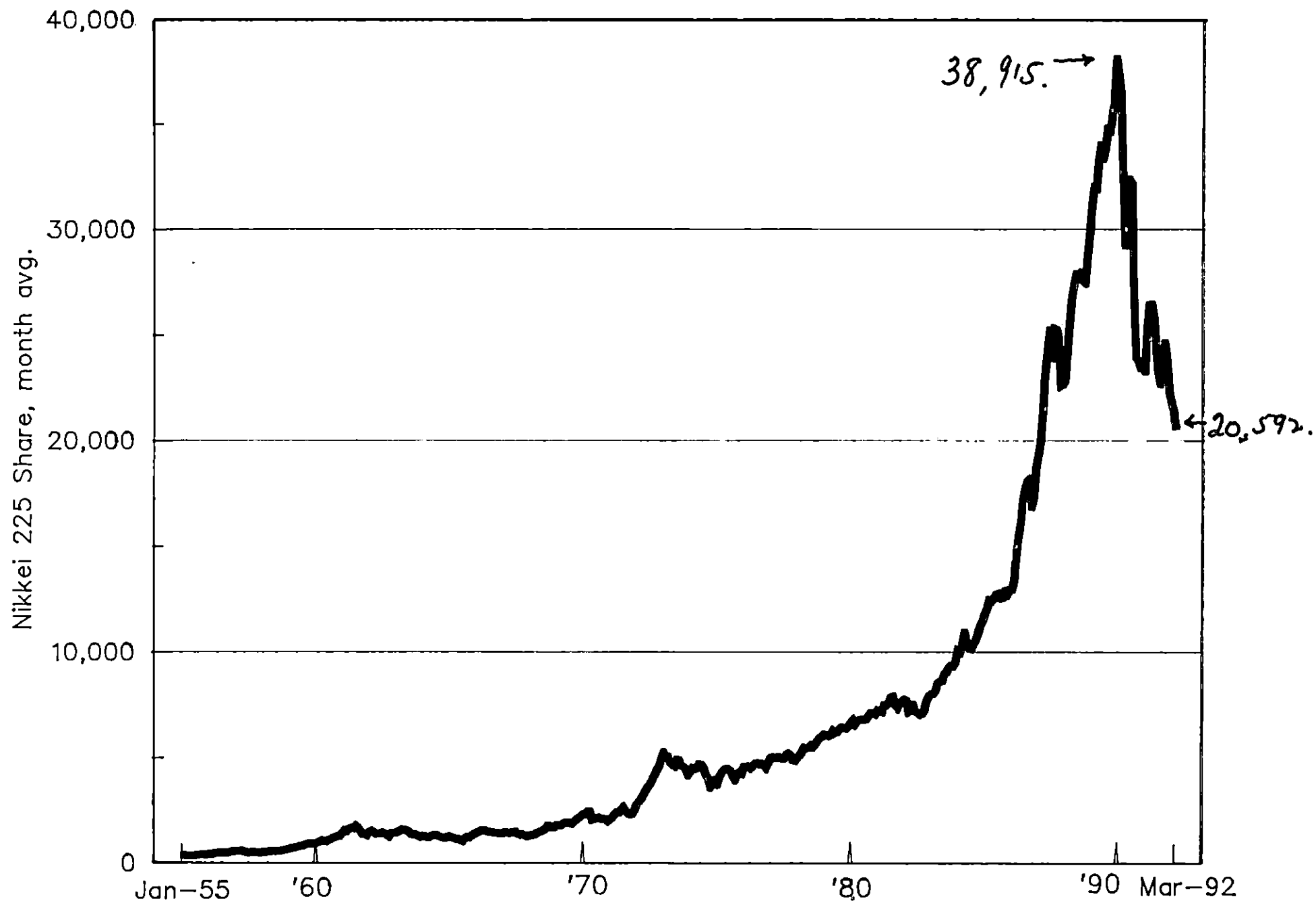
The good news, as the attached chart shows,

(OVER ->)

2/ is that The Nikkei is coming down so that the ~~vulnerably~~ vulnerability is reduced on a calm rather than a crash basis.

Z715

Nikkei Since 1955



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 10, 1992

32 MAR 11 P3:20

NOTE FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Telephone Call to Johnny Morris

As you requested, I called Johnny Morris this afternoon to discuss his note to you regarding the C.I.T.E.S. meeting in Kyoto. I described for him the agreement worked out whereby Sweden withdrew its petition for an Appendix II listing of the Western Atlantic Bluefin tuna in exchange for a resolution to defer to the International Commission for Conservation of Atlantic Tunas (ICCAT) on tuna management.

The resolution urged the ICCAT parties -- principally the United States, Canada, and Japan -- to continue their initiatives to promote recovery of the Bluefin tuna population. These initiatives include:

- Consideration at an ICCAT session at the end of May 1992 of a further 50 percent reduction in the annual quota level from the level established in 1991;
- Stricter monitoring of international trade in Bluefin tuna and restrictions on commerce in tuna caught outside the ICCAT conservation program; and
- Improved data collection and research programs to obtain better scientific evidence concerning the status of the Bluefin tuna population.

Johnny was pleased with the result, particularly since it involved bringing together the U.S., Canada, and Japan on the issue. The threat of a C.I.T.E.S. listing seems to have been sufficient motivation to produce unified support for this resolution. Some others in the recreational fishing and conservation movement will be disappointed the Swedes withdrew their resolution.

But the pressure is now on for ICCAT to take decisive action at its meeting the end of May. One of the frustration elements of the issue is our inability to accurately monitor what is happening to the Bluefin tuna population. Commerce is aware of the need to improve the reliability of its data.

Loge
Roger B. Porter



92 MAR 9

8:11

March 8, 1992

To Sam Sklar

Issue : THE BLUE FIN TUNA

Attached is a letyter from our conservation/sportsman friend and supporter Johnny Morris.

Please have someone immediately check opn the US position re: the Bluefin.

Johnny feels that we should weigh in at KYOTA for our delegation to support an appendix II listing of Western Bluefin under C.I.T.E.S.

The vote is soon.

Please advise.

GB

FROM THE PRESIDENT

3-7-92
Pintala

Dear Mr President,

As your friend, I am grateful for this opportunity to thank you for your past interest in bluefin tuna and to give you this urgent update. The future of these great fish is now being debated at the C.I.T.E.S. (Convention On International Trade In Endangered Species) conference in Kyoto, Japan. Specifically, the discussion of bluefin will be on the floor next week and will be voted on Thursday, March 12.

As a result of the outcry from the conservation community the Swedish government is calling for a restrictive Appendix I listing on bluefin. As a fisherman and a businessman I truly believe a great fish and many jobs will be lost if the U.S. does not exert leadership to at least monitor trade in giant bluefins by listing the fish under the less restrictive Appendix II of C.I.T.E.S. Such a listing requires records be kept on international trade. It would not impede the legal commercial fishing for bluefin. These records will show the true harvest of the fish - which many believe is greatly exceeding the I.C.G.A.T. quota.

In my opinion, there is little downside to taking such a position other than the issue is controversial only because the mass, purse seine fleet which employs approx. 75 people and catches the

majority of giant bluefins off our coast is resisting any conservation efforts. Against this one monopoly + their lobby we must weigh the growing concerns of the conservation community and the far greater number of long term jobs at stake.

We cannot continue to ignore our own N.M.F.S. scientists recommendations that we reduce harvest by 50% under I.C.C.A.T.

The U.S. needs to stand tall in supporting conservative management of these great fish. ~~Only~~ such action will bring about more fishing opportunities and MORE JOBS for both the commercial and recreational fishing industries.

The bluefin issue is becoming dramatically more visible each day and rightfully so. Both Dr Bill Fox and John Turner (two of the finest by the way) are presently in Japan representing our government. It would be a very bold positive conservation action for your Administration to announce its support for an appendix II listing of western bluefin under C.I.T.E.S. in Kyoto.

Thanks for your time and genuine concern - I would not bother you if I did not feel so deeply concerned about this symbolic fisheries issue!

Sincerely,

Johnny Morris

Earle M. Craig

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 12, 1992

Dear Earle:

I appreciated the suggestions you offered on behalf of your Estonian-born friend regarding how we could better support Boris Yeltsin and the reform process in the former Soviet Union. Boris Yeltsin's success is a high priority for me, and we are doing all we can to support his reforms.

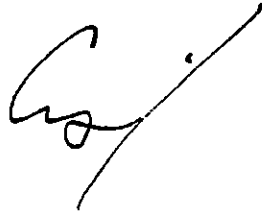
You are right in emphasizing the role of U.S. investment as one of the keys. I've told President Yeltsin that we are ready to move quickly to improve the environment for foreign investment in Russia, and I have sent similar messages to the other states of the former Soviet Union. We are talking with all governments in the area now about investment, tax, and trade treaties which, when they are signed, will dramatically improve the investment climate. I hope those agreements will be signed and ratified with Russia and most of the other states of the former Soviet Union by mid-year, so that we can get on with building our new economic relationship.

Regarding your idea of a massive airlift, we are following up our Project Provide Hope with further air deliveries of food and medical supplies in the near future. While we have not found it necessary to use uniformed U.S. soldiers, we have relied on NATO for logistic support, which dramatizes our new relationship with Russia. In the meantime the Department of Agriculture has let contracts with private voluntary organizations for over \$100 million in humanitarian food shipments, which are scheduled to begin arriving in the states of the former Soviet Union later this year.

B

Thank you very much for your letter, and for your support on this issue of such vital importance to the U.S. We wish you and Dottie the best.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'Earle M. Craig, Jr.', with a long, sweeping horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Mr. Earle M. Craig, Jr.
Earle M. Craig, Jr. Corporation
Post Office Box 1351
Midland, Texas 79702

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. William Donovan
1830 Cayman Road East
Vero Beach, Florida 32963



THE PRESIDENT

March 12, 1992

Dear Bill,

Don Rhodes passed on your thoughtful letter. During these tough times, words of support from friends really mean a lot, and I'm grateful for yours.

My sincere thanks and best wishes to an old Navy friend in Flight '44.

Sincerely,

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

bc: Don Rhodes

sg

Jan 5

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Rhys J. Best
President and CEO
Lone Star Steel Company
Post Office Box 35888
Dallas, Texas 75235-0888



THE PRESIDENT

March 12, 1992

Dear Rhys,

I received your fax of March 2. Sorry to say, the scheduling office had to regret the May event in Orlando. As always, my problem is time.

Also, thanks for sending along a copy of your letter to Senator Bentsen. You made some very thoughtful points about the petroleum industry.

Best wishes, in which Barbara joins.

Sincerely,

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

bc: Kathy Super w/copy
of inc.

JAN'S

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON
March 12, 1992

Dear Bruce:

Last week's Colorado victory really meant a great deal to Barbara and me. The numbers prove we scored a tremendous win -- a win that led the way toward a Super Tuesday sweep.

More important, the very generous efforts put forth by you and all the terrific volunteers you assembled from across the State really made the difference. Please convey our appreciation and heartfelt thanks to all for a job well done.

Sincerely,

Ag

Great going! So many thanks to all!

The Honorable Bruce D. Benson
Benson Mineral Group
Suite 1900
1560 Broadway
Denver, Colorado 80202

920312

JAN

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 12, 1992

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Lamp:

Thank you for your warm letter. I certainly appreciate your confidence in our plans to speed up the economy, and I particularly agree that the positives about America are too infrequently reported.

Of course, I share your admiration for Clarence and your pride in him. Virginia was a great source of strength to him during some difficult days. They are both remarkable people, and I know that they must treasure your love and support.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Mr. and Mrs. Donald Lamp
Apartment 243
16967 Waterbend Drive
Jupiter, Florida 33477



THE PRESIDENT

March 12, 1992

Dear Jack,

Thanks for your supportive letter. These are tough times, but the encouragement and confidence of friends really helps.

I feel certain the economy will turn around soon, and California will play its part.

I appreciate the offer to help and will pass that along. Best wishes to you and Susan.

*California's prices were Sincerely, [Signature]
ugly and Pres. Reagan,
decent man that he is
don't let those ugly things. Thanks, my friend*

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable Jack C. Parnell
Kahn, Soares & Company
Suite 1350
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20004

bc: Ron Kaufman w/cof
of inc.
Cathy Hutchison

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

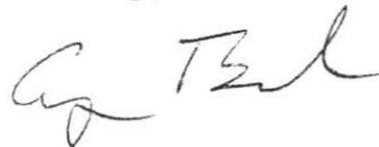
March 12, 1992

Dear William:

Your grandmother sent me your letter and told me many nice things about you. I was especially pleased to learn that you are a young environmentalist. It's individuals such as you who make a difference. Your efforts to recycle tell me that you are on your way to becoming an outstanding citizen.

Mrs. Bush joins me in sending best wishes to you for a bright and happy future.

Sincerely,

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

William Preston Saunders
San Antonio, Texas

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 12, 1992

Dear Mrs. Scott:

Barbara and I send our deepest sympathy to you on the loss of your husband. We admired W.A. very much, and he will truly be missed.

Though the days ahead will not be easy, please know that we are keeping you and your family in our prayers.

God bless you.

Sincerely,



Mrs. William A. Scott III
1387 Mozley Place, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314



3/12

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

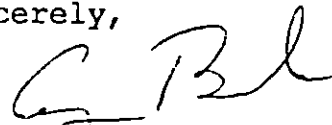
Dear Hans-Dietrich:

On the important occasion of your sixty-fifth birthday, your friends in the United States look back with deep appreciation on a long record of close and successful cooperation between us. The unification of Germany, whose first anniversary we celebrated together last October 3, stands out as the most impressive monument to this cooperation.

Few are privileged to leave their mark on history as you have done. We are gratified to have had you as a partner during these momentous times and look forward to continued close cooperation in the years to come.

I wish you every happiness as you celebrate this milestone. May you enjoy many more productive years of service to your country and the world.

Sincerely,



Many Happy Returns!!

His Excellency
Hans-Dietrich Genscher
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the
Federal Republic of Germany
Bonn

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

32 MAR 11 P2:16

March 11, 1992

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT 
SUBJECT: Letter to Foreign Minister Genscher of Germany

Purpose

To congratulate Genscher on his 65th birthday, March 23.

Background

Genscher will celebrate his 65th birthday amidst the usual German fanfare for such occasions. Given the impact he has had on Germany, Europe, and relations with the U.S., this is a nice occasion for you to wish him well. Secretary Baker will also be writing him.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter to Genscher at Tab A.

Attachment

Tab A Letter to Genscher

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff



THE PRESIDENT

March 12 '92

Dear Ann,

I am so sorry we can't
come on March 28th. Life
right now is too complicated.
It sounds terrific but with
the Gridiron that night

and a couple of other
"pending" items I better
say we can't be there.
How sweet of you, though.

I hope you know how
much of a joy it is to have
that 62 year old guy at my
side - Love - *Greg*

Mrs. Burton James Lee III

CC:
Mrs. Bush (FYI)
Patty Presock (FYI)

March 11, 1992

Mr. President:

Mrs. Burt Lee (Ann) called to extend an invitation to you and Mrs. Bush. Dr. Lee's birthday is March 28th and she would like to have you and the First Lady visit with them in Charlottesville for a morning of golf, lunch, and then some tennis. She is hoping that you can chopper down. Marvin has been invited. The gathering would be very, very small. Only those included in the golf and tennis games and their family.

Dr. Lee will be 62!

ANN LEE: 202-363-2059

*Rose regretted
w/ Mrs. Lee
3/12/92
Robin
Hand carried note
- to her eye. (1/4/95)*

Patty
Patty Presock

Daily

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

March 12, 1992

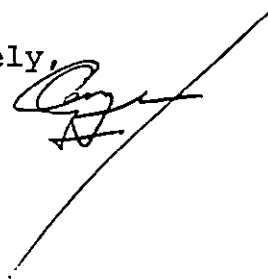
Dear Marjorie,

Just a note to thank you for the great letter. I agree with you that Pat isn't the problem, and after yesterday's results, I think that is becoming clearer.

I appreciated Alan's acute observations, and I'll be getting a note off to him tomorrow. As for "chutzpah," that's part of the Arsht charm!

Bar and I appreciate so much your wonderful support.

Sincerely,

ops !! 

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

Mrs. Marjorie M. Arsht
Post Office Box 818
Bellaire, Texas 77402



THE PRESIDENT

3-12-92

Dear Alan -

Thanks for the wise
counsel. Some of your
suggestions may encounter
real legal obstacles. Some
I've done. All are very very
helpful. Saw your great

More recently

Talk about friendship

Talk about loyalty!

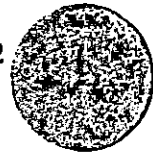
shes A +

Love to all Artists
Eg Ben

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

3/11/92



Shirley-

This man is a personal friend of the President. The letter came in thru Rose's office. Phil would like to have a simple card done and returned to our office today for the President to sign.

I have been in touch with Marlin's office regarding the attached fax (the orig. letter is being sent to the Press Office.) They will return the letter to our office once received.

Thanks for your help!

Beth

ARSHT & COMPANY, INC.

INVESTMENT BANKERS

45 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA, 25TH FLOOR

NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10020

TELEPHONE (212) 397-1600

March 4, 1992

The Honorable George Bush
President of the United States
c/o Marlin Fitzwater
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I have been watching your campaign from "outside the Beltway" and offer the following plan to ensure your landslide re-election. I realize that you are beginning to say some of the things I am suggesting, but they need to be packaged in a more dramatic fashion.

- Step 1: Arrange for a prime time message to the nation within the next few days, but prior to the March 20th deadline. Try to build suspense in the press and on Capitol Hill. Do not leak details.
- Step 2: The speech would contain the following:
- a. a statement that, beginning immediately, you will do the following:
 - use your existing Constitutional authority with respect to a line item veto to delete any direct or indirect tax increases contained in any bills sent from the Hill.
 - a promise to index immediately capital gains on all assets, by means of an executive order.
 - a flat promise to use your existing Constitutional (line item veto) authority to strike wasteful, inappropriate or budget breaking appropriations in any spending bill which comes before you, this year and during your next term.
 - b. a clear unequivocal apology for breaking the "No new taxes" pledge on taxes and spending;

- c. a statement that the Democratic leadership cannot be trusted and that you have learned your lesson - Federal spending is now 25% of GDP, way up from the levels at the time of the 1990 Budget Compromise.
- d. new Pro-growth proposals to drop capital gains rate to 15% and reduce the top individual rate to 28% (get rid of bubble). Make clear that capital gains are exempt from AMT calculations which would otherwise take back most of the savings.
- e. a succinct comparison of economic philosophies of the two parties (growth vs. redistribution and economic class warfare).

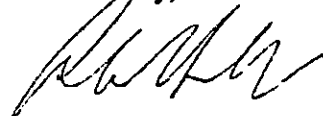
Predicted Outcome:

Congressional Democrats will threaten a Constitutional crisis (lawsuits, etc.) but ultimately will adopt your tax bill to avoid giving you a high profile opportunity to use the line-item veto during an election year. Conservatives will be ecstatic. The liberal press will wring their hands at the "abuse of power", but comments from conservative journalists will neutralize them. Most important of all, however, the voters will be thrilled by a President that will no longer tolerate gridlock in Washington, but is willing to take some risks to point the nation in the right direction.

The electorate desperately wants bold leadership - a domestic version of Desert Storm. Capitalism won the Cold War, but the only political body which seems unclear about that fact is the United States Congress. Developing nations all around the world are tripping over themselves to lower tax rates and increase incentives to promote growth. We, on the other hand, the symbol of free enterprise, seem to be losing our political will.

What this Congress and its leaders need is to be "taken behind the woodshed" by a decisive, assertive President. This plan, or something equivalently aggressive, would be just the medicine. George Mitchell et al are betting that you don't have the nerve to do it - I don't believe them.

Sincerely,



Alan M. Arsht

AMA:ds

MARJORIE M. ARSHT P. O. BOX 818, BELLAIRE, TEXAS 77402

2 copies
(in & out)
to Rose Zamaria

March 6, 1992

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for taking time from your busy schedule to answer my note.

Although Buchanan is an aggravation and he is exacerbating the tax question, I do not believe he is the real problem---it is important that you energize your own army. I did write a "response" to Pat's article on women for your Dallas Headquarters. His idea of the role of women is what the Germans used to call, "kinder, Kirche and Kuchen" (children, church and kitchen).

I know you're being bombarded with unasked-for advice (which my father used to say is worth what it costs), but I am enclosing a letter my son wrote to you via Marlin. I don't know if you have seen it. He agrees that replacing your advisers (although desirable) would be reactive and insufficient.

Alan has more "chutzpah" than I do but he is acting as I am with the usual unwavering Arsht love for George Bush.

Devotedly,

Marjorie

Arsht

From the desk of

George Bush

Take list
Send to residence
when logged in

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page



THE PRESIDENT

March 12

Dear Bill,

Dan Quayle brought in that magnificent set of "Cobra's" - May
they thank you for such a wonderful
present. Now, I must carve
out some time to try them out.
Please thank everyone

involved in this very
special present - Really magnificent

Best wishes,

Cy R

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. William L. Legg
Executive Director
Alabama Sports Hall of
Fame and Museum
P.O. Box 10163
Birmingham, Alabama 35202-0163

The Honorable Thomas H. Kean
President
Drew University
Post Office Box 227
Madison, New Jersey 07940

cc:
Rose Zamaria
(1 copy)

(Personal)



THE PRESIDENT

3-12-92

Dear Tom,

Thanks, my friend! Today's
op-ed brought me joy at
5¹⁵ AM today when I
spotted the NYT piece.
Thugs are looking up,

after the damndest
2-3 months of pounding
I've ever seen in
politics -

Love to Debbie +
thanks so much!

Ag

3/12

The President

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

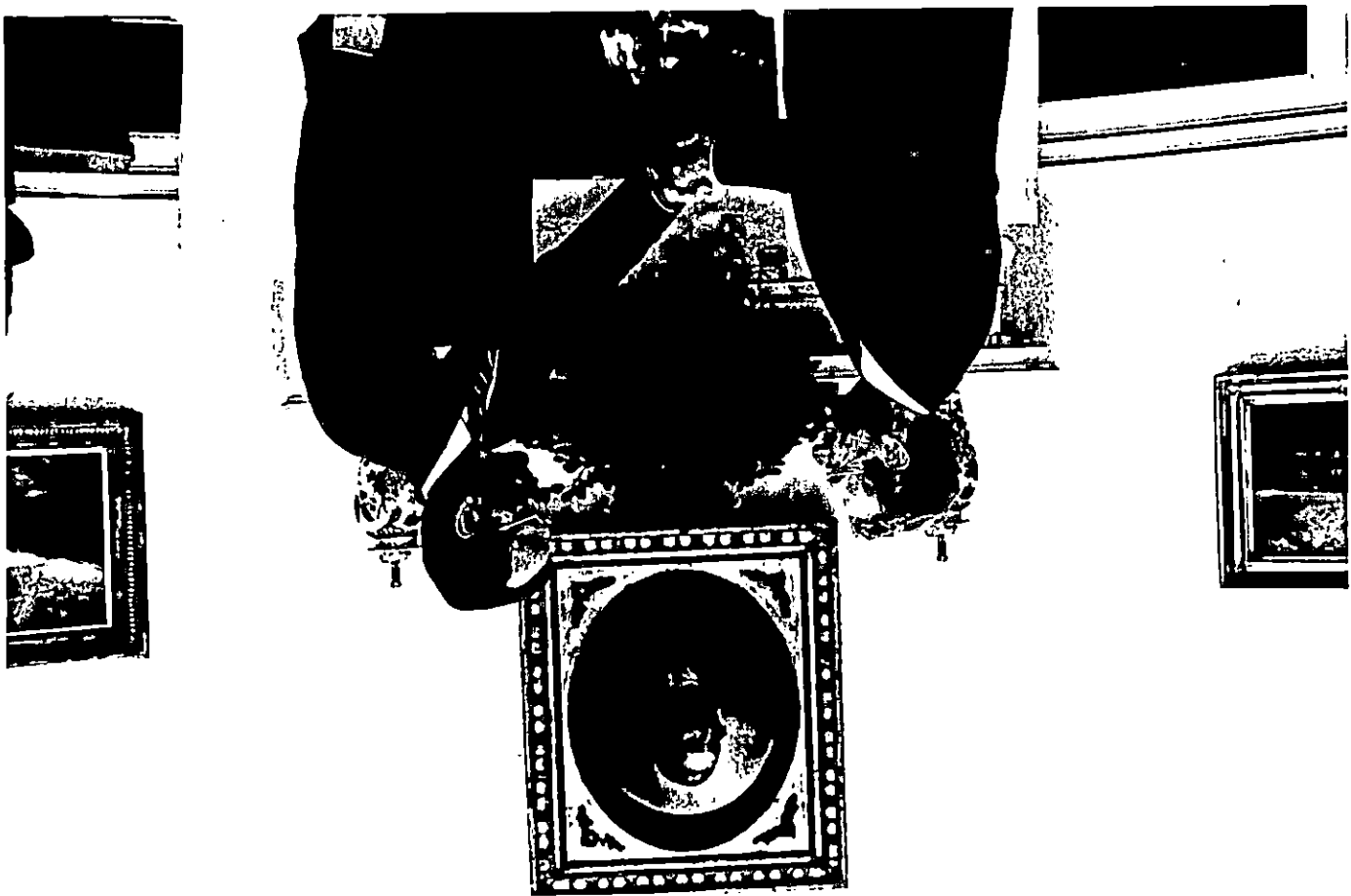
Mr. Daniel S. Goldin
Vice President and General Manager
TRW Space and Technology Group
1 Park, Building E-1, Room 5010
Redondo Beach, California 90276



*To Dan Goldin -
with Appreciation. Good Luck in Your Big
New Challenge - George Bush*

CC: (all outgoing)
✓ Rose Zamaria
(1 copy)
Jan Burmeister
(1 copy - may be
good for updating
Priv)

NO ID NO.



Mr. Louis Goldin
1-1025 Century Village
Deerfield Beach, Florida 33441



THE PRESIDENT

March 12, 1992

Dear Mr. Goldin -

Your fine son was in here today. I told him how pleased I am about his willingness to head NASA. He will do a great job. He told me of his conversation with you

about taking this job. I am glad you, too, are enthusiastic.

Dan will serve this Country with great distinction. I'm sure of that.

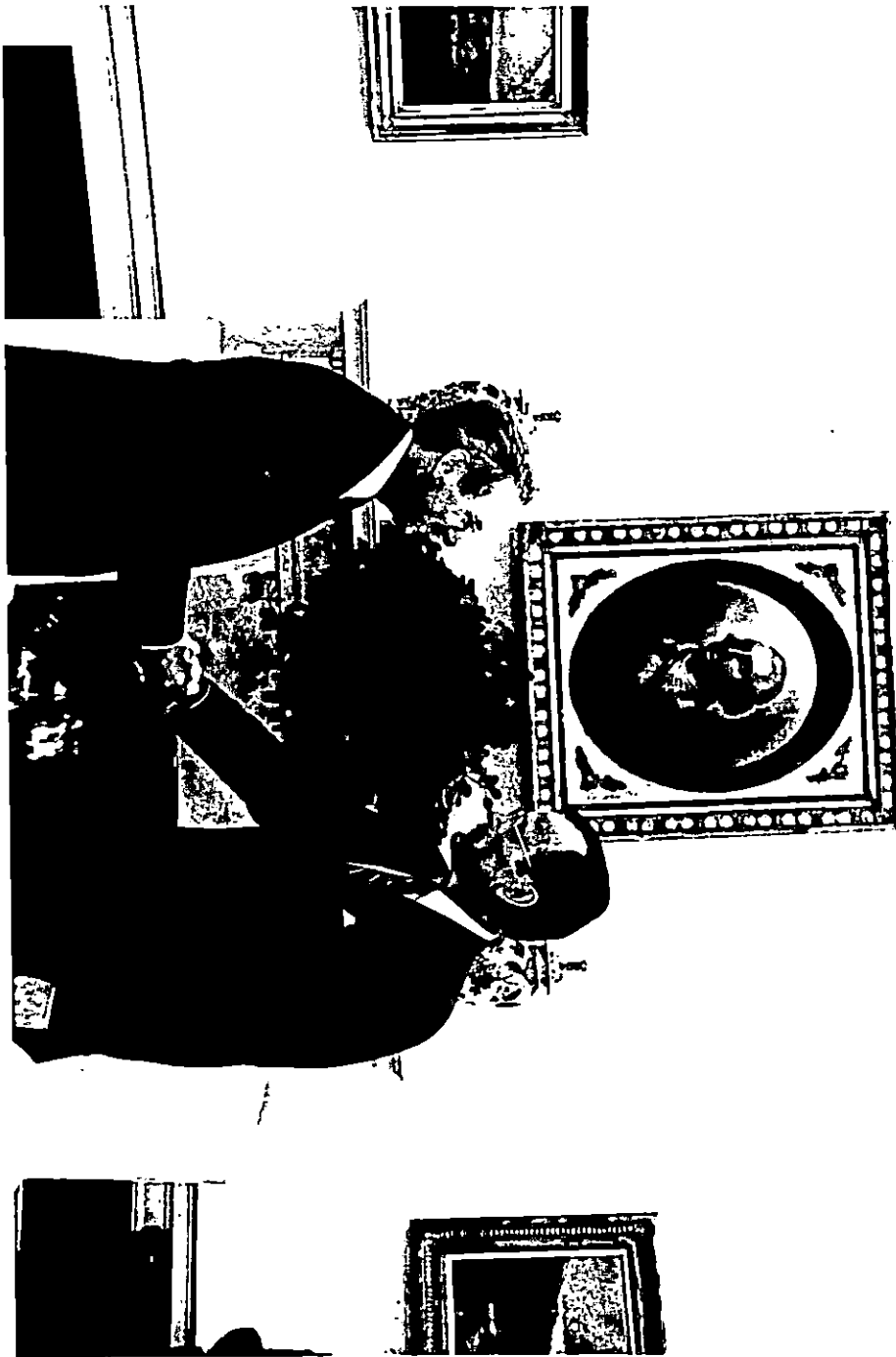
That he is willing to sacrifice like this to serve says a lot about him and a lot about the values you taught him. My sincere best wishes,
C. Bush

Mr. Louis Goldin
1-1025 Century Village
Deerfield Beach, Florida 33441

The President



*To Louis Goldin
With Great Pride in Your Able Son
But Wilson, Cap Bond*



THE WHITE HOUSE
MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE

DAILY PRESS CLIPPINGS

Thursday, March 12, 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)

JOHNSON

Barb's Garden Club a thorny issue

It probably won't become a major campaign issue, but **Barbara Bush** belongs to a private club that discriminates against men and, apparently, against minorities too.

Avenue magazine reports that the First Lady, because she is a member of Houston's River Oaks Garden Club, is also among the 16,000 women across the country who belong to the Garden Club of America.

No men are allowed to join this secretive, exclusive society that revolves around garden tours, seminars on flower-arranging and luncheons where matrons in white gloves and pearls listen to guest speakers.

"It's kind of funny they haven't come under attack," a horticulturalist who often gives speeches before garden clubs told Avenue. "There's not a man who has a hope of getting into those things. I have yet to see a black woman in any of those meetings. I have yet to see a minority."

Katherine Douglas, one of the club's bigger wheels who also happens to be Treasury Secretary **Nicholas Brady's** mother-in-law, said she was under the impression that the Garden Club does have black members, though she added: "I can't ever recall seeing them."

All of this is important because many cities, including New York, have passed laws over the past few years forcing men's clubs to admit women. And several politicians have gotten into hot water when it was revealed that they belonged to clubs that exclude minorities. If what's



Barbara Bush

Her roots are showing.

Farm Aid V, and if they won't come in person, he wants them on videotape. Said Willie: "I know a lot of people out there would be interested in hearing the answers."

Among those performing at Willie's event: **Paul Simon**, **Neil Young**, **John Mellencamp**, **Ringo Starr**, **Tracy Chapman** and **LL Cool J**.

★★★★

Public relations man **Steve Mangione** seems to have a good connection at the New York Post. The tabloid recently ran an editorial urging an end to **George Steinbrenner's** banishment from baseball. Steinbrenner is one of his clients.

Then on Tuesday, The Post ran a letter supporting Steinbrenner written by **Greg and Mark Sherry**, the brothers who own the Old Homestead Steak House. The Sherrys are Mangione's clients.

Yesterday, The Post ran another letter backing Steinbrenner, this one from his old friend **Ed Arrigoni**, chairman of New York Bus Service. Arrigoni is another Mangione client.

Eric Breindel, The Post's editorial page editor, said he was unaware of the Mangione connection, but pointed out that letters are chosen according to a formula reflecting the total number of letters, pro and con, on any given issue.

Mangione denied he had orchestrated a letter-writing campaign. He said his clients had simply responded to the Post's editorial. "There will probably be other letters. A lot more people will go on record saying, 'We want Steinbrenner back. Enough is enough.'"

Maybe we should expect letters from Mangione's other clients: limo king **Bill Fugazy**, producer **Pierre Cossette** and '21' honcho **Ken Aretsky**.

★★★★

There is a Ford in your future, and his name is **Alessandro Uzielli**. The 25-year-old son of auto heiress **Anne Ford** and Italian restaurateur **Gianni Uzielli** is a movie producer, and he has hit a home run with his very first film, "In the Name of the Father."

To make sure the right people see the award-winning film, a whole series of screenings is scheduled, from the Tribeca Film Center and the Warner Brothers screening room at Rockefeller Center to the Brooklyn Center Cinema and the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The elder Uzielli, meanwhile, is using his considerable charm and experience to maintain the high standards of elegance and glamor at Le Club, the private nightclub on E. 58th St.



Willie Nelson

Plowing into Farm Aid V

good for the gander is good for the goose, **Barbara Bush** might be advised to renounce her membership.

★★★★

Just because **Willie Nelson** has big problems of his own doesn't mean he is abandoning his favorite cause, the plight of the American family farmer.

Though Willie owes the IRS \$37 million, and his oldest son, **Billy**, committed suicide last Christmas Eve, he is forging ahead with Farm Aid V, his annual benefit concert this weekend in Irvine, Tex.

In an interview that airs tonight on CNBC's "Real Story," Willie tells reporter **Mark Haffeli**: "Well, I am still lucky enough to be able to make a living at what I do best, and no one can take that away from me. As long as the American farmer is losing his home, my commitment to them is not finished."

Willie plans to invite all the presidential candidates to address the issue at

NEWSTAB Wed 11-Mar-92 17:37 EST

FROM PR NEWSWIRE NEW YORK CITY 03/11/92 17:06
-- NEWS ADVISORY -- TO CITY EDITORS:

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION DAY AWARDS TO BE PRESENTED

National Public Radio's Nina Totenberg, C-SPAN Founder Brian Lamb and National Security Archive founder Scott Armstrong will receive Freedom of Information Day awards from the coalition on Government Information on Monday, March 16, at a reception hosted by the American Library Association (ALA) at the National Press Club, Washinton, D.C., from 5 to 7 p.m. An updated report, "Less Access to Less Information By and About the U.S. Government," published by ALA, will be released.

The Call for America's Libraries campaign, sponsored by ALA and Friends of Libraries USA, begins on Freedom of Information Day, March 16, and runs through National Library Week (April 5-11). The campaign aims to alert the public to threats to the right to know, including the funding crisis in libraries, censorship, illiteracy and less access to government information. Americans nationwide will be able to register their support by calling a special toll-free number, 1-800-530-8888.

National Library Week, April 5-11, 1992, celebrates the unique role of libraries and librarians in America with the theme "Your Right to Know: Librarians Make it Happen." The annual observance, enacted by an Act of Congress, is sponsored by ALA.

On Wednesday, April 8, the American Library Association will sponsor the third annual Great American Read Aloud/Night of a Thousand Stars, with celebrity and other guest readers sharing their love for books and libraries as part of Read Aloud Day festivities. This year's readers include Pooh Richardson, of the Minnesota Timberwolves, reading aloud from "Winnie the Pooh," and Charlie Kormso, young star of "Dick Tracy" and "Hook," reading from "Peter Pan" at the Minneapolis Public Library; Gabriela Carteis, from the hit series "Beverly Hills, 90210" at the Los Angeles Public Library; Charles Kuralt, author and host of "CBS Sunday Morning," at the Providence (R.I.) Public Library; and distinguished actors E.G. Marshall and Barnard Hughes at the New Paltz (N.Y.) High School. First lady Barbara Bush is the honorary chairperson.

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THURSDAY, MARCH 12, 1992

The Washington Post

Style

Richard
Nixon:
The SequelFrom Exile to Elder Statesman
And Host to the PresidentBy Lloyd Grove
Washington Post Staff WriterNow, more than ever,
Nixon's the one.In other words, *he's baaaaack.*

"I don't think he was ever gone," Washington lobbyist Tom Korologos, a veteran of the White House legislative staff, said last night.

The occasion was Richard Milhous Nixon presiding over a posh dinner for George Herbert Walker Bush at the Four Seasons Hotel, the crowning event of a two-day conference on "America's Role in the Emerging World," sponsored by the Nixon Library and Birthplace.

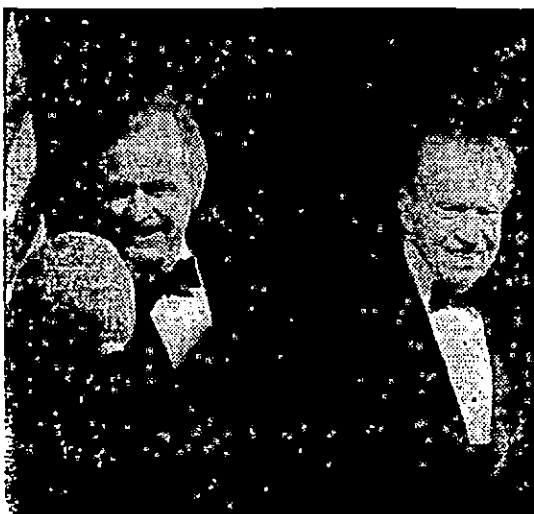
Politely unmentioned last night was Nixon's damning assessment of Bush's aid policy toward Russia—"pathetically inadequate," Nixon had written in a much-publicized memo.

The whole affair was the nearly impeached former president's most ambitious assault on Washington since resigning in August 1974, and was at the very least a successful diversion from the approaching 20th anniversary of the Watergate break-in on June 17, 1972.

"The president calls him, senators call him, congressmen call him," put in Korologos's White House colleague, lobbyist Max Friedersdorf. Surveying the aging crowd of around 300, Friedersdorf added: "I haven't seen so many [Nixonites] since we left the White House."

They included former secretary of health, education and welfare Robert Finch and erstwhile economic adviser Herbert Stein. Also among the Nixonites was Ron Ziegler, the presidential press

See NIXON, C6, Col. 3



Bush and Nixon at last night's dinner.

secretary who memorably dubbed the Watergate break-in "a third-rate burglary."

"I flew out with him on Air Force One when he resigned," said Ziegler, now the graying, prosperous-looking president and CEO of the National Association of Chain Drug Stores. "I didn't know what to expect the next day. The next day, I looked out the window of my office in San Clemente and here he came up the driveway, wearing a blazer and a tie and he called on me, not talking about self-pity. . . . Most men would have walked into the sea."

So has Nixon been totally rehabilitated?

"I think so, yes," said former Nixon speech writer William Safire, now a Pulitzer Prize-winning columnist for the New York Times. "You can see it in the faces of the people who used to skulk around in the February Group," he added, referring to a conclave of Nixon loyalists who would get together "furtively," for fear of being discovered. They are furtive no longer, Safire said. "His comeback is everybody else's comeback too."

"No doubt about it—he's the elder statesman," said former commerce secretary Maurice Stans, a member of the Accounting Hall of Fame who somehow became the beneficiary of a raft of unaccounted-for campaign contributions. "Look at the other retired presidents, and see which one of them plays as much of a public role as Nixon does."

Even National Public Radio correspondent Daniel Schorr, late of CBS News, donned a tux to sup with his onetime antagonist.

"I'm a member in good standing of the Enemies List," Schorr said, in the midst of a cocktail party crowd that included former CIA director Richard Helms—who had shouted "Killer Schorr! Killer Schorr!" during a particularly tense moment, namely Helms's Watergate-era perjury trial.

"Not only that," Schorr went on, "I was investigated by the FBI after Pat Buchanan didn't like something I said." The cover story for the interesting probe, Schorr recalled, was that Nixon was supposedly considering him for a job. "We made up" years later, Schorr said, after Nixon caught sight of him at a function and said jovially: "Dan Schorr! I damn near hired you!"

"He has conducted a spectacular campaign for ex-president," Schorr said. "Now he plays host to a president at a lavish, black-tie affair. To watch this guy get off the floor in 1974, now there he is—he's made it. You have to admire that."

"For some people, Nixonphobia is a kind of fixation," said loyalist Leonard Garment, Nixon's former lawyer. "But most of the country has absorbed Watergate and made it a part of history."

Waxing biblical, Garment added: "He has passed through the valley of the shadow of Watergate."

Over dinner, replete with such tasties as fillet of sole with salmon Mousseline, chocolate torte and Irish cream Anglaise, and a selection of California wines (at least, if you believed the embossed menu), Nixon seemed to enjoy an animated conversation with Barbara Bush—impossible to hear, alas—at a table that also included the current president: media tycoon Walter Annenberg, Nixon's ambassador to the Court of St. James's; and Annenberg's wife, Lee.

With all the "Mr. Presidents" being bandied about, the evening was a tad confusing.

"I value his advice today," the current president said in his postprandial remarks. "I get it. I appreciate it." As Nixon nodded, avuncularly, Bush went on to decry "isolationism" and "protectionism," saying, "Turning our back on the world is no answer, I don't care how difficult are our economic problems at home."

After Bush finished, he strolled back to his table and stood around with Barbara and Nixon to little obvious purpose.

"Who's in charge here?" Bush finally asked.

Not a bad question.



Style

The GOP's VIP

Party Chief and Bush Loyalist Rich Bond. Taking the Heat

By Charles Trueheart
Washington Post Staff Writer

There are guys who get into politics because they like the idea of it, the heady stature of popular governance, a shot at a place in the gallery of history. George Bush is such a guy. Then there are guys who get into politics because they like the feel of it, the winning made thrilling by the cold risk of losing, and the intricacy of building victory vote by vote by vote by vote. Rich Bond is such a guy.

Different as they are, Bush and Bond, it's not surprising they found each other. Every Bush must have his Bond: the consummate tactician, the quintessential mechanic, the fitter of nuts and bolts. According to those who know him, he is energetic. He is loyal. He is can-do. He gives good follow-up. And he is *honest*, they say, with a hushed emphasis that can't help suggesting how rare this is in his line of work.

So there was a certain logic that the president would put Bond in charge of the Republican Party apparatus, as he did last month. The Republican National Committee is the ultimate political Lego set for the 41-year-old political op and lifelong Bushie.

But Bond's new job is bigger than any he has had before, and more visible and sensitive than he is accustomed to. Or so he found out this week.

In an appearance on Sunday's "This Week With David Brinkley," ABC's Sam Donaldson nudged Bond out of the usual party-line pieties and into a harsh denunciation of Pat Buchanan's insurgent campaign for the Republican presidential nomination. "If he's going to basically hijack David Duke's message on race and religious tolerance and put a jacket and tie on it, and try to clean it up," Bond remarked, "I'm just not comfortable with that."

Buchanan immediately saw his opening. "I want this party to be united in August," at the Republican convention in Houston, Buchanan said yesterday, "and I think he is incapable of uniting it after he has smeared and slandered the hundreds of thousands, now millions of people who have joined the Buchanan brigades."

Fire Bond, Buchanan told Bush bluntly, or risk losing my people in the fall.

Bond didn't seem to take this very seriously. In a rejoinder on NBC's "Today" yesterday, he joked about Buchanan angling for Willard Scott's weather job after the inevitable collapse of his campaign. With every primary loss he gets "wilder and wilder," Bond said, noting that just a week ago Buchanan was demanding that Bush himself step aside.

President Bush yesterday expressed "full

support on Buchanan is part of a strategy to leave the scrapping to surrogates.

Bond, at least for public consumption, sounds unworried about Buchanan's showings in Republican primaries. "That there is a protest vote against Bush is not a source of great discomfort to me," he says. "A protest vote now is a heck of a lot better than a protest vote in the general election."

Still, the intensity of his desire to find reassurance in delegate mathematics and party rules suggests someone who has it on the brain. He says the delegate count ought to have Buchanan literally out of contention, if not out of the race, no later than the first week in May. Without winning five states, Buchanan has no special right to address the Republican National Convention in Houston—unless Bond says so.

This is a "family fight," Bond says.

Must the head of the family hold himself above the fray? Silly question.

"I don't have a neutral bone in my body," he says.

The Deathbed Request

Much as he wanted to be asked, Bond is not running George Bush's reelection campaign. Some of his admirers observe, in passing, that either he should have been offered a bigger role at Bush-Quayle or that, if things don't improve, he *will* be offered one. These loyal, worried Bushies suggest that the "clean-fingernails" set in charge of the Bush-Quayle operation now—Robert Mosbacher, Bob Teeter, Fred Malek—could use someone (besides the able Mary Matalin) with grittier retail skills.

Could be. In any case, he is vigorous in his insistence that the RNC job was no mere consolation prize. He cites his ex officio membership in the "A team" of the campaign, his recent presence at a White House Cabinet meeting, and a two-hour dinner with the president—"just us"—on Air Force One.

Besides, he says, in the weeks be-

fore he moved over to the RNC he masterminded "the biggest success they've had in the campaign yet"—shutting Buchanan out of New York and delivering all of its 100 convention delegates to Bush, months before the state's Republican primary.

The chairmanship of the party, in fact, is a job Bond once coveted. But he has been a classic bridesmaid, his career eclipsed and braked not just by his enemies but by a man he calls his friend, Lee Atwater, the late chairman of the RNC. Their relationship did not always run smooth, Bond says, but in the end it was Atwater's "deathbed request" that he get the job. For the foreseeable future, Bond will walk in Atwater's spectral shadow.

The two men were alike in some ways: roughly the same age, tough-minded political retailers, driven, ambitious—"Southern wise-ass and Northern wise-ass," in Bond's words. They also rose to the generalship of the national party from the ranks of enlisted men, rather than as a reward for being party dignitaries, the more common model.

Yet they were surely different. Atwater was the outlandish good old boy, the scheming sire of Willie Horton, the political cutthroat who showed contrition only in his dying days. Bond, though known for hardball play and seismic temper tantrums, is still a far tamer species of the political phylum. And he is known for certain unusual virtues.

"He doesn't confuse his own ego with the cause he's working on," declares his old friend, writer Vic Gold. "He tells the truth," says Vice President Quayle's chief of staff, William Kristol, "and that's an advantage in a city of courtiers." Mary Matalin of the Bush-Quayle campaign, a Bond pal from way back, says that "he is notoriously and, on occasion, *unproductively* honest."

Atwater, by every account, had more of a head for grand strategy than Bond, more of a political intellect. The deficiency, perceived or real, subtly rankles Bond even as he offers this slighting self-appraisal of his teamwork with Atwater: "I wanted to be on the technical level and he did all the strategic genius stuff, which I didn't know diddly squat about."

1/2

Atwater and Bond were uneasy from the outset of the Reagan-Bush administration. Atwater was a White House political operative; Bond was then-Vice President Bush's deputy chief of staff, before moving to the RNC as political director and No. 2. In the heat of one bitter dispute in 1982, Atwater warned Atwater he'd rat him to higher-ups about something. Atwater called Bond to his office and tentatively handed him an index card upon which had been typed the dictionary

definition of "to threaten." Bond says he replied, "Damn right I am."

By 1983 Bond had bailed out and set up his own political consultancy, and began to make big money—\$200,000 in 1984, he says. By 1985, Atwater had "gotten the franchise, as it were," meaning he and not Bond had been chosen to be Bush's main political man for the 1988 race. But in '86 Bond got a call from James A. Baker III, Bush's personal vizier, ordering him to make his peace with Atwater and get aboard the team.

The two snorting bulls met. After several testy exchanges of "I don't trust you" and "I don't trust you either," and "I don't like you" and "I don't like you either," they pledged an uneasy truce. "The first guy to screw the other gets fired" was the "deal" between them, Bond says. "But from that moment on, we really were good friends."

One symbol of their working friendship was a promise from Atwater, early on, that Bond would become head of the RNC after the 1988 election. But two weeks before the election, Atwater revealed a change of plans.

"Hell, man, look," he said to Bond. "You know it ain't in the cards for you to be national chairman. I want to be national chairman."

Apparently the "deal" was inoperative. Bond was a good soldier, and not for the last time. He tends to bury his meaner impulses for the sake of collegiality, but a friend says that when it comes to slights and grudges, "he has a memory like an elephant."

For his part, Bond says that in late 1988 "I was not exactly in the best of standing." He had been unable to spare Bush a nearly ruinous third-place finish in the February Iowa caucuses. He started another political consulting firm with former Reagan aide Frank Donatelli. (He's still a partner in the firm, and a beneficiary of its investments, though he has recused himself from all client contact while at the RNC.)

Atwater fell sick in early 1990, a brain tumor diagnosed, and by December his prospects for survival looked bleak. (He died in March 1991.) Before short-lists of successor candidates could circulate, out of nowhere—at least nowhere Bond had seen—William Bennett got the nod.

The president's chief of staff, John Sununu, "moved very fast to plug that one," Bond says. Then Bennett had his famous change of heart and dropped out a few weeks later, and suddenly Bond had another chance he hadn't anticipated.

This time he lobbied for the job, though not directly with the president. ("It would have been unseemly," Bond says.) He talked to a bedridden Atwater three times. "I promised this to

you before, and I took it, and . . . I'm not going to make it," the doomed operative told his friend. Bond's dark eyes blink and glisten as he finishes recalling this.

Time passed, and more time. Bond's name floated in the press. But no decision was forthcoming from a president preoccupied by war. A White House friend urged Bond to call Sununu, who held the reins on this appointment. Bond was skeptical, and should have been. "He was as cold as ice," Bond recalls. "He listened, and he said, 'I'm very happy to know of your interest and I'll pass it along to the president. It's his decision.'"

A look of ripe disgust seizes Bond's otherwise pleasant face. He all but whispers: "I felt like saying to him: 'What . . . is . . . your . . . problem?' The whole conversation took about 30 seconds. I was just dumbfounded."

A story appeared on the Associated Press wire that Bond was withdrawing from consideration. He was quoted as telling a friend he was tired of being Sununu's "punching bag." (Sununu did not respond to requests for comment.)

Clayton Yeutter was named to the job four days later. But by year's end, with Sununu gone, Yeutter was apparently needed in White House domestic policy councils. So the RNC job was open again, and this time there was no delay or apparent hesitation. Bond would have the job he'd long been promised.

Matalin, who worked closely with both Bond and Atwater through the '80s, observes: "I can say that Rich feels a moral obligation to fulfill his current duties in a manner Lee would approve of."

The question is, which Lee?

A Bed-Wetting Trilateralist?

Sununu's "problem" with Bond, the RNC chair speculates, may have been that ~~he's~~ "too liberal." True?

Those who know him are hard put to answer. "I don't think I could tell you what Rich Bond's philosophy is," says Eddie Mahe, political consultant and his former boss at the RNC. "I just really don't know."

Bond's pedigree is suspect. Look at the tickets he's punched. Gerald Ford (New England field operative, 1976). Bill Green, moderate Manhattan congressman (press secretary, 1978-79). Sen. Charles McC. Mathias, renegade war horse of liberal Republicanism (campaign manager, 1980). Coming up through the ranks in the Nassau County Republican organization, Bond was associated with the party of Nelson Rockefeller, *bete noire* of the conservative movement that slew it, seemingly forever, in the '70s.

He calls his political heritage a "box." He says, joking but not joking, that he'll always be known as a "classic bed-wetting Trilateralist." (The Trilateral Commission has long been a familiar bogey on the far right.)

If he's not that liberal caricature, then what manner of Republican is he?

Bond, who talks easily on less sensitive subjects, is careful answering. His dark stare—when what his wife, Valerie, calls the "black Irish" in him is most pronounced—deepens.

"I've got my own personal opinions, but people choose for the most part not to ask me what they are. I think I'd probably be far more conservative on issues than anybody would ever imagine," he says. "Even though I am by experience and by religious conviction pro-life, I'm not going to put up a litmus test on that issue for the Republican Party for one nanosecond. . . . I happen to be very strongly for the death penalty. I happen to be very strong for voluntary prayer in school. I prayed in school myself for 16 years."

He is, in other words, a George Bush Republican—has been ever since he first saw Bush, as RNC chair in 1973, "distancing the party from Watergate." Bond is a Republican with an "innate suspicion of government" yet "mindful that government has its proper place." He says average people "just don't get their money's worth on any level of government."

The RNC chieftain figured this out early. Young Richie Bond was fresh out of Fordham, working as a press assistant in the patronage-larded offices of Nassau County Executive Ralph G. Caso in Mineola. (His draft lottery number kept him out of the war.) Suspecting that voters might not like a local property tax increase Caso had shepherded through, Bond wrote his maximum leader a confidential memo urging him to take a \$2,500 pay cut, give up his Cadillac limousine, his cabana at Nassau Beach.

Caso, amazingly, promptly stood up and did just that, calling on county officials and state and national ones to follow suit.

Richie Bond, 24, had a few moments to swell with pride, but he quickly found out that he had become not a hero but "a pariah. Every one of the guys who hired me wouldn't speak to me." In the final indignity, Caso himself quickly tired of riding around in the back of a police car instead of a limo and taking heat from his fellow cops.

So Bond was out of there. He took the first of several '70s sabbaticals from politics, this one to work as a clam digger on the Great South Bay of Long Island, mucking about in the water all day and letting his ponytail grow.

Cooling Jets

Rich Bond may be a product of the Nassau Republican organization, but his great tests, the great watersheds of his life, took place in the 2,531 precincts of Iowa.

Drawn by the political opportunity Jimmy Carter had demonstrated among Democrats four years before—using the Iowa caucuses as a springboard to credibility—in the summer of 1979 the first Bush presidential campaign moved its eager recruit and his brand-new wife and her young son to Ames, Iowa. While Valerie Bond took college courses and they tried to have a child of their own, Rich Bond settled down to 18-hour days of takeout food and vitamins, fueling an effort to move George Bush out of the asterisk range in the polls.

"He got George Bush in every nook and cranny of the state and took names," recalls GOP operative Tom Syndhorst, who eight years later followed the same plan on behalf of Bob

role. "There wasn't a soul they ran into that they didn't put into the system and make sure George Bush called them and wrote them."

And, as a fellow Bushie puts it, "they used blue smoke-and-mirrors tricks to demonstrate surprising shows of strength." The Ames straw ballot of May 1979 is the classic, if not the first, case of this prestidigitation. Suspecting there would be a poll of guests at a big state party dinner, they made sure tickets for the event got into friendly hands. Grindingly labor-intensive task, childish simple idea. Bush won the poll, and national pundits obligingly took note. In the end, Bush was also the caucus winner—his first and, as it turned out, his last hurrah.

It was in the raw tumult of that victory night in 1980 that Bond picked up one of the madly jangling phones at campaign headquarters to hear the voice of Becky Smith, Barbara Bush's aide, calling from the Des Moines airport. Their small plane had just arrived, early, and no one was there to meet them with a car. Bond, frazzled, kept putting her on hold to answer other phones.

As Mrs. Bush recalls that night, "There we were standing on an absolutely blackened tarmac. . . . So I just took the phone from Becky, and I heard Rich screaming, 'Will you just cool your jets!' " (Only Bond had used the most common vulgar adjective to modify "jets.")

"Rich Bond, are you talking to me?" Mrs. Bush replied.

"Oh, Mrs. Bush, I am sooooo sorry," he says he told her.

"You've never heard such a change," she says. As he tried to explain, Bond recalls, Mrs. Bush hung up.

"Ever since, she's called me her cool-jet friend," Bond says, and the president likes to tell the story too, usually leaving out the naughty adjective. "It'll probably be on his grave-stone, poor guy," chuckles Mrs. Bush.

Bond didn't savor the Iowa victory for more than a few hours. Late that night, after the celebrations, he took Valerie to the hospital, where she miscarried. A year later, the day Ronald Reagan was shot, they would lose a 10-week-old baby boy who'd been born premature.

Eight years later Bond went back to Iowa, under less auspicious circumstances, and to less impressive effect.

Initially working for the Bush campaign from Washington, Bond accompanied the Bushes to his old stomping ground for what they hoped would be a big show of support at a candidate cattle-show in Ames. But it turned out to be a rout, at the humiliating hands of Pat Robertson's forces.

On the plane home, the story goes, as Atwater and Bond hung their heads in shame, it was Mrs. Bush who suggested in no uncertain terms that Bond should forthwith return to Iowa and make another miracle happen.

He couldn't, as it turned out. But in his strenuous trying, he and state campaign chairman George Wittgraf got desperate enough, and mad enough at Bob Dole's snide imprecations about Bush, to put out a press release that raised questions about a blind trust set up for Elizabeth Dole, the senator's wife. The flap ended several days later with Dole confronting Bush on the floor of the Senate, waving the press release in his face and demanding an apology, which he later got.

"We wanted to see if we could get Dole to pop off," Bond says now. But, he says with admiration, "Dole spun it brilliantly—that we were insulting Mrs. Dole." Anyway, "it really pissed Bush off . . . and embarrassed him. . . . It was just something I'm really sorry about. It was one of those things where the joy of the hard punch can backfire."

The Agony of the Hit

Though his job makes him only a weekend visitor, the place Rich Bond now calls home is Shelter Island, N.Y., inside the forked land's end of easternmost Long Island. There he and Valerie built a magazine-spread stunner of a house four years ago, and there he repairs for relaxation.

Relaxation, for Bond, bears an uncanny resemblance to competition. On a blustery cold Sunday afternoon, he's running around playing touch football with Shelter Island friends, most of them less than half his age. In his spare time, he plays, or plays at: golf, tennis, racquetball, basketball, poker, Chinese checkers, "pickleball," croquet, badminton, darts, bumper pool, tubing, horseshoes, pinball, Nok hockey, hearts.

Ten of these games and exertions make up a crazed decathlon played here on the banks of West Neck Creek every year. Bond's annual "Repo Man" invitational is named after the movie, in which a character says,

"Repo men are very intense." No need to wonder why the name stuck to this Repo Man.

Cooling off with a bottle of Gatorade after the game, Bond talks about the perils of intensity. And the story he tells about Berkley Bedell, the former Democratic congressman from Iowa, is the story he wants told about Rich Bond.

The year was 1986, and Bond's client was Fred Grandy, the actor turned politician, who had announced for Bedell's northwest Iowa seat. Somehow Bond remembered that 12 years before, Bedell, as a challenger, had called for a 12-year limit on congressional service. "I went to the Library of Congress and read every damned statement he'd made in the campaign and I found it."

Grandy, announcing his candidacy, read the unearthed statement, and not long after Bedell quit the race. The congressman said he suffered from Lyme disease, a strange and debilitating affliction transmitted by ticks.

As Bond recalls Bedell's seeming alibi, he twists his face into a derisive scoff. But then he turns solemn.

"I never believed for a second he had the disease," Bond says of Bedell. Now he knows something about its crippling effects. "Both my kids caught Lyme disease on Shelter Island," he says, and he fears he and Valerie will get it too. "At the age of 56, Bedell must have been going through hell."

Again Bond says, "You can experience the joy of the hit, but sometimes the hit isn't the truth." He looks rueful. "The snap and final judgments you make when you're younger just don't make as much sense when you get a little older," he says.

Still, he thinks to add this caveat, lest anybody doubt Rich Bond's fiber. "If I get the message tomorrow from George Bush that he wants me to hammer someone, they . . . will . . . be . . . hammered."

Lee Atwater knew how to hammer, and at the end he came to know regret too. Rich Bond, having known both, is on his own.

WASHINGTON PEOPLE TALK By Janis Johnson

Figure in House Bank scandal has D.C. asking: 'Who shot J.R.?'

Despite Washington's notoriety as the nation's murder capital, the talk of the town is just one incident: "Who Shot J.R.?" asks the headline in Capitol Hill's Roll Call newspaper. The J.R. in question is House Sergeant-at-Arms Jack Russ, who claims he was shot through the cheek during a robbery near the Capitol last week. But rumors of a suicide attempt or a bid for sympathy, which he angrily denies, "have really taken hold" in the Capitol, confided one insider. Russ ran the private House Bank in which legislators bounced thousands of checks, and Russ himself is cited in a House ethics committee report for bouncing \$56,100 in checks. So far he has survived two dressing-downs by the House leadership, but many wonder how long he is for the job.

Front office appeal

■ You could tell it was a high-rolling crowd at Duke Zeibert's power restaurant

when Washington Redskins coach Joe Gibbs asked to borrow an airplane from any generous soul. But the Super Bowl champ wanted help ferrying celebrities, not football players. Gibbs wants to sell out the Kennedy Center concert hall (2,700 seats at \$100-\$1,000) for his fourth fund-raiser for the Joe Gibbs Charities Foundation, which supports his home for troubled teens. George and Barbara Bush have accepted for the March 30 "Country Music Special" starring Charley Pride and Larry Gatlin and the Gatlin Brothers. One day, Gibbs said, "I'm going to be sitting on some corner saying I used to coach the Washington Redskins, and some old guy is going to say, 'Yeah, sure.'" What will really live on "is helping some young person change his life."

Let us entertain you

■ Director Sydney Pollack was stuck with defending Hollywood before a crowd of

conservative intellectuals wanting more morally uplifting films. "Who is to be society's moral policeman?" asked Pollack (*Tootsie*, *Absence of Malice*, *Out of Africa*). He posed the question before a conference on pop culture at the American Enterprise Institute. Said Pollack: "Given the choice I'd rather make the whole world cry than [satisfy] 17 intellectuals in a classroom. . . . I do realize I have responsibilities, but I don't believe they are as a moralist, a preacher or a purveyor of values. . . . Good movies challenge us, provoke us, make us mad, they present points of view we don't agree with. They force us to clarify our positions in opposition to them. . . . and they do this best when they provide an experience and not a polemic."

Power, at ease

■ For a quick guide to the haunts of the powerful, check out the slightly irrever-

ent *50 Maps of Washington, D.C.* (Spade & Archer).

Contributor-gossip-hostess Diana McLelland lists such hangouts of the rich and famous as:

The Embassy Row Hotel (Prince Charles' private visits), Four Seasons Hotel ("moguls, superstars, Eurotrash"), the Hay-Adams Hotel ("White House heavies, pollsters and political persuaders"), La Colline restaurant (Capitol Hill schmoozers, such as Ted Kennedy), Loews L'Enfant Plaza Hotel (low-profile Concorde-set lobbyists), Madison Hotel (heads of state, sheiks and Washington Post sources in the "hush-hush bar"), the "social" Safeway in still-fashionable Georgetown and the Watergate Health Club, for visiting Kennedy Center stars and "bashful billionaires."

NEWSTAB Wed 11-Mar-92 14:23 EST

AM-COLLEGE

MOST COLLEGE STUDENTS BELIEVE IN GOD - POLL

NEW YORK, Reuter - Most American college students believe in God, about half would like to be teachers (if the yearly salary were \$100,000), and three-quarters plan to vote in November elections, according to a poll conducted for Esquire magazine.

In its first survey of 1,000 college students on 27 campuses, Esquire revealed that American students think of themselves as socially conservative -- they drink less, practice safe sex and consider Barbara Bush hipper than Nancy Reagan.

The article is in the April issue of the magazine, which went on sale Wednesday.

But more than half (52.5 percent) have said they have done something that "given today's standards" would prohibit them from running for public office.

Seventy-nine percent said they plan to vote in the presidential elections.

But only 6.4 percent said they would pick politician as the preferred job "if you could make \$100,000 a year" at a list of five possibilities.

The highest number, 49.4 percent, chose teacher, 17.1 percent chose lawyer, 12.8 percent chose doctor, and 11.3 percent selected investment banker.

Two thirds of them have had sexual relationships with someone of a different race, and half their parents approve of bi-racial dating.

To the question, "is there a God?" 73.2 percent responded yes, and 73.4 percent among the men and 87.2 percent among the women said they believed "we are placed on this planet to serve some greater purpose."

The poll was conducted for Esquire by KBKG Youth and respondents were asked to fill out a written survey.

The Reliable Source

By Lois Romano

WE'VE HEARD THAT...

■ First Daughter **Doro Bush LeBlond** has told friends that she and mom **Barbara X Bush** will be looking for wedding dresses in New York. LeBlond and beau **Bobby Koch** have set a June 27 wedding date.

■ **Michael Lewis**, author of the best-selling Wall Street book "Liar's Poker," has been hired by the New Republic as a senior editor to write on economics.

■ A few of **Robert Mosbacher's** pals, and wife **Georgette**, threw a large surprise 65th-birthday party for the Bush campaign czar last night at trendy Red Sage. The A-plus list went on to a small dinner at the Jefferson.

■ Former White House social secretary **Gahl Hodges Burt** has been named to the newly created position of director of community relations at Saks Jandel.

■ Director **Steven Spielberg** and his wife, actress **Kate Capshaw**, have a new addition to their brood: a son, **Sawyer**, born Tuesday in Los Angeles.

■ A labor intensive group gathered at the Sheraton Carlton last night to fete **Felice Schwartz**, renowned advocate of women in the work force, for her new book. Among those at the party were former labor



BY FRANK JOHNSTON—THE WASHINGTON POST

Robert and Georgette Mosbacher, who celebrated at the Red Sage; below, **Michael Lewis**, bound for the New Republic.



secretary **Ann McLaughlin** and current Secretary **Lynn Martin**.

■ **Bob Kerrey**, who in his exit speech compared himself to the Jamaican bobsled team—a lot of spirit, but not very many medals—received a T-shirt Tuesday from the team's captain.

■ Citibank has filed papers with the New York State Supreme Court seeking to attach the assets of **Bert Lance**, once Jimmy Carter's budget director, charging that Lance has failed to pay his \$50,000 Visa bill. "I have had tough financial problems, and I'm not proud of it," Lance said in a January deposition.

BY MICHAEL SCHWARTZ FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

The Boston Globe

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1992

Native son strong, state turnout moderate

By Renee Loth
GLOBE STAFF

Buoyed by a higher-than-average turnout in his home city of Lowell, Paul E. Tsongas cruised to an easy victory in yesterday's Massachusetts primary.

But Tsongas' predicted dominance of the race kept turnout in the rest of the state he served as US senator to a moderate 35 percent, according to Secretary

of State Michael J. Connolly.

On the Republican side, President Bush held down challenger Patrick Buchanan's showing to that of irritant rather than threat.

With 83 percent of the Massachusetts vote tallied, Tsongas led the Democratic field with 67 percent of the vote. Former California Gov. Jerry Brown had 14 percent, and Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton trailed with 11 percent. Consumer

advocate Ralph Nader had 4 percent.

Tsongas, who earlier yesterday attended the funeral of a Florida motorcycle officer who was killed Friday while riding in the candidate's motorcade, accepted his biggest percentage victory of the primary season at a party at the Sheraton Inn Lowell.

Tsongas said his message of economic growth has caught on. "It's going to be

a new politics in America," he told the crowd.

Tsongas was expected to win most of the state's 94 Democratic delegates.

Among the Republicans, with 90 percent of the vote counted, Bush had 66 percent of the vote, while Buchanan was showing 28 percent support. Former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke had 2 percent.

The Bush campaign had been well-represented in Massachusetts over the past few days by Vice President Dan Quayle, who stumped through the state Monday; by Gov. Weld, who greeted commuters on behalf of the president at South Station yesterday morning; and by members of Bush's family who live here.

Although Quayle said Monday that Weld had told him "not to worry," Buchanan had put some effort into Massachusetts and Rhode Island. The Buchanan campaign ran the same advertisements here that proved so effective in New Hampshire, mocking Bush for breaking his "no new taxes" pledge.

At the Boston Park Plaza Hotel, Lt. Gov. Paul Cellucci declared the race for the Republican nomination essentially over. "Hasta la vista, Pat!" Cellucci told the cheering crowd.

"The Republicans of Massachusetts have once again come through for the president," Cellucci said, recalling the 1988 Massachusetts primary in which Bush won a squeaker in the predawn hours.

With the Democratic presidential race a foregone conclusion, attention shifted to the battle for second place,

where Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton and former California Gov. Jerry Brown appeared to be closely matched.

Brown draws crowd

Brown drew a surprisingly large crowd of 2,000 to an election eve rally on Boston Common, and he was also expected to do well in Rhode Island, a state he won in his 1976 bid for the presidency.

Clinton did not campaign in the Northern states but relied on surrogates who have endorsed him, such as former Attorney General Francis X. Bellotti and a large group of state legislators.

Also on the ballot in Massachusetts was a "no preference" line, which attracted at least one couple who voted at the Oak Square fire station in Brighton. Jane Murphy, who has lived in Brighton 17 years, said, "I voted for no preference because that's the way I feel about them. Come November I will have voted against somebody, not for somebody."

Stephanie Cheney also said she was undecided. "I haven't seen anybody who impresses me, or who I agree with," she said. Her roommate, Valerie May, said she voted for Tsongas "because he's a Democrat and he's not Bill Clinton," and because her father is also a Tsongas supporter.

Jerry McDermott, who has lived in Oak Square all of his 25 years, said he voted for Clinton, though he had been a supporter of Nebraska Sen. Bob Kerrey before he dropped out of the race last week.

"I like Paul Tsongas as a person, but I feel he'll be made mincemeat by Bush in a debate," he said.

McDermott voted for Bush over Dukakis in 1988, but he said he felt betrayed by the president's unwillingness to keep his promises. "I was taken in," he said.

Democrats also had the option in Massachusetts of choosing former Irvine, Calif., Mayor Larry Agran, perennial fringe candidate Lyndon LaRouche and Eugene McCarthy, a strong presidential candidate in 1968.

Nader, who campaigned in the state Monday and whose name appears first on the ballot, was expected to pick up some support as a protest candidate. Nader said his candidacy represents a choice for "none of the above."

"Unenrolled" voters increase

Voter discontent also could be measured in the increasing number of voters who are drifting away from their parties. The newest voter registration figures, which Connolly released Monday, showed an increase in the number of unenrolled voters, who are not affiliated with either party. Unenrolled voters in the state now total 1.44 million, or 46 percent, up by 5,000 over last year.

There are 1.26 million registered Democrats, Connolly said, or 40.35 percent. Republicans total 425,444, or 13.5 percent.

Unenrolled voters may face some confusion at the polls when they try to return to their former "independent" status after voting in yesterday's primary. Because an obscure group of candidates received 3 percent of the vote in the 1990 gubernatorial election, the Independent Voters' Party earned status as a bona fide third party this year. To remain free to choose either party

ballot in the September statewide primaries, voters must state their preference as "unenrolled."

A total of 38 delegates were at stake in the Republican primary, with a candidate having only to re-

ceive 2.631 percent of the vote to be eligible to win any delegates. The low threshold for Republicans led some to believe that Duke could be awarded a delegate.

The Democrats' 94 delegates will be allocated proportionally among the presidential candidates. A Democratic candidate needed to get at least 15 percent of the vote in one of the state's 11 congressional districts to win a delegate.

Election '92

Lingerie, oranges, burritos on campaign trail

Chicago Tribune

When Paul Tsongas headed for a South Miami, Fla., waterfront mall to shake hands with voters, an aide teased that he should go into the Victoria's Secret shop for a photo opportunity. "What's that?" said the former Massachusetts senator, obviously not up to date on lingerie.

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Jerry Brown arrived at Miami International Airport with a powerful hunger. He went straight to the vending machines and found a greasy-looking burrito that would have fulfilled his need—except he couldn't figure out how to put his dollar in the machine. It took a reporter to extract the burrito for

Election '92 notes

the former California governor.

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Inside the Miami Convention Center, the candidates were talking profoundly about what's wrong with the American health-care system. Outside, a temporary food stand was doing a booming business in hot dogs, sodas, coffee and cookies.

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X Nancy Reagan, it is said, started the tradition of rolling oranges down the aisle of the chartered campaign airplane as it ascended after takeoff. Tsongas took up where Nancy left off on a trip to

Tampa.

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In a recession, American Express is serious about those bills being paid on time. It has assigned a staff member to the Tsongas airplane to make sure that the reporters who climb aboard have good credit and a valid card with them. That's how the press is required to pay for its charter flights.

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When Tom Harkin decided to withdraw from the race Sunday night, one of the people he called was Tsongas. Although Tsongas declined to talk about the substance of any political discussion, he said: "I asked him to help me with my speaking style. He said he would try."

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 12, 1992

EXECUTIVE ORDER

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NATIONAL COMMISSION ON AMERICA'S URBAN FAMILIES

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, and in order to establish, in accordance with the provisions of the Federal Advisory Committee Act, as amended (5 U.S.C. App. 2), a commission on America's urban families, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Establishment. (a) There is established the National Commission on America's Urban Families ("Commission"). The Commission shall be composed of up to eight members appointed by the President.

(b) The President shall appoint a Chairman and Co-chairman from among the members of the Commission. The Chairman shall appoint an Executive Director.

Sec. 2. Functions. (a) The Commission shall:

- o examine the current condition of urban families;
- o consider how existing government policies and programs support or weaken the urban family structure;
- o evaluate the potential for integrating the delivery of government services in ways to strengthen urban families;
- o identify State, local, and Federal programs that have been successful in preserving and strengthening urban families;
- o analyze ways to improve private/nonprofit efforts to preserve and strengthen urban families; and
- o provide appropriate recommendations for government policies and programs and for actions by other institutions to strengthen families living in urban areas.

(b) The Commission shall make its report to the President on or before December 31, 1992.

Sec. 3. Administration. (a) The heads of executive agencies shall, to the extent permitted by law, provide the Commission such information as it may require for the purpose of carrying out its functions.

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(b) Members of the Commission shall serve without any compensation for their work on the Commission. However, they shall be entitled to travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized for persons serving intermittently in the Government service (5 U.S.C. 5701-5707 and 5 U.S.C. App. 2, 7(d)). The Executive Director shall be compensated at a rate of pay not to exceed the maximum allowable under section 7(d)(1)(A) of the Federal Advisory Committee Act, as amended.

(c) The Department of Health and Human Services shall provide the Commission with administrative services, facilities, staff, and other support services necessary for the performance of its functions. Funds for the operation of the Commission shall be provided by the Department of Health and Human Services.

(d) Notwithstanding any other Executive order, the functions of the President under the Federal Advisory Committee Act, as amended, which are applicable to the Commission, except that of reporting to the Congress, shall be performed by the Secretary of Health and Human Services in accordance with guidelines issued by the Administrator of General Services.

(e) The Commission shall terminate 30 days after submitting its report.

GEORGE BUSH

THE WHITE HOUSE,
March 12, 1992.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 12, 1992

TO AMEND THE GENERALIZED SYSTEM OF PREFERENCES

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BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

1. Pursuant to section 504(a)(1) of the Trade Act of 1974, as amended (the 1974 Act) (19 U.S.C. 2464(a)(1)), the President may withdraw, suspend, or limit the application of the duty-free treatment afforded under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) with respect to any article or any country after considering the factors set forth in sections 501 and 502(c) of the 1974 Act (19 U.S.C. 2461 and 2462(c)). Accordingly, after taking into account the factors set forth in sections 501 and 502(c) of the 1974 Act, I have determined that it is appropriate to withdraw the duty-free treatment afforded under the GSP to imports from Malaysia of vulcanized rubber thread and cord provided for in heading 4007.00.00 of the Harmonized Tariff Schedule of the United States (HTS).

2. Section 604 of the 1974 Act (19 U.S.C. 2483) authorizes the President to embody in the HTS the substance of the provisions of that Act, and of other acts affecting import treatment, and actions thereunder.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GEORGE BUSH, President of the United States of America, acting under the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including but not limited to sections 501, 502(c), 504(a)(1), and 604 of the 1974 Act, do proclaim that:

(1) In order to provide that Malaysia should no longer be treated as a beneficiary developing country with respect to HTS heading 4007.00.00 for purposes of the GSP, the Rates of Duty 1-Special subcolumn for HTS heading 4007.00.00 is modified: (i) by deleting the symbol "A" in parentheses, and (ii) by inserting the symbol "A*" in lieu thereof.

(2) In order to provide that Malaysia should no longer be treated as a beneficiary developing country with respect to HTS heading 4007.00.00 for purposes of the GSP, general note 3(c)(ii)(D) to the HTS is modified by adding, in numerical sequence, "4007.00.00 Malaysia".

(3) Any provisions of previous proclamations and Executive orders inconsistent with the provisions of this proclamation are hereby superseded to the extent of such inconsistency.

(4) The modifications to the HTS made by paragraphs (1) and (2) of this proclamation shall be effective with respect to articles both: (i) imported on or after January 1, 1976, and (ii) entered, or withdrawn from warehouse for consumption, on or after 15 days after the date of publication of this proclamation in the Federal Register.

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

GEORGE BUSH

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 12, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN CEREMONY FOR PRESIDENTIAL SECONDARY AWARDS
FOR EXCELLENCE IN SCIENCE AND MATH TEACHING

The Rose Garden

2:33 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Welcome to the chilly Rose Garden. I don't know whose idea this was, but -- (laughter.) In any event, we are just delighted to have you all here. And it's great to see Lynn Martin, our Secretary of Labor; Dr. Massey; Dr. Wong -- and most of all, let me welcome 108 very special men and women chosen from over one-quarter of a million secondary teachers in their fields. And congratulations to all of you in receiving this nation's highest honor for math and science teachers.

As teachers, you know firsthand what the spirit of innovation has brought to this country -- though we're not always ready for change. Sometimes I think that if Edison were to invent the light bulb today, newspapers would headline the story "Candle Industry Threatened." (Laughter.)

The one I like best, though, was one Lyndon Johnson used to tell about -- pointing down to the Potomac. He said, "If I walked across the Potomac, the press would say 'LBJ can't swim.'" (Laughter.)

You have shown the kind of excellence that will help this country meet the ambitious goals that we've set for our nation in this America 2000 education strategy -- goals worthy of the talent you have, and of the potential of these wonderful young kids that you teach. We know we've got to be competitive in math and science in a changing world. Our economic health -- our economic strength, our survival -- depend on how we educate ourselves to face the challenges of the next century.

We've called on our kids to be number one in the world in your subjects by the turn of the century. And it's teachers like you who will help us reach our goal, set an example, and help America to excel.

As you know, we're helping to develop world-class standards for national assessment in five core areas -- including math and science. And we've set a deadline for the first phase of the American Achievement Test: the start of the 1993-94 school year.

All told, we have requested more than \$2 billion in federal spending on math and science education for next year's budget. And if my math is correct -- and with this crowd it better be -- (laughter) -- \$768 million of that is for pre-college. That's an increase of 123 percent in the last three years.

But I believe that the single most important thing we in the federal government can do is to simply help you do your jobs. For instance, also in next year's budget, I have proposed an expanded program of federally-assisted training for math and science teachers, in part using federal labs -- federal laboratories and federal personnel.

MORE

Innovations like this will help us create a world-class corps of teachers.

We also want to bring new technology into the classroom, so that kids can interact with astronauts and explorers and scientists; so rural schools can have access to state-of-the-art resources; and so all American kids can be exposed to the cutting edge technologies and ideas that will shape their future.

The federal government can do a lot, we can do an awful lot, but we cannot do it all. Real excellence demands commitment from everyone in every community as we work to create a new generation of American schools. And together, we are literally going to reinvent the American school community by community, neighborhood by neighborhood, all across this country. You're showing us the way. You're leading. You're showing how we can break the mold, take our bearings by what works. And you're here today because you're not afraid to reach for excellence. And that's why I salute you all.

I salute winners like Julie Csongor, of Philadelphia,-- where's Julie? Somewhere, right there -- who fled the persecution of her native Hungary, unable to speak English. And now she gives of herself to a generation of American kids. And listen to this; she says, "I have my cake in my classroom every day. This award is the icing." Welcome and congratulations. (Applause.)

Well, I salute you and I envy you. And you share in our kids' sheer joy of learning, of making something work, of understanding the world.

Think of the scientist or engineer who will one day discover the cure for cancer, or who will use technology to push back the frontiers of space, maybe wipe out hunger. Today that man or woman is a student, maybe in your classroom. A kid who will catch a spark from you, a spark that will change his life, change her world. That's your gift. A teacher affects a lifetime.

I'm proud to be with you all here today because you demonstrate what it will take to make our students the best in the world. You encourage students by giving them direct hands-on experience. You foster curiosity not just in your students, but also in their parents and in your colleagues. You still have the joy of discovery, the excitement of optimism. And you still ask questions, and try new ways. Above all, you believe in your students and in the future of this country. And that is the spirit we all need.

We all know the real rewards of teaching aren't their certificates that you received here, but they are something much more important. Sir Thomas More described it in the play "A Man For All Seasons." And at one point, he suggests to a young man that he would make a fine teacher. "And if I was," the boy asks, "well, who would know about it?" And Sir Thomas replies: "You, your pupils, your friends, God -- not a bad public, that."

Well, thank you all so much for what you do for the young people of this country. Thank you for your excellence. And on behalf of a very grateful country, let me just extend my personal thanks also. Keep up the good work and the good works. And may God bless you all. And now get out of this cold so you can thaw out. Thank you all for being here. (Applause.)

END

2:40 P.M. EST

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 12, 1992

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Today I am signing into law H.R. 2092, the "Torture Victim Protection Act of 1991," because of my strong and continuing commitment to advancing respect for and protection of human rights throughout the world. The United States must continue its vigorous efforts to bring the practice of torture and other gross abuses of human rights to an end wherever they occur.

I regret that the legislation proposed by the Administration to implement the United Nations Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment has not yet been enacted. This proposed implementing legislation would provide a tougher and more effective response to the problem, putting in place for torturers the same international "extradite or prosecute" regime we have for terrorists. The Senate gave its advice and consent to the Torture Convention on October 27, 1990, but the United States cannot proceed to become a party until the necessary implementing legislation is in place. I again call upon the Congress to take prompt action to approve the Torture Convention implementing legislation.

I note that H.R. 2092 does not help to implement the Torture Convention and does present a number of potential problems about which the Administration has expressed concern in the past. This legislation concerns acts of torture and extrajudicial killing committed overseas by foreign individuals. With rare exceptions, the victims of these acts will be foreign citizens. There is thus a danger that U.S. courts may become embroiled in difficult and sensitive disputes in other countries, and possibly ill-founded or politically motivated suits, which have nothing to do with the United States and which offer little prospect of successful recovery.

Such potential abuse of this statute undoubtedly would give rise to serious frictions in international relations and would also be a waste of our own limited and already overburdened judicial resources. As I have noted in connection with my own Civil Justice Reform Initiative, there is too much litigation at present even by Americans against Americans. The expansion of litigation by aliens against aliens is a matter that must be approached with prudence and restraint. It is to be hoped that U.S. courts will be able to avoid these dangers by sound construction of the statute and the wise application of relevant legal procedures and principles.

These potential dangers, however, do not concern the fundamental goals that this legislation seeks to advance. In this new era, in which countries throughout the world are turning to democratic institutions and the rule of law, we must maintain and strengthen our commitment to ensuring that human rights are respected everywhere. I again call upon the Congress to make a real contribution to the fight against torture by enacting the implementing legislation for the Torture Convention so that we can finally ratify that important treaty.

Finally, I must note that I am signing the bill based on my understanding that the Act does not permit suits for alleged human rights violations in the context of United States military

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operations abroad or law enforcement actions. Because the Act permits suits based only on actions "under actual or apparent authority, or color of law, of any foreign nation," I do not believe it is the Congress' intent that H.R. 2092 should apply to United States Armed Forces or law enforcement operations, which are always carried out under the authority of United States law.

GEORGE BUSH

THE WHITE HOUSE,
March 12, 1992.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 12, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF STATE LEGISLATURES

Old Executive Office Building

5:12 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Let me salute those who preceded me. I guess -- has Dick Cheney been over here yet? And Sam Skinner, our Chief of Staff. And then the piece de resistance, our fabulous Secretary of HHS, Lou Sullivan, who is -- I mean that -- he's just doing a superb job for the country. But I'm pleased to be here. I remember last year being unable to show up. I think it was the aftermath of the storm -- of Desert Storm. But I'm glad to be here. Glad to see Bud Burke and Bill Pound and Bob Conner and Terry Anderson is just greeting us.

And last year, I think I owe you an apology for that. That Desert Storm, I think, was a triumph for our country. And I still believe that it holds an enduring lesson for how we in government can get things done. It's different, but there's some lessons that apply.

We saw a challenge. We met it with resolve. The subject, as you will recall, was debated vigorously. And our duty as Americans -- I think the country came together, seeing that our duty demanded nothing less than the action. But when the time came to act, partisanship was laid aside, and we put an end to the squabbling. And the job got done and Kuwait was liberated.

Incidentally, it is my judgment that that action, and I salute the people that participated in it, really restored credibility to the United States all around the world. I see it every single day that I interact with these foreign leaders.

So now I don't have to tell you all who are on the firing lines in your various states that we face a great challenge again today. We're in tough economic times. We owe it to our country to do all in our power to get the economy moving.

I am not gloomy about that, incidentally, Retail sales figures today were good. We've got some fundamentals that are getting in place, such as interest rates and inflation, that could be the forerunners of a very good recovery. But we've got to do something. So I take this getting the economy moving very seriously.

I don't believe there's any one single magic wand that can be waved to accelerate recovery. But I also know that by taking just a few common-sense steps -- and taking them now -- we can stimulate investment, help struggling businesses back to their feet, and put Americans to work.

And what will happen if we can do what I'm about to suggest to you, I think you're going to see a rapid restoration of confidence. One of the great problems we have in this country today is, even though unemployment, for example, is statistically far lower than it was 10 years ago in the recession of '82, the confidence isn't there. And I think that what I'm about to suggest would

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restore confidence if they saw that these things were going to be put into effect.

To free up investment capital, we've asked for a new investment tax credit. It's a tax allowance, really. And what it does is speed up depreciation on the front end and would encourage, therefore, the purchase of new capital equipment, which obviously means jobs. I still favor -- strongly favor -- a cut in the capital gains tax. I think that would create jobs. And I also think that would restore confidence. We remember that both Houses had a majority for that -- Democrats and Republicans supporting it a couple of years ago. We could never get it to a vote.

On the housing industry -- and I'm sure many are familiar with this one -- we've asked for a \$5,000 tax credit and that would be for the first-time homebuyers, and penalty-free withdrawals from IRAs for the first-time homebuyers. The homebuilders have enormously high estimates as to what the credit itself would do for the homebuying business. So I think these would have a stimulative effect.

When I submitted this plan to the Congress, I asked them, as you remember, to put aside the partisanship and try to get some action -- pass it 52 days. We set a deadline -- March 20th.

And so now we're back in the political wars, and they're fixing to send me a package that I simply cannot and will not sign. And there is a massive increase in taxes on that package. And I fully believe that a tax increase here would be a disaster for the economy. I think it would hurt our future competitiveness.

And I think that Congress -- I don't think they will, but they ought not to doubt my resolve on this particular veto, because if they send that tax-and-spend plan down here I have to veto it, send it back. And then possibly in the Senate we can get action because some of the -- I know we've got a bipartisan group here -- but some of the Democrat incentives are very close to what we're suggesting here. And if we can narrow this package down and just go for the incentives, then when we get into all this campaign stuff we can debate whether you need a middle-income tax or a tax break on the rich or a tax increase on the rich, or whatever it is. So I'm going to keep trying very hard to keep the focus on these incentives.

I know that you feel, and I know I feel, that people are tired of the business-as-usual from Washington. And I know it's burdening some of your state capitols, too. In that area, I'm talking -- business-as-usual -- I'm talking about these unfunded mandates.

Every time I meet with the governors or legislators, they say please help us keep Congress from inflicting mandates on us. Give us the flexibility. We might have a better answer in Mobile than they do in Moline, so let us try it our way. And I understand what happens when an unfunded mandate drops in on you from Washington. You've got to find the money, if you want to participate in it, to pay for somebody else's wish list -- either by cutting out programs that you have on the books that you feel might be better or raising taxes at the local level.

In other words, Washington takes the credit and you end up taking the heat. And this message has been drilled home to me over and over again. And I think these mandates are irresponsible and they cut right to the heart of the federal system.

So I've told the Congress if they pass a mandate, they just simply cannot pass the buck. They've got to pay for it without a tax increase.

Then there's other front in our fight to restore federalism. More than a year ago -- and I know you all have been

helpful working with us on this, and we're very grateful -- we proposed a \$15-billion block grant for the states, because I believe that states are the laboratories of democracy. And you need, and your constituents need, the flexibility and the freedom to experiment -- the freedom and flexibility that this grant would permit.

And the conference has been invaluable -- your conference -- in helping get this proposal in shape. We introduced it last year, but we're going to be introducing to Congress soon -- again. And I call on them to give it swift consideration.

The key -- we all know this -- is working together -- Republicans and Democrats, the federal and state governments, the legislative and executive branches.

And I would be the first to confess that I understand the pressures of an election year. But we know what we can do in those moments when we can set partisanship aside. And I think that's what the American people are calling out for right now. And we must not let them down.

So, again, my thanks to you all for your support of this block -- for those of you who are -- supporting this block grant concept, helping us fend off more and more mandates from the Congress, and those who are with us in the idea that what we need for this economy now is something that will in a laser-like way stimulate an economy that is really ready to move and really ready to recover.

I really do thank you. And I hope this hasn't been too inconvenient -- off and on again on the schedule. But I'm off early in the morning. And I just looked forward to having a chance to at least drop in and say hello. So thank you all very, very much. (Applause.)

END

5:21 P.M. EST

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 12, 1992

The President today announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be Members of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations for terms of two years:

GOVERNOR GEORGE A. SINNER, of North Dakota. This is a reappointment. Currently, Governor Sinner serves as the Governor of North Dakota.

BARBARA SHEEN TODD, of Florida. She would succeed James J. Snyder. Currently, Ms. Todd serves as Chairman of the Pinellas County Board of County Commissioners in Clearwater, Florida.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

March 12, 1992

Today the President recognized the volunteers of the Desert Chapter of the Brandeis University National Women's Committee of Palm Springs, California, as the 717th Daily Point of Light for the Nation. Some 200 volunteers, both men and women, serve as mentors for elementary students, contributing to a culture that fosters lifelong learning.

Throughout the United States, the Brandeis University National Women's Committee has 55,000 members in 115 chapters. The Desert Chapter consists of local retirees who range in age from 55 to 72. Over 200 volunteers tutor children in math each week at Sunny Sands and Cathedral City elementary schools. They have adopted the "HOSTS" (Help One Student to Succeed) approach to tutoring, through which the tutor works one to one with a child, focusing on specially selected reading assignments. The volunteers and the children concentrate on several aspects of developmental learning: phonetics, vocabulary building, oral reading, skill lessons, and computer programs to reinforce their current knowledge and achievement levels.

Mentoring relationships and tutoring sessions help HOSTS students acquire skills and learn more rapidly. According to the most recent test results, participating students improved their reading levels from 36 percent to 78 percent. Serving as surrogate parents for the children, the volunteers raise self-esteem and hope among them. As the first Brandeis chapter to be involved in the "HOSTS" approach, the Desert Chapter is helping others adopt the programs across the country.

The President salutes the volunteers of the Desert Chapter of the Brandeis University National Women's Committee for exemplifying his belief that, "From now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others."

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 12, 1992

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

The President and King Hussein met for approximately one hour in the Oval Office. Also attending the meeting were Secretary Baker, General Scowcroft, and Jordanian Prime Minister Bin Shaker. Following the meeting, the President and the King and their respective staffs had a working lunch in the Residence.

There was considerable discussion of the peace process. The President stressed the importance of all parties continuing to participate in the Madrid process. The two agreed to continue to consult closely, both about ways to solve remaining procedural issues affecting both the bilateral and multilateral talks and on how best to advance the peace process more generally.

On the question of Iraq, the two leaders agreed on the importance of full Iraqi compliance with all Security Council resolutions. King Hussein said that Jordan would continue to do its part. President Bush and King Hussein also agreed that the United States and Jordan would continue to consult closely on questions relating to Iraq and the Gulf war aftermath.

King Hussein also raised the matter of Jordan's economic situation, which has been made more difficult by the more than 300,000 men, women and children who have entered Jordan from the Gulf. The President told the King that the United States would continue to do what it could to help Jordan, both directly and via international financial institutions.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 12, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate Edward J. Damich, of Virginia, to be a Commissioner of the Copyright Royalty Tribunal for a term of seven years. He would succeed J.C. Argetsinger. Currently, Mr. Damich serves as a Professor at the George Mason University School of Law in Arlington, Virginia.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 12, 1992

MESSAGE BY THE PRESIDENT

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St. Patrick's Day, 1992

It gives me great pleasure to send greetings to all those who are celebrating St. Patrick's Day.

When we reflect on the extraordinary life and lasting influence of St. Patrick, it is easy to understand why the observance of this day has become a cherished annual tradition, in the Emerald Isle and wherever the sons and daughters of Erin have made their home.

Although St. Patrick originally came to Ireland as a captive of pirates and spent six years in slavery before his daring escape by sea, he later returned and became one of the greatest figures in the history of the Celtic peoples. The man who once described himself as "the least of all the faithful" bravely made his way back to Ireland to bring Christianity to the island's inhabitants. Through St. Patrick's influence, the Celtic people added to their ancient history and culture a new and even richer legacy of spiritual faith and human values.

Today, the Irish heritage is as grand as the many stories and legends that have been inspired by the life of St. Patrick. That is why, on March 17th, we not only remember a beloved saint but also celebrate the many contributions that Irish Americans have made to this country, through their unique traditions and folklore and through their many accomplishments in civic and political life. These have been evident from the earliest days of our Republic, when nine men of Irish origin joined in signing the Declaration of Independence. This is a fitting time to salute them and all who have followed them in carrying forward the hard work of freedom.

Barbara joins me in wishing all Irish Americans, actual and honorary, a very happy St. Patrick's Day. God bless you.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 12, 1992

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

The President spoke with Prime Minister Demirel of Turkey today on the escalating crisis between Armenia and Azerbaijan. The President is concerned about the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and calls on the parties to declare an immediate cease fire, so that they can attempt to resolve their differences peacefully.

The involvement of the CSCE in the crisis in Nagorno-Karabakh reflects the deep concern of the international community about the violence that threatens to scar this region for generations to come. The parties must not seek to gain a temporary military advantage during a time of great uncertainty and heightened tensions. We call on them to exercise restraint even in the face of apparent provocation. The bloodshed must end.

The United States joins Turkey, Russia, and other countries in calling for an immediate cease fire and for Armenia and Azerbaijan to cooperate with the CSCE to put a peaceful end to this growing tragedy.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 12, 1992

The President today announce his intention to designate J. Michael Farrell, of the District of Columbia, to be Chairman of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science. Mr. Farrell has been a Member of the Commission since October 17, 1990. Currently, he serves as a Partner with the law firm of Manatt, Phelps, Rothenberg & Phillips in Washington, D.C.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 12, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate Vicki Ann O'Meara, of Illinois, to be an Assistant Attorney General for Land and Natural Resources at the United States Department of Justice. She would succeed Richard Burleson Stewart.

Since 1988, Ms. O'Meara has served as a Partner with the law firm of Jones, Day, Reavis & Pogue in Chicago, Illinois. Prior to this, she served as Deputy General Counsel for Litigation and Regional Operations at the United States Environmental Protection Agency in Washington, D.C., 1987-1988; and as a Special Assistant to the White House Counsel, 1986-1987.

Ms. O'Meara was graduated from Cornell University (B.A., 1979); Northwestern University Law School (J.D., 1982); and George Washington University (M.A., 1987). She was born May 13, 1957 in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Ms. O'Meara served in the United States Army, 1982-1986. She has one child and resides in Evanston, Illinois.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 12, 1992

The President today signed the following legislation:

H.R. 4113, which authorizes the immediate transfer of the U.S.S. LEXINGTON, an obsolete training aircraft carrier, to the Corpus Christi Area Convention and Visitors Bureau in Corpus Christi, Texas.

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THE WHITE HOUSE **BULLETIN**

BULLETIN BROADCASTING NETWORK, 309 CAMERON ST., ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314 (703) 684-2020

MEMORANDUM FOR MARIA SHEEHAN
MEDIA AFFAIRS
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: TODAY'S BRIEFING

DATE: THURSDAY, MARCH 12, 1992 - 12:30 PM EDT

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SINCE THE MORNING PAPERS:

- o The Israeli Ministry of Defense is denying reports claiming Israel sold a Patriot missile to China. The Ministry said this morning: "Israel did not transport a Patriot missile or technology of it to China. The reports on this were untrue and totally baseless."
- o Financial news as of 12:30 PM EDT:
 - DOW (30 Industrials): Down 1 point to 3208 on a volume of 102 million shares.
 - Retail sales rose 1.3 percent in February, following an upwardly revised 2.1 percent increase in January.
 - First-time jobless claims rose by 27,000 to 459,000 during the week ending February 29.

IN THE WHITE HOUSE AND AROUND TOWN:

- o This morning President Bush had "a series of meetings with members of Congress to talk about maintaining the firewalls in the Budget Act," reported White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater. According to Fitzwater: "There is an attempt now to break down the firewalls in terms of allowing defense money to be transferred into other programs. And we believe, principally for two reasons -- one is to maintain deficit reduction, the other is to maintain adequate levels of defense spending -- that we should not do that. And the President's had a series of meetings with members of Congress to get support for that position." When asked about OMB Director Darman's suggestions in the Administration's budget that the President might consider breaking the firewalls, Fitzwater responded: "Well, I don't know what he has suggested, but we do not want to break the firewall. We've told everybody that. I haven't seen all of his ideas, but I know that our position is we do not want to break the firewalls. ... I suggest you ask him about it because our position is we do not want to break the firewall."
- o As the vote in the House over disclosing all names of those Members of Congress involved in the check-kiting scandal looms, sources on Capital Hill this morning fear that new damaging stories will soon emerge. Sources say the vote is currently scheduled for tomorrow, but could be rescheduled for Monday. According to both Democratic and Republican sources, concern on the Hill is beginning to

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Paul Roellig, Publisher William Armistead, Managing Editor Richard Reed, Political Editor

focus not just on which Members of Congress had a behavioral pattern of bouncing checks, but on what those Members did with the money during the "float period." There are increasing reports from Capitol Hill that in many instances, the money went beyond household expenses into investments and re-election activities. "We are talking about behavior that would be considered felonious if you or I ever did anything like this," said one source. "It's a powder keg. Anybody who votes against full-disclosure on this issue is risking their seat, regardless of how popular they might be now."

- o **President Bush must lead a campaign of "institutional reform", beginning with the Congress of the United States, but proceeding through the nation's welfare system, educational system, and legal system, if he is to win re-election in November** agree several prominent Republican strategists and White House officials. Moreover, a consensus is emerging at least at the periphery of the campaign to eschew temptations to re-define Bush's first term and instead focus on defining the next one. "Forget about discussing any 'accomplishments' for now," said one strategist. "The only accomplishments that could be politically decisive for him are those that he convinces the public he's going to achieve. The President doesn't have a Clinton problem or a Buchanan problem as much as he has a Bush problem."

While both President Bush and Vice President Quayle can legitimately claim credit for initiating some reforms, there is increasing frustration among GOP strategists and other Bush loyalists over the campaign's failure to recognize the notion of "institutional reform" as the powerful political force. It is a theme, they argue, not only capable of capitalizing on the increasingly intense distrust and cynicism with which most Americans view Congressional behavior, but which, perhaps more importantly, neatly answers the question; "Why should George Bush be given four more years?" "I think the theme could be credible with people," said a prominent GOP strategist regularly in touch with the Bush-Quayle high command. "The President needs to say: 'Look, we had our hands full. We made history. And now we have a chance to do some things we didn't get done.'"

While many GOP strategists are concerned that the Bush campaign continues to search for a rationale with political appeal for another four years, some of the President's political advisors argue that the President is, in fact, running on a platform of institutional reform. "We are running on that," said a senior advisor. "If people look at the President's State of the Union, if they look at his stump speeches, and our television commercials, that's what we talk about. Welfare reform, educational reform, and legal reform are all in there." And the advisor insists the most significant component of "institutional reform" is federal spending. "Part of the reform is federal spending," said a senior Bush advisor. "It's got to be a priority. Everybody in America, except the most hard-core liberals, agree the level of federal spending is the biggest reason for the country's economic problems. And on that, we have the high ground."

But other presidential advisors who advocate stronger emphasis on reform suggest its strategic value is still the focus of intense debate. Moreover, they argue the victories of those favoring institution reform have won only isolated victories. At a minimum, polls would suggest that if Bush aides have reached a consensus that institutional reform will be the campaign's "umbrella theme", it is a closely guarded secret. The State of the Union's objectives notwithstanding, it is difficult to find evidence that voters viewed the address as a clarion call for institutional change. In the meantime, polls also make clear the task of rationalizing another Bush term continues to challenge even a significant number of Republicans. And in what has become a familiar assault, much of the blame, GOP strategists argue, rests with the President and his closest aides. "Bush has always had a problem with this 'vision thing', said a leading GOP consultant, adding that as early as 1988, key Presidential strategists purposely embarked on a course designed to "put the President's program out there without telling anybody we're doing it, and then we'll say 'we've got it.'"

As for those optimistic about George Bush's chances for re-election, conversations with several GOP strategists continue to reveal an abiding faith in the Democrat's failure to nominate a plausible President. What is new, however, is the degree to which Republicans both inside and outside the campaign worry that, absent a tough, institution reform-oriented vision for the next four years, through which specific reforms could be advanced, it might not be long before a second Bush Administration is viewed as equally unacceptable.

- o **A push for larger Institutional reform is more Important than the day-to-day campaign tactics, argues one Bush-Quayle official.** While not entering into any discussion over which Presidential advisor is arguing for which course of action, Bush-Quayle '92 Counselor Jim Pinkerton, who formally served in the Bush White House as the Director of Policy Planning, said this morning: "The day-to-day tactics are less important than the overall strategy, which is to show the American people that George Bush understands the problems confronting the country when it comes to the failure of fundamental institutions to educate their children properly, to provide health care, to provide [a working] legal system. Issues like educational choice rethink the proposition that has been dominant the last few decades that wise bureaucrats can benevolently tell people what to do and it will work out well. We have learned better. The argument against centralized bureaucracy is stronger in 1992 than it was in 1980, for the simple reason that government is bigger. The system we have now is less equipped to solve the problems this country faces than it was 12 years ago. We are going to do something about it. Divided government means that we have been unable to fully implement the kind of reforms that Jack Kemp, Lamar Alexander, Louis Sullivan, and Dan Quayle have been talking about. There is a lot of good news out there. For example, the Wisconsin Supreme Court ruled that Polly Williams' voucher plan for schools is constitutional. That would not have happened five years ago. Now, when President Bush gets up in every speech, as he does, and says we should have school choice, he is making it legitimate for establishmentarians around the country to now say 'Well, okay, while this is a new thought, we will not just dismiss it out of hand.' We hope to finger by finger pull back the death-grip strangle hold of the bureaucracy around the necks of little black kids in Milwaukee. There are millions more such [examples] around the country we want to work on next." Pinkerton added: "The most important things we can do as a country -- educate our children, take care of ourselves, help the homeless, house people, give people jobs -- all these things are being rethought and it is our mission to make it clear the need for all to pull in the same harness in the direction that President Bush defines."
- o **Education is one issue on which the President can claim the mantle of reform,** according to Administration officials and one outside advisor who explained that "America 2000 is about as far along as it ought to be one year into it." According to former Assistant Secretary of Education Chester E. Finn, Jr., a longtime advisor to Education Secretary Alexander: "We're coming up on the one-year anniversary of America 2000, which was described at its unveiling as a nine-year project. And although the Administration has gotten no cooperation from Capitol Hill, it is further along than I would have thought it would be one year in." Asked if the state governments would see education reform as being further along than federal lawmakers, Finn said: "Inside the Beltway, people are totally transfixed with federal programs -- the Congressional drama. So they will see little movement. Outside the Beltway, people realize that these federal programs don't much matter and therefore they will see the fact that Lamar Alexander has been constantly on the road and that 30-odd states as well as many localities have signed on to America 2000. They see the activity going on around the country to which the Congress seems totally oblivious." One Administration official said that the President is well-positioned to answer Democratic charges that he has maintained the status quo, at least on the issue of education. According to the official: "We hear a good deal from Administration critics about the need for educational reform, but we don't hear them referencing the President's ongoing efforts. This may be one of those communications problems and it may just be something that people won't focus on until later on in the year, but there is a great reservoir of support out in the states for what the Administration has been doing, regardless of any lack of reformer image inside the Beltway or with the national media." Finn agreed that the inside-the-Beltway perceptions are dramatically at odds with perceptions at the state and local level, commenting "the country is changing with respect to education but the last place they are ever going to figure that out is on Capitol Hill. I have never seen such a dedication to the mind set of 1965. The President has done what he is supposed to do, which is to chart the course, provide the guidelines, offer up the little bits that the Federal government can do. I think he's on sure ground here."

- o **The White House may have maneuvered the President into a position to take another hit from conservatives over the capital gains tax,** worry some Administration officials. In recent weeks, a number of Beltway conservatives and their friends in the media have been clamoring for the President to unilaterally lower the capital gains tax on March 20th (or shortly thereafter) by asking for the Department of the Treasury to change a rule so as to effectively include inflation in its calculations. This action, believe its advocates, would allow the President to go over the heads of his opponents in Congress to achieve an important part of his economic growth package. The problem, however, is that lawyers in both the Departments of Justice and the Treasury have concluded the action would probably be reversed by the courts, should standing be granted to an injured party. This tentative conclusion by the Administration's legal minds, however, has not yet forced senior officials in the White House to publicly reject the idea as unsound. "I don't think it is going to happen because the Treasury Department lawyers and the Justice Department lawyers both say it is a stretch, at best, to do it unilaterally by regulation, and at worst, it could be seen as an usurpation of Congress's power by the President," a White House official recently said for background, but not the record. With officials such as Chief of Staff Sam Skinner saying on the record that the idea is still under consideration, however, when it becomes clear that the President will not take the action after his March 20th deadline to Congress passes, some in the Administration fear the President will once again be accused by his conservative critics of not having the courage of his convictions. "We have concluded that [the change in the rule] can not be done," said one Administration official. "But by not making it clear why, we have allowed the momentum to continue to grow among those pushing for the change. I am afraid we let this thing get way out of hand and have opened ourselves up to needless criticism."
- o **Republican challenger Pat Buchanan clarified his future campaign plans late last night, saying he plans to stay in the race through the California primary.** During the day yesterday, Buchanan offered conflicting indications of how far he would take his challenge, but last night during an interview on ABC's "Nightline" show, he explained his words and intent. According to Buchanan: "All I said was, if Mr. Bush has the nomination mathematically locked up, then you take a hard look at the kind of campaign you conduct. But I've said we're going to take this campaign into California, because it is about more than delegates. It's about more than the nomination. It's about where Mr. Bush is leading the Republican Party and where he is leading America. He has abandoned conservative principles, and I think he is leading America into this New World Order, which he can't define or defend, and I think it bodes ill for my country. And we're going to maintain the debate as long as we can. ... The point in California would be to give those people out there who have been abandoned not only by Mr. Bush, the conservatives, but also by Pete Wilson, give them a vehicle to express their views about the future of the party and the country. I look upon these primaries, and I always have, as a national forum and a national debate where we're going to decide the destiny of our country. And it's the only chance we have every four years. If I hadn't got into this race, the conservative view and the traditionalist view would not have been heard. Mr. Bush would have been able to posture as the conservative candidate, when he is bogus in that role in my judgment. So I don't think we need the counsel of those folks on how we're going to conduct our campaign. We're going to go all out in California, and we'll wait and see what strategy and tactics we'll use when we get there."
- o **President Bush acknowledged this morning there are "difficulties" with the US-Jordan relationship, but offered King Hussein a warm welcome.** According to Bush: "I just want to say here, though -- I will say this, that I am just delighted to see His Majesty again. For years we've had strong relations with Jordan. We know there were difficulties. He is my friend, and I welcome him back here. And I might point out in a positive way that Jordan has taken a very courageous and forthright position on the peace talks, recognizing we should talk for peace. And we want to develop more on that, talk more about that. So we're looking to the future, and I'm very pleased he's here."

- o **Today, President Bush** meets with King Hussein of Jordan; lunches with King Hussein; honors recipients of the Presidential Secondary Awards for Excellence in Science and Mathematics teaching; attends a meeting on the Commission on Urban Families; addresses the National Conference of State Legislators; and addresses the National Republican Senatorial Committee's Inner Circle dinner.

PERSONNEL:

- o **President Bush intends to nominate Gregori Lebedev to be Inspector General at the Department of Defense.** Lebedev, who currently is the President of the consulting firm of New American Ventures Group, would succeed Susan Crawford.

PRESS BULLETS: Interesting excerpts from this morning's news reports.

- o "Both Bill Clinton and Paul E. Tsongas have significant weaknesses among Democratic voters even in the states where they won primaries on Thursday, according to surveys of voters leaving the polls. About 20 percent of the voters surveyed, not only in the South but also in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, said they planned to vote for George Bush in the general election." (NYT, A19)
- o "A Day after presidential candidate Bill Clinton emerged as the Democratic front-runner, his campaign asked a Denver lawyer today to perform a 'full financial review' of a land deal involving the Arkansas Governor and the owner of a failing savings and loan that was represented before state regulators by Hillary Clinton's law firm." (WT, A1)
- o "President Bush said he is more concerned about spurring economic growth than driving down long-term interest rates, a comment that helped to push down stock prices. ... Some Wall Street traders apparently concluded that Mr. Bush was signaling a willingness to widen the budget deficit, and possibly worsen inflation, in his quest to revive the economy." (WSJ, A2)

POLITICAL ANALYSIS:

This morning, the Bulletin invites **Lloyd Hackler**, a Democratic strategist who served as Administrative Assistant to Senator Lloyd Bentsen, Deputy Press Secretary to President Johnson, and as a consultant on several Democratic presidential and senatorial races, to discuss the possibilities for the Democratic ticket in 1992.

BULLETIN: It looks as though former Massachusetts Senator Paul Tsongas and Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton are the frontrunners now for the Democratic nomination. Do you think they will refrain from a dogfight that would keep them from running on the same ticket?

HACKLER: Well, I've watched politics for a long time, and I've learned that people say things in the heat of battle that sound pretty confrontational and pretty harsh, but that dissipate quickly enough after one gets the upper hand. So, unless the race between Tsongas and Clinton becomes very bitter or very personal, I don't think there's any reason why they couldn't run on the same ticket.

BULLETIN: What do candidates Clinton and Tsongas offer each other?

HACKLER: Well, when you look at this from the standpoint of balancing the ticket, I would assume that Tsongas might feel more of a need to bring Clinton on as a vice-presidential nominee than Clinton would feel to bring Tsongas on as a vice-presidential nominee. Tsongas is appealing to higher income, better educated Democrats and Clinton is appealing to the blue collar workers that Tsongas might need to win over if he were to get the nomination. In other words, Clinton's supporters are more of the standard Democratic voter while Tsongas is appealing in a different way. For that same reason, Clinton wouldn't so much need Tsongas on the ticket.

BULLETIN: What will be the major points the nominee will be looking for in a vice presidential running mate?

HACKLER: Regional balance is often more important than substance in a nominee. But the appeal the candidate has to a group of voters might be important. Clinton, for instance, might look to [House Majority Leader] Gephardt, who appeals to a lot of people because of a different vision on trade. Clinton and Tsongas pretty much agree on trade, and neither has had the same appeal to certain voters on trade as Gephardt has.

BULLETIN: How do you think this will develop?

HACKLER: Unless another shoe drops, if Clinton wins both Illinois and Michigan, the race will be pretty much over. It would be very tough for Tsongas to catch up in the delegate count after that. Should that happen, Clinton will definitely have to look at Tsongas based on his regional appeal, but I still think he would need to look at someone like Gephardt.

BULLETIN: But don't Arkansas and Missouri border on one another?

HACKLER: Yes, but people generally regard Arkansas as a southern state and Missouri as a midwestern state. The importance of Gephardt is tied up in his posture. Gephardt has changed some of his views since he has been in Washington -- and I don't mean this critically -- and has become more liberal. Clinton, on the other hand, has assumed a more moderate posture. The two might balance out well on that count.

BULLETIN: Do you think Gephardt would be Clinton's choice?

HACKLER: I certainly have no inside information to that effect. It is possible that Clinton would pick someone like Kerrey, despite his efforts in the last go-round of the primaries. That might seem like a distant battle by the time of the convention. If he is concerned about liberal and moderate postures, he might even pick Cuomo, though that might be over-doing it. Cuomo says he isn't interested in that sort of thing, but then, so did Lyndon Johnson.

BULLETIN: We've been talking a lot about Bill Clinton. Do you think Tsongas can win?

HACKLER: That is certainly a possibility. When they get to Michigan, Jerry Brown might have a lot to say about who wins. He might bring out the union vote, which would likely hurt Clinton. One thing that I should point out about Tsongas is that, if he were to win the nomination, he would be a virtual icon in the Party because he would have won the nomination based more on his message than his utilization of the Party structure. If Clinton wins, he will owe much of his victory to the organizational support he got through the Democratic Party.

LAST LAUGHS:

- o **Senator Dole:** "I know there are a lot of people talking about politics. And all across America, voters are making one of the most important decisions of our time. But enough about the new Elvis Presley stamp." (3/11/92)
- o **Dennis Miller:** "Jesse Jackson hinting that he might jump into the race. Boy, I hope they have a camera on Bill Clinton when he does." (The Dennis Miller Show, 3/11/92)
- o **Dennis Miller:** "Exit polls show that David Duke only did well among voters who felt the movie 'Deliverance' invaded their privacy." (The Dennis Miller Show, 3/11/92)
- o **Johnny Carson:** "According to reports, Paul Tsongas is very popular with people making over \$50,000 a year. George Bush is very clever, because he's been working for four years to make sure that nobody fits that profile." (NBC The Tonight Show, 3/11/92)

- END OF FAX -

DATE:

March 12, 1992

DAILY NEWS CLIPS

The Washinton Post

The Washington Times

The Wall Street Journal

USA Today

The New York Times

Office of Media Affairs

Today's Horoscope

By Sydney Omarr

Aries (March 21-April 19): New dining experience could be featured tonight. Entire emphasis throughout day is on independent action, style, creativity, resistance to those who would intimidate you. Leo plays outstanding role.

Taurus (April 20-May 20): Emphasis on property, automobile, large household products, agreement relating to division of profits. Relative requests your presence, wants you to join in short trip. Cancer native involved.

Gemini (May 21-June 20): Plenty of reason to celebrate—legal decision in your favor, money might appear to "grow on trees." Emphasize versatility, diversity, experimentation. Successful investment counsel will be obtained.

Cancer (June 21-July 22): Cycle high—take initiative, trust judgment, intuition. Circumstances take sudden, dramatic turn in your favor. Emerge from emotional cocoon. Wear shades of green and white. Taurus featured.

Leo (July 23-Aug. 22): What appeared to be a setback will boomerang in your favor. Attention revolves around secret arrangement, necessity for being discreet. Get

thoughts on paper, gain indicated via written word.

Virgo (Aug. 23-Sept. 22): Scenario is such that you could win contest, celebration takes place at home. You'll win friends and influence people—you'll have luck in money and love. Libra, Taurus persons figure prominently.

Libra (Sept. 23-Oct. 22): Individual "in charge" vacillates. Be aware, alert, keep options open, be ready to assume leadership. Spotlight on career, promotion, production, added prestige. Pisces, Virgo persons represented.

Scorpio (Oct. 23-Nov. 21): Attention revolves around decisions relating to family, home, major investment, marriage. Long-distance communication aids in resolving dilemma. You'll be involved in import-export activities.

Sagittarius (Nov. 22-Dec. 21): Refuse to be limited, accent universal appeal. You'll be humming this refrain, "All the world loves a lover!" Emphasis also on financial status of one close to you, money held in escrow. Aries involved.

Capricorn (Dec. 22-Jan. 19): Stress independence, courage, inventiveness, style. Attention also revolves around children, change, variety, sensuality, marriage. Public

image improves as result of "new product." Leo featured.

Aquarius (Jan. 20-Feb. 18): You'll be dealing with individual, previously antagonistic, who now declares, "Right or wrong, I'm going to finally side with you!" Focus on fitness, employment, unique project. All stops out!

Pisces (Feb. 19-March 20): You'll exude a subtle kind of appeal, sensual and "sexy." Spotlight on variety of experiences, experimentation, creativity. Check Gemini message for further hint. Social activities accelerate—plenty!

If March 12 is your birthday, you are versatile, have sense of humor, tend to scatter forces, are sensitive concerning body image. Gemini, Sagittarius persons play major roles in your life. You are adaptable, impressionable, willing to take risks to substantiate beliefs. Although you may not be religious in orthodox sense, you are spiritual. Current cycle emphasizes universality, travel, communication, idealism, completion of mission. August and September will be your most productive, memorable months.

For a detailed horoscope from Sydney Omarr, phone 1-900-370-2066. The cost is \$1 a minute.

Hint From Heloise

Dear Heloise:

A super way to have hot pancakes in the morning in no time with no mess is to mix the batter the night before and pour it into a plastic ketchup squeeze bottle. Make sure you thoroughly wash the bottle first in hot, sudsy water.

I keep the pancake batter in my refrigerator and in the morning I use only what I need for breakfast and save any batter left over for the next morning. Now everyone has time for a quick, hot breakfast.

THE OFFICE OF MEDIA AFFAIRS

And now,
another
fascinating

THURSDAY, MARCH 12, 1992

The Washington Post

Full House Bank Disclosure Urged

Republicans Favor Identifying Check Bouncers; Bush Backs Move

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

House Republicans yesterday pushed for a floor vote this week on identifying all members who bounced checks on their House Bank accounts, despite questions about the fairness of revealing the limited information available on most of the overdrafts.

President Bush also endorsed "full disclosure" of those who bounced checks as "the way to go." He compared such information to the annual reports on income and assets that members of Congress and top federal officials must file under ethics laws.

But House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) continued to stand behind the ethics committee's recommendations that the House publish overdraft information on 19 current and five former members considered to have abused their check-cashing privileges. He noted that the committee acted in response to a House resolution that concerned members who "repeatedly" and "routinely" overdrew their accounts at the House Bank by "substantial" amounts.

"It confuses the question to suggest that you ought to have a general disclosure of all bank records of the members if they are not abusers," Foley said. "There is not a reason to do that."

House Minority Leader Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.), on the other hand, said he favored full disclosure because "in the end . . . the Amer-

ican people are certainly entitled to know how this place is run," including the bounced checks at the now-closed bank, which he called "another blot on the House."

The House lumbered nervously and awkwardly toward votes on an issue that is expected to almost certainly end some congressional careers. Foley said debate might begin today and would conclude tomorrow, but it was not clear when leaders would reach bipartisan agreement on how many alternative resolutions would go to the floor.

Michel said the Republican leadership had requested the opportunity to present two alternatives to the committee's resolution, which would also allow any of the 355 past and current members who bounced checks to obtain and voluntarily release letters outlining their account's overdraft history between July 1988 and October 1991.

In an evening news conference, four Republicans who dissented from the ethics committee resolution said that House GOP leaders had embraced their proposal for full disclosure of members' overdrafts. The alternative resolution would identify the same 24 worst abusers and release available information on all other members who kited checks.

An earlier meeting of the House Republican Conference did not result in a vote to back any specific proposals, but its leaders said the majority leaned toward full disclosure.

"Our conference, without any question, is moving in the direction of what they would call full disclosure," said Rep. Jerry Lewis (R-

Calif.), the conference chairman. "I think they're urging their best definition of full disclosure."

Rep. Henry J. Hyde (R-Ill.) said one problem with full disclosure is that the General Accounting Office has fully audited only 66 accounts. "We want full disclosure, but it's got to be fair disclosure," Hyde said. "But I think the [Republican] consensus is to disclose all the names and let each member do his own explaining."

In the evening news conference, the Republican dissenters said that it had been impossible for the GAO investigators to know what each member's "net overdrafts" were at the end of each month. As a result, the Republicans said, the published data for any check kiter will not include the dollar amount of his or her overdrafts.

"It was virtually impossible to determine," said Rep. Jim Bunning (R-Ky.). In all cases, he said, the monthly payroll deposit for a particular member would vary according to that month's deductions or periodic pay raises.

For the 66 biggest check kites, Rep. Jon L. Kyl (R-Ariz.) said, the committee currently possesses five pieces of information: the number of checks bounced; the dates of the first and last bad checks; the number of checks returned; the number of non-account bad checks bounced, and the number of months that the member's aggregate overdraft exceeded his next month's pay.

For the rest of the 296 current and 59 former members covered by the investigation, Rep. Nancy L. Johnson (R-Conn.) said, the committee can provide only the number of

bad checks and the dates of the first and last ones. There is no overdraft information.

Michel agonized over the prospect that a member who inadvertently bounced checks could not "defend himself for lack of credible information from the source. Now, that does a member an injustice."

Meanwhile, Foley's office and the House Administration Committee have developed a proposal to reorganize housekeeping tasks under the leadership of a "House administrator" to be appointed by the Speaker and charged with overseeing the activities of the four officers of the House: sergeant-at-arms, doorkeeper, clerk, and postmaster.

The proposal appeared headed for trouble, however, from House

Republicans. In a letter to Foley, Michel guaranteed his opposition "to any such proposal without careful study and analysis." He suggested an alternative that would eliminate the jobs of postmaster and doorkeeper and put all financial administration functions under a new "chief financial officer" to be approved by a two-thirds—and thus nonpartisan—majority of the House.

The Administration Committee's proposal also raised a second fundamental question about power relationships within the Democratic caucus. The measure would give the Speaker the authority to dismiss any of the officers, a radical departure from current procedures, in which the majority caucus elects

the officers for two years and ratifies its decision in the full House.

But it remained unclear whether the Speaker could assume such powers through the reorganization resolution alone and without specific caucus approval.

The issue bears directly on Foley's relationship to Sergeant-at-Arms Jack Russ, sharply criticized in the ethics committee report for slipshod management practices at the bank and for bouncing \$56,100 in checks.

"I have no inclination at the moment to make any changes among the officers," Foley told reporters.

He also noted that under the current rules "I couldn't do that if I wished" because only the caucus has such authority.

THURSDAY, MARCH 12, 1992

The Washington Post

MARY McGRORY

Checks and Balances

It has been apparent for some time that the House, an institution with a genius for making itself look worse than it is, needs a keeper. Now, as a result of its latest scrape, it may get one.

The check-kiting scandal has, besides generating a wave of dread among members, increased chances for a House administrator, a non-member who would presumably prevent the kinds of sloppiness that resulted in overdrafts from the House Bank to the tune of hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Actually, what the members did—except for scoundrels who used the facility as a piggy bank, was not all that bad. It wasn't as bad, for instance, as the Senate botch of the Clarence Thomas confirmation, or its midnight pay raise. It's probably not as bad as the discovery of coke peddling at the House Post Office. But the perception of what happened could be radioactive for incumbents, who are in hot water already for giving the impression that they are an improvident and grasping lot.

No one who has been on the hustings this year can fail to pick up the rage at and contempt for Congress that is smoldering in the land. A feeling that members have no respect for money and limits or the opinions of ordinary citizens is rampant. The realization that they had their own bank, which had no rules about bouncing checks, increases the impression of privilege.

It doesn't really help to say that the House Bank was not really a bank. It was a cooperative, and no taxpayers' money was involved in the kiting, except for the salaries of the House employees who kept the slovenly records. It may not help, either, that members had no way of knowing they were overdrawn because their monthly reports tactfully did not reflect this fact.

Your ordinary taxpayer cannot be totally self-righteous about transgressions with the checkbook. Everyone has written a bad check—unknowingly or prayerfully—in the course of a lifetime. The difference is that the civilian gets a stiff notice from the bank and a penalty of \$25, while the spoiled House member kept on writing checks against the next month's salary, knowing that the bank manager, Sergeant-at-Arms Jack Russ, would not take the lawmaker to task.

Last October, after a General Accounting Office report revealed the abuses, the House, which had ignored

40 years of warnings, voted to instruct the ethics committee to find egregious abusers of the bank. Ethics Chairman Matthew F. McHugh (D-N.Y.), whose integrity is unquestioned, brought out a unanimous report, which recommended the naming of 24 members—19 present and five past—who showed a pattern of writing bad checks.

Inevitably, the Republicans disagreed with this restrained response. Their whip, Rep. Newt Gingrich (Ga.), is a man with totally ambivalent feelings about the Democratically dominated institution he serves. He is like the U.S. colonel in Vietnam who said, "We had to destroy the village in order to save it." Gingrich believes that to bring down the House would be justified if it were to be rebuilt as Republican. He is agitating for the release of more names, on a simple premise that with a Democratic majority of a hundred members, the dragnet would turn up more Democrats than Republicans.

Democrats complain that Gingrich accepted the ethics committee verdict that exonerated him or the one that condemned former speaker Jim Wright. They accuse him of using the scandal as a variation on the Term Limitations Act. The career-ending potential of many, large bouncing checks is obvious.

The committee has offered to provide members with accurate statements about their transactions to show to doubting constituents. But Republicans, sensing the damage to the Democratic majority, say the House has a duty to tell all.

McHugh is against enforced full disclosure and feels the decision should be left up to individual members and their constituents. Full disclosure, he says, will fall on the just and unjust alike.

One Democrat, Rep. Les AuCoin (Ore.), an estimable member who is running for the U.S. Senate in Oregon, has passed through the fires of the bank scandal and emerged a stronger candidate. He told his constituents last fall that he had inadvertently written \$491 in bad checks on his House account. His constituents were furious at first, and his ratings dropped like a rock. He paid a \$25 penalty on each check and expressed remorse.

"They worked through their anger, and they began asking, 'What are you going to do to improve my life and to rescue this country—what is your program?'"

AuCoin now leads Republican Sen. Bob Packwood by 20 percentage points.

THURSDAY, MARCH 12, 1992

The Washington Post

Richard Cohen

... And the Matter of Race

Barring some unforeseen development—the drop of yet another high-heel shoe, a financial scandal or, oyl, a combination of the two—the race for the Democratic presidential nomination seems over. Bill Clinton, Superpol who has yet to meet his Kryptonite, now looks like the personification of that famous Roosevelt phrase about fear: The only person who can beat Bill Clinton is Bill Clinton himself.

In the meantime, though, there is that pesky matter of remaining opponents—Jerry Brown and Paul Tsongas. Brown, the former California governor, is a political hyena with an uncanny talent for scavenging. When, in 1976, Democratic voters were starting to ask themselves what they had wrought with this Jimmy Carter, Brown raced into Maryland and, with the help of Gov. Marvin Mandel, whacked Carter but good. From there, though, he went precisely nowhere. It's where he's heading again. He lacks a real base.

And so, it seems, does Tsongas. The former Massachusetts senator emerged from Super Tuesday in an unenviable position: the candidate of affluent white people. With the exception of a race for a seat on the board of certain cooperative apartment houses, this is not a winning attribute. Tsongas, of course, knows it, but it's not clear he can do anything about it. He comes into Illinois and Michigan self-defined as a social liberal and economic conservative. The Rust Belt is no place for brunch.

Tsongas's most telling handicap also happens to be Clinton's great advantage. In Texas and Florida, Clinton's black vote was awesome—three out of every four votes in Florida, eight of 10 in Texas, according to a Los Angeles Times poll. He did almost as well with Latinos (two-thirds of the Texas Latino vote) and white low-income voters. But among blacks he ran almost as well as Jesse Jackson in 1988, albeit with a lower turnout.

Clinton aides confess that their boss is a bit nonplussed by the demographics of his vote—81 percent of those who never completed high school but only 45 percent of voters who have done postgraduate work. After all, he's a Rhodes Scholar by way of Georgetown whose wife, Hillary, was the subject of her very own article-cum-review in the New York Review of Books. Moreover, Clinton set out to be the centrist candidate of the suburbs—the un-Cuomo or the un-Harkin. When Tsongas got those votes, though, Clinton did a boomerang. Now he's the old-time Democrat.

But Clinton's appeal to blacks can be no surprise

to anyone. Unlike Tsongas (and like Jimmy Carter), Clinton is comfortable among blacks and with their southern-based idiom. Indisputably, he is the personification of that sometimes ephemeral entity, the New South. "How long was your state divided by race against race?" he asked a crowd in Columbia, S.C., last week. His message, clear and compelling, is that the South paid a price for bigotry and has learned a lesson the rest of the country could use. His other message, sensed from the audience, is that of kinship. Blacks respond as they do for few white politicians.

For all its unpredictability, the primary season is predictable in certain ways. It's always instructive. We have learned plenty about Clinton (takes a silver bullet to stop him) and about Tsongas (he's not quite the guy he seemed). Since New Hampshire and especially on television, Tsongas has come off as whiny, kvetchy, insufferably self-righteous and just no fun at all. "I'm going to tell you something, Bill Clinton," he said Tuesday night, "you're not going to pander your way into the White House as long as I'm around." This is the program of a scold, not the slogan under which millions can enlist.

It's not Tsongas's fault that he's a white guy from a northern state with a relatively small black population. And it should matter, really it should, that he served two years in Ethiopia as a Peace Corps volunteer. But what matters most is the vote blacks gave Bill Clinton in the South—an expression of trust that the Democratic Party cannot overlook and that, moreover, went to a governor associated with the sort of welfare reform conservatives cheer.

Here, then, is possibly the man who can get the Democratic Party off its defensive posture on certain wedge issues (crime, welfare, foreign policy) and into the 21st century. At the moment, it seems only one person can stop him, the very guy who with questionable financial deals, some alleged hanky-panky and a tendency to be anything you want him to be has hounded him from the start—himself.



BY T. GIBSON

THURSDAY, MARCH 12, 1992

The Washington Post

Hobart Rowen

Now It's Canada-Bashing

One by one, an inward-looking America seems bent on destroying its special relationships with best friends and closest trading partners. Japan-bashing, it is now commonly recognized, has escalated to a shrill and dangerous level.

Even those who had turned the other cheek were disgusted by Sen. Ernest Hollings's dumb remark about atomic clouds "made in America and tested in Japan."

Less well-publicized is a growing exercise in Canada-bashing. Canada is this nation's biggest trading partner, while Japan ranks as No. 2. Under the combined stress of declining competitiveness over the past decade and recession in the past year and a half, America is displaying provincialism in dealings with both its key trading partners.

George Bush's lamentable election-year descent into protectionism began in earnest with his trade mission to Tokyo. It reached a low point of absurdity with a recent Customs Bureau ruling barring Hondas made in Canada from entering the United States duty-free under the U.S.-Canadian Free Trade Agreement. U.S. Customs slapped a back-due bill of about \$17 million on Honda of Canada.

America's anti-Canadian posture has become the leading story in print and on TV in a country with an economy that's in worse shape than ours. Tensions were exacerbated when Customs officials arbitrarily excluded the Canadian press from a briefing in Washington on their Honda decision. This is America, dealing with a friendly partner sharing a 3,987-mile common border? Sounds more like something the old command economy in the Soviet Union might have pulled off.

The Customs Service contrived a ruling that Canadian Hondas had not met the test of at least 50 percent North American content required by the trade agreement for duty-free entry. We thus insult Canada by insisting that what the Canadians certify as Canadian is not in fact Canadian.

The Canadians accuse the Bush administration of bad faith, of refusal to honor the spirit and in some cases the letter of the trade agreement, not only in the Honda case but in an even bigger one—measured in dollars—in softwood lumber. A preliminary Commerce Department finding would allow duties of around 15 percent to be imposed on \$2.5 billion in Canadian lumber exports.

It is hard to argue that the Canadians are anything but right. We seem to have reneged on the basic commitment of the Free Trade Agreement: to give each country free access to the other's markets.

In the Honda case, the U.S. Customs Service in 1991 began negotiations to boost the North American content requirement for duty-free entry under the FTA from 50 percent to 60 percent. The Canadians charge this was in response to pressure from American manufacturers who must compete with Honda, a car that Americans take as a standard of excellence.

When the Canadians didn't agree, the U.S. Customs people—Canadian sources allege—looked around for another way of making the Canadian Honda less attractive in the American market. They found it by concocting a new definition of what is and is not made in North America.

"The United States is engaging in clearly an abusive interpretation of the FTA," Gordon Ritchie, one of the key Canadian negotiators for the FTA, said in an interview. "When they failed to get what they wanted through negotiation, they did it by administrative [decree]. In Canada, this is not a technical trade issue. This is a political issue. As far as Canada is concerned, Honda is a Canadian company, and it is seeking access to the U.S. market under a U.S.-Canadian agreement."

He suspects that after the Bush trip to Japan, the United States chose to send a "hardball" message to Tokyo: If you want to produce in North America, it's better to build the plants in the United States, and never mind the impact on Canada's economy. Ritchie, now with Strategico Inc., a Canadian business advisory firm, says the Honda plant, the most efficient in Canada, was being considered for a 100 percent expansion.

The underlying premise of the FTA, as Ritchie says, was to allow foreign investors to look at the whole of North America and decide where to locate on the basis of straightforward, competitive economic factors.

It seems painfully evident that George Bush, flustered by the combined impact of recession and the Pat Buchanan challenge, is going back on America's word to Canada and that this could ultimately spell the demise of the U.S.-Canadian agreement.

Moreover, the chill in relations casts doubt on the viability of the proposed North American Free Trade Agreement among the United States, Canada and Mexico, which Bush once argued could be the cornerstone of a new era of prosperity for North America.

If the United States and Canada, which share language, history, culture and a similar stage of industrial advancement, can't make an FTA work between themselves, how can they make one work with Mexico, a developing country?

THURSDAY, MARCH 12, 1992

The Washington Post

Bush to Do Less Campaigning, Spend More Time Governing

Buchanan Gives Conflicting Hints About Taking Fight to End

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

Candidate George Bush yesterday turned into President George Bush, telling a news conference he has "responsibilities no other candidate has for leading this country" and that he expects to spend less time campaigning and more governing.

As Bush explained his metamorphosis in the wake of his Super Tuesday victories, his campaign against commentator Patrick J. Buchanan was in full swing in Michigan, which votes Tuesday, but much of it will be carried out by surrogates, paid advertising and other techniques traditionally used by incumbents. Bush himself will spend less than a day there on Friday, and his major appearance will be a speech on the economy to the Economic Club of Detroit.

Bush, described by aides as feeling that the worst of the Buchanan crisis has passed, told reporters in the wake of his eight-state win Tuesday: "I think the way the vote is working out—the overwhelming endorsement in terms of these delegations and everything—I think that you'll be seeing me here a lot."

The president used the news conference to offer his basic stump speech in miniature. "I've tried to let the people of this country know that we will turn this economy around, and our great nation should be a world-class leader in every category of economic and social activity," he said.

Bush, who said last week it had been an error to go along with a congressional deficit-reduction plan in 1990 that also raised taxes, was

asked if he had erred on policy or political grounds. He repeated that it was a "total mistake." But he said that limits on congressional spending were needed and promoted his economic package over Democratic alternatives.

Bush also offered a strong endorsement of the North American Free Trade agreement, despite attacks launched on it by Buchanan and others who have campaigned against the proposal as one that will cost Americans jobs.

Many of Bush's aides, as well as outside advisers, had argued in the past weeks that he was forfeiting his greatest advantage, his presidential authority, by his nonstop campaigning and that he should leave the direct campaign to surrogates and resume a more active governing role. Bush acknowledged such a debate had occurred and suggested the problem has now passed with 15 straight Buchanan losses.

In Michigan, Vice President Quayle and others yesterday picked up the campaign. Poised for Buchanan to launch a strong attack on Bush trade policies with Japan in a state where the auto industry is reeling, the Bush campaign also has prepared an "answer" advertisement on the trade issue that echoes by Gov. John Engler's remark about Buchanan arriving in Michigan in "his Mercedes," a German car.

Bush, like others on his official team, would not urge Buchanan to leave the race yesterday, and the challenger gave conflicting hints on whether he will stick to his vow to carry his campaign to California.

"Our present intention is to go to California," Buchanan said at a news

conference in Dearborn, Mich. "That intent has been reinforced by some comments about me made by the governor [Pete Wilson] out there."

Michigan, which Buchanan said had "borne the brunt of Bushonomics" should be an excellent state for him, he said. But if the president's "extraordinary lead" remains intact after Tuesday, Buchanan hinted that he might reassess his candidacy.

"I would not do anything consciously to damage the chances of the nominee in November," Buchanan said. He talked of running a "straight issues, philosophical campaign" in California, with "no attack ads."

If the time comes to get out of the race, Buchanan said, "we will do it gracefully, but that time has not come."

Buchanan said it has never been his objective to "wound George Bush," and he stressed that he wants the Republican Party to win the general election.

Asked if his conciliatory comments could be interpreted as a first step in the healing process, Buchanan seemed thrown by the question, paused a full four seconds, then barked, "No."

Buchanan aides played down his remarks at the news conference, saying Buchanan was not laying the groundwork to quit the race. Asked pointedly at one of his Lansing, Mich., appearances whether he would drop out if he does badly in the state, Buchanan answered, "No chance. We're going to California."

Staff writer Karlyn Barker in Michigan contributed to this report.

THURSDAY, MARCH 12, 1992

The Washington Post

Senate Kills Bush's 'Economic Growth' Package

Effect on Deficit Cited; President Vows to Veto Any Alternative Involving a Tax Increase

By Eric Pianin
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Senate last night used a procedural maneuver to knock out President Bush's "economic growth" package, including a sharp reduction in the capital gains tax and incentives for the real estate industry, after Democrats asserted it would do virtually nothing to end the recession.

Sen. Bill Bradley (D-N.J.) dismissed the measure as a "piddling amount amplified with loudspeakers" that would not spark the economy or halt the growth of the federal deficit.

"Is this amount of incentive, even if you thought it was well-timed, going to jolt the economy out of the recession?" he asked. "This is ludicrous."

Sen. Bob Packwood (Ore.), the ranking Republican on the Finance Committee, said that neither the GOP nor the pending Democratic plan "is going to catapult the economy in the next six months." But he argued that the Republican propos-

al offered the clearest path to a possible compromise.

"When the time is ripe and the iron is hot, we can move quickly," he said.

Although Republican leaders had hoped for a straight up or down vote on the president's proposals, the parliamentarian ruled the package out of order because it would have added to the deficit, in violation of the 1990 budget agreement.

Republicans, quoting administration estimates, said that over five years their bill would have cost \$9.2 billion, which would have been offset with administrative and book-keeping changes. However, the Congressional Budget Office and the Joint Committee on Taxation, whose projections must be observed by the Senate, estimate that the GOP provisions would have added \$24.4 billion to the deficit.

By a vote of 60 to 37, the Senate refused a request by Republican leaders to waive provisions of the budget agreement and allow the bill to come to a vote.

"Any senator who votes for this amendment votes to raise the def-

icit \$24 billion," said Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine).

To avert a procedural problem of their own, the Democrats last night amended their package to reduce the cost of a proposed annual \$300 credit for families with children under age 6. Under the original plan, the credit would have been phased out for families with gross incomes between \$50,000 and \$70,000. The change would phase out the credit for those with incomes between \$40,000 and \$50,000.

As the Senate moved toward a vote this week on the Democrats' \$57 billion tax and economic stimulus package, President Bush yesterday reaffirmed his opposition to any type of tax increase, even a surtax on millionaires.

Bush said at a news conference that he would veto legislation imposing a 10 percent surtax on millionaires, even if it meant forgoing enactment this year of a reduction in the capital gains tax, the centerpiece of his growth package.

The president's remarks underscored again that the administration and congressional Democrats are

far apart on key tax and budget issues and that whatever tax legislation emerges this month will be vetoed by Bush.

Last week Bush refused to rule out exchanging a tax on millionaires for his proposal to reduce the capital gains tax, but asked about it yesterday, he said, "No, I'm against that."

Referring to the pending Democratic package before the Senate that includes the \$300 tax credit, an increase in the top income tax rate from 31 percent to 36 percent and the 10 percent surtax on millionaires, Bush said: "I am going to have to veto a broad kind of hand-out tax-and-spend bill, and then I am still going to keep trying" for approval of his own proposals.

The Democrats' proposed surtax on millionaires would raise about \$8.5 billion over five years and would affect about 60,000 people. Bush proposed reducing the effective top tax rate on capital gains to 15.4 percent from 28 percent for most assets, a measure that would have given the wealthiest 1 percent of taxpayers about 70 percent of the benefits.

Aim of Defense Plan Supported by Bush

But President Says He Has Not Read Memo

By Barton Gellman
Washington Post Staff Writer

A classified Defense Department blueprint for preserving American military preeminence provoked a spirited colloquy yesterday in the national security establishment, with critics and supporters alike relying on news accounts to assess a document that has not circulated widely outside the Pentagon.

Even President Bush said he had not read the Pentagon planning memorandum, a 46-page draft described this week in the New York Times and The Washington Post. He urged reporters at a news conference not to "put too much emphasis on leaked reports, particularly ones that I haven't seen."

Discussing his own security philosophy, however, Bush was broadly supportive of the thrust of the Pentagon document. When asked whether the nation "should be moving more toward a collective security or should the United States bear most of the burden for policing" the world, Bush declined to choose.

"Well, I think the United States has a burden to bear," he said. "But we have worked effectively through multilateral organizations. The clearest example of that is what happened in the gulf war. . . . But we are leaders and we must continue to lead, we must continue to stay engaged. So it isn't a clear-cut choice of either-or."

The central strategy of the Pentagon framework is to establish a new world order that takes enough account of the interests of other advanced industrial nations "to discourage them from challenging our leadership." At the same time, the strategy seeks to maintain a U.S. military so powerful that it deters potential competitors from even aspiring to a larger regional or global role.

Pentagon officials said the Feb. 18 draft is likely to be approved by Defense Secretary Richard B. Cheney with minor changes. Spokesman Pete Williams said much of the public debate has been based on an assertion in a New York Times article, which Williams called inaccurate, that the Pentagon draft rejected "collective internationalism" in favor of unilateral action.

"People are responding to what's been reported about the draft, so it becomes a sort of hall of mirrors," Williams said.

In other quarters of the administration, the Pentagon's emphasis on thwarting the emergence of rival regional or global superpowers proved controversial.

"Hopefully, that document's going down in flames," said one na-

tional security official outside the Pentagon. "It certainly reads like the U.S. is arrogating to itself the role of world policeman."

The Pentagon draft includes an explicit statement that "the U.S. cannot become the world's 'policeman.'" But this official said the statement was no more than a sop, adding, "If you're going to be a big guy and wear blue clothes and carry a big stick, you can call yourself what you will. One sentence does not negate paragraphs of intent."

The official, reflecting the views of several colleagues, said the Pentagon strategy "lays down a basis for suspicion around the world among powerful regional states. They will be suspicious of our action or inaction on a range of issues where they otherwise would not be, and otherwise should not be."

In fact, in keeping with the memorandum's "NOFORN" classification—indicating an intention to keep it from any foreign national—some of its analysis was decidedly undiplomatic.

Indian Foreign Secretary J.N. Dixit, who was in Washington this week to meet with Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger and Undersecretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz, took issue with the memorandum's statement that "we should discourage Indian hegemonic aspirations over the other states in South Asia and the Indian Ocean." Diplomatic sources said U.S. officials assured him that the draft language had not been approved by the Bush administration.

In Congress, meanwhile, Democrats continued their assault on the Pentagon memorandum. Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.), in a speech on the Senate floor, accused the Defense Department of wanting to make the United States "the one, the only main honcho on the world block, the global Big Enchilada."

THURSDAY, MARCH 12, 1992

The Washington Post

Flood Shuts Down Vermont Capital

National Guard Called Out to Rescue Residents From Rising Water

Associated Press

MONTPELIER, Vt., March 11— Ice jams diverted the rushing Winooski River through the downtown of Vermont's capital today, shutting down state government and closing schools with flood water up to 6 feet deep. Relief came hours later, when workers crushed the worst jam.

Gov. Howard Dean (D) declared an emergency and called out the National Guard to help rescue people after water rose rapidly during the morning.

No injuries were reported here or in New Hampshire, where similar ice jams caused less serious flooding and authorities used a wrecking ball to smash ice blocking the Sugar River in Claremont.

As Dean lamented the flooding, which he said caused tens of millions of dollars in damage, he watched a kayaker paddle in front of the Statehouse. Canoes and rowboats also took to flooded streets as civilians and Guard troops rescued people from downtown buildings and from atop cars.

"It was like the floodgates opened," said firefighter Gordon Bock. "It got bad fast."

The entire downtown area flooded as the river, dammed by huge blocks of ice stuck against bridges, jumped its banks and took a new path, forming a turbulent stream like a whitewater river down about a half-mile of State Street.

"All we can do is stand and watch," said Washington County Sheriff Donald Edson, who lost three cars to the flood.

A railroad bridge spanning the river collapsed around 5 p.m. under the crush of ice, pulling down most power lines serving Montpelier, the nation's smallest state capital.

About an hour later, a crane repeatedly dropped a large weight on the biggest of three ice jams. Flood water began receding within minutes.

The water that had been standing was contaminated with diesel fuel and gasoline, and propane tanks had floated around city streets.

State Buildings Commissioner John Zampieri said work crews were using boxes of 1989 tax forms, along with sand, to keep the water out of the state's Pavilion Building.

"It's an act of God," Mayor Ann Cummings said with a shrug as she

stood outside the city emergency response center at City Hall.

Montpelier, population 8,000, has not seen such flooding in 65 years, when a flood killed 60 people, including the lieutenant governor.

"This is, without any question, the worst since 1927," said former state representative Peter Giuliani, 85.

The Red Cross set up a shelter at Vermont College, where the evacuees included 70 Bennington sixth-graders who had been staying at a downtown hotel while on a trip to the capital.

"This is where we're going to have to stay," said Bennington student Chris Campbell as he played poker with classmates in the shelter.

Some stranded state workers and legislators who abandoned their cars got across State Street in a makeshift ferry, a rowboat pulled across the turbulent water with ropes.

The Connecticut River also spilled its banks, but only affected a field outside the nearest town, Cornish, N.H. The Gale and Ammonoosuc rivers also flooded fields or roads.

Into Winter

This winter has been a special aggravation for snow lovers here because, with no winter games of our own, we watched the Olympics on television around the clock. We could see those big kids going every which way down mountains of snow in the French Alps, while all we had outside was mud and drizzle.

Consider last month. According to the Boston Globe, the temperature ere during February averaged 32.5

clear. A certainty, though, is that a mild, dry winter simply produces different winners and losers.

Field mice, for example, normally run back and forth in tunnels they dig under snow, which insulates them from wind and cold and hides them from enemies. For them, this winter is a disaster. For their many predators, such as owls, it is a bonanza.

A hard winter plagues deer and moose that can't move easily or find food while coping with snow that touches their bellies. This winter is their friend, and their natural enemies go a bit hungrier.

For skiers too, this winter is a mixed blessing. Those who favor cross-country skiing, snowshoeing

City and town governments have saved millions of dollars this winter because plowing, sanding and salting machines have been idle. But kids have missed out on those instant thrills known as "snow days," when snow provided both motive and means for unexpected fun.

Life certainly is diminished in this landscape of browns and grays. Would Robert Frost have written "Stopping by Woods on a Muddy Evening"? And would we want to make our children read it?

—Christopher B. Daly.

THURSDAY, MARCH 12, 1992

The Washington Post

Clinton's Past a Present Concern on Hill

As Nomination Looms, Some Democrats 'Wait for Other Shoes to Drop'

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

Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton's sweep of the South on Super Tuesday convinced many congressional Democrats he is their likely presidential nominee. It's a prospect that evokes both anticipation and dread.

These Democrats see Clinton as a superb campaigner who has demonstrated an ability to build a coalition of middle- and working-class whites and still attract strong black support. They believe that combination, welded to a message of social reform and economic hope, could unlock the gates to the White House.

But in their next breath, they fret that the controversies that have dogged Clinton's campaign—his alleged womanizing, his draft record and, most recently, his personal finances—have left scars, and may not be over.

"I think a number of people are waiting for other shoes to drop," said Rep. Louise McIntosh Slaughter (D-N.Y.). "That's why so many people here [in the House] are remaining uncommitted."

"He's got all the right pieces except for his past," said a midwestern senator up for reelection this year.

While acknowledging that Clinton must prove himself Tuesday in Illinois and Michigan against the twin challenges of former Massachusetts senator Paul E. Tsongas and former California governor Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr., most of those interviewed said the odds now clearly favor Clinton's nomination.

"There is an inevitability appearing about Clinton's nomination, but it has done little to remove the reservations many of us feel about . . . how he will play in the fall," said Rep. Dennis E. Eckart (D-Ohio), who was tapped yesterday as one of the House "super delegates" to the Democratic National Convention in July.

Eckart's view is widely shared among elected Democrats here and other party officials around the country. But few of them are prepared to speak about their fears on the record.

See DEMOCRATS, A14, Col. 5

Eckart, a retiring House member, said he believes Clinton has put together a populist-oriented message that "can sell" to the voters—if the election is about his message. "If the fall election is a referendum on Clinton's past, we lose," he said. "If it is a referendum on Clinton's view of the future, we win."

More succinctly, a western senator up for reelection this year said, "People [in Congress] feel we're all clinging to Clinton's barrel and it's about to go over Niagara Falls."

That comment reflects the fear that Republicans either are hoarding further ammunition to use against Clinton or will—as they did with 1988 nominee Michael S. Dukakis—find ways to exploit his public record and alleged personal shortcomings.

The Bush-Quayle campaign has sent opposition researchers to Arkansas to document Clinton's record as governor and past campaign statements, but spokesmen insist the operatives have been given strict instructions not to pry into his personal life.

Tsongas, seeking to avert what could be a decisive defeat in next week's Illinois and Michigan primaries, raised that prospect yesterday in arguing that Clinton cannot win in the general election. "How many people do you think the Republicans have out there investigating Bill Clinton's backgrounds? They have armies, armies of people," Tsongas said.

Some Capitol Hill Democrats think the risks are exaggerated. Rep. Jim Moody (D-Wis.) "The Jennifer Flowers story [the tabloid allegation that Clinton had had an affair with a former state employee which was vigorously denied by the governor] is over and done with. As long as there's nothing more, it's of no great concern. But if a series of new people—or more recent—come forward, it would be very harmful."

"Obviously it's something that everybody has thought about," said Rep. Thomas H. Andrews (D-Maine). "But probably every skeleton that could be found has been found."

Rep. Chet Edwards (D-Tex.), a Clinton supporter, said he finds his colleagues less nervous about Clinton in the wake of Tuesday's results. "I don't hear a lot of people saying he's been mortally wounded by the past shots at him," Edwards said. "They just hope there's not another smoking gun."

Said Rep. Jim Cooper (D-Tenn.): "I think the worst has come out already, and his ability to handle it has been exemplary."

James Ruvolo, a past Democratic Party chairman from Ohio, said that in some ways Clinton has been strengthened by what he has gone through the past month. Ruvolo also said Democrats would be making a mistake if they worry too much about how the Republicans might campaign against Clinton in the fall. "We should not let that dictate our strategy," he said.

"If nothing more happens to Bill Clinton, save the nomination and an aggressive, issue-oriented campaign, we know that already there is a small percentage of the voting population for whom Clinton's past is an issue," Eckart said.

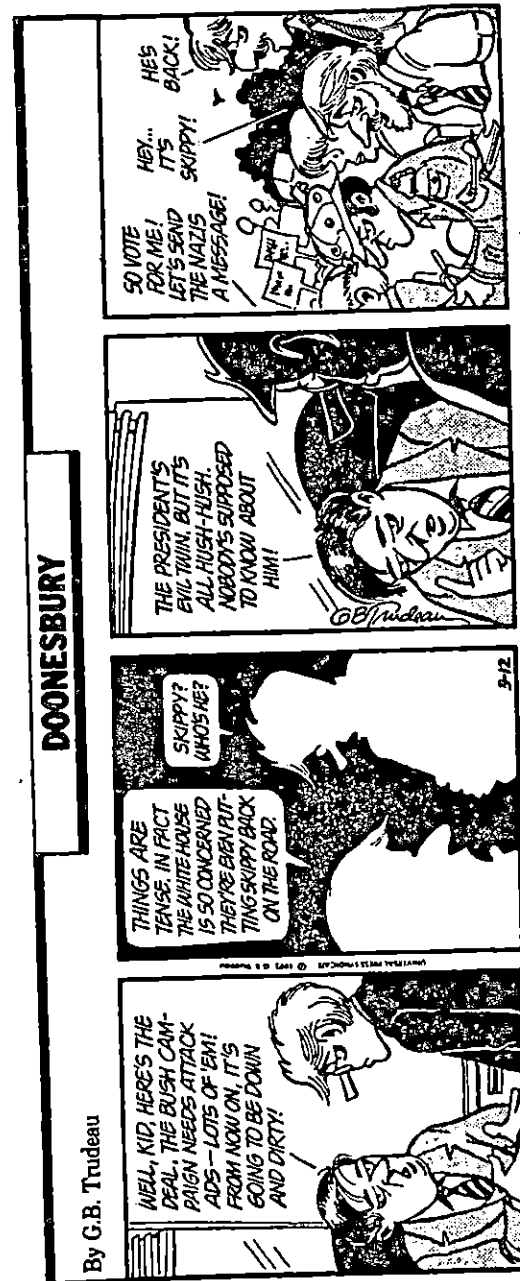
Clinton's potential weakness is reflected in exit polls from the Super Tuesday primaries, which showed that a fifth of all southern voters said Clinton's draft record makes them less favorable to his candidacy. Almost a quarter of those who voted in the Democratic primaries in the South said they would vote for President Bush or no one if Clinton is the nominee in the fall.

But Sen. John B. Breaux (D-La.), who succeeded Clinton as chairman of the moderate Democratic Leadership Council, said his fellow southerner has demonstrated the ability to put together a winning coalition of minorities and middle-class whites. "That's the optimism I have [about Clinton] that I didn't have with Dukakis," Breaux said.

As for colleagues who express reservations about Clinton, Breaux said, "I don't think it's widespread with people outside the Beltway and the press. We thrive on these kinds of insider tidbits about personalities."

But Washington state chairman Karen Marchioro said, "It's all people talk about, especially given the atmosphere in this state," which was rocked by charges of sexual harassment by women that forced Sen. Brock Adams (D) to abandon his bid for reelection.

Rep. Butler Derrick (D-S.C.) said he feels "very comfortable" about the prospect of running with Clinton, and that people should relax. "I think most of the boots have been dropped," he said, "and if there are one or two shoes to come, it won't matter that much."



By G.B. Trudeau

Southern Primaries Reveal Contradictions for Democrats

By Thomas B. Edsall
Washington Post Staff Writer

For Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, his sweep of the South is a powerful affirmation of his goal of restoring the alliance of blacks and low- to moderate-income whites that has eluded the Democratic Party in five of the last six elections.

But at the same time, the southern primaries contained a chilling message for Democrats: In the three Deep South states with "open" primaries, a majority of white voters for the first time in history chose to participate in the GOP contests.

In addition, black turnout collapsed in some states, falling by such huge numbers that the absence of Jesse L. Jackson from the contest did not appear an adequate explanation.

The outcomes of eight southern primaries, in other words, lent themselves to contradictory interpretations.

Exit poll data showed that Clinton not

only carried the southern black vote by the crushing advantage of 82 to 8 percent over former Massachusetts senator Paul E. Tsongas, but he also racked up similar proportions among whites with incomes below \$15,000 and whites without high school degrees.

Eddie Williams, head of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, said in an election night analysis that Clinton has put together "Bubba and the brother." "He's put the blacks and the rednecks back together," a southern backer of his bid said yesterday.

Stanley Greenberg, Clinton's pollster-strategist, contended before the primary returns that it was essential for the governor to do well in an economic alliance of poor to middle-class blacks and whites.

A central "rationale" of the Clinton campaign is to demonstrate that a Democrat can unite these often-warring factions, Greenberg said.

But Clinton won solidly among white

southerners with college degrees, 52-33, and by a similar ratio among whites with incomes between \$50,000 and \$75,000, exit polls show.

Few states offered better evidence to support the rationale of the Clinton campaign than Mississippi, where black and white conflict has been perhaps the most intense in South. There, Clinton carried 70 percent of the white Democratic vote and 78 percent of the black Democratic vote, in a contest in which just under half of the Democratic electorate was black.

Mississippi, however, also provided evidence that white interest in the Democratic Party—once the only seriously considered party in the South—has seriously eroded.

An estimated 151,000 men and women voted in the Mississippi Republican primary, and about 188,000 people voted in the Democratic primary. The GOP contest is virtually all-white, suggesting, based on extrapolation from exit poll data, that about

59 percent of whites who went to the polls in Mississippi cast their ballots in the Republican primary.

"If these trends hold up, now you will have a majority of whites looking to the Republican Party in primary elections, and that has not previously happened," said Earl Black, a political scientist at the University of South Carolina.

The trends were even more pronounced in South Carolina: Not only did more whites vote in the GOP primary, but the GOP contest drew more voters, about 148,000, than the Democratic contest, 114,000. About 70 percent of white voters in South Carolina participated in the Republican primary and 30 percent in the Democratic primary.

The southern Democratic Party is perhaps in its worst shape in South Carolina, where voters learned to break the habit of pulling the Democratic lever with the switch to the GOP of Sen. Strom Thurmond in 1964. Whit Ayres, a Republican pollster based in Atlanta, has found that identifica-

tion with the Democratic Party among whites in South Carolina is about 14-15 percent overall, and about 7-8 percent among younger whites between the ages of 18 and 34.

A more difficult trend to assess this year first emerged in the March 3 Georgia contest, where black turnout fell by 41 percent. The trend was repeated throughout much of the South.

Some, but probably not all, of the sharp decline of black turnout throughout the region could be linked to Jackson's absence from the presidential primary ballot for the first time since 1980. In Louisiana, 380,000 people voted in the Democratic primary this year, with about 99,000 of them black, compared to a total of 624,000 in 1988, when 256,000 blacks turned out.

Democratic turnout in Mississippi fell from 359,000 in the 1988 primary, in which an estimated 165,000 blacks voted, to 188,000 this year, when 81,000 blacks turned out.

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The Washington Post

After Super Tuesday

WE WOULDN'T quite call it good news Tuesday, since the news wasn't good for everyone, but there is at least one thing that should inspire bipartisan rejoicing: the failure of David Duke's candidacy to do any appreciable or even noticeable business at the polls. Beyond that, on the Republican side we suppose Mr. Bush can take some satisfaction from the way in which the Buchanan candidacy has sort of settled in to the status of a low-grade but unshakable 30 percent flu, the kind that people were dragging around with for months at a time this winter. It's no fun, but not fatal—unless, that is, something else gets you while your resistance is low.

This something would be the Democrats. You can see already the outlines of the president's defense: He is going to be "presidential," we are told; he is going to sock the Democrats for their congressional sins; and he and his folks, prayerfully saying they are almost certain that Gov. Clinton will avail them new scandal, one way or the other, if he is the nominee, talk piously of the "character issue." The character issue, defined as fidelity to principle, is one that could also be turned against the president, of course, but never mind: All this is way down the road and won't be clear until the Republican and Democratic pre-convention battles are resolved.

Since the Republican nomination at least seems settled, the Democratic contest is more engrossing right now. Perhaps because they have become so habituated to bad news, many Democrats seem determined to convert some good news that has come their way into bad. They have a pretty brisk and interesting and substantive race going among candidates who have something to say. The notion that some untried Other Person should drop in and be crowned now becomes weaker: It is by no means clear that this Other Person would do any better with the voters than the three contenders who are already in the race are doing. It has been widely noted, and should be, that Gov. Clinton has begun to revive a Democratic coalition that was all but dissolved in recent times. His ability to mobilize a

black constituency and a white working-class one is a breakthrough for Democrats who have been more in the bargaining and bazaar business in the past several elections than in the business of creating a coalition that cuts across social, racial and economic lines.

It is true that former senator Tsongas seems to appeal more to a different slice of the society, but his voters and those who have favored Mr. Clinton (or former governor Brown) are hardly all natural antagonists or mutually exclusive as an electorate. Given the racial and economic makeup of the Clinton voters so far, there is something a bit condescending in the charge that these were amassed by pandering and the recurrent reminder that they aren't nearly so well educated as the Tsongas voters. All three of the surviving candidates have also on occasion gotten pretty nasty with each other. But it seems to us that they haven't torn it—at least, not quite and not yet—so far as making up and working together when a ticket is chosen.

Last time around, in fact, with some of the supposed big hitters in the contest, things were surpassingly duller, orderly to the point of insult to the voters, who, most of the time, were only shown a superficial debating decorum. When Sen. Gore broke ranks and got a little pugnacious in debate four years ago, he was actually chastised for being a bad boy. In 1992 it's different: More real choice and real argument have come out of the debates, on real issues. The danger of mean, whiney and unfair is always present, of course, but roughhouse on substantive positions does not have to include any of those unattractive aspects. And the tempering of the candidates in this contest can only be useful for the nominee when he faces the Bush campaign in the fall. You don't have to be supersensitive to all the Republican efforts to generate doubt, nor do you need all that long a memory to know, as Mr. Dooley always did, that it ain't going to be beanbag. But we think the campaign so far has been illuminating, useful and on track.

The Clunker Junker

THE BUSH administration is said to be about to revive an old idea in time for the Michigan primary. It's considering a clunker-junker proposal, an effort to retire older cars faster, partly in the name of cleaner air but also in the name of increased new-car sales. In some respects this latest variation is potentially a good idea; in others, as with so much else in campaign season, it threatens to be silly.

The model is among the amendments to the Clean Air Act, which Congress passed in 1990 with presidential blessing. To help in curbing sulfur dioxide, a cause of acid rain, the amendments created, among other devices, a market in pollution rights. A utility that cleaned up its emissions more than required could bank and ultimately sell the excess to another that was having trouble meeting its goals. The theory is that such a system of specialization will enable the industry to produce cleaner air at the lowest cost.

The clunker-junker idea would apply the same principle to cars, which don't produce sulfur dioxide but do produce other pollutants. A business charged with cutting back on one of those could meet its obligation in the usual way or, if it was cheaper, by buying up and sending to the junkyard some quantity

of older cars, the heaviest polluters. If the inverse values could be satisfactorily worked out—what would be the smoke value of a car of a given make and age?—this could be another useful way of cleaning up the auto share of air pollution.

The problem arises with the second application of the idea—that the faster we move our older cars off the road, meaning the shorter-lived our cars are, the better for the auto industry, and of course what's good for it is good for all of us. The first part's true enough; the auto industry would likely benefit. But there used to be a time in this country when the longer a thing lasted, the better quality it was thought to be.

The great question is whether, for the sake of jobs and what amounts to a shortcut to cleaner air, the government abandons the older-fashioned virtue of conservation. That, too, would take its toll on the environment—nor is it clear why, if it's right to have term limits for cars, it isn't just as right to have them for all kinds of other products. Is it equally offensive to the common good to live in an old house and wear old clothes? The home-building and clothing industries might like to think so. Even in an election year, the president needs to be careful if he makes this new proposal.

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The Washington Post

George F. Will

Negatives Rising . . .



Florida, a geological late arrival, was the last part of what is the continental United States to rise from the ocean. Paul Tsongas probably wishes it had stayed submerged.

The least southern of all southern states, Florida was Tsongas's best chance to put sand in the gears of Bill Clinton's machine. Instead, Florida gave maximum momentum to that machine as it rolls toward the real Super Tuesday, next week in Michigan and especially Illinois.

When, in the distant future, narrators are retelling the Homeric epic of this presidential campaign, they will linger over the inexpressibly sad fact that the lamp of love between Bill Clinton and Paul Tsongas was extinguished in the run-up to Super Tuesday. Clinton, attacking Tsongas, shouted, "Growth first, fairness later—bull: We never had growth without fairness and we never will."

Now, nonsense is to be expected from tired candidates who have many more speaking engagements than they have sensible things to say. But Clinton is exceeding the limits of permissible babble. His complaint about the 1980s (a k a The Reagan Terror) is that there was growth without fairness. And one can imagine how Clinton disdains the growth of the Gilded Age and the 1920s. Is he now saying it is better to have no growth than growth without fairness—that growth should wait until there is consensus about fairness?

According to Clinton, Tsongas's sins against fairness include consideration of limiting cost-of-living adjustments of some entitlement programs for the wealthy. Also, Clinton criticizes Tsongas for proposing to phase in a 30- to 50-cent-a-gallon increase in the gasoline tax over 10 years. If 45 cents were added instantly, the cost of a gallon would be, in real terms, what it was in 1950.

For his part, Tsongas says Clinton is a "pander bear" telling "blatant" lies. A century ago an acute student of these things, the novelist Anthony Trollope, noted that in democracies, disputes between politicians are fiercest when the real differences are smallest. "It is the same in religion. The apostle of Christianity and the infidel can meet without a chance of a quarrel; but it

is never safe to bring together two men who differ about a saint or a surplice."

It must get galling for Clinton, who expected to run as the candidate of unconventional realism against some Tom Harkin-like liberal, to find himself flanked on the moralist-realist side by Tsongas. Clearly, Clinton finds Tsongas's personality grating. Tsongas does indeed seem to secrete a sticky, cloying rectitude. He resembles a New England Unitarian minister who doesn't claim to have all the truth but is sure he has all that is available at the moment.

Even before Tuesday's voting, it became official: Yet again, neither party will nominate a serving member of Congress. Twenty years have passed since the last serving member was nominated (McGovern) and 32 years since the last member was elected (Kennedy). Nebraska's Sen. Bob Kerrey was knocked out early, partly because he got in six months late: He missed spring training. Iowa's Sen. Harkin got in 45 years late. He is a 1940s labor liberal, part Harry Truman and a little bit like Iowa's Henry Wallace.

In presidential politics, money is the root of all excuses. Harkin, having unfurled the banner of Pure Liberalism, has re-furled it, saying the usual thing—that he had no choice because he had no money to get his message out. He sedulously misses the point: His message got out loud and clear, and if people had liked it, he would have had pots of money.

Clinton does have pots of money and probably will be nominated, even though he has ominously high "negatives." Indeed, he is winning partly because of them: People admire the way he slogs on, carrying all that baggage. But the baggage remains, and, come autumn, Republicans will not be reticent about it.

However, Clinton will be running against a president repudiated by one-third of the Republican Party and two-thirds of any Republican president's base of true believers. Bush, who has the entire executive branch at his disposal, has allowed the conversation of the campaign to be controlled by a columnist on sabbatical. Amazing.

Bush is the most potent negative campaigner in history: The more he campaigns, the more his own negatives rise. His best strategy would be to go to earth in Bermuda until November, emerging only to wage short wars against Third World miscreants.

Much will change between now and November, but today a reasonable wager would be that Election Day will see another reduction in voter turnout. Tens of millions of people may choose not to choose between a Democratic nominee they do not quite trust and a failed president they no longer respect.



THURSDAY, MARCH 12, 1992

Party Chief and Bush Loyalist Rich Bond, Taking the Heat

By Charles Trueheart
Washington Post Staff Writer

There are guys who get into politics because they like the idea of it, the heady stature of popular governance, a shot at a place in the gallery of history. George Bush is such a guy. Then there are guys who get into politics because they like the feel of it, the winning made thrilling by the cold risk of losing, and the intricacy of building victory vote by vote by vote. Rich Bond is such a guy.

Different as they are, Bush and Bond, it's not surprising they found each other. Every Bush must have his Bond: the consummate tactician, the quintessential mechanic, the fitter of nuts and bolts. According to those who know him, he is energetic. He is loyal. He is can-do. He gives good follow-up. And he is honest, they say, with a hushed emphasis that can't help suggesting how rare this is in his line of work.

So there was a certain logic that the president would put Bond in charge of the Republican Party apparatus, as he did last month. The Republican National Committee is the ultimate political Lego set for the 41-year-old political op and lifelong Bushie.

But Bond's new job is bigger than any he has had before, and more visible and sensitive than he is accustomed to. Or so he found out this week.

In an appearance on Sunday's "This Week With David Brinkley," ABC's Sam Donaldson nudged Bond out of the usual party-line pieties and into a harsh denunciation of Pat Buchanan's insurgent campaign for the Republican presidential nomination. "If he's going to basically hijack David Duke's message on race and religious tolerance and put a jacket and tie on it, and try to clean it up," Bond remarked, "I'm just not comfortable with that."

Buchanan immediately saw his opening. "I want this party to be united in August," at the Republican convention in Houston, Buchanan said yesterday, "and I think he is incapable of uniting it after he has smeared and slandered the hundreds of thousands, now millions of people who have joined the Buchanan brigades."

Fire Bond, Buchanan told Bush bluntly, or risk losing my people in the fall.

Bond didn't seem to take this very seriously. In a rejoinder on NBC's "Today" yesterday, he joked about Buchanan angling for Willard Scott's weather job after the inevitable collapse of his campaign. With every primary loss he gets "wilder and wilder," Bond said, noting that just a week ago Buchanan was demanding that Bush himself step aside.

President Bush yesterday expressed "full confidence" in his RNC chairman, whose assault on Buchanan is part of a strategy to leave the scrapping to surrogates.

Bond, at least for public consumption, sounds unworried about Buchanan's showings in Republican primaries. "That there is a protest vote against Bush is not a source of great discomfort to me," he says. "A protest vote now is a heck of a lot better than a protest vote in the general election."

Still, the intensity of his desire to find reassurance in delegate mathematics and party rules suggests someone who has it on the brain. He says the delegate count ought to have Buchanan literally out of contention, if not out of the race, no later than the first week in May. Without winning five states, Buchanan has no special right to address the Republican National Convention in Houston—unless Bond says so.

This is a "family fight," Bond says.

Must the head of the family hold himself above the fray? Silly question. "I don't have a neutral bone in my body," he says.

The Deathbed Request

Much as he wanted to be asked, Bond is not running George Bush's reelection campaign. Some of his admirers observe, in passing, that either he should have been offered a bigger role at Bush-Quayle or that, if things don't improve, he will be offered one. These loyal, worried Bushies suggest that the "clean-fingernails" set in charge of the Bush-Quayle operation now—Robert Mosbacher, Bob Teeter, Fred Malek—could use someone (besides the able Mary Matalin) with grittier retail skills.

Could be. In any case, he is vigorous in his insistence that the RNC job was no mere consolation prize. He cites his ex officio membership in the "A team" of the campaign, his recent presence at a White House Cabinet meeting, and a two-hour dinner with the president—"just us"—on Air Force One.

Besides, he says, in the weeks before he moved over to the RNC he masterminded "the biggest success they've had in the campaign yet"—shutting Buchanan out of New York and delivering all of its 100 convention delegates to Bush, months before the state's Republican primary.

The chairmanship of the party, in fact, is a job Bond once coveted. But he has been a classic bridesmaid, his career eclipsed and braked not just by his enemies but by a man he calls his friend, Lee Atwater, the late chairman of the RNC. Their relationship did not always run smooth, Bond says, but in the end it was Atwater's "deathbed request" that he get the job. For the foreseeable future, Bond will walk in Atwater's spectral shadow.

The two men were alike in some ways: roughly the same age, tough-minded political retailers, driven, ambitious—"Southern wise-ass and Northern wise-ass," in Bond's words. They also rose to the generalship of the national party from the ranks of enlisted men, rather than as a reward for being party dignitaries, the more common model.

Yet they were surely different. Atwater was the outlandish good old boy, the scheming sire of Willie Horton, the political cutthroat who showed contrition only in his dying days. Bond, though known for hardball play and seismic temper tantrums, is still a far tamer species of the political phylum. And he is known for certain unusual virtues.

"He doesn't confuse his own ego with the cause he's working on," declares his old friend, writer Vic Gold. "He tells the truth," says Vice President Quayle's chief of staff, William Kristol, "and that's an advantage in a city of courtiers." Mary Matalin of the Bush-Quayle campaign, a Bond pal from way back, says that "he is notoriously and, on occasion, unproductively honest."

Atwater, by every account, had more of a head for grand strategy than Bond, more of a political intellect. The deficiency, perceived or real, subtly rankles Bond even as he offers this slighting self-appraisal of his teamwork with Atwater: "I wanted to be on the technical level and he did all the strategic genius stuff, which I didn't know diddly squat about."

Atwater and Bond were uneasy rivals from the outset of the Reagan-Bush administration. Atwater was a White House political operative; Bond was then Vice President Bush's deputy chief of staff, before moving to the RNC as political director and No. 2. In the heat of one bitter dispute in 1982, after Bond warned Atwater he'd rat on him to higher-ups about something, Atwater called Bond to his office and silently handed him an index card upon which had been typed the dictionary definition of "to threaten." Bond says he replied, "Damn right I am."

By 1983 Bond had bailed out and set up his own political consultancy, and began to make big money—\$200,000 in 1984, he says. By 1985, Atwater had "gotten the franchise, as it were," meaning he and not Bond had been chosen to be Bush's main political man for the 1988 race. But in '86 Bond got a call from James A. Baker III, Bush's personal vizier, ordering him to make his peace with Atwater and get aboard the team.

The two snorting bulls met. After several testy exchanges of "I don't trust you" and "I don't trust you either," and "I don't like you" and "I don't like you either," they pledged an uneasy truce. "The first guy to screw the other gets fired" was the "deal" between them, Bond says. "But from that moment on, we really were good friends."

One symbol of their working friendship was a promise from Atwater, early on, that Bond would become head of the RNC after the 1988 election. But two weeks before the election, Atwater revealed a change of plans.

"Hell, man, look," he said to Bond. "You know it ain't in the cards for you to be national chairman. I want to be national chairman."

Apparently the "deal" was inoperative. Bond was a good soldier, and not for the last time. He tends to bury his meaner impulses for the sake of collegiality, but a friend says that when it comes to slights and grudges, "he has a memory like an elephant."

For his part, Bond says that in late 1988 "I was not exactly in the best of standing." He had been unable to spare Bush a nearly ruinous third-place finish in the February Iowa caucuses. He started another political consulting firm with former Reagan aide Frank Donatelli. (He's still a partner in the firm, and a beneficiary of its investments, though he has recused himself from all client contact while at the RNC.)

Atwater fell sick in early 1990, a brain tumor diagnosed, and by December his prospects for survival looked bleak. (He died in March 1991.) Before short-lists of successor candidates could circulate, out of nowhere—at least nowhere Bond had seen—William Bennett got the nod.

The president's chief of staff, John Sununu, "moved very fast to plug that one," Bond says. Then Bennett had his famous change of heart and dropped out a few weeks later, and suddenly Bond had another chance he hadn't anticipated.

This time he lobbied for the job, though not directly with the president. ("It would have been unseemly," Bond says.) He talked to a bedridden Atwater three times. "I promised this to you before, and I took it, and... I'm not going to make it," the doomed operative told his friend. Bond's dark eyes blink and glister as he finishes recalling this.

Time passed, and more time. Bond's name floated in the press. But no decision was forthcoming from a president preoccupied by war. A White House friend urged Bond to call Sununu, who held the reins on this appointment. Bond was skeptical, and should have been. "He was as cold as ice," Bond recalls. "He listened, and he said, 'I'm very happy to know of your interest and I'll pass it along to the president. It's his decision.'"

A look of ripe disgust seizes Bond's otherwise pleasant face. He all but whispers: "I felt like saying to him: 'What... is... your... problem?'" The whole conversation took about 30 seconds. I was just dumbfounded.

A story appeared on the Associated Press wire that Bond was withdrawing from consideration. He was quoted as telling a friend he was tired of being Sununu's "punching bag." (Sununu did not respond to requests for comment.)

Clayton Yeutter was named to the job four days later. But by year's end, with Sununu gone, Yeutter was apparently needed in White House domestic policy councils. So the RNC job was open again, and this time there was no delay or apparent hesitation. Bond would have the job he'd long been promised.

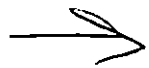
Matalin, who worked closely with both Bond and Atwater through the '80s, observes: "I can say that Rich feels a moral obligation to fulfill his current duties in a manner Lee would approve of."

The question is, which Lee?

A Bed-Wetting Trilateralist?

Sununu's "problem" with Bond, the RNC chair speculates, may have been that he is "too liberal." True?

Those who know him are hard put to answer. "I don't think I could tell you what Rich Bond's philosophy is," says Eddie Mahe, political consultant and his former boss at the RNC. "I just really don't know."



The Washington Post

Bond's pedigree is suspect. Look at the tickets he's punched. Gerald Ford (New England field operative, 1976). Bill Green, moderate Manhattan congressman (press secretary, 1978-79). Sen. Charles McC. Mathias, renegade war horse of liberal Republicanism (campaign manager, 1980). Coming up through the ranks in the Nassau County Republican organization, Bond was associated with the party of Nelson Rockefeller, *bête noire* of the conservative movement that slew it, seemingly forever, in the '70s.

He calls his political heritage a "box." He says, joking but not joking, that he'll always be known as a "classic bed-wetting Trilateralist." (The Trilateral Commission has long been a familiar bogey on the far right.)

If he's not that liberal caricature, then what manner of Republican is he?

Bond, who talks easily on less sensitive subjects, is careful answering. His dark stare—when what his wife, Valerie, calls the "black Irish" in him is most pronounced—deepens.

"I've got my own personal opinions, but people choose for the most part not to ask me what they are. I think I'd probably be far more conservative on issues than anybody would ever imagine," he says. "Even though I am by experience and by religious conviction pro-life, I'm not going to put up a litmus test on that issue for the Republican Party for one nanosecond. . . . I happen to be very strongly for the death penalty. I happen to be very strong for voluntary prayer in school. I prayed in school myself for 16 years."

He is, in other words, a George Bush Republican—has been ever since he first saw Bush, as RNC chair in 1973, "distancing the party from Watergate." Bond is a Republican with an "innate suspicion of government" yet "mindful that government has its proper place." He says average people just don't get their money's worth on any level of government.

The RNC chieftain figured this out early. Young Richie Bond was fresh out of Fordham, working as a press assistant in the patronage-larded offices of Nassau County Executive Ralph G. Caso in Mineola. (His draft lottery number kept him out of the war.) Suspecting that voters might not like a local property tax increase Caso had shepherded through, Bond wrote his maximum leader a confidential memo urging him to take a \$2,500 pay cut, give up his Cadillac limousine, his cabana at Nassau Beach.

Caso, amazingly, promptly stood up and did just that, calling on county officials and state and national ones to follow suit.

Richie Bond, 24, had a few moments to swell with pride, but he quickly found out that he had become not a hero but "a pariah. Every one of the guys who hired me wouldn't speak to me." In the final indignity, Caso himself quickly tired of riding around in the back of a police car instead of a limo and taking heat from his fellow cops.

So Bond was out of there. He took the first of several '70s sabbaticals from politics, this one to work as a clam digger on the Great South Bay of Long Island, mucking about in the water all day and letting his ponytail grow.

Cooling Jets

Rich Bond may be a product of the Nassau Republican organization, but his great tests, the great watersheds of his life, took place in the 2,531 precincts of Iowa.

Drawn by the political opportunity Jimmy Carter had demonstrated among Democrats four years before—using the Iowa caucuses as a springboard to credibility—in the summer of 1979 the first Bush presidential campaign moved its eager recruit and his brand-new wife and her young son to Ames, Iowa. While Valerie Bond took college courses and they tried to have a child of their own, Rich Bond settled down to 18-hour days of takeout food and vitamins, fueling an effort to move George Bush out of the asterisk range in the polls.

"He got George Bush in every nook and cranny of the state and took names," recalls GOP operative Tom Syndhorst, who eight years later followed the same plan on behalf of Bob Dole. "There wasn't a soul they ran into that they didn't put into the system and make sure George Bush called them and wrote them."

And, as a fellow Bushie puts it, "they used blue smoke-and-mirrors tricks to demonstrate surprising shows of strength." The Ames straw ballot of May 1979 is the classic, if not the first, case of this prestidigitation. Suspecting there would be a poll of guests at a big state party dinner, they made sure tickets for the event got into friendly hands. Grindingly labor-intensive task, childish simple idea. Bush won the poll, and national pundits obligingly took note. In the end, Bush was also the caucus winner—his first and, as it turned out, his last hurrah.

It was in the raw tumult of that victory night in 1980 that Bond picked up one of the madly jangling phones at campaign headquarters to hear the voice of Becky Smith, Barbara Bush's aide, calling from the Des Moines airport. Their small plane had just arrived, early, and no one was there to meet them with a car. Bond, frazzled, kept putting her on hold to answer other phones.

As Mrs. Bush recalls that night, "There we were standing on an absolutely blackened tarmac. . . . So I just took the phone from Becky, and I heard Rich screaming, 'Will you just cool your jets!'" (Only Bond had used the most common vulgar adjective to modify "jets.")

"Rich Bond, are you talking to me?" Mrs. Bush replied.

"Oh, Mrs. Bush, I am sooooo sorry," he says he told her.

"You've never heard such a change," she says. As he tried to explain, Bond recalls, Mrs. Bush hung up.

"Ever since, she's called me her cool-jet friend," Bond says, and the president likes to tell the story too, usually leaving out the naughty adjective. "It'll probably be on his gravestone, poor guy," chuckles Mrs. Bush. Bond didn't savor the Iowa victory for more than a few hours. Late that night, after the celebrations, he took Valerie to the hospital, where she miscarried. A year later, the day Ronald Reagan was shot, they would lose a 10-week-old baby boy who'd been born premature.

Eight years later Bond went back to Iowa, under less auspicious circumstances, and to less impressive effect.

Initially working for the Bush campaign from Washington, Bond accompanied the Bushes to his old stomping ground for what they hoped would be a big show of support at a candidate cattle-show in Ames. But it turned out to be a rout, at the humiliating hands of Pat Robertson's forces.

On the plane home, the story goes, as Atwater and Bond hung their heads in shame, it was Mrs. Bush who suggested in no uncertain terms that Bond should forthwith return to Iowa and make another miracle happen.

He couldn't, as it turned out. But in his strenuous trying, he and state campaign chairman George Wittgraf got desperate enough, and mad enough at Bob Dole's snide imprecations about Bush, to put out a press release that raised questions about a blind trust set up for Elizabeth Dole, the senator's wife. The flap ended several days later with Dole confronting Bush on the floor of the Senate, waving the press release in his face and demanding an apology, which he later got.

"We wanted to see if we could get Dole to pop off," Bond says now. But, he says with admiration, "Dole spun it brilliantly—that we were insulting Mrs. Dole." Anyway, "it really pissed Bush off . . . and embarrassed him. . . . It was just something I'm really sorry about. It was one of those things where the joy of the hard punch can backfire."

The Agony of the Hit

Though his job makes him only a weekend visitor, the place Rich Bond now calls home is Shelter Island, N.Y., inside the forked land's end of easternmost Long Island. There he and Valerie built a magazine-spread stunner of a house four years ago, and there he repairs for relaxation.

Relaxation, for Bond, bears an uncanny resemblance to competition. On a blustery cold Sunday afternoon, he's running around playing touch football with Shelter Island friends, most of them less than half his age. In his spare time, he plays, or plays at: golf, tennis, racquetball, basketball, poker, Chinese checkers, "pickleball," croquet, badminton, darts, bumper pool, tubing, horseshoes, pinball, Nok hockey, hearts.

Ten of these games and exertions make up a crazed decathlon played here on the banks of West Neck Creek every year. Bond's annual "Repo Man" invitational is named after the movie, in which a character says, "Repo men are very intense." No need to wonder why the name stuck to this Repo Man.

Cooling off with a bottle of Gatorade after the game, Bond talks about the perils of intensity. And the story he tells about Berkley Bedell, the former Democratic congressman from Iowa, is the story he wants told about Rich Bond.

The year was 1986, and Bond's client was Fred Grandy, the actor-turned politician, who had announced for Bedell's northwest Iowa seat. Somehow Bond remembered that 12 years before, Bedell, as a challenger, had called for a 12-year limit on congressional service. "I went to the Library of Congress and read every damned statement he'd made in the campaign and I found it."

Grandy, announcing his candidacy, read the unearthed statement, and not long after Bedell quit the race. The congressman said he suffered from Lyme disease, a strange and debilitating affliction transmitted by ticks.

As Bond recalls Bedell's seeming alibi, he twists his face into a derisive scoff. But then he turns solemn.

"I never believed for a second he had the disease," Bond says of Bedell. Now he knows something about its crippling effects. "Both my kids caught

Lyme disease on Shelter Island," he says, and he fears he and Valerie will get it too. "At the age of 56, Bedell must have been going through hell."

Again Bond says, "You can experience the joy of the hit, but sometimes the hit isn't the truth." He looks rueful. "The snap and final judgments you make when you're younger just don't make as much sense when you get a little older," he says.

Still, he thinks to add this caveat, lest anybody doubt Rich Bond's fiber. "If I get the message tomorrow from George Bush that he wants me to hammer someone, they . . . will . . . be . . . hammered."

Lee Atwater knew how to hammer, and at the end he came to know regret too. Rich Bond, having known both, is on his own.

Richard Nixon: The Sequel

From Exile to Elder Statesman And Host to the President

By Lloyd Grove
Washington Post Staff Writer

Now, more than ever.

Nixon's the one.

In other words, *he's baaaack*.

"I don't think he was ever gone," Washington lobbyist Tom Korologos, a veteran of the White House legislative staff, said last night.

The occasion was Richard Milhous Nixon presiding over a posh dinner for George Herbert Walker Bush at the Four Seasons Hotel, the crowning event of a two-day conference on "America's Role in the Emerging World," sponsored by the Nixon Library and Birthplace.

Politely unmentioned last night was Nixon's damning assessment of Bush's aid policy toward Russia—"pathetically inadequate," Nixon had written in a much-publicized memo.

The whole affair was the nearly impeached former president's most ambitious assault on Washington since resigning in August 1974, and was at the very least a successful diversion from the approaching 20th anniversary of the Watergate break-in on June 17, 1972.

"The president calls him, senators call him, congressmen call him," put in Korologos's White House colleague, lobbyist Max Friedersdorf. Surveying the aging crowd of around 300, Friedersdorf added: "I haven't seen so many [Nixonites] since we left the White House."

They included former secretary of health, education and welfare Robert Finch and erstwhile economic adviser Herbert Stein. Also among the Nixonites was Ron Ziegler, the presidential press

See NIXON, C6, Col. 3

secretary who memorably dubbed the Watergate break-in "a third-rate burglary."

"I flew out with him on Air Force One when he resigned," said Ziegler, now the graying, prosperous-looking president and CEO of the National Association of Chain Drug Stores. "I didn't know what to expect the next day. The next day, I looked out the window of my office in San Clemente and here he came up the driveway, wearing a blazer and a tie and he called on me, not talking about self-pity. . . . Most men would have walked into the sea."

So has Nixon been totally rehabilitated?

"I think so, yes," said former Nixon speech writer William Safire, now a Pulitzer Prize-winning columnist for the New York Times. "You can see it in the faces of the people who used to skulk around in the February Group," he added, referring to a conclave of Nixon loyalists who would get together "furtively," for fear of being discovered. They are furtive no longer, Safire said. "His comeback is everybody else's comeback too."

"No doubt about it—he's the elder statesman," said former commerce secretary Maurice Stans, a member of the Accounting Hall of Fame who somehow became the beneficiary of a raft of unaccounted-for campaign contributions. "Look at the other retired presidents, and see which one of them plays as much of a public role as Nixon does."

Even National Public Radio correspondent Daniel Schorr, late of CBS News, donned a tux to sup with his onetime antagonist.

"I'm a member in good standing of the Enemies List," Schorr said, in the midst of a cocktail party crowd that included former CIA director Richard Helms—who had shouted "Killer Schorr! Killer Schorr!" during a particularly tense moment, namely Helms's Watergate-era perjury trial.

"Not only that," Schorr went on, "I was investigated by the FBI after Pat Buchanan didn't like something I said." The cover story for the interesting probe, Schorr recalled, was that Nixon was supposedly considering him for a job. "We made up" years later, Schorr said, after Nixon caught sight of him at a function and said jovially: "Dan Schorr! I damn near hired you!"

"He has conducted a spectacular campaign for ex-president," Schorr said. "Now he plays host to a president at a lavish, black-tie affair. To watch this guy get off the floor in 1974, now there he is—he's made it. You have to admire that."

"For some people, Nixonphobia is a kind of fixation," said loyalist Leonard Garment, Nixon's former lawyer. "But most of the country has absorbed Watergate and made it a part of history."

Waxing biblical, Garment added: "He has passed through the valley of the shadow of Watergate."

Over dinner, replete with such tasties as fillet of sole with salmon Mousseline, chocolate torte and Irish cream Anglaise, and a selection of California wines (at least, if you believed the embossed menu), Nixon seemed to enjoy an animated conversation with Barbara Bush—impossible to hear, alas—at a table that also included the current president; media tycoon Walter Annenberg, Nixon's ambassador to the Court of St. James's; and Annenberg's wife, Lee.

With all the "Mr. Presidents" being bandied about, the evening was a tad confusing.

"I value his advice today," the current president said in his postprandial remarks. "I get it. I appreciate it." As Nixon nodded, avuncularly, Bush went on to decry "isolationism" and "protectionism," saying, "Turning our back on the world is no answer, I don't care how difficult are our economic problems at home."

After Bush finished, he strolled back to his table and stood around with Barbara and Nixon to little obvious purpose.

"Who's in charge here?" Bush finally asked.

Not a bad question.

WE'VE HEARD THAT...

■ First Daughter Doro Bush LeBlond has told friends that she and mom Barbara Bush will be looking for wedding dresses in New York. LeBlond and beau Bobby Koch have set a June 27 wedding date.

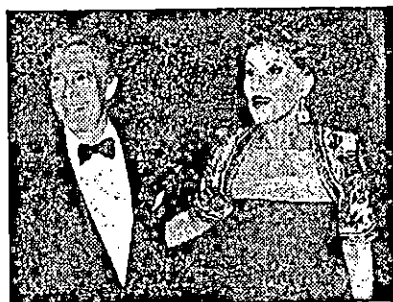
■ Michael Lewis, author of the best-selling Wall Street book "Liar's Poker," has been hired by the New Republic as a senior editor to write on economics.

■ A few of Robert Mosbacher's pals, and wife Georgette, threw a large surprise 65th-birthday party for the Bush campaign czar last night at trendy Red Sage. The A-plus list went on to a small dinner at the Jefferson.

■ Former White House social secretary Gahl Hodges Burt has been named to the newly created position of director of community relations at Saks Jandel.

■ Director Steven Spielberg and his wife, actress Kate Capshaw, have a new addition to their brood: a son, Sawyer, born Tuesday in Los Angeles.

■ A labor intensive group gathered at the Sheraton Carlton last night to fete Felice Schwartz, renowned advocate of women in the work force, for her new book. Among those at the party were former labor



BY FRANK JOHNSTON—THE WASHINGTON POST

secretary Ann McLaughlin and current Secretary Lynn Martin.

■ Bob Kerrey, who in his exit speech compared himself to the Jamaican bobsled team—a lot of spirit, but not very many medals—received a T-shirt Tuesday from the team's captain.

■ Citibank has filed papers with the New York State Supreme Court seeking to attach the assets of Bert Lance, once Jimmy Carter's budget director, charging that Lance has failed to pay his \$50,000 Visa bill. "I have had tough financial problems, and I'm not proud of it," Lance said in a January deposition.

The TV Column

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

CBS News yesterday announced that Bill Lagattuta, who has looked good for NBC News on occasional appearances out of Burbank, has been named a correspondent working out of Los Angeles...

He has been a reporter and weekend anchor for NBC-owned KNBC as well as a contributing correspondent for NBC News since 1985...

CBS News also announced yesterday that its overnight news program, "Up to the Minute," will premiere on Monday, March 30, starting at 2 a.m. It will air until 6 a.m. on weeknights...

Mike Clancy and David Page have been named co-producers of NBC News's "Saturday Today" and "Sunday Today"...

They both work on "A Closer Look With Faith Daniels," Clancy as executive producer, Page as senior producer, and will retain those titles and responsibilities...

Their appointment is part of a restructuring of the weekend "Today" programs caused in part by the departure of Gerry Solomon as executive producer of "Sunday Today." Solomon is considering either another assignment at the network or outside offers...

"Saturday Today" will premiere Aug. 1, giving viewers seven days of "Today." And here we thought that on the seventh today we rested...

Joan Lunden, upset about the tabloid versions of her split with husband Michael Krauss, will be interviewed, at her request, by Barbara Walters on ABC's "20/20" tomorrow night (Channel 7 at 10)...

Joan didn't think her "Good Morning America" anchorage was the proper vehicle from which to launch a fiery rebuttal. She's angered by what she calls "vicious, malicious and hurtful lies" in the supermarket tabloids since the breakup. This week, one rag claims Krauss engaged in kinky sex with a "party girl"...

Moving Right Along

The Super Tuesday election specials on the three networks undoubtedly earned them points at the It's the Right Thing to Do School of Journalism but they played hell with the national Nielsen for the night...

ABC's own Super Tuesday of Comedy, even all repeats, still prevailed however, with an evening average of 14.9/24. "Full House" did a 17.0/26, "Home Improvement" an 18.7/28, "Roseanne" 20.9/21 and "Coach" 18.4/29...

But '92 Vote: Super Tuesday" at 10 averaged a 7.3/13 over the hour...

CBS edged NBC with a 9.8/16 for the night as a repeat "Rescue 911" did an 11.7/18 and a special "Top Cops" at 10 recorded an 11.6/20...

In between, at 9, "Campaign '92" averaged a 6.0/9 for the hour...

The NBC lineup averaged a 9.5/15, as repeats of "In the Heat of the Night" and "Law & Order" did 11.2/17 and 11.1/17, respectively...

At 10, "Decision '92" averaged a 6.1/11 for the hour...

ABC News's late-night election summary at 11:30, preempting "Nightline," averaged a 5.2/15 in Nielsen's 25-city overnight survey...

In Washington, the CBS special at 9 averaged an 8.4/13 on Channel 9, while at 10 the ABC special on Seven (7.9/14) and the NBC special on Four (8.0/15) were virtually tied. In all three instances, audiences dropped sharply in the second half-hour...

The late-night ABC News election roundup averaged a 5.6/16 here...

The election news surfeit, even in the Nation's Capital, produced at least one weird side effect. "Studs," on WTTG, scored a 10.2/22 at 11, finishing second in the timeslot ahead of the local news on WRC (7.4/16) and WJLA (5.4/12), although WUSA's news did a 12.0/26...

The ABC News special at 11:30 did a 5.6/16 on WJLA...

At the risk of losing you early on this morning, TV Column fans, we're withholding the value of each ratingzzz point until the very end of the column...

Two more excellent clues have surfaced regarding kind-of-recent movie favorites of scriptwriters at Wolf Films (where they apparently loved "Terminator 2") and Universal Television (Bill Hurt was *unbelievable* in "The Doctor"):

First, NBC Entertainment yesterday announced a new one-hour drama series, "Mann & Machine," which will replace "Hot Country

Nights" in the 8 p.m. Sunday timeslot, starting April 5...

"M&M," from Wolf and Universal, is "set in the near future, when artificial intelligence has produced superhuman cyborgs to aid in law enforcement"...

David Andrews plays Bobby Mann, a tough city detective who's still "attempting to uphold the old-world police traditions his father followed," even though he's partnered with Eve (Yancy Butler), "a cyborg with superhuman intelligence but the emotional level of a 7-year-old child"...

"Hot Country Nights," which averaged an 8.2/12 in 13 outings this winter, is still "a candidate for next fall's schedule," according to a network spokesman...

And then, over at CBS Entertainment, it was announced they're replacing "Knots Landing" with "The Human Factor" in the 10 p.m. Thursday timeslot, starting April 16...

"Human," produced by Universal, stars John Mahoney as a "dedicated physician and unconventional teacher who challenges his students to care for the emotional as well as the physical needs of their patients"...

"Knots" will have completed its 13th season on the network with its April 9 telecast. Currently tied for 47th in the season-to-date rankings, the chances of its landing a spot on the fall schedule are slim and none (by the way, in case you missed it, there's just the teensiest hint of a joke hidden in that last sentence, one of those innocent plays on words that C. Airwaves still finds irresistible)...

Cable News

Starting at 6:30 tonight on C-SPAN, former secretary of state Henry Kissinger will be available on the "live viewer call-in" to discuss U.S. foreign policy and major issues affecting the Commonwealth of Independent States, Eastern Europe and the Middle East...

V.R. "Bob" Farnad has been promoted to executive vice president and senior executive producer of the Cable News Network. He was formerly senior vice president and senior executive producer...

Farnad has been with the cable network since 1983. He is responsible for producing CNN's news and information programming, including anchors, graphics, operations, production, news-features units and the library. He also produces the live, breaking news coverage...

CNBC is getting a face lift. Not only has NBC's three-year-old business and consumer channel announced two pre-Oscar primetime specials featuring people such as Kevin Costner, Barbra Streisand, Warren Beatty and Bette Midler, but it's also introducing a new look, shuffling its primetime schedule and spending \$20 million in a multimedia marketing blitz that includes a \$1 million-a-week watch-and-win contest in June...

Starting Monday, viewers will see a "bold" new logo and on-air graphics ("information that hits home" is the theme); two new shows, "Real Life" and "Real Personal"; and the new Monday through Friday primetime lineup, which begins at 7 with "Smart Money" and is followed by:

At 7:30, "Steals and Deals," "The Real Story" at 8; "Real Life" at 9; "Steals and Deals" at 9:30; "The Dick Cavett Show" at 10 on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays; "McLaughlin" at 10 on Tuesdays and Thursdays; and "Real Personal" at 10:30...

"Real Life," hosted by Cassandra Clayton and Boyd Matson, will explore societal trends and issues. "Real Personal," hosted by Bob Berkowitz and a weekly co-host, will be a live call-in show that will "focus on the problems inherent in forming—and maintaining—relationships"...

Throughout June, a watch-and-win game called "Wealth of Information" will be promoted during "The Real Story" and "Real Life," offering viewers the chance to win \$1 million a week. Consumers will receive game cards through bill stuffers and in TV Guide advertisements...

Oh, about those specials. The first, "Stars & Stardom," airs Sunday at 8 p.m. (it will be rebroadcast at midnight). It's written, produced and hosted by David Sheehan, who works for KNBC in L.A. The second airs on Oscar Eve, Sunday, March 29...

*A national Nielsen ratingzzz point represents 921,000 TV homes; a 25-city overnight point, 431,028 homes; a Washington area point, 18,199 homes...

Jim Hoagland

Is It Time To Strike At Saddam Again?

NEW YORK—Saddam Hussein's dictatorial regime has grown more defiant, not weaker and more compliant as the Bush administration predicted. President Bush's strategy of wearing Saddam down through economic sanctions and an intrusive United Nations presence has failed to break Saddam's grip on power.

Iraq's open defiance and new treachery give the president little choice. He must now consider renewed American air strikes against the nuclear and missile facilities missed by Operation Desert Storm; but he must at the same time overhaul the failed American strategy.

Isolated, punitive bombing runs made in hopes of finally bringing down Saddam could reinforce the dictator's position at home and gain him new sympathy abroad. The Iraqi dictator thrives on the image of small Iraq proudly defying the outside world. He uses it, along with terror and brutality, to keep power.

The drama of foreign military raids destroying concealed weapons stores may appeal to him more than submitting to the drawn-out humiliation of United Nations inspectors systematically destroying Iraq's war machine in public view.

He may also gamble that American warplanes will again miss his most secret and important installations.

Suspicion that Bush is fomenting a crisis now to boost his electoral fortunes are misplaced. Saddam is using the U.S. electoral calendar against this risk-averse president, who in recent months has sought to manage his Iraq problem with smoke and mirrors.

The White House expected sanctions and intrusive inspections in Iraq to strip Saddam of his remaining war material and his authority. But starting two months ago, as Bush's political standing at home plunged, the Iraqis stopped all cooperation with the inspection teams charged with destroying chemical weapons, missiles and nuclear facilities.

"The United Nations has now told us that it cannot carry out its missions in Iraq," says a senior allied official. "The clear implication is that it will take military action, probably by American and British warplanes stationed in the area, to

get rid of Iraq's remaining weapons of mass destruction—unless Saddam backs down at the last minute, when the dust covers start coming off the bombers."

Saddam sent Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz to the United Nations this week to play for time by stalling new Security Council condemnation of Iraq. Bush needs to regain control of the pace and timing of this phase of the U.S.-Iraqi face-off. But new air strikes should be conceived and attempted only as part of a comprehensive plan.

The president should make clear that air strikes are not being launched to bring Saddam down. They would be intended to destroy as much of the large quantities of weapons of mass destruction Iraq is still building or concealing as possible. Saddam's fate is not the key issue right now.

The steady erosion of U.N. authority that Saddam has achieved by his cheating and retreating tactics must be reversed. Once unsheathed, American air power should stay deeply involved in Iraq, keeping the Iraqi army at bay while the United Nations gets food and protection to Iraqi citizens as authorized in Security Council Resolution 688.

The CIA's covert programs—three have been authorized since Iraq invaded Kuwait, I am told—have been ineffective largely because they became enmeshed in the intrigues and rivalries of Arab intelligence services, particularly in Saudi Arabia. U.S. covert dependence on those forces should be abandoned.

Recent newspaper and television reports of a major new U.S. effort to overthrow Saddam have been much smoke about little fire. Bush authorized a new program only after Rep. Stephen J. Solarz (D-N.Y.) and other congressional hawks made clear that they would challenge Bush publicly on his failure to mount an effective covert program if the president did not move.

A major policy review served to deflect congressional pressure and avoid embarrassment at home. But it does not seem to signal a muscular new approach to the Iraqi crisis.

Kurdish leader Massoud Barzani, a key figure in the opposition, told the State Department this week that he is willing to come to Washington for high-level meetings. But he wants clear American statements supporting democracy in Iraq, autonomy for a Kurdish region inside a united Iraq and a full U.S. commitment to enforcing Security Council Resolution 688 to emerge from such talks.

Those are reasonable expectations. A few more bombs will not do what Operation Desert Storm could not do. But evidence of a serious new political commitment to democracy in Iraq by America could turn out to be poison for Saddam.

For the Record

From remarks by Sen. Tom Harkin (D-Iowa) yesterday on NBC's "Today" show:

Q: What do you think the message is of your failed campaign, that liberal Democrats, old-fashioned liberal Democrats, are no longer wanted or desirable?

A: I don't like to focus on what went wrong; I want to focus on what went right. I think the message that we took out there has taken hold; first of all, that we've had 12 years of trickle-down economics, and it's killing this country. Let's get rid of it. Now that seems to be the accepted wisdom in the Democratic Party. Secondly, the Cold War is over. Let's quit spending so much money defending Europe and Japan and bring the money home and invest it here in our people. ... And third, I talked about investing our resources in our children. I had an 11-point children's trust initiative to start focusing on early childhood intervention and education programs. ... It's interesting now that at least one or two of the front-runners now are taking the message that I started with last summer.

Q: You enjoyed the support of some of the larger unions. Obviously, labor's support will be crucial next week in Michigan and Illinois. To whom do you think organized labor will turn?

A: I don't know. That's going to be up to organized labor. I do know two things have to happen in this country: We have to recognize that people should have the right to organize and bargain. If you look to the strongest economies in the world, they have very attractive labor unions. Secondly, labor unions have to change. They have to become a partner with government and business in setting up job-training and apprenticeship programs to get our young kids and get them the best vocational training possible.

Administration Seeks \$2.5 Billion Sale of Top-Line Weapons to Kuwait

Associated Press

The Bush administration wants to sell Kuwait a \$2.5 billion package of America's top-of-the-line air defense weapons, including 450 Patriot and 342 Hawk missiles, the Defense Department said yesterday.

The proposed sale "will help improve the security of a friendly country which has been and continues to be an important force for political stability and economic progress in the Middle East," the Pentagon said in a statement.

It said Congress already had been told of the package designed to improve Kuwait's battered defenses in the wake of the Persian Gulf War.

Lawmakers have 30 days to reject the sale.

Little opposition was expected, because the weapons are considered defensive in nature.

The proposed package includes six Patriot firing units, one training unit and support equipment such as radar sets, engagement control stations and launching stations.

The sale also would include six batteries of the Hawk medium-range guided missile system. The mobile, all-weather missile system was designed to defend critical installations and battlefield forces from low- to medium-altitude air attacks.

Nixon Warns Bush to Aid Russia, Shun 'New Isolationism'

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, MARCH 12, 1992

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Staff Writer

Former president Richard M. Nixon, combating what he called "a new isolationism" in both political parties, challenged President Bush yesterday to sponsor a major assistance program that would support a non-communist Russia at a potential turning point in world history.

As the national debate intensified over the administration's response to the political and economic revolutions in the former Soviet Union, Nixon appeared here at a conference sponsored by his presidential library, marking his most explicit and highest-profile foreign policy role since resigning the presidency in August 1974.

Bush, in response, delivered his first foreign affairs address in months under Nixon's sponsorship last night, defending his record and declaring that as in the Nixon era, "we've got to find a way to square the responsibilities of world leadership with the requirements of domestic renewal."

After avoiding the subject in recent speeches, Bush described foreign policy as "a powerful determinant of the quality of life here at home" and said that "the responsibility for supporting an active foreign policy is one for every American."

Bush said little, however, about two measures which have often been described as the most urgent: a \$1 billion U.S. contribution to an international fund that would stabilize the Russian ruble, and a \$12 billion increase—proposed by the administration but stuck in Congress—in U.S. resources for the International Monetary Fund, a major portion of which would be used for large-scale aid to Russia.

In a news conference earlier in
See POLICY, A22, Col. 1

the day, Bush said that where he and Nixon "might have a difference is, we're living in a time of constrained resources. There isn't a lot of money around" to deal with foreign policy needs.

Surrounded by former luminaries and functionaries of his ill-fated administration, Nixon told the conference attended by more than 200 people that without major outside aid, Russia may turn to "a new despotism" which could be "a far more dangerous threat to peace and freedom, and particularly to peace, than was the old Soviet totalitarianism."

If that happens, Nixon said, the much-discussed peace dividend will disappear and "we will have to re-arm, and that's going to cost infinitely more than would the aid that we would provide at the present time."

Nixon's call for more vigorous U.S. action was echoed by a bipartisan group of senators just back from Russia and Ukraine. Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.), chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee and

Ambassador Strauss said "it's just shocking" that Russian aid has not been a major topic in the presidential campaign.

delegation leader, said, "The United States government is not yet organized and not yet energized to play the kind of constructive role that we believe our government and our people must play." Nunn described the present moment as "a unique time in the history of mankind [with] a window of opportunity that no one knows for sure how long it will remain open."

Russian Ambassador Vladimir Lukin, in his first appearance since presenting his credentials to Bush yesterday afternoon, told the Nixon conference that "Russia needs help" and said the choice ahead is "Russian democracy or Russian authoritarianism."

U.S. Ambassador to Russia Robert S. Strauss, appearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, also appealed for prompt U.S. assistance and private investment and said it is "outrageous" that the United States has been unable to provide its share of the planned International Monetary Fund increase. Strauss said "it's just shocking" that Russian aid has not been the subject of major discussion in the current presidential campaign.

Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger, who has been charged with organizing assistance to Eastern Europe and the nations of the former Soviet Union, defended the scope of current U.S. aid, telling a congressional committee yesterday that "simply throwing money at the situation" could do more harm than good.

On a similar note, the senior Russian expert on the National Security Council staff, Ed Hewett, told the Nixon conference that the West provided Russia with \$44 billion in

aid in the past two years "and no one is quite sure where it went." With the Yeltsin government asking for another \$20 billion, he said the West must ensure that this time the funds flow "in a way that will make a difference."

Nixon's appearance at the conference in the midst of hotly contested presidential primary campaigns was a major political event galvanizing the discussion among both Republicans and Democrats about aid to Russia and other states in the former Soviet Union. Nixon's return was preceded by publication of a scathing memorandum in which he criticized the "pathetically inadequate response" by the United States to Russia's first post-communist government.

Apparently in deference to Bush, who served as ambassador to the United Nations and Republican national chairman during the Nixon administration, the ex-president deleted the harshest words of his recent memo from his remarks yesterday, though the overall message was the same.

Nixon compared the current political scene, in which pollsters are telling candidates to avoid mention of foreign assistance, with that of 1947 when President Harry S. Truman, despite his unpopularity and lack of public support for overseas spending, asked Congress for large-scale aid to Greece and Turkey—aid that evolved into the Marshall Plan for Europe. The following year, Nixon recalled, Truman's boldness in meeting a historic need was not a bar to his surprise victory at the ballot box.

Standing at the front of a hotel ballroom replete with American flags, the 79-year-old Nixon struck the pose of the man in an arena so familiar to his political campaigns and presidency. With his hands clasped in front of him when not gesturing for emphasis, he spoke as often before into a single microphone without notes, a lectern or Tele-Prompter. Occasional hoarseness and a few more verbal miscues than usual were the only reminders of the passage of nearly two decades since his days in the White House.

There was only the barest reference to the disgrace and resignation that flowed from the 1972 break-in at Democratic Party headquarters in the Watergate complex. Conference chairman James R. Schlesinger, who served as director of the CIA and secretary of defense under Nixon, said the former president "has weathered a storm that would have been fatal to most other men."

Although the conference was sponsored by the foundation that runs the privately funded Nixon Library and Birthplace in Yorba Linda, Calif., it did not appear to be a fund-raising event. Conference organizers said financial support for the event was provided by the John M. Olin Foundation and Archer Daniels Midland Co.

Dimitri Simes, a Russian expert at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, said he and Nixon Library director John H. Taylor originated the idea of the conference believing that while the United States is at a "historical crossroads" in foreign policy, the relevant issues are being ignored in the current presidential campaigns. Nixon was not involved in the detailed planning for the event, Simes said.

Staff writers Ann Devroy and John Lancaster contributed to this report.

Democrats Trade S&L Charges

Clinton Aides Produce Letter Crediting Tsongas on Deregulation Measure

By Howard Kurtz and Edward Walsh
Washington Post Staff Writers

CHICAGO, March 11—Former Massachusetts senator Paul E. Tsongas has discovered a new campaign issue—and so apparently has Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton.

Referring to what he called Clinton's "S&L caper," Tsongas today began using it to portray Clinton as a weak and vulnerable challenger to President Bush in the fall.

Clinton dismissed Tsongas's charge about his vulnerability on the S&L issue as "the most ridiculous thing I've ever heard," and then raised a charge of his own, in the form of a document a senior campaign aide produced tonight that appeared to tie Tsongas to the deregulation of the thrift industry in the early 1980s.

As the Democratic presidential campaign rolled into the industrial Midwest for Tuesday's crucial Illinois and Michigan primaries, Tsongas introduced the S&L issue by citing reports that Clinton and his wife, Hillary, entered a real estate partnership in the late 1970s in Arkansas with a friend who later acquired an interest in a failing, state-regulated savings and loan association.

Tsongas said that if the Democrats nominate Clinton, they will neutralize the national S&L scandal as an issue and, in effect, throw away a "trump card" that could be used against Bush in the fall.

In a brief interview later in the day, Clinton responded by saying Tsongas "plays a little loose with the facts." His staff later showed reporters a Dec. 8, 1983, letter to a Tsongas aide from James J. Butera, vice president of the National Council of Savings Institutions, saying the Massachusetts senator had been "instrumental in accomplishing" the deregulation of the industry.

The letter described a Tsongas amendment that allowed S&Ls to invest a portion of their assets in commercial real estate, a move that is widely seen as contributing to the failure of hundreds of S&Ls whose loans went sour.

Butera said the amendment "clearly demonstrates that Sen. Tsongas was responsible for the initial legislation that brought about the diversification of the thrift industry into limited commercial lending activities."

Clinton aides said the governor had not planned to use the S&L issue against Tsongas, but that "if we're hit, we're going to respond."

Tsongas campaign manager Dennis Kanin said, "The problem in the 1980s was no supervision of S&Ls and a government too

closely tied to the industry. . . . The Clinton error in judgment is reminiscent of practices during the Reagan-Bush administration that triggered the national savings and loan crisis."

The charges and countercharges and the beginning of an onslaught of negative advertising here underscored the stakes in next week's contests as Tsongas and former California governor Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr. try to blunt Clinton's momentum.

Clinton appeared testy today despite his Super Tuesday victories in the South. He harshly denounced Tsongas and heatedly denied that he had abandoned his moderate message.

"Give me one example!" Clinton barked at a news conference at which Chicago Mayor Richard M. Daley said nice things about him but made no endorsement.

Tsongas first raised the S&L issue while flying here this morning from Massachusetts, and then later at a news conference here at which he recalled a remark by Sen. Bob Kerrey (D-Neb.), who dropped out of the Democratic race last week.

"Bob Kerrey said the other day that he did not believe that Bill Clinton was electable, and that was before the S&L caper," Tsongas said. "If you begin to lose all these issues because of the Democratic nominee, how do you campaign against George Bush?"

A nominee "who has a business relationship with someone that he regulated," Tsongas added, "is not the strongest candidate against George Bush."

A Clinton ad says: "How much do you know about Paul Tsongas's economic plan? Page 22—he proposes a capital gains tax cut for the rich. Page 21—cuts in cost-of-living increases for older Americans. Page 54—more nuclear power plants. And Page 50—a 50-cent hike in the gas tax over 10 years. . . . Isn't it time we closed the book on the 1980s? Paul Tsongas—more of the same."

But Tsongas repeated his accusation that the Arkansas governor has been "pandering" to voters.

A Tsongas ad describes him as a political outsider: "He's not Bill Clinton, that's for sure. He's the exact opposite. Paul Tsongas is not afraid of the truth."

Clinton's campaign in Michigan got the endorsement today of Joel Ferguson, chairman of Jesse L. Jackson's successful 1988 primary campaign in the state. But the support of a key political force in both Michigan and Illinois—organized labor—is in doubt. Leaders of 11 unions that supported Iowa Sen. Tom Harkin until he dropped out of the race Monday will meet in Washington Thursday to plan their next move.

Staff writer Frank Swoboda in Washington contributed to this report.

HIGHLIGHTS

volved with a date-rape victim through a hot-line service (Channel 5 at 9).
Street Stories (CC). With updated reports on a family living in the Arizona desert, San Diego street gangs and Washington, D.C., good Samaritans (Channel 9 at 9).
Wings (R) (CC). Brian determines to cheer up Fay after she loses the Nantucket Women's Tennis Championship (Channel 4, 9:30).

L.A. Law (R) (CC). Brackman fears for his reputation after a gay-bashing episode, and C.J.'s pompous father (David Hemmings) arrives to open old wounds (Channel 4 at 10).
PrimeTime Live (CC). With a report on court-appointed attorneys in the South, and a St. Louis fundamentalist couple who committed their daughter's "honor death" (Channel 7 at 10).
Knots Landing (CC). Pierce terrorizes the community, Karen and Mack try to protect Meg's identity, and Claudia gets a powerful new promotion (Channel 9 at 10).

Late Night

The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson. With actor Burt Reynolds, comedian Pete Barbotti and sports personality Ahmad Rashad (Channel 4, 11:35).
Late Night With David Letterman. With actors Demi Moore and Bruce Willis, singer Tanita Tikaram and chef Giuliano Buglialli (Channel 4, 12:35 a.m.).

Friday Morning

Today (CC). With reports on athlete Bo Jackson and the Broadway musical "Crazy for You" (Channel 4 at 7 a.m.).
Good Morning America (CC). With singer Gloria Estefan, actor Jack Palance and Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens (Channel 7 at 7).
CBS This Morning (CC). With actor Sidney Poitier (Channel 9 at 7).

■ "Street Stories" on WUSA.
■ A repeat "Columbo" on WJLA.
■ Plus a one-hour "Around Town" and a Poirot "Mystery" on WETA.

Public Broadcasting

Around Town. A one-hour pledge special with reviews of the plays "Conrack" and "The Wizard of Hip" and the film "This Is My Life" (Channel 26, approx. 8).
Mystery: Poirot III (CC) (DVS). Parts V and VI of eight. Poirot finds mystery and adventure in the superstitious Norfolk village of Marsdon Leigh and on the Queen Mary, safeguarding bonds from London to New York (Channel 26 at approx. 9).

Primetime Movies

Columbo Goes to College (R) (1990) and suspects two rich, spoiled students of killing their instructor (Channel 7 at 8).
My Dear Secretary (1948). Laraine Day is an author working as a secretary for Kirk Douglas; with Keenan Wynn. Two hours (Channel 50 at 8).

Series

The Cosby Show (CC). While Clair offers legal help to a public radio station, Cliff sits in on a Latin show with musicians Mario Bauza and Willie Colon (Channel 4 at 8).
The Simpsons (CC). The Simpsons are swept away with lottery fever (Channel 5 at 8).
A Different World (CC). Ron tangles with a fast-paced woman at his car dealership, and Kim receives her medical school application results (Channel 4, 8:30).
Drexell's Class (R) (CC). Otis copes with the age difference between himself and an attractive new teacher (Channel 5, 8:30).
Cheers (R) (CC). Woody must act fast to prevent Kelly from marrying a wily French photographer (Channel 4 at 9).
Beverly Hills, 90210 (R) (CC). Brandon falls for an older woman, while Brenda gets in-

William Raspberry

Saying No to a Tax Cut

Political candor on taxes—already wounded and weak—took a mortal hit that day in 1984 when Walter Mondale accepted the Democratic nomination for president. Said the feckless Fritz: "Taxes will go up. Let's tell the truth. It must be done, it must be done. Mr. Reagan will raise taxes, and so will I. He won't tell you. I just did."

Mondale was trounced in the general election by Ronald Reagan, and no major candidate has had the guts to be candid about taxes since then. No matter that the nation is suffering an economy-crippling deficit that is growing with no end in sight. No matter that Congress has about reached the limit of easy spending cuts and seems to have no heart for the hard ones. No matter that even with no new spending programs, the deficit will keep growing. Don't expect your candidate to tell you the truth: that, in government as in your household, there are just two ways to get out of debt—*increase income or reduce spending.*

Now everybody in the world knows that, and yet few politicians are willing to say it out loud, for fear of getting Mondaled.

Well, two things about that. First, I'm not at all that sure that Mondale's candor is what cost him the election. I mean, he wasn't exactly running away in the polls before his clever remark. Second, the people may not be as stupid—or even as selfish—as the pols think they are.

The reason for that guarded optimism is the recent ABC-Washington Post public opinion poll that found a 52 percent majority opposing a \$400 annual income-tax cut for most Americans.

Now the truth is, I don't know what that means. It may mean that most voters think \$400 isn't enough to make any difference in their personal circumstances. Maybe they think it would (at worst) drive up the deficit or (at best, offset by a tax increase on the rich) leave the deficit unchanged. The way the question was posed did not give respondents a chance to tell us *why* they oppose the \$400 cut.

But I hope it's because people are growing tired of being treated like spoiled children who want what they want when they want it, no matter who gets hurt—even if it's themselves. I'd like to think the voters in that polling sample are saying:

Now look, I could always use a few hundred bucks, but let's get real. All that would mean is one payment on the car I'm afraid to buy in the

first place. I'd rather see the politicians do something about fixing the economy so I can quit worrying about being laid off. I'd rather hear them talk about rebuilding the infrastructure, encouraging research and development, creating jobs, reducing the deficit.

I know there are still some economists out there who tell us the deficit doesn't matter all that much, but I can't see how they could be

"The people may not be as stupid—or even as selfish—as the pols think they are."

right. Face it: We're spending a net of some \$200 billion just on interest, which, of course doesn't buy us anything. The deficit, approaching \$400 billion for this fiscal year, may be (as Reagan hoped it would) a brake on new programs, new spending and government growth. But it is also a brake on the national economy. The problem is, it's hard to build much of a political constituency for deficit reduction—especially when every group fears that someone else's program will escape the budget ax while its own program will be sacrificed. It's hard to spark a national debate over the best way to restore the economy when voters doubt that any of the candidates knows how to do it.

Instead of the consensus such a debate could produce, what we get is a lot of talk about "fairness"—which turns out to mean: *I want mine!*

And that, of course, is why the politicians think we're selfish enough to sell the national future for a \$400 bag of beads and a promise of "no new taxes," except for the other guy.

My own suspicion, perhaps unduly encouraged by the recent ABC-Washington Post poll, is that Americans are as ready for economic leadership as they were for military leadership during the Persian Gulf crisis. That doesn't mean any of us wants a tax increase, any more than we wanted to send loved ones off to fight in the gulf. It just means that people don't mind enduring sacrifice if they think the end is worth it.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, MARCH 12, 1992

Is Bush Misreading GOP Protest Vote?

Moderates Fear Shift to Right Will Backfire

By E. J. Dionne Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

Ever since Patrick J. Buchanan launched his challenge to President Bush, the Bush administration has acted on the assumption that gestures to party's right were the best way to contain the Buchanan threat.

But moderate Republicans are concerned that the administration is misreading the Buchanan challenge and veering to the right at a time when the president's core problem is more a matter of economic discontent and general voter unhappiness with the political system.

These Republicans fear that Bush's moves now will only hurt him in the fall campaign against the Democrats, who now seem likely to be led by a nominee with considerable appeal to moderates in both parties.

"The message of Buchanan is discontent with the circumstances, but it's less of an ideological message than he'd like to think," said Rep. Jim Leach (Iowa), a leading Republican moderate. Referring to Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton and former Massachusetts senator Paul E. Tsongas, Leach noted that Bush was being pressured to move to the right at the very moment when "both Democratic front-runners have moved to the center."

"It's not correct to put it [the Buchanan challenge] in narrow, ideological terms," said Rep. Thomas E. Petri (R-Wis.). "There's a general disorientation and discontent out there."

The Bush campaign itself increasingly views the Buchanan vote as a broad message of discontent rather than simply an ideological

protest—which helps explain Bush's moves this week to look more presidential.

Robert M. Teeter, Bush's campaign chairman, told reporters Tuesday night that Buchanan's voters were more concerned about the economy than the electorate as a whole.

Buchanan backers, he said, are "concerned that the president lead the country in a clear direction on the problem of helping bring the economy back."

That has been the message of exit polls in the primaries so far. For all of Buchanan's fervent conservative talk, the core of his support has come more from discontented voters than from ardent conservatives.

In Tuesday's Massachusetts primary, for example, ideology made virtually no difference in how people voted. Among Buchanan voters, 54 percent called themselves conservative and 46 percent called themselves moderate or liberal; among Bush voters, 54 percent also called themselves conservative, and 46 percent called themselves moderate or liberal.

In the South, Buchanan did better among conservatives than among liberals and moderates, but not by much. Overall, 64 percent of Buchanan's supporters in Tuesday's southern primaries called themselves conservative, but so did 54 percent of Bush's voters.

Where the two constituencies differed most was in their attitudes toward the economy—and toward their own economic circumstances. Among Buchanan voters, for example, 48 percent described their own family financial situation as having worsened in the last four years; only 18 percent of Bush's supporters said that. Similarly, 43 percent

of Buchanan's voters rated the national economy as poor, as against only 13 percent of Bush's voters.

And although Buchanan has seized on social issues such as racial quotas on the stump and in his television commercials, economics seemed far more important to those who cast ballots for him. Among Buchanan voters in the South, 42 percent listed the economy and jobs as a central reason for their vote; only 8 percent listed quotas.

The one conservative issue that has worked for Buchanan also is economic: his attacks on Bush for breaking the "no new taxes" pledge Bush made in 1988 have resonated in every primary, with Buchanan voters much more likely than Bush voters to list taxes as a voting issue.

Republican conservatives have generally welcomed Bush's moves to the right—and see a shift right on taxes as not only true conservatism but also good politics. But many in their ranks also argue that the Bush team would be mistaken to view Buchanan's challenge in narrow terms.

Rep. C. Christopher Cox (R-Calif.) said Buchanan had profited from "this unfocused, inchoate discontent with Washington." Buchanan, he said, "can get votes because he isn't the president and he isn't the Congress."

Cox and other conservatives argue that the message to be drawn from this is not that Bush should drift toward the center but that he should seize on anti-Washington themes by running against the Democratic Congress.

With his March 20 deadline for congressional action on his economic plan looming, Bush seems to be doing so. For Cox, the positive aspect of the Buchanan challenge to Bush is that "it has made it easier for him to move in that direction."

NEWS
ANALYSIS

THURSDAY, MARCH 12, 1992

Lawyer Will Review Arkansas Land Deal

By David Maraniss and Michael Weisskopf
Washington Post Staff Writers

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., March 11—A day after presidential candidate Bill Clinton emerged as the Democratic front-runner, his campaign asked a Denver lawyer today to perform a "full financial review" of a land deal involving the Arkansas governor and the owner of a failing savings and loan that was represented before state regulators by Hillary Clinton's law firm.

The lawyer, Jim Lyons, an old friend of the Clintons, said he hoped within a week to resolve whether the governor and his lawyer-wife unduly benefited from the land deal, which began with the purchase of 230 acres in the Ozark mountains in 1978, or at any point improperly used their positions to benefit their partner and longtime friend, Jim McDougal.

In 1983, McDougal became majority owner of the now-defunct Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan, which later sought state approval for a new capitalization plan in an ultimately unsuccessful effort to keep it from being closed.

Announcement of the review came as Clinton's rival, former Massachusetts senator Paul E. Tsongas, said the "S&L caper" would make Clinton a weak and vulnerable challenger to President Bush in the fall. The Clinton campaign released a thrift official's 1983 letter praising Tsongas for helping to deregulate the industry. [Details, Page A14.]

While announcing Lyons's review, campaign aide Loretta Lynch said Clinton and his wife "incurred significant personal debt and made substantial cash contributions" to the White Water Development Co., which they had formed with McDougal and his wife, Susan, to develop the land into vacation lots.

Although Clinton said Sunday he lost at least \$25,000 in the venture, his campaign has not substantiated the losses or provided evidence of direct payments by the Clintons to account for their 50 percent interest in the Ozarks project.

The project was financed with two loans, totaling \$202,000, obtained in 1978 by the Clintons and the McDougals. The first loan, used for the down payment on the land, was acquired without collateral from a Little Rock bank while Clinton was the state's attorney general and was running for governor. The second loan, for the bulk of the purchase price, used the land itself as collateral. It is unclear who paid the \$20,000-a-year in combined interest and principal.

Although interest payments are deductible on federal income tax returns, the Clintons reported only one interest disbursement in the 1980s connected directly to the White Water project, according to their tax returns. In 1980, \$9,000 was reported in payments to McDougal.

Less is known about income earned by White Water from the sale of 42 lots, cut up into three- to five-acre blocks and priced at up to \$12,000 for riverfront property.

Twenty-four lots were sold in 1985 to Ozark Realty Co. for \$35,000 and a twin-engine Piper Seminole aircraft valued at about \$30,000, campaign aides said. None of the transactions appeared to have been reported in the Clintons' tax returns, and aides said they do not know what happened to the plane.

Another unresolved issue concerns the extent of Hillary Clinton's legal representation of McDougal's Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan, over the years.

The Rose law firm, in which she is a partner, represented the thrift in 1985 when it successfully sought state approval to issue preferred stock as a means of increasing its capital to the required 3 percent of assets. The briefs submitted to the state securities department on the issue were signed by the firm, with a notation that questions should be directed to lawyers Rick Massey or Hillary Clinton. The thrift was taken over by federal regulators in 1989.

The Clintons and lawyers for the campaign and at Rose said this week that the brief was the extent of Hillary Clinton's involvement with the S&L. But Susan McDougal said in an interview yesterday that she recalled Hillary Clinton actively soliciting the thrift's business sometime before its troubles came to the attention of regulators.

"Hillary came in one day and was telling us about the problem. The problem was finances, her finances," Susan McDougal said. "She came to Jim's [McDougal's] office. I remember Jim laughing and saying afterward, 'Well, one lawyer's as good as another, we might as well hire Hillary.'" McDougal added: "She was on retainer. I remember everyone sitting around laughing and saying: 'We need to hire Hillary Clinton.'"

Jim McDougal, whose role in the land deal and the savings and loan served as the centerpiece of a New York Times story Sunday that first revealed the enterprises, was not available for comment today. His mother and his wife said he had left his home in Arkadelphia, Ark., for a few days to do business in Louisiana.

Webster L. Hubbell, a partner and spokesman at Rose, said that nothing in the law firm's records indicates that Hillary Clinton brought in the Madison Guaranty business. "That's a new one on me," he said.

Hillary Clinton was campaigning in Illinois today, and Hubbell and Lynch said they had been in touch with her and would provide a direct response from her as soon as possible.

McDougal and Clinton were longtime friends whose relationship dated to the late 1960s when they worked on the staff of Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.). Although Clinton and McDougal were alike in many ways—both loved politics, both were gregarious, energetic men with a storytelling flair—McDougal was interested in making money while Clinton was obsessed with gaining political stature. McDougal was a deal-maker even in his twenties, putting together real estate ventures for Fulbright and a host of other Arkansas politicians.

The development along the White River in north-central Arkansas was conceived by the McDougals. Susan McDougal said she put in the most money among the four participants. Asked how much the Clintons put into it, she said: "Not as much as we had," but she said she could not remember how much.

But land values in Arkansas and much of the South and Southwest plummeted shortly after the venture began. Rather than seeing quick profits, the partners have said they found themselves putting more capital into the deal and ended up losing money. At a news conference on Sunday, Clinton estimated that he and Hillary lost "at least \$25,000" during the course of the investment.

Lawyers for Clinton said this week that it was an arduous task to locate various records related to the land deal. Lynch said the records were scattered and incomplete and that it appeared McDougal had many of them.

But Susan McDougal, who served as secretary for the White River venture, said she once had all the records but gave them to the Clintons. "Gov. Clinton has the records," she said. "I delivered them to him. I took them out of the filing cabinets and gave them to my brother, who took them to the governor's mansion." McDougal said she gave the Clintons the records sometime in the last four years, but she could not remember when. "It was actually Hillary who asked me for them," McDougal said she was not certain why the Clintons wanted the records.

The documents she turned over to the Clintons, McDougal said, included "every sheet of paper on White Water, every file I had, all the purchase agreements, copies of the deeds, all monthly payments by customers, all checks written by the corporation, all correspondence."

Clinton lawyers have said the governor and his wife have only partial records of matters relating to the land deal.

THURSDAY, MARCH 12, 1992

U.N. scolds defiant Iraq

Baker: U.S. to warn Iran on Scuds

By Johanna Neuman
USA TODAY

BRUSSELS, Belgium — Secretary of State James Baker, one day after a North Korean ship believed carrying Scud missiles docked in Iran, said the United States will soon warn Iran not to move or sell the weapons.

"I rather suspect we will pass a message through (the Swiss government) with regard to ballistic missile transfers into the Middle East, letting them know of our concern," Baker said.

Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev, at Baker's side, hinted at a U.N. Security Council session, saying that is "the mechanism which must rapidly and effectively respond" to Iran's new arsenal.

The two met for nearly five hours Wednesday, most of it an attempt to narrow differences on a new nuclear arms reduction pact.

"The primary difference between us now continues to relate to timing of further reductions," Kozyrev said. "The timing has not been agreed to, nor frankly has the exact mix of reductions."

The main difference: Moscow wants to reduce sea-based and land-based multi-warhead missiles across the board. Washington wants to first cut land-based missiles, where Russia has the advantage, before lowering the U.S.'s vaunted Trident submarine fleet.

Baker and Kozyrev meet again soon, hoping to bridge their differences in time for the June 16-17 Washington summit between Presidents Bush and Boris Yeltsin.

"We worked in the spirit of the Camp David declaration," Kozyrev told reporters of his talks with Baker.

Before leaving Brussels, Baker participated in the launching of a Moscow-based International Center for Science and Technology, meant to employ hundreds of Soviet nuclear scientists who might otherwise be lured to what Baker called "unsavory" nations.

"Our task is urgent," said Baker. "We must translate the idea into a working reality as expeditiously as possible."

The center, which planners hope will be open by early summer, is funded by contributions of \$25 million from the United States and the European Community. Also contributing Japan and Canada.

Baker, asked about complaints from some U.S. scientists that the new center will rob them of jobs, said it is a matter of "national security" to find jobs for the Russians.

By Lee Michael Katz
USA TODAY

UNITED NATIONS — An Iraqi envoy faces more stern questioning today after Western nations Wednesday threatened military strikes over Iraq's game of "cheat and retreat" in destroying weapons.

U.S. Ambassador Thomas Pickering said "Iraq risks making ... another tragic and fateful miscalculation" by failing to comply with U.N. resolutions.

All 15 members of the U.N. Security Council stood and rebuked Iraq's Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz, who sat quietly through hours of debate Wednesday. Today he faces more grilling on specific aspects of weapons and human rights abuses.

Pickering said until Iraq follows U.N. resolutions, "the chances for lifting the sanctions are nil."

He said Iraq's lack of cooperation "is not compliance, but hide and seek, cat and mouse, cheat and retreat."

President Bush also was firm. If Saddam Hussein's government resists, "then we will contemplate all alternatives."

The U.N. Security Council is angered at Iraq's failure to destroy its ballistic missiles, as well as chemical and biological weapons.

Asked if Saddam should fear new military action, British Ambassador David Hannay said "He should worry a great deal."

Aziz said he hoped Western nations "don't miscalculate," and accused the allies of "threats of the use of force ... to complete the fulfillment of the dream to destroy Iraq."

Aziz called for the removal of U.N. trade sanctions, saying they deprive Iraq of money to buy food and medicine. But sanctions do allow oil sales for food and medicine.

"How long will this inequitable siege continue?" Aziz said.

Mohammad Abulhasan, ambassador of Kuwait, whose nation was invaded by Iraq, said Iraqi hardships "were caused ... by the policies" of Saddam.

Iraq planning terrorism, expert says

By Sam Vincent Meddis
USA TODAY

Iraq's Saddam Hussein, employing Palestinian terrorist groups, is planning revenge attacks against Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, says an ex-CIA counterterrorism chief.

"You've got a very cornered, embittered, angered Saddam Hussein ... lashing out," says Vincent Cannistraro, former operations and analysis chief of CIA counterterrorism.

The attacks are being planned "now" — even as Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz meets in New York with the United Nations to plead for relief from tough economic sanctions, says Cannistraro.

Cannistraro, citing reports from contacts in the Mideast, says attacks would be carried out by Palestinians opposed to peace talks with Israel who've been wooed by Saddam.

"You've got a very cornered, embittered, angered Saddam Hussein ... lashing out."

— Vincent Cannistraro, ex-CIA counterterrorism chief



Their Iraqi-sponsored mission includes the assassination of officials of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, says Cannistraro.

In November, the Bush administration's top terrorism advisers said they had concluded that if Saddam remained in power, he would likely seek revenge for his humiliating defeat by the U.S.-led coalition.

Attacks have already been "commissioned" by Iraq and assassins are now believed to

be taking preparatory steps such as surveillance of targets, says Cannistraro.

Kuwaiti and Saudi officials are most vulnerable when traveling or stationed in foreign embassies — particularly in Thailand, Austria, Switzerland and Germany, where terrorists have safe houses and stashes of weapons and explosives, Cannistraro says. Car bombs and shootings can be expected.

"I wouldn't find it surpris-

ing," says Raed Rifal, press attache for the Kuwaiti Embassy in Washington.

Rifal says he hasn't seen any current reports of Iraqi-sponsored assassination plans, but "we still take precautions."

Ariel Merari, a terrorism expert with Israel's Tel Aviv University, says it's plausible that Saddam would want to take revenge but he hasn't seen "anything concrete" that attacks are in the works.

Saddam may feel inhibited from ordering attacks, fearing international reprisals. "He would be careful not to do anything that would worsen his position," says Merari.

Also, many Palestinian terrorist groups may be reluctant to launch attacks because they have strong ties to Syria, which receives financial support from the Saudis, Merari says.

► Iraq warned again, 1A

ELECTION '92

A LOOK AT THE CANDIDATES AND THE ISSUES

Bush applauds his 'strong defenders'

President Bush still has trouble taking on his GOP opponent by name. On Wednesday, though, he went a bit further, saying, "You don't have to be a ... rocket scientist" to know he wants Pat Buchanan to drop his challenge, cheering on surrogates who have denounced Buchanan on the White

Election coverage

- Inquiry, 7A
- Democrats campaign in Midwest, 7A
- The labor vote, 7A

House's behalf. "I endorse the strong defenders I have out there and am very pleased they're out there getting the message out loud and clear," Bush said.

Among his surrogates: Republican Chairman Rich Bond, who Buchanan described him as a David Duke with "a jacket and tie." Bond fired back that Buchanan "gets a little wilder and wilder. Last night he got clobbered in eight states and he wants me to step down."

FELLOW DEMOCRATS: One of these days Bill Clinton or Paul Tsongas will be the Democratic nominee for president, or so it appears at this juncture, and the other one will probably say nice things to help get him elected.

But not yet. From their newest TV ads, airing in Illinois and Michigan before next Tuesday's primaries:

► Clinton ad: "How much do you know about Paul Tsongas' economic plan? ... He even says he'll be the best friend Wall Street's ever had. Isn't it time we close the book on the 1980s? Paul Tsongas, more of the same."

► Tsongas ad: "This is Paul Tsongas. He's not pretty. He's not very polished. He's not the guy with all the endorsements from politicians because he doesn't just make promises. ... He's no Bill Clinton, that's for sure. He's the exact opposite. Paul Tsongas, he's not afraid of the truth."

FILM FLAP: The director of a controversial documentary about black homosexuals, *Tongues Untied*, is accusing Patrick Buchanan of copyright infringement for using clips of the film in a scathing ad attacking President Bush.

The ad, which shows pictures of dancing gay men in leather pants and chains, accuses Bush of investing "our tax dollars in pornographic and blasphemous art."

Filmmaker Marlon Riggs had a \$5,000 grant from the Rocky Mountain Film Center, which had gotten \$50,000 from the National Endowment for the Arts.

Riggs, who served Buchanan with a legal notice last week, accuses the campaign of colorizing and re-editing his film and has asked the campaign to stop airing the ad.

Says Buchanan spokesman Jerry Woodruff: "These government artists are not only greedy but they're arrogant if they think they can compel us to pay for their junk and then prevent us from talking about it." He said the ad isn't in use now, but he wouldn't say whether it will air again.

Latest delegate count

DEMOCRATIC DELEGATES

To nominate	2,145
Clinton	707.25
Tsongas	348.25
Uncommitted	300.75
Brown	81.25

1 — Count includes party and elected officials who are automatically convention delegates.

REPUBLICAN DELEGATES

To nominate	1,105
Bush	560
Buchanan	45
Uncommitted	6

SUPER TUESDAY RESULTS

Voting results by percentages and delegate counts for top vote-getters in Tuesday's primaries and Democratic caucuses:

Delaware caucus			Republicans		
Democrats	Vote	Del.	Buchanan	17%	0
Brown	19%	2	✓ Bush	72%	33
Clinton	21%	3	Duke	11%	0
✓ Tsongas	30%	5			
Uncommitted	30%	4			
Florida primary			Missouri caucus		
Democrats	Vote	Del.	Democrats	Vote	Del.
Brown	12%	3	Brown	7%	0
✓ Clinton	52%	87	✓ Clinton	45%	34
Tsongas	34%	58	Tsongas	11%	2
Republicans			Uncommitted	37%	21
Buchanan	32%	0			
✓ Bush	66%	87			
Hawaii caucus			Oklahoma primary		
Democrats	Vote	Del.	Democrats	Vote	Del.
Brown	14%	2	Brown	17%	7
✓ Clinton	50%	16	✓ Clinton	71%	36
Hartson	14%	2	(Tsongas was not on ballot)		
Tsongas	13%	0	Republicans		
			Buchanan	27%	0
			✓ Bush	70%	34
			Duke	3%	0
Louisiana primary			Rhode Island primary		
Democrats	Vote	Del.	Democrats	Vote	Del.
Brown	7%	0	Brown	19%	3
✓ Clinton	60%	59	Clinton	21%	6
Tsongas	11%	1	✓ Tsongas	53%	13
Republicans			Republicans		
Buchanan	27%	0	Buchanan	32%	5
✓ Bush	62%	32	✓ Bush	63%	10
Duke	9%	0			
Massachusetts primary			Tennessee primary		
Democrats	Vote	Del.	Democrats	Vote	Del.
Brown	15%	8	Brown	8%	0
Clinton	11%	0	✓ Clinton	67%	56
✓ Tsongas	66%	68	Tsongas	19%	12
Republicans			Republicans		
Buchanan	28%	11	Buchanan	22%	10
✓ Bush	66%	26	✓ Bush	73%	23
Uncommitted	4%	1			
Mississippi primary			Texas primary		
Democrats	Vote	Del.	Democrats	Vote	Del.
Brown	10%	0	Brown	8%	2
✓ Clinton	73%	39	✓ Clinton	65%	94
Tsongas	6%	0	Tsongas	19%	31
			Republicans		
			Buchanan	24%	0
			✓ Bush	70%	121

WHERE CANDIDATES ARE TODAY

Democrats: Jerry Brown: Kalamazoo, Saginaw, Flint, Warren, Mich.; Chicago; Bill Clinton: Chicago; Detroit; Paul Tsongas: Detroit; Rockford, Ill.; Chicago.

Republicans: George Bush: White House; Pat Buchanan: Chicago.

Compiled by Gwen Flanders. Contributing: Judy Keen, Jessica Lee, Brian O'Connell, Leslie Phillips

Nixon: U.S. should lead way on Russia

By Marilyn Greene
USA TODAY

Former president Richard Nixon, denying a rift between him and President Bush on aid to the former Soviet Union, Wednesday renewed his appeal for stronger support for Boris Yeltsin and his reforms. "If America does not lead, who?" Nixon asked a Washington audience of scholars and former Nixon officials. "This is our moment of greatness. It's

our moment of truth."

Earlier, Bush told a news conference he thinks he and Nixon are in agreement on aid to Yeltsin but that the United States has limited resources.

"There isn't a lot of money around," Bush said. "We are spending too much as it already is. I don't have a blank check for all of that."

Nixon expanded on a recent essay he wrote in which he described U.S. efforts to aid Russia as "pathetically inade-

quate." He didn't repeat his criticism of Bush.

"I have no rift with President Bush," Nixon told reporters Wednesday. "What I was trying to do here was to focus attention on what I consider to be the major foreign policy issue of our time."

Nixon said billions of dollars are needed to stabilize the ruble and open markets for exports to the West, and for humanitarian aid.

"If Yeltsin fails... the peace

dividend is finished, we will have to rearm, and that is going to cost infinitely more than would the aid that we provide at the present time," he said.

In a speech to the same audience Wednesday night, Bush did not directly address Nixon's call for more aid to Russia.

Carrying out a leadership role will cost money, "but like any insurance policy, the premium is modest compared to... living in a warring and hostile world," Bush said.

In a Capitol Hill appearance Wednesday, U.S. Ambassador to Moscow Robert Strauss said Germany leads in Russian aid.

Sen. Patrick Leahy, D-Vt., chairman of the appropriations subcommittee in charge of foreign aid, said the White House and Republicans need to more actively lobby for the billions needed for Yeltsin.

"I cannot pass an administration package by myself."

► Peace pitch, 6A

Bush says he'll prevail

Sees wins in election, economy

By Jessica Lee
USA TODAY

President Bush used a White House news conference Wednesday to separate himself from the election-year pack and brag about his 15 straight primary victories.

Bush said the results of Super Tuesday — in which he won eight primaries — show voters "feel I have the experience and leadership to take America in new directions."

While polls indicate confidence in his management of the economy has hit all-time lows, Bush told reporters that he was sticking with his previously announced policies to fire up the economy and create jobs for Americans.

Bush insisted that his seven-point package of investment incentives will revive the economy. If lawmakers reject it and send him a tax increase instead, Bush pledged that he'll veto it.

As he reads the electorate, Bush said, people are "less interested hearing somebody blaming somebody." He said voters ask: "Now what are you going to do about it? How are you going to help us?"

Bush said he quit the political campaign trail to return to the White House to "make clear to the American people that we're trying to do something about it."

That roughly 30% of GOP



PLEASSED WITH VICTORIES: President Bush talks to reporters during his news conference at the White House Wednesday. He said he has the 'experience and leadership' the voters want.

By Jean-Louis Allen, Agence France-Press

primary voters have failed to support him, Bush said, has more to do with the economy's sluggishness than his performance as president.

"I think when we get through defining clearly my objectives for this country, it will all come out when we get to the general election that these people will be voting for me," he said.

Bush, who won the White House with a promise to deliver "four more years" of Reagan administration policies, showed little concern about criticism that his per-

sonal goals for the country remain undefined three years and two months into his four-year term.

Bush called the news conference — a format that showcases his command of government and policy issues — at a time when his political team is debating what to do if Congress stonewalls his economic revitalization plan.

With nine days to go until the March 20 deadline he set, Bush still isn't sure what he'll come back with if Congress ignores him: "I haven't decided it."

Bush resisted taking shots at Congress, however. He sidestepped an opportunity, for example, to blast lawmakers as bad check writers. Nor did he harp on the March 20 deadline.

"Later on, we'll have all the debate out there as to the responsibility of Congress or changing Congress," he said, suggesting that war will be conducted during the general election period.

The November contest is "not even in focus yet," Bush contends, because the Democrats have no nominee.

Bush picks 'manager' to head NASA



GOLDIN: Began his career as a NASA scientist

By Paul Hoveston
USA TODAY

The man President Bush wants to lead NASA has a reputation as a hard-nosed manager who builds reliable spacecraft on time and on budget.

But Daniel Goldin, vice president of TRW Space & Technology Group, remains a political unknown to many in the civilian space community. He lacks the high profile of outgoing NASA chief Richard Truly, an ex-astronaut and retired admiral, who will stay until April 1.

"I began my career at NASA 30 years ago; this is like coming home," Goldin said after Bush

nominated him Wednesday.

Bush said Goldin, who needs Senate confirmation, would work with Vice President Quayle, head of the National Space Council, to "assure America's leadership in space" — notably completion of the \$30 billion space station Freedom by the year 2000.

Truly has said he was asked to resign in a dispute with the Space Council about his leadership. Among the disputes, the council disagreed with NASA over the space agency's reliance on the shuttle and pushed instead for building a new fleet of unmanned rockets.

Goldin, 51, started at NASA

in 1962 as a research scientist. Since then, he has built hardware for both NASA and the Defense Department, including parts of the Strategic Defense Initiative. He became known to the Space Council largely through a report he edited for the American Astronautical Society in 1989 on U.S. competitiveness in space.

"He's a good manager," says Jerry Grey, space policy and technology chief at the American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics.

"The biggest problem NASA faces is how to conduct its programs with a flat budget. ... Goldin is a money guy who un-

derstands how to build successful spacecraft," Grey says.

John Logsdon, space policy studies director at George Washington University, says Goldin's low profile "is not necessarily bad... and has the potential to be positive" for NASA in budget fights with Congress.

Rep. George Brown, D-Calif., who chairs one space panel, says Goldin "appears to bring a great deal of management and technical experience," though Brown doesn't know him.

Goldin, a fitness buff and avid bicyclist, lives with wife Judy in Manhattan Beach, Calif. They have two daughters, Ariel, 27, and Laura, 25.

COMMENT

Pressures mount to 'anoint' Clinton

Democratic chairman Ron Brown is caught in a tug of war over Bill Clinton.

The pressure is mounting on Ron Brown to do something he doesn't want to do.

Supporters of Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton are urging the Democratic chairman to step forward and proclaim their man the winner of the party's presidential nomination, even though he's yet to amass enough delegates to make it official.

But others within the party, who are scared to death that Clinton will be the nominee, are demanding that Brown find a way to derail his campaign.

Caught in the middle of all of this, Brown acknowledges the pressures. His response: With 10 primaries scheduled in the next four weeks, everything will work itself out.

He says his concern remains trying to keep all Democratic eyes on the ultimate prize: the presidency.

"Our opposition is a very, very vulnerable George Bush," Brown said, trying to focus attention on the president's political woes and away from the tug-of-war now taking place among Democrats who have picked up the scent of victory. "And what helps us now is that people really think we have a shot at winning. ... Psychologically, that's a big help."

As for now, Brown says DNC staffers are just trying to figure out whether the party's convention "will be a coronation or a contest."

But if Clinton's people get their way, a coronation will take place long before the July convention.

Those who want Brown to "anoint" Clinton say that, by sweeping seven Southern and border states Tuesday, he's put his campaign on an irreversible course to victory. And by acting now to signal that Clinton has the nomination all but wrapped up, Brown will free up party fund-raisers and strategists to concentrate on the general election campaign.

Brown will only say that "everything will work itself out by April 7." Illinois, Michigan, New York and seven other states will have held primaries or caucuses by then, and chances are someone will have enough muscle — if not the delegates in hand — to claim the nomination.

For those who believe charges of marital infidelity and draft-dodging have irreparably damaged Clinton's chance of defeating Bush, the prospect of his becoming the Democratic nominee sends chills down their spines. Given the chance, they say, Clinton will drag a lot of other Democrats down with him.

Still, Brown says he's not inclined to tamper with the process. It's up to Democratic voters, he argues, not party insiders, to decide who the nominee will be.

That's how it is supposed to work, but Brown may find it difficult not to succumb to one of these pressures.

After all, it's been a long time since Democrats last managed to win the presidency. And with a real chance of winning the election this year, it appears some of them are willing to do almost anything it takes to unseat George Bush.



By DeWayne Wickham, a columnist for Gannett News Service and USA TODAY.

Primaries' turnout: Hardly 'super'

INTERVIEW

Political expert Curtis Gans says today advocacy is determined by polling rather than by values, and our politics suffer for it.

Q: Voter turnout was down in a lot of states on Super Tuesday. Why aren't people voting?

A: There are a lot of factors: the conduct of our campaigns; the weakening and lack of clear advocacy of the political parties; the lack of anticipation and responsiveness, perceived by the people, of government. Things like "Read my lips" — and then new taxes. People doubt their leaders will deliver on their promises once elected.

Q: Anything else?

A: Ethical standards. Nothing but negative elections since 1964. Increasing complexity of our society; decline in civic values and civic education. More stressful lives.

Curtis Gans is director of the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate in Washington, D.C. He was interviewed about voter dissatisfaction and low turnout by USA TODAY's Richard Benedetto.

Q: Is there a feeling "my vote doesn't count anymore"?

A: The hard research shows there are three fundamental attitude changes since we've been experiencing the decline. The first is a decline in people's sense of whether their vote makes any difference. The second is a reduced identification with either major political party. And the third is a decline in newspaper reading as a primary source of information.

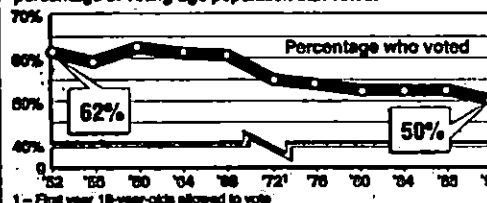
Q: A lot of people complain about the quality of the candidates today. Are candidates less qualified now?

A: We're different from 20 or 30 years ago when there were a lot of pillars of the party in Congress. That has a lot to do with the consultant revolution and the decline of the political parties. Now we have a politics of free-lance operatives rather than a politics of any sort of collective leadership. Advocacy is determined by polling rather than by values. Our politics is suffering from that.

Q: In the exit polls Tuesday,

Fewer voters going to polls

Eligible voters have been going to the polls in fewer and fewer numbers. Here's a look at past presidential elections and the percentage of voting-age population that voted:



Here's a look at some of the states that already have had primaries this year, and percentage of those eligible who voted compared with 1988:

State	'88	'92
Texas	38%	29%
Florida	43%	28%
Georgia	40%	33%
Rhode Island	13%	13%
South Dakota	43%	28%

Source: USA TODAY research

By Marty Baumann, USA TODAY

a lot of the Democrats voting were saying: "We want other candidates in the race." Don't people say that all the time?

A: They do, although it's been much more so lately. You have a special case this year in which a lot of prominent Democrats chose not to run. In 1988, you had a situation in the general election in which people were not comfortable with either George Bush or Michael

Dukakis after the nomination.

Q: Traditionally, turnouts in primaries are low unless there is some overriding issue. This year, we saw an increase in New Hampshire.

A: You have two different pictures. The first is a legitimate protest within the Republican Party against "Read my lips," a failing economy and what appears to be a lack of di-

rection of George Bush.

Q: What about Democrats?

A: First, you're dealing with a group of comparative unknowns. Secondly, you're dealing with a group without deep emotional appeal in any particular sector of the electorate. Third, which probably has something to do with Tuesday's low turnout, has to do with the grouping of primaries in which you essentially have an anti-campaign and you're not involving people.

Q: Are voters just lazy?

A: I hate the word apathy because it puts the blame on the voters. But if you have campaigns run almost exclusively on negative commercials, if you have parties that either stand for something way out of the mainstream or nothing at all, if you have a government that appears ineffective in dealing with crisis, if you have media cynicism, I don't blame the voters first.

Q: What will the turnout be in the fall election?

A: The question is, what is the unemployment rate on Sept. 1. If it's 8%, turnout will be up and, in my judgment, George Bush will be a lame duck, barring something disabling about the Democratic candidates. If there's a perceptible recovery, it could be down again.

Super Tuesday results: What newspapers are saying

EDITORIAL ROUNDUP

A sampling of editorial opinion on Super Tuesday election results:

The Miami Herald

On its second try, Super Tuesday finally did for the Democrats what its architects intended all along: It made a Southern moderate, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, the party's front-runner early enough in the nominating process to build strong national recognition and support. ... March is often the month of attrition among presidential candidates. As the field narrows, the voters' focus will shift from who would make the best candidate for their party to who

would be the best president for the nation. That's the crucial question for the ultimate Super Tuesday — the first Tuesday in November.

Detroit Free Press

Super Tuesday helped answer some important questions about the presidential selection process, but it leaves fundamental issues for us in Michigan and for our neighbors in Illinois. Our presidential primaries will be pivotal. ... The Super Tuesday states left their mark on the races. We hope that we in Michigan can help make our Tuesday a defining moment in the selection process.

Newsday, Long Island

Sound bite No. 1, from Paul Tsongas: "Super Tuesday was meant to eliminate somebody like me. Well, I'm still here." Right about the second part; not

quite about the first. Super Tuesday was dreamed up by conservative Democrats as a defensive measure, to keep some Yankee liberal from running away with their party's presidential nomination while other candidates were still clearing their throats. And this year, it worked. ... It worked so well that it made the governor of Arkansas a strong front-runner going into next week's primaries.

The Sun, Baltimore

Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton's sweep of the South, including swing-state Florida, puts former Massachusetts Sen. Paul Tsongas in a defensive, must-win situation heading into next week's primaries. ... President Bush ... has the nomination well in hand and Patrick Buchanan sooner or later will have to decide how much longer he will continue to tear down his party's titular leader.

THURSDAY, MARCH 12, 1992

USA TODAY

COVER STORY

'How can I trust them with my money?'

Continued from 1A

The ethics committee voted to name only those members who had overdrafts exceeding their next month's net paycheck in more than eight of the 39 months. Members, who earn \$129,500 annually, take home \$2,500-\$6,000 a month.

However, most Democrats argue that the bank wasn't really a bank, likening it to an unregulated mutual fund set up by Congress and financed by members' paychecks. The bank closed last December in the wake of the scandal.

When one account was overdrawn, it was covered by money borrowed from other members' accounts. No taxpayer money was used.

But House leaders are "crazy" if they think they can get away with naming only the very worst abusers, says Rep. Dan Rostenkowski, D-Ill., chairman of the powerful committee that writes the tax code.

"Ultimately, we will disclose every member," says Rostenkowski, who says he didn't bounce checks.

Says Rep. Jack Brooks, D-Texas: "The federal government never lost a dime on this, not a penny." He adds, in a reflection of fear of voter backlash, "When someone abuses the hospitality at your home, you don't call the cops and shoot them."

Democrats expect to take the biggest hit — and Republicans gleefully keep the heat on with screams of "coverup."

"We're all being tainted," says Rep. Henry Hyde, R-Ill.

Republicans are pressing for the names of every member who wrote a bad check. Republicans figure members would have to vote against colleagues or explain to voters back home why they didn't.

Voters are waiting. "Just when you think you've heard it all from Congress, there is something new," says Nancy Conger, a Falls Church, Va., secretary. "My congressman can be as guilty as the next one ... and I believe I should be given the opportunity to vote him out of office."

"If I can go to jail for writing a bad check, why shouldn't

Problems dog sergeant-at-arms

By Tom Squitieri
USA TODAY

The question on Capitol Hill last week was who shot their J.R. — House Sergeant-at-Arms Jack Russ. This week the question is when Russ might be forced to leave his \$115,092-a-year job.

Russ, in charge of the House bank, was shot in the mouth March 1. He reported to District of Columbia police that two men robbed him as he was walking his dog in a park five blocks from the Capitol. No suspects have been arrested and no bullet or shell has been found.

But whispers on Capitol Hill — where Russ is under increasing pressure for his role in "Checkgate" — and in the D.C. police department, which has insisted it keep control of the investigation, suggest doubts remain.

"As of now, we're still investigating it" as a robbery, Police Chief Isaac Fulwood Jr. told reporters. He said police "have no hard evidence" Russ' story is not true but that "time will tell."

"This whole thing is ludicrous," said Russ, 46. "It's a cheap shot. You'd have to be so unbelievably sick to put a gun in your mouth and pull the trigger and then dispose of it."

The shooting is Russ' newest problem:

► He wrote 19 bad checks from his House bank account totaling \$36,100 in the period from July 1988 to August 1989.

► His lax control over the bank was criticized by a congressional panel after he failed to implement management reforms recommended in 1990.

► The 1,340-member Capitol Police force, which Russ partially controls, is deeply divided over a new forced retirement plan that would force out 140 cops by November.

Russ, a fast-talking Tennessean who worked his way up to sergeant-at-arms over 23 years, brushed off rumors he may be fired: "I couldn't care less what someone is trying to do politically to do more damage."

This has not been his only bad year: ► In 1991, minority members on Capitol Police force accused him of delaying proposals to promote them.

► He drew a written reprimand for having Capitol Police "arrest" and jail a friend from a September 1989 bachelor party.

Rep. Mary Rose, Oakar, D-Ohio, who chairs the House accounts, personnel and police subcommittee, issued that reprimand. She has withheld comment on Russ' current problems and fate.



IN THE BAG: Rep. Jim Nussle, R-Iowa, wore a bag on his head in the House in October to protest banking practices of colleagues.

they?" asks Betty Driggers of Lexington, S.C., a Holiday Inn employee. "If I can't trust them with their checking accounts, how can I trust them with my money?"

"Why should they live high-

er than us? Why do they make our laws and don't obey it themselves?" asks retiree Ralph Chamberlain of Kewaunee, Wis.

In a year when the anti-incumbent mood runs rampant,

the banking scandal may ignite the "throw the bums" out furor.

Former Rep. Larry Hopkins of Kentucky, a Republican, already has faced election fallout from bounced House checks. Hopkins lost the gubernatorial race last November after disclosing he had bounced more than \$4,000 in checks.

Still, Republicans hope to gain more political points from the scandal. Outnumbered by 102 Democratic seats, they expect more Democrats, including very powerful ones, to have bounced checks.

"This is not a witch hunt," says Rep. Jerry Lewis, R-Calif. "But it is time to let the people know this is a result of the Democrats running this institution for 50 years. We need full disclosure to rebuild the credibility of this place."

"The people simply don't trust Congress anymore," says Rep. Dick Zimmer, R-N.J.

A group of freshmen Repub-

Dirty two dozen

The House ethics committee identified 24 members as the worst abusers in the check-bouncing scandal. The committee, studying a 39-month period, looked at the number of months a member's overdrafts exceeded the next month's salary. Included are some former members who did not hold accounts the full 39 months. The committee released no amounts for the overdrafts.

Member status	Months overdrawn	Member status	Months overdrawn
1. Current	35	13. Current	14
2. Current	31	14. Current	13
3. Current	30	15. Current	13
4. Current	23	16. Former	12
5. Current	23	17. Former	12
6. Current	21	18. Current	11
7. Current	20	19. Current	10
8. Current	18	20. Current	9
9. Former	18	21. Former	9
10. Former	16	22. Current	8
11. Current	15	23. Current	8
12. Current	15	24. Current	8

A MINORITY OPINION

The Republican minority wants to identify more bouncers, citing the six additional members below who would not be included under the full committee's criteria:

Bad checks	Total amounts	Months overdrawn
850+	\$160,000+	7
700+	\$100,000+	6
500+	\$85,000+	4
500+	\$100,000+	4
500+	\$100,000+	5
400+	\$180,000+	6

Source: House ethics committee

How banking scandal unfolded

► Sept. 18, 1991: General Accounting Office audit found House members cashed more than 8,000 bad checks in previous year at informal House bank. Sergeant-at-arms Jack Russ has charge of the bank, where many members keep accounts to receive paychecks and travel funds.

► Oct. 2, 1991: After public outcry, House agreed to close bank and ordered ethics committee to investigate the check-bouncing.

► Oct. 9, 1991: Committee named six members to investigate. Subcommittee was given account information identified only by numbers, not names, to ensure fair treatment. Committee focused on 39-month period ending Oct. 3, 1991.

► Oct. 10, 1991: Ethics Chairman Louis Stokes, D-Ohio, excused himself from probe after admitting he cashed at least one bad check. House Majority Leader Thomas Foley, D-Wash., also admitted to at least one bounce.

► March 5: After receiving subcommittee report, the ethics committee recommended the full House vote to identify 24 members as the worst abusers — 19 are in House; five are former members. Committee said the 24 had overdrafts exceeding their next month's pay for more than eight of the 39 months. Republicans called for greater disclosure of abusers.

Coming up

► House votes Friday on whether to identify abusers and how many to identify.

licans, the "gang of seven," has pushed for every name since the scandal broke last fall.

"We're concerned the House is trying to hide," says Rep. Jim Nussle, R-Iowa, who donned a paper bag on the House floor last fall to protest the "coverup."

Lawmakers running scared have asked for letters from House Sergeant-at-Arms Jack Russ vindicating them of check bouncing. Russ is in hot water, too, mismanaging the bank — and bouncing checks on it.

Some members already have scrambled to tell all. House Speaker Thomas Foley, D-Wash., acknowledged he bounced a check when buying stereo equipment.

On the campaign trail, lawmakers in tough races are preparing for the fallout.

In Maryland's new 1st Congressional District, Rep. Wayne Gilchrest, a Republican, and Rep. Tom McMillen, a Demo-

crat, face off in November because redistricting cast them into one district.

"Nobody will have a choice about disclosure," says Gilchrest. "I will probably ask him, 'Tom, did you bounce any checks, yes or no?'"

McMillen is ready. He never had a House bank account and he's calling for the names of every member who bounced checks, not just the hot 24.

"We cannot begin to repair the reputation of the House of Representatives without a full accounting to the public of the activities of members who bounced checks at the House bank," McMillen says in a statement this week as the scandal erupted anew.

The fight over how many lawmakers to expose may sour the public's confidence in their representatives even more.

"This is going to have an impact all year long," says James Coyne of Americans to Limit

Congressional Terms. "Congress will try to stonewall this and their own political stupidity will ensure it will stay a hot issue all year long."

"A \$4 trillion debt is so far beyond comprehension that people can't get a grip on it," says John Gargan, founder of Throw the Hypocritical Rascals Out, which also wants to limit terms. "This will have a tremendous impact because people can identify with this."

Some lawmakers say the scandal already has hurt the institution almost beyond repair. "Where does it stop?" asks Rep. John Lewis, D-Ga., who wants only the names of the 24 champion liars released.

"If you release financial records now, is it medical records next? Then, urine specimens next year? We're public servants. We're not perfect, but we have to bring this to a close."

Contributing: Tom Squitieri

COVER STORY

Debate today on whom to identify



By Judi Hasson
USA TODAY

House members may finally face the wrath of voters this fall over a practice that's been going on for decades — bouncing checks at the House bank and getting away with it.

The bouncing buck stops today when the House debates whether to publicly identify at least 24 members — more, if Republicans prevail — who wrote bad checks at the informal House bank. A vote is expected Friday.

A House ethics committee report out Wednesday provides a glimpse of problems found in a review; 24 members were the worst abusers. For example, one member wrote 996 bad checks, and bounced at least one check in 33 of the 39 months reviewed.

The report mentioned no names. Voters will have to wait at least 10 days after the debate to discover whether their representatives were abusers — while members facing disclosure in secret plead their cases to the ethics committee.

Please see COVER STORY next page ►

USA TODAY

Candidates pursue the elusive union label

Midwest: A proving ground

By Bill Nichols
and Adam Nagourney
USA TODAY

DETROIT — The Democratic presidential campaign moved Wednesday into the Midwest, where the attacks were as bitter as the wind.

With unemployment at 8% in Michigan and 8.5% in Illinois — the national average is 7.3% — Tuesday's primaries will be a key test of the candidates' economic messages.

Paul Tsongas arrived here muddled but unbowed after Bill Clinton's southern sweep Tuesday. Tsongas' chartered jet was mistakenly towed into a soft spot on the runway at Chicago's Midway Airport as it prepared to take off, stranding it for several hours.

"Let me begin by categorically denying the press account that Bill Clinton was responsible for our plane being in the mud," Tsongas told a rally.

It was the nicest thing Tsongas or Clinton said about each other all day.

Tsongas said a *New York Times* article on Clinton's involvement in an Arkansas investment deal tied to a now-failed savings and loan convinced him that Clinton is "unelectable."

Clinton called Tsongas' attack "a real sign of desperation on his part.... We tried to close that S&L for three years before the federal government did."

And Clinton aides distributed a 1983 thank-you note to Tsongas from a thrift industry group for working to let thrifts to expand their activities.

Tsongas vowed to stay in the race at least until California's June 2 primary, saying his vulnerabilities "are on the issues," not "character and judgment."

But at a fund-raiser in Dearborn, Mich., Tsongas took another swipe at Clinton. Tsongas was talking about his own pro-choice stance on abortion when he made a not-so-veiled



By Sue Ogrook, Reuters

IN ILLINOIS: Bill Clinton listens as wife Hillary addresses Maire South High School near Chicago, where she was a student.

reference to allegations of marital infidelity by Clinton.

"I want women," Tsongas said, then paused, adding: "No, that's the other guy."

Jerry Brown, meanwhile, said only he appeals to workers who "know they've been ripped off" and "just don't understand why all these jobs are going south to Mexico."

Both Clinton and Tsongas began running tough new TV ads. Tsongas' ad boasts "he tells the truth.... He's no Bill Clinton." But it offers no specifics.

Clinton's ad says Tsongas backs a "capital gains tax cut for the rich... cuts in cost of living increases for older Americans... nuclear power plants... a 50-cent increase in the gas tax over 10 years."

But it doesn't mention that Clinton himself hasn't ruled out future nuclear power plant construction and in 1986 supported a resolution to freeze temporarily cost-of-living adjustments for the elderly.

In Chicago, Clinton met with Mayor Richard Daley and bristled at questions about his warm praise for Daley and suggestions he might consider him as a running-mate.

"I was not pandering to the mayor or anyone else," Clinton said. "I didn't ask the mayor to

endorse me today."

Daley posed with Clinton but said he had no desire to be vice president and had no plans to endorse anyone.

Clinton said his success in winning a broad coalition showed that people like his challenge to "brain dead" politics in Washington. He also said "I didn't change my message at all" in different regions. "I defy you to give me an example."

In the South, Clinton described himself as a populist, "people-first" candidate who stressed such programs as job training. He described Tsongas as a candidate for "Wall Street" supporting "trickle down" business tax breaks.

But in the Midwest, he returned to his theme that government help should be conditioned on individual responsibility: "I'm very much into the notion that if you (government) do more for them, you ask more from them."

Tsongas also downplayed speculation that he has to win either Illinois or Michigan: "We have to be competitive in these two states and then carry it on to places like Connecticut and New York, which we think will be the real showdown."

► Bush's game plan, 4A

By Patricia Edmonds
USA TODAY

You can dress up the presidential candidates in their borrowed union-logo jackets. And you can take them out to the guild halls of Michigan and Illinois, labor-conscious states that hold primaries on Tuesday.

But this election year, it seems, you can't find one candidate that labor loves — or any unified "labor vote" for candidates to court.

Some analysts call that proof that unions have degenerated into just one more special interest. Some labor leaders just call it a crying shame.

Labor's vote Tuesday "will be dispersed," says Michigan AFL-CIO President Frank Garrison. "That means the labor movement doesn't really help anybody" — including itself.

Since labor favorite Sen. Tom Harkin dropped his presidential bid, union leaders are left with two candidates they consider flawed — Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton and former Massachusetts senator Paul Tsongas — and one they con-

sider palatable but unelectable: former California governor Jerry Brown. (The leaders don't even pretend to consider Republicans George Bush and Patrick Buchanan, though many of their members do.)

Tsongas opposes a bill — labor's top priority — that would bar employers from permanently replacing striking workers. Clinton supports the bill — but, like Tsongas, he supports a free trade pact with Mexico that most unions oppose.

Brown has a strong pro-labor record — he supports the striker replacement bill and opposes the trade bill. But recent polls suggest that, in a triumph of practicality over ideology, unionists are eyeing Clinton or Tsongas, fearing Brown has no real shot at the nomination.

Still, Brown will draw a protest vote, says Garrison: "Not because anybody believes he's not a squirrel, or he's going to win, but at least he's talking about... issues that concern workers."

With little time to regroup after Harkin's exit, most union leaders have told members just



By Scott Olson, Reuters

NOT A CLEAR FAVORITE: Paul Tsongas at Harper High School in Chicago on Wednesday. He's expected to share the labor vote with rivals Bill Clinton and Jerry Brown.

to vote their preference — dropping any pretense of delivering a "union vote."

Some analysts say the "union vote" wouldn't matter much anyway. They say it's been eroded by losses in membership and loyalty.

From 1983 to '91, the portion of the U.S. workforce belonging to unions dropped from 20% to 16%, says Malcolm Cohen, director of the University of Michigan's Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations.

Even that 16% isn't guaranteed. "It's one thing to get the leaders behind you — and it's quite another" to get the rank-and-file, says David Rohde, a Michigan State University political scientist.

In the 1980s, Rohde says, "leaders worked to get out the

vote to Democrats — and their rank and file voted for Ronald Reagan and George Bush."

Brookings Institution scholar Gary Burtless, a former Labor Department economist, says that, given "diminishing numbers and effectiveness in presidential campaigns, labor now is regarded as just another special interest group." In contrast, in the 1950s and 1960s, labor was "the voice of blue-collar and working people."

Former UAW president Douglas Fraser, now teaching at Detroit's Wayne State University, dismisses such eulogies for lost labor clout.

"People say, 'The labor movement has lost its potency.'"

"But you notice," Fraser adds, "that every single candidate goes after that vote."

Democrats' views on bill

Labor unions say the proposed "Workplace Fairness Act" is a matter of fairness.

Businesses complain there's nothing fair about encouraging union workers to go on strike.

The bill — opposed by Paul Tsongas and supported by Bill Clinton and Jerry Brown — would ban employers from hiring permanent replacements for workers striking over economic issues.

It also bans employers from giving advantages to a worker who crosses a picket line to return to work.

Sponsors Sen. Howard Metzenbaum, D-Ohio, and Rep. William Clay, D-Mo., say the bill is needed because companies force workers into strikes and replace them with lower-paid, non-union employees.

It passed the House 247-182 in July and may pass the Senate, but President

Bush has vowed to veto it.

Clinton says the bill is needed to counter "the anti-labor climate fostered by the Reagan and Bush administration." Brown agrees. But Tsongas says "neither labor nor management should have too much leverage," and instead calls for compulsory arbitration to settle strikes.

Business owners, such as D.A. Payne of Family Baggy Restaurants in Livonia, Mich., complain the bill "will eliminate any sincere negotiations on the part of labor by giving labor a win-win situation whenever a dispute arises."

Alan Reuther, chief Washington lobbyist for the United Auto Workers, says Tsongas will lose union support because he "opposes the striker replacement bill, the top priority of the labor movement."

— Bob Minschbetzner

THURSDAY, MARCH 12, 1992

USA
TODAY

The Middle Class Boom of the 1980s

TRW Manager Named by Bush To Head NASA

By LAURIE MCGINLEY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON—President Bush named Daniel Goldin, a top TRW Inc. manager with experience in the civilian and military space programs, to head the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

Mr. Goldin would succeed Richard Truly, who was fired by President Bush last month after a series of policy disputes with the White House National Space Council, which is headed by Vice President Dan Quayle, over the space agency's direction.

White House officials said yesterday that Mr. Quayle was involved in Mr. Goldin's selection. Privately, they said the vice president hopes Mr. Goldin will bolster administration efforts to change NASA.

But Mr. Quayle's involvement may exacerbate concerns among some lawmakers that the White House is meddling in NASA's affairs. Yesterday, John Logsdon, director of the Space Policy Institute at George Washington University, said one of Mr. Goldin's first challenges will be to establish himself "as his own man."

"People already are asking, 'Is he a White House lackey?'" Mr. Logsdon said. "He has to quickly identify his priorities."

The nomination, which requires confirmation by the Senate, surprised some members of Congress as well as analysts because he isn't well known in Washington's space industry circles.

From a political standpoint, Mr. Goldin is "an unknown, sort of a David Souter-type," said John Pike, director of space policy for the Federation of American Scientists, referring to the Supreme Court justice. Whereas the 51-year-old Mr. Goldin has spent much of his career working on classified Pentagon projects, Mr. Pike said that "his main responsibilities at NASA will be handling public relations and shaping public perception."

Mr. Pike also said that Mr. Goldin's appeal to the White House is partly due to the fact that TRW has done a lot of work involving small satellites—one of the directions in which the National Space Council wants NASA to move.

The space council has been pushing NASA to be more technologically innovative, and to pursue less costly programs rather than the longer, more expensive ones NASA has embraced.

Mr. Goldin, who is vice president and general manager of the TRW Space & Technology Group, has worked on Intelligence satellites and the Strategic Defense Initiative programs known as Brilliant Eyes and Brilliant Pebbles. He also has been involved in the launch and operation of NASA's Tracking and Data Relay Satellites, which provide space communications.

By ALAN REYNOLDS

One of the more persistent myths about the previous decade is that a small number of people saw huge increases in their incomes, while middle-class incomes stagnated and the poor fell behind. A front page New York Times story last week, "The 1980s, A Very Good Time for the Very Rich," thus claims that 94% of all gains in real, after-tax income between 1977 and 1989 went to the most affluent 20% of families, with 60% of the gains supposedly concentrated among the top 1%.

The source of these figures is a December study prepared for the House Ways and Means Committee by the Congressional Budget Office. The CBO has once again tortured innocent statistics with typically creative agility. The biggest problems arise from using a "tax simulation model" to estimate capital gains. The largest capital gains for the middle class have been on houses and pensions, but such accrued gains are not taxable—so the CBO pretends they don't exist.

Not Adjusted for Inflation

Taxable gains, which alone are counted as income, are often realized on assets held for many years. Yet the CBO fails to adjust the basis of these gains for inflation, and fails to subtract non-deductible capital losses, and thus vastly overstates real income at the top. Since the CBO's estimates of realized, nominal gains in a single year are counted as regular income, the effect is to overstate grossly real gains at the top while excluding, by definition, most gains in the middle. And since more high-income taxpayers realized gains while the capital gains tax was reduced, such increased sales of assets automatically show up as increased "income."

To make matters worse, CBO estimates of capital gains for recent years have been enormously inflated. In 1989, the CBO estimated that capital realizations would total \$254 billion in 1990. However, Rep. Richard Armon (R., Texas) notes that the actual figure came in at around \$120 billion.

Census Bureau surveys are not concocted from tax returns and dubious estimates, and they reveal a far different picture. For all U.S. families, average real income rose by 14.9% from 1980 to 1989, compared to 8.3% in the previous decade. Such a huge increase could not possibly have been confined to a small fraction of families.

A recent Business Week story claims "the bottom 20% of wage earners lagged behind inflation through the 1980s." This is misleading on two counts. First of all, very few family heads in the bottom 20% are "wage earners." Half of the family heads in the lowest fifth didn't work at all in 1990, while only 21% worked full-time all year. By contrast, more than 83% of the families in the top fifth had at least two people working (the average was 2.3).

Second, the claim that the bottom 20% lagged behind inflation is justified by starting with the inflationary boom of 1979 and ending with the recession of 1990. Average real income among the poorest fifth of families fell by 14.5% from 1979 to 1982, but then rose 11.9% between 1982 and 1989. Using 1979 as a base year (or using 1977 as the CBO did), simply averages the Carter collapse against the Reagan recovery. Average real incomes rose in every income group from 1982 to 1989, and were still significantly higher in the recession year of 1990 than in 1980.

The graph shows the really interesting story about what happened in the 1980s. If the middle class is defined as those earn-

ing between \$15,000 and \$50,000, in constant 1990 dollars, then there was indeed a "vanishing middle class" in the 1980s. But this certainly did not mean that those in the middle earned less. On the contrary, it means that 5.3 million families left the middle class by earning a lot more money. What actually happened is not that a fixed percentage of families earned higher incomes, but rather that a much larger percentage of families earned higher incomes.

As the graph shows, 30.5% of American families earned more than \$50,000 in 1990 (in constant dollars); only 24.7% earned that much in 1980. The percentage of families earning more than \$100,000, in 1990 dollars, rose to 5.6% in 1989 from 2.6% in 1980, before slipping to 5.4% in 1990 (the "top 5%," thus included all families with incomes above \$102,358, including all members of Congress).

It is impossible to describe accurately this increased percentage of families earning high incomes in terms of fifths (or "quintiles") of the income distribution. Because there were so many more families earning high incomes in 1990 than in 1980, it meant families now require a much

what did, in fact, happen in the 1980s, and why it remains so widely misunderstood.

When statisticians added up all the incomes in the top 20% in 1990, they no longer included incomes between \$53,716 and \$61,490, which were included in the 1980 average. Any "average income" among the top fifth today is therefore certain to be much larger than before, simply because the supposedly comparable average in 1980 used to be diluted by lower incomes that no longer qualify. This is even more true of the top 5%, or top 1%, where the lowest cut-off point has risen far more sharply. In 1990 dollars, the top 5% included all families with incomes above \$84,088 in 1980, but only those with incomes above \$102,358 in 1990. Once again, we can scarcely be surprised that an average of all incomes above \$102,358 is larger than an average of incomes above \$84,088.

Averaging the incomes above two different income levels is particularly nonsensical at the top. This is because, unlike any other "fifth," the top has no ceiling. The middle fifth in 1990 consisted of families earning between \$29,044 and \$42,040, so the average in that group was roughly in the middle, \$35,322.

Even if thousands of families in this group managed to raise their incomes above \$42,040 in 1992, that would have very little impact on the average income of the group. Instead, families with increased incomes below the top fifth will simply move up into a higher fifth. If millions of families do that over time, the thresholds will gradually be pushed up a bit, raising the average. But the fact that every quintile below the top has a ceiling means it takes a very large number of families earning much larger incomes to create big gains in any of the lower four-fifths of the income distribution.

This is not so at the top, since all pay increases within a top income group must raise the average, rather than moving people into a higher group. At the top 1%, even a few hundred rock stars and athletes can boost the averages.

Tautological CBO

Any average of "top" incomes—from "X" to infinity, where "X" must become larger as more families increase their incomes—is almost certain to grow faster than more narrowly defined income groups, where increases are limited by definition. CBO studies based on this simple tautology are no more enlightening than discovering that an average of all families earning more than \$10,000 a year always experiences greater average income gains than families whose incomes are between zero and \$10,000.

What happened in the 1980s is that a much larger percentage of U.S. families moved up above income thresholds that used to define "the rich." This pushed the thresholds up, necessarily raising the average above the higher top thresholds.

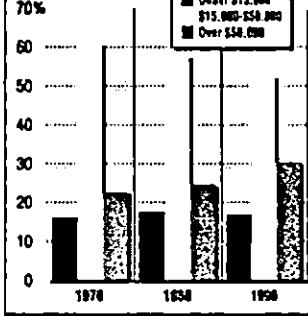
The much-lamented "vanishing middle class" may be a political problem, resulting in a shrinking audience for politicians who base their campaigns on class warfare. But a larger percentage of relatively affluent families is not an economic problem. And all the statistical confusion resulting from an increased percentage of families with high incomes makes the fuss about shares of income going to the top fifth, or top 1%, quite misleading, if not absurd.

Mr. Reynolds is director of economic research at the Hudson Institute in Indianapolis.

Richer Americans

Percent of families in a given income group.

In constant 1990 dollars



higher real income to be averaged within the top 20%, top 5% or top 1%. In 1980, an income of \$53,716, in 1990 dollars, would put a family in the top fifth. By 1990, though, that goal post had to be raised to \$61,490. After all, it is not possible to fit 31% of all families into the top 20%.

Suppose some miracle had lifted the incomes of 60% of U.S. families above \$61,490, rather than 31%. At first glance, this would seem to be a good thing. Certainly the families affected would think so. Yet the effect on income distribution statistics would infuriate habitual income levelers. Since the income currently defining the "top 20%" could not possibly accommodate 60% of all families, a family might then need an income of something like \$200,000 to remain in the top fifth. Clearly, the average of all incomes above \$200,000 is bound to be higher than the average of those above \$61,490.

So, in this hypothetical widening of prosperity, there would doubtless be many hysterical stories reporting that average incomes rose sharply among the top 20%. Indeed, this must be true, by definition. However, incomes in this example would have risen sharply below the top 20% too, which is precisely why the minimum cut-off point defining the top 20% would have to be raised so high. This hypothetical example is simply an extreme illustration of

Shares Drop in Wake of Bush Comment On Rates; Spartan Motors Off Sharply

OTC FOCUS

By ANNE NEWMAN
And DAVE PETTIT

NEW YORK—Over-the-counter shares lost most of Tuesday's gains after President Bush called long-term interest rates "manageable," prompting investors to worry that the economy's recovery could stall if rates don't fall further.

The Nasdaq Composite index slumped 6.32 to 617.14, a 1.01% loss, as declining shares outweighed advancers, 1,291 to 908; 68 shares climbed to new highs and 34 fell to new lows. OTC volume fell to 192.2 million shares from 200.6 million Tuesday. Investors were quick to punish highly-inflated OTC stars such as Spartan Motors, whose earnings fell short of lofty expectations. Spartan Motors, one of 1991's best-performing OTC stocks, plunged 8 1/2 to 25—although the Charlotte, Mich., maker of truck chassis reported that fourth-quarter earnings more than doubled to 21 cents a share from nine cents a year earlier and revenue rose 139% to \$27.2 million. Before yesterday's plunge, the stock had been trading at 46 times the past year's earnings.

Spartan's growth "is an impressive achievement, but the market's in a foul mood if earnings don't go to the sky," said Joel Tillinghast, manager of the Fidelity Low-Priced Stock Fund, which owns the stock. One analyst, he added, had expected Spartan to earn 29 cents a share. Mr. Tillinghast said that he thinks some investors underestimated the seasonality of Spartan's business, which has typically slowed in the December quarter.

Elsewhere, investors pocketed their profits in technology stocks that had rallied sharply Tuesday: Microsoft fell 1 1/2 to 120 1/4. Dell Computer slipped 1 1/2 to 37 1/2. Autodesk dropped 1 1/2 to 30 1/4. Cisco Systems slumped 1 1/2 to 76 1/4 and Intel slipped 2 to 62 1/4. Borland International, which has been slumping amid concerns about the software maker's earnings, extended its slide 2 1/2 to 67.

Despite the stock market swoon, investors snapped up two initial public offerings. Day Runner Inc., which sold 1,575,000 initial shares in an offering led by Montgomery Securities, rose to 17 1/2 from an offering price of 15—up from an originally planned 12 to 14. The Fullerton, Calif., company makes personal organizers.

United Retail Group, the day's most active OTC stock, closed at 16, up 1 from an offering price of 15 on nearly 4.6 million shares. In an offering of 4.4 million shares led by Goldman, Sachs & Co., the Rochelle Park, N.J., retailer sold 3,045,833 shares and Chase Manhattan Investment Holdings sold its entire stake—1,354,167 shares. The price of the offering was raised from an

originally planned range of \$11.50 to \$13.50.

United Retail runs two major retail chains devoted to large-sized women's clothing—Sizes Unlimited and The Avenue. Both chains were purchased by management from Limited, listed on the New York Stock Exchange, in a July 1989 leveraged buy-out. After the offering, a partnership affiliated with Limited and one controlled by the investment firm Lazard Freres & Co. each will own 21.9% of the stock. Officers and directors will own 16.4% of the company's 11.4 million shares outstanding after the offering.

Proceeds will be used to pay nearly all of the company's long-term debt, making United Retail attractive on a near-term basis to Standard & Poor's analyst Robert Natale. Profit grew to 76 cents a share in fiscal 1992, ended in February, from 23 cents a share the prior year, and he estimates earnings could reach 85 cents in the current fiscal year. But Mr. Natale said he recommended investors "flip" the stock, or sell it within a few months, partly because retailing stocks typically sag in the second half of the year.

Plains Spirit Financial closed at 12 1/2 on its first day of trading. Plains Spirit is a holding company formed in connection with the conversion of First Federal Savings Bank of Iowa to stock from mutual ownership. About two million shares were sold in an offering, priced at \$11.50.

York Research dropped 1 1/2 to 4 1/4 on a heavy 981,800 shares. Its chief executive officer, Robert M. Benington, said there weren't any fundamental reasons behind the decline.

Trimedyn Inc. rose 1/2 to 10 1/4. The company received Food and Drug Administration approval to market its Lateralase laser catheter for use in treating certain digestive tract ailments. The product will be marketed under a distribution agreement Trimedyn has with New York Stock Exchange-listed C.R. Bard.

Agouron Pharmaceuticals jumped 2 1/2 to 16 1/4. The La Jolla, Calif., company said its AG-331 drug demonstrated "significant anti-tumor activity" when tested in animals. Agouron said it plans to file an Investigational New Drug application with the FDA for the product later this year.

Biospherics closed with a gain of 1/2 to 8 1/4, after trading as high as 10 1/4 intraday. The company said Big Board-listed Pfizer agreed to evaluate its low-calorie sweetener, D-Tagatose, for use in foods and beverages.

Crestmont Financial added 1/2 to 5 1/4. The Edison, N.J., concern's Crestmont Federal Savings & Loan unit received Office of Thrift Supervision approval to resume non-residential lending. The company had been under a directive not to make such loans since June 1991.

The FOBs

How 'Outsider' Clinton Built a Potent Network Of Insider Contacts

Carefully Cultivated Friends, Many From College Days, Rush to His Aid in Crises

The Kindergarten Connection

By JILL ABRAMSON

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

When allegations of draft dodging threatened to blow up Bill Clinton's campaign, a crew of former Rhodes scholars became his Patriot missile.

The group included Harvard economist Robert Reich, Time magazine editor at large Strobe Talbott and Richard Stearns, a Massachusetts state judge—all friends of Mr. Clinton since their days together at Oxford University. Each talked to reporters about Mr. Clinton's passionate opposition to the Vietnam War and his anguish over his draft status. Another friend from his Oxford days, Michael Mandelbaum, a national security expert from Johns Hopkins University, wrote a New York Times opinion piece staunchly defending Mr. Clinton's actions.

In Georgia, where the draft issue and allegations of womanizing threatened to derail the candidacy, it was Gov. Zell Miller and Sen. Sam Nunn, two friends of Mr. Clinton from the centrist Democratic Leadership Council, who came to the rescue.

Sen. Nunn, the chairman of the Armed Services Committee, lent his credibility on defense matters, while Mr. Miller launched stinging rhetorical attacks on Mr. Clinton's rivals for the nomination.

Nobody collects friends like Bill Clinton—and nobody puts them to better use. Inside the Clinton campaign, they are known as the FOBs—Friends of Bill's—and they make up a remarkable network. Its members include a virtual who's who of the 40-something Democratic establishment, with large contingents from Georgetown and Oxford universities, Yale Law School, the 1972 McGovern campaign, the Democratic Leadership Council and an elite policy organization known as the Renaissance Group.

His extraordinary network of loyalists left Mr. Clinton in position to mount his sweeping victory in this week's Super Tuesday primaries. Now, the FOBs are focusing on next week's critical tests in Illinois, where Mr. Clinton's law school moot court opponent is helping organize the state, and Michigan, where a former roommate is doing likewise.

Mr. Clinton portrays himself as a Washington outsider. "I am not the favorite candidate of the Beltway," he said after his loss in this month's Maryland primary to Paul Tsongas, whom he criticizes for his work as a Washington lobbyist. Yet a host of Washington lobbyists have been Mr. Clinton's "benefactors"—individuals committed to raising at least \$10,000 for the campaign.

"The notion that he'll be an outsider unschooled in the ways of Washington is

really a misperception," says Stuart Eizenstat, a Washington lawyer, former Carter administration official and friend and adviser to Mr. Clinton. "This is a guy who is very much plugged in."

Unlike Mr. Eizenstat's former boss, Jimmy Carter, Mr. Clinton would arrive in the White House with longstanding

ties to official Washington and with an array of friends from the Democratic Party's policy elite, the business world and the legal community. He would be the most Establishment-rooted Democratic president since John F. Kennedy, a surprising feat for the governor of a small, relatively poor state.

Mr. Clinton's friends say they are drawn to him by his intelligence and charm. In addition, after more than a decade of graying GOP leadership, many evidently are lusting for a return to power, and see him as their best hope.

But another reason Mr. Clinton has been able to attract and keep so many friends is simply that he works at it. Mr. Clinton is calculating and ambitious, having set his sights on the presidency during his teen-age years. Throughout his life, he has stayed in touch with people through letters and notes. He has also sought to involve his friends at decisive moments in his career. In 1987, for instance, he summoned a number of them from his Oxford and McGovern days to help him decide whether to mount a presidential campaign in 1988.

"The idea that he would one day be running for president occurred to all of us," says William Coleman III, a Detroit lawyer who was Mr. Clinton's roommate at Yale Law School. Mr. Coleman, son of former Transportation Secretary William Coleman, is helping organize blacks for Mr. Clinton in next week's Michigan primary.

Because he had cultivated so many friends who went on to high places, Mr. Clinton began his presidential effort with a built-in issues-and-money machine. Friends inside Arkansas, such as Thomas

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Bill Clinton

CAMPAIGN
★ 92

The FOBs: Gov. Clinton, a Self-Described Outsider, Has Built Potent Network of 40-Something Insiders

Continued From First Page

(Mack) McLarty, chairman of Arkla Inc., the gas utility, raised millions early in the campaign season. Mr. McLarty attended Miss Mary's kindergarten with Mr. Clinton in Hope, Ark.

After a supermarket tabloid reported allegations that Mr. Clinton had a long extramarital affair, Harry Thomason, another Arkansas native who now lives in Hollywood and produces the hit CBS television program "Designing Women," flew to his old friend's side in New Hampshire. Mr. Thomason helped Mr. Clinton's media advisers put together two live TV programs to answer the charges.

In Baton Rouge, attorney Alston Johnson has been shaking the money trees in Louisiana for his old friend. He nostalgically recalls the summer of 1963, when he and Mr. Clinton met at an American Legion Boys Nation conference in Washington and got to shake President Kennedy's hand. Mr. Clinton uses a photograph of that occasion in his campaigns.

Help From Roommates

All four of Mr. Clinton's roommates from Georgetown campaigned for him in New Hampshire. On Wall Street, another friend from Georgetown days, Roger Altman, an investment banker with the Blackstone Group, has personally raised \$75,000 for the candidate. Mr. Altman says Mr. Clinton's political skills were already so well honed at Georgetown that his successful campaign to become leader of the student government "was like watching a hot knife go through butter."

At Oxford, other future contacts were cemented. Besides fielding draft queries for his friend, Mr. Reich is at the center of the Clinton campaign brain-trust, pumping out issues papers and speeches from his office at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government. "Bill and I have been talking about these issues for 25 years," Mr. Reich says. "The poor man has been encumbered with all my books and articles, and there is even evidence that he has read them."

Mr. Talbot of Time magazine says it "required some reflection" before he spoke out in the press about how many

Rhodes scholars, including Mr. Clinton, felt about the war in Vietnam. "In general, people in our line of work don't become part of the story," he says. But he says he felt compelled to step forward when he saw his friend being attacked as a draft-dodger. "I saw that as an inaccuracy," he says. "Since I was part of that cohort and knew the frame of mind, I felt that I should speak out." Mr. Talbot, who appears regularly on the public-affairs television program "Inside Washington," discloses his friendship with Mr. Clinton when he discusses politics.

Douglas Eakeley, another former Rhodes scholar and friend from Oxford days, says he put together a successful fund-raiser for the campaign in New Jersey last December simply by calling on a list of Mr. Clinton's old pals from Georgetown, Yale Law and Oxford. "To have someone from Arkansas running for president and trying to raise money in New Jersey should have been unheard of," Mr. Eakeley says. "But we raised \$100,000 largely because of this extraordinary network."

Mrs. Clinton's Ties

At Yale Law School, Mr. Clinton met his wife, Hillary, who has her own formidable network of friends. Mrs. Clinton has brought an array of high-powered attorneys into the campaign. They include New York lawyer Susan Thomas, a politically adept former aide to New Jersey Sen. Bill Bradley, who has traveled with Mrs. Clinton and helped deflect questions raised about the couple's investments with a former savings-and-loan operator.

It was also Mrs. Clinton who brought Los Angeles lawyer Mickey Kantor into her husband's inner circle of advisers; Mr. Kantor had served with her on the board of the Legal Services Corp.

From their days organizing Texas for the McGovern campaign, Bill and Hillary Clinton have a small army of followers. Mr. Clinton won Texas so decisively partly because Garry Mauro, the popular state land commissioner, had spent months organizing the state. Mr. Mauro met the Clintons in the McGovern campaign, as did Carl Wagner, a prominent Democratic Party operative whose political counsel Mr. Clinton has sought over the years. Harold Ickes, the New York lawyer who helped manage Jesse Jackson's 1988 campaign and is working the state for Mr. Clinton this year, met him in Project Purse-strings, an anti-Vietnam War effort launched after the 1972 election.

Governors' Network

In 1978, when Mr. Clinton became his state's youngest governor at the age of 32, he invited many of his old friends to his inauguration and even appointed some of them to state jobs. During the Carter administration, Mr. Clinton made sure he was known inside the White House, dropping in on Mr. Elzenstat and others. Later, during the Reagan years, he used the National Governors Association as a vehicle to forge alliances with other elected Democrats. An array of former governors, including James Blanchard of Michigan and Richard Riley of South Carolina, have put

their old organizations to work for Mr. Clinton.

Mr. Clinton's chairmanship of the Democratic Leadership Council gave him access to a host of conservative and moderate Democratic bigwigs, from Sen. Nunn, whose early endorsement helped give his candidacy credibility, to Buddy MacKay, who is now Florida's lieutenant governor. The DLC connection also gave Mr. Clinton an issues factory: Its affiliated think-tank, the Progressive Policy Institute, helped churn out most of the candidate's major speeches last fall.

The least-known of the Clintons' networks may be the one that runs through the Renaissance Group. Founded by a South Carolina businessman and unsuccessful gubernatorial candidate in the early 1980s, it is a nonpartisan, policy-oriented group that spends New Year's Eve weekend attending issues seminars and playing golf in Hilton Head, S.C.

Originally, it included mostly Sunbelt politicians who shared an aversion to going out on New Year's Eve. "The original idea was to spend the time to think about the year just passed and the year ahead," says David Ilishin, a well-known pro-Israel Democrat who serves as Mr. Clinton's general counsel.

The group grew rapidly and includes such disparate members as Supreme Court Justice Harry Blackmun, liberal New York attorney and Kennedy insider Theodore Sorensen and David Gergen, another journalist with whom Mr. Clinton is on friendly terms. At least a half-dozen high-powered lawyers working for Mr. Clinton in Washington, D.C., including Mr. Ilishin, met him through Renaissance. "Bill and Hillary have been at the center of it," says Mr. Ilishin.

'A Message of Change'

Mr. Sorensen draws parallels between President Kennedy and Mr. Clinton. "Kennedy blazed the trail for Clinton," he says. "They both used their youth to fit in with a message of change. They both included a diversified group of friends in their campaigns." The Kennedy campaign included Choate School roommates, old Navy buddies and Harvard brain-trusters. But Mr. Kennedy was born into privilege, while Mr. Clinton, born of modest means, has built his network from scratch.

Lately, there has been some tension between the various concentric circles of FOBs. Some of Mr. Clinton's advisers from the McGovern and early days have tried to push the campaign in a more traditionally progressive direction, while his advisers within the Democratic Leadership Council would like him to sharpen his attack on liberal orthodoxy. Will Marshall, president of the DLC-affiliated Progressive Policy Institute, worries that with so many campaign cooks and so many competing agendas, Mr. Clinton's message has lost some of its "resolution" of late. But if anyone can keep the disparate network together, he says, it is the man at the center of it.

"Clinton is good at getting the best from a wide spectrum of people," Mr. Marshall says.

REVIEW BY

Who Is Bill Clinton?

We doubt that what the United States needs now is an easy re-election for George Bush. The President was talking yesterday about how it'd be great if he were running unopposed for the Republican nomination, free of the Buchanan insurgency. Then he could concentrate on the mercurial Governor from Arkansas. Instead, what this President and the country very much need right now is some serious political competition among serious candidates with serious ideas. For now, we seem headed in the other direction. No wonder voters are surly.

Operation Desert Storm was a grand achievement for the U.S., but it did have the effect of driving relatively strong and familiar Democrats such as Al Gore and Bill Bradley from the field. With Bill Clinton now regnant, the system must once again come to grips at the presidential level with more Democratic mystery and weirdness.

Every four years the Democrats send us another Governor we have to get to know. Getting to know Jimmy Carter took more than a few months. The first time we ran a two-name editorial to get at the mind of a confused policy maker was February 8, 1977, "Jimmy McGovern." It commented on the Carter appointment of Paul Warnke, chief apologist for George McGovern's \$30 billion cut in the Pentagon budget, as head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. This was somewhat surprising from an Annapolis graduate who'd run an anti-Washington campaign, and we noted: "But if he intended to follow the foreign and defense policies so roundly rejected by the voters four years ago, it would have been nice if he had told us so during the campaign." By 1980, everyone in the country knew what was meant by the phrase, "There you go again."

In 1984 we had to go through the experience of getting to know Geraldine Ferraro and John Zaccaro, who copped a plea. But Fritz Mondale was a known quantity and made no attempt to hide it, pledging to raise taxes and saying that Ronald Reagan would too but wasn't honest about it. Senator Mondale carried Minnesota and the District of Columbia, and in 1986 the top marginal tax rate was cut

So in 1988 it was back to Michael Dukakis, and Kitty. By this time the voters were savvier about getting to know people. They got a quick fix on Governor Dukakis, in no small part thanks to Roger Ailes's revolving-door ad (which contrary to popular mythology never included Willie Horton; that ad was put on the air by an independent group spending its own money). The ride in the tank also helped. Such are the straws voters must stay alert for while watching modern Democrats campaign for the presidency.

So it now appears we will get to know, or try to get to know, Bill Clinton and Hillary. The Gennifer Flowers tank has already rumbled by. But where's the rest of them? We seem to have a distant memory of Governor Clinton riding onto the scene with talk of a "New Covenant," which had something to do with emphasizing economic growth, honest work, redesigning welfare and other lurches toward the center; even Orange County Republicans seemed taken with it. Then two weeks ago it turns out that the Governor's campaign is actually about "populism," with something called "the rich" being chased down to "pay their fair share." And when do we get an honest fix on how Hillary's politics fit into all this?

The real question is why the party that dominates Congress has to keep putting up unknowns to contest the world's most powerful political office. Why is Washington such dead ground for growing Democratic presidential timber? About this there is no mystery. It is because the political positions of the Democratic House Caucus are rigorously enforced on Congress-people. Encumbered with this awful political baggage, none of them can win a presidential election.

Senator Bob Kerrey, who could make legitimate claims to being a person of some substance, dutifully carried the Beltway Democratic baggage of protectionism and national health into his campaign. He went down in flames. Tom Harkin, an even more hard-core carrier of the Caucus's politics, was the 4% man.

So once again it comes to this: Is there any real reason to trust an unknown Governor when he says he's different? We'll find out eventually, and with any luck at all, revelation

California's Democrats Dare to Be Timid

By TIM W. FERGUSON

ANAHEIM, Calif.—The dour sounds of Paul Tsongas, now muted by Super Tuesday, were already a faint bugle to California Democratic regulars, based on the rhetoric at last weekend's convention of the local party in Orange County. "Happy Days Are Here Again" was more like it.

California's Democrats are staring at two opportunities at seats in the U.S. Senate, opened by Alan Cranston's retirement and Pete Wilson's resignation to become governor. Many politicians think the party will take both en route to a national rout of senatorial Republicans.

For that reason, plus the continuing travail of President Bush, the mood was relatively upbeat and unabashed for a party unit that had been particularly forlorn in the Reagan era. Long a Republican bastion, Orange County for much of the 1980s elected not a single Democrat to Congress or the state Legislature, despite having a rather urban population base of nearly two million. It also twice cost Democrats the governorship in tight elections during the past decade. Even part-time city and county officeholders (in nonpartisan posts) were renouncing their Democratic registration in order to get ahead politically, financially or socially. A few years ago the party's county offices consisted of an answering machine.

If polling data on 1992's statewide races have the faithful here and elsewhere smiling for a change, none of the candidates for the U.S. Senate seats seemed to want to damp spirits with some of Mr. Tsongas's "no Santa Claus" speechifying. Mostly they offered the ritual pounding of GOP greed and insensitivity.

One guy in a back corner of the convention meeting room, however, doubted the races were completely in the bag. He was Richard O'Neill, a former state and county party chairman and south county landholder whose acreage is second only to the huge Irvine Co.

Asked whether he had a winning ticket this fall, he replied, "Not if both of the women are on it." He was referring to Diane Feinstein, long the favorite to grab the remainder of Mr. Wilson's unexpired Senate term, and Rep. Barbara Boxer of Marin County, whose energetic campaign has made her a top contender for the six-year seat. After the pair had spoken to the parley, Mr. O'Neill offered that they "sound like two Jewish mothers" (which they are).

Separately, either stood to win, he suggested, but together they had the potential to drag each other down. He noted that both rely on similar fund-raising bases:

liberal, feminist, San Franciscan. One difference is in height: "Little Barbara Boxer," as Mr. O'Neill called her, is a foot shorter. She also is more ideological. Her fervor has caused her to cross swords with the more managerial and modulated Ms. Feinstein over the years. Ms. Boxer aided Ms. Feinstein's primary opponent in the 1990 gubernatorial race.

The committed call the tune at functions such as last weekend's, and current Orange County chairman Howard Adler (another old party hand and a business partner of Mr. O'Neill's) hastened in an interview to say the electorate in the June 2 primary was more likely to buy a Tsongas-like challenge to party orthodoxy than were those in the hall. Mr. Tsongas's California coordinator, Demetrios Boutris, a Greek-born young lawyer at White & Case of New York, explained at his man's booth that the Tsongas campaign hasn't lined up local officials, unlike the Bill Clinton backers.

For now, the main jockeying has been over the Senate seats. Ms. Boxer, who was easily the crowd favorite here, is up against a familiar if rather worn statewide figure, Lt. Gov. Leo McCarthy, and a fellow congressman, Mel Levine from West Los Angeles. Ms. Feinstein, the former San Francisco mayor who lost to Pete Wilson for governor in 1990, faces state controller Gray Davis. Messrs. Levine and Davis both sport big warchests, which should help shorten the odds against them.

It is hard to distinguish among the slants these hopefuls take. All are socially to the left, especially on abortion and anything smacking of sexual bias. (Mr. McCarthy, trying to outbid Ms. Boxer for the Anita Hill vote, pledged to battle within the Senate "three little pigs"—named Specter, Hatch and Simpson.) On the economy, paeans to industrial investment were in vogue, but no one said (à la Tsongas) that this would come at the expense of current consumption by the non-rich.

Rep. Levine does countenance a limited capital-gains tax cut, and further separates himself from Rep. Boxer by taking a tougher foreign-policy stand, especially where it coincides with Israeli interests. She, meanwhile, is a Pentagon critic still talking about the cost of military toilet seats.

There was little mention of the benefits of free trade, even with Mexico, but Gray Davis sounded a few bites of incentivist economics before reminding the assembled of his history of suing corporations and noting his support from public-employee unions.

Were this a year like the last dozen, these pronouncements would be unlikely to

win the California electorate. But this is a time of particular disarray for Republicans in the Golden State. If the current favorites in the GOP races—appointed incumbent John Seymour and Rep. Tom Campbell, both middle-roads—survive the divisive primary, their presence on a ticket headed by George Bush may leave conservatives listless enough to permit a Democratic walk.

Facing a weakened foe, organized California Democrats may decide they'd prefer to fight from familiar ground. On the basis of convention oratory, that's where they appear right now, as the state waits to see whether Mr. Tsongas, or even the wild-card former governor, Jerry Brown, can trigger an earthquake en route to the primary on June 2.

Mr. Ferguson is a Los Angeles-based member of the Journal's editorial board.

Japan's Trade Surplus Doubled in Month, Underscoring Domestic Economy's Woes

By URBAN C. LEHNER

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

TOKYO—Japan's trade surplus doubled in February to \$10.23 billion—its highest monthly level ever—amid signs that the nation's manufacturers are again relying on exports to compensate for weak domestic sales.

The February surplus was well above economists' expectations and probably will intensify foreign complaints about Japan's trade practices and foreign demands that Japan prop up its sagging economy.

"These numbers are a little bit frightening from a political perspective," said Paul Summerville, senior economist at Jardine Fleming Securities Tokyo. "Unless Japan can find a way to stimulate domestic demand, we'll have \$10 billion surpluses for the next nine months or so. It suggests that the trade issue is only going to get hotter."

Surplus With U.S.

Most worrisome to Japan politically, the surplus with the U.S. rose 29% in February, to \$3.68 billion from \$2.85 billion a year earlier. Based on revisions to earlier data, the bilateral surplus has widened for three consecutive months. And February's increase was the second in three months that approached 30%.

The Finance Ministry said the total surplus soared in February to \$10.23 billion from \$5.06 billion a year earlier, surpassing the record of \$10.03 billion set last December. February was the 14th consecutive month in which the imbalance grew; that is in contrast to the period between 1987 and 1990, in which Japan made progress in reducing its wide trade surplus.

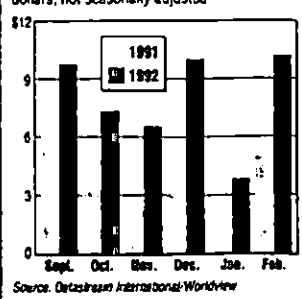
Exports rose a sharp 12% last month, to \$28.08 billion from \$24.98 billion a year earlier. The increase was the biggest in nine months and the second consecutive double-digit rise. During 1991's final four months, the highest monthly increase in exports was September's 7% rise.

Drop in Imports

In contrast, imports fell 10% in February, to \$17.86 billion from \$19.92 billion a year earlier. The drop was the sixth in a row and was caused mainly by declining oil prices, which reduce the value of energy imports when compared with the

Japan's Trade Surplus

Surplus on merchandise trade, in billions of dollars, not seasonally adjusted



year-earlier level, and by continued softness in imports of luxury goods.

"The imports are a little weaker than they should be, but between oil and the weakness in luxury goods, there isn't any surprise—you know what's going on," said Adrian Tschoegl, chief economist at SBCI Securities (Asia) Ltd. in Tokyo. "It's the export number that's a surprise."

In announcing the February surplus, Finance Ministry officials declined to discuss whether the factors underlying it do suggest a continued flood of black ink in the months ahead. But one official conceded that "to some extent, this was affected by the slowdown in the domestic economy."

Exports to the U.S. jumped 7% to \$7.94 billion, boosted by increased shipments of autos, data-processing equipment and other office gear, and semiconductors and other electronic parts. Auto exports rose 5.2% in dollar terms even though the number of cars exported fell 7%, indicating that Japanese manufacturers are continuing to emphasize shipments of high-priced luxury cars to the U.S.

Imports from the U.S. fell 6.8%, to \$4.25 billion, with notable declines in American shipments of organic chemicals, aluminum and steel. The decline in imports from the U.S. would have been considerably sharper save for a 40% increase in sales of American aircraft, the largest single category of products Japan imports from the U.S.

Japan's overall surplus with Asia widened 80%, to \$3.38 billion from \$1.88 billion. Japan's exports to Asia rose 13%, to \$6.65 billion, while its imports from Asia fell 6.2%, to \$5.47 billion. Declining oil prices were a major reason for the widening surplus.

World-wide, Japan's imports of oil fell 30% in value, to \$2.22 billion, even though the decline in volume terms was only 3.8%. The average price Japan paid for crude oil fell to \$18.04 a barrel from \$24.73 a year earlier. Still, countries that export oil and natural gas, including Indonesia, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, were among the few nations with which Japan had bilateral trade deficits.

Japan's surplus with the European Community widened 31% to \$3.38 billion from \$2.55 billion.

Bonds Fall on Bush Statements About Economy, Hedging Tied to Big Supply of Corporate Issues

By CONSTANCE MITCHELL
And KEVIN DONOVAN

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
NEW YORK—The bond market turned in a mixed performance as prices of long-term bonds eroded while prices of some short-term securities posted minor gains.

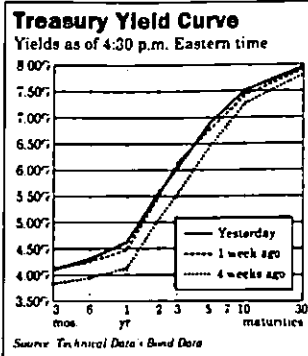
Traders attributed the decline of long-term bonds to hedging activity related to the large slate of corporate bonds sold in recent days, fears of rising inflation and statements by President Bush. Mr. Bush said at a news conference that he was more concerned about economic growth than in bringing down long-term interest rates. Bond investors are happier when the economy is falling apart and when long-term interest rates are declining.

The bond market's bellwether security, the 30-year Treasury bond, fell more than $\frac{1}{4}$ point, a loss of more than \$6.25 for a bond with a \$1,000 face amount. The benchmark bond was quoted late at a price of 100 12 32, down from 101 1 32 at Tuesday. The issue's yield, which moves in the opposite direction of its price, rose to 7.95% from 7.90%.

Some analysts believe the yield on the Treasury's long-term bonds will rise even higher in the days ahead. "The big news is that this market is going to shoot through [a yield level of] 8%," said Peter McTeague, a bond market analyst at Technical Data, a Boston research firm.

Mr. McTeague expects interest rates to rise in response to today's report on February retail sales, which he believes will be stronger than expected. Evidence of economic strength is bearish for the bond market because investors assume the growth eventually will lead to higher inflation and interest rates.

Such fears prompted some speculators and institutional investors to shed long-term bonds. A Dow Jones Capital Markets Report consensus of economists expects



YIELD COMPARISONS

Based on Merrill Lynch Bond Index, priced as of mid-afternoon Eastern time.

	3/11	3/4	High	Low
Corp.-Govt. Master	7.21%	7.14%	6.27%	6.33%
Treasury 1-10yr	6.30	6.27	7.61	5.44
10-yr	6.03	5.98	6.49	7.43
Agency 1-10yr	6.03	5.98	7.02	6.13
10-yr	6.26	6.19	6.72	7.30
Corporate				
1-10 yr High Qtr	7.66	7.60	8.82	7.10
Med Qtr	8.14	8.08	9.48	7.70
10-yr High Qtr	8.48	8.41	9.45	8.30
Med Qtr	9.07	9.01	9.91	8.79
Yield (index)	6.35	6.26	9.32	7.79
Current-coupon mortgage	6.33	6.22	9.36	7.40
GNMA 8.00%	6.38	6.27	9.38	7.51
FNMA 8.00%	6.30	6.19	9.33	7.38
PHLMACI 8.00%	11.20	11.21	13.71	11.81
High-yield corporate				
New 125-exempt				
10-yr G.O. (AA)	6.05	6.00	6.50	5.60
20-yr G.O. (AA)	6.42	6.40	7.10	6.25
30-yr revenue (AA)	6.55	6.53	7.55	6.53
NOTE: High quality rated AAA-AA, medium quality A-BBB/BBB, high yield BB-B/C.				
(1) Dollar-denominated, SEC-registered bonds of foreign issuers sold in the U.S.				

eral days until they are sold to investors, dealers often hedge their portfolios against market changes. This often is done by selling short Treasury securities.

The most notable feature of yesterday's trading action was the unwinding of "curve-flattening" positions, where dealers were positioned to profit if the gap, called a spread, between yields on short-term and long-term securities narrows. That position was profitable until yesterday. As yields on long-term securities rose yesterday while yields on short-term securities declined, the spread widened and dealers decided to cash out.

Traders say there were large buyers of two-year notes and sellers of 30-year bonds, booking profits that have accrued as short-term yields rose faster than long-term yields in the past two weeks.

That explains why two-year notes were among the best performing securities in the Treasury market yesterday. The notes ended trading at a price of 99 20 32 to yield 5.56%, up slightly from 99 19 32 to yield 5.58%.

Rates on Treasury bills were little changed. The discount rate on three-month bills ended at 4.01% to yield 4.09%, while the rate on six-month bills ended at 4.16% to yield 4.29%.

Corporate & Junk Bonds

Companies lined up to sell bonds and notes again, boosting this week's total issuance to more than \$3 billion. That already exceeds the roughly \$2.9 billion of new non-convertible corporate debt issued last week, according to Securities Data Co.

The biggest news in the high-yield market was the approval of Revco D.S. Inc.'s bankruptcy reorganization plan, ending the company's Chapter 11 proceedings which began in mid-1988. The news caused prices of Revco's bonds to gyrate. In early trading, the drug store chain's 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ % senior subordinated notes, due in 1994, were quoted at 51 bid, up 1 $\frac{1}{2}$. But later in the day, prices moved down to 49, due to profit-taking, traders said.

Prices of most other junk bonds generally were down $\frac{1}{4}$ point.

In the high-grade corporate market,

prices ended down $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$, in tandem with U.S. Treasury securities. Among major issuers yesterday, BankAmerica Corp. sold \$500 million of notes, priced through underwriters led by Lehman Brothers Inc.

The first part of the offering, consisting of \$150 million of floating rate notes, due March 15, 1995, was priced at 99.85 to float quarterly at a rate that is 0.30 percentage points above the London Interbank Offered Rate.

Municipal Bonds

Strong demand from a mix of investors greeted the Massachusetts Convention Center Authority's \$162.6 million offering of refunding bonds.

Meanwhile, prices of some Massachusetts general obligation bonds slipped about $\frac{1}{4}$ point in light trading, posting losses in line with the rest of the secondary market. Tuesday, the bonds rose as much as $\frac{1}{4}$ point on news that Massachusetts's improving finances could lead to a rating upgrade later this year.

A Tucker Anthony Inc. group priced the Massachusetts Convention Center issue to yield from 3.80% in 1993 to 6.80% for zero-coupon bonds maturing in 2005.

Demand was especially high for the zero-coupon bond portion of the offering, due to a lack of those securities in the Massachusetts market, dealers said. The bonds, priced at a deep discount to their par value, pay no interest until maturity.

The convention center bonds carry the same ratings as Massachusetts G.O.s: Baa by Moody's Investors Service Inc. and triple-B by Standard & Poor's Corp. The bonds are considered general obligations of Massachusetts because the state must provide payments, known as contract assistance, equal to the debt service requirements for the bonds.

Kerrey's Drubbing Teaches Lessons Of Politics

By ALBERT R. HUNT

Mulling over whether to run for president last summer, Sen. Jay Rockefeller was struck by the realization that his fate would largely be in the hands of strangers.

"I would only know a few of the top 20 or 25 people who would be critical in the campaign," he recalled later. Seeing this as illustrative of his inexperience in national politics, he chose not to run.

At the same time, Sen. Bob Kerrey, a man with even less political experience, decided to make the race. What he discovered in six frustration-filled months was that running for president is like making the leap between minor-league baseball and the Big Leagues: What seems easy and routine suddenly becomes much more complex as the standards and scrutiny escalate tremendously.

Over the past two decades, some formidable figures have struck out in the major leagues of presidential politics: Bob Dole, Ted Kennedy, Scoop Jackson, Howard Baker, John Connally. Bob Kerrey, a man of unusual character and promise, may be one of the few to come out of it whole, even to fight another day, providing he understands the lessons of the experience.

Foremost is that the 46-year-old Nebraska Democrat lacked a coherent and sustainable message about why he wanted to be president and where he wanted to lead the country. This was crystallized by the trade issue—particularly the infamous Kerrey television commercial in New Hampshire, in which the senator stood in front of a hockey net to warn Japan that, as president, he would keep its products out if it continued to discriminate against American goods.

One of the early myths of this campaign season is that the ad backfired because free-trade New Hampshireites rejected the message. Actually, Bob Kerrey did pretty well in the daily tracking polls when that commercial aired.

The problem was much more basic: The message didn't fit Bob Kerrey, who basically is a Midwestern free trader. In this context, the senator was absolutely correct when he later called the ad a mistake. A presidential campaign isn't a propitious time to reinvent one's positions.

Another overriding lesson of the Kerrey campaign concerns Vietnam.

Bob Kerrey may well be the most courageous man ever to run for president: He won the Medal of Honor when, as a young Navy lieutenant in Vietnam in 1969, he risked his life—and lost part of his leg—to save his men. He's the first Medal of Honor winner to serve in the Senate in

When the controversy over opium erupted, Sen. Kerrey was genuinely angered, not because of what the young Mr. Clinton did—many of Bob Kerrey's friends found a way to avoid Vietnam too—but because he believed Mr. Clinton wasn't telling the truth about what he did. When the Arkansas Democrat disingenuously claimed he put himself in harm's way by entering the draft lottery in 1969, it enraged Mr. Kerrey, a man who knows a lot about putting yourself in harm's way.

But Mr. Kerrey's own war record was, if anything, a negative in the campaign. Part of it is that some voters don't remember Vietnam, and others want to expunge whatever memories they do have. And sadly, even though Sen. Kerrey believes the war was tragically flawed and misdirected, there remains in some quarters a residual resentment against anyone associated with that effort.

That resentment was clearly evident in the media. A reporter once asked him whether, after all he had done in Vietnam, he really was qualified to be president. (Does that mean that Bill Clinton and Dan Quayle, by ducking Vietnam, are more qualified?)

Another lesson from the Kerrey campaign is simply that Mr. Kerrey wasn't very good at the things he had to do to be a good candidate. Not only did he lack a clear message, he also was lousy at the shorthand delivery and mini-demagoguery that are essential in the sound-bite age.

A week before the New Hampshire primary, the Kerrey campaign mounted an event at Hesser Junior College in Manchester that was a media manipulator's dream. There was a large, enthusiastic crowd, bunting, music and a rousing introduction by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan that invoked memories of another young war hero, John F. Kennedy. Mr. Kerrey then proceeded to give an existentialist speech; the enthusiasm visibly waned with each passing moment.

Erratic as he was, the untested national candidate showed signs of finding his voice near the end. Blending his calls for a generational change with a "can-do" spirit of governance and broadening his health care message, Mr. Kerrey at times seemed on the verge of achieving his potential. Many observers thought he was the class of the field in both the final New Hampshire debate and the South Dakota encounter.

Even in defeat Sen. Kerrey kept his senses of perspective and humor. After his rival Tom Harkin won the Iowa caucuses, Mr. Kerrey was asked why he kept discounting the Harkin victory. "Self-serving," he replied.

Mr. Kerrey is a politician of enormous resilience: a story he frequently tells about his post-Vietnam recovery is applicable today. Shortly after his lower right leg was amputated at the Philadelphia Naval Hospital in 1969, he asked his mother to look and see how much was left. "Son, there's a lot left," he recalls her telling him. "She wasn't talking about my body. She was talking about my heart and spirit."

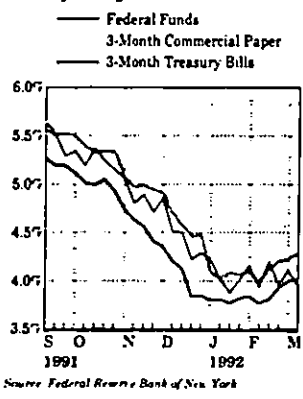
Life, for sure, is a lot more important than politics. But politically, Mr. Kerrey has a lot left too.

Mr. Hunt is chief of the Journal's Wash.



Sen. Bob Kerrey

Short-Term Interest Rates (Weekly averages)



that retail sales rose 0.8% in the month and were up 0.1% when sales of automobiles are excluded. In January, retail sales with and without automobiles rose 0.6%.

"We're right where we were last Thursday, poised before a fairly significant economic release," notes Joseph Liro, senior vice president at S.G. Warburg & Co. Indeed, the yield on the 30-year Treasury bond is close to the level on the eve of last Friday's release of February employment data. The bond market managed to weather a surprisingly strong jobs report and rally through Monday before falling back the next two trading sessions.

"Will the market [be able to repeat that performance] if retail sales are as strong as the employment report was relative to expectations? It doesn't feel that way right now," said Mr. Liro.

George Kegler, a senior vice president at A. Webster Dougherty Co. in Philadelphia, said the huge volume of corporate bond issuance this week also affected the market. After several weeks of very modest issuance, the new issue volume suddenly took off this week. According to Securities Data Corp., about \$3 billion of non-convertible corporate bonds have been sold so far this week.

"Corporations come to market in droves," said Mr. Kegler, which sometimes swells dealer inventories. To protect the value of the new corporate bonds, which sometimes sit in inventory for sev-

Essay
WILLIAM SAFIRE

The New Despotism

WASHINGTON

All the political munchkins had persuaded their principals that, in a recession, foreign policy was a no-no. Foreign aid? Kiss of death.

Along came Richard Nixon this week to give all the candidates and their lockstep pollsters a swift kick in the teeth.

He reminded a foolishly intimidated Establishment what leadership was about: "Not simply to support what is popular but to make what is unpopular popular if that serves America's interest."

To wake up a world traumatized by conventional wisdom, our only thinking ex-President used a new medium and an old device.

He reminded the mass media, who tend to paint their tails white and run with the antelopes. He chose not to go the op-ed route, overused by purveyors of opinion.

Instead, drawing on the Lazarfeld Theory of Two-Step Communication, Mr. Nixon wrote a memorandum and sent it, with a personal cover note, to the 50 people interested in foreign affairs that he believed most capable of affecting public policy.

It is the most prestigious list to be on since the "enemies list" of 20 years ago. A former national security

and next-day analysis not only exposed White House timidity but the shallowness of the position of Candidates Clinton and Tsongas.

The memo formed the basis of a speech delivered at a two-day policy conference in Washington sponsored by the Nixon Library. CNN telecast the speech worldwide live, and excerpts are on the nightly newscasts. The memo got around.

It cannot be ignored. But President Bush says only, "I don't have a blank check for all of that."

The new medium works, but what gave the memo force is not the repetition of Nixon's frequent calls to help Mr. Yeltsin, nor even his criticism of Western leaders and candidates for failure to heed that call.

Nixon goes against the grain of timidity and challenges the isolationists on political grounds. The man whose career began in the era of "Who Lost China?" now raises the specter of "Who Lost Russia?" To be timid now will cost a political leader dearly later.

He understands the vacuum sucking the life out of politics today: the absence of a global villain. For voters who need to be against something, Nixon supplies "the New Despotism." And it's no chimera; the danger, when you think about it, is real.

"If a new despotism prevails," warns Nixon, "everything gained in the great peaceful revolution of 1991 will be lost. War could break out as the new despots use force.... China's totalitarianism (!) would breathe a sigh of relief.... A new Russian despotism... would be even more dangerous than Soviet totalitarianism."

If he's wrong, and the West spends \$20 billion a year extending freedom, no harm done; but if he's right, and the New Despotism arrives, the U.S. alone would be spending 20 times that every year; no peace dividend; and our children would live in fear of nuclear destruction. Woe betide the politician on the wrong side of that.

Two decades ago, I went to furtive gatherings of Nixon hands; we called ourselves "the February group" and avoided notice. At the bipartisan, star-studded conference this week, with Nixon in his final comeback urging the assembled leaders to reaffirm national purpose, it was good to see many of those faces looking proud again.

My favorite Nixon, Julie Eisenhower, caught the wonderment: "We couldn't be sure this day would come. But I never stopped believing." □

Nixon discovers our needed villain.

adviser called me to say "Did you see what Nixon is saying?" In the steam room of the Army-Navy Club, a long-time policy maker wondered whether Nixon's tight-circulation blast at the West's "pathetically inadequate" response to the needs of Russian reformers would get through.

James Baker, whose phony photo-op Russian-aid conference was scorned in the Nixon memo, is not on the list. But Brent Scowcroft at the White House is, and brought it to the attention of President Bush, who discussed it with ex-President Nixon early this week.

The non-secret memo made its way into the hands of Daniel Schorr, writing an Op-Ed piece for The New York Times, and Times news editors immediately saw its news value as implicit criticism of Mr. Bush. Tom Friedman's front-page news story

Long-Term Rates Move Upward

Comment by Bush
Key Factor in Rise

By KENNETH N. GILPIN

Comments by President Bush helped to push up long-term interest rates during slow trading in the credit markets yesterday.

At a news conference, Mr. Bush told reporters he was more concerned about the health of the economy than in keeping long-term interest rates low.

Treasury bond prices, marginally lower during early trading, slumped after the President made his remarks.

"The market interpreted that remark to mean that the Administration will keep the heat on the Fed to push short-term rates lower and push for a tax-cut package," said Ward McCarthy, a managing director at Stone & McCarthy Research Associates in Princeton, N.J. "And, with so little going on, the comments got an exaggerated response."

Mitchell Field, chief financial economist at Smith Barney, Harris Upham & Company, said that "with rumors floating around that the February retail sales numbers are going to be strong, it was not a good thing for Mr. Bush to say." He added: "You get the sense that the market is still jumpy about the notion the economy is recovering."

Retail Sales Rise Expected

Most Wall Street economists do expect that the retail sales report, which is due out today, will show that sales were healthy last month. But the analysts said the figures may exaggerate the strength because there were five Saturdays in February, the day when most consumers do the bulk of their shopping.

As prices of bonds and intermediate securities fell, prices of short-term securities firmed somewhat. Traders said there were rumors that an investor leaving the stock market

Key Rates

In percent	Yesterday	Previous Day	Year Ago
PRIME RATE	8.50	8.50	9.00
DISCOUNT RATE	3.50	3.50	6.00
FEDERAL FUNDS*	3.75	3.67	5.58
3-MO. TREAS. BILLS	3.99	4.00	5.80
6-MO. TREAS. BILLS	4.14	4.15	5.82
7-YR. TREAS. NOTES	7.10	7.11	7.66
30-YR. TREAS. BONDS	7.85	7.89	8.18
TELEPHONE BONDS	8.95	8.92	9.35
MUNICIPAL BONDS**	6.78	6.75	7.32

*Estimated daily average, source TeleRate.
**Municipal Bond Index, The Bond Buyer.
Source: Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corp.

had bought as much as \$1.5 billion worth of two-year notes.

In the secondary market for Treasury securities, the 8 percent 30-year bonds of 2021 were offered in late trading at a price of 100¹/₃₂, down ²/₃₂, to yield 7.95 percent, compared with 7.89 percent late Tuesday.

Among outstanding Treasury note issues, the 7¹/₂ percent 10-year notes were offered at 99²¹/₃₂ late yesterday, down ¹/₃₂ a point, to yield 7.50 percent. The 6¹/₂ percent five-year notes dipped by ¹/₃₂, to 99¹³/₃₂, to yield 6.87 percent. But prices of the 5¹/₂ percent two-year notes rose by ¹/₃₂, to 99¹¹/₃₂, to yield 5.56 percent.

Short-term Treasury bill rates fell slightly.

Three-month bills were offered at a discount rate of 3.99 percent late yesterday, down one basis point, or one one-hundredth of a percentage point. Six-month bill rates fell by a like amount, to a late offered rate of 4.14 percent.

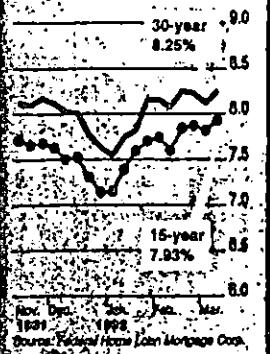
Issuance of new investment-grade corporate bonds was strong again yesterday, as more than \$1 billion worth of new securities were priced.

Among the issuers was the Bank America Corporation, which offered \$350 million worth of five-year, non-callable notes through an underwriting group led by Lehman Brothers.

The 7.5 percent notes were priced at \$99.351, to yield 7.659 percent, 82

Freddie Mac Yields

Average weekly yields on Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation 30-year and 15-year participation certificates, in percent. Yields track changes in fixed-rate mortgages.



basis points over the prevailing yield on the Treasury's 6¹/₂ percent five-year notes at the time of pricing.

The securities are rated A-2 by Moody's Investors Service and A by the Standard & Poor's Corporation.

Delta Airlines offered a total of \$300 million worth of notes and debentures through underwriters led by Goldman, Sachs & Company.

The \$100 million worth of 10-year notes were sold as 8.50 percent securities and were priced at \$99.627 to yield 8.556 percent, 1.10 percentage points over the prevailing yield on the Treasury's 7¹/₂ percent 10-year notes at the time of pricing.

30-Year Debentures Priced

The remaining \$200 million worth of 9.25 percent 30-year debentures were priced at \$99.56, to yield 9.294 percent, 1.37 percentage points over the prevailing yield on the Treasury's 8 percent bonds of 2021 at the time of pricing.

The securities are rated Baa-1 by Moody's and BBB-plus by Standard & Poor's.

In the tax-exempt municipal bond market, the state of South Carolina sold roughly \$200 million worth of bonds in a two-part competitive bid.

A bid from a group led by Goldman, Sachs won \$114 million worth of securities, which were then reallocated to investors with yields from 3.10 percent in 1003 to 6.25 percent on securities maturing in 2005.

J.P. Morgan Securities won the remaining \$85 million worth of bonds, and reoffered these securities to investors at yields from 3.20 percent in 1993 to 6.40 percent in 2008.

The securities are rated AAA by both Moody's and Standard & Poor's. In the secondary market for tax-exempt municipal bonds, traders said that prices of most widely quoted bonds fell by about ¹/₄ of a point.

No Candidate Is Better Than Bush

By Thomas H. Kean

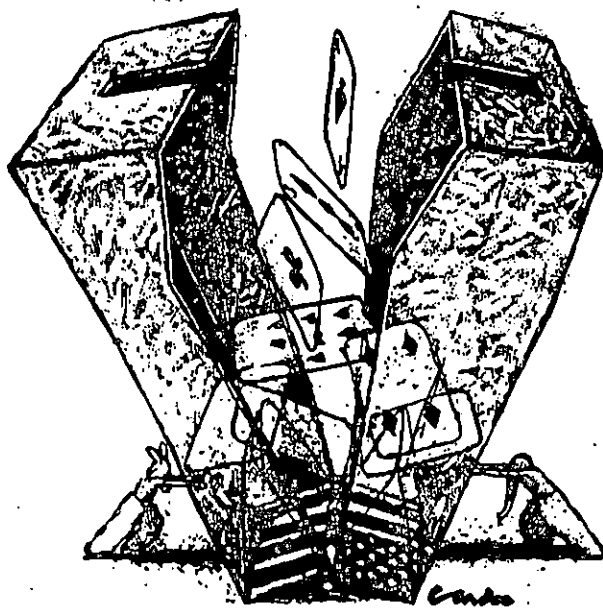
P MADISON, N.J. Presidential elections grant Americans a rare opportunity to examine issues and candidates. The problem is that campaigns also open a season of political negativism that usually exaggerates America's difficulties and overlooks our successes. This climate is victimizing George Bush. His critics pound relentlessly on his perceived failures, especially his handling of the economy. Yet, these critics largely ignore many remarkable successes of the past four years — and the great promise of the next four years.

Mr. Bush (and Ronald Reagan) have presided over some of the greatest victories in this country's history. Long after the current recession has faded from memory, Americans will be reaping the dividends of the peaceful collapse of Soviet Communism; the liberation of Kuwait and Panama; the largely unexpected advance of democracy in Africa, Asia and Latin America; and the free trade agreements with Canada and other nations.

Conversely, the President's challenger, Pat Buchanan, and the Democratic candidates seem to lack any solid vision for how to deal with foreign policy and security demands. The Democrats' only major plank — cutting the defense budget even deeper than Mr. Bush has proposed — ignores threats America may need to counter in coming years.

This lack of vision leaves many questions unanswered. After disarming America, how would Jerry Brown, Bill Clinton or Paul Tsongas respond to a regional nuclear threat from Iraq or North Korea? Would they know how to counter the emergence of a new authoritarian regime in the former Soviet Union that is armed with nuclear warheads? Could any of these contenders muster the will to commit American forces intelligently and prudently if a threat to our interests emerged? We know that the Democrats shun the Strategic De-

Thomas H. Kean, New Jersey's Governor from 1982 to 1990, is president of Drew University and chairman of the state's Bush-Quayle campaign.



His opponents lack experience and vision.

fense Initiative, so how would they insure America's defense against an accidental or orchestrated nuclear attack? Absent a realistic Democratic response, Americans must be skeptical of Mr. Bush's challengers. His demonstrated skills in foreign policy are not abstract; they are a fundamental requirement of the job.

Mr. Bush's foreign policy victories are not his only successes that are being overlooked. In education, for example, he has introduced one of the most promising reform plans in decades. His America 2000 program includes greater community and business involvement, greater choice for parents in selecting their children's schools and the introduction of promising experimental schools. At the root of his reforms is an acute understanding that tinkering with the American educational system has failed to yield major improvements. Instead of embracing America

2000, Congressional Democrats have sought to dilute and destroy it. Their suggested remedies rest not on real change but on the failed approaches of the past: more and more spending without accountability.

Similar foot-dragging hampers Mr. Bush's economic reforms. Congressional Democrats contended that he lacked a program, yet when he put forward a constructive blueprint in his State of the Union Message and requested prompt action, what he got was procrastination and maneuvering. And now the Democratic leaders are busy pushing an alternative plan that lacks most of the pro-growth policies Mr. Bush has advocated.

Americans should view the economy in its proper historical perspective. Standing with Jimmy Carter several weeks back, Paul Tsongas should have refocused the minds of Americans on something: The last time Democrats controlled both the White House and Congress, people were waiting in gas lines, burdened with 21 percent interest rates and suffering under the dual swords of double-digit inflation and unemployment.

The political season may be a time for negativism. But it should also be a time for remembering that there is a lot to be proud of — and even more reason for hope.

SACRAMENTO, Calif. Gov. Pete Wilson is what Californians used to call laid back, a politician whose manner seldom strays from the bland. But these days there is a subject that arouses him: Patrick Buchanan.

"I've been shocked by the comments Pat has made," Mr. Wilson said in an interview — "saying that Hitler was a man of courage and great gifts, and a number of racist and distinctly anti-Semitic comments. . . . This is not someone who should be taken seriously as a spokesman for the Republican Party."

"Republican leaders around the country, including President Bush, have generally avoided direct attacks on Mr. Buchanan. Governor Wilson broke the pattern this week."

What apparently riled him was a statement by Mr. Buchanan that Republicans were waiting for someone to stand up to "George Bush," Pete Wilson-style Republicanism, and that the California primary on June 2 would be "the Aniletam of the Republican Party." Aniletam was one of the bloodiest battles of the Civil War.

Governor Wilson replied: "I don't have a whole lot of time for Pat. I have a nation-state of 30 million people to manage. He has only his own mouth to manage, and he's an utter failure at that."

Would Mr. Buchanan compete in the California primary? I asked the Governor. He said President Bush would have won a majority of the delegate votes "well before that." But mightn't Mr. Buchanan persist?

"That all depends," Mr. Wilson said. "If his purpose is to be a spoiler,

Clinton Victories Raise Prospect of Labor's Support

By NEIL A. LEWIS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 11 — With a string of impressive Super Tuesday primary victories behind him, Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas seems poised to collect substantial financial and political support from organized labor before important Democratic contests next week in Michigan and Illinois.

At the same time, several Democrats said, as the perception increases that Mr. Clinton is becoming stronger, former Senator Paul E. Tsongas of Massachusetts is likely to begin having trouble raising money at a competitive pace.

The scramble for both labor support and for increased fund-raising firepower accelerated sharply over the last 10 days, after Senator Bob Kerrey of Nebraska and Senator Tom Harkin of

Iowa withdrew from the race.

The heads of most of the 14 major industrial unions that had endorsed Mr. Harkin will meet in Washington on Thursday to determine where they will now throw their support. Several of the officials involved said it was already clear that some of the unions would back Mr. Clinton in the next day or so, especially after his primary victories on Tuesday. Others, they said, would probably stay on the sidelines for now.

Labor's Doubts About Tsongas

All the officials say they believe Mr. Tsongas has little hope of attracting any labor support. Labor leaders are suspicious of him, largely because of his call for a capital gains tax cut and his opposition to legislation outlawing substitute workers during strikes.

Sam Dawson, political director of the

United Steelworkers of America, one of the 14 unions that supported Mr. Harkin, said: "Some are ready to jump on the Clinton thing right now. He's the one who will benefit most." Mr. Dawson said he did not think Mr. Tsongas would get any labor support. And, he said, labor leaders did not see former Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, the third remaining Democratic contender, as able to win the nomination.

Victor Kamber, a respected political consultant in Washington with ties to labor, said that union leaders "badly want to be with a winner this time" but that they saw no overwhelming reasons to be for or against any of the three Democrats.

"Labor would support any one of them in the fall," he said.

Joseph Mangone, political director of

the United Automobile workers, which had supported Mr. Harkin, said his union would probably remain uncommitted for now. But he said he did not expect any of his members to support Mr. Tsongas at the polls.

"After Michigan, I think he'll sink like a rock," he said. But he also criticized Mr. Clinton for opposing restrictions on foreign trade, saying the Governor did not understand how that stand would hurt him with auto workers.

"But I'm sure he'll grasp it when he gets to Michigan," he noted dryly.

The scramble to recruit fund-raising specialists, and to match up unions with new candidates, began almost instantly after the withdrawals of Mr. Kerrey and then Mr. Harkin.

Marvin Rosen, a national co-chairman of the Kerrey finance committee,

and New Flow of Money

received a call from Mr. Clinton the day news reports first suggested that Mr. Kerrey would end his quest. Mr. Rosen, said he would now be raising money for the Clinton campaign.

The deliberations of unions on their next candidate began even before Mr. Harkin withdrew. Just last week, meeting in Washington, most of the leaders of the 14 unions pledged their support to him in a telephone conference call.

But as soon as the telephone connection with the candidate was broken, according to some present, they instantly fell to discussing what to do next, agreeing Mr. Harkin was finished. Officials at the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers suggested that they would soon support Mr. Clinton. The union's president, George Kourpias, has described Mr. Tsongas's views as repug-

nant. William Bywater, president of the International Union of Electrical Workers, said he thought many of his colleagues who had supported Mr. Harkin were ready to join Mr. Clinton. But he said he might "sit out the election" because of dissatisfaction with both major Democrats on trade issues.

Nicholas Rizzo, the finance chairman and chief fund-raiser for Mr. Tsongas, said his candidate had been able to stay competitive, even though he had always been overmatched in fund raising by Mr. Clinton.

"I'll be the first to concede that they have raised more money than we have," he said. He also noted that compared with Mr. Clinton, his candidate had received little money from New York financial interests. "And they say we have the candidate favored by Wall Street."

Abroad at Home

ANTHONY LEWIS

Where the Buck Stops?

Pete Wilson takes on Buchanan.

If his purpose is really to injure George Bush and elect a Democratic President, then he will.

"But that would be the only thing that would make any sense of persisting past a time when he has clearly lost the nomination. He could no longer justify saying, 'I'm attempting to make my point.' Whatever point he thinks he's making he has long since made."

Mr. Wilson himself is engaged these days in tough partisan conflict with the Democrats who control the Legislature. He is no longer seen, at least by them, as the moderate technocrat he seemed in the early days of his governorship a year ago.

Early on, Mr. Wilson agreed to a whopping \$7 billion in tax increases to help overcome a \$14 billion deficit. The covenants of California's Republican right were furious.

But more recently he has proposed an initiative, to be on the ballot next fall, that would put sharp curbs on welfare. Grants would be cut by 10 percent, then 15 percent more after six months for families with an able-bodied adult. Mothers on aid would get no more money for additional children. Families recently arrived in California would get no more than in their previous state.

Democrats decry the welfare initiative as a political move by Mr.

Wilson to cover his right flank. One said the Governor "practices the canone theory of politics: paddle on the left, paddle on the right."

Democratic leaders also criticize the welfare initiative as a covert power grab, because it would give the Governor more control over the state budget process. They foresee the balance of power swinging away from the Legislature anyway, because term limits that have just passed their last legal test will strip it of its experienced members by 1999.

But the Governor said both the tax increases of last year and the new welfare initiative were dictated by realities.

When the huge deficit loomed a year ago, he said, after \$5 billion in budget cuts neither party in the Legislature had the stomach for more. Republicans resisted additional cuts in education, Democrats in health and welfare spending. So the only way out was to raise taxes.

Governor Wilson said education, not including higher education, now takes 45 percent of California's general revenues, health and welfare 30 percent. By the year 2000 they are projected to take 100 percent of the state's tax revenue. So plainly, he said, something had to give.

For all his modest demeanor, Democrats see Pete Wilson as a man intent on becoming President of the United States. A State Senator said: "He has an insatiable appetite for power. He is the Rosebud of politics."

Governor Wilson laughed off the idea that he has a "grand design" aimed at 1996. "In this strange life," he said, "two years is an eternity." □

U.S. Eases Farm Trade Stance

BRUSSELS, March 11 (AP) — The United States has offered to soften its position in a dispute with Europe over farm subsidies, but their differences are still far from being resolved, officials said today.

"There is some progress, but there are still major difficulties," said Ray MacSharry, farm chief of the European Community, the 12-nation trading bloc.

The United States and the community are battling over how much to reduce government payments to farmers. The Administration seeks far deeper cuts than the Europeans want.

But Frans Andriessen, the community's top trade official, said President Bush recently sent the community a letter indicating "there are some openings" in the American position on subsidies.

Mr. Bush, he said, signaled a willingness to allow the trading bloc to exclude certain payments to farmers from cuts.

"The details still have to be negotiated," Mr. Andriessen said. Community officials said that Mr. Bush portrayed the offer as a major concession, but the Europeans still did not feel it was sufficient to strike a deal.

United States and community officials met early today for fur-

ther discussions on the offer and agreed to meet again but set no date, they said.

The farm dispute has nearly scuttled the five-year-old Uruguay Round of trade talks by 108 nations.

The trading partners are under pressure to come up with a deal by the middle of April, a deadline set by Arthur Dunkel, Director General of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, sponsor of the Uruguay Round.

The U.S. View

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 11 — A United States trade official who did not want to be identified said today that the Administration was making suggestions aimed at accommodating Washington's GATT proposals with the efforts of the European Community to reform its agricultural policy.

European officials have often voiced concerns that Washington's proposals clash with the community's plan to reduce overproduction by giving direct income supports to farmers. That would replace subsidies that often encourage farmers to grow too much.

Senate G.O.P. Leaders Offer Tax-Plan Version

By KEITH BRADSHAW

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 11 — Senate Republican leaders introduced a modified version of President Bush's seven-point tax plan today, saying they were offering their own legislation not because they thought it would pass but because they wanted their own position to defend.

The Senate took up the Republican plan this evening after defeating the first of a number of amendments to a Democratic tax bill, which is expected to be approved by week's end. An amendment on whether to link pharmaceutical companies' tax credits to drug prices as a way to hold down health costs was voted down 61 to 36.

Like President Bush, the Republicans leaders would cut corporate taxes by accelerating depreciation, reduce the capital gains tax to 15.4 percent and provide tax credits for home buyers and real estate investors. And like Mr. Bush, they could not figure out how to raise money for a politically popular tax cut for families.

Exemption Is Dropped

The Democrats' measure, touted as one that would make the tax code fairer, centers on tax cuts for the middle class and increases for the wealthy. The Democratic bill also contains a version of the seven-point plan.

Conservative Republicans had wanted to include a \$500 increase in the personal exemption for each child, paid for by cuts in military spending; moderate Republicans refused, saying that it would promote consumption rather than economic growth and would hurt the party's image of concern about the Federal budget deficit.

Mr. Bush proposed such a change in January but did not include it in the seven-point list he said he wanted passed by March 20, an omission that his Republican challenger, Patrick J. Buchanan, stressed to New Hampshire primary voters as a sign that the President was not concerned about their interests.

The principal difference between the White House and the Senate Republican plans comes in how to pay for them. Instead of making a series of accounting changes in long-term Federal programs and spending all the proceeds now, as the President proposed, the Senate Republican plan would rely on a series of small spending cuts and the sale of \$4.5 billion worth of minerals in Defense Department stockpiles over five years.

The Republican senators would also repeal luxury taxes on expensive automobiles, furs, jewelry, boats and small planes. Mr. Bush proposed to

repeal only the tax on boats and planes.

"It's important for a lot of people to be for something, and it's clear that's why the leadership package is being offered," said Senator Mitch McConnell, Republican of Kentucky.

Senator John C. Danforth, Republican of Missouri, said that doing without any Republican measure "would be fine." A certain Presidential veto of the Democratic bill made the current round of tax legislation "a dry run," he said.

In a news conference, President Bush vowed again today to veto the Democratic tax bill because it included tax increases. "I'm going to veto this tax bill; we've got too many," he said. "This would be the worst time to raise taxes. No time is good, but this would be the worst."

The middle-class tax cut that Republican moderates rejected has been backed by Senator Phil Gramm of Texas and other conservative Rep-

The lawmakers want their own position to defend

publicans. "The tax credit that Phil Gramm is offering is almost the same as what the Democrats are offering — it's just useless tax legislation," Mr. Danforth said in a telephone interview.

A Day of Negotiations

After a day of negotiations among Republican senators, Mr. Gramm agreed to support the leadership's proposal while reserving the right to propose his own measure later that would also include the tax credit.

The Republican leadership would pay for the tax cuts by selling half of the Defense Department's \$9 billion reserves of aluminum, magnesium and other minerals; by reducing the medical benefits of Federal Government retirees to Medicare levels; by extending beyond 1995 an existing ban on lump-sum payouts of retirement funds to Federal employees; by holding rather than selling immediately some houses received by the Veterans Administration when borrowers default on loans, and by extending customs and patents fees currently scheduled to expire.

The Senate spent the morning and most of the afternoon debating the amendment it later defeated. Sponsored by Senator David H. Pryor, Democrat of Arkansas, it would have curbed the tax credits of pharmaceutical companies that raise their prices faster than the inflation rate.

U.S. SET TO ACCEPT YUGOSLAV BREAKUP

Bush Said to Back a Move to Recognize Independence of 4 Breakaway Lands

By DAVID BINDER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 11 — The United States plans to recognize four newly independent Yugoslav republics, possibly as early as next month, following the lead of the European Community.

Administration officials said President Bush approved the plan last week after nearly two months of deliberation.

In contrast to its approach with the republics that have emerged from the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Administration has stayed at arm's length from the four republics that have arisen from the ruins of the Yugoslav civil war.

The Administration's rationale was that it would serve no purpose to extend recognition until the United Nations had completed plans for inserting a peacekeeping force of 14,000 into the war zones of Croatia and some outstanding disputes among the republics had been resolved.

Europe's Signal to U.S.

Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d said Tuesday in Brussels that the Administration would move toward recognition of the republics after consultation with the 12-member community. He was in Brussels to coordinate United States policies with European allies.

The foreign ministers of the European Community are scheduled to meet on April 6 to discuss Yugoslav issues and possibly to extend recognition at that time to the republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia. That would be the signal for the United States to recognize those two together, along with Slovenia and Croatia, which the Community recognized

American policymakers have decided not to act until after the European Community deals with sensitive and complex recognition issues involving the republics of Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

"First the E.C. moves on these two and only then will the United States move on any or all," an Administration official specialized in Eastern Europe said.

Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a volatile population mixture of Slavic Muslims, Serbs and Croats, completed a referendum approving independence and sovereignty on March 1. The vote was largely boycotted by the republic's Serbs, who make up 31 percent of the population and whose leaders continue to oppose establishment of an independent republic.

The independence and sovereignty of the Macedonian republic was accepted and endorsed by a European Community commission in December. But Greece refused to acknowledge an independent Slavic Macedonia and continues to dispute its use of the name "Macedonia," which it claims for itself as a purely Greek usage.

Mr. Baker said in Brussels that the United States was prepared to give "rapid and positive consideration" to recognition of Slovenia and Croatia. But officials said that statement was intended to bring American policy into closer alignment with that of the European Community.

There will be no separate, early action on Croatia and Slovenia, the officials said, despite rising pressure in Congress and from ethnic communities. They said Secretary Baker was still smarting from what he regarded as devious treatment by Croatia and Slovenia when he conferred in Belgrade with leaders of all six Yugoslav republics on June 21.

'They Lied to Him'

"Baker doesn't want to reward the Croats or the Slovenes," an Administration official said. "It still burns him that they promised him to take no unilateral steps when he went there and five days later turned around and declared secession, that they lied to him."

Mr. Baker hinted at that in testimony to a Senate Commerce subcommittee last Thursday, when he was asked why the United States had not moved to recognize the independence of the breakaway republics.

Alluding to his discussions in June, he said: "It is not sufficient in our view for countries to simply declare their independence and then forcefully seize border posts or customs posts in order to implement that declaration and thereby trigger a civil war. And that's what happened in Yugoslavia."

United States diplomatic relations with the republics are being led in the interim by Ambassador Warren Zimmerman. He is based in Belgrade, the capital of the old Yugoslav federation as well as of the Serbian Republic, but he travels frequently to the other republican capitals.



The New York Times

The U.S. Ambassador, still based in Belgrade, often travels to the capitals of the republics.

In January, a senior Administration official said.

Who's Presidential?

Party Leaders: Take Charge

By Stewart L. Udall

I felt tremors of déjà vu Tuesday night as I listened while TV's hype experts did their best to arrange the 50 "slalom gates" of the Democratic primary so that Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas would appear poised for victory.

With its weakest crop of candidates in memory, was my party preparing to nominate another loser? Were the elected leaders of my party going to stand aside again and watch a system

that has produced losers four out of five times in the last two decades repeat its dreary performance?

To be sure, Governor Clinton has won a regional test that was tailor-made for a lone Southern aspirant, but at this point do the American people have a clear idea of Bill Clinton's character? A stampede toward his candidacy now would be foolish. Common sense cries out that the Democrats need to find out more about a front-runner who has suffered a series of self-inflicted wounds.

If the primaries are inconclusive, there is an alternate selection scenario that could produce a winning ticket on the second convention ballot in New York City in July. The 722 super delegates (the members of Congress, governors and state party chiefs who sit at the helm of our party) could use their political muscle and provide the

kind of leadership that, a generation ago, enabled the Democrats to nominate their best qualified candidates.

Only these leaders can rescue the party from the clutches of an inept, marathon nominating process that, for the past two decades, has discouraged the strongest candidates from entering the list. The disastrous candidacy of Michael Dukakis in 1988 speaks loudly about the shortcomings of the system.

I participated in the "bad" old nominating process before the selection

process was handed over to the atypical New Hampshire electorate and the hype merchants. In those days, the political leaders banded together to insure that their party would put its best foot forward in the Presidential elections.

This happened three successive times: In 1952, when a reluctant Gov. Adlai Stevenson of Illinois was drafted to oppose Dwight D. Eisenhower; in 1956, when Governor Stevenson stood out in the crowd as a result of his outstanding prior campaign, and again in 1960 when governors, members of Congress and party activists from all parts of the country rounded up enough delegates on the eve of the convention to put John F. Kennedy over the top on the first ballot.

The chaos of the current primaries sends two messages to the Democrats. One declares the absurdity of the argument that the party is obligated to choose its nominee from the enfeebled gladiators already in the ring.

The second message challenges those leaders who want to win this year to widen their horizons and begin talks about a second ballot draft of a leader who has the stature and experience to defeat President Bush.

In fact, a rich, varied pool of potential candidates and powerful tickets exists. For starters, what about a ticket of Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas and Gov. Mario Cuomo? Or, in further search of balance, how about Governor Cuomo and Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia?

The party could also learn from the Sun Belt strategy that worked so well for the Republicans in the 1980's and pair Senator Bentsen with Kathleen Brown (Jerry Brown's sister), the popular state treasurer of California. And if a swing-state strategy seems promising, what about a ticket composed of Senator Bill Bradley of New Jersey and Senator Al Gore of Tennessee? Of course, the ticket could reserve the Vice Presidential spot for one of the leading primary contestants, Bill Clinton or Paul Tsongas.

All it would take would be for the free-agent super delegates to stop being lambs and to start acting like the lions they're supposed to be under their party's rules. I have a slogan to offer restive Democrats who are tired of losing Presidential elections. It is not original, but it will suffice: why not the best? □

Stewart L. Udall, former Secretary of the Interior, has taken part in the Presidential nominating process since Harry S. Truman's 1948 campaign.

The strongest Democrats aren't running.

TRW Executive Chosen to Lead Space Agency in New Directions

By WILLIAM J. BROAD

Signaling a new direction for the space agency, President Bush yesterday named as its administrator Daniel S. Goldin, an industry pioneer in making civil spacecraft and spy satellites.

Federal officials and private analysts said Mr. Goldin's nomination, which goes to the Senate for confirmation, meant that the National Aeronautics and Space Administration might lose its monopoly over the nation's space program but be more open to ideas from outside the agency.

Mr. Goldin, an executive of TRW Inc., one of the nation's top aerospace contractors, has a mandate to achieve closer ties to industry and other Federal agencies, including the Energy and Defense Departments, they said. Most important, he is expected to lessen NASA's dependence on the space shuttle.

"He's a faster, cheaper, better kind of guy," said a White House official, who spoke on condition of anonymity.

"He's obviously outside the NASA culture."

Private analysts lauded Mr. Goldin's technical experience, but several analysts and members of Congress expressed concern that Mr. Goldin might not have sufficient political skills for the job.

In recent years, the White House has pushed for the exploration of ideas like inflatable space stations and planetary probes, smaller and "smarter" satellites and radically new launching vehicles meant to cut the cost of lofting payloads into space.

The agency's previous administrator, Richard H. Truly, who was forced to resign last month, had resisted many of these and other ideas as impractical, and his two-and-a-half-year tenure was marked by growing friction with the Bush Administration.

Mr. Goldin, 51 years old, general

Continued on Page B10, Column 5

Bush Picks TRW Executive To Be Space Agency Chief

Continued From Page A1

manager of TRW's Space and Technology Group, based in Redondo Beach, Calif., is expected to be more receptive to White House views.

Mr. Goldin, a 25-year TRW veteran, is uncelebrated in space-policy circles and has no known public record on such topics as whether the United States should join Russia in space exploration. Though a leader in space technology, he is little known to the public because much of his work for the military was secret. His nomination came as a surprise to many on Capitol Hill.

Under Mr. Goldin's stewardship, TRW has built a number of spy, early-warning and communication satellites, as well as scientific probes like NASA's Gamma Ray Observatory. Most recently, his TRW team has worked under a \$380 million, six-year contract to perfect space arms known as Brilliant Pebbles, the centerpiece of the Bush Administration's "Star Wars" antimissile plan. In theory, swarms of the weapons would circle the earth, ready to ram and shatter enemy missiles.

"This is the first NASA Administrator who is an accomplished leader in robotic space technology," said Dr. Bruce Murray, a planetary scientist at the California Institute of Technology. "He has solid technical understanding about what it takes to get these things done."

In the dispute between advocates of manned and robotic missions, Mr. Goldin is expected to take the middle ground. Despite his long work on robotic craft, he is described as a fierce advocate of manned missions and sending astronauts to Mars.

"As the Europeans sent out little

A NASA head who may be open to new ideas.

ships to explore the New World, we have got to start sending out ships to colonize space," he recently told Space News, an industry journal.

But Mr. Goldin is expected to try to move the agency from its reliance on the manned space shuttles. In 1990, he was a co-author of a policy paper for the American Astronautical Society in which he implicitly criticized the nation's fleet of winged spaceships as troublesome and antiquated.

"The lack of a rapid, reliable, economical launch technology will continue to limit our efforts," he wrote. "We cannot afford to pay the current price for access to space, whether the cost is measured in dollars or delays."

Senator Al Gore, Democrat of Tennessee and chairman of the Senate subcommittee that will act on the nomination, said Mr. Goldin would receive "serious scrutiny" amid what he said were questions over whether the White House was exerting too much influence over space affairs through the National Space Council, headed by Vice President Dan Quayle.

"Mr. Goldin has an impressive record of accomplishment," Senator Gore said, "but his nomination cannot be isolated from a larger, more troubling picture."

John E. Pike, head of space policy for the Federation of American Scientists, a private group based in Washington, said: "Having been at the same company for 25 years, and having been on none of the NASA advisory panels, he might not bring the requisite political



Daniel S. Goldin, who was named as the new NASA administrator.

who is going to represent the White House to NASA, rather than the other way around."

Mr. Bush made his announcement yesterday at the White House without the presence of Mr. Goldin, who was in California. Mr. Bush called the nominee "a leader in America's aerospace industry and a man of extraordinary energy and vitality."

In a statement, Mr. Truly wished his replacement "every success as he comes to this elite organization."

A senior NASA official in Washington, who spoke on the condition of anonymity out of concern for possibly offending his new boss, said the reaction in the agency had generally been positive with the possible exception of the people involved with manned flight, who felt Mr. Goldin might have difficulty comprehending their work.

Mr. Goldin was born in 1940 in New York City and graduated from the City College of New York in 1962 with an engineering degree. He lives in Manhattan Beach, Calif., with his wife, Judy, and two daughters, Ariel and Laura.

After graduation, Mr. Goldin went to work at NASA's Lewis Research Center in Cleveland to help perfect innovative rocket engines for human interplanetary travel.

In 1967, he joined TRW, also based in Cleveland. In its California division, he continued his engine work, explored the use of lasers to measure great distances, and helped build a large NASA communications satellite. Between 1976 and 1983, Mr. Goldin managed "classified programs of high national priority," according to TRW.

Private analysts say that in this period TRW was the prime contractor on photographic spy satellites known as KH-11, then the nation's most powerful. In this period the company also developed a satellite known as Magnum, which, instead of using a camera, unfurls a giant antenna in space to monitor missile tests, radio, telephone, radar and other military and diplomatic communications. The space shuttle launched the first Magnum in 1985. It is now said to be the nation's most advanced "ear" for space listening.

Democratic Voters

Surveys Indicate Top Candidates Are Vulnerable

Significant Weakness in Clinton and Tsongas

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM
Special to The New York Times

MIAMI, March 11 — Both Bill Clinton and Paul E. Tsongas have significant weaknesses among Democratic voters even in the states where they won primaries on Tuesday, according to surveys of voters leaving the polls.

About 20 percent of the voters surveyed, not only in the South but also in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, said they planned to vote for George Bush in the general election.

Moreover, a third of the Democratic voters in the two New England states and a fifth in the five Southern states that held primaries on Super Tuesday said they thought less favorably of Mr. Clinton, the Governor of Arkansas, because he managed to avoid being drafted in the Vietnam War. Mr. Tsongas picked up a disproportionate share of the voters who said they felt that way, indicating the issue might be a fertile one for Republicans should Mr. Clinton win the Democratic nomination.

As for Mr. Tsongas, a significant number of Democrats said they were worried that his battle with cancer might make him unable to serve effectively. Mr. Tsongas, a United States Senator from Massachusetts from 1979 to 1985, retired at the end of his term because he had lymphoma, a cancer of the immune system. He and his doctor now say he has been cured.

Concern About Cancer

About an eighth of the Democratic voters in Massachusetts and a tenth in Rhode Island said they were concerned about the cancer, as did about one-fifth in the South. Fewer than 40 percent of such voters in New England, and only a small fraction of such voters in the South, voted for Mr. Tsongas.

There is often a big difference between what voters say in the spring and what they do in November. So voting patterns in the primaries are often not as relevant to the probable outcome of the general election as they might appear. About a third of the voters in Tuesday's Democratic primaries in the South and about a quarter of those in Massachusetts and Rhode Island said they voted for Mr. Bush over Michael S. Dukakis, the Democratic nominee, in 1988.

One surprise in the voting patterns was the strength of Edmund G. Brown Jr. among voters who decided on whom to vote for in the last few days before the election. For example, in Massachusetts, Mr. Brown won only 15 percent of the overall Democratic vote, but he won 18 percent of those who decided how they would vote on Election Day and 30 percent of those who decided in the last three days.

Mr. Brown seems to have drained strength away from the front-runners — Mr. Tsongas in New England and Mr. Clinton in the South. The capacity of the former California Governor to win over those who decide at the eleventh hour could prove important in Illinois and Michigan next week. Preliminary polls in those states last week showed about a third of the voters still undecided.

Strengths and Weaknesses

As has been the case throughout the primary season, Mr. Tsongas ran strongly among highly educated, affluent, white voters, but was generally unable to cut into Mr. Clinton's support among all other Democrats.

Key Constituencies: How Leading Democrats Fared

		Urban households	White Catholics	Blacks
FLORIDA	Clinton	58%	41%	74%
	Tsongas	33	44	14
	Brown	8	13	10
LOUISIANA	Clinton	77	67	88
	Tsongas	6	18	9
	Brown	15	7	7
MASSACHUSETTS	Clinton	43	12	12
	Tsongas	33	44	14
	Brown	20	14	7
MISSISSIPPI	Clinton	78	70	70
	Tsongas	8	18	9
	Brown	15	7	7
OKLAHOMA	Clinton	71	70	70
	Tsongas	8	18	9
	Brown	15	7	7
RHODE ISLAND	Clinton	19	19	19
	Tsongas	57	57	57
	Brown	19	19	19
TENNESSEE	Clinton	70	70	70
	Tsongas	12	12	12
	Brown	18	18	18
TEXAS	Clinton	71	59	68
	Tsongas	18	22	8
	Brown	11	19	24

A dash indicates that the number of respondents in this group who said they belong to this category was too low for reliable analysis.
Based on polls of Democratic primary voters leaving polling places on Tuesday conducted by Voter Research and Surveys.

Democrats: Economy and Character

Percent who	Florida	Louisiana	Massachusetts	Mississippi	Okla.	Rhode Island	Tennessee	Texas
Say family's financial situation is worse than four years ago	49	48	53	45	44	52	49	40
... and they voted for Clinton	27	37	6	64	35	11	31	36
Say Clinton's draft behavior made their opinion less favorable	22	15	34	19	24	34	18	16
... and they voted for someone else	17	8	33	9	19	32	10	11

Based on polls of Democratic primary voters leaving polling places on Tuesday conducted by Voter Research and Surveys.

Mr. Clinton won three-quarters of the black vote in Florida and about 80 percent elsewhere in the South. Outside of New England, he ran especially well among voters who said their own financial situation was worse than it was four years ago.

In Florida, the closest of Tuesday's contests, Mr. Clinton and Mr. Tsongas more or less split the Jewish and white Roman Catholic vote, but Mr. Clinton won solidly among white Protestants.

Mr. Tsongas did relatively poorly among blue-collar voters even in Massachusetts. He won only 32 percent of their vote, the exit polls showed, as against 67 percent of the overall vote.

The blue-collar vote will be especially important in next Tuesday's primaries in Illinois and Michigan.

The economy was the overriding issue in voters' minds. Given a list of issues, 48 percent of the Democratic voters in the South and more than half in New England said the economy was among the one or two issues that mattered most to them. Medical care, the next most important issue, was mentioned by about 3 voters in 10.

Mr. Brown did not do well among voters most interested in the economy and medical care, but ran more strongly among those whose main issues were the environment and consumer

Has the Image Changed? (The Face Is Familiar)

By DAVID JOHNSTON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 11 — At 79 years of age, his voice seems slightly gravelly now and the often caricatured face is seamed and thickened by age. But more arresting is the sameness of Richard M. Nixon, the brooding figure who 18 years ago walked out of the White House, humiliated by political scandal.

All the famous hallmarks remain: the locked-elbow gestures, the jowly visage, the hunched, high-shouldered posture and the heavily cadenced speech engraved with the high-blown diplomatic language and sweeping insights into East-West relations.

Mr. Nixon's speech today seemed to mark a rite of passage in the rehabilitation of the former President and a reunion of a kind, nearly two decades after he became the only President to resign. There was no direct mention of Watergate or the events that Mr. Nixon has described in his books as the most devastating loss that a politician could suffer.

It Seems Like Old Times

"My people," said one former aide in the Nixon White House as he surveyed the hotel ballroom. Some of the luminaries and bit players who figured in the pain and successes of the Nixon Administration seemed convinced of his comeback today, and gave him a standing ovation after his speech at a foreign policy conference sponsored by the Richard M. Nixon Library and Birthplace.

In the audience were James R. Schlesinger, who was appointed by Mr. Nixon to be Director of Central Intelligence and Defense Secretary; Ronald Ziegler, the former Presidential press secretary; Warren Burger, the former Chief Justice, and Mr. Nixon's daughters, Julie Nixon Eisenhower and Tricia Nixon Cox.

"I went with him to San Clemente in 1974," Mr. Ziegler said today. "It's amazing he just didn't walk right into the sea after the disgrace."

But Ms. Cox said her father had never dwelled on his defeats. "My father has always been a person who looks ahead to what he can do today," she said. Referring to Watergate, she added, "He's put it into the context of the times and the politics of the times."

A Voice at His Elbow

But not everyone seemed to believe that Mr. Nixon had fully resuscitated his reputation.

"Richard Nixon has been for years on a long road to redemption and found that the world is willing to forgive him in the intellectual realm," said Robert B. Reich, a professor at Harvard's Kennedy School and a panelist at today's conference, who described himself as a life-long Democrat. "But I don't see much evidence that the world is prepared to forgive him or condone what he did."

Mr. Nixon's latest re-emergence came two days after news reports about a warning he circulated of a grave risk to Russia's democratic revolution if the United States failed to support President Boris N. Yeltsin with a large infusion of aid.

His supporters said today that the memo, shown first to Brent Scowcroft, Mr. Bush's national security adviser, was simply one in a stream of papers, articles and public appearances in recent years in which Mr. Nixon has sought to play the role of eminent statesman of world affairs, an American Winston Churchill, offering advice on foreign-policy issues that he believes are critical to the future of the United States.

Flanked by 2 ficus plants and 18 spreading American flags, Mr. Nixon spoke without notes, without a podi-

um and without pause for more than half an hour, and seemed to draw the parallel between himself and the former British Prime Minister.

Mr. Nixon said that Churchill's 1946 "Iron Curtain" speech had been delivered "exactly 45 years ago today," although, in fact, Mr. Churchill's speech, delivered in Fulton, Mo., was given on March 5, 1946 — 46 years and 6 days ago.

But his loyalists ignored the minor historical inaccuracies of the former President, who said in his resignation speech "I have never been a quitter," and who in recent years has staged a number of public returns.

In 1977, he conducted a series of televised interviews with David Frost. In 1986, he was featured in a

There's Ziegler!
There's Burger!
And, yes,
there's Nixon!

Newsweek cover article. In 1988, he appeared on the NBC News program, "Meet the Press," for the first time in 20 years. In 1989, he met President Bush at the White House in a widely publicized meeting, offering his views on Chinese-American relations. And in 1990 he returned to Congress to give Republican lawmakers a lecture on world affairs.

"I think he has absorbed it," said Leonard Garment, a lawyer for Mr. Nixon, said of Watergate. "He has made a part of his own history, and in his terms has accepted a very large dollop of responsibility for what happened," he said. "It may be that his most important years of public service may have been after he left elected office."

Korean Ship Unloads Big Containers in Iran

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 11 — The North Korean cargo ship that apparently evaded United States naval forces and entered the Iranian port of Bandar Abbas on Monday has been unloading large containers whose contents could not be observed by United States intelligence, officials said today.

The officials said they suspected that the containers coming off the ship, the Dae Hung Ho, were loaded with Scud-C ballistic missiles or related equipment destined for Syria. An Administration official indicated that intelligence agencies would continue to monitor the cargo.

The official said Washington's suspicions amount to "an educated guess" at this point.

White House officials had considered boarding the vessel or interrogating the crew in international waters, using the authority conferred on naval forces by the United Nations trade embargo against Iraq. But the ship would have been allowed to proceed because, the officials said, there is no legal pretext for intercepting arms shipments on the high seas unless they are bound for Iraq.

The Challenger

Buchanan Hits the Brake, Then the Gas

By STEVEN A. HOLMES
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 11 — Losing does things to Presidential candidates. Often it makes them belligerent. Sometimes it makes them conciliatory. Today, it made Patrick J. Buchanan both.

At 7:30 this morning, on the day after he lost eight Republican primaries, Mr. Buchanan acknowledged to reporters in Dearborn, Mich., that wrestling the nomination from President Bush is an elusive dream. And the pugnacious challenger said that if the President has sewn up the nomination by the time the California primary on June 2 nears, he would not run negative commercials that might provide fodder for Democrats in the fall.

"Pat Buchanan is not a rule-or-ruler type of guy," the candidate said. "If I have lost something, you know, I don't play dog-in-the-manger politics."

Changing His Mind

Mr. Buchanan added, "If at some point, you've lost the nomination to Mr. Bush, I would not do anything consciously to damage the chances of the Republican nominee and the Bush-Quayle ticket in the election in November."

At 5 P.M. Mr. Buchanan took it all back, telling reporters at a news conference here that he might not stop tough attacks in California and that he did not think bludgeoning the President will weaken him in the general election.

"We don't intend to go into a disarmament strategy for the California primary," Mr. Buchanan said.

Asked about his change of tone and why he was no longer extending peace feelers to the Republican establishment he had so disparaged in his 14-week campaign, Mr. Buchanan said, "There aren't any olive branches lying around that I can see."

Hard-Hitting Option

Mr. Buchanan's flip-flop left his campaign aides scrambling for an explanation. Angela Buchanan, the candidate's sister and campaign manager, said she and her brother had, before his morning news conference, discussed several options for the tone of the campaign in the later primaries. Ms. Buchanan said one option was to run a positive campaign in California.

"He came down to the press conference and one of you guys asked him a question and it all came out," Ms. Buchanan said. She said that as Mr. Buchanan thought about the campaign during the day, he decided he did not want to deny himself the option of

Buchanan keeps the option of a tough campaign in California.

running a hard-hitting campaign.

Mr. Buchanan's swings today seemed a reaction to the results of the voting on Super Tuesday. His comments in the morning, the most subdued and rueful he has uttered since he took up his cudgel of protest on Dec. 10, are, perhaps, reflective of his understanding of the crushing defeat the President meted out to him Tuesday, and an awareness of the futility of catching Mr. Bush.

"That was a very heartening reception, especially for a guy who got his butt kicked in eight primaries yesterday," Mr. Buchanan joked to students who greeted him with warm applause at Cooley Law School in Lansing this morning.

In only one of the eight primaries — Florida — did Mr. Buchanan receive as much as 31 percent of the votes.

Mr. Buchanan has a total of 46 delegates, compared with 546 for Mr. Bush. A candidate must have 1,105 delegates

to win the nomination. "He has got a prohibitive lead," Mr. Buchanan said.

But Mr. Buchanan also finds himself caught in a conundrum of his own making. His poor showing will increase pressure on him to abandon his campaign and allow the Republican Party time to heal itself.

But having built up the California primary — at his afternoon press conference he once again called it the "Antietam" of the Republican nominating process, after the bloody Civil War battle — Mr. Buchanan cannot afford to drop out now. Campaign officials said that Mr. Buchanan had promised he would stay in the race through the California contest and would not go back on his word.

But, for Mr. Buchanan, whose campaign is built on voter dissatisfaction and anger, a switch to sweetness and light might not serve his cause very well. By attempting to run a protest campaign without harshly criticizing an opponent, Mr. Buchanan may find both voter and media interest waning.

In addition, Mr. Buchanan's campaign is almost exclusively financed through direct mail. Individuals who respond to direct-mail solicitations tend to be those who are rather angry about something. A subdued Mr. Buchanan would have difficulty generating direct-mail contributions.

The Incumbent

Bush Turns to November, Feeling Buchanan's Challenge Has Been Defeated

By MICHAEL WINES
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 11 — Apparently convinced that he has quelled the renegade candidacy of Patrick J. Buchanan, President Bush today began to shift his political energy away from a revolt by his conservative supporters and toward the more formidable job of rebuilding his standing among voters of all stripes.

Showdowns With Democrats

The President signaled what amounts to the beginning of his campaign for the November election at a White House news conference. He declared that he has "responsibilities that no other candidate has for leading this country and for being the President," and that he will pare his political travel to tend to the nation's problems.

Mr. Bush also implicitly invited Mr. Buchanan to end his candidacy, asserting that most Buchanan supporters

will vote for him in November and that Mr. Buchanan himself would be welcomed should he decide to rejoin the ranks of the President's backers.

The President's political advisers said Mr. Bush would now concentrate on convincing voters that he has a workable plan to restore the nation's economic and moral strength and, equally important, that his Democratic rivals do not. That effort will begin in earnest on March 20, the deadline Mr. Bush set for his State of the Union speech for Congress to enact legislation that he has proposed to stimulate the economy but which congressional Democrats already have rejected.

Mr. Bush's strategists plan to highlight the passing of the deadline with a carefully staged event, like an Oval Office speech, a prime-time televised news conference or an address to Congress. None has been chosen, although aides are leaning away from a nighttime speech, one White House official

said today. Networks have not carried some such speeches before.

This campaign will continue throughout the spring, when Mr. Bush will deliver a series of speeches outlining his view of the issues in the November election, veto any Democratic economic package that does not conform to his plan, and take action to stimulate the economy that does not need Congress's approval.

Defections Steamed

The shift from conservative stump-speaker back to Rose Garden leader has actually been in the works for several weeks, Mr. Bush's strategists said. It is driven by a lull in the primary season between next Tuesday's contests in Illinois and Michigan and early May.

But it has been made possible only by the voting in this week's Super Tuesday primaries, in which Mr. Buchanan largely failed to widen the defection of disaffected voters from Mr. Bush's

camp, and the President scored several compelling victories. Mr. Bush's advisers also concede that the quarter or so of Republican voters who have consistently backed Mr. Buchanan are unlikely to return to the fold during the remaining primaries unless the economy improves.

"If we'd had the luxury of not having to run a primary campaign, we'd already have begun to lay out the facts of George Bush's vision of America," James Baker, a senior issues adviser to Mr. Bush's campaign, said today. "As of today, that campaign, for all practical purposes, is over."

While the President will make other ostensibly nonpolitical trips in coming months to promote his economic-growth legislation, aides said, there will be little of the campaign barnstorming that has characterized his travels since last month's New Hampshire primary election.

In the 20 days that ended on Satur-

day, the President traveled to 22 cities in 11 states. The crusade amounted to a furious courtship of Republicans who were flocking to Mr. Buchanan, largely out of disaffection with Mr. Bush's attention to the conservative right and his handling of the economy.

In the two weeks that began on Sunday, Mr. Bush plans two day trips to the Midwest, where primary elections are being held next Tuesday.

Getting Beyond a Slogan

Mr. Bush's campaign manager, Robert M. Teeter, said in an interview last week that the White House hopes in the next month to start the process of fleshing out a re-election platform that so far is little more than the political slogan, "Jobs, family, peace." Mr.

"In the next six months, we're going to stress a lot about the job the President has done on a lot of very difficult issues, where he has led this country and the world through some remarkable changes," Mr. Teeter said.



Patrick J. Buchanan greeting supporters yesterday during a campaign stop in Lansing, Mich.

Associated Press

"Whatever vulnerabilities I have on the issues, they're not vulnerabilities of character and judgment." **PAUL E. TSONGAS**

CITING CHARACTER, TSONGAS STEPS UP ATTACK ON CLINTON

SHOWDOWN IN THE NORTH

President to Cut Campaigning as Buchanan Admits Bush Has 'Prohibitive Lead'

By R. W. APPLE JR.

With his back against the wall after crushing losses to Gov. Bill Clinton in most of the Super Tuesday contests, Paul E. Tsongas flew to the Midwest yesterday and began pummeling him on questions of character that refuse to subside.

If Mr. Clinton wins next Tuesday's showdowns in Illinois and Michigan and goes on to take the Democratic Presidential nomination, Mr. Tsongas said, "We're going to put up our most vulnerable candidate, whom Republicans will have no hesitancy in investigating in great detail."

"Whatever vulnerabilities I have on the issues," he added, "they're not vulnerabilities of character and judgment."

Agreement on the Stakes

In the upper echelons of his party, there was widespread agreement that losses in both of next week's contests would finish Mr. Tsongas as a viable contender. Several senators, speaking on condition of anonymity, said they thought that Mr. Clinton had "already won this thing," as one put it, though all expressed worry about the chance of more charges against the Arkansas Governor like the accusations of an extramarital affair and efforts to avoid the draft during the Vietnam War.

President Bush, the easy victor in all eight Republican primaries on Tuesday, said voters "feel I have the experience and leadership." Having reached or exceeded 70 percent of the vote in four of the primaries on Tuesday and held Patrick J. Buchanan, his main challenger, to a third or less everywhere, Mr. Bush said he intended to cut back his frenetic cross-country campaigning.

Mr. Buchanan acknowledged that the President held "a prohibitive lead but said he would not drop out of the campaign yet. He said he would press on to the California primary on June 2, though he raised the prospect of abandoning negative tactics there and concentrating on explaining his conservative philosophy.

Big Lead by Bush

"If the time comes to exit," Mr. Buchanan said, sounding calmer and less pugnacious than usual, "we will do it gracefully. I would not do anything consciously to damage the chances of the Republican nominee."

But later he changed tack and resumed his usual attack mode.

With Mr. Bush's slightly stronger showings in Tuesday's contests than in past weeks, especially in Tennessee and Mississippi, he gathered a cornucopia of 376 delegates, giving him a total of 582, more than half the number needed for nomination, according to a tabulation by The New York Times. Mr. Buchanan won 26 delegates on Tuesday, giving him a total of 46. One

Continued on Page A18, Column 3

Primaries and Caucuses

Stressing Character Issues, Tsongas Attacks Clinton

Continued From Page A1

new uncommitted delegate was chosen, for a total of 6.

Mr. Clinton added 430 delegates, for a total of 728, including the Democratic National Committee members, governors and former elected officials, or super delegates, who have declared their support for him. Mr. Tsongas picked up nearly half as many, 199, benefiting from the Democrats' proportional-representation rules, and now has 343. Former Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California gained 32, for a total of 89, and there are 468 uncommitted delegates. Mr. Clinton is a third of the way to the number he needs for nomination.

Aides to Mr. Tsongas conceded that they had failed to put their message across in the South, where much of Tuesday's voting was concentrated, and had allowed themselves to be put on the defensive. To avoid a repetition, the former Massachusetts Senator began yesterday by questioning his rival's business dealings with a man linked to the nation's savings and loan scandal.

When he heard of Mr. Tsongas's remarks, Mr. Clinton said: "I'm disappointed to see him doing something like that, without regard to the facts. He plays a little loose with the facts now and then."

"They Saw the Best"

Other prominent Democrats, including several in Michigan, spoke anew of accusations, denied by Mr. Clinton, that he had a long affair with a nightclub singer and tried to manipulate his draft status during the Vietnam War.

On Tuesday night, after winning six primaries and two caucuses to two and one for Mr. Tsongas — and winning most of them by a country mile — Mr. Clinton tried to take himself out of the line of fire. "The people of the South heard the worst about me, but they saw the best," he said, and went on to talk in lofty terms of his future plans.

But yesterday he seemed determined to deliver a knockout punch next week, inaugurating a new, brass-knuckle television attack against Mr. Tsongas. The commercial calls the former Senator an advocate of reduced Social Security benefits, lower taxes for the rich, higher gasoline taxes and more nuclear power plants.

"Isn't it time we closed the book on the 1980's?" the announcer concludes. "Paul Tsongas: more of the same."

Among the Democratic candidates, both Mr. Tsongas and Mr. Brown appeared to be focusing mainly on Michigan, where the auto industry has dragged down the economy. Mr. Buchanan will also spend most of the next week there, hoping to attract the backing of voters jittery about their long-term job prospects. He might also find support in Macomb County, north of Detroit, to which many white workers fled when their neighborhoods were taken over by blacks.

Unemployment stands at 9 percent in Michigan and 7.3 percent in Illinois. But the political situation in Michigan is far more fluid because many union leaders there had favored Senator Tom Harkin of Iowa, who has withdrawn, and are now seeking someone else to support.

Frank Garrison, head of the state A.F.L.-C.I.O., said most of the unions, including the big United Auto Workers, would probably end up endorsing no candidate and telling their members to do as they liked. A surprising number, he said, may support Mr. Brown, who was endorsed last night by the U.A.W. local at Willow Run, the General Motors plant whose closing has been announced.

Mr. Garrison was one of those who expressed doubts about Mr. Clinton's electability in November.

"He's a battleship that's taken about a dozen torpedoes below the waterline," the union official said. "He's sailing on, but one more bimbo and I think he'll sink."

Urging an Alternative

Representative John Conyers Jr. of Detroit criticized all the active Democratic candidates and said he has urged his largely black constituents to write in his name as a protest. And Representative John D. Dingell told The Detroit Free Press that he doubted that Mr. Clinton could survive any more accusations in the news media.

On Super Tuesday, segments of the Democratic electorate ranging from 15 percent (in Louisiana) to 34 percent (in Rhode Island and Massachusetts) said Mr. Clinton's draft record made their opinion of him less favorable.

Here are details of the results on a



Paul E. Tsongas leaving his home yesterday in Lowell, Mass. Mr. Tsongas flew to the Midwest, where he began campaigning for next Tuesday's primary showdowns in Illinois and Michigan.

state-by-state basis:

DELAWARE Democratic caucuses in this small Mid-Atlantic state defied tradition. As usual, party leaders urged support for an uncommitted slate, but Tsongas supporters, concentrating on the Wilmington suburbs, narrowly beat the organization slate. Mr. Tsongas got five delegates, Mr. Clinton three, Mr. Brown three and uncommitted three. There was no Republican contest.

FLORIDA This was the place Mr. Tsongas chose to stage his most determined fight in the South. With a week to go, he appeared to stand a chance, but Mr. Clinton put him on the defensive on Israel and Social Security. Mr. Tsongas ran weakly among blocs like blacks and the elderly and carried only two counties, one in the affluent suburbs of Orlando and the other dominated by the University of Florida. Mr. Clinton

The increasingly nasty rivalry shifts to the Midwest.

won 51 percent of the vote and 67 delegates. Mr. Tsongas won 58 delegates and Mr. Brown 3. On the Republican side, Mr. Bush took 68 percent and all 87 delegates, despite the state's serious economic problems, like 8.7 percent unemployment.

HAWAII In this overwhelmingly Democratic state, party leaders' wishes are usually heeded. Gov. John Waihee 3d supported his fellow Governor, Mr. Clinton, who won 11 delegates in caucuses, with 8 uncommitted and 1 for Mr. Brown, in one of two states where Mr. Tsongas was shut out. Republicans did not vote here.

LOUISIANA Mr. Clinton won 59 of 60 delegates in a state where Mr. Tsongas, who got the other delegate, did not campaign. Mr. Buchanan got no delegates, with Mr. Bush taking all 32, but he exulted in having "buried in a bay-

ou" the candidacy of David Duke, a native son who pulled only 9 percent of the vote as against 27 percent for Mr. Buchanan. Mr. Duke won a majority of the white vote in his campaign for governor last year, but much of that came from conservative Democrats crossing over. No crossover voting was allowed in Tuesday's primary.

MASSACHUSETTS Mr. Tsongas put on a show of strength in his home state, winning two-thirds of the vote and shutting Mr. Clinton out of the delegate count, even though the Governor had strong support from members of the Legislature. Mr. Clinton's local manager said, nonetheless, that the Governor had laid a strong foundation for November. Mr. Brown finished second, picking up 13 delegates, mostly in Boston, to Mr. Tsongas's 81. Massachusetts was one of Mr. Buchanan's best Super Tuesday states, giving him 28 percent of the vote and 11 delegates, with 26 delegates for the President and 1 uncommitted.

MISSISSIPPI This was Mr. Clinton's best state of the day, at 74 percent, and one of Mr. Bush's two best, at 72 percent. Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Tsongas and Mr. Brown were all shut out of the delegates, with the President getting all 33 of the Republicans and Mr. Clinton all 39 Democrats. The Democratic primary electorate is heavily black, which aided Mr. Clinton.

MISSOURI The only caucus state among the six Super Tuesday states that border Mr. Clinton's Arkansas, Missouri chose 36 Clinton supporters, 39 uncommitted delegates and 2 Tsongas supporters. Mr. Tsongas started late and suffered from poor organization. There was no Republican contest.

OKLAHOMA Mr. Tsongas's name was not on the ballot because of mistakes by his staff, enabling Mr. Clinton to pile up 38 delegates to 7 for Mr. Brown. Paradoxically, Mr. Tsongas had the help here of one of his few big-name backers, Senator David L. Boreh. Mr. Bush won all 34 Republican delegates with 70 percent of the vote.

RHODE ISLAND Mr. Tsongas barely managed a majority in the second New England primary of the day. He won 12

delegates, Mr. Clinton 6 and Mr. Brown 4. Mr. Clinton supported continued financing for the canceled Seawolf submarine, which was built by the state's largest employer, the General Dynamics Corporation. Mr. Buchanan got a third of the vote and 5 delegates; Mr. Bush got 10 delegates.

TENNESSEE Mr. Clinton carried every county, with Mr. Tsongas competitive only in the Nashville and Knoxville areas, which are traditionally more liberal than the rest of the state. Mr. Brown finished a weak third, although the Rev. Jesse Jackson campaigned with him here. Mr. Clinton won Memphis 11 to 1 and collected 56 delegates over all to Mr. Tsongas's 12. Former Senator Howard H. Baker Jr. helped Mr. Bush to his strongest showing of Super Tuesday. The President picked up 73 percent of the vote and 23 of the 33 delegates, the rest going to Mr. Buchanan.

TEXAS Results were a major disappointment to Mr. Tsongas, who had hoped to carry the Austin area and make a respectable showing elsewhere. He lost Austin to Mr. Clinton; 2 to 1, with Mr. Brown close behind. In Beaumont, the most blue-collar industrial city in Texas, not unlike some Illinois and Michigan cities, Mr. Clinton won by 5 to 1. Mr. Tsongas did best in the largely white suburbs of Dallas, Houston and Austin. Mr. Clinton won 85 delegates. Mr. Tsongas 28, Mr. Brown 1, with delegate distribution for one Congressional district still undecided. Among the Republicans, Mr. Bush got 70 percent of the popular vote and swept all 121 delegates.

Bush Ally Takes Cabinet Post

WASHINGTON, March 11 (Reuters). — Andrew Card, a loyal political ally of President Bush, was sworn in as Secretary of Transportation today. Mr. Card took the oath of office from Justice Clarence Thomas of the Supreme Court in a ceremony at the Air and Space Museum of the Smithsonian Institution. He replaces Samuel K. Skinner, who resigned to become White House chief of staff.

Delegate Tally

Current breakdown of Presidential preference of delegates to the national political conventions as compiled by The New York Times.

DEMOCRATS	Before Tuesday	Won on Tuesday	TOTAL
	Pledged delegates	Super delegates	Pledged delegates
Biden	56	1	57
Clinton	178	120	298
Doonan	132	12	144
Undetermined, other	84	282	366
Total delegate votes			4,288
Needed to nominate			2,145

REPUBLICANS	Before Tuesday	Won on Tuesday	TOTAL
	Pledged delegates	Super delegates	Pledged delegates
Buchanan	20	28	48
Bush	208	378	586
Undetermined, other	5	1	6
Total delegate votes			2,209
Needed to nominate			1,105

Preferences are based on state laws, party rules and projections from early results in caucus states. The Democratic tally includes preferences of superdelegates, who include Democratic National Committee members, governors and former elected officials.

Results of the Voting

Results from states holding primaries or caucuses (C). Washington State results are not fully counted. Minnesota conducted a non-binding straw poll. Democrats in American Samoa chose three uncommitted delegates in their caucuses.

	Delegates	Brown	Clinton	Doonan	Other	Delegates	Buchanan	Bush	Other
Iowa (C)	48	0%	0%	0%	100%				
Del.	48	0	0	0	48				
New Hampshire	8%	24%	33%	21%	37%	52%	11%		
Del.	18	0	9	9	0	23	9	14	0
Maine (C)	35%	18%	35%	12%	4%	88%	8%		
Del.	23	9	5	9	0	22	0	22	0
South Dakota	4%	19%	10%	65%	0%	69%	31%		
Del.	15	0	3	0	12	19	0	14	6
Colorado	29%	27%	26%	18%	30%	67%	3%		
Del.	47	17	14	18	0	37	11	26	0
Georgia	8%	57%	24%	11%	36%	64%	0%		
Del.	78	0	54	22	0	52	0	52	0
Idaho (C)	5%	12%	28%	55%					
Del.	18	0	0	5	13				
Maryland	8%	34%	41%	17%	30%	70%	0%		
Del.	87	0	29	38	0	42	0	42	0
Utah	28%	18%	34%	20%					
Del.	23	9	5	9	0				
Arizona (C)	28%	29%	34%	8%					
Del.	41	12	15	14	0				
South Carolina	6%	63%	10%	8%					
Del.	43	0	36	7	0				
Wyoming (C)	23%	28%	12%	40%					
Del.	13	3	3	0	7				
Nevada (C)	35%	26%	20%	19%					
Del.	17	6	5	3	3				
Delaware (C)	19%	21%	30%	30%					
Del.	14	3	5	3	3				
Florida	12%	51%	35%	2%	32%	68%	0%		
Del.	148	3	87	58	0	97	0	97	0
Hawaii (C)	14%	50%	13%	22%					
Del.	20	1	11	0	8				
Louisiana	7%	69%	11%	13%	27%	62%	9%		
Del.	60	0	59	1	0	32	0	32	0
Massachusetts	15%	11%	66%	8%	28%	68%	8%		
Del.	84	13	0	81	0	38	11	28	1
Mississippi	10%	73%	8%	9%	17%	72%	11%		
Del.	38	0	39	0	0	33	0	33	0
Missouri (C)	7%	45%	11%	37%					
Del.	77	0	36	2	39				
Oklahoma	17%	70%	0%	13%	27%	70%	4%		
Del.	45	7	38	0	0	34	0	34	0
Rhode Island	19%	21%	53%	8%	32%	63%	5%		
Del.	22	4	6	12	0	15	3	10	0
Tennessee	8%	67%	18%	5%	22%	73%	5%		
Del.	68	0	58	12	0	33	10	23	0
Texas	8%	65%	18%	9%	24%	70%	7%		
Del.	168	1	85	28	72	121	0	121	0

Vote percentages do not translate directly into numbers of delegates. Delegate figures listed are as compiled by The New York Times. "Other" includes other candidates and uncommitted delegates.

Republican Voters

Fault Lines in Bush's Base of Support

By PETER APPLEBOME
Special to The New York Times

MIAMI, March 11 — Despite President Bush's decisive victory over Patrick J. Buchanan in Tuesday's primaries, surveys of voters in eight states reveal several potential problems that could work against him in the fall.

Interviews with voters leaving the polls indicated that Mr. Bush's ratings were tied to the health of the economy; that his approval ratings fell in the states outside the South or with fewer voters born in the South, and that there was a continuing gulf in the voting choices of women and men.

As in past primaries, the findings, by Voter Research and Surveys, showed that Mr. Bush's ratings largely reflected voters' views of the economy and its impact on them.

That pattern held true again Tuesday as voters in the three states that have seen perhaps the most significant economic reversals in recent years, Florida, Massachusetts and Rhode Island, registered the highest disapproval ratings for Mr. Bush's performance.

Strong in Mississippi

Almost two in five voters in all three states said they disapproved of Mr. Bush's performance. On the other hand, almost seven in 10 voters in Mississippi, a state whose economic fortunes never boomed and never bust, said they approved of Mr. Bush's performance.

The surveys showed a bleak view of the economy from Florida to New England. In Massachusetts, where the most pessimistic view of the economy was expressed, 85 percent of Republican primary voters rated the economy poor or not good. In Rhode Island, 82 percent of voters had the same assessment.

But even in the states with the brightest assessment of the economy, Mississippi and Tennessee, 72 percent of Republican voters described the economy as poor or not good. Voters with the bleakest view of the economy were consistently the most dissatisfied with Mr. Bush's performance.

In Massachusetts and Rhode Island, 57 and 56 percent of Republican primary voters, respectively, gave him a positive rating.

His highest approval ratings came in Mississippi, where 69 percent of Republican voters gave him a positive job rating, and in Tennessee, where 66 percent did so.

It is likely that cultural and regional factors, as well as economic ones, played a role in the vote.

Some political analysts said Southern Republican voters tend to be less likely than voters elsewhere to turn against a sitting President.

There is no way to be certain how much a role was played by economics and how much was due to cultural factors. But it is striking that the percentage of Republican primary voters saying they would vote for a Democrat, or not vote at all, in the fall was highest in the states farthest removed from the South or the least Southern in nature. Thus, 23 percent of Republican voters in Massachusetts, 18 percent in Florida and 18 percent in Rhode Island indicated that they did not expect to vote for President Bush.

On to the Midwest

But in Texas and Tennessee only 12 percent of Republican primary voters said they would not support the President. In Mississippi, the figure was 13 percent. Analysts will be closely watching the readings in Michigan and Illinois next week to see if Mr. Bush's support is as strong outside the South.

Once again, the poll results showed a striking gap between male and female voters in the Republican primaries. Tuesday, it worked in favor of Mr. Bush. In the eight states that voted, his vote among women exceeded that of Bu-

Republicans: Signs of Protest

Numbers are in percent.

	Mississippi	Tennessee	Texas	Oklahoma	Florida	Massachusetts	Rhode Island	Louisiana
Final vote								
Bush	72	73	70	70	68	66	63	62
Buchanan	17	22	24	27	32	28	32	27
Bush's job rating								
Approve	69	66	64	62	58	57	56	61
Disapprove	27	31	32	34	38	39	38	35
Bay family's financial situation is worse than four years ago	21	19	27	29	30	35	37	23
Percentage of this group voting against Bush	59	59	48	50	57	54	58	52
Bush voters who voted for him with reservations, or because they disliked his opponents	30	45	49	51	48	51	49	42
Buchanan voters who voted for him with reservations, or because they disliked his opponents	61	70	66	73	69	72	61	55

Based on polls with Republican primary voters leaving polling places on Tuesday conducted by Voter Research and Surveys.

How the Poll Was Conducted

The Election Day exit polls were based on questionnaires completed by voters Tuesday as they left voting stations throughout eight states: Florida, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, Tennessee and Texas.

The polls were conducted by Voter Research and Surveys, an organization created in 1990 by ABC News, CBS News, CNN, and NBC News.

In Florida, results are based on 1,794 Democratic primary voters and 1,509 Republican primary voters leaving 60 polling places throughout the state; in Louisiana, 1,084 Democratic voters and 811 Republican voters in 40 polling places; in Massachusetts, 1,359 Democratic voters and 963 Republican voters in 40 polling places; in Mississippi, 1,074 Democratic voters and 783 Republican voters leaving 30 polling places; in Oklahoma, 1,206 Democratic voters and 850 Republican voters in 25 polling places; in Rhode Island, 1,020 Democratic voters and 378 Republican voters in 18 polling places; in

Tennessee, 1,021 Democratic voters and 885 Republican voters in 30 polling places. And in Texas, results are based on 1,847 Democratic primary voters leaving 60 polling places and 1,504 Republican primary voters leaving 47 polling places throughout the state.

In the Democratic primaries, the margin of sampling error was plus or minus three to four percentage points.

In the Republican primaries, the margin of sampling error was plus or minus three to five percentage points except in Rhode Island, where it was seven percentage points.

In theory, in 18 cases out of 20, the results from such polls should differ by only a few percentage points in either direction from what would have been obtained by seeking to interview all primary election voters who turned out. In addition to sampling error, the practical difficulties of conducting any survey of voter opinion on Election Day may introduce other sources of error into the poll.

chanan's by margins ranging from 9 percentage points in Rhode Island to 16 in Massachusetts.

But men also made up a disproportionate share of the Republican electorate. They accounted for 53 percent of the Republican electorate in the five Southern states of Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee and Texas.

In Massachusetts, men made up 60 percent of the electorate. In Rhode Island, they made up 59 percent.

Duke Is Big Loser

It is possible that Mr. Buchanan's harsh style and message accounted for most of the difference between him and Mr. Bush. But both the difference between men and women in the Republican electorate and the huge gap in their voting pattern could pose problems for Mr. Bush in the fall, particularly if he moves farther to the right in response to Mr. Buchanan's campaign.

The day's biggest loser in the Republican contests clearly was David Duke, the former Ku Klux Klansman and Louisiana state representative whose candidacy fizzled to insignificance on what he had hoped would be his day in

the sun in his home region.

His performance may have helped put in perspective his two well-publicized races for Governor and United States Senator in Louisiana. In those earlier contests, many said they were voting for him, despite his past, either as a protest, as an endorsement of some of his ideas or as a vote against his opponents, particularly in his race for Governor against Edwin W. Edwards.

Many of his supporters in the earlier contests were Democrats, not Republicans, but poll results in the Republican primary tended to back the idea that Mr. Duke's support in the past was not wholehearted.

In Louisiana on Tuesday, Mr. Duke got the votes of only 23 percent of Republican voters who said they had voted for him for Governor last November. Mr. Buchanan got 36 percent of Mr. Duke's earlier supporters while Mr. Bush got 41 percent.

The New York Times Magazine illuminates the news.

House Overrides Bush Veto on China Trade

WASHINGTON, March 11 (AP) — The House voted overwhelmingly today to override President Bush's veto of a bill that would impose trade and human rights conditions on the renewal of China's normal trade status.

The 357-to-61 vote sent the issue to the Senate, where the override attempt is expected to fall short of the necessary two-thirds majority.

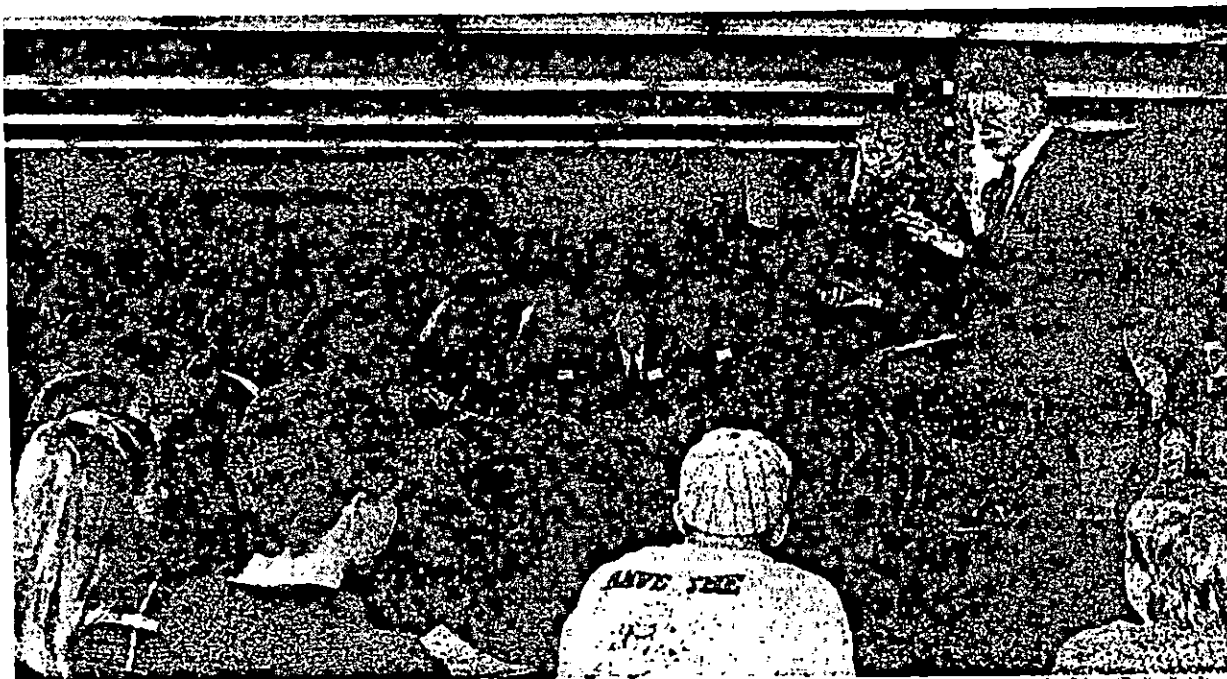
The compromise bill would require "substantial progress" by China in the areas of human rights and curtailing sales of advanced weapons and technology to Middle East countries before normal trade status, which is sometimes known as "most-favored-nation" status and which confers the lowest

available tariffs on Chinese imports, could be renewed.

"The behavior of China has not improved," said the House Ways and Means Committee chairman, Representative Dan Rostenkowski, Democrat of Illinois. "How can the President credibly argue that the current approach is working?"

But Representative Bill Archer, Republican of Texas, one of those who support the White House on China, said: "A normalized trade relationship is essential. The United States cannot afford to walk away from this strategically important country."

Look for Science Times on Tuesday.



Gov. Bill Clinton and his wife, Hillary, speaking to students yesterday at Maine South High School in Park Ridge, Ill.

Democrats

Tsongas, Seeking to Broaden Base, Appeals to Blacks in Chicago

By RICHARD L. BERKE
Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, March 11 — Eager to shed his image as the candidate for high-brow and high-income voters, Paul E. Tsongas today plunged into one of this city's toughest neighborhoods to open his campaign in the industrial Midwest.

Stung by his overwhelming defeats in the South and by his failure to draw significant support from minorities and working-class voters in his quest for the Democratic Presidential nomination, Mr. Tsongas picked the all-black William R. Harper Senior High School in the crime-torn neighborhood of West Englewood to talk about inclusion and economic hope.

"Part of what being a President is about is making everybody feel we're all in this together," he told students gathered in the school's library. "Don't give us a middle-class tax cut for our children if they're going to have to pay for it. Give us a job."

Surveys of voters leaving the polling places in earlier primaries show that Mr. Tsongas's strength is among well educated, financially comfortable white voters. To win the Illinois and

Michigan contests, political analysts say, the former Senator from Massachusetts must broaden his base to draw from the coalition of minorities, ethnic groups and working-class Democrats that gave Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas a big edge on Tuesday.

The Remedy: Try Harder

Mr. Tsongas and his advisers acknowledge the problem and say the remedy is not to retol his message, but to court those groups more forcefully.

"He's offering working people economic hope," said Dennis Kanin, Mr. Tsongas's campaign manager. "He's saying the most important issue in this campaign is jobs and people's economic future. In the black community, it's basically a question of more aggressively exposing voters to Paul's ideas. The more they see him as a person, the more they like him."

But with only one week before the primary in Illinois and Michigan, Mr. Tsongas is fighting against time and the far better organized campaign of Mr. Clinton, who has wide support in the black political establishment.

Don Rose, a Democratic consultant

here, said that while it is too late for Mr. Tsongas to make major inroads among black voters, he could make gains among white ethnic voters. "Tsongas probably has a lot of hay to make in suburban and ethnic areas by making it a character race rather than an issues race," Mr. Rose said.

The Electability Argument

Perhaps recognizing the potential effect of the character issue, Mr. Clinton intensified his criticism today of Mr. Tsongas's suitability to be President, declaring that the Arkansan would be "the most vulnerable" Democrat in the general election.

Asked about broadening his appeal and countering efforts by Mr. Clinton to depict him as a closet Republican, Mr. Tsongas said his more moderate economic views made him popular among Independents and disaffected Republicans, and thus would make him more electable in the fall.

"I make no apology for the fact that even though I'm liberal on social issues I can appeal to Republicans," the candidate said in an interview. "The charges may hurt me now, but if we get

past the nomination we're going to be in very good shape."

But political analysts say the electability argument may have little resonance with voters in the primaries who fear that Mr. Tsongas may be too much like a Republican.

David Axelrod, a Clinton strategist here, said Mr. Tsongas lacks a compelling message that would appeal to working-class and minority voters. "His message has been basically aimed at board rooms and not living rooms," Mr. Axelrod said, "and that's his fundamental problem."

Mr. Tsongas's backers are hard pressed to deliver an argument as to why working-class and minority voters should support him, short of repeating that his plan to rebuild the economy would benefit everyone.

"The blue-collar vote that we may not be getting at the moment will benefit from his overall leadership," said Barry B. White, the Tsongas campaign chairman. "We will be expanding the message to show that he will help the traditional Democrats as well as middle-of-the-road Republicans."

Political Memo

Super Tuesday's Warm Glow Fails Clinton in Cold Chicago

By GWEN IFILL
Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, March 11 — Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas should have been euphoric this morning on what his advisers were convinced was the first day of the general election campaign.

But four of the first questions at his news conference this morning with Chicago's Mayor, Richard M. Daley, went something like this:

Do you think your marital problems will stop you from winning the white Catholic vote in Illinois?

Aren't your new advertisements about Paul Tsongas misleading?

Why isn't Mayor Daley endorsing you?

Isn't your message too moderate for Northern voters?

No Endorsement

Like a splash of cold water that roughly matched the blast of cold winter air that greeted the Clinton entourage when it arrived here yesterday from the politically agreeable South, Mr. Clinton was confronted with the rough-and-tumble world of big-city politics today.

For a man who should have been feeling like a political giant, nothing seemed to be going quite right. Mayor Daley, who consented to meet and have his photograph taken with Mr. Clinton, had only kind words about the Arkansas Governor.

"I think Governor Clinton brings hope and brings some light at the end of the tunnel for people here in Chicago and throughout the country in his race for the Presidency," Mr. Daley said. But when a reporter asked if those words translated into an endorsement, he replied curtly, "no."

In response to one question about the meaning of the joint appearance, Mr. Daley insisted that such image issues were the province of the press, not politicians.

'Admitting Your Mistakes'

Still, it is image that has preceded Mr. Clinton here, and it is image that has him most on the defensive these days, when he could otherwise be savoring the margins of victory he achieved on Tuesday and the delegates he collected that put him halfway to the number he needs to win the Democratic nomination.

Mr. Clinton is now anticipating the questions on "character issues" he is likely to receive.

"The true test of character is admitting your mistakes, learning from them, seeking forgiveness for them and going on and doing better with your life," he said in several speeches in Illinois. "That is what I have been trying to do in my public and private life."

No matter what questions and challenges Mr. Clinton runs into in the

days leading up to next week's primaries here in Illinois and in Michigan, his aides remain convinced that the most crucial test against Paul E. Tsongas, the former Massachusetts Senator, occurred Tuesday in Florida. "This race has always been about Clinton," said one adviser. "It's never been about anybody else. Once we had a big victory, it was over."

Clinton aides realized that they were going to win big in Florida a week ago, campaign officials said, when their private polling showed a 13-point overnight increase after Mr. Clinton's victory in the Georgia primary on March 3.

Tough on Tsongas

But if his advisers have set aside the Tsongas challenge, Mr. Clinton has not. Asked about the tough advertising campaign in which he has be-

Kind words for Clinton but no endorsement.

gun attacking Mr. Tsongas's economic proposals, Mr. Clinton responded quickly and harshly.

"As far as I know, the only outright false ad that any candidate of either party has put on was put on by Paul Tsongas," he said.

He told reporters today: "I am trying to let people know the differences between Senator Tsongas and myself. Let me remind you how the negative campaign began."

He also showed that some of Mr. Tsongas's statements, accusing him of pandering to voters have hit their mark. After a Chicago Sun-Times reporter suggested that Mayor Daley might be on Mr. Clinton's list of Vice Presidential prospects, Mr. Clinton denied it so emphatically that he left the reporters in the room slightly stunned.

"I was not pandering to the Mayor or anyone else," he continued after offering a blow-by-blow reconstruction of his conversation with the Chicago reporter. "I didn't ask him for his endorsement today."

Mr. Daley glowered on one side of the podium; Mr. Clinton frowned at the other. The cameras flashed.

"I was not buttering up the Mayor," Mr. Clinton declared.

More national news,
pages B10 and D21-22.

BUSH CITES LIMITS ON AID TO RUSSIA

Responding to Nixon Memo,
He Opposes 'Blank Check'

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 11 — Responding to criticism by former President Richard M. Nixon that he has not done enough to support democratic reforms in the former Soviet Union, President Bush said today that his Administration does not have a "blank check" to finance extensive aid programs.

Mr. Bush did say that his Administration was now considering contributing to a multibillion-dollar international fund to stabilize the ruble, a key ingredient for economic reform in Russia. While other Administration officials have said United States support for such a fund was under consideration, this was the first time Mr. Bush himself had expressed his interest.

Bush Response

Nevertheless, when asked about Mr. Nixon's criticism at a White House news conference, Mr. Bush said: "Where we might have a difference, is we're living in a time of constrained resources. There isn't a lot of money around. We are spending too much as it already is. So to do the things I would really like to do, I don't have a blank check for all that. I think the question should be addressed to President Nixon."

Mr. Bush's White House news conference was held in the morning, just a few hours before President Nixon, in an address to a foreign affairs conference across town, repeated his criticism of the American and Western

Continued on Page A12, Column 1

Bush Responds To Nixon Memo On Russia Aid

Continued From Page A1

response to the collapse of Communism and the breakup of the Soviet Union.

The foreign affairs conference, sponsored by the Nixon Library in California, served as the occasion for the former President to make one of his most high-profile visits to Washington since he resigned the Presidency in disgrace in 1974 following the Watergate scandal. Mr. Nixon addressed the gathering of prominent foreign policy experts, foreign ambassadors and former Nixon Administration cabinet members at lunch. Then, President Bush addressed the conference himself in the evening.

In his evening address, Mr. Bush, making no mention of the financial constraints he spoke about at his morning news conference, told the Nixon gathering that "turning our back on the world is no answer."

"We invested so much to win the cold war," Mr. Bush said. "We must invest what is necessary to win the peace. If we fail, we will create new and profound 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."

But Mr. Bush, who hailed Mr. Nixon as "one of the greatest statesmen of the 20th century," confined his remarks to generalities and outlined no new initiatives or spending plans to translate his declarations into action.

Recalling Harry Truman

The 79-year-old Mr. Nixon, for his part, spoke for 30 minutes without notes or a lectern, and appealed to President Bush and Congress to join together in a bipartisan effort to transform the former Soviet republics into democracies. He said they should employ the same vision and energy that President Harry S. Truman used to persuade Mr. Nixon and John F. Kennedy, when they were both young Congressmen, to support the beginnings of the Marshall Plan 45 years ago.

"All of the pollsters are telling their candidates, don't tackle foreign policy, and particularly not foreign aid, because foreign aid is poison as a political issue," Mr. Nixon said. "They're wrong and history proves it. In 1947, I recall vividly as if it were yesterday what Harry Truman did."

In that year, Mr. Nixon said, President Truman's approval rating was 35 percent, and the Congress was overwhelmingly Republican controlled.

"And yet, I remember Harry Truman — jaunty, some said a little cocky



President Bush said yesterday that he was now considering contributing to a multibillion-dollar international fund to stabilize the ruble. With him was Brent Scowcroft, left, the national security adviser.

— coming down before a joint session of the Congress and asking for millions of dollars in aid to Greece and Turkey to prevent Communist subversion and possibly Communist aggression. It was a very tough vote for two very young and both, as history later indicated, rather ambitious young Congressmen."

Kennedy and Nixon Together

The liberal Democrats in Mr. Kennedy's Massachusetts district were against military foreign aid, said Mr. Nixon. And the conservative Republicans in his own California district were against all foreign aid.

"Under the circumstances, however, after considering it, we both voted for it, and a majority in that Republican House and the Senate, voted for that program and that was the program which later was developed into the Marshall Plan and later into NATO, which not only contained Communism but bought the time that was essential for Communism to fall."

The next year, recalled Mr. Nixon, Harry Truman won the election for President. What is more important, he added, is that that action by a Democratic President was supported by a Republican Congress.

"And then you have a situation at the present time, where we have a Republi-

Nixon recalls Truman in an appeal for helping Russia.

can President with a Democratic Congress with the opportunity to take action which would provide aid to Russia and the other countries that we have mentioned here which would assure the victory of freedom," said Mr. Nixon. "That is the question, then, that Americans must face today, political Americans, all Americans, and I think we know what the answer should be."

Warning of 'New Despotism'

The brunt of Mr. Nixon's argument today tracked closely with a memo he had circulated to friends and foreign policy experts in recent weeks, in which he stated that the United States and the West were missing a great opportunity to transform Russia and its neighbors to democracy by providing enough aid to insure the success of President Boris N. Yeltsin of Russia. Without such help, said Mr. Nixon, "a new despotism" will take hold where

the Communists once ruled.

The several hundred foreign policy experts gathered for the Nixon speech gave him a standing ovation. Mr. Nixon, though, did not take any questions, and therefore did not give any details on how he proposed the Government would pay for the aid he is talking about.

Yet his appeal found admirers. Max Kampelman, a former Reagan Administration arms control negotiator, said of Mr. Nixon's speech, "It was the clearest voice we have heard from any political figure of either party during this period."

Because of the attention Mr. Nixon's criticism has received, however, it may break the virtual silence that both Republicans and Democrats have kept on foreign policy issues thus far in the Presidential primary campaigns. Whether or not it changes the Administration's behavior, Mr. Nixon has forced his forced Mr. Bush to address the Russian aid question, which the White House has been avoiding for some time.

"One thing Nixon is doing is giving the President the political cover with the Republican conservatives to go ahead with more aid — if he wants it," said William Hyland, editor of Foreign Affairs Magazine. "The question is what will Bush do with it."

A Great-Tasting Budget Bill

Tastes great / Less filling. That false dichotomy sold a lot of beer. Today, the House of Representatives will vote on a similar dichotomy: Reduce the deficit / Increase domestic spending. Logic argues for a "yes" vote. Those goals may seem contradictory but in budgets as in beer, there's no reason the nation can't have both.

The vote will come on a bill sponsored by John Conyers, the Michigan Democrat, to remove firewalls in the 1990 budget law. Those barriers forbid Congress to switch money from defense to domestic programs. Once those barriers are down, Mr. Conyers and the Democratic leadership propose splitting the peace dividend saved from declining military budgets between deficit reduction and public investment.

In opposition, President Bush and Republican leaders argue that the only acceptable way to use the money is to reduce the deficit. They say only deficit reduction can spur growth and, besides, firewalls are needed for fiscal discipline. Mr. Bush and his allies are doubly mistaken.

Public investment is every bit as important to growth as private investment. And the Conyers bill would only shift spending among programs; it wouldn't raise the deficit a dime or erode discipline.

The 1990 budget law was designed to reduce the deficit by about \$500 billion over five years through modest spending cutbacks and tax hikes. Without debate, Congress agreed to separate caps on domestic, international and defense programs. The amendment defaced an otherwise laudable bill,

blocking Congress from doing what it's elected to do: make choices.

What was politically perverse in 1990 has now become fiscally irresponsible. The demise of the Soviet Union now makes frivolous tens of billions in proposed defense spending. But Congress has precious little incentive to capitalize on the golden opportunity. It can cut military spending but the entire saving must go to deficit reduction. Congress isn't likely to undertake painful tasks like closing bases on behalf of the grand abstraction of deficit reduction.

Besides, deficit reduction alone performs no magic. Smaller deficits help the economy because they mean the Government siphons less out of private capital markets. That leaves more money for entrepreneurs, leading to faster growth in investment, productivity and wages.

But there's another key to economic growth: Public investment in telecommunications networks, water treatment, education, training, research. These have been slighted in the Reagan-Bush years, yet study after study shows that such public investments produce returns as high as, or higher than, private investment.

Mr. Bush threatens to veto the Conyers bill because he assumes Congress will throw away the peace dividend on wasteful expenditures. That's a legitimate worry. But the remedy is not to veto Congress's capacity to choose; it is to veto wrong choices it might later make.

Deficit reduction; increased public investment. The economy needs both. Both taste great.

Governor Clinton Misses the Point

In 1978, just before becoming Governor of Arkansas, Bill Clinton and his wife entered a real estate venture with a friend. They maintained that business relationship for several years while the friend's failing savings and loan association remained subject to regulators appointed by the Governor. Did the Clintons see no possible conflict of interest in continuing the relationship?

Well, maybe, the Governor says. Perhaps he should have extricated himself. "But frankly, at the time it never crossed my mind because we were losing money." That's no answer, only a disappointing digression.

What difference does it make to the ethical question whether the enterprise was profitable? Does Mr. Clinton's sensitivity to conflicts of interest perk up only when partners are making a profit? The public needs better answers to this and other questions about the Clintons and their partner.

The Clintons' relationship with James McDougal began with a joint land venture. Later, Mr. McDougal bought control of a state-chartered thrift institution, Madison Guaranty, which itself became financially troubled. Federal examiners found the thrift insolvent, exposing it to closure by the state. Governor Clinton then appointed a new securi-

ties commissioner, who had been a lawyer in the firm representing Madison Guaranty. On its face, that at least raised the possibility of a conflict of interest. The new commissioner then accepted two suggestions by Hillary Clinton, a partner in another firm that also represented Mr. McDougal's thrift. Her ideas helped keep Madison open for a time but eventually Federal officials took it over and ousted Mr. McDougal.

It's entirely possible that no official action concerning Madison Guaranty bore any trace of improper influence. But that's not the point. The public should not be required to assume that people in power will never misuse their power. That's why officials recuse themselves when their impartiality might reasonably be questioned. The Clintons, skilled lawyers, must surely recognize the appearance of a conflict.

That, so far, is the only clear question in this tangle. Other questions, like the extent to which Mr. McDougal may have subsidized the original land venture, are mired in complex tax returns and missing or incomplete records.

The public would be well served if the Governor and his wife gave a fuller explanation of a decade of McDougal dealings. The Clintons, meanwhile, would be well served by displaying a clearer appreciation of conflict-of-interest precepts.

INSIDE THE BELTWAY

Just his luck

One of the happiest chaps on Capitol Hill has to be Sen. Tim Wirth, Colorado Democrat. He's the guy who proposed establishment of an in-house bank for the Senate back in 1987, to be modeled along the lines of the House bank. His idea didn't fly, partially due to strong opposition from Sen. Howell Heflin, Alabama Democrat, who figured that such a frill "would cost the taxpayers money."

Others objected because the Senate bank, like the one the House set up, would have been exempt from federal laws like the one that says deposits or withdrawals of \$10,000 or more must be reported to the Internal Revenue Service.

At the time, Mr. Wirth countered his opponents with the comment "How long has the House bank been in operation? It seems to me it has been operating pretty well." He was formerly a member of the House.

(As an aside, the story on Mr. Wirth was supplied to us by "A Concerned Taxpayer" back there in '87. So those of you who don't see immediate results from the tip you send in can take heart: It only took about five years to find a good spot for the "Taxpayer" tip.)

To bring us back to the current situation, there's a "Rubbergate Lotto" contest on Capitol Hill. The entry fee is \$5, and no personal checks are being accepted. Entrants are to guess the five biggest check-kiting offenders among current members and then, as the tie-breaker, list the worst offender of the five.

The name game

Les "Cut the Taxes" Golden and Elias R. "Non-Incumbent" Zenklich are two candidates who crammed their campaign message onto the official Illinois ballot. The only restriction on names under Illinois law prohibits the use of titles such as "doctor" or "the reverend."

"Anything else you can dream of, you can put on," Kay Walker of the State Board of Elections told a wire service interviewer. "Whatever they turn in to us, we take."

The name game has state Supreme Court candidate Don Weber a little nervous, since he shares a name with convicted killer Donald "Dusty" Weber. Newspapers blared headlines like "Weber to serve rest

of life in prison" during Mr. Weber's campaigning.

Harry B. Aron didn't change his name, but he's campaigning for judge with the slogan "Hit a home run for justice." If voters are reminded of baseball great Henry Aaron, well, "I want to get elected," he says.



Fidel Castro could be providing sanctuary for a notorious lot.

Haven in Havana

Cubans eager to see the end of Fidel Castro's reign in Cuba have found further evidence of what they call Fidel's "Club Med for Criminals" operation. Among the "most wanted" said to be hiding out in Cuba is Robert Vesco, the rogue financier who was implicated in drug dealing. He was photographed recently in Cuba. Also said to be there is Victor Manuel Herrera, a Puerto Rican terrorist who fled to Cuba with part of the loot from a \$7 million robbery of a Wells Fargo truck in Connecticut in 1983. And there may be another high-profile thug in residence.

Frank Terpil, the renegade CIA agent and arms dealer who may have been involved in the Pan Am Flight 103 bombing over Lockerbie, Scotland, is mentioned in a recent issue of U.S. News & World Report as possibly hiding out in Libya. The story says officials probing the killing of the 270 Pan Am passengers might ease up on Moammar Ga-

dhafi if he delivers Mr. Terpil for extradition. But there are also reports that Mr. Terpil is in Cuba. Our Cuban sources agree, saying Mr. Terpil is just one more on "the long list of international sleazeballs finding haven in Havana."

Clinton's ties

Well, which way you gonna go, Tweedledee or Tweedledum? If Bill Clinton is successful in seizing the Democratic nomination, we'll have two members of the Trilateral Commission facing off for the presidency. President Bush is a longtime hand on that ranch. "It must be incredible odds that an organization with so few members has succeeded in fielding a president or his running mate in each election since it was founded," said a prominent Southern conservative.

The Trilateral Commission, founded in 1973, is an elite group of wealthy and powerful world leaders who push the agenda of the "new world order." The commission is an adjunct of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), focusing on North America, Europe and Japan. There are about 100 commission members from the United States, and the group's headquarters in New York readily confirms Mr. Clinton is a member. He joined in 1988.

There is no end of conspiracy theories among groups like the John Birch Society linking the Trilateralists to another power clique, the Bilderberger group, and to various schemes for world domination. Tom Eddlam, research director for the JBS, said Mr. Clinton's membership doesn't surprise him that much. "We're busy tracking the predominance of CFR members among those who are bashing Pat Buchanan," Mr. Eddlam said.

As for our source in the South, he wonders if Mr. Buchanan is really what's eating at Mr. Bush. "If the Trilateral Commissioners recruited and groomed Bill Clinton, they may be telling Mr. Bush that they're putting their money on a fresh horse."

Closed for repairs

There's a room in the Old Executive Office Building that bears a sign, "Special Assistant to the President for Political Affairs." The door is barricaded.

— John Elvir

Washington
Times
March 12

NIXON

From page A1

He urged a more forceful role in supporting the democratic and economic changes President Boris Yeltsin is attempting in Russia to ensure that peace follows in the wake of the Cold War.

Mr. Strauss, the former chairman of the Democratic National Committee, told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that he was shocked by the absence of campaign debate over aid to the former Soviet republics.

"It hasn't been the subject of any appreciable discussion" in the primaries, Mr. Strauss said. "It's just shocking. ... This ain't beanbag we're playing. These are big-time issues, this is life or death, this is the future of nations."

Mr. Nixon, whose address and earlier memo did not mention Mr. Bush by name, told reporters he had "no rift" with the president.

"What I was trying to do here was to focus attention on what I consider to be the major foreign policy issue of our time," he said.

Mr. Bush, who has been reeling in recent months from criticism that he has focused on foreign affairs at the expense of domestic policy and the economy, attempted to downplay any disagreement with Mr. Nixon.

"Now, where we might have a difference is, we're living in a time of constrained resources," Mr. Bush told reporters. "There isn't a lot of money around. We are spending too much as it already is."

"So to do the things I would really like to do, I don't have a blank check for all of that."

In an address last night to the Nixon Library conference, Mr. Bush derided what he called isolationist voices "across the political spectrum" and pledged to keep foreign policy issues front and center.

Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, testifying yesterday before a House Appropriations subcommittee, defended the level of U.S. aid and warned that "simply throwing money at the situation" could be counterproductive.

Mr. Eagleburger, a former Nixon administration aide, said Mr. Nixon "doesn't have to worry about budget caps and taxation and other issues. ... He's arguing in a vacuum, in a sense."

The United States has allocated about \$5 billion to the former Soviet republics, mostly in agricultural credits.

But Russian officials, who are meeting here with the International Monetary Fund, estimate that Moscow will need about \$18 billion in aid this year to stabilize the ruble and to import food and other essentials.

Mr. Nixon also warned yesterday that the failure of Mr. Yeltsin's reforms could spark new despotism in Russia that "could be a far more dangerous threat to peace and freedom in the world, and particularly to peace, than was the old Soviet totalitarianism."

But he complained that U.S. presidential candidates, guided by pollsters, have shied away from confronting the politically touchy question of aiding the former Soviet Union while the domestic economy declines.

"All of the pollsters are telling the candidates, 'Don't tackle foreign affairs; particularly foreign aid,'" he said. "They're wrong, and history proves them wrong."

America, he said, must take the lead ensuring the success of reforms in the former Soviet Union.

"If America does not lead, who? The Japanese? Chinese? Russians? Germans? This is our moment of greatness. It's our moment of truth. We must seize this moment because we hold the future in our hands."

For Mr. Nixon, who resigned in August 1974 in the heat of the Watergate scandal, the speech marked his most visible effort to use his foreign policy expertise to rehabilitate his reputation. He spoke without a text

or notes, and his address was carried live by CNN.

Whoever becomes the next president "will make the difference between whether peace will survive in the world," Mr. Nixon said.

While communism lost the Cold War, he said, "it is not true the Free World has won it" and a major test is in Russia.

Mr. Nixon called Mr. Yeltsin the "most pro-Western Russian leader in history."

"The major factor on the plus side ... is that Russia ... has a strong leader ...," Mr. Nixon said. "I have seen many great leaders over the past 44 years. I would rate [former Soviet leader] Mikhail Gorbachev and Yeltsin as political heavyweights. Both were born as peasants. Gorbachev became a man of the world; Yeltsin remained a man of the people ..."

"If Yeltsin succeeds, if democracy survives, our children and grandchildren will have removed the fear of a possible world nuclear war that now haunts them, because democracies do not begin wars."

• Frank J. Murray and Martin Sieff contributed to this article, which is based in part on wire service reports.

Nixon says U.S. must help C.I.S.

By Warren Strobel
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Bush and the presidential hopefuls in both parties got wake-up calls yesterday from an unlikely duo—former President Nixon and Democrat Robert Strauss, the U.S. envoy to Moscow.

Mr. Nixon, who as president held the line against Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev, and Mr. Strauss, the no-nonsense Texan deal maker, warned that Mr. Bush and his 1992 campaign rivals are making a serious mistake in failing to address U.S. interests in the former Soviet republics.

"Over the past 44 years I've had the opportunity to observe 12 presidential elections ...," Mr. Nixon said in Washington at a gathering sponsored by his presidential library.

"There has never been a campaign in those 44 years in which foreign policy was less discussed, and there's never been a time in which foreign policy was more important."

Mr. Nixon's comments came only days after the release of a private memo in which he warned that the Bush administration's aid for democratic reform in Russia and the other Soviet republics was "pathetically inadequate."

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Former Soviets deserve more aid, Bush says

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Bush joined the call last night for more substantial help to the republics of the former Soviet Union, but he gave no indication of where the money could be found.

"We invested so much to win the Cold War. We must invest what is necessary to win the peace," Mr. Bush said, appearing to adopt the arguments of former President Nixon at a dinner in a Washington hotel for foreign policy specialists hosted by the Nixon Library and Birthplace.

But at a news conference earlier in the day he said: "There isn't a lot of money around. We are spending too much as it already is."

Proposals include a \$12 billion guarantee for a project organized by the International Monetary Fund and a ruble stabilization fund whose cost is estimated at \$6 billion to \$10 billion.

At last night's black-tie dinner Mr. Bush appeared to soften his resistance under pressure from personalities as disparate as Mr. Nixon, who introduced him, U.S. Ambassador to Moscow Robert Strauss, and Democratic Sen. Alan Cranston, who pledged to defend the president from partisan criticism on the issue.

"Yes, the Soviet Union that we feared is no longer, but the successor republics are still struggling to establish themselves as democracies," Mr. Bush said in a speech that praised many aspects of the Nixon legacy.

"If we fail, we will create new and profound problems for our security and that of Europe and Asia," Mr. Bush said of the dilemma that Mr. Strauss called a "life or death" issue for the Russians.

Mr. Bush's appearance followed a tour de force speech by the former president, who spoke for 30 minutes at a luncheon without notes, advising Mr. Bush to "seize the moment" and help the former Soviet republics.

Earlier yesterday, Mr. Bush said his dinner meeting with Mr. Nixon would offer "a chance for him to clarify what he means by all of this" but stressed there was no money for blank checks to pay for the republics' needs.

Mr. Bush said the Treasury and State Department were considering a fund to guarantee convertibility of the ruble to hard currencies, including the dollar, the pound and the mark. Since before the 1991 economic summit in London, that step has been called a prerequisite to develop trade and allow the former Soviet republics to join the world economy.

The speech followed a theme that Mr. Bush had built on all day.

At a news conference: "As we renew ourselves at home, we simply cannot relinquish our leadership abroad either ... and Americans must not heed the lone trumpets of retreat. ... We are the leaders and we must continue to lead, we must continue to stay engaged."

In a speech to the American Society of Association Executives at the Convention Center: "We're the undisputed leader of the world that has a propensity for much more peace. ... We are not going to retreat into the failed policies of uninvolvedness, disengagement, isolation, protectionism. We cannot do that."

Mr. Nixon's call for help was seconded yesterday by Mr. Strauss, who told a Senate committee: "democracy and freedom are on trial in the former republics of the Soviet Union" and said Congress and the administration share responsibility.

"This ain't beanbag. This is big time, a big-time issue. This is life and death," Mr. Strauss told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee controlled by his own Democratic Party.

"If American capital doesn't go in there, we're in trouble," Mr. Strauss said. "We have a tremendous self-interest. I don't know of anything going on in the world where the every citizen of this state has [such] a tremendous stake in whether we make it or not out there."

"I think it's outrageous, if you want to know what I think, that we don't pick up our share of that quota. It doesn't even require a cash outlay. Most people don't know that. That \$12 billion — it just has to be there standby," Mr. Strauss testified.

Sen. Alan Cranston, California Democrat, said he would personally support any reasonable proposal Mr. Bush offers.

St. Paddy's Day primaries likely to give Clinton the green light

By Major Garrett
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton enters the race for Illinois and Michigan with ready-made organizations, a bulging bank account and priceless momentum conferred by his Southern sweep on Super Tuesday.

These assets are likely ingredients for presidential primary successes in the two powerful industrial states on Tuesday. And wins in the

Midwest could catapult Mr. Clinton to victories in New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio — and the Democratic Party nomination.

Analysts and politicians in both states agree the Arkansas governor is well positioned to defeat poorly organized and underfunded challengers Paul Tsongas and Jerry Brown. They cite his support among whites as key assets in the six-day sprint to the St. Patrick's Day show-

down.

They are betting Mr. Clinton could win over rank-and-file labor voters unable to stomach Mr. Tsongas' hostility to their coveted striker replacement bill and leery of Mr. Brown's anti-establishment movement.

Victories in Michigan and Illinois would provide a majority of the 295 delegates the states will send to the convention. Currently, Mr. Clinton

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has 707 delegates; Mr. Tsongas, 347; and Mr. Brown, 81. Two hundred eighty-eight delegates are officially uncommitted.

"Clinton has two immediate, strategic advantages," said David Rohde, a professor of political science at Michigan State University in Lansing. "One, Tsongas didn't get much of a positive bounce (out of Super Tuesday). [He] also has potent advantage in that he has done well with the black vote all over the country."

Curiously, this momentum is gathering behind a candidate some party members fear may be unable to capitalize on Mr. Bush's vulnerability.

In Michigan, for example, Owen Bieber, president of the nation's largest auto workers union, is asking members to cast uncommitted ballots. Democratic Rep. John Dingell, a powerful force in Michigan politics, seconded Mr. Bieber's motion, hoping for a brokered convention.

Also, Frank Garrison, the state president of the AFL-CIO, has been quoted saying Mr. Clinton is "unelectable" because of negative publicity surrounding his private life, draft status and financial dealings.

In Illinois, Joseph Gardner, former executive director for People United to Serve Humanity, described Mr. Clinton's support among blacks nationally as "a mile wide and an inch deep."

"The way things are going now, Bill Clinton will probably enjoy the support of African-American voters," said Mr. Gardner, former urban affairs adviser to Nebraska Sen. Bob Kerrey's presidential effort. "That's all right for the playoffs, but when we get to the Super Bowl you have to put more players on the field than you're going to see on March 17."

Mr. Gardner complained that all three remaining candidates are giving the urban agenda short shrift. He said black voters, though supporting Mr. Clinton, are disinterested in the campaign.

Results in Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee and Texas showed a steep dropoff in Democratic turnout compared with Super Tuesday of 1988. Analysts believe most of the missing voters are black.

Democratic turnout was down 11 percent in Florida, 39 percent in Louisiana, 48 percent in Mississippi, 46 percent in Tennessee and 16 percent in Texas.

"From the urban vote to the rural vote, a lot of the people do not consider they have a viable candidate for whom to vote," said Claiborne Darden of the polling firm Darden Research Corp. in Atlanta.

"It's kind of like making a national championship football team out of a Class 3 school. You can't do it unless the other side injures itself terribly."

Mr. Tsongas will attack Mr. Clinton aggressively in an attempt to strip away his strengths.

"The election is going to be decided next Tuesday in Illinois and Michigan," Mr. Tsongas told students at Harper High School, a vocational school in urban Chicago.

"These are two states that have learned the hard way what happens when the manufacturing base stops competing."

But it appears Mr. Clinton will have to falter badly to lose momentum in either state.

Mr. Clinton won the Missouri primary with 45 percent to Mr. Tsongas' 11 percent and Mr. Brown's 7 percent. That showing should carry over to southern Illinois, which shares many of the same political instincts as Missouri.

Mr. Clinton also has the enthusiastic support of aides to Chicago Mayor Richard Daley, although the mayor remains officially neutral.

The governor also appears well equipped to challenge Mr. Tsongas' perceived strength in upscale counties of Lake and Du Page surrounding Chicago and at such academic outposts as the University of Illinois in Urbana and Southern Illinois University in Carbondale.

"It's probably one of Clinton's best-organized states," said Daniel Pierce, mayor of Highland Park, an affluent suburb about 25 miles north of Chicago. "It's Clinton's best

ROAD TO THE WHITE HOUSE

Voting percentages and delegates to the Democratic and Republican national conventions that have been won in presidential primaries and caucuses. Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

REPUBLICANS

	Bush	Buchanan	Duke	Uncommitted/ Others
New Hampshire	53% 14	37% 9	•	—
South Dakota	69% 14	•	•	31% 5
Maryland	70% 42	30% 0	•	—
Georgia	64% 52	36% 0	•	—
Colorado	67% 26	30% 11	•	—
South Carolina	67% 36	26% 0	7% 0	—
Florida	68% 97	32% 0	•	—
Louisiana	62% 32	27% 0	9% 0	2% 0
Massachusetts	66% 26	28% 11	2% 0	4% 1
Mississippi	72% 33	17% 0	11% 0	0 0
Oklahoma	70% 34	27% 0	3% 0	1% 0
Rhode Island	63% 10	32% 5	2% 0	3% 0
Tennessee	73% 23	22% 10	3% 0	2% 0
Texas	70% 121	24% 0	3% 0	4% 0
Total needed to nominate: 1,105				
Total delegates	560	46	0	6

DEMOCRATS

	Tsongas	Clinton	Brown	Others*	Uncommitted
Iowa	4% 0	3% 0	2% 0	79% 40	12% 9
New Hampshire	35% 10	26% 8	9% 0	30% 0	—
Maine	30% 8	15% 3	29% 7	9% 1	16% 4
South Dakota	10% 0	19% 3	4% 0	67% 12	—
Maryland	40% 38	34% 29	8% 0	12% 0	6% 0
Georgia	23% 22	58% 54	8% 0	7% 0	4% 0
Colorado	25% 15	29% 14	28% 18	16% 0	2% 0
Utah	34% 9	18% 5	28% 9	17% 0	3% 0
American Samoa	0% 0	4% 0	0% 0	9% 0	87% 3
Idaho	29% 5	12% 0	5% 0	38% 6	17% 2
Minnesota†	19% 0	10% 0	8% 0	35% 0	24% 0
Washington†	32% 0	14% 0	19% 0	13% 0	20% 0
South Carolina	19% 7	63% 36	6% 0	8% 0	3% 0
Arizona	34% 14	29% 15	28% 12	8% 0	1% 0
Wyoming	12% 0	28% 4	23% 3	14% 0	22% 6
Nevada	20% 3	26% 5	35% 6	2% 0	17% 3
Democrats abroad†	37% 0	27% 0	12% 0	24% 0	0 0
Florida	35% 58	51% 87	12% 3	2% 0	—
Louisiana	11% 1	69% 59	7% 0	13% 0	—
Massachusetts	66% 88	11% 6	15% 0	6% 0	2% 0
Mississippi	8% 0	73% 39	10% 0	3% 0	6% 0
Oklahoma	• •	70% 38	17% 7	13% 0	0 0
Rhode Island	53% 13	21% 6	19% 3	6% 0	1% 0
Tennessee	19% 12	67% 56	8% 0	2% 0	4% 0
Texas	19% 31	65% 94	8% 2	7% 0	—
Delaware	30% 5	21% 3	19% 2	0 0	30% 4
Hawaii	13% 0	50% 16	14% 2	15% 2	7% 0
Missouri	11% 2	45% 34	7% 0	0 0	37% 29
Super‡ delegates	8.25	105.25	7.25	16	240.75
Total needed to nominate: 2,144					
Total delegates	349.25	707.25	81.25	77	300.75

*Not on ballot

†Partial returns from caucuses that are continuing delegate selection process.

‡Stated, non-binding preference of super delegates to Democratic convention as compiled by the Associated Press.

*Includes delegates won by Kerrey and Harkin, who dropped out of race.

chance of winning a northern state."

In Michigan, Mr. Clinton begins, again, with a base of black support in Detroit, perceived support in

Macomb County, a working-class Detroit suburb, and in heavily urban Kent County, where the biggest city is Flint.

DONALD LAMBRO

Beneath Bill Clinton's mushrooming support in the Democratic Party lies deep uncertainty among many rank-and-file Democrats over what pollsters are calling "the character thing."

The Arkansas governor has thus far skillfully defused the allegations against his character, defying widespread predictions in January that he was all but dead politically. To be sure, he was helped by a pliant national news media as well as by his rivals for the nomination who were reluctant to make a serious issue of it. And for all practical purposes that issue has been on the back burner ever since.

But it has not gone away. The character issue is still very much alive, lurking just below the surface of his candidacy and threatening to undo the party's promising 1992 presidential campaign.

National Democratic leaders won't say it publicly, but more and more Democrats at other levels of the party are saying he is a deeply wounded presidential contender who carries too many negatives.

"A lot of Democrats have a lot of questions about Bill Clinton," said Democratic pollster and campaign strategist Alan Secrest.

"I do not believe the voters [in the general election] are going to perform in the same large demographic lock step" if Mr. Clinton becomes the nominee, he said. "The edge that Clinton has on paper presumes that he will dodge the character bullet," he added. "But that remains to be seen."

As Democrats trooped to the polls on Super Tuesday to vote for Mr. Clinton throughout the South, troubled party veterans were still mulling over a little-noticed poll of Democratic voters in Georgia by Mr. Secrest's polling firm.

That poll was taken in late February before the March 3 Georgia primary in which Mr. Clinton far outdistanced his nearest rival, Paul Tsongas. It revealed the depth of uncertainty over "the character thing" that surrounds Mr. Clinton's candidacy — within his own party and among his own voters.

A sizable 44 percent of likely Georgia Democratic primary par-

Anxiety in the trenches

ticipants who supported Mr. Clinton said they backed him "with some reservation." Another 9 percent of his voters said they supported him "only slightly."

Significantly, only 39 percent of Mr. Clinton's own voters picked him above the others because he "has the kind of character a president should have."

Even among voters who agreed that "Bill Clinton has been telling the truth about his alleged relationship with Gennifer Flowers," only 28 percent approved of his character.

Moreover, only 40 percent of Mr. Clinton's voters supported him because he is "honest, has integrity."

Mr. Secrest's poll found that a strong 61 percent majority disagreed with the statement, "I am at least somewhat reluctant to support Bill Clinton because of stories that have been reported about his past."

But 31 percent did agree with

that statement and 8 percent were not sure. And among undecided voters, only 46 percent disagreed it.

While a strong 63 percent majority agreed that he "has been telling the truth about his handling of his draft status when he was younger," 37 percent disagreed or were not sure.

And when Georgia's Democratic voters were read a statement saying, "I believe Bill Clinton has been telling the truth about his alleged relationship with Gennifer Flowers," only 42 percent agreed, 32 percent disagreed and 26 percent were not sure.

Among his own voters, 59 percent believe him, 18 percent do not and 23 percent are not sure.

Notably, a sizable 42 percent said they agreed with the statement, "If I am not comfortable with a Democratic candidate's character, and that candidate is the Democratic nominee, I would vote for George Bush."

The questions this raises about Mr. Clinton are enormous, "because they signal reticence toward Clinton, even in his own camp," Mr. Secrest concludes.

Yet at this point in the Democratic primary process, it does not appear that these and other questions are going to seriously affect Mr. Clinton's chances of winning his

party's nomination.

The Democratic nominating train has left the station and is speeding down the track. And many believe the contest will be all but settled by the end of this month.

By that time, according to party insiders, Democratic National Chairman Ron Brown and his agents, eager to shut down the party primary phase and begin the general election offensive against Mr. Bush, will move to end the nominating contest as quickly as possible.

"I've sat in on [party strategy] meetings where it is clear that they want to shut down this contest as soon as possible," a well-placed party adviser told me.

"There's a growing view that Clinton is going to be the candidate," he continued. "The feeling is that he's the best they are going to get, and they are looking to circle the wagons around him. They want to close down the debate as soon as possible after the Michigan and Illinois [primaries March 17]. And there's a lot of whispering and money going around aimed at doing that."

But in its headlong rush to anoint an early nominee, the Democratic Party may be making a fatal mistake. That is why Alan Secrest's explosive report is must reading for every concerned Democrat.



Donald Lambro, chief political correspondent of The Washington Times, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

Clinton's to lose

Late-night thoughts as Super Tuesday turned into Another Wednesday: It is now Bill Clinton's presidential nomination to lose. The party's White Hope from Hope, Ark., would have to try, and try hard, to lose this one. He's got the Southern delegates as he moves into recession-struck Rust Belt Michigan and Illinois. He's got the money and he's got the organization. He's got the party hacks and flacks and endorsements. He's got the youth and patter and Kennedyesque beat and the ability to tell us all what we want to hear. He's got the genuine, authentic ersatz spirit of the '90s. He'll have the labor unions soon enough even if Bill Becker of Arkansas' AFL-CIO has tried to warn them just who is getting whom. He's got Hillary, a Park Ridge, Ill., girl if there ever were one. He's got everything except character, and when was that lack a bar to political advancement in this country or any other?

They've caught on to him only in New England, where the aura of the Adamsses must still cast some lingering influence. Now he rushes victoriously from the South into the bitter heart of the Midwest, where dissatisfaction is king, unemployment queen, and the demand for the mediocre, always called Genuine Change in campaign speeches, may prove insatiable this election year.

It's all over but the shouting but, even when it comes, there will be something muted about it, as if the crowd were waiting for the next scandal to drop. In his victory speech, Slick Willie said the South heard the worst about him but saw the best. Yet behind the accolades, one can sense the ever gnawing fear that the worst is yet to come — and that Bill Clinton's best may consist of regularly riding out suspicion.

So far, Arkansas' governor has been extraordinarily fortunate in his misfortunes. If a presidential candidate must have a scandal-specked record, arrange it so that those scandals seem long ago and far away and, above all, so that they be compli-

see GREENBERG, page G4

Paul Greenberg is editorial editor of the Pine Bluff (Ark.) Commercial and a nationally syndicated columnist.

Bush's awakening

Fragment by fragment, Bill Clinton is assembling something like the old Roosevelt coalition that Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan demolished — blacks, Southerners, union members, Jews, to some degree Catholics and big-city types. The bait is out as well for two prospective coalition members, Hispanics and feminists.

Can a small-state governor immortalized by the supermarket tabloids bring off this fabulous stunt? Let us just say that George Bush, to this point, hasn't thrown any transverse blocks in his path.

Mr. Clinton, as Super Tuesday demonstrated, has a breadth if not necessarily a depth of appeal. The governor's political skills are formidable, his personal moxie engaging enough to make you want to sweep off your hat. Does he care whether we think he engaged in a 12-year adulterous affair? Not so as he acknowledges. His political philosophy is Rohrschackian: Whatever you expect it to look like, why, that's the very thing it looks like.

Various Democrats and independents who joined the Reagan coalition out of concern for social and economic issues are pausing to look Mr. Clinton over: the more intently, with nobody being yee-haw, hallelujah enthusiastic over the Bush administration's record. (Forty-one percent of Republican voters in Florida — Republicans! — told pollsters they disapprove of the job Mr. Bush so far has done.)

The Clinton coalition, if in fact it forms up, would rest chiefly on thwarted ambition to use the levers of White House powers. It's been a long time since Jimmy Carter tossed out red meat — jobs, dollars and favors — to hungry Democrats.

The point, in upcoming primaries, may not be which Democrat is abstractly The Best for America, but which one enjoys the best chance of beating the Bushes. Mr. Clinton, with all the scalps from Super Tuesday dangling at his belt, looks and talks like a mighty warrior indeed. He could bedazzle Democratic voters who might otherwise incline to Paul Tsongas or Jerry Brown.

What of President Read-My-Lips, meanwhile? Ironically, his best

William Murchison, a columnist for the Dallas Morning News, is nationally syndicated.

In the Republican primaries, mediocrity won across the board, too, but at least it was over submediocrity. How far the Republican Party has come in 40 years may be measured by noting that in 1952 its great ideological divide was represented by Dwight Eisenhower and Robert A. Taft. In 1992, the division is represented by candidates with the stature and principle of George Bush and Pat Buchanan. Nor is this a choice between anything so minimally elevated as ideology but only between the new inertia and the old prejudices.

The most bizarre moment of the evening, even more ironic than Bill Clinton speaking of character, had to be Pat Buchanan's taking credit for having squelched David Duke. Question mark and exclamation point. Pat Buchanan didn't squelch David Duke, he just inherited his electoral base — the usual third of the American electorate that at any given hard time is economically pressed and ethnically fearful. Pat Buchanan is only the 1992 version of George Wallace, except without the charm, bite, power, talent or atonement.

Much as he would like to trace his political lineage to Barry Goldwater and Ronald Reagan, Mr. Buchanan is closer to Father Coughlin and Gerald L.K. Smith, right down to the protectionist rhetoric, the bigoted jibes, and even the phrase America First. He's just a David Duke of a different ethnic and regional origin. Let it be said of Mr. Duke that he at least formally disavowed the hateful things he once said. Mr. Buchanan never has.

It was not David Duke but Pat Buchanan who said America's wars are urged by people with names like Rosenthal, Perle, Krauthammer and Kissinger, but the fighting would be done by "kids with names like McAlister, Murphy, Gonzales, and Leroy Brown." The only appropriate penance for that kind of 1930s defamations would be for Mr. Buchanan to visit not the hustings but every American military cemetery here and abroad, and plant a small American flag beside every Star of David. That one comment of his in particular sticks in the mind of someone whose dogtags still say:

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GREENBERG From page G1

cated. The easiest-to-handle messes are those that involve mixed motives, paper chases, or certain private matters nobody really wants to talk about. The great fear is that the next embarrassment, or the next, will be simple, and that by the time it breaks it will be too late for the party to change its nominee.

Poor Paul Tsongas. He has to pretend that merely surviving is something to celebrate. Florida was particularly crushing. He may not be a regional candidate, but Super Tuesday was designed to make any candidate outside Dixie look like one. Proclaiming that he was in the race to stay (not necessarily to win), his hangdog look no longer seemed a modest affectation but genuine. He reminded one of an encyclopedia salesman who has suddenly realized that there are only so many more houses on the block where anybody still reads.

The guy spent three hours on Critical-Super-Tuesday attending the funeral of a sheriff's deputy who was killed in an accident while accompanying his motorcade in Palm Beach. He didn't even speak at the ceremony, just held the widow's hand. Of course Paul Tsongas is disqualified for the mod presidency; he knows what's really critical. What can he promise but work, sacrifice, responsibility, the long term? In a land where we want the fruits of patience and want them now, he sounds almost un-American, certainly un-'90s. He has not learned how to play the game.

Unlike Bill Clinton. When Slick Willie speaks of sacrifice or responsibility or a New Covenant, he is careful not to go beyond those shibboleths. Can you think of a specific sacrifice he has actually proposed in this campaign? When it comes to specifics, all those noble generalities translate into middle-class tax cuts, guaranteed jobs for strikers, and freebies all around. He's for Genuine Change so long as it means instant gratification.

friend and most valuable ally is the man most hated by smug, bland GOP establishmentarians — Pat Buchanan.

Mr. Buchanan, to such as these, is the smart-aleck who dumps the

done to the president: bite him on the ankles, spoil his shoeshine, bark out the bad news that legions of the faithful consider themselves betrayed by the president who slid deftly away from commitment after

The president, thanks to Mr. Buchanan, is awake. He says violating his word and raising taxes was the biggest mistake of his presidency. He knows the Buchanans are looking over his shoulder. Maybe he'll be careful now.

grain alcohol in the punch bowl just to liven up the party. What a spoilsport, what an ingrate — by the reasoning of the regular Republicans who regard the president as more sinned against than sinning.

Well, guess what? Had Mr. Buchanan not run, George Bush would be much nearer defeat than he is today. His campaign would be more enervating, his message and syntax more tangled.

Look what our bulldog pundit has

commitment.

The president, thanks to Mr. Buchanan, is awake. He says violating his word and raising taxes was the biggest mistake of his presidency. He knows the Buchanans, still seething, are looking over his shoulder. Maybe he'll be careful now. The more careful he is of principle, the better campaign he'll run and the better presidency — assuming victory in November — he'll conduct. He shouldn't be afraid of Mr. Bu-

chanan's issues — less government, no favors for particular classes or races, an emphasis on what's good for America instead of what's good for the world. These are winning issues; they speak dramatically to the concerns of middle-class Americans whose social and economic values more resemble Mr. Bush's than Messrs. Clinton's or Tsongas'.

The Clinton upsurge on Super Tuesday doesn't alter really the odds in favor of Mr. Bush's re-election. Mr. Bush, a potential Jimmy Carter? I have some news for Gennifer Flowers' soulmate: Bill, you're no Ronald Reagan. Pat Buchanan, his vote stuck in the 30 percent range, even in conservative states like Texas, may be near the end of the line.

How constructive, nonetheless, has been his influence on the campaign. He has reminded us what governing is all about — not just wielding the mechanism of government in a formalist way, but governing with specific purposes and objectives in mind; picking out things that need doing, then doing them. George Bush, had he understood such matters better, could have spared himself a heap of trouble.

Buchanan backs off from issues championed earlier in campaign

By Ralph Z. Hallow
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

LANSING, Mich. — Battered but unwilling to start campaigning like the red-meat conservative he once was, Pat Buchanan seems unsure about why he wants to fight to the last primary.

Since kicking off his campaign in New Hampshire, the presidential challenger has virtually stopped

NEWS ANALYSIS

talking about all his core issues except the economy and the National Endowment for the Arts.

He pulled two hard-hitting campaign ads on illegal immigration before they ran in Texas and kissed off the subject with two sentences in one campaign speech in the state, even though newspapers there editorially tagged it as one of the state's biggest problems and even though polls show that Hispanic Americans, by large majorities, favor tough enforcement of immigration laws.

In Michigan, where in theory he stands a good chance of faring well with Reagan Democrats and Republicans hurt by foreign competition, he ended up being led by an audience of machine workers at a plant

on his first campaign stop.

As he recited jokes and anecdotes from his New Hampshire campaign, workers interrupted to demand what his program was, what he thought about trade, health care, school choice, taxes and other issues.

In speeches to two separate college audiences in Michigan, he did not mention the multicultural education tide sweeping the schools, explaining afterward that it would be the wrong audience.

Like any establishment politician running for office, this self-described "anti-establishment" candidate listens dutifully to his pollster who tells him what issues people say interest them.

Through the South and in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, the polling found the economy was on people's minds, and that's what Mr. Buchanan talked about.

The candidate, who once waxed fiercely against the race-norming of job placement and college entrance tests, never raised that issue and touched only on racial quotas.

Yesterday, a dispirited Mr. Buchanan, admitting he "got his butt kicked in eight primaries" on Super Tuesday, offered various reasons at different times for campaigning to the end, prefacing each with a new,

tentative-sounding proviso: "It is our present intention to..."

"Even if Bush already had a majority of delegates, my taking California's [201] delegates would be enough to demand a minority [anti-globalist, conservative] plank at the convention," he said in an interview yesterday aboard his campaign plane.

He wants the plank because of his profound distrust of Mr. Bush's claim to conservatism and the likelihood, in his view, that Mr. Bush, once Mr. Buchanan is removed as a threat from the right, will revert to more liberal policies.

"I think he [Mr. Bush] is a moderate-to-liberal Republican who is being promoted as a conservative by people who know better," Mr. Buchanan said.

He did not explain how such a minority plank would hold Mr. Bush's feet to the kind of conservative fire Mr. Buchanan said he wanted to light when he announced his candidacy two weeks before Christmas.

He said that, despite his 13-week-old active candidacy, the Republican Party is still firmly in the hands of liberals and neoconservatives and the conservative movement is still dominated by neoconservatives.

TRW executive named to head NASA

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

President Bush yesterday named TRW executive Daniel Goldin to head the troubled NASA and "ensure America's leadership in space as we enter the 21st century."

If confirmed by the Senate, Mr. Goldin would succeed Adm. Richard Truly, who was forced to resign last month.

"Working with the vice president as chairman of our Space Council, Dan Goldin will assure America's leadership in space as we enter the 21st century," Mr. Bush said.

The council's complaints about the direction of the space agency and Adm. Truly's stewardship led to his forced resignation last month, sources said.

"We intend to deploy a space station by end of this decade. We must develop a new launch system that augments the space shuttle and a system that can carry payloads which will give America superiority

DANIEL S. GOLDIN

Named to head NASA.

Born: New York City, 1940.

Age: 51.

Family: Wife, Judy, and two daughters.

Education: Bachelor's degree in engineering, City College of New York, 1962. Executive management program, University of California at Los Angeles, 1982.

Career highlights: Research scientist at the NASA Lewis Research Center, Cleveland. Led TRW's efforts in the design, development and production of communications payload for U.S. Air Force's MILSTAR satellite. Managed the direct broadcast payload for NASA's communications technology satellite that was forerunner of current direct broadcast system. Held leadership positions on several NASA advanced studies for interplanetary, asteroid fly-by and comet rendezvous missions. Vice president and general manager, TRW Space & Technology Group, 1987-present.

Source: The White House

and flexibility in commercial as well as scientific fields," Mr. Bush said.

In his announcement, made in the White House press room without Mr.

Goldin, the president did not mention two favorite projects — establishing a manned base on the moon and sending an astronaut expedition

to Mars by the year 2019. But sources said Mr. Bush is still strongly committed to the lunar and Martian initiatives.

The selection of Mr. Goldin came as a surprise both to congressional staffers who follow the space program and to aerospace trade groups.

"This was a bolt out of the blue," said one congressional committee staffer, who asked not to be named. "We don't know him. We had to scramble to even get a picture of him."

"He wasn't one of the names that was bandied around," said an aerospace trade group executive. "That's a real surprise."

One congressional staffer said Mr. Goldin has the reputation of "being tightfisted, of bringing in big projects on time and on budget" and for building spacecraft that work.

"He's not known, however, as a big fan of manned space exploration," the staffer said.

Clinton no longer on home turf

Brown strong in Midwest

By Ronald A. Taylor
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

CHICAGO — Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, the king of Super Tuesday, now faces hard-sell voters in the industrial Midwest, where former California Gov. Jerry Brown could be a surprising competitor.

Mr. Clinton is relying on a well-honed call for "people-based economics" as he searches for delegates in the March 17 Illinois and Michigan presidential primaries.

But the wild card could be Mr. Brown, whose "labor credentials are impeccable," said Victor Kamber, a Washington-based labor consultant.

Although Mr. Brown is in third place in the Democratic nomination race — behind former Massachusetts Sen. Paul Tsongas — the Californian can point to a solid record as governor, including tough workplace safety laws and the first legislation in the nation to bar employers from replacing striking workers, Mr. Kamber said.

All three Democratic hopefuls are courting the organized-labor vote.

The AFL-CIO leadership declined last month to endorse any presidential candidate until after the party nominating conventions this summer.

Still, organized labor was thought to be the principal backer of Iowa Sen. Tom Harkin, who withdrew from the campaign last week after trying to market himself as the leader of the party's traditional liberal-labor coalition.

In Illinois and Michigan Mr. Tsongas seeks to build on his apparent core constituency of the college-educated middle class and Mr. Clinton tries to mobilize the working class and minorities.

The primary campaign in Illinois is complicated by intense local Democratic races. Several members of Congress face tough challenges, including Reps. Gus Savage and Charles Hayes.

In addition, a black woman, former state legislator and Cook County Recorder of Deeds Carol Moseley Braun, is staging a surprising surge in a three-person race for Sen. Alan Dixon's seat.

Interest among blacks in those



Bill Clinton listens to wife Hillary address a group in Park Ridge, Ill.

races should help to swell voter turnout, according to Mr. Kamber and other political analysts.

The Clinton campaign is the likely beneficiary of a surge in voter interest, said W. Grayson Mitchell, a black political relations executive in Chicago.

"The Braun campaign will bring a voter turnout in Chicago. Even Clinton can't inspire that kind of turnout," he said. Ms. Braun's election bid got a boost Monday when feminist Gloria Steinem campaigned with the Senate candidate.

Mr. Mitchell said he believes the organized-labor vote will be controlled by the local political establishment.

Mr. Clinton met with Chicago Mayor Richard Daley III yesterday. Although the mayor did not formally

endorse Mr. Clinton, some key Daley operatives are working for the local Clinton campaign.

The local team includes Daley fund-raiser John Schmidt and advertising executive and media consultant David Axelrod.

But, unlike in the South, racial polarization is a factor in the voting, Mr. Kamber said.

"In places like Chicago and Detroit, whites will vote for Tsongas because they believe Clinton is for blacks," he said.

Some whites will be attracted to Mr. Brown, he said. The working class includes many whites from the lower Mississippi River valley and Appalachian Mountain regions who migrated north to work in the once-bustling industrial region of the Great Lakes.

Tsongas moves to attack mode

By J. Jennings Moss
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

CHICAGO — A politically weakened Paul Tsongas yesterday stepped up his attacks on Bill Clinton — once again the Democratic presidential front-runner — questioning Mr. Clinton's association with a failed Arkansas savings and loan association.

Calling such business dealings an "error in judgment," Mr. Tsongas said the story helps make Mr. Clinton unelectable in the fall.

"To negate the S&L issue against George Bush is to give away a trump card and that's what happened last week," Mr. Tsongas told reporters on his campaign plane before it left Lowell, Mass., for Chicago.

Mr. Tsongas barely mentioned the link after the New York Times published an investigative account Sunday that raised questions of possible improprieties by Mr. Clinton. The story said Mr. Clinton and his wife, Hillary, were business partners with the owner of the savings and loan during the early years of his Arkansas governorship. Mr. Clinton denied any wrongdoing.

But then came Super Tuesday. Mr. Tsongas took a beating in seven Southern primaries while managing to win three Northeastern contests. The pivotal fight was in Florida, where the squabbling between the two men captured most of the headlines.

"There was no message last week. The message was mudslinging," said Tsongas Press Director Peggy Connolly. Echoing her boss, she said the campaign would take a two-pronged approach: stressing the economically conservative, socially liberal and environmental conservationist side of Mr. Tsongas while pointing out what they said were Mr. Clinton's judgment and policy flaws.

The shift in direction came as Mr. Tsongas, the race's early leader, began a one-week sprint through Illinois and Michigan — neutral territory for both men but two states that are crucial to Mr. Tsongas' survival. Yesterday he spoke to high school students in one of Chicago's most violent neighborhoods before heading to Dearborn, Mich., last night for a fund-raiser.

Other lines of attack Mr. Tsongas used yesterday are now familiar, such as calling Mr. Clinton a panderer and knocking his plan to give a middle-income tax cut of about \$350 a year. And in the two heavily blue-collar, unionized states, Mr. Tsongas also plans to make an issue of Mr. Clinton's worker safety record in Arkansas, which he said was one of the worst in the country, as well as the state's right-to-work law.

"There's been so many changes in positions to accommodate a particular situation. We just want people to know about it, at least when they vote, they vote with full knowledge and that has not happened before," he said.

Comparing his problems in a general election with those Mr. Clinton would have, Mr. Tsongas said: "Whatever vulnerabilities I have are on the issues. They are not vulnerabilities on character or judgment."

Whether Mr. Tsongas will be able to get back to discussing the issues while he attacks his opponent is anything but guaranteed. Mr. Clinton has shown he is willing to go blow for blow with Mr. Tsongas and former California Gov. Jerry Brown, the only other major contender remaining in the race.

Craig Smith, Mr. Clinton's deputy campaign manager, said he doubts the S&L charge will have much impact and said the campaign is relying on the strength of Mr. Clinton's economic message.

President quick to break Mr. Nice Guy vow

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Bush believes supporters of Pat Buchanan will "come home to roost" in November and yesterday joined other GOP officials in seeking an end to the conservative commentator's campaign.

Using a White House news conference to give an abbreviated version of his stump speech to a national television audience, Mr. Bush shifted his campaign cannons to Congress and his Democratic opponents after trouncing Mr. Buchanan in 15 straight primary elections.

Specifically, Mr. Bush:
• Demanded that House Democrats drop their opposition to revealing the names of all members who bounced checks in the "Rubbergate" scandal. "I think there should be full disclosure," he said, joining Vice President Dan Quayle in demanding release of the names of check bouncers.

• Hit a Democratic economic growth plan that funds a temporary tax cut for the middle class with a huge permanent tax on millionaires. "This would be the worst time to raise taxes," he said.

• Ridiculed his Democratic opponents on the campaign trail while acknowledging that his campaign is looking for dirt on the candidates.

His attack on Democrats is the latest in an evolving campaign strategy — only this time his aides think they have a winning plan.

"We're beginning to shift the focus from Buchanan to full-scale attack on Congress," a senior administration official said.

The official said Mr. Bush's attack — which countered a promise earlier this week to go soft on the Democrats — was the first step of a coordinated administration assault on Congress that will peak March 21, the day after Mr. Bush's deadline for passage of his seven-point economic recovery program.



"I endorse the strong defenders I have out there," President Bush says. Photo by Camille Curcio/The Washington Times.

Mr. Bush's surprise appearance in the White House press briefing room followed an eight-state sweep of Super Tuesday primaries.

Of the voters, he said, "They know I've been a good leader and they're

going to be talking about leadership, not campaign promises."

Mr. Bush avoided directly criticizing Mr. Buchanan but said, "I guess anybody that runs for office would rather have no opposition." Several

GOP leaders have called on Mr. Buchanan to drop his campaign bid and endorse the president, but the conservative said he won't back Mr. Bush until the president removes Republican National Committee Chairman Richard Bond, who has sharply criticized Mr. Buchanan.

Mr. Bush, however, said he stands by Mr. Bond, as well as several White House campaign surrogates who have labeled Mr. Buchanan a racist and anti-Semite.

"I endorse the strong defenders I have out there, and I am very pleased that they are out there getting the message out loud and clear," he said.

Senior administration officials expect that once the race for the general election begins in the fall, Mr. Buchanan's supporters will back the president.

"We want them," Mr. Bush said. "I'm trying to conduct myself in such a way as to say, 'Look, I understand your feeling on this issue or

that, but we need our support and we want you."

"PS, look at the alternatives over there," he added, referring to the Democrats running for president.

Conservatives, however, do not appear ready to take the White House bait. The Heritage Foundation, for example, released a scathing report yesterday that said Mr. Bush's epitaph will read: "Biggest-spending president in U.S. history."

Echoing his campaign stump speech, Mr. Bush told a group of association executives yesterday, "Everyone knows that government is too big and spends too much." He put the blame on Congress.

As he strives to look presidential, campaign officials said Mr. Bush will do limited campaigning this spring. While he will travel to Michigan tomorrow and Wisconsin and Illinois on Monday, the president will spend most of his time in the Oval Office.

Senate bill would eliminate limits on sex-bias damages

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

A Senate committee yesterday began moving a bill that would remove the limits on damages women can receive for job discrimination under last year's civil rights bill.

Supporters sought the change to put women on the same legal footing as victims of racial discrimination. Racial minorities are covered by an earlier law that permits unlimited damage awards in cases of intentional discrimination by an employer.

"Passing the equal remedies act will be a significant milestone on the long journey toward establishing equality for women in the workplace, and today's vote is an important step in that direction," said Judith Lichtman, president of the Women's Legal Defense Fund.

The bill won approval from the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee on a voice vote without dissent.

The civil rights bill, passed last

year and signed into law by President Bush, expanded the rights of women, the disabled, and religious minorities to sue and collect damages for sexual discrimination or harassment.

Before its passage, they were allowed to collect only back pay and attorney fees. Under the new law, victims may collect awards of as much as \$50,000 to \$300,000, depending on the size of the company employing them.

Sponsors of the civil rights bill accepted the limits last year to overcome the objections of Mr. Bush and other opponents, particularly Republicans.

"That kind of limitation I found obnoxious and extremely offensive," said Sen. Edward Kennedy, Massachusetts Democrat and chairman of the panel, who also was a sponsor of the civil rights bill. "But it was necessary to accept because of the legislative realities."

Republicans voiced reservations

about removing the limits but did not oppose the bill in committee. Several said they may support a later bill re-establishing limits for all such cases, including racial discrimination.

The panel also unanimously approved another bill changing the rights act, wiping out an exemption for an Alaskan salmon-canning company.

As part of a compromise last year, the Senate added a provision to the civil rights bill specifically exempting ongoing litigation involving the Wards Cove Packing Co. from provisions that make it easier for plaintiffs to prove unintentional job discrimination.

Negating the Supreme Court's 1989 decision in the Atonio vs. Wards Cove case had been a top priority of the bill's sponsors. That decision made it harder to prove job discrimination and shifted the burden of proof onto plaintiffs in unintentional bias cases.

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