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FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
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Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 90664
Folder ID Number: 90664-005

Folder Title:
Tuesday, March 24, 1992 [2]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01a. Outline	Re: Meeting with Prime Minister Michael Manley (3 pp.)	3/23/92	(b)(1)	S
01c. Report	Re: [Government Report] (2 pp.)	3/19/92	(b)(1)	S
01d. Report	Re: [Government Report] (1 pp.)	10/10/91	(b)(1)	S

Page 1 of 1

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Tuesday, March 24, 1992 [2]

Pinksheet Number: cap6032

OA/ID Number: 90663-005

Date Closed: 8/26/2019

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

Re-review Case #:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

**GROCERS' PUBLIC AFFAIRS ASSEMBLY
HYATT REGENCY CAPITOL HILL
TUESDAY, MARCH 24, 1992
11:00 A.M.**

02 MAR 24 09:39

**THANK YOU, BOYD. \ I WANT TO SALUTE YOUR LEADERS:
BILL EACHO [EEK-O], RICH NIEMANN [NEE-MAN], AND T.C.
GOODWIN. I ALSO PAY MY RESPECTS TO A LONG-TIME FRIEND,
FORMER AGRICULTURE SECRETARY JACK BLOCK.**

**((WHEN I WAS AT A GROCERS' CONVENTION IN FLORIDA
RECENTLY, THE PRESS WONDERED WHY I WAS SO IMPRESSED
WITH A NEW CHECK-OUT SCANNER I WAS SHOWN. I'LL TELL
YOU WHY. IT WAS SO SOPHISTICATED, WHEN I RAN MY HAND
ACROSS IT, IT ACCURATELY PREDICTED THE FLORIDA RESULTS
FOR SUPER TUESDAY.))**

I'M HERE TODAY TO ASK YOU TO HELP ME CHANGE THIS COUNTRY -- TO MAKE IT STRONGER AND BETTER. WE'VE CHANGED THE WORLD -- WE'VE WON A GREAT VICTORY FOR WORLD PEACE AND FREEDOM. AND AS PRESIDENT I WILL STAY FULLY ENGAGED WITH THE WORLD. WE'VE WON THE COLD WAR AND NOW WE MUST NOT PULL BACK. NOW LET'S PUT TO WORK THE LEADERSHIP WE USED TO CHANGE THE WORLD -- TO CHANGE AMERICA. LET ME TELL YOU WHAT THAT MEANS: WE'LL LEAVE A LEGACY OF PRODUCTIVE JOBS FOR OUR CITIZENS, WITH STRONG FAMILIES -- SECURE IN A MORE PEACEFUL WORLD.

I HAVE A STRATEGY TO RENEW AMERICA AND KEEP OUR COUNTRY STRONG IN THE NEXT CENTURY. I PROPOSED A PLAN TO STIMULATE THE ECONOMY WITHOUT RAISING TAXES -- AND WITHOUT INCREASING THE FEDERAL DEFICIT. ACTION TO STRENGTHEN REAL ESTATE. ACTION TO HELP YOUNG FAMILIES BUY THAT FIRST HOME -- NOW. \\ I ASKED FOR ACTION TO CREATE GOOD JOBS. ONE OF THOSE ACTION ITEMS WAS TO CUT THE TAX ON CAPITAL GAINS. \\

BUT THE MAJORITY IN CONGRESS COULD NOT BREAK THEIR TAX-AND-SPEND HABITS. \\ I ASKED FOR ACTION TO STIMULATE THIS ECONOMY -- NOT STIFLE IT. \\ I ASKED FOR A JOBS BILL -- AND THEY PASSED A BILL TO INCREASE INCOME TAXES BY 100 BILLION DOLLARS. \\

THEY TURNED THEIR BACKS ON FIRST-TIME HOMEBUYERS BY FAILING TO ENACT A \$5,000 TAX CREDIT. THEY WATERED DOWN MY INVESTMENT TAX ALLOWANCE AND OTHER REFORMS TO HELP BUSINESSES MODERNIZE AND COMPETE. THEY TINKERED WITH THE CAPITAL GAINS TAX, BUT IF THEIR PLAN WERE ADOPTED THAT TAX WOULD STILL BE AMONG THE HIGHEST IN THE DEVELOPED WORLD.

YES, I WAS DISAPPOINTED IN THE CONGRESS, BUT FRANKLY NOT SURPRISED. SO LAST FRIDAY, I VETOED THEIR TAX INCREASE. \\ THEN, I ANNOUNCED ACTIONS I WOULD TAKE ON MY OWN TO CUT THE FAT OUT OF GOVERNMENT, TO CUT THE RED TAPE THAT CHOKES OUR COMPETITIVE SPIRIT, AND TO GET THIS COUNTRY UP TO SPEED FOR THE LONG HAUL. \\

YOU AND I HAVE BUSINESS EXPERIENCE: WE KNOW WHAT THE TAX INCREASE WOULD REALLY DO. ABOUT 80 PERCENT OF THE REVENUE INCREASE RESULTING FROM THE HIGHER RATES WOULD COME FROM SMALL BUSINESSES. MORE THAN A MILLION SMALL BUSINESSES WOULD BE AFFECTED -- MANY OF THEM CRIPPLED -- BY THE DEMOCRATS' TAX INCREASE. THOUSANDS OF FAMILY-RUN GROCERY AND CONVENIENCE STORES ARE IN THIS CATEGORY. SMALL FAMILY FARMS ALSO COULD FACE FINANCIAL RUIN FROM SUCH A TAX HIKE.

THE BILL I'VE JUST VETOED TRIED TO RAISE THE MARGINAL RATE FOR SMALL FAMILY BUSINESSES AND FARMS BY ABOUT 18 PERCENT.

JUST THINK ABOUT THE IMPACT OF THIS ON YOUR OWN BUSINESSES. THE GROCERY BUSINESS -- WHOLESALE AND RETAIL -- IS FIERCELY COMPETITIVE. YOU OPERATE ON THE THINNEST OF PROFIT MARGINS -- FOR WHOLESALERS IT'S OFTEN LESS THAN A PENNY ON THE DOLLAR.

IF YOU HAD TO FACE A BIG INCREASE IN THE BRACKET WHERE YOU PAY MOST OF YOUR TAXES, HOW WOULD YOU COPE? YOU'D FEEL PRESSURE TO CUT BACK ON THE QUALITY OF YOUR SERVICE. COMPETITION WOULD PRESS YOU TO HOLD OUT AS LONG AS POSSIBLE BEFORE PASSING COSTS ALONG TO YOUR CUSTOMERS -- SO YOU MIGHT HAVE TO ELIMINATE JOBS. EVENTUALLY EVERYONE IN THE BUSINESS WOULD HAVE TO PASS THE COSTS ALONG -- AND THAT WOULD FUEL INFLATION.

THOSE ARE SIMPLE FACTS OF LIFE FOR PEOPLE TRYING TO MAKE A LIVING. BUT EVEN AS MILLIONS OF AMERICAN FAMILIES WERE HUDDLING OVER THEIR KITCHEN TABLES TO WORK ON THEIR TAX RETURNS, THE LIBERAL CONGRESS TRIED TO RAISE THEIR TAXES BY \$100 BILLION.

LAST FRIDAY I VETOED THEIR MASSIVE TAX INCREASE.
AND I SENT CONGRESS MY FIRST LINE-ITEM RESCISSIONS --
CUTTING \$3.6 BILLION IN WASTEFUL SPENDING. THESE WILL
SERVE NOTICE TO CONGRESS THAT THE DAYS OF WASTEFUL
SPENDING ARE OVER. AND IT IS A STEP SYMBOLIC OF THE
POWER THAT 43 GOVERNORS HAVE -- THE LINE-ITEM VETO.
INCIDENTALLY, AT THEIR RECENT NATIONAL MEETING, THE
NATION'S GOVERNORS WENT ON RECORD CALLING FOR LINE-
ITEM VETO AUTHORITY FOR THE PRESIDENT.

I'M ALSO FIGHTING FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH THROUGH ACTIONS THAT DON'T NEED TO BE PASSED BY THIS CONGRESS. TAKE A LOOK AT GOVERNMENT REGULATION. DAY BY DAY, RULE BY RULE, AND INDUSTRY BY INDUSTRY, WE'RE WINNING BATTLES AGAINST OVER-REGULATION. WE'RE WINNING VICTORIES FOR COMMON SENSE AND FREEDOM. JUST LAST THURSDAY, FOR EXAMPLE, MY ADMINISTRATION ANNOUNCED REFORMS ON NUTRITION LABELING FOR MEAT AND POULTRY. OUR REFORMS WILL KEEP OUR FOOD SUPPLY EVERY BIT AS SAFE, BUT WE WILL REDUCE THE BURDEN AND EXPENSE OF REGULATION ON AMERICAN CONSUMERS -- AND ON OUR HARD-WORKING FOOD PRODUCERS AND GROCERS. \\\ IF CONGRESS SENDS ME ANY NEW LEGISLATION THAT WOULD OVER-REGULATE OUR ECONOMY, I'LL VETO IT AS SOON AS IT REACHES MY DESK.

NOW IF WE AMERICANS ARE GOING TO HONE OUR SKILLS AND REALLY COMPETE IN THE COMING YEARS, WE'VE GOT A LOT MORE TO DO. I WANT US TO KEEP OUR SIGHTS ON THE NEXT AMERICAN CENTURY. WHEN I THINK OF AMERICA IN THE YEAR 2000, I THINK OF THE FIVE STRATEGIC CONCERNS MENTIONED IN MY ADDRESS TO THE NATION LAST FRIDAY.

FIRST, WE MUST CHANGE AND RENEW OUR SCHOOLS. WE MUST BECOME A NATION OF STUDENTS EDUCATING OURSELVES THROUGHOUT OUR LIFETIMES IN THE BEST SYSTEM OF SCHOOLS, COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES IN THE WORLD. THIS WILL TAKE REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES. MOST OF OUR STATES AND HUNDREDS OF LOCAL COMMUNITIES ARE COMMITTED TO CHANGE. THEY HAVE JOINED ME ALREADY IN A CRUSADE WE CALL AMERICA 2000. BUSINESS AS USUAL WILL NOT HELP US REACH OUR NATIONAL EDUCATION GOALS. WE NEED TO GET BEHIND WORLD CLASS STANDARDS, NEW CURRICULUM FRAMEWORKS, BREAK-THE-MOLD SCHOOLS, VOLUNTARY NATIONAL TESTING. AND A CENTERPIECE OF OUR PLAN IS THE BELIEF THAT SCHOOLS WILL DO THEIR BEST WHEN PARENTS ENJOY REAL FREEDOM AND REAL RESPONSIBILITY TO CHOOSE THEIR CHILDREN'S SCHOOLS -- PUBLIC, PRIVATE AND RELIGIOUS. SCHOOL CHOICE FOR PARENTS IS AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME. \\\

SECOND, WE NEED TO MAKE OUR EXCELLENT HEALTH CARE MORE AFFORDABLE AND MORE AVAILABLE TO AMERICANS. WE'VE GOT THE HIGHEST QUALITY HEALTH CARE IN THE WORLD -- BUT EVERYONE SHOULD HAVE ACCESS TO IT. \\ WE ALL KNOW THE PROBLEMS: TOO MANY PEOPLE DON'T HAVE HEALTH INSURANCE -- AND HEALTH CARE COSTS ARE GOING THROUGH THE ROOF. WE ALSO KNOW THAT THE ANSWER DOESN'T LIE IN COSTLY AND COERCIVE PLANS LIKE THE SCHEME TO MAKE EMPLOYERS "PLAY OR PAY." AND THE ANSWER CERTAINLY ISN'T SOCIALIZED MEDICINE. \\ NATIONALIZED HEALTH CARE WOULD BE A NATIONAL DISASTER. \\ THE WAY I'VE PROPOSED WE HELP OUR SOCIETY DEAL WITH THIS IS BASED ON MARKETS AND CHOICE. JUST AS IN EDUCATION, VOUCHERS ARE A KEY PART OF MY STRATEGY FOR GIVING AMERICANS A FAIRER AND MORE AFFORDABLE HEALTH CARE SYSTEM. OUR ANSWER IS TO CHANGE OUR HEALTH CARE SYSTEM FOR THE BETTER -- NOT RUIN IT. \\

THIRD, WE NEED FUNDAMENTAL LEGAL REFORM -- TO STOP THE EPIDEMIC OF LAWSUITS. \\ THINGS ARE SO OUT OF HAND THAT SOME PARENTS REFUSE TO COACH LITTLE LEAGUE FOR FEAR OF LIABILITY SUITS. SOME DOCTORS WON'T DELIVER BABIES ANYMORE BECAUSE OF MALPRACTICE SUITS. \\ WELL, JUST IMAGINE WHAT WE COULD ACHIEVE IF WE SPENT AS MUCH TIME HELPING EACH OTHER AS WE DO SUING EACH OTHER. \\ AND THE COSTS OF LIABILITY AND LITIGATION ON SMALL BUSINESS ARE ABSOLUTELY HORRENDOUS. YOU KNOW, IN 1989 THERE WERE 18 MILLION LAWSUITS FILED IN AMERICA. EIGHTEEN MILLION! THAT'S WHY I'VE AGAIN ASKED CONGRESS TO PASS MY CIVIL JUSTICE REFORM BILL -- WHICH WILL HELP PEOPLE RESOLVE PROBLEMS THROUGH MEANS OTHER THAN A COURTROOM. IT WILL HELP PUT A STOP TO FRIVOLOUS LAWSUITS AND REDUCE THE DRAG ON OUR ECONOMY CAUSED BY EXCESSIVE LITIGATION. \\

FOURTH, WE MUST REFORM GOVERNMENT IN LINE WITH ONE OF AMERICA'S MOST IMPORTANT FOUNDING PRINCIPLES: STRICT LIMITS ON THE SIZE AND POWER OF GOVERNMENT. WITH A FEDERAL GOVERNMENT THAT GOBBLES UP A QUARTER OF GNP, WE CAN'T REALLY SAY WE ARE AS FREE AS WE SHOULD BE. ONE QUARTER OF ALL WE PRODUCE AS A NATION -- AS A PEOPLE -- GOES TO PAY FOR THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT. THAT IS JUST NOT RIGHT. RIGHT NOW, THE SYSTEM IS NOT ACCOUNTABLE, EFFECTIVE, EFFICIENT, OR EVEN COMPASSIONATE. WE NEED GOVERNMENT THAT KNOWS ITS LIMITS -- BUT MORE IMPORTANT, WE NEED A GOVERNMENT THAT WORKS. \\\

WE MUST FIX A CONGRESSIONAL SYSTEM GONE OUT OF CONTROL. CONGRESS, AS AN INSTITUTION CONTROLLED BY ONE PARTY -- THE DEMOCRATS -- FOR MOST OF THE PAST FOUR DECADES -- DESPERATELY NEEDS REFORM. I'LL HAVE MORE TO SAY ABOUT REFORMING CONGRESS AT A LATER DATE. BUT WE CAN START BY COMPELLING CONGRESS TO BE GOVERNED BY THE LAWS THEY IMPOSE ON PEOPLE LIKE YOU: SUCH AS CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS, WAGE AND HOUR LAWS, FAIR LABOR STANDARDS. \\ WE MUST TOTALLY ELIMINATE THE SPECIAL INTEREST PACS THAT GIVE UNFAIR ADVANTAGES TO INCUMBENTS IN CONGRESS. \\ AND SAY YES TO THE PEOPLE'S CALL FOR TERM LIMITS ON CONGRESS. \\ MY TERM IS LIMITED -- I BELIEVE THEIRS SHOULD BE, TOO. \\

FIFTH, WE MUST WORK TO EXPAND OUR MARKETS. OF ALL THE LEGACIES I WANT TO HELP CREATE AS YOUR PRESIDENT, FEW COULD BE MORE IMPORTANT THAN OPEN AND FAIR TRADE OPPORTUNITIES FOR OUR MANUFACTURERS AND SERVICE INDUSTRIES -- AND FOR OUR FARMERS AND FOOD INDUSTRIES.

FOOD AND AGRICULTURE TRADE IS THE CRITICAL PROBLEM OF WORLD TRADE. THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY SPENDS MORE THAN 10 TIMES AS MUCH AS WE DO ON AGRICULTURE EXPORT SUBSIDIES. THIS CANNOT AND MUST NOT GO ON. I MADE THAT POINT IN A VERY VIGOROUS WAY TO CHANCELLOR KOHL OF GERMANY WHEN HE VISITED CAMP DAVID LAST WEEKEND. HIS LEADERSHIP WILL BE VITAL IF WE ARE TO BREAK THE DEADLOCK IN GATT. I KNOW HE WANTS TO SEE A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION TO THE URUGUAY ROUND. LET ME ASSURE YOU: WE'LL BE WORKING AS HARD AS POSSIBLE THE NEXT FEW WEEKS TO MAKE A BREAKTHROUGH IN GATT -- BUT AS WE SEE IT, IF THERE'S NO FAIR DEAL FOR AGRICULTURE, THERE CANNOT BE A GOOD GATT AGREEMENT.

I'M ALSO WORKING TO OPEN UP THE EXCITING MARKET OPPORTUNITIES IN MEXICO. WITH NEARLY 100 MILLION PEOPLE NEXT DOOR, MEXICO IS ALREADY ONE OF OUR BEST CUSTOMERS, AND THEY'LL BUY A LOT MORE AMERICAN GOODS AS SOON AS THESE NEGOTIATIONS ARE CONCLUDED. IT IS ONE OF OUR FASTEST GROWING MARKETS ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD. THE BOTTOM LINE IS: A GOOD AGREEMENT WITH MEXICO MEANS MORE U.S. JOBS.

LAST YEAR OUR EXPORTS AROUND THE WORLD REACHED RECORD LEVELS, SO THE MORE TRADE BARRIERS WE CAN KNOCK DOWN THE BETTER. ON A LEVEL PLAYING FIELD, I KNOW AMERICANS CAN OUT-PRODUCE AND OUT-PERFORM ANYONE, ANYTIME, ANYWHERE. \\\

ON EACH OF THESE CHALLENGES, THERE ARE TWO ROADS TO TAKE: ONE IS REFORM, THE OTHER PROTECTS THE STATUS QUO.

YOU AND I ARE GATHERED ON CAPITOL HILL TODAY
BECAUSE WE SHARE A COMMON PURPOSE. WE'RE HERE IN THE
NEIGHBORHOOD OF A CONGRESS THAT FAILS TO HEED CALLS FOR
REFORM, THAT SO FAR HAS FAILED TO PASS A SIMPLE BUT
EFFECTIVE PLAN TO HELP CREATE JOBS AND BUILD
CONFIDENCE. WE'RE NOT SIMPLY GOING TO COMPLAIN ABOUT
THE CONGRESS. WE'RE GOING TO TRY TO CHANGE IT. \\\

THERE ARE HUNDREDS OF YOU HERE -- HOMETOWN BUSINESS
LEADERS WHO ARE THE BACKBONE OF YOUR COMMUNITIES. JUST
AFTER THIS SPEECH, I UNDERSTAND THAT ALL OF YOU ARE
HEADED UP THE HILL TO VISIT YOUR SENATORS AND
REPRESENTATIVES. I HOPE YOU'LL PASS ALONG MY WARMEST
THANKS TO THOSE WHO HAVE STOOD WITH US, AND URGE ALL
MEMBERS OF CONGRESS TO SUPPORT OUR LONG-TERM ECONOMIC
GROWTH PACKAGE. IT'S JUST THAT IMPORTANT.

THIS WILL BE MY FINAL CAMPAIGN -- AND I PLAN TO FIGHT AS NEVER BEFORE. I HAVE HAD THE PRIVILEGE OF BEING YOUR PRESIDENT AT THE GREAT TURNING POINT WHEN FREEDOM PREVAILED OVER IMPERIAL COMMUNISM, WHEN THE BERLIN WALL CAME DOWN, WHEN IRAQ'S AGGRESSION WAS DEFEATED, AND WHEN DEMOCRACY REALLY GOT ON THE MOVE IN OUR HEMISPHERE. WE ARE HELPING SOLIDIFY A LEGACY OF PEACE. BUT I WON'T REST UNTIL I HELP THIS COUNTRY WIN ANOTHER LEGACY -- PRODUCTIVE JOBS FOR OUR CITIZENS, WITH STRONG FAMILIES -- SECURE IN A MORE PEACEFUL WORLD. WORKING TOGETHER, WE'VE CHANGED THE WORLD -- NOW WE CAN CHANGE AMERICA. THANK YOU, AND GOD BLESS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

#

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01a. Outline	Re: Meeting with Prime Minister Michael Manley (3 pp.)	3/23/92	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

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WHORM Cat.:

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OA/ID Number: 90663-005

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

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

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RESTRICTION CODES

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

- (b)(1) National security classified information
- (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency
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- (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells

Deed of Gift Restrictions

- C(1) Closed by Executive Order 13526, governing access to national security information
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- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH
PRIME MINISTER MICHAEL MANLEY

SUMMARY POINTS

- I wanted to get together with you before you left office to thank you for all your support and express my admiration for all that you have accomplished.
- We particularly admire the courage you have shown in implementing tough economic reforms that will pay dividends for all Jamaicans.
- I especially appreciate your steadfast support for democracy in the region -- in Haiti, Suriname, Venezuela and throughout the Hemisphere.

COURTESY POINTS

- I'm delighted to see you and pleased that we could get together again before you leave office.
- I know how very difficult it must be for you to step down after a brilliant career in public service for over 40 years.
- You counseled me last year to "follow doctor's orders." I did. And I'm glad you are doing the same.
- I want you to know how much I have valued your counsel and support in these last three years.

REGIONAL DEVELOPMENTS AND DEMOCRACY

- We are witnessing a dramatic period of change throughout the world and in our own hemisphere where we share vital interests. Few leaders have had the vision and courage that

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, #2021-02
By MC NARA, Date 7/6/21

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2

CONFIDENTIAL

you have shown in preparing your country and countrymen for the challenges ahead in a rapidly changing world.

- I particularly appreciate your steadfast support for democracy in the region.
- In Haiti, democracy has suffered a setback, but I am hopeful we can help the Haitians restore constitutional rule and strengthen democratic institutions there. I know that Jamaica will be playing an important role in an OAS mission to Haiti if the Parliamentarians can agree on a new Prime Minister.
- How do you see the situation in Haiti?
- I am sure our friend CAP appreciated your strong statement of support for democracy in Venezuela after the coup attempt. How do you assess the outlook there?
- I'm very concerned about Castro's brutal crackdown on human rights advocates. I'm pleased that the United Nations Human Rights Commission has strongly condemned abuses there and named a Special Rapporteur to investigate. We need to pressure Castro to cooperate with him.

MANLEY'S ECONOMIC ACCOMPLISHMENTS

- I admire your courage in sticking to your economic reform program which is an example for the region and will pay dividends for all Jamaicans over the long term.
- I know the steps to liberalize your foreign exchange system and to tighten your belt on spending were tough, but they will lead to increased investment and growth.
- We all thank you for your leadership in CARICOM in fashioning the regional framework agreement under the EAI.

CONFIDENTIAL

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3

I appreciate your support for the EAI and I am glad Jamaica was one of the first to benefit from its debt relief provisions. You certainly deserved it.

POLITICAL SUCCESSION IN JAMAICA

- Please assure the new Prime Minister of my sincere hope for a close and cooperative relationship. Who is likely to succeed you?
- What do you see as the toughest policy hurdles for the new leadership?

CLOSING REMARKS

- As you step down, you have much to be proud of. Your international statesmanship and courageous leadership at home, especially in implementing tough economic reforms, assure your place in the hearts of Jamaicans and history.
- I want you to know you have my lasting friendship and highest regard and I hope I can continue to draw on your wisdom and experience.

CONFIDENTIAL

PARTICIPANTS

U.S.

The President

James A. Baker III, Secretary of State
and Mrs. Baker

Nicholas F. Brady, Secretary of the Treasury
and Mrs. Brady

Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security
Affairs

Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House
and Mrs. Foley

General Colin L. Powell, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff
and Mrs. Powell

David C. Mulford, Undersecretary of Treasury
and Mrs. Mulford

Glen A. Holden, Ambassador to Jamaica
and Mrs. Holden

Dorothy LeBlond and Robert Koch

Jamaica

Michael Norman Manley, Prime Minister
and Ms. Glyn Euart

Richard Leighton Bernal, Ambassador to the United States
and Mrs. Bernal

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2/24/92

FOR THE FILE

The President handed this to Marlin this a.m. and copy attached is for file.

Marlin working and said no further action or follow up necessary.

RAM

No one knows where or what happened to articles. GB nor MF nor RZ have them.

March 24, 1992

Marlin:

A new low in headlines from the Washington Post N>E>- yes, the Globe.

Is there any way to at least point out to them that this stinks.

Faithfully Yours,

01

P>S> Return the paper to Rose. It is so bad I want to save it; so that any time I start feeling mellow I can pick this up and get grumpy again.

FROM THE PRESIDENT

✓

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 24, 1992

Dear Jim:

I enjoyed our chat. There is no reason you would have seen this. I always worry about those who send the other guy their speeches, but take a look at this one.

I do have something in there on increased R&D -- also on other investment incentives to get new businesses going, etc.

I'll buy you a cup of coffee next time you come to D.C. Call Rose Zamaria in my office, 456-6700.

Good luck, and best wishes.

Sincerely,



The Honorable James D. Griffin
Mayor
City of Buffalo
Room 201
65 Niagara Square
Buffalo, New York 14202

NOTE TO RECORDS:

CC Kaufman too

please include copy
of the President's speech
to Republican Members of
Congress and Political
leaders (attached) to
Mayor Griffin.

Thanks,

Bridget Montagne

JAN 5

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 24, 1992

Dear Billy Mc:

Thanks for your great letter. It sounds like a wonderful visit.

We are high on President Sassou, who is really trying hard to move towards a more democratic way. His problems are immense. I will share with Brent Scowcroft his willingness to help with the troubling problems of Zaire.

Things are getting a little better now as the economy starts to show some life. I am concentrating on the nation's problems, not on the campaign.

Thanks so much for checking in.

All best,



Mr. William A. McKenzie
McKenzie and Baer
Attorneys
1525 Elm Street, Second Floor
Dallas, Texas 75201

Blind cc:
Brent Scowcroft
(FYI)

✓ Done
Sewagner
3/24/92

JAN'S

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Admiral Daniel J. Murphy, U.S. Navy
Retired
Murphy & Demory, Limited
Suite 725
2300 "N" Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037

CC:
Rose Zamaria
(2 copies ALL)

Boyd Gray done
(outgoing) 3/24
Sewagner



THE PRESIDENT

3-24-92

Ran -
Boyd told me you
were superb at the trial in
Miami. I'm sorry you had
to go through that, busy as
you are; but, given what

Boyd told me, I'm
glad you did it.

Bill Burt -

JAN 7



THE PRESIDENT

3-24-92

Dear Susan (Your Honor)

I loved your
daughter's first brush with
the press. Thanks for
your letter and the great
editorial. Now, Good Luck
Sincerely, Cap B

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable Susan H. Black
Post Office Box 53135
Jacksonville, Florida 32201

bcc: Rose Zamaria

JAN'S

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 24, 1992

Dear Billy Mc:

Thanks for your great letter. It sounds like a wonderful visit.

We are high on President Sassou, who is really trying hard to move towards a more democratic way. His problems are immense. I will share with Brent Scowcroft his willingness to help with the troubling problems of Zaire.

Things are getting a little better now as the economy starts to show some life. I am concentrating on the nation's problems, not on the campaign.

Thanks so much for checking in.

All best,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "Bill Clinton", with a long, sweeping underline that extends towards the bottom right of the page.

Mr. William A. McKenzie
McKenzie and Baer
Attorneys
1525 Elm Street, Second Floor
Dallas, Texas 75201

McKENZIE AND BAER

ATTORNEYS

1525 ELM STREET, SECOND FLOOR

DALLAS, TEXAS 75201

WILLIAM A. MCKENZIE

March 18, 1992

214-954-1113

TELEX: 73-0820
"MCKENZIE-DAL"

FAX: 214-954-0989

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

Dear Mr. President:

I have just returned from nearly 3½ weeks in the Congo (Brazzaville) and South Africa. I heard of our superb victory on Super Tuesday via short-wave radio in the brush in South Africa and, of course, upon returning home I was exhilarated by your victories in Illinois and Michigan.

While in Brazzaville, I had the pleasure and opportunity to meet for several days with President Denis Sassou. President Sassou was effusive in telling me how proud he was to have a visit with you and Barbara in Washington. The autographed picture with you and President Sassou occupies a very special place in the Presidential Mansion in Brazzaville and also there is a copy hanging on the first floor of our Embassy in Brazzaville. Our Ambassador there, J. D. (Dan) Phillips, is outstanding and could not have been more accomodating and helpful to me. He is a special friend of Jane and Jack Irwin, our former Ambassador to France during the Nixon administration, and who happen to be friends of Sally's and mine. Jane Irwin is originally from Fort Worth and went to Hockaday School here in Dallas with Sally. Dan Phillips is also a very great friend of Ursula and Ed Meese and I might add he serves you and our country well in the Congo.

President Sassou asked me to convey to you, first, his very best wishes and his prayer for your re-election, and he told me to tell you as follows: "It is my (President Sassou's) desire to have a free and peaceful election in the Congo so that the Congo can be used and seen as an example of how democracy works for the benefit of all Africa, specifically Zaire, Angola and all of Central Africa. My primary mission and role is to stabilize the Congo and its govern-

The Honorable George Bush
March 18, 1992
Page 2

ment so that Gabon and all of Central Africa will follow the Congo's lead."

President Sassou then said that, if possible and if in any way he can be of help to our State Department or to the United States, he will make himself available to assist in solving the problems of Zaire by arranging a meeting between himself, the Prime Minister from Katanga and Mobutu. The President told me that it is critical to all of Africa to bring peace and harmony and stabilize the condition of Zaire and that any way that he could be used to effect such a condition, he was available. He also mentioned to me a need for peaceful solution to the problems presently existing in Cabinda bordering on the Congo and being a part of Angola. President Sassou was profuse in lauding and praising the efforts of Mr. Henry Cohen, the Director of the Office for Central African Affairs with the State Department.

Mr. President, I am only being a messenger in sending President Sassou's greetings to you, but I want you to know how extremely proud Sally and I are of you and your Presidency. You are admired all over this world for being the finest President we have ever had and Sally and I both are honored to be able to participate in your re-election efforts.

I send my love and best wishes to Barbara and, as always, my kindest regards to yourself.

Sincerely,


William A. McKenzie

WAMcK/cas

cc: President Denis Sassou
Ambassador J. D. Phillips



Type / Phony

Dear Billy Mc,

Thanks for your great letter. It sounds like a wonderful visit.

We are high on President Sassou, who is really trying hard to move towards a more democratic way. His problems are immense.

I will share with Brent Scowcroft his willingness to help with the troubling problems of Zaire.

Thanks so much for checking in.

Things are getting a little better now as the economy starts to show some life. I am concentrating, not on the campaign now, but on the nation's problems.

All best,

FROM THE PRESIDENT

daily
3/24

The President

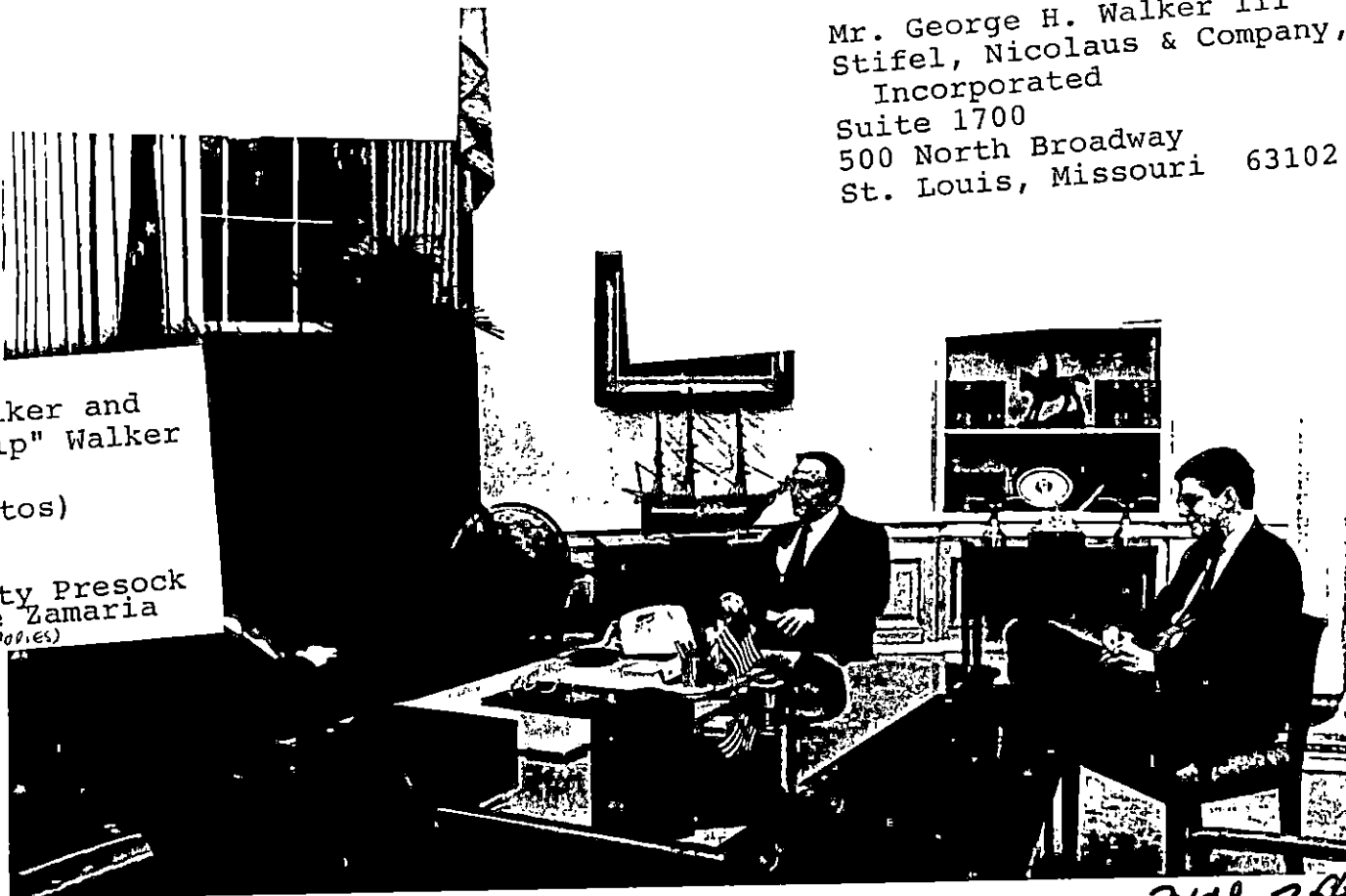
FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. George H. Walker III
Stifel, Nicolaus & Company,
Incorporated
Suite 1700
500 North Broadway
St. Louis, Missouri 63102

Bert Walker and
son "Chip" Walker

(2 photos)

CC: Patty Presock
Rose Zamaria
(2 copies)



To Bert -
All Best To You in '92 - Cap Bert
Oval Office

To Chip - Good Luck In Your
Exciting Life Ahead - Ag Bank



The President



✓ Driv
3/24/92



The Rt. Honorable
MICHAEL MANLEY
Prime Minister of Jamaica

On the occasion of your visit
to The White House
March 24, 1992

With respect,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "George H.W. Bush".

President of the United States of America

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 24, 1992

Dear Mr. Dejoria:

Thank you for your recent letter vigorously advocating that I attend the upcoming environmental conference in Rio de Janeiro. We have many people working on preparations for that conference which, as you suggest, could be enormously important to the well-being of future generations.

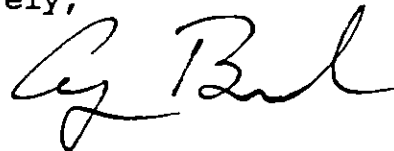
The United States is taking every forthcoming position during these preparatory talks. A number of potential international agreements could emerge from the conference, and we want to make sure those agreements are balanced and in the clear best interest of the United States and the world.

As soon as we have an evaluation of the preparatory meetings, I will make a decision on my own attendance at Rio. But I assure you I'll be there if I believe the United States can play an effective leadership role.

I appreciate your taking the time to write not only to me, but to Neil and Sharon as well. Best wishes.

Sincerely,

NS



Dear Jean Paul

Neil speaks so highly of you.

Mr. Jean Paul Jones Dejoria
Chief Executive Officer
John Paul Mitchell Systems
Post Office Box 10597
Beverly Hills, California 90213-3597

I thought you might like to see the attached bulletin - a little self serving but I am committed to protecting our environment

TRANSMEDIA
COMMUNICATIONS

March 17, 1992

Rose Zamaria
West Wing
White House
Washington, DC 20500

1200 W Loop South
Suite 1750
Houston Texas 77027
(713) 963-8500
Fax (713) 963-9751

Dear Rose,

The enclosed letter was written by a very successful hair products manufacturer who has been a grateful Bush Republican since I have known him for five years. He has a passion for the environment and wanted me to send his letter to dad. If you could see that he gets an appropriate response that would be great.

Hope all is well!

Best always,

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

Neil Bush

March 11, 1992

Neil and Sharon Bush
1800 W. Loop South
Suite 1750
Houston, TX 77027

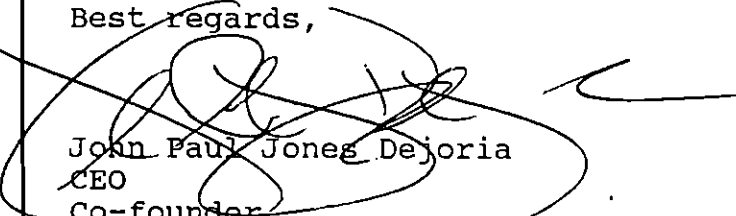
Dear Neil and Sharon:

We need your dad to go to Rio De Janeiro in a few months to attend the world's largest ecology summit. If he does, he will not only show America his concern for the environment, but his attendance there will help him immensely in the upcoming election. It will also help him stand behind his statement that he is the "Environmental President".

Please do us and the planet a favor by making sure your dad gets this letter.

On behalf of all America and our children's future, thank you.

Best regards,



John Paul Jones DeJoria
CEO
Co-founder
John Paul Mitchell Systems

JPJD/jg

March 11, 1992

President Bush
White House
Washington, DC

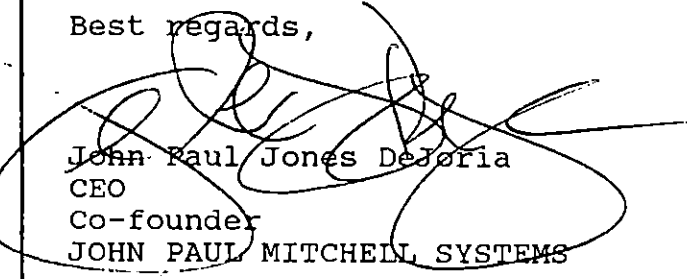
Dear Mr. President:

You are the "Environmental President". I voted for you. You may have even used my Paul Mitchell Hair Care Products, they are environmentally friendly.

The largest ecology summit in the world will be taking place in Rio De Janeiro in a few months. We, at John Paul Mitchell Systems, the hair stylists of America, those involved in solar energy, along with a good portion of America are supporting this summit 100%! Your presence will let most of America know that you are genuinely serious about the environment. You will achieve our country's respect like you have never known it before.

Many conservatives will forget about the small mistake you made when you increased taxes to 31%. Please attend this ecology summit in Rio De Janeiro. This is necessary for the future of American children, as well as, the entire world. If you do not do something now, in a major way, it may be too late. Please don't let us down, Mr. President.

Best regards,



John Paul Jones DeJoria
CEO
Co-founder
JOHN PAUL MITCHELL SYSTEMS

3/24 - getting put
on azure paper.
Should see tonight.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 3/20/92

TO:

Phil Brady

FROM: ROSE ZAMARIA

Deputy Assistant to the President

*The President has not
seen.*

Rose

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

19 Feb
daily

Admiral Daniel J. Murphy, U.S. Navy
Retired
Murphy & Demory, Limited
Suite 725
2300 "N" Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037

CC:

Rose Zamaria

(2 copies ALL)

Boyd Gray

(outgoing)

done
3/24

sewagne



THE PRESIDENT

3-24-92

Ran -
Boyd told me you
were superb at the trial in
Miami. I'm sorry you had
to go through that, busy as
you are; but, given what

Boyd told me. I'm
glad you did it.

Bill Bush -

Cy

Pres card to
Be
mailed

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 03/24/92

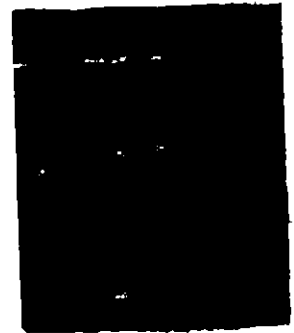
NOTE FOR: BOYDEN GRAY

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is
forwarded to you for your:

Information



Action



Thank you.

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc:

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 20, 1992

3/24/92
32 MAR 20 P5:41

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

C. BOYDEN GRAY *MB*

SUBJECT:

Dan Murphy Testimony at the Noriega Trial

Some time ago you asked me to check with Dan Murphy about his testimony at the Noriega trial. I felt that it would be inappropriate for anyone from the White House to contact Dan directly about his testimony, but I had my staff talk to the Justice Department prosecutors handling the case.

The prosecutors report that Dan did an outstanding job. He was called by Noriega's lawyers to help them establish that the Panamanian government cooperated fully with the South Florida Task Force. In response to defense questions, Dan acknowledged that the Panamanians invariably consented to U.S. boarding of Panamanian flag vessels when we asked them to do so. During cross examination, the prosecution established that this was merely a matter of the Panamanians bowing to our requests; Dan stated that he could recall no instances in which the Panamanians contacted us to suggest that we board a suspect vessel.

✓ About the South Florida Task Force itself and your role in organizing it, Dan offered nothing but praise. He stated that you organized the task force at President Reagan's direction, that you hit the ground running, and that the task force had an immediate and substantial impact on the crime rate in South Florida.

In sum, the prosecutors report that Dan's testimony helped Noriega hardly at all, and portrayed you in a very favorable light.

I have the transcript of Dan's testimony should you want to read what he had to say.



February 19, 1992

Boyden:

Check with Dan Murphy

ask him about his testimony (if proper)
see A-10 today's news summary

67

FROM THE PRESIDENT



THE PRESIDENT

March 24, 1992

Dear Boyd:

Just a quick note of thanks for the very supportive introduction and all the hard work you did to make the Assembly today such a success.

It was great to be with you, and for your continued support, many thanks.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to be "G. H. W. Bush".

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. Boyd Lee George
Chairman and CEO
Merchants Distributors
120 4th Street, South West
Hickory, North Carolina 28602

daily

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 24, 1992

Dear Jim:

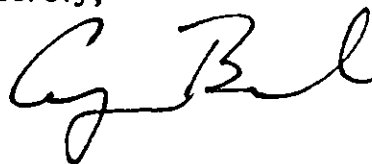
I enjoyed our chat. There is no reason you would have seen this. I always worry about those who send the other guy their speeches, but take a look at this one.

I do have something in there on increased R&D -- also on other investment incentives to get new businesses going, etc.

I'll buy you a cup of coffee next time you come to D.C. Call Rose Zamaria in my office, 456-6700.

Good luck, and best wishes.

Sincerely,



The Honorable James D. Griffin
Mayor
City of Buffalo
Room 201
65 Niagara Square
Buffalo, New York 14202

MR. PRESIDENT:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Chief of Staff and
Ron Kaufman concur.

March 17, 1992

32 MAR 19 P12:24

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: Buffalo Mayor Jim Griffin
phone: (716) 851-4841

One of the few big city Democratic mayors to
publically support you in 1988.

DATE: At your convenience.

RECOMMENDED
BY:

Sherrie Rollins
Deb Anderson
Jim Snyder

PURPOSE: You are returning Mayor Griffin's call.

BACKGROUND:

Mayor Griffin attempted to call you on March 6th,
wishing to speak with you on some thoughts he had
on how you could help cities. Rose Zamaria asked
me to call the mayor back, which I did, twice.

Although Mayor Griffin did not tell me he was
going to publicly endorse you at this time, I
believe there is a good possibility that he will
do so the closer we get to November.

TOPICS OF
DISCUSSION:

- (1) Your commitment to the right-to-life
movement (the mayor has a strong right-to-
life position).
- (2) Unfunded Federal mandates which are
financially hurting the city of Buffalo.
- (3) The new Commission on Urban Families.

DATE OF
SUBMISSION:

March 17, 1992

ACTION:

- 1) get shot for cities - for UDA for
- 2) rev. Sherry tough budget
- 3) I mention Bloch Grant
- 4) Economy a little better than elsewhere
much of Canadian companies can do

** really like Don
Schuster
best mayor
in country*

*Pat Buchanan
got free ride from
media*

** Royce Lynn
tax cut
wrong -
mid class*

get money

*Woman has liberals eat out of her hand
"could"*



to Mayor Griffin

Dear Jim,

i enjoyed our chat.

There is no reason you'd have seen this and I always worry about people that send the other guy their speeches. But take a look at this one.

I do have something in ~~her~~ on R &D

growth- investment to get new businesses going etc.]

Good luck. I sure enjoyed ~~our~~ chat.

I'll ~~buy~~ you a cup of coffeee when next you come to DC> (call
Rose 456-6700)

Sincerely,

FROM THE PRESIDENT



THE PRESIDENT

3-24-92

Dear Susan (Your Honor)

I loved your
daughter's first brush with
the press. Thanks for
your letter and the great
editorial. Now, Good luck
Sincerely, Cap T

FROM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable Susan H. Black
Post Office Box 53135
Jacksonville, Florida 32201

bcc: Rose Zamaria

315638

United States District Court

Middle District of Florida

Post Office Box 53135

Jacksonville, Florida 32201

Susan H. Black
Chief Judge

March 13, 1992

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Three weeks before you called to tell me you were signing the papers transmitting my name to the United States Senate for a vacancy on the 11th Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals, my father passed away. He had wanted so much to be alive for the call and, in fact, the day before his death, the prospect of the nomination was the topic he chose to discuss. In part because of that experience, I had my five-year-old daughter Leigh Elizabeth listen to the call from you this past Sunday. I wanted her to listen to the call because, in years to come, I would be reminding her that she was with me during my telephone conversation with the President of the United States. She was under strict orders not to say anything and I kept telling her to say nothing. As you can see from the enclosed article which appeared in Thursday's edition of The Florida Times-Union, on Wednesday, remembering what I told her Sunday, she had her first lesson in dealing with the press! I am also enclosing the article concerning the nomination which was on the front page of Tuesday's newspaper and an editorial that appeared today.

On Sunday I expressed to you my sincere gratitude. The personal call from you heightened the significance of the nomination and now, at a calmer moment, I wanted to again express to you my appreciation and my commitment to live up to the confidence you have placed in me.

Sincerely,


SUSAN H. BLACK

SHB/shs
Enclosure

"but our jurors have eaten there in the past and survived."

— Paul Pinkham

Tough audience

Five-year-olds can be hard to impress.

Consider **Leigh Elizabeth Black**, daughter of Chief U.S. District Judge **Susan Black**, who has been nominated to the 11th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals.

Who called Mom Black to tell her about her nomination?

"The judge of the whole United States," reported Leigh Elizabeth.

Try again, Leigh Elizabeth.

"Oh, yeah, the president of the whole United States," she corrected.

What's his name, Leigh Elizabeth?

"I don't know."

Did you talk with him?

"Yeah."

What did he say?

"Nothing."

What did you say?

"Nothing."

Another great moment in history.

— Mary Kress

Hot line for news

Got a news tip? Call 634-1969, the Times-Union's 24-hour-a-day news tip hot line.

one-place winner Christine Mehl, 11, a fifth-grader at Crookshank Elementary School, missed "scalpel."

Dallas will go on to represent the county at the regional bee in Jacksonville, sponsored by The Florida Times-Union.

All the competitors have already made a mark, beating other spellers in their own schools, administrator O.C. Hayes told the parents and others gathered for the bee at the School Board administration building.

Hayes made special note of Luke's accomplishment as the only hearing-impaired student in the competition.

"It's a historic moment," he said. "We feel very pleased that we've reached this point in our history."

To prepare for the bee, Luke and Ms. Greco studied definitions as much as spelling. Luke had to rely on what the word meant as much as how it looked when spoken.

"It was very difficult for us because some of the words were new to us," Ms. Greco said.

Luke entered the voluntary bee at Sebastian Middle School, where he attends classes in English and reading. He also attends the Florida School for the Deaf and the Blind in St. Augustine.

"I thought it was just for fun," he said through Ms. Greco. "I studied some."

It is not the first competition for Luke, who lost his hearing to meningitis when he was a year old. Last year, he was a finalist in the school system's geography bee.

Luke has plans for more accomplishments, including a university education.

"I plan to be a history major," he said.

Luke Ocuto, a student at Sebastian Middle School, spelled a word in the St. John Bee. He was the only deaf contestant.



Dallas Newman correctly spells his last spelling bee as runner-up Christine Melin

Jimmy Ray Bob didn't think Tuesday's can

I suspected Jimmy Ray Bob was in a foul mood when I got to the front door of his house.

He had taken one of those little stickers you get at the polling places — the ones that say "I voted" — and placed it over his doorbell.

It was upside down — the international sign of distress.

This was giving me second thoughts about asking Jimmy Ray what he thought of the Super Tuesday results, when he flung open the screen door.

"Explain something to me, Slick," he said. "All of my life, I've considered empty beer cans yard trash."

"You down a cold 'un, crush it against

your forehead and toss it into the yard. Simple as that.

"About every six months, you pick up the dead soldiers, put them in a plastic bag and put the bag on the curb for the garbagemen.

"Now, I keep up with things, so I know that the city has changed how it collects garbage.

"Being a good citizen, I haul my beer cans out on the day set aside for yard trash.

"Guess what? The garbagemen refuse to take them. They say the cans should be put out on the day for recycling.

"I politely explained that they wouldn't know yard trash if it bit them on the rear



OPINION

Ronald L. Littlepage

Times-Union columnist

end, and they drove off and left me there holding the bag.

"Explain that, Slick."

I instinctively knew that I would be better off not even trying, so I steered Jimmy Ray toward Super Tuesday.

"I'd rather talk about garbage," he said. "But if you insist."

Republican victo-
ned to beat a lot
of blacks."

esser, a peahut
g 8th Street and

NG, Page A-4)

are on all the ballots. Republican David Duke
is on all GOP primary ballots except Florida's.

WHAT'S AT STAKE: 783 Democratic dele-
gates and 421 Republican delegates.

UP NEXT: Sunday — Puerto Rico primary;
March 17 — Illinois and Michigan primaries.

moved near the front of the
calendar in 1972. Republicans
Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan
and George Bush all won
Florida in the years they cap-
tured the White House.

So did Jimmy Carter in

ern primary at all.

It is everystate, or at least as
close as it can get on either
Super Tuesday or in the pri-
mary campaign.

(See FLORIDA, Page A-4)

cases involving airplanes in the
Jacksonville area recently.

Jacksonville and state fire investi-
gators are still looking into two
cases in December in which private
planes were stolen from Craig Mu-
nicipal Airport and burned.

Staff writer Joseph M. Davis contribut-
ed to this report.

ll cut n May

will be a severe eco-
to Columbia, Hamilton
ee counties, where Oc-
the largest employer,
workers. The three-
had an 11 percent un-
rate in January, one of
in the state.

would be pretty devas-
te local economy," said
stadt, president of Inter-
chemical Workers Union
White Springs.

market and the general
n this area is pretty

SPHATE, Page A-5)



District Judge Susan H. Black
Bush choice for appellate bench

Judge Black picked for U.S. Circuit

By Paul Pinkham
Staff writer

President Bush said yesterday he
has chosen Chief U.S. District
Judge Susan H. Black of Jackson-
ville to the 11th U.S. Circuit Court
of Appeals in Atlanta.

Judge Black, 48, was selected to
fill one of three vacancies on the
11th Circuit, which hears appeals of
federal cases from Florida, Georgia
and Alabama.

Her name now goes to the U.S.
Senate Judiciary Committee, then
to the full Senate for confirmation.

Judge Black said through an assis-
tant that she was not permitted to
comment on the nomination pend-
ing confirmation.

"She is very honored and pleased
by the nomination," the assistant

said.

If confirmed, Judge Black would
be replaced as chief judge in the
Middle District of Florida by U.S.
District Judge John H. Moore II,
also of Jacksonville, based on his
seniority.

A native of Valdosta, Ga., Judge
Black became Florida's first female
federal judge when she was ap-
pointed by President Carter in
1979. Earlier she was Jacksonville's
first female prosecutor, assistant
city general counsel and county
judge.

Before earning her law degree
from the University of Florida in
1967, she taught civics at Ribault
Senior High School.

Upon confirmation, she will join

two former Jacksonville jurists on
the appellate court: Gerald B. Tjo-
nat, chief of the 11th Circuit, and
Joseph W. Hatchett.

Mark Mills, an aide to Sen. Con-
nie Mack, R-Fla., said the process
for replacing Judge Black on the
bench won't begin until she is con-
firmed by the Senate. The replace-
ment process can take a year or
longer.

Bush also chose U.S. District
Judge Federico Moreno of Miami
for one of the other 11th Circuit va-
cancies. Moreno, 39, a federal judge
since 1990, served earlier as a state
judge, a Dade County judge and a
public defender.

This report contains information from
The Associated Press.

OUTSIDE Complete weather information on Page A-2

Health Line5
Horoscope4
Jumble5
Ann Landers4
Movies5
Television2
Comics.....D-3, D-4, D-5
CrosswordD-5
Crossword extra.....D-8
ClassifiedD-6

Today Thunderstorms likely. Gusty winds. Highs in the low 80s. Tonight, lows low to mid-50s.	Tomorrow Mostly sunny, breezy and cool. Highs low 60s. Lows 42-46.	Thursday Sunny and cool. Highs 62-66. Lows 40-44.	Friday Partly sunny. Highs 64-68. Lows 42-46.	Saturday Partly sunny. Highs 66-70. Lows 44-48.

IN SPORTS



"This is a dream come
true for me," said Jeremy
Foley who, after serving the
athletic department at the
University of Florida for parts
of three decades, yesterday
was named the school's
athletic director.
Story in Sports, Page C-1.

in order to protect witnesses from being damaged by their own testimony, grand jury system.

Judge Susan Black excels again

When the U.S. Senate reviews the credentials of Chief U. S. District Judge Susan H. Black of Jacksonville for an appointment to the 11th U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals they will see an impressive record.

Judge Black, 48, has distinguished herself many times over the past decades as attorney for the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, an assistant state attorney, an assistant general counsel, a circuit judge and a federal district judge in Florida.

Her legal and judicial talents were quickly recognized by her colleagues and by voters. After three years as a prosecutor with the State Attorney's Office, she was elected to the County Court in 1973. Two years later she was

appointed to the 4th Judicial Circuit. Four years later, President Jimmy Carter named her to the federal bench.

If confirmed, Judge Black will be one of three Jacksonville jurists on the 22-member appeals court. Gerald B. Tjoflat, chief judge of the 11th Circuit and Joseph W. Hatchett also are from Jacksonville. Tjoflat was among the judges considered for the U. S. Supreme Court post following the rejected nomination of Robert F. Bork in 1987.

Judge Black has a record of tough justice for drug criminals, yet has ruled compassionately on individual rights.

By her distinguished service on the district court bench, she has earned favorable consideration by the Senate for advancement to the appellate court.

Many would have us believe that tax reform proposed by Congress is attempt to soak the rich.

Not so! The purpose of the prop tax reform is to correct the current structure, which is designed to pry the wealthy with tax breaks and holes that are unavailable to the m class. Our current system allows the to pay less taxes than those whos come is significantly less.

Those who are in favor of tax re simply ask that all citizens of the U States pay their fair share of tax each citizen paid his share, we wou able to significantly reduce the nat debt and have enough left over to care of health care, education and l ing.

It is time to send a clear messag the wealthy lawmakers we have (u tunately) elected that the middle cl no longer willing (or able) to sho the brunt of the tax burden. Let's soaking the middle class!

PAMELA SCHAU
Jackson

Despair is afflicting the Democratic Party

CHICAGO — Late-night talk over beers at the Dubliner saloon in a predominantly Irish southwest Chicago neighborhood reveals the despair afflicting the Democratic Party as Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton races toward victory in Tuesday's primary here and perhaps a lock on the presidential nomination.

"Most of the people in this room — we're all Democrats — will vote for Bush, and they'll take their families with them," an Irish-American policeman told us, sweeping his arm to take in the bar, the booths and the noisy crowd watching a dart game. "Clinton? You gotta be kidding."

From party pros who draw big salaries in Democratic law firms and their allies in the back rooms of Chicago's 50 wards comes the same "vote for Bush" forecast. "Clinton will never be elected," a key Democrat with close ties to Mayor Richard M. Daley said privately. Allegations of sexual misbehavior and the threat of more to come, he said, are too much political baggage for Clinton, even though his campaign techniques have been perfected in eight elections.

Not all agree. A prominent Democratic reformer minimized the effect of Clinton's alleged womanizing, using a Yiddish phrase to make his point. "The sex stuff? Kaddish!" he said, meaning it's over unless someone produces a "smoking gun." Although acknowledging less than total conviction in his own forecast, he told us Clinton's Super Tuesday sweep, plus his acceptable showing in New Hampshire last month at the height of the accusations, ended the sex threat.

Rowland Evans & Robert Novak

Creators Syndicate

That is a minority opinion. The contrary view, far more widely held, is that the Democrats "are building their November coffin right this minute here in Chicago," as an office-holding Cook County Democrat told us.

The only way out of the coffin now, he went on, would be an unexpected upset of Clinton by former Sen. Paul Tsongas next Tuesday in Illinois or Michigan. Otherwise the lid on the coffin will be nailed shut, a ghoully gift for George Bush on Nov. 3.

This sense of doom has made the primary campaign here strange and melancholy compared to the colorful quadrennial spectacular during the glory days when Daley's father was mayor. In Illinois primary history, Ted Kennedy was cooked in 1980, Walter Mondale was saved in 1984 and Michael Dukakis' success was sealed in 1992. Given disillusion with Clinton and lack of tough competition, today's campaign is stripped of excitement and plays to uninterested voters.

Clinton's Illinois strategy is, like much of his campaign, highly polished. His early organizing of Cook County makes Tsongas look like the political neophyte he is. The former Massachusetts senator has made little headway with his gutsy pro-business appeal.

While allegations of extramarital activities Clinton have turned off many Chicago olics, few of the Irish Democrats in Dubliner bar knew or cared about ho spell Tsongas.

Over a year ago, Clinton shrewdly b casing this post-Super Tuesday state knew he needed to prove that his a traveled north. He hired Daley's high: garded campaign manager, David Will to run his national effort.

Through a fortuitous friendship with a partner of Cook County Democratic C man Tom Lyons, Wilhelm set up his ear linois headquarters right inside Lyons' offices. With Lyons' help, he met an manced almost every ward leader in county months before Tsongas paid his campaign visit.

Tom Dart, a 28-year-old Irish-Ame candidate running against a black incur state legislator in Tuesday's primary, to he has "walked miles" in his Chicago di and met hundreds of voters. Only two mentioned the presidential primary.

One of those, a retired firefighter, exp at Dart: "You politicians are all a bun liars." Dart tried to change the subje health insurance, but the voter wou stop. "This guy out there now, sle around and he didn't even serve his try," he said, not mentioning Clir name. This voter terrifies Democratic ers. They fear he speaks for millions.

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

daily

The Honorable William H. Donaldson
Chairman
New York Stock Exchange
11 Wall Street
New York, New York 10005



THE PRESIDENT

3-24-92

Dear Bill,

I am very sorry I
can't be up there with you
on May 17th. I will be in
Indiana. John Bush checked
in strongly urging attendance.

I haven't broken the news
to him, but I will.

Sorry to let you down, Bill

Sincerely,

Blind cc:
Kathy Super
✓ Rose Zamaria
(2 copies)

Tuesday
March 24, 1992 (0735)



PHONE CALL FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Jonathan Bush

Your brother would like a return call at your earliest convenience. He'll be home till 0830, then in the office after 0900.

Home: (212) 249-5120
Office: (212) 980-9300

Robin

① write
Bill Donaldson 200th B'dey N.Y. Stock Exch

From the desk of
George Bush

bcc Kathy Super
Wm Donaldson
pres. N.Y. Stock Exchange

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

daily 24 Mar

Mr. and Mrs. Pete Pettis
1300 Prospect Drive
Redlands, California 92373

CC: (all photos)
Rose Zamaria
(3 copies)



To Patti & Pete Pettis
Millie, Ranger, and I send our best wishes
to your wonderful family. Liz Bush

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. and Mrs. Pete Pettis
1300 Prospect Drive
Redlands, California 92373

CC: (all photos)
Rose Zamaria
(3 copies)



William Daniel -

Good Luck - Best Wishes
Ag. Beth

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. and Mrs. Pete Pettis
1300 Prospect Drive
Redlands, California 92373

CC: (all photos)
Rose Zamaria
(3 copies)



To Pete -
Warm Greetings From the White House
Ag Bush

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mrs. Shirley Roberson
Morningside Country Club
18 Churchill Lane
Rancho Mirage, California 92270

CC: (all photos)
Rose Zamaria
(3 copies)



How about one for grandma
SHIRLEY

To Shirley -
What a wonderful Oval Office
visit we had. Love to all
March 24 '92
Cap Buel

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 24, 1992

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

In 1991 two events set the stage for a new era in history: the West won the Cold War and the United States led a U.N. coalition to roll back aggression in the Middle East. Both watershed events demonstrated the power of sustained international cooperation in pursuit of just and moral causes. They underscored the need for U.S. leadership in a complex, interdependent world.

Historic changes are also occurring in the relationship between humanity and the environment. We increasingly recognize that environmental improvement promotes peace and prosperity, while environmental degradation can cause political conflict and economic stagnation. We see that environmental protection requires international commitment and strategic American leadership in yet another just and moral cause.

Merging Economic and Environmental Goals

As I often have stated, we can have both economic growth and a cleaner, safer environment. Indeed, the two can be mutually supportive. Sound policies provide both.

My environmental strategy seeks to merge economic and environmental goals. For example, boosting two engines of economic growth -- technological change and international trade -- can also provide benefits for the environment. Likewise, regulatory approaches that emphasize economic efficiency can help lower the costs of securing greater environmental quality. The following examples are illustrative:

Investments in Technology: My Administration has invested aggressively in key areas of research and development that will boost productivity and economic performance. Several technologies heralded primarily for their benefit to economic growth and competitiveness, such as advanced materials, high performance computing, electric batteries, and biotechnology, also have valuable environmental applications. Increasing investments in basic environmental research will enable policymakers to devise more informed, effective, and efficient policies.

International Trade: In negotiations on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the United States calls on other nations to reduce farm subsidies, which harm competitive farm exports and contribute to environmental degradation. In parallel with negotiations toward a North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the United States and Mexico are expanding environmental cooperation. A free trade agreement would lead to stronger growth in both countries and provide increased financial resources for environmental protection.

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Economically Efficient Regulations: Our Clean Air Act initiatives spur utility energy efficiency through innovative tradable sulfur emission allowances and an overall cap on emissions. Restraining electricity demand cuts emissions of carbon dioxide and acid rain precursors, lowers energy bills for homeowners and businesses, and limits the need for new powerplant construction.

The Global Environment and Development

Robust economic growth is needed to meet the needs and aspirations of the world's peoples. At the same time, the nations of the world must ensure that economic development does not place untenable burdens on the Earth's environment.

My Administration has been working with business leaders, environmentalists, scientists, and the governments of other countries to develop more effective, efficient, and comprehensive approaches to global economic and environmental issues. Preparations for the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED or Earth Summit), which convenes this June in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, have accelerated this process.

My priorities for this historic conference are as follows:

- o Sign a satisfactory global framework convention on climate change;
- o Agree on initial steps leading to a global framework convention on the conservation and management of all the world's forests;
- o Improve U.N. environmental and developmental agencies as well as the Global Environment Facility (GEF), which provides financial assistance to developing nations in meeting the costs of gaining global environmental benefits;
- o Launch an action program to conserve biodiversity and, if possible, sign a satisfactory global framework convention on biodiversity;
- o Agree on a strategy and expand efforts to improve the condition of oceans and seas; and
- o Adopt a strategy and initiatives to promote technology cooperation in a free market context.

Climate Change: On behalf of the United States, I hope to sign by June 1992 a global framework convention that will commit as many nations as possible to the timely development of comprehensive national climate action plans. Such plans would commit nations to a process of continuous improvement, addressing sources and reservoirs of all greenhouse gases as well as adaptation measures. Parties to the convention would compare their action programs on a regular basis and revise them as necessary.

By producing specific, comprehensive environmental commitments that fit each nation's particular circumstances, this approach is preferable on environmental and economic grounds to the carbon-dioxide-only proposals that others have

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espoused. The United States will continue to restrain or reduce its net carbon dioxide emissions by improving energy efficiency, developing cleaner energy sources, and planting billions of trees in this decade. But an exclusive focus on targets and timetables for carbon dioxide emissions is inadequate to address the complex dynamics of climate change.

Forests and Biodiversity: The nations of the world need to do a better job of studying and conserving the diversity of life on Earth. Nations also need to work together to improve the management and protection of all the world's forests. For these reasons, I am renewing my call for a global framework convention on the management and conservation of forests and restating the U.S. hope that UNCED will be the occasion for making progress toward such a convention. I am also hopeful that a convention on the conservation of biodiversity may be signed at UNCED.

Institutional Reform and Funding: Member nations need to coordinate U.N. structures and make them more efficient and effective in meeting UNCED goals. A related priority is to continue development of the World Bank's Global Environment Facility (GEF). The GEF should become the principal vehicle for assisting developing nations with the incremental costs of gaining global environmental benefits under new international agreements.

Oceans: Coastal and estuarine areas include some of the most diverse and productive ecosystems on Earth. Increasing population and development are stressing these areas, particularly in nations that lack effective programs to protect and manage marine resources. The United States urges UNCED parties to adopt a set of principles and an action plan to address such issues as the status of living marine resources, coastal zone management, ocean monitoring, and land-based sources of marine pollution.

Technology: The UNCED participants should adopt a strategy and initiatives to promote market-based environmental technology cooperation with developing nations. In some cases, the transfer of environmentally preferable technologies results from official foreign assistance. However, in the vast majority of cases it occurs as the result of private sector activities such as direct foreign investment, joint ventures, licensing, exports, and professional training. Thus the role of governments and international institutions should be to foster the market conditions that accelerate private sector activity in the growing global market for environmental goods and services.

The Domestic Environment

In the midst of increased attention to global environmental issues, the United States in the last 3 years has enacted and begun to implement sweeping environmental reforms. We will continue to take action predicated on sound science and efficient solutions. State and local governments, businesses, community groups, and individual citizens must also play a part.

A number of items on the environmental agenda, including reauthorization of the Clean Water Act, the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act, and the Endangered Species Act, require a thorough, judicious review with an eye toward the long

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term. Wherever possible, such legislation should encourage economically sensible, market-based mechanisms. Quick-fix actions will not be in the best interest of the environment or of our economy.

The Congress should make a significant contribution to economic growth and the environment by taking the following steps during this session:

- o Enact balanced national energy legislation, providing equal measures of new conservation and production;
- o As requested in my budget, provide increased funds to a number of key environmental and natural resources programs; and
- o Establish a U.S. Department of the Environment.

National Energy Legislation: In the year that has passed since I proposed a National Energy Strategy (NES) providing equal measures of new energy conservation and production, the Administration has moved to implement more than 90 NES initiatives that do not require legislative action. The Congress has followed through by increasing funding for an array of research and development initiatives. Now, in addition to these measures, the Congress needs to complete action on comprehensive national energy legislation.

Environmental and Natural Resources Budget: Within the context of initiatives to tighten Federal budget discipline, my proposed budget for fiscal 1993 reflects my continuing belief that we should increase national investments in key environmental and natural resources programs. Among my priorities are the following:

- o \$1.85 billion (a 17-percent increase over fiscal 1992) for the America the Beautiful program, including acquisition of key park, forest, refuge, and other public lands; my program to encourage public participation in the planting of one billion trees per year; a partnership with the States to create state parks and recreation facilities; and projects to improve environmental infrastructure and recreational opportunities on the public lands;
- o A record \$5.5 billion (a 26-percent increase over fiscal 1992) for the cleanup of Department of Energy facilities involved in nuclear weapons manufacture;
- o \$201 million (almost double the fiscal 1992 level) for U.S.-Mexico border region cleanup, consistent with the Environmental Action Plan I presented to the Congress last year in support of the proposed North American Free Trade Agreement;
- o Almost \$1 billion for energy research and development, including over \$350 million for conservation research and development (more than double the fiscal 1989 level) and \$162.4 million (a 47-percent increase over fiscal 1992) for transportation programs such as development of electric automotive batteries and the purchase of 5,000 alternative-fuel vehicles;
- o \$812 million (a 35-percent increase over fiscal 1992) for wetlands research, acquisition, restoration, and enhancement, achieving a 175-percent increase over fiscal 1989 levels;

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- o For the second year in a row, \$340 million for accelerated construction of sewage treatment facilities in six coastal cities that currently have inadequate treatment facilities;
- o \$7 million (a 46-percent increase over fiscal 1992) for the designation and management of National Marine Sanctuaries;
- o \$229 million (a 22-percent increase over fiscal 1992) for implementation of the 1990 Clean Air Act;
- o \$1.75 billion (an 8-percent increase over fiscal 1992) for cleanup of Superfund toxic waste sites; and
- o \$1.37 billion (a 24-percent increase over fiscal 1992) for further expansion of the world's largest global climate change research program.

U.S. Department of the Environment: Considering the scope and importance of responsibilities conferred upon the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), I announced my support in 1990 for legislative efforts to elevate EPA to Cabinet status. The Congressional leadership has responded with controversial, extraneous amendments and parliamentary delays. This legislation should not be held hostage any longer. Once again, I call on the Congress to elevate EPA to Cabinet status and make it the U.S. Department of the Environment.

A National Commitment

There is a growing commitment from all segments of society to improve the environment. A key element of my environmental strategy is encouraging private companies and organizations to work with each other and with government to deliver conservation benefits that go far beyond what government acting alone could provide.

In July 1991 I named leaders of business, environmental, recreational, educational, and philanthropic organizations to serve as members of the President's Commission on Environmental Quality (PCEQ). I have challenged this Commission to develop and implement an action agenda to improve the environment through voluntary private sector activities that meet the test of economic efficiency.

I also established a Presidential medal for environment and conservation achievement and had the honor of presenting medals to an outstanding group of Americans last October. This program rewards private initiative in service to the environment in a manner equivalent to long-standing Presidential recognition of excellence in the arts, humanities, sciences, and world affairs.

We have encouraged additional private sector initiatives through such ground-breaking efforts as the "Green Lights" energy efficiency project, the "33-50" toxic emission reduction program, the U.S. Advanced Battery Consortium to support development of electric vehicles, and land management partnerships between conservation groups and the Departments of Defense, Agriculture, and the Interior.

Freedom's Full Meaning

As more people around the world join the democratic family and reach for their God-given rights and aspirations, we Americans who have led the way for over 200 years will

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continue to bear a responsibility to give freedom its full meaning, including freedom from want and freedom from an unsafe environment.

The Cold War was a stark test of the global community's faith in these ideals. We passed that test.

The deadlock in negotiations for improved international trade rules is another challenge to the principles that have drawn the world closer together in the last half century. We must not fail that test.

These struggles for national security and economic growth are now joined by environmental concerns such as deforestation and potential climate change, which also have profound long-term implications. The year ahead will test our ability to redefine the relationship between humanity and the environment -- and in so doing, to secure a greater peace and prosperity for generations to come. We must not fail that test.

GEORGE BUSH

THE WHITE HOUSE,
March 24, 1992.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 24, 1992

ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY REPORT: FACT SHEET

The President today released the 22nd Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ). The report discusses key environmental issues and policies for the year just passed and the year ahead, and provides the government's most comprehensive collection of data on environmental trends.

In the report, the President called on the Congress to:

- Enact balanced national energy legislation, providing roughly equal measures of new conservation and production;
- Elevate the Environmental Protection Agency to the Cabinet;
- Increase budgets for environmental and natural resource programs as requested in his FY93 budget, including:
 - \$1.85 billion (a 17% increase over FY92) for the America the Beautiful program to enhance national parks, forests, wildlife refuges, and other public lands, to plant billions of trees in this decade, and to help the States to create parks and recreation facilities (Congress has cut the President's requests for these programs);
 - A record \$5.5 billion (a 26% increase over FY92) for the cleanup of Department of Energy facilities involved in nuclear weapons manufacture, and other Federal facilities;
 - \$201 million (almost double the FY92 level) for U.S.-Mexico border region cleanup, consistent with the Environmental Action Plan he presented to Congress last year in conjunction with the proposed North American Free Trade Agreement;
 - Programs to improve coastal water quality, speed Superfund cleanups, implement the new Clean Air Act, protect wetlands, and accelerate clean energy and transportation programs.

Regarding the U.N. "Earth Summit," the President called upon the international community to take the following actions:

- Complete a comprehensive framework convention on **climate change**;
- Take steps leading to a global framework convention on protection and conservation of all the world's **forests**;
- Agree on actions to conserve **biodiversity** and, if possible, sign a satisfactory global framework convention on biodiversity;
- Adopt a strategy to improve the condition of **oceans** and living marine resources;
- Launch initiatives to promote environmental **technology** cooperation in a free market context; and
- Agree on the provision of **financial assistance** to developing nations through the Global Environmental Facility (GEF), as well as reforms to U.N. environmental and development agencies.

Favorable trends noted in the CEQ annual report included:

- U.S. production of ozone-depleting CFCs is already 42% below the levels allowed by the U.S. Clean Air Act and the Montreal Protocol.
- Ambient concentrations of key air pollutants continued a downward trend, reflecting continued progress under the Clean Air Act.
- The rate of wetlands loss has slowed in the United States.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 24, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE PUBLIC AFFAIRS ASSEMBLY OF THE
THE NATIONAL-AMERICAN WHOLESALE GROCERS ASSOCIATION

Hyatt Regency Hotel
Washington, DC

11:04 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Boyd, thank you very much for the good news -- (laughter) -- and for the introduction. (Laughter.) And let me just say I am very pleased to be here. And I want to salute your leaders. First, Boyd, who did the honors here; Bill Eacho, who's with me; Richard Niemann; and T.C. Goodwin. And also, before I get going here, I want to single out a former Cabinet member, agricultural Secretary Jack Block, who's doing an outstanding job for the common interest so well represented here today.

And I am here to follow up on what I said Friday, but mainly to ask you to help me change this country, to make it stronger and make it better. And as Boyd so generously said, we have changed the world. We've won a great victory for world peace and freedom. And as President, believe me, I will stay fully engaged with the world. We have won the Cold War. And I salute previous Presidents for their role in keeping our defenses strong; my predecessor, Ronald Reagan, for his foresight in doing what he could to bring about the collapse of international communism.

But now is no time to pull back from engagement in international affairs. So now let's put to work the same leadership that we used to change the world to change America. And let me tell you what that means: We'll leave a legacy of productive jobs for our citizens, with strong families -- secure in a more peaceful world.

And I have a strategy to renew America and to keep our country strong in the next century. I have proposed a plan to stimulate the economy without raising taxes and without increasing the federal deficit. (Applause.) Action to strengthen real estate. Action to help young families buy that first home -- now. Get it done now. And I asked for action to create good jobs. One of those actions was to cut the tax on capital gains. It's not a break for the rich, it is a job-creation incentive. (Applause.)

But the majority in Congress simply couldn't break their tax-and-spend habits. And I asked for action to stimulate this economy -- not stifle it. And I asked for a jobs bill. And they passed a bill to increase income taxes by \$100 billion. And they turned their backs on that first-time homebuyer by failing to enact this \$5,000 tax credit. They watered down the investment tax allowance that we had, an allowance that would have sped up depreciation and encouraged people to buy new capital equipment, given them incentives to do that. They stifled other reforms to help businesses modernize and compete. And then they tinkered with the capital gains tax. But if their plan were adopted, that tax would still be among the highest in the developed world.

You people know this, but a lot of Americans don't: Japan and Germany tax capital gains at zero and at one percent. They don't even have -- in essence don't have taxes on capital gains in one country and tax it at one percent in another. And we're to

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compete with all that in this highly competitive world.

And, yes, I was disappointed in the Congress. But, frankly, I was not surprised. And so last Friday, that tax bill came down and I vetoed the tax increase. And that veto is going to be sustained. (Applause.) But not just to carp, then I announced actions that I would take on my own to do what I could to get the fat out of government, to cut the red tape that chokes our competitive spirit, and to get this country up to speed for the long haul.

You and I have business experience. We know what the tax increase would really do. About 80 percent of the revenue increase resulting from the higher rates, would come from, you guessed it, small businesses. More than a million small businesses would be affected -- many of them crippled -- by that Democratic leadership tax increase. Thousands of family-run grocery and convenience stores are in this category. Small family farms also could face financial ruin from such a tax increase.

The bill I've just vetoed tried to raise the marginal rate for small family businesses and farms by about 18 percent. Now, just think about the impact of this on your own businesses. The grocery business -- wholesale and retail -- is fiercely competitive. I know you're being nice to the guy next to you here today -- (laughter) -- but when you go home, why, we'll understand if you go at each other. And why is it so competitive? You operate on the thinnest of profit margins -- for wholesalers it's often less than a penny on the dollar.

And if you had to face a big increase in the bracket where you pay most of your taxes, how would you cope? You'd feel pressure to cut back on the quality of your service. Competition would press you to hold out as long as possible before passing costs along to your customers -- so you might have to eliminate jobs. Eventually everyone in the business would have to pass the costs along -- and that would fuel inflation.

Those are simple facts of life for people trying to make a living. But even as millions of American families were huddling over their kitchen tables to work on their tax returns, the liberal Congress tried to raise their taxes by \$100 billion.

Last Friday, as I say, I vetoed their massive tax increase. And I sent Congress my first line-item rescissions -- cutting \$3.6 billion in unneeded wasteful spending. (Applause.) These rescissions will serve notice to Congress that the days of wasteful spending are over. And it is a step symbolic of the power that 43 governors have -- the line-item veto. Incidentally, at their recent National Meeting, the nation's governors, Democrat and Republican, went on record calling for line-item veto authority for the President -- and I need that authority. (Applause.)

Last Friday, as I say, I vetoed their massive tax increase. And I sent Congress my first line-item rescissions -- cutting \$3.6 billion in unneeded, wasteful spending. (Applause.) Now these rescissions will serve notice to Congress that the days of wasteful spending are over. And it is a step symbolic of the power that 43 governors have -- the line-item veto. Incidentally, at their recent national meeting, the nation's governors, Democrat and Republican, went on record calling for line-item veto authority for the President. And I need that authority. (Applause.)

I'm also fighting for economic growth through actions that don't need to be passed by the Congress. Some things I need Congress to do, other things we can do without. Take a look at government regulation. Day by day, rule by rule, and industry by industry, we are winning battles against overregulation. We're winning victories for common sense and freedom.

Just last Thursday, for example, our administration announced reforms on nutrition labeling for meat and poultry. Our reforms will keep our food supply every bit as safe --and I have responsibility for that -- but we will reduce the burden and expense of regulation on American consumers, and on our hard-working food producers and grocers. If Congress sends me any legislation that would overregulate our economy, I'm going to veto it as soon as it reaches my desk. (Applause.)

Now, if we Americans are going to hone our skills and really compete in the years ahead, we've got a lot more to do. And I want to have us keep our sights on the next American century. And when I think of America in the year 2000, I think of five strategic concerns mentioned in my address to the nation last Friday.

First, we must change and renew our schools. We must become a nation of students educating ourselves throughout our lifetimes in the best system of schools, colleges and universities in the entire world. And this is going to take revolutionary change. Most of our states and hundreds of local communities are committed to change. They have joined me already in a crusade that we call America 2000 -- an exciting program to revolutionize education.

Business as usual is not going to help us reach our national education goals. We need to get behind world-class standards, new curriculum frameworks, break-the-mold schools, voluntary national testing. And a centerpiece of our plan is the belief that schools will do their best when parents enjoy real freedom and real responsibility to choose their children's schools -- public, private and religious. (Applause.) School choice for parents is an idea whose time has come.

Second, we need to make our excellent health care system more affordable and more available to Americans. We've got the highest quality health care in the entire world -- but everyone should have access to it. And we all know the problems: Too many people don't have health insurance, and health care costs are going right through the roof. And we also know that the answer doesn't lie in costly and coercive plans like the scheme to make employers "play or pay." And the answer certainly isn't these nationalized -- these socialized medicine plans. Nationalized health care would be a national disaster. (Applause.)

The way I propose that we help our society deal with this is based on markets and choice. Just as in education, vouchers are a key part of my strategy for giving Americans a fairer and more affordable health care system. And our answer is to change our health care system for the better, not ruin it. And we're going to keep fighting for this sensible plan.

Third -- and I know you're going to agree with this one -- we need fundamental legal reform to stop the epidemic of lawsuits. (Applause.) You all know the litany. You hear it in your communities. You hear it in your businesses. Things are so out of hand that some parents refuse to coach Little League for fear of liability lawsuits. Some doctors won't deliver babies anymore because of malpractice suits. Well, just imagine what we could achieve if we spent as much time helping each other as we do suing each other. (Applause.)

And the costs of litigation and liability on small business are absolutely staggering -- horrendous. You know, in 1989 there were 18 million lawsuits filed in America. Eighteen million. And that's why I've again asked Congress to pass my civil justice reform bill which will help people resolve problems through means other than the courtroom. And it will help put a stop to frivolous lawsuits and reduce the drag on our economy caused by excessive

litigation. (Applause.) And I need your help. I need you help with the Congress to pass this sensible approach. (Applause.)

And fourth, we must reform government in line with one of America's most important founding principles: strict limits on the size and power of government. With a federal government that gobbles up a quarter of GNP, we can't really say we're as free as we should be. One quarter of all we produce as a nation -- as a people -- goes to pay for the central government. Now, that's just not right. And right now, the system is not accountable, effective, efficient, or even compassionate. And we need government that knows its limits -- but more important, we need a government that works.

We have got to fix a congressional system that's gone out of control. Congress, as an institution controlled by one party -- the Democrats -- for most of the past four decades -- desperately needs reform. And I'm going to have more to say, constructively, about reforming Congress in not so many days from now, at a later date.

But we can start by compelling Congress to be governed by the laws that they impose on people like you. (Applause.) Such as civil rights law; wage and hour laws; fair labor standards. We must totally eliminate the special interest PACs that give unfair advantage to incumbents in Congress and say yes to the people's call for term limits on Congress. (Applause.) My term is limited -- the President's term is limited -- And I believe theirs should be now if we want true reform.

Fifth, we must work to expand our markets. Of all the legacies that I want to help create as your President, few could be more important than open and fair trade opportunities for our manufacturers and our service industries -- and also for our farmers and our food industries.

Food and agriculture trade is the critical problem of world trade. The European Community spends more than 10 times -- 10 times as much as we do -- on agricultural export subsidies. This cannot and must not go on. And I made that point in a very vigorous way to a very receptive Chancellor Kohl of Germany when he visited Camp David last weekend.

His leadership will be vital if we are to break the deadlock in GATT and concluding the Uruguay Round successfully. And I know from my talks that he wants to see a successful conclusion to the Uruguay Round. So let me assure you, we'll be working as hard as possible the next few weeks to make a breakthrough in GATT. But as we see it, if there's no fair deal for agriculture, there simply cannot be a good GATT agreement. Agriculture is the key to getting this worked out. (Applause.)

And I'm also working to open up the exciting market opportunities in Mexico. With nearly 100 million people next door, Mexico is already one of our best customers. And they'll buy a lot more American goods as soon as these negotiations are concluded. It is one of our fastest growing markets anywhere in the world. And the bottom line is: A good agreement with Mexico means more U.S. jobs. (Applause.)

Last year, our exports around the world reached record levels, so the more trade barriers we can knock down the better. On a level playing field, I am absolutely convinced that Americans can outproduce, outperform anyone, anytime, anywhere. I have that kind of confidence in the American worker. (Applause.)

On each of these challenges, there are two roads to take: One is reform, the other protects the status quo. You and I are gathered on Capitol Hill today because we share a common purpose.

We're here in the neighborhood of a Congress that fails to heed calls for reform, that so far has failed to pass a simple but effective plan to help create jobs and build confidence. We're not simply going to complain about the Congress, we're going to try to change it.

And there are hundreds of you here -- hometown business leaders -- who are the backbone of your community. And just after this speech, I understand that all of you are headed up the Hill to visit your senators and representatives. I hope you'll pass along my warmest thanks to those who have stood with us and urge all members of Congress to support our long-term economic growth package.

The five points I mentioned here today -- it is just that important. This will be, for me, my final campaign. And I plan to fight as never before. I have had the privilege of being your President at the great turning point when freedom prevailed over imperial communism; when the Berlin Wall came down; when Iraq's aggression was defeated; ancient enemies talking peace in the Middle East; when democracy really got on the move in this, our own hemisphere. We are helping solidify a legacy of peace.

But I cannot rest and you cannot rest until we help this country win another legacy: productive jobs for our citizens with strong families secure in a more peaceful world. Working together, we changed the world. And now we can change America.

Thank you all very, very much. And may God bless you in your important work. (Applause.)

END

11:26 A.M. EST

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 24, 1992

TEXT OF A LETTER FROM
THE PRESIDENT TO THE SPEAKER OF
THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND
THE CHAIRMEN OF THE COMMITTEES ON
FOREIGN RELATIONS AND GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS
OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE

March 24, 1992

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. Chairman:)

In accordance with Title V of the Foreign Relations Act of Fiscal Year 1979, as amended (Public Law 95-426; 22 U.S.C. 2656c(b)), I am pleased to transmit the annual report on international activities in science and technology for fiscal year 1991.

Fiscal year 1991 saw a great many changes in the world, many of them demonstrating the close connections between science and technology and foreign policy. This report highlights the science and technology activities of agencies and departments of the Federal Government that related to our foreign policy objectives; responded to transnational challenges (such as narcotics and environmental degradation) affecting the United States; and enhanced, through international cooperation, the science and technology capability and economic competitiveness of the United States. The extent and depth of international relationships in science and technology demonstrate the significant role that science and technology play in U.S. foreign policy.

This year's report follows a format similar to last year's. It highlights the unique role of science and technology in foreign policy, focusing on five topical areas: basic science; health and life sciences; energy, environment, and economics; emerging technologies; and agriculture and natural resources. It further explores the science and technology interface with foreign policy by summarizing our cooperation in these five areas with 21 countries, the European Community, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, and NATO. These discussions, along with the attached data base on international science and technology interactions by agency and country, provide a comprehensive review of the interaction between science and technology and foreign policy in the United States.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

March 24, 1992

The President today recognized Mary Ellen Heron of Spokane, Washington, as the 727th Daily Point of Light for the Nation. Ms. Heron provides emotional and physical support to terminally ill individuals and their families.

While her husband was dying of cancer, Ms. Heron, now 59, received emotional support and household assistance from friends and family. Today, as a volunteer at the Hospice of Spokane, she offers similar support to those who care for terminally ill patients. Her personal experience with terminal illness has enabled her to form close relationships with many hospice clients, transporting them to appointments, helping with household tasks, and lending assistance elsewhere as needed.

Ms. Heron enables individuals providing 24-hour care for family members to take a respite from their daily routines. She volunteers as a substitute caregiver and often remains close to families after the death of their loved one.

In 1991, Ms. Heron volunteered over 550 hours with the Hospice of Spokane and the Spokane AIDS Network. At the Hospice of Spokane, she has helped a number of patients who have the HIV virus. Through the Spokane AIDS Network, she has cared for both babies and adults. Currently, she helps two clients during the day and on weekends.

Ms. Heron takes her message to the Spokane public by distributing literature and answering questions at health fairs and hospice training classes. She also speaks to churches and local groups on the need to care for HIV patients. She wants everyone to know that every sick person, whether afflicted with AIDS or cancer, needs to be shown that someone cares.

The President salutes Mary Ellen Heron 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 24, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate Gene E. Voigts, of Missouri, to be United States District Judge for the Western District of Missouri. He would succeed Scott O. Wright.

Mr. Voigts has served with the law firm of Shook, Hardy & Bacon in Kansas City, Missouri as a Partner, 1975-present; and as an Associate, 1973-1974. Prior to this, he served as First Assistant Attorney General for the Office of the Missouri Attorney General, 1969-1973; and as Chief Counsel for the Criminal Division, 1969. In addition, Mr. Voigts has served as a Partner with the law firm of Von Erdmannsdorff & Voigts, 1967-1968; and as a Missouri Prosecuting Attorney for Clay County, 1967-1968.

Mr. Voigts was graduated from William Jewell College (B.A., 1961) and the University of Missouri at Kansas City School of Law (LL.B., 1964). He was born June 12, 1939 in Kansas City, Missouri. Mr. Voigts is married, has one child and resides in Kansas City, Missouri.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE

DAILY PRESS CLIPPINGS

Tuesday, March 24, 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)

NEWSWEEK: MARCH 23, 1992

Playing Hardball

Bush and his team assemble their scouting report on how to beat Bill Clinton in the fall



LARRY DOWNING—NEWSWEEK

DARRIN NEWES USNEWS



OUTLOOK

ONE WEEK

The vision thing and the real thing

Nearly 20 years after the Watergate break-in and his subsequent fall from power, Richard Nixon is back, telling the nation's leaders not to turn away from America's international responsibilities. What's astonishing is not the substance of the message but that it had to be delivered at all: For the first time since the 1930s, foreign policy isn't an issue in the presidential campaign.

The reasons for the conspicuous silence are familiar enough. Preoccupied with troubles at home, voters don't want to hear about troubles abroad, particularly if the solution requires spending billions of dollars. With the cold war over and Soviet communism dead, Americans feel they can stop worrying about the rest of the world. After all, isn't the world a safer place now?

The Democrats, often distrusted on foreign policy, aren't pressing for debate—especially given their candidates' inexperience in all things international. But what of George Bush, who went to war in the gulf and generally wraps himself in foreign-policy credentials? After years of talking about a new world order, without explaining what he means or how America fits in, Bush has suddenly become the silent man of international affairs. In the vacuum, and with its budget and bases on the line, his Pentagon is freelancing strange notions about post-cold-war missions: from defending Lithuania against Russia to fending off both friend and foe to keep America the world's only superpower.

The generals at least know there's no shortage of foreign-policy issues worth debate. What about aid to Russia and the other former Soviet republics? What about North Korea, which last week delivered Scud missiles to Iran and may be within months of building its own nuclear bomb? Or Iraq, defying the United Nations and still refusing to dismantle its weapons factories? Or South Africa, which makes a critical passage this week when whites vote on whether to press ahead on reform? Or the ethnic conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh (next year's El Salvador?), where American troops could be sent as peacekeepers? Or for that matter, the environment or the Mexican free-trade deal or the AIDS crisis in Africa? New game, rules to be determined later—but how does George Bush, Bill Clinton, Paul Tsongas, Jerry Brown or anyone else who might be president plan to play?

In a clear swipe at Bush that could apply to his Democratic opponents as well, Nixon writes that the "mark of great political leadership is ... to make what is unpopular popular if that serves America's national interest." Would you buy an undebated foreign policy from any of the men running for president? Unless Americans start asking the questions and demanding the answers, that's exactly what they'll get. □ BY CARLA ANNE ROBBINS

*Would you
buy an
undebated
foreign policy
from any of
the men
running for
president?*

NEWSWEEK : MARCH 23, 1992



The 'Bush flu': In Tokyo

EPIDEMICS

Political Bug

President Bush finally beat the flu that caused him to vomit in front of the world. Unfortunately, Japan hasn't. A similar flu strain is rampant there, and now there's an appropriate name for it: *Busshu kaze*, or "Bush flu." Suffice it to say this particular virus generally provokes a certain unfortunate stomach reflux. According to The Daily Yomiuri, an English-language newspaper, the term is now one of the most popular new buzzwords in the country. It has even been used to describe a malady Japanese officials caught while negotiating trade issues with the United States. ■

Tuesday, March 24, 1992

Hillary Clinton is the new style of wife

By ELLEN GOODMAN

So this candidate's wife is being assessed all over again, as if she were a piece of property. Her value seems to go up and down with every rumor in the marketplace, taking her husband's business along for the ride.

Just last month, Hillary Clinton was Bill's greatest asset. She was the one who stripped the poison petals off Gennifer Flowers' story. This was no wronged wife, long suffering abuse. She was the latest model in political wives, an independent lawyer and political partner.

Now she's being talked about as a deficit. With Tsongas gone and the nomination at hand, what Democratic troubles may lurk in her legal files? Could her personal strengths be his political weaknesses? What woman's role will she be modeling this year anyway and what do we think of it?

Last week, Hillary's stock slid down the politically correct graph lines. She landed in the middle of the great American mommy wars. When asked about the relationship between his state business and her law firm, she said in frustration, "I suppose I could have stayed home, baked cookies and had teas, but what I decided to do was fulfill my profession ..."

Ouch.

The sound bite went further afield than her careful second thought; "You know, the work that I've done as a professional, as a public advocate has been aimed in part to assure that women can make the choice that they should make — whether it's full-time career, full-time motherhood, some combination ...". But she was right to add, "I think that it is still difficult for people to understand right now that it is a generational change."

Indeed, the signs of generational change are all over this election. George Bush came of age with the unifying "Good War," World War II. Bill Clinton came of age with divisive bad war, Vietnam.

✕ Barbara Bush left Smith College and married George when there was one right choice for women. Hillary Clinton finished law school and married Bill when there was no single right choice. Perhaps no right choice.

Today's first lady was in essence "grandmothered" into her role. But the decisions any younger woman makes are instantly controversial.

Think of Hillary Clinton's revolving appearances in the political profit and loss ledgers. When she held onto her own name in 1980, she was blamed for her husband's defeat. When she gave it up, she was criti-

cized for self-defeat.

When she stuck up for her husband and marriage on *60 Minutes*, she had to prove that she was no Tammy Wynette. When she proved it, the Tammy Wynette fans wanted to know what's wrong with standing by your man.

At campaign rallies, when she speaks with a strong political voice, someone invariably asks, "Why don't you run." If she were as quiet as Shelley Buchanan someone would undoubtedly ask if her husband was an impossible chauvinist.

The expectations for husbands are not much easier, nor is their balancing act. At one moment, Bill Clinton deals with his wife as a partner able to stand on her own two feet. The next minute he's angrily, even chivalrously defending her from Jerry Brown's accusing finger.

As Patricia O'Brien, whose new

*The rules are
changing from
one generation
to another.*

novel, *The Candidate's Wife* is prescient to the point of spookiness says, "You can almost hear the gears creaking as we shift from the rules of one generation to another."

But what are the new rules? Clinton is not the only one who can describe herself as "confused." How do we deal with the two-career couple in a campaign? Or in the White House?

✕ Is Marilyn Quayle the model — a lawyer who turned, in professional frustration, to mystery writing? Could a husband do for a wife what Jack Kennedy did for his brother when he appointed Bobby attorney general?

At this moment, I am told there are a dozen or more reporters in Arkansas searching for improprieties in the working relationship of a lawyer wife and a governor husband. We may yet give Hillary the treatment accorded to both Geraldine Ferraro's feminism and John Zaccaro's finances. It's not a comfortable thought.

As asset and debit, as lawyer and wife, Hillary Clinton is likely to set a standard this year for the new generation of political couples. Sometimes, I am sure, like every other woman, wife, mother, of her generation who ever stops balancing and juggling expectations for a minute, she must wonder: How on earth do you ever get it right?

Ellen Goodman's column originates at the Boston Globe.

ON POLITICS

BY MICHAEL BARONE

Entering the culture combat zone

I suppose I could have stayed home and baked cookies and had teas," said Hillary Clinton, campaigning in a Chicago bakery, badgered by questions about fees from her husband's government to her law firm. "But what I decided to do was fulfill my profession, which I entered before my husband was in public life." It was a statement that many will see as reeking with contempt for women who do not work outside the home. It is also out of line with Hillary Clinton's usual sensitivity to others. Since moving to Arkansas in 1974 from a comfortable Chicago suburb and seven years at Wellesley and Yale Law, she has been campaigning winningly for 18 years, paying respectful attention to those of different cultural backgrounds and even learning from them.

Her cookie-baking comment placed her squarely on one side of what University of Virginia Prof. James Davison Hunter calls a "culture war" between those holding orthodox and those holding progressive values. He says these battles feature "political and social hostility rooted in different systems of moral understanding." That's why debates over things like abortion and school prayer take on meaning beyond the issues themselves. Stands on these issues are taken by millions of voters as attacks on the most important decisions they have made in their lives. Hence, Hillary Clinton's cookie-baking comment cuts to the deepest doubts mothers have about whether they have done the right thing for themselves or their children. Many working mothers would like the extra time for their families that at-home mothers enjoy, while many at-home mothers crave the rewards of outside jobs. Any reference to these tensions invites a backlash—whether the comment is from the left, as Hillary Clinton's was, or the right, like John Silber's in the 1990 Massachusetts governor's race: "We have a generation of abused children by women who have thought a third-rate day-care center was just as good as a first-rate home."

Lasting divisions. It is no use to say that issues that separate Americans along the lines of race, religion, region, ethnic background and values shouldn't matter. Democrats make that claim when the issue is race; Republicans are increasingly making it about abortion. But Americans have been divided more often on cultural lines than along economic lines. Even this year, when voters' attention and candidates' pamphlets have focused on economics, cultural gaps are still striking—by gender among Republicans, by education and race among Democrats. Moreover, both sides are perfectly willing to exploit cultural divisions

when they think they are on the majority side. In recent campaigns, that has given Republicans major advantages.

That leads back to Hillary Clinton, who seems more liberal on some cultural issues than her husband. She's for abortion rights; he's for parental consent and against Medicaid spending for abortions. She strongly supported the ABC child-care program, a proposal defeated in Congress in 1990 that was designed to encourage national standards, centralized service delivery and credentialized care-givers; his Arkansas child care bill, like his education reforms, includes elements of choice. Hillary Clinton, as

Garry Wills points out in *The New York Review of Books*, wants to reverse a traditional legal rule and create a presumption that children are competent except when specific laws say they are unable to make choices. This would make it easier for the state to remove them from parental control, as in some cases, such as child abuse, the state clearly should. It is easy to see how Republicans could attack this as something like Sweden's system, which has produced rampant illegitimacy and weakened family ties.

Yet Hillary Clinton also insists that if children have more rights, they should have more responsibilities. That is a principle she and her husband applied to education reform, even though it cost them the support of the teachers' union. This yoking of rights and responsibilities reinforces traditional patterns of work, family ties and community sanctions. The Clintons also embrace mainstream notions about how antisocial personal behavior drives social problems. "So many of

our social problems are intensely personal in nature," Bill Clinton says, "that they can't be solved except by one-on-one contact." This recognizes the need to do something about the underclass behavior that the typical voter abhors.

Over a long career, Bill and Hillary Clinton have worked carefully to avoid being caught on the wrong side—or any one side—of American culture wars. On many issues, they seem to be populists rather than elitists—believers that people can make decisions for themselves better than elites can. But then comes the elitist note of Hillary Clinton's cookie-baking statement. She would have done better—in fact, a sentence later she did, but it wasn't much noticed—to follow the advice of Barbara Bush in her 1990 Wellesley commencement speech to make an "effort to learn about and respect difference, to be compassionate with one another, to cherish our own identity and to accept unconditionally the same in others."



'Hillary Clinton's statement is out of line with her usual sensitivity to others.'



Running mates: An outspoken woman with her own career, Hillary is best friend, closest advisor and full partner in Clinton's drive toward the White House

IRA WYMAN FOR NEWSWEEK

Will Hillary Hurt or Help?

She's a model of the modern political wife—and a prime target for her husband's opponents

It was the summer of 1974 and Bill Clinton, then a 28-year-old law professor at the University of Arkansas, was making his political debut as a candidate for Congress. His



headquarters was an old bungalow on College Avenue in Fayetteville and his campaign limo was a green AMC Gremlin. Every day, Clinton stamped the district in his Gremlin, then drove back to Fayetteville with pockets full of business cards and scraps of paper from the folks he'd met. This jumble of names and notes—vital intelligence for his election effort—became an untidy pile on his desk, a symbol of the campaign's chronic disorganization. Then Hillary Rodham—a Yale law graduate like Clinton, and soon to be his wife—arrived. Fresh-faced, smart as whip and a born organizer, Hillary "sat right down and went to work," an old friend, Ann Henderson, recalls. "We didn't really have

a campaign manager until she came along. After that, we did."

Eighteen years and eight campaigns later, Hillary Rodham Clinton is still a driving force in her husband's political career: his best friend and closest adviser, a full partner in Clinton's pursuit of the presidency. She is also a professional in her own right, a partner in a prestigious law firm, a lawyer with a blue-chip résumé and a political activist with an impressive track record in children's rights and other liberal causes. She is the very model of a modern political wife—a woman who is clearly disinclined to sit in adoring silence at her husband's side, who is known for her incisive intellect and forthright, take-charge manner. As Clinton himself has said, Hillary is "far better organized, more in control, more intelligent and more eloquent" than he.

All this makes Hillary Clinton a prime

target for the opposition, for Jerry Brown, fighting his rear-guard action in the Democratic primaries, and for Republicans now probing for vulnerabilities in her husband's candidacy. Everything she is, and everything she stands for, is under scrutiny—the ethics of her dual career in politics and the law, her political views, her forceful personality and her open chal-

Hillary Clinton

What is your overall impression of Hillary Clinton, Bill Clinton's wife?

65% Favorable
16% Unfavorable

For this Newsweek Poll, The Gallup Organization interviewed 750 adults by phone on March 19-20. The margin of error is plus or minus 4 percentage points. "Don't know" and other responses not shown. The Newsweek Poll, © 1992 by Newsweek, Inc.

lenge to the traditional wisdom that politicians' wives, like children, are better seen than heard. In recent days, buffeted by criticism from virtually every direction, Hillary Clinton has clearly lowered her profile on the campaign trail, and the Clinton high command now hopes to depict her as a caring wife and mother as well as a high-powered political lawyer. But no one thinks she has been mollified or censored, and few doubt that she will resume her active public role in the weeks ahead. Hillary, they say, is Hillary; nobody tells her what to say or what to do.

The question now is whether she is an asset or a liability to her husband's campaign. Those within the Clinton entourage say Hillary is unquestionably an asset and that her value will only increase as the voters get to know her better. In fact, according to Newsweek's latest poll, 68 percent of the public already views her favorably.

Cookies and tea: But others, including some of Bill Clinton's strongest supporters, worry that Hillary's tendency to say precisely what she thinks has already offended tradition-minded voters. Item one was her comment on the subject of her husband's alleged infidelities to "60 Minutes." "I'm not some little woman standing by her man like Tammy Wynette," she said, heedless of the country-music vote. Item two was her remark to reporters after Brown attacked her for practicing law in Little Rock while her husband was governor. "I suppose I could have stayed home and baked cookies

and had tea," she said. "But what I decided to do was fulfill my profession." That comment "is bound to polarize women," said Susan Howell, a political-science professor at the University of New Orleans. "It's going to turn off people who are committed to traditional values and traditional roles for women." In an interview with Newsweek, Hillary Clinton protested Brown's "unwarranted attack on me, my husband and my law practice." But, she says, "I deeply regret that my comment about baking cookies and having tea was taken out of context. There is nothing in my life or work that could be construed as disparaging women who choose to stay home and raise a family. I honor them. Those are the choices my own mother made."

The other problem, at least potentially, lies in Jerry Brown's attack on her legal activities. Citing a Washington Post story that outlined the close ties between her

firm, the Rose Law Firm, and Arkansas state government, Brown charged that the Bill-and-Hillary connection was tantamount to "corruption." Clinton angrily denied it, and his wife insists that she never profited from the firm's business with the state. But the ethical questions may run deeper than that. For one thing, Hillary Clinton was at least briefly listed as attorney of record for an Arkansas real estate investor and savings and loan operator named James McDougal. According to The New York Times, in 1985 her firm helped McDougal get permission from the state

'rights' by keeping them out of public school." William F. Buckley's National Review warned last week (NR's cover line, over a photo of Clinton, was *STORY—MY WIFE WILL SUE*).

The core issue, arguably, is whether America is really ready for a self-confident, politically active woman like Hillary Clinton as First Lady. What comes will she champion and what advice will she give her husband? How will she handle the sticky question of her career in law? There is no real parallel in history—not even Eleanor Roosevelt, whose liberal activism was end-

lessly criticized by her husband's political enemies. Leading Republicans are even now sharpening their knives for Hillary Clinton. It was Richard Nixon, for example, who in February pointedly observed that a strong wife "makes the husband look like a wimp." And veteran GOP strategist Eddie Mahe says, "Hillary Clinton will have to say at some point in the general election [campaign] that she won't work, or that she'd work as a volunteer for the Red Cross" if her husband is elected president.

Legal expertise: Hillary Clinton is not likely to take Mahe's advice. She maintains that she is "not that significant a target on my own" and that the personal attacks are attempts to divert attention from the campaign's message. She also told Newsweek that she expects to "be involved in helping to bring about changes in those areas in which I have an abiding interest. How? I don't know yet... It may not be that I would be practicing law in a private firm. But

I would be using my legal expertise to help resolve problems."

And finally, there is the inescapable comparison with Barbara Bush—America's grandmother, a gracious symbol of women's traditional supporting role. "I don't think we ought to move from one stereotype of a First Lady to another," Hillary Clinton said. "I admire Barbara Bush and all the women who have found themselves in that position, who have tried to shape the position to their needs and their husbands' needs. The choices a woman makes should be respected." But it isn't that simple. The contrast between Barbara Bush and Hillary Clinton sends an unmistakable message about generational change and women's equality—and those issues could help shape the 1992 election.

CLINTON CAMERON IN LITTLE ROCK WITH LAWYER CLOUTIER, HOWARD EISENBERG AND LOU MCGUCKENHEAD

Lawyer, Mother, Partner, Wife



RICHARD SHAW—ABAJ



JOYCE MONTGOMERY—AP



At a 1980 American Bar Association convention (top left), sharing a secret with daughter Chelsea in 1985, with Bill in 1978

securities board for a stock deal to expand his S&L. The thrill collapsed two years later. McDougal, the Times also reported, had worked for Clinton during his first term as governor and brought the Clintons into a real-estate deal in northwest Arkansas. (The Clintons say they lost money in the deal and deny any wrongdoing.)

There is so far no convincing evidence that either did anything improper as governor or Little Rock lawyer. But the opposition will undoubtedly comb the fine print of each and every legal transaction she handled, looking for irregularities. Fairly or not, that raises the possibility of new allegations of wrongdoing and exposes both of them to negative campaigning—just as her advocacy of liberal causes like children's rights has now exposed her to ideological attack from conservatives. "On her principles, [government] could decide that parents violate their children's

Women, young rate Hillary Clinton highest

By Carol J. Castaneda
and Brian O'Connell
USA TODAY

Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton brags that if you elect him, you get his appealing wife, Hillary, too.

But the USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll finds her appeal mixed. Bill Clinton's campaign partner is more popular with younger adults and women.

Cherryl Redmond, 34, a medical researcher in Hopkinton, Mass., says, "I think she is intelligent, assertive. She knows what she wants and how to get it. She seems to hold up well under pressure."

Who likes Hillary Clinton least? Older people.

Among 18- to 29-year-olds, 45% gave her a favorable rating. That fell to 30% among those 65 and older.

Gladys Head, 62, an Orwigsburg, Pa., retiree, says a president's wife should be a "little more behind him and not in front of him."

Hillary Clinton, she says, "would influence (her husband) too much."

Says Minot, N.D., farmer Mark Klein, 30, "She doesn't seem like she'd be the kind of first-class person Barbara Bush is." Barbara Bush consistently rates above 80% approval.

Klein was particularly offended by Hillary Clinton's exasperated response after Jerry Brown accused her husband of steering state business to her law firm: "I suppose I could have stayed home, baked cookies and had teas."

"That puts down women who choose to be homemakers," says Klein. "That is hard."

That women like her better than men do comes as no surprise to Paul Boller Jr., author of *Presidential Wives*. "Some men don't like talented women," he says. "One thing they fear — the women might be running their husbands."

Still, when asked if Hillary Clinton should be able to keep



AP

CLINTON

The voters' tally sheet

Hillary Clinton's support of her husband and recent comments about her own legal career have thrust her into the political spotlight.

What voters say about Arkansas' first lady:

How she is viewed by all voters:

Favorable 39%
Unfavorable 26%

By 18- to 29-year-olds:

Favorable 45%
Unfavorable 17%

By women:

Favorable 41%
Unfavorable 24%

Should she quit her job if Bill Clinton is elected president?

Yes 29%
No 62%

working as a lawyer if her husband is elected, 61% of men and 63% of women said yes.

Not Sandra Knowles, 32, an Arlington, Texas, homemaker: "If someone is going to be the first lady of the country, they should lay their careers aside. Any good man has a good woman behind him."



The first. America knew her as "Lady Washington."



Outspoken. Critics called Abigail Adams "Mrs. President."



Precedent. The "first lady" title started with Dolley Madison.



Lou Hoover. For the Girl Scouts

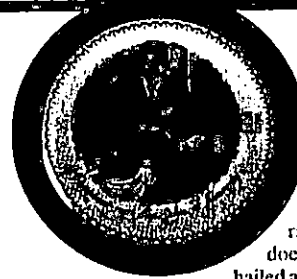
DATELINE

THE LAST WORD ON FIRST LADIES

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Martha Washington might have understood that biting remark—"I suppose I could have stayed home and baked cookies and had teas"—that Hillary Clinton made last week about being both a lawyer and a politician's wife. "I am more like a state prisoner than anything else," America's first lady once moaned. "I cannot do as I like . . . and stay home a great deal." Sarah Polk vowed never to accept such a fate. Just before James Polk became president in 1845, she announced that she would "neither keep house nor make butter." Instead, she edited her husband's speeches.

Next week, with the opening of a major exhibition at the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History, the public will get its first comprehensive look at how first ladies viewed their roles. "Old-line first lady fans will find the exhibit too politicized," says museum director Roger Kennedy, "but feminists won't find it politicized enough." Gone are the dozens of mannequins that populated the museum's First Ladies Hall for 23 years, each clad in an inaugural gown. Exposure to light was wrecking the old dresses, so most have been stashed away. But a score of garments are seen in the new exhibit, from Martha Washington's silk taffeta gown patterned with bugs and bees to Nancy Reagan's red designer suit and a camouflage Army jacket Barbara Bush wore in the Persian Gulf.

But, as Kennedy stresses, "this show is not about pretty costumes, but women wearing pretty costumes." A caption beside Abigail Adams's portrait tells what she thought of husband John. "I cannot say that I think you very generous to the Ladies," she wrote him, "for whilst you are proclaiming peace and good will to Men, Emancipating all Nations, you insist upon retaining absolute power over Wives." For



much of America's history, another caption notes, first ladies had a special responsibility: "As ladies, they were expected to stay out of politics." Lou Hoover invited a black congressman's wife to tea and was vilified for "defiling the White House." The social-reform views of Franklin Roosevelt's wife inspired GOP campaign buttons that read, "We Don't Want Eleanor Either." When critics assailed Betty Ford for backing the equal-rights amendment, she responded that "being ladylike does not require silence." Yet, in the 1870s, Lucy Hayes—hailed as "the new woman" because she was the first presidential spouse to finish college—refused to say whether women should be allowed to vote.

The question that Hillary Clinton posed—must women stay at home—is as familiar to Pennsylvania Avenue as to Main Street. When one newspaper termed Mamie Eisenhower a "career woman," it corrected itself to say that her career was Ike. A *New York Times* headline summed up Mamie's role: "Being First Lady Is a Man-Sized Job." One safe role has been to push noncontroversial social causes.

Dolley Madison sponsored the Washington City Orphan Asylum. Nancy Reagan told young people to "just say no" to drugs. And Barbara Bush urges them to read. The current first lady, one Smithsonian caption reports, has taken "a vow of silence" on controversies. "Barbara Bush projected an image of involved, concerned, humanitarian service, while assuring the public that she exercised no real political power."

Harry Truman called his wife "the boss," but no one ever thought that Bess ran America. Edith Wilson was the one who managed executive affairs—"my stewardship"—at her husband Woodrow's bedside. The most audacious first spouse emerged a few years later. "Well, Warren, I have got you the presidency," Florence Harding told her mate. "What are you going to do with it?"

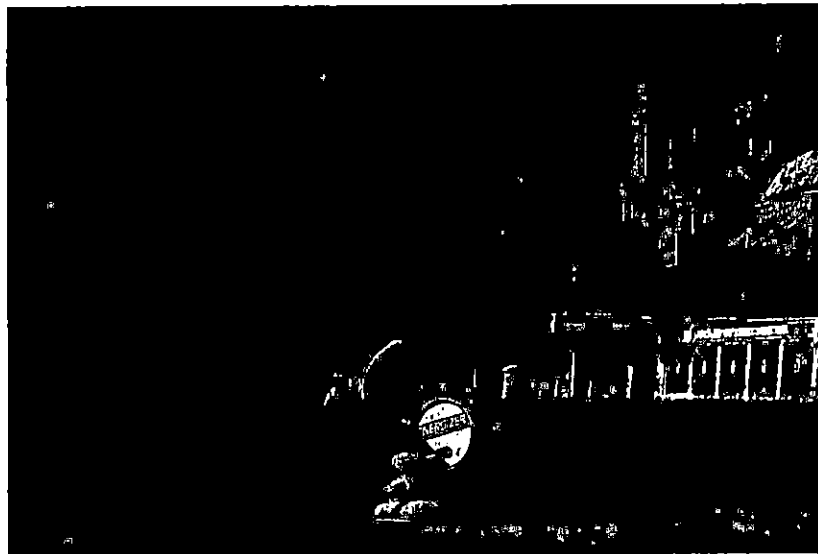
BY JO ANN TOOLEY



Mrs. FDR. A civil-rights pioneer



For ERA. Carter and Ford speak out.



NOTRE DAME, PARIS, FRANCE. 11:07 A.M. STILL GOING. NOTHING OUTLASTS THE ENERGIZER.

MONDAY, MARCH 23, 1992

A Political Wife Creates Second Life as Novelist

■ **Books:** When official duties didn't call, Marilyn Quayle and her sister collaborated by modern on a thriller. Their hero is a Republican, of course.

By KATHERINE STEPHEN
SPECIAL TO THE TIMES

WASHINGTON—This spring seems to be a season of new beginnings for the Quayles. After a widely discussed reassessment of the vice president and his wife in the press, it is rumored that in the corridors of power, Dan Quayle is being taken more seriously.

It is widely expected that the Quayles will seek to occupy the White House in 1996, and if Marilyn Quayle has had difficulty with the media, it stems from her being perceived as the more intelligent, heavyweight half of the partnership.

But the subject today is lightweight and probably without political pitfalls—Marilyn and sister Nancy Northcott's thriller novel, "Embrace the Serpent," just out from Crown. And Marilyn Quayle asserts in her way that brooks no nonsense that her presence here has nothing to do with politics.

"I represent myself—we've separated out from the 'wife of' business," she says, even as she is surrounded by the trappings of a political wife.

Once Quayle, 42, and her sister, a 47-year-old former Tennessee English teacher, are installed in a hotel suite where they're meeting the press, at least two Secret Service agents stand by, identifiable by the coiled transparent wires leading from their ears.

The Quayle entourage also includes a Crown representative and a woman described as a personal friend; she produces her own tape recorder lest there be any confusion about what is said.

Quayle says she derived no advantage in the book project from her proximity to power—even her staff didn't know she was writing it until word appeared in the newspapers.

"We studiously kept away from any people I knew in government who could have access to documents," she says. "We used no research facilities of the government, so nobody could accuse me of misusing my position," news that may disappoint readers expecting the ultimate insider novel.

The night before this five-city publicity tour began, a group of friends and acquaintances gathered for a book party in Washington. Quayle and Northcott signed books, and among those attending the all-women event were Secretary of Labor Lynn Martin, former Secretary of the Interior Anne McLaughlin and former Nancy Reagan press secretary Sheila Tate. A larger party is planned tonight at the National Press Club, and the authors will be feted in Los Angeles on April 2 by their publisher and L.A. friends.

"So far the word of mouth has been incredible," says Quayle. "There's been a hiatus in the thriller business because of the fall of the Soviet Union. This is one of the first books to bridge that gap—which is attracting at least as much interest as who wrote it."

An early review in the local newspaper was less enthusiastic. Citing a sample from the book, the critic for the Washington Post observed, "Prose like that is the making of cringes," adding that, for the most part, the sisters write with "careful diligence."

"Embrace the Serpent" covers the four days following Fidel Castro's fictional demise. His brother, Raoul, thought to be Castro's likely successor, is assassinated. A cabinet minister, Cesar Valles, who is believed to represent a democratizing tendency, gets set to take power, enlisting the support of the United States.

The book's politics are not surprising. All is not as it seems with Valles—he is a puppet of bad-guy Russian Communists and financed by unidentified worse-guy Middle Eastern Arabs—and only a secret band of Cuban freedom fighters and a heroic black Republican junior senator from Georgia can save Cuba and the United States from the quagmire into which they are about to plunge.

Some of the impetus for the book comes from Quayle's friendship with a former political prisoner in Cuba, Armando Valladares, who wrote a book about his ordeal. "It's an absolutely amazing story and so tragic, and that made us feel that other people would find it very interesting," Northcott says.

The book's Democrats fare little better than the Communists and their Arab financiers. The portrait in the book of a Democratic U.S. President is that of a stupid, extremely image-conscious and impressionable man.

When asked about this, Marilyn Quayle comes alive, a rare moment of spontaneity during the press encounter. "You've got his personality exactly right," she fairly shouts with genuine delight, a hint of how very rewarding it has been to pen such a portrait, even given that the characters are composites, the authors say.

Quayle allows that she and her sister intended a degree of verisimilitude in the novel's central idea: "In life there are things that aren't always as they appear, and one really needs to be very careful, especially if you're in a position where you can change the world."

Both sisters point out that the book is also intended to represent the many hard-working people in government who rarely get their due.

Quayle and Northcott, who say they wrote the thriller "for fun," worked together via computer modems. Quayle found that she had the most time to write while traveling, working aboard Air Force II, where interruptions were few.

Richard Marek, the authors' editor at Crown, has nothing but praise for the professionalism of the pair, who quickly rewrote much of the novel after dramatic changes in the former Soviet Union. "I love the interaction between them," Marek says, "it was absolutely genuine. We knew we were into something good with this book."

There was a first printing of 75,000 copies, a large number for a first novel in this genre. The sisters have declined to reveal the amount of any advance they may have received.

The Quayle name, which appears above Northcott on the book cover, may not have at first attracted attention. At one Washington bookstore where the book had been on display for a week before the publicity tour began, a clerk said no copies had been sold. Olsson's, a venerable Georgetown bookstore, reported "above average" sales, boosted by one purchase of 15 copies.

When any probing question comes her way—one that might have political repercussions—Quayle passes it on: "I defer to my older sister," she jokes.

On the point of how much their book is a reflection of themselves, the sisters mildly disagree.

"It's obviously going to be our beliefs and our feelings—we're not going to write a book that doesn't reflect us," says Northcott.

"Somewhat," says Quayle, in the tone of the careful political wife.

Washington Yarns, From The Inside

New Crop of Capital Novels Sown by the Well-Connected

By Donnie Radcliffe
Washington Post Staff Writer

She knew most of them but a few in the line car-
rying copies of the book were strangers. Not hostile
strangers, unless you considered the press hostile,
but even they seemed willing to give her this night.
In the National Press Club ballroom, the air was
pregnant with all things possible.

As she signed her name beneath "Best Wishes"
for the umpteenth time, she could not stifle her
smile. The wife of a prominent politician, she had
once been told she could have no career of her own,
that it would be unseemly, unwisely, fraught with
political peril.

And yet... and yet, here she was this Monday
night, a published writer, being feted by well-known
faces—among them, a couple of senators, a couple
of congressmen and the president's chief of staff.
And here was the dashing young vice president
himself. Her husband!

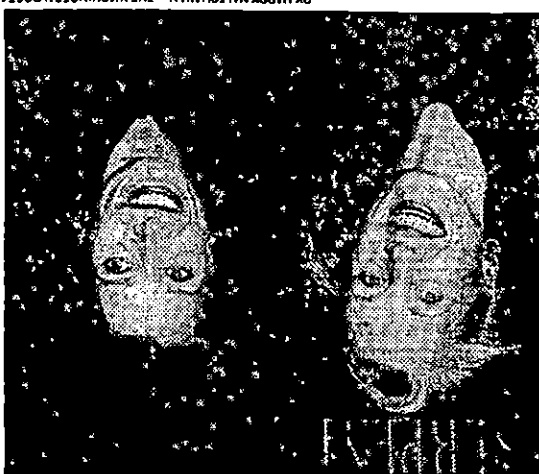
Egad, it had all the makings of a Washington
novel...

An adulterous presidential candidate, a power-
hungry White House chief of staff, a political strug-
gle in the wake of Fidel Castro's death—care to
read more?

The publishing world hopes so, and it is offering
up an election year caldron of thickening political
plots that combine power, sex, corruption and in-
trigue. These are the latest installments in the
genre known as the Washington novel, and as al-

ways, there may or may not be any resemblance to
lasting literature.

See NOVELS, B6, Col. 1



Sisters Nancy Northcott, left, and Marilyn Quayle at the book-signing reception last night.
BY HARRY MALICHUK—THE WASHINGTON POST

This season's crop has at least one distinc-
tion. If some of their characters suggest real-life
"names," it might not be a coincidence: The
people creating them are real-life "names" too,
although not necessarily famous ones. But Mar-
ilyn Quayle, Patricia O'Brien and Catherine
Mann, by virtue of careers or marriages, are
presumed to have Washington stories to tell.
And insider stuff that has been fascinating
Americans ever since the granddaddy of Wash-
ington novels, Henry Adams's "Democracy,"
came out a century ago.

Take budding author Quayle, who is writing
in collaboration with her sister, Nancy North-
cott. (The two start on an 11-city book tour to-
day, after coasting at their Press Club book
party last night.)

Their first novel, "Embrace the Serpent,"
published by Crown, is actually a four-day
countdown set in Washington and Havana,
where power brokers are embroiled in conspir-
acy over who will succeed Fidel Castro. He's
out of the picture in the first chapter, having
"suffered the ultimate and irreversible insult,"
death, in the words of the authors. Never mind
that Quayle and Northcott have never been to
Cuba. Both have read Armando Valladares'
book "Against All Hope." The authors also
talked to several Cuban immigrants. "People we
knew," says Quayle. "We didn't just pick up the
phone book and say, 'Oh, this is a Cuban sur-
name.'"

What Quayle may be expected to bring to
her subject is firsthand knowledge of how
Washington operates, the Washington "detail,"
as her editor at Crown, Richard Marek, ex-
plains it. "I've lived it, of course," she says,
though she admits that she reduced the vice
president to a cameo appearance in her story
because of the one she's married to. "People
would ask," she says. "It's just easier."

Another reason also might be that her fic-
tional president is a not-too-sweet Democrat.
And that all the bad guys in Washington are
Democrats.

"This is real life," says Quayle blandly.
Patricia O'Brien's first novel, "The Candi-

Page 1 of 2

date's Wife," published by Simon & Schuster, is an eerily timeless tale of marital infidelity and the toll a campaign takes on the candidate's family. O'Brien gleaned her observations from both sides of the notebook, having served as Knight-Ridder's White House correspondent in the early Reagan years and as press secretary to Michael Dukakis when he ran for president.

To O'Brien it's a given that political marriages aren't always honest, just as it's a given that political wives, like their husbands, are ambitious beings. "They wouldn't be there otherwise," she says. "It's wrong to think of them as total victims, wrong to think of them as self-sacrificial. Most people in politics are there because of the rewards and are not being dragged kicking and screaming. Ambitious men tend to have women who are ambitious too, at least in this generation."

O'Brien's fictional treatment of a nonfictional situation makes no pretense at being a *roman à clef*. "I didn't want to write something where the principal effort on my part and on the reader's would be figuring out who everybody was," she says.

Former "Entertainment Tonight" correspondent Catherine Mann, whose third novel, "Capitol Hill," is out as a Dell paperback, was a name long before she married Rep. Fred Grandy (Iowa). Still, she acknowledges, "everybody asks questions about Fred—is he going to run statewide?—and that gets me on shows. I didn't marry him to get on shows but it sure helps."

Her book is a romantic thriller, the first she's set in Washington, with all the requisite characters—the president with a past, the White House chief of staff on the take, the gorgeous and successful public relations consultant etc. What intrigues her about Washington are the "enormous egos" populating the place. "People are just fascinated by Washington personalities, and that makes great fodder for spinning yarns."

Mann finds Washington "a pretty chauvinistic town, and when you're the spouse of somebody it doesn't matter what you've done," so she decided to live and write in Iowa. "I think my publisher would be very happy if I came up with a

good mystery that was here [Iowa] about somebody who couldn't stand living in Washington."

Still, the market seems to favor books about people who can stand living here. And yet Martin Morse Wooster, Washington editor of Reason magazine, thinks real life has yet to be recorded in Washington fiction.

"New York editors have stereotypes about Washington. They don't think about the possibility of someone writing a novel that would attempt to capture all classes in this city the way Tom Wolfe attempted to capture all classes in 'Bonfire of the Vanities,'" he says. "I can hardly imagine Marilyn Quayle doing a couple of weeks' reporting in Anacostia or see her spending any time in Prince George's County, whereas the people who live there make up quite a bit of what makes Washington the wonderful city it is."

Says Washington literary agent Raphael Sagalyn: "I would love to find the Washington novel which truly does make its mark the same way 'Advise and Consent' did. There's a huge market for it, but it has to be fiction on a grand scale."

Peter Osnos, vice president and associate publisher of Random House, speaks for many when he says that a good novel will work re-

gardless of whose name is on the jacket. "Sure, there is a certain extra fizz to a book written by somebody who is well known," Osnos says. "It's easier to get name recognition on the wife of the vice president than on the name of a beginning novelist from Frederick. But people buy novels to be entertained, amused, titillated."

Marilyn Quayle is defensive about the recognition factor, though she concedes that her name helped "a little. . . . One thing that I didn't want, and that Nancy didn't want, was for anybody to say, 'Okay, they're just trading on the name, it's a lousy book. The only reason it was published was because of the name.'"

Marek acknowledges that he may have read the authors' partial first draft "quicker" because of the Quayle name but says he would never have brought out a first printing of 75,000 copies on the basis of name alone. He says he liked the book's "pace" and "the kind of inventiveness" Quayle and her sister exhibited in following suggestions he made. "And also it was her commitment to do more than one book that had a great deal to do with our interest."

Washington Monthly's Wooster is critical of Washington "insider" efforts. "The problem with having politicians or their wives write [novels]," he says, "is that they almost never can muster

the distance or lack of ego that it takes to be accurate observers of other people's lives."

"They seem to be far more consumed with portraying wish fulfillments for themselves: men who are incredibly powerful, who are unbelievably competent—sort of an elected James Bond—women who are very beautiful and have nice figures and also are very competent."

For her part, Marilyn Quayle, a former congressional wife who has stuck around town for nearly 16 years, says she fabricated her plot with Northcott—to whose home in Tullahoma, Tenn., she was hooked up by modern by taking "what we thought could logically be a scenario and doing everything from logic."

What made their collaboration all the sweeter was picking up her Washington Post one recent morning to read a front-page headline: "Cuban Exiles Split on Life After Castro; Miami Groups in Bitter Conflict Over Who Might Be in Charge."

"We thank [The Post] very much," Quayle says with undisguised glee. "It's amazing to read the paper. I think that's why we decided to do it really, because we like puzzles and to us this was a puzzle, taking reality and making it the way we wanted it to be. If we could make history—"

"What would happen?" says Northcott, completing her sister's sentence.

In all these Washington novels it is power, what Quayle and Northcott call the "subtle corrupter," that every writer is expected to address. Marilyn Quayle says that kind of corruption couldn't happen to her.

"Dan and I have all been raised, Nancy's been raised the same way, that there's a higher authority and commitment," Quayle says. "People who are in the center can have real problems if they're not careful. Not just Washington. And that's what we were trying to say. There are different levels of power and different levels of corruption. It's something endemic to society."

Maybe, although the publicity for hers and other Washington novels would have the reader believe there's something special about power and corruption in Washington. In any case, Washington authors tend to write about what they know. And they should, says Cornelia Bessie of Pantheon Books. "Although," she adds, "I can't resist telling a story that Carson McCullers once told me. She was halfway through 'The Heart Is a Lonely Hunter' and her husband came in and said, 'Hey, I just found out there's a convention of deaf mutes an hour's drive away, and you're writing about a deaf-mute. We must go there.' Carson said, 'What, and run my book?'"

Pat Nixon at 80: Still her family's strongest link



Pat and Richard Nixon at the Nixon Library before its dedication in July 1990

By Trude B. Feldman
SPECIAL TO THE WASHINGTON TIMES

PARK RIDGE, N.J.
To hear Pat Nixon talk on the eve of her 80th birthday, one would think her life has been ordinary.

"All lives have triumphs and tragedies, laughter and tears," she says, "and mine has been no different."

But to her husband, Richard Milhous Nixon, 37th president of the United States and the only one ever to resign, Pat Nixon is far from ordinary.

"As a wife, mother, and grandmother," he says, "she has been an unfailing source of support, guidance and love as well as a tower of strength for us — in both good and bad times."

Almost 18 years have passed since the Watergate affair forced Mr. Nixon from the presidency.

The picture of the former first lady standing stoically as her husband bid an emotional farewell to his

White House staff on Aug. 9, 1974, is one of the nation's clearest remembrances of her.

Known as a private person, usually silent about her personal feelings and political opinions, Mrs. Nixon has said little in the years that have followed Watergate. Her few public appearances have been brief, the latest in November at the dedication of the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library in Simi Valley, Calif.

But in a rare interview before her birthday March 16, Mrs. Nixon revealed that for many years she has worried that because of the Watergate scandal history might neglect her husband's accomplishments. She is convinced that someday people will see that Mr. Nixon never sought personal gain.

"He took the presidency very seriously," Mrs. Nixon says. "His ultimate goal was to achieve a peaceful world, one built on trust and respect. I feel sure that when his contributions are assessed, he will go into history as a great president, and a loving president."

Reflecting on Mr. Nixon's years as president and vice president, she is able to put it all into a very personal perspective.

"The memories of wonderful experiences — the travel, the people around the world, the great successes of my husband's administration in bringing peace and prosperity — will always be with me. So will the memories of the difficult times."

"It is all part of the whole. What really matters is whether, after all of that, you remain strong and a comfort to your loved ones. I have tried to meet that test."

The Nixons, whose home in Park Ridge, N.J., is not far from New York City, have been married almost 52 years. The former president, now 79, is quick to talk about the positive role his wife has played in his life.

"Throughout all our ordeals, Pat has been stronger than I," Mr. Nixon says. "She is at her best when the going gets rough."

"Whether it was confronting political crises, facing a killer mob in Caracas, standing up to anti-war demonstrations or going through the grief of that long Watergate pe-

riod, she was always stronger."

As for her opposition — at first — to his resignation and her belief that he should have continued to fight to remain in office, Mr. Nixon says, "At the time, Pat stood with me though her heart was breaking."

"I still marvel at how she went 48 hours without sleep while supervising

the packing of our personal belongings for the move to California after my resignation."

"When we returned to California, my near-fatal illness [from phlebitis] was also a greater burden on her," he says. "So, in addition to keeping up her own spirits, she had to sustain me."

"Our quiet dinners alone were often the only respite I had from the trauma of those dark days. Without Pat, I would not have made it."

Mrs. Nixon was born Thelma Catherine Patricia Ryan in Ely, Nev., to Kate and William Ryan. Because she was born on the eve of St. Patrick's Day, her father called her his St. Patrick's Day babe. She has been known ever since as Pat or Patricia.

Raised during the Depression in a five-room farmhouse in Artesia, Calif., Pat Ryan was orphaned while in high school. She later worked her way through college, graduating with honors from the University of Southern California.

Mr. Nixon's brother, Edward, was 10 when he met Pat Ryan at the time she became engaged to his brother. He remembers her red hair and "vivacious spirit."

"Today I would conclude that foremost among my brother's great achievements was when he married Pat," he says.

Before the future president married Pat on June 21, 1940, he told her she was destined to be a great lady.

"What strikes me today," Mr. Nixon recalls, "is that I could not have then anticipated how enormously strong she would be, and how much her support would mean to me during our difficult experiences."

Others close to Mrs. Nixon echo her husband's sentiments.

"My mother has an inner faith in God that gives her strength to carry on," says her elder daughter, Tricia Nixon Cox.

"She believes in someone greater than herself, and that belief has been a comfort during trying times," Mrs. Cox says. "I hope that when I reach



The Nixons have a 50th anniversary picture taken with their children and grandchildren in June 1990; a gallery of first ladies (from the left): Lady Bird



Johnson, Pat Nixon, Nancy Reagan, Barbara Bush, Rosalyn Carter and Betty Ford at the dedication of the Reagan Library; the Nixons last summer.



my 80th birthday I will have lived my life as unselfishly and as constructively and with even half as much grace under pressure as has Mother."

The Rev. Billy Graham, who has known the Nixons for 42 years, also speaks of Mrs. Nixon's devotion and debunks the long-held perception that the Nixon marriage lacked affection.

"That's not so," Mr. Graham says. "They have always been close . . . and in love with one another."

"But the Watergate ordeal really proved Pat's loyalty to him. It was a devastating time for them, yet she stood by him with dignity. The entire country admired that."

Pat Nixon devotes most of her time these days to her four grandchildren, with whom she celebrated her birthday.

Daughter Julie and her husband, David Eisenhower, have two daughters, Jennie, 13, and Melanie, 7, and a son, Alex, 11. Tricia and Edward Cox have one son, Christopher, 13.

"It has been a great joy to watch them grow up," Mrs. Nixon says. "We share so much, and I value each one for his or her special character and interests."

Despite suffering strokes in 1976 and 1983, Mrs. Nixon says she is in fairly good health today. She spends much of her time reading newspapers and books, gardening occasionally and taking walks with her husband. They also watch sporting events, movies and the news on television.

If Pat Nixon could relive her 80 years, what would she do differently?

"I have always tried my best to do what I thought was the right thing at the time" she says. "So I wouldn't have changed anything. I've been blessed with a wonderful husband, two caring daughters and sons-in-law and four really special grandchildren. They have each enhanced my life."

Trude B. Feldman is a veteran White House correspondent who covered the Nixon administration.
NEW YORK TIMES SPECIAL FEATURES

COMMENT

In defense of cookie bakers

They call me "Cookie." I know cookies. I love cookies. Cookie bakers are my friends. When Hillary Clinton, would-be first lady, spoke of "staying home and baking cookies" and "standing by your man" as if they were deadly sins for modern women, I was stunned. How can the Clintons make motherhood, monogamy and now cookie baking politically incorrect and expect to win?

I asked Joyce, a Ph.D. in business administration, if she still baked cookies for her four kids. "Kids, the church, everybody," she said. "It's the extra chocolate chips that do it."

This intrepid cookie baker is also a class mom, supports the Girl Scouts and does charity for the poor. She didn't know all that was politically incorrect.

Linda, a double-master's in microbiology and home economics who stayed home, runs a small business and bakes cookies, uses a highly fragrant vanilla in hers. And she volunteers for conservation projects. If she's politically incorrect, it's one of those conundrums the Democrats are famed for.

I have a \$150,000 education, but when I'm not tending my kids — and the kids of moms on my street who work (because they have to) — I'm helping a project on gifted education or pitching in for some local political crusade. The last tea I attended was when I was running for mayor. Here, teas are a common candidate-voter get-together. Maybe Ms. Clinton isn't familiar with the more updated form of "giving a tea."



By Alcestis R. "Cookie" Oberg, a Dickinson, Texas, writer.

In fact, one suspects she'd be surprised to find out how important cookie bakers are in America. They not only carry the water for mothers "too busy" to get involved with their own kids' activities, these women "who don't work" often also have full-time care of an elderly or infirm relative. They are frequently the organizers of school, church, environmental, political and community activities. They are the backbone of every volunteer program and constitute the only sturdy island of dependability and trust in a teetering, shifting society.

The Clintons' condescension toward family values, especially toward homemakers, is a serious mistake, an arrogant attitude that's separated so many mainstream women from the Democratic Party's feminist agenda. Nobody knocks Hillary Clinton's choice to become a lawyer. But how about some respect for the choice of other women, many highly educated, to nurture their families and their communities rather than pursue an ambitious, and perhaps empty, career?

And as for cookies, well, it's the real butter and dash of brandy that does it for mine. Perhaps Ms. Clinton can use a cup of humility and a heaping tablespoon of tolerance for other women's choices in hers.

SCIENCE & SOCIETY



A form of thought. Some ideas can be expressed only through the visual arts.

Looking for a renaissance

The campaign to revive education in the arts

At a time when reformers are struggling to remake a failing educational system, the South Bronx's St. Augustine School of the Arts stands as a model of the possible. Serving kids in the nation's poorest congressional district, a blighted neighborhood where only 1 in 4 children will ever graduate from high school, the school uses a curriculum built around music, dance, the visual arts and creative writing to defy the odds: Ninety-five percent of St. Augustine students are reading at or above grade level. All but a few will go on to high school and graduate. And though many come from single-parent families damaged by drugs, AIDS or violence, virtually all are model students: disciplined, cooperative, confident.

Successes like St. Augustine's are fueling a growing campaign nationwide to restore the arts to their former place in the basic curriculum. Mounting evidence that comprehensive programs in the arts can radically improve graduation rates, grades and overall achievement levels has captured the attention of an array of groups with a vested interest in educational reform, from the Future Business Leaders of America to the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics.

These seemingly unlikely advocates are taking on those who view music, dance and painting as frills that can safely be axed in a budget crunch. This week, two suits are being filed by the American Civil Liberties Union and 26 local Louisiana school districts, both charging that the state has failed to provide an adequate

education for its children. Supported by music educator Ellis Marsalis (father of jazz stars Wynton and Branford) and New Orleans Parish District Attorney Harry Connick Sr. (father of pianist Harry Connick Jr.), the suits focus in part on the state's arts-impooverished schools and recent attempts to save money by further slashing arts education. The Louisiana plaintiffs have modeled their complaint on a successful suit brought against Kentucky in 1989. Among the remedial actions ordered by the state supreme court was the provision of "sufficient grounding in the arts to enable each student to appreciate his or her cultural and historical heritage."

Not critical? The lawsuits in Kentucky and Louisiana are testimony to the dismal state of arts education nationwide. Only nine states mandate arts curricula for all high-school students. In New York City, two thirds of the 600 public elementary schools have no art or music teachers. Fewer than 1 percent of all students in Los Angeles County receive comprehensive arts education, and 30 percent fewer juniors and seniors now study music than in the '50s. The arts are simply not viewed as critical to the job of preparing young people for the workplace—an attitude that was reflected in the six National Educational Goals announced by the president and the governors in 1990. No mention was made of the arts.

That stance may be softening. In a speech last week to the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities, Secretary of Education Lamar Alexander outlined plans for an America 2000 Arts Partnership. His proposals included a national clearinghouse to share information on community-based arts education programs and a national center for arts education to develop curricula and standards.

Such initiatives clearly stop short of a major commitment. Yet even if school is viewed in the narrowest possible terms—as preparation for standardized tests and the job market—research has shown arts education to be an asset. Recently, a College Entrance Examination Board study found that students who took more than four years of music and arts scored 34 points higher on verbal SATs and 18 points better on math SATs than those

who took music for less than one year. At the University of California at Los Angeles, a study of students served by the Music Center of L.A. County's Artist-in-Residence program found improvement in reading, writing and speaking skills, social studies, science and math.

The explanation for such improvements is not mysterious, given the close connection between disciplines such as music and math. Through the study of rhythmic and harmonic structures, for instance, fractions and ratios acquire concrete meaning. In fact, the study of music may affect basic brain development. Scientists at the University of California at Irvine are finding that musical

guistic and logical-mathematical abilities. Equally important, he believes, is the development of spatial, musical, bodily-kinesthetic, interpersonal and intrapersonal skills. "The arts are a major area of human cognition, one of the ways in which we know about the world and express our knowledge," he says. "Much of what is said in the arts cannot be said in another way. To withhold artistic means of understanding is as much of a malpractice as to withhold mathematics."

Into the classroom. Karen Gallas, a teacher at Lawrence School in Brookline, Mass., has had great success teaching biology by putting Gardner's philosophy to work. Her students are required to



Talent search. ArtsConnection trains young dancers in the New York City public schools.

training at a very early age, even before the development of verbal skills, stimulates neural activity. They believe music exercises the brain and expands a child's thinking ability. The visual arts are similarly useful. A study by the National Arts Education Research Center found that nonart majors significantly improved their understanding of geometry through the study of sculpture and architecture. Among female students, who typically lag in math skills, the gains nearly closed the gender gap.

Such alternative approaches to education owe much of their inspiration to the work of Howard Gardner and Project Zero at Harvard's Graduate School of Education. Educators miss a great opportunity, argues Gardner, by focusing too narrowly on the development of lin-

guistic and logical-mathematical abilities. Equally important, he believes, is the development of spatial, musical, bodily-kinesthetic, interpersonal and intrapersonal skills. "The arts are a major area of human cognition, one of the ways in which we know about the world and express our knowledge," he says. "Much of what is said in the arts cannot be said in another way. To withhold artistic means of understanding is as much of a malpractice as to withhold mathematics."

Historically, American educators shared that view. For most of the country's history, arts instruction was well financed and a source of great prestige, according to Diana Korzenik of the Massachusetts College of Art. Skill in the visual arts was seen as critical to those entering the professions, including the

sciences. "The way you understand an organism or solve a problem," said renowned biologist Louis Agassiz, "is by drawing it." While American educators lost sight of this connection in the '60s, Japan and West Germany continue to require arts education for all students from kindergarten through high school. That they also design the most competitive products on the world market has not gone unnoticed by America's corporate leaders, who have become outspoken champions of arts education.

Job skills. In fact, despite the current perception of the arts as dispensable luxuries, a growing number of educators believe they provide valuable preparation for the working world. Indeed, the U.S. Department of Labor issued a report last summer urging schools to teach for the workplace of the future. The skills they called for—the capacity for working in teams, communication, creative thinking, self-esteem, imagination and invention—are precisely those found to be fostered by arts education.

Outside of a few states heavily invested in arts education—notably South Carolina and Minnesota—it has been left to the nation's museums and orchestras to expose kids to the arts. The most comprehensive program offered nationally is that developed by New York City's Lincoln Center Institute, which provides intensive teacher training and long-term artist residencies in the public schools: the program has been replicated in 15 cities. Similarly far-reaching are the Music Center of L.A. County's multicultural workshops and performances, which reach 1 million students a year with programming in French, Tagalog, Navajo, Korean, Spanish and Chinese. More-targeted programs, such as Jacques D'Amboise's National Dance Institute and the Dance Theater of Harlem, provide arts training to inner city kids and often locate talent that might otherwise be overlooked.

Though some of these programs have received support from the National Endowment for the Arts, it has only been

in the last several years that the agency has begun working directly with the states to achieve the goal established at its founding: to make the arts a basic part of every kid's education. Not generally a favorite agency among conservatives, the NEA in this instance can appeal to advocates of a traditional education built around the great works of Western civilization. It was Plato, after all, who called music "a more potent instrument than any other" for education, and schools like St. Augustine are modeled on the cathedral schools of the Renaissance and the classical *lycée*.

Ultimately, the greatest value of the arts may be that they offer children the means to envision other worlds, to know that they can transform reality with the exercise of their own creative will. For kids whose horizons extend no further than the dead ends of the inner city, that leap of imagination can be critical.

BY MIRIAM HORN WITH
JILL SIEDER IN NEW ORLEANS

The 1992 Campaign

Women

Female Candidates Poised For Breakthroughs in 1992

By R. W. APPLE JR.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 21 — A wave of victories for women in this week's Illinois primary, plus relatively heavy turnouts by women in other early contests, have raised hope among women active in politics that a long-anticipated electoral breakthrough may be close at hand.

"Sometimes you feel like Chicken Little in this business," said Harriett Woods, president of the National Women's Political Caucus. "We always seem right on the verge of making it, then don't quite do it. But this year I'm beginning to think it's going to happen in a very big way."

Celinda Lake, a Democratic poll taker who works for many female candidates, said there had been "a surge of women under 50 into political activism, with a lot of independents voting in primaries and several Democratic primary electorates this year turning out to have been 57, 58, 59 percent female."

She said Emily's List, a fund-raising organization that backs women in politics, had doubled the number of its contributors since Justice Clarence Thomas, who is widely seen as hostile to abortion rights, moved onto the Supreme Court.

Backlash From Thomas

In Illinois on Tuesday, Carol Moseley Braun won the Democratic senatorial nomination, beating Senator Alton J. Dixon, who lost for the first time in 30 elections stretching back to the Truman Administration. She entered the race because of her anger about the confirmation of Justice Thomas.

The feelings about Justice Thomas were particularly evident in the Chi-

The abortion issue seems to be motivating many voters.

cago suburbs, where white women, many of whom were opposed to his confirmation, gave Ms. Braun, who is black, 62 percent of their vote, while Mr. Dixon, who voted for his confirmation, received only 10 percent from them, according to surveys of voters leaving the polls. Statewide, she got 43 percent of the vote from women in the three-way race and 34 percent of men's votes.

Women also won nominations for state senator, state representative, the State Supreme Court, Cook County judgeships and the Metropolitan Water District, knocking out some locally well-known figures in the process. "The whole day was a woman's day," said Richard Mell, a Chicago alderman.

Nancy Kaszak, who ousted State Representative Al Ronan, a powerful Democrat on Chicago's North Side, attacked him for having missed crucial votes on abortion and insurance coverage for mammography. She said she attracted large numbers of female voters in their 40's, 50's and even 60's.

Issue Among Republicans

In addition, abortion-rights supporters backed by women's organizations and groups favoring abortion rights won a series of dramatic, if less-noticed, victories that could foretell trouble for President Bush and other Republicans this fall.

The most important was the defeat of State Representative Penny Pullen, a protégée of the writer Phyllis Schlafly and perhaps the best-known anti-abortion campaigner in the Midwest. Ms. Pullen was beaten in the Republican primary in the Chicago suburbs by Rosemary Mulligan, whose victory margin was 1,200 votes. In 1990, Ms. Mulligan lost to Ms. Pullen by 6 votes in a tumultuous recount.

Personal PAC, a Chicago-area political action committee, spent \$30,000 in support of Ms. Mulligan. Marcie Love of Winnetka, a Republican who heads the group, said, "Women don't want the government telling them what to do with their private lives, as George Bush is going to discover."

Two other leading opponents of abortion were also beaten: David Harris, a Republican, in a State Assembly race, and State Senator Richard F. Kelly Jr., an important man in Springfield for the anti-abortion forces.

Ms. Braun's Republican adversary

Rich Williamson, who worked as an aide to James A. Baker 3d in the White House during the Reagan Administration, began emphasizing his commitment to abortion rights almost as soon as Tuesday's returns were in.

Bush Isn't Moving

Mr. Bush, once a supporter of Planned Parenthood, has stood fast against abortion as President. Many Republican strategists, including the late Lee Atwater, who planned Mr. Bush's triumphant 1988 campaign, have argued that the Republican Party would suffer unless it was "a broad tent," where both supporters and opponents of abortion rights could feel free to gather.

So far, Mr. Bush has rejected that counsel, and he apparently plans to press for an anti-abortion plank in the party platform this summer. If he wavers, his still partly active rival for the nomination, Patrick J. Buchanan, has said he intends to stage a floor fight.

In a clarification of the terms under which doctors in federally financed clinics are permitted to give abortion counseling, issued Friday, the Administration appeared to have yielded no significant ground.

So far this year, the President has done much better among women than among men in his primary races against Mr. Buchanan. Their positions on abortion do not differ significantly, and Robert M. Teeter, Mr. Bush's campaign chairman, attributed the discrepancy several weeks ago to "a lack of appreciation by a lot of women for Pat's aggressive, bully-boy style."

Thomas a Catalyst

Mr. Bush's nomination of Justice Thomas for the Supreme Court, and the Senate's confirmation of him despite the accusation of sexual harassment by Prof. Anita F. Hill, appears to have been one element in bringing the issues of abortion rights and women in politics back to the fore.

"That whole episode made women much more aware that their right to choose an abortion hangs by a thread, and that the thread may soon be cut," said Loretta Uccelli of the National Abortion Rights Action League.

In addition, many women became convinced during the televised hearings on the nomination that Professor Hill could not get a balanced hearing because there were no women on the Senate Judiciary Committee. There are only two women in the Senate: Barbara Mikulski of Maryland, a Democrat, and Nancy Landon Kassebaum of Kansas, a Republican.

The Illinois Senate nominee, Ma Braun, said this week that women kept coming up to her and saying they were tired of that boys' club.

Incumbency Less Valued

Ms. Woods of the women's political caucus, who narrowly missed election to the Senate from Missouri in 1982 and 1986, said she thought that more than Justice Thomas and abortion rights were at work to help push women forward this year. Most important, she said, has been "a reversal in the value of incumbency, from asset to liability." Most women are cast in the role of challenger, since so few hold office, and that no longer hurts.

One measure of the degree to which women have slowly advanced into lower-level positions of power is this: In two states that gain House seats this year because of reapportionment, Texas and Florida, women head legislative redistricting committees. And in Texas at least, the chairwoman, Eddie Bernice Johnson, drew a district in which she herself can run.

A large number of women are trying to win Senate nominations, including Representative Barbara Boxer and former Mayor Dianne Feinstein of San Francisco, both Democrats, who are running for two different California seats; former Representative Geraldine Ferraro and Controller Elizabeth Holtzman of New York City, who are both seeking the Democratic nomination to oppose Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato, and well-organized hopefuls in Pennsylvania, Iowa and Arizona as well.

Ms. Woods said she had high hopes of electing at least two women to the Senate and "conservatively speaking," 10 more to the House, where 28 women are serving. Representative Beverly B. Byron of Maryland, a seven-term Democrat who appeared to have lost touch with her constituents, was beaten in the March 3 primary.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 24, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to be Members of the National Science Board, National Science Foundation, for terms expiring May 10, 1998:

F. ALBERT COTTON, of Texas. This is a reappointment. Currently, Dr. Cotton serves as a Robert A. Welch Distinguished Professor of Chemistry and Director of the Laboratory for Molecular Structure and Bonding at the Department of Chemistry of Texas A&M University in College Station, Texas.

JAMES L. POWELL, of Pennsylvania. This is a reappointment. Currently, Dr. Powell serves as a Professor of Agriculture and Environmental Sciences at the University of California at Davis.

CHARLES EDWARD HESS, of California. He would succeed John C. Hancock. Currently, Dr. Hess serves as Assistant Secretary for Science and Education at the United States Department of Agriculture in Washington, D.C.

JOHN HOPCROFT, of New York. He would succeed Frederick Phillips Brooks. Currently, Dr. Hopcroft serves as a Professor in the Department of Computer Science at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York.

FRANK H.T. RHODES, of New York. Currently, Dr. Rhodes serves as President of Cornell University in Ithaca, New York.

FOR THE REMAINDER OF THE TERM EXPIRING MAY 10, 1992, SUCCEEDING MARY LOWE GOOD; AND AN ADDITIONAL TERM EXPIRING MAY 10, 1998, AS A REAPPOINTMENT:

RICHARD NEIL ZARE, of California. Currently, Dr. Zare serves as a Marguerite Blake Wilbur Professor of Chemistry at Stanford University in Stanford, California.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 24, 1992

TO THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Treaty Between the United States of America and the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka Concerning the Encouragement and Reciprocal Protection of Investment, with Protocol and a related exchange of letters, signed at Colombo on September 20, 1991. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Department of State with respect to this treaty.

The treaty is an integral part of U.S. efforts to encourage Sri Lanka and the governments of other developing countries to adopt macroeconomic and structural policies that will promote economic growth. The treaty is fully consistent with U.S. policy toward international investment. According to that policy, an open international investment system in which participants respond to market forces provides the best and most efficient mechanism to promote global economic development. A specific tenet, reflected in this treaty, is that U.S. investment abroad and foreign investment in the United States should receive fair, equitable, and nondiscriminatory treatment. Under this treaty, the Parties also agree to international law standards for expropriation and compensation; free transfer of funds associated with investments; and the option of the investor to resolve disputes with the host government through international arbitration.

I recommend that the Senate consider this treaty as soon as possible and give its advice and consent to ratification of the treaty, with protocol and exchange of letters, at an early date.

GEORGE BUSH

THE WHITE HOUSE,
March 24, 1992.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 24, 1992

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

In response to questions at this morning's briefing, the President's only medication is a daily dosage of synthroid. He takes this medication in pill form. It represents a lifetime maintenance treatment for his thyroid condition. This is the same medication Mrs. Bush takes for her thyroid condition.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 24, 1992

Today, the President submitted to the Congress a request to provide an additional \$242 million in loans for the Small Business Administration's (SBA) disaster loan program. These funds would enable SBA to provide loans to small businesses and others to recover from: floods in California, Iowa, Puerto Rico, and Texas; the winter storm that struck the coast of New England; the fire that ravaged Oakland, California; and other disasters. The Congress fully funded this program at the requested average historical level, but the level of disasters in the past few months has been much higher than anticipated. Therefore, the President designated this funding as an emergency requirement under the provisions of the Budget Enforcement Act.

The President also requested that the Congress provide contingency funds for SBA disaster loans, for the Federal Emergency Management Agency's disaster relief programs, and for firefighting activities in the Departments of Agriculture and the Interior. These contingency funds were requested so that a quick response could be made in the future if there is an above-normal level of national disasters.

This request also contains several technical provisions. These include a technical change in the method of funding \$350 million of previously requested appropriations for international peacekeeping activities.

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MATERIALS FORWARDED TO THE PRESIDENT
March 24, 1992

ACTION

1. Personnel Selections: Alison Rosenberg to be Asst. Administrator, AID; Competitiveness Policy Council; Advisory Comm. on Intergovernmental Relations; Nuclear Waste Technical Review Board; President's Cmte on the National Medal of Science; Red River Compact Comm.; Joyce Doyle to be a Member of the Federal Mine Safety and Health Review Comm.; Advisory Council on Historic Preservation; National Museum Services Board; Presidential Emergency Boards #220, 221, and 222.
2. Military Nominations: LTGEN John T. Myers, USA and General Hansford Johnson, USAF
3. Presidential Message for WHCA's 50th Anniversary
4. Recommended Telephone Call to Buffalo Mayor Jim Griffin
5. Recommended Telephone Call to General Tom Kelly (U.S. Army, ret.)
6. Thank you Letter to Members Who Voted Against the Tax Bill
7. Response to Gustave Hauser re S. 12, the Cable Television Consumer Protection Act of 1991
8. Response to Jean Paul Jones Dejouria re Environmental Conference in Rio de Janeiro
9. Thank you for Service Letter to Harold R. DeMoss, Jr. as a Member of the Council of Administrative Conference
10. Letter to Ambassador Hills' New Grandson
11. Judicial Nomination of Manuel Quintana to be U.S. District Judge for the Southern District of NY
12. Kaufman recommended telephone call to Brian Gaffney/Connecticut Primary, Bush-Quayle supporters

CLASSIFIED

1. Zaire: A Presidential Letter to Mobutu

INFORMATION

1. Kaufman Memo re NH Political Developments
2. Block schedule
3. CEA numbers -- Advance durable goods in February

REMARKS

1. National-American Wholesale Grocers Association - Reading Copy

SCHEDULE

1. And accompanying briefing papers

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 24, 1992

The President today announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be Members of the National Advisory Council on Indian Education:

JOSEPHUS D. JACOBS, of North Carolina, for a term expiring September 29, 1993. He would succeed Helen M. Scheirbeck. From 1970-1984, Mr. Jacobs served as a County Supervisor for the Farmers Home Administration in Raleigh, North Carolina.

EDDIE L. TULLIS, of Alabama, for a term expiring September 29, 1994. This is a reappointment. Since 1976, Mr. Tullis has served as Chairman of the Poarch Band of Creek Indians in Atmore, Alabama.

FRANCIS G. WHITEBIRD, of South Dakota, for a term expiring September 29, 1993. He would succeed Ronald P. Andrade. Currently, Mr. Whitebird serves as a Coordinator for the South Dakota State Indian Affairs Office in Pierre, South Dakota.

ALBERT A. YAZZIE, of Arizona, for a term expiring September 29, 1993. He would succeed Gloria Ann Duus. Since 1980, Mr. Yazzie has served as Superintendent for the Ganado Unified Schools, District 20, in Ganado, Arizona.

SERGIO A. MALDONADO, of Arizona, for a term expiring September 29, 1992. He would succeed Omar J. Lane. Since 1985, Mr. Maldonado has served as an Indian Education Supervisor for the Federal Programs of the Tempe Elementary District Number 3 in Tempe, Arizona.

WILLIAM D. EDMO, SR., of Idaho, for a term expiring September 29, 1992. He would succeed Andrea L. Barlow. From 1989-1990, Dr. Edmo served as a Grantsmanship Specialist with Shoshone-Bannock Tribes, Incorporated in Fort Hall, Idaho.

SACAJAWEA RAMONA TECUMSEH, of Iowa, for a term expiring September 29, 1992. She would succeed Robert Keams Chiago. Currently, Ms. Tecumseh serves as a Doctoral student at Arizona State University in Tempe, Arizona.

THERESA FARLEY NEESE, of Oklahoma, for a term expiring September 29, 1992. She would succeed Marie Cox. Ms. Neese has served as Director of Small Business and Chief Lobbyist for Oklahoma State Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

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