

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

FOIA Number:
2009-0166-S

FOIA MARKER

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

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

OA/ID Number: 90668
Folder ID Number: 90668-007

Folder Title:
Thursday, April 9, 1992 [4]

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

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Vitae	Re: Robert P. Bauman; Personal Identifiable Information redacted. (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(6)	
02. Talking Points	Re: Chomorro's Foreign Travel [originally closed as 01] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
03. Report	Re: [Report on Chomorro pgs. 3-4] [originally closed as 02] (2 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
04. Talking Points	Re: Chomorro's Foreign Travel [originally closed as 03] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
05. Report	Re: [Report on Chomorro pgs. 3-4] [originally closed as 04] (2 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
06. Letter	President Bush to Robert M. Gates, Re: Thank-you note; redaction. (1 pp.)	04/09/92	(b)(3)	
07. Schedule	Schedule of the President; redactions. (1 pp.)	04/09/92	(b)(3)	

Page 1 of 1

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Thursday, April 9, 1992 [4]

Pinksheet Number: cap6054
OA/ID Number: 90668-007
Date Closed: 8/27/2019
FOIA/Sys Case #: 2009-0166-S[4]
Re-review Case #:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

4:30 SKINNER
STAFF TIME

3/23/92

Kathy Super

anytime for a
Photo-op on 4/9/92³
(3 min)

Henry Wendt - Chairman
WENDT

Bob Bauman - President
BAUMAN + C.E.O.

Smith Kline Beecham

#

Jan

FU Kathy 4/6 via Kristin

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Vitae	Re: Robert P. Bauman; Personal Identifiable Information redacted. (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Thursday, April 9, 1992 [4]

Date Closed: 8/27/2019	OA/ID Number: 90668-007
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S[4]	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

Deed of Gift Restrictions

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

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

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

Attached bios on
the two men who
will accompany
Sam Skinner at
4:30 p.m. today.



ROBERT P. BAUMAN
Chief Executive
SmithKline Beecham

Robert P. Bauman is Chief Executive of SmithKline Beecham, the company formed by the July, 1989, merger of Beecham Group p.l.c. and SmithKline Beckman Corporation.

He joined Beecham in 1986 as Executive Chairman. He was formerly Vice-Chairman of Textron, Inc. from 1985-86, and had served as Chairman of Avco Corporation, a conglomerate in financial services and aerospace, from 1981-85.

Mr. Bauman earlier gained wide international experience during 23 years with General Foods Inc., where he was named Executive Vice-President and Director in 1972, and President of International Operations in 1974.

Mr. Bauman is a member of the Board of Directors of Capital Cities Communications/ABC, Inc., Union Pacific Corporation, and CIGNA Corporation.

Born in Cleveland, Ohio on (b)(6) [REDACTED], Mr. Bauman received a Bachelor's degree from Ohio Wesleyan University in 1953, and a Master's degree in business administration from Harvard Business School in 1955.

HENRY WENDT is Chairman of the Board of SmithKline Beecham. The company was formed in July 1989 through the merger of SmithKline Beckman Corporation and Beecham Group PLC.

Mr. Wendt was formerly Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of SmithKline Beckman Corporation.

He joined SmithKline in 1955 and served in a variety of executive marketing positions in the United States, Canada and Japan before his election as president in April 1976, a position he held until his election as Chairman in April 1987. He was elected Chief Executive Officer of SmithKline Beckman in February 1982. He was named to his current position in July 1989.

Mr. Wendt received his Bachelor of Arts Degree in American Diplomatic History in 1955 from Princeton University. His interest in international affairs led him to a career in international business and he joined Smith Kline & French Laboratories, as it was then known, in the International Division. He has since been identified, personally and professionally, as an internationalist.

Mr. Wendt was first responsible for small markets in the obscure parts of the world in Latin America, the near East and Africa. He subsequently spent a year and a half as the company's representative in Hawaii, transferring to Montreal, Canada, in 1958, where he remained until 1961.

- more-

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - PRESERVATION

- 2 -

Following a two-year stint in Philadelphia as a product manager, in 1962 he was given the responsibility for the company's business in East Asia, a territory covering Japan through Southeast Asia, including the Philippine Islands.

Mr. Wendt moved with his family to Japan in 1966 to establish the company's first business in that country with the introduction of SmithKline's cold medicine ' Contac '. He returned to Philadelphia in 1968 and was elected Executive Vice President in 1974.

Mr. Wendt views his international interest as a major theme of his life and continues to pursue that interest as a member and former Chairman (1988-1990) of the U.S.-Japan Business Council and a member of the Trilateral Commission. He is a member of the Boards of Directors of Atlantic Richfield Company, Allergan, Inc., Beckman Instruments, Inc., and Arjo Wiggins Appleton.

He serves also on the Board of Trustees of the H.F.T. Development Trust, the Philadelphia Museum of Art and the American Enterprise Institute, a Washington, DC "think tank" on public policy matters.

#

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02. Talking Points	Re: Chomorro's Foreign Travel [originally closed as 01] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Thursday, April 9, 1992 [4]

Date Closed: 8/27/2019

OA/ID Number: 90668-007

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

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

Deed of Gift Restrictions

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

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

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

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03. Report	Re: [Report on Chomorro pgs. 3-4] [originally closed as 02] (2 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Thursday, April 9, 1992 [4]

Date Closed: 8/27/2019

OA/ID Number: 90668-007

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

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

Deed of Gift Restrictions

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

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

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

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
04. Talking Points	Re: Chomorro's Foreign Travel [originally closed as 03] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Thursday, April 9, 1992 [4]

Date Closed: 8/27/2019

OA/ID Number: 90668-007

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

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

Deed of Gift Restrictions

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

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

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

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
05. Report	Re: [Report on Chomorro pgs. 3-4] [originally closed as 04] (2 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Thursday, April 9, 1992 [4]

Date Closed: 8/27/2019	OA/ID Number: 90668-007
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S[4]	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

Deed of Gift Restrictions

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

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

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

REPORT DATE 04/09/92

REPORT TIME 03:35PM

GATE LIST

Reception in Honor of the Republican Eagles -
 Thursday, April 9, 1992 - 05:00PM/Limited on East Exec./East Visitors Entrance
 Contact Social Office X7788
 THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH

ACCEPT AND NO RESPONSE

No shows

NAME

NAME

Aab, Jackie (Mrs.)	A	Broyhill, Suzanne (Mrs.)	A
Aab, Richard T. (Mr.)	A	~~Brunner~~ , Elizabeth (Mrs.)	A
Alexander, Don H. (Mr.)	A	~~Brunner~~ , Michael E. (Mr.)	A
Allen, Marky (Mrs.)	A	Buchanan, Ruth (Mrs.)	A
Allen, Paul S. (Mr.)	A	<u>Buckholtz</u> , Helen T. (Mrs.)	A
Allen, Susan (Mrs.)	A	Budd, Joan (Mrs.)	A
Allen, William E. (Dr.)	A		
Alpert, Michael (Mr.)	A	Calio, Nicholas E. (Hon.)	A
Alpert, Zane (Mr.)	A	Cargile III, William (Mr.)	A
Anderson, Carol (Mrs.)	A	Chalsty, John S. (Mr.)	A
Anderson, Stanton D. (Mr.)	A	<u>Chao</u> , Elaine L. (Hon. (Ms.))	A
<u>Ansel</u> , Ester (Mrs.)	A	Chase, Alan C. (Mr.)	A
Ansel, Jerome V. (Mr.)	A	<u>Chase</u> , Diane (Mrs.)	A
Armstrong, Lisa M. (Miss)	A	Cheng, Jerry (Mr.)	A
Armstrong, Robert D. (Mr.)	A	Chennault, Anna (Mrs.)	A
Arroyo, Nicholas (Mr.)	A	Chernick, Paul (Mr.)	A
Austin, Jeanie (Mrs.)	A	<u>Christine</u> , Pamela (Ms.)	A
		Clagett, Jr., C. Thomas (Mr.)	A
Balaguer, John P. (Mr.)	A	<u>Cobb</u> , Jr., Charles E. (Hon.)	A
Balfour, David (Mr.)	A	<u>Cobb</u> , Jr., Sue M. (Mrs.)	A
Banning, Jay (Mr.)	A	Coen, Janet (Ms.)	A
~~Barnette~~ , Curtis H. (Mr.)	A	Coleman, Jr., James (Mr.)	A
<u>Bathgate</u> II, Lawrence E. (Mr.)	A	Coleman, Sr., James J. (Mr.)	A
<u>Bennison</u> , John Charles (Mr.)	A	Cook, Sandy (Ms.)	A
Bishop, Eugene (Mr.)	A	Coxon, Gary D. (Mr.)	A
<u>Boland</u> , James E. (Mr.)	A	Coxon, Janet (Mrs.)	A
<u>Boland</u> , Leanne (Mrs.)	A	Craig, Jr., Dorothy "Dottie" (Mrs.)	A
Bond, Richard (Mr.)	A	Cummings, Eugene M. (Mr.)	A
Brady, Phillip D. (Hon.)	A	Cummings, Marcella (Mrs.)	A
Branch, Nancy (Ms.)	A	Cummings, Raymond (Mr.)	A
Bridges, Sherry J. (Ms.)	A		
Brinker, Norman (Mr.)	A	Davidson, Ione (Mrs.)	A
Brovitz, Richard S. (Mr.)	A	Dawson, Susan (Miss)	A
Brown, Francis V. (Mr.)	A	<u>Demko</u> , Daniel (Mr.)	A
Brown, Monica (Ms.)	A	Dhanda, Anand M. (Dr.)	A
Brown, Norma (Mrs.)	A	Dixon, Carolyn (Mrs.)	A
Brown, Jr., W. L. Lyons (Mr.)	A	Dixon, K.O. (Mr.)	A
Broyhill, Joel T. (Hon.)	A	Douglas, Richard (Dr.)	A

REPORT DATE 04/09/92

REPORT TIME 03:35PM

GATE LIST

Reception in Honor of the Republican Eagles - April 9, 1992
Contact Social Office X7788

ACCEPT AND NO RESPONSE

NAME

NAME

Drysdale, Diane (Mrs.)	A	Hecht, William (Mr.)	A
Drysdale, George M. (Mr.)	A	Hedrick, Jerry (Mr.)	A
		Heise, Clara E. (Mrs.)	A
Eifert, Henry J. (Mr.)	A	Henington, C. Dayle (Mr.)	A
Eifert, Martha (Mrs.)	A	Holiday, Edith E. (Hon. (Ms.))	A
Estrin, Brandon (Mr.)	A	Houghton, Jr., Amory (Hon. (Rep.))	A
Estrin, Melvyn J. (Mr.)	A	Houghton, Ruth (Mrs.)	A
Estrin, Shannon (Miss)	A	Hurchalla, Charles F. (Mr.)	A
		Hurford, Hilge (Mrs.)	A
Fahrenkopf, Jr., Frank (Hon.)	A	Hurford, John B. (Mr.)	A
<u>Fahrenkopf</u> , Jr., Mary (Mrs.)	A		
Fehl, Janice (Ms.)	A	Ikard, Jayne (Mrs.)	A
Fernandez, Raul J. (Mr.)	A		
Finch, Jr., Edward Ridley (Hon.)	A	James III, Charles H. (Mr.)	A
Flaum, David M. (Mr.)	A	James III, Jeradyn W. (Mrs.)	A
Flaum, Eilene (Mrs.)	A	Jaswa, Raj (Mr.)	A
Fossel, Dottie (Mrs.)	A	Johnson, Albin (Mr.)	A
Fossel, Jon S. (Mr.)	A	Johnson, Rebecca Anne Woodin (Mrs.)	A
Fossel, Petria (Mrs.)	A	Johnson, Robert G. (Mr.)	A
Fossel, Scott G. (Mr.)	A		
		<u>Kamins</u> Scott (Mr.)	A
Galvin, Elizabeth (Mrs.)	A	Kan, Deborah (Ms.)	A
Galvin, Michael (Mr.)	A	Kan, Yuet W. (Dr.)	A
Gingery, Darby (Mrs.)	A	Kaufman, Irving (Mr.)	A
Gingery, Monte (Mr.)	A	Kaufman, Ronald C. (Hon.)	A
Gorog, Gretchen (Mrs.)	A	Kearney, Patricia (Ms.)	A
Gorog, William F. (Hon.)	A	Kelly, Marietta (Mrs.)	A
Graham, John J. (Mr.)	A	Kelly, Michael J. (Mr.)	A
Graham, Suzanne (Mrs.)	A	Kiss, Andrew A. (Mr.)	A
Gray, John W. (Mr.)	A	<u>Kramer</u> Diane (Mrs.)	A
Gray, Nancy (Mrs.)	A	<u>Kramer</u> Jeffrey (Mr.)	A
Gregor, Sharon (Ms.)	A	Kumar, K.V. (Mr.)	A
Guay, Miriam (Mrs.)	A		
Guay, Richard F. (Mr.)	A	Larsen, Harriet (Mrs.)	A
Guzzino, Veronica (Ms.)	A	Larsen, Richard G. (Mr.)	A
		Latno, Jr., Arthur C. (Mr.)	A
Hamilton, Richard (Mr.)	A	Le, Nghia Trung (Mr.)	A
Hannan, Anneliz (Ms.)	A	Leslie, James K. (Mr.)	A
Hannon, Theresa A. (Mrs.)	A	Leslie, Mary (Mrs.)	A
Hannon, Thomas W. (Mr.)	A	<u>Lewis</u> Larry (Mr.)	A
Harris, Virginia (Mrs.)	A		

REPORT DATE 04/09/92
REPORT TIME 03:35PM

GATE LIST

Reception in Honor of the Republican Eagles - April 9, 1992
Contact Social Office X7788

ACCEPT AND NO RESPONSE

NAME

NAME

<u>Manafort</u> Jr., Kathleen (Mrs.)	A	Quayle, J. Danforth (Hon.)	A
<u>Manafort</u> Jr., Paul J. (Mr.)	A	Quayle, Marilyn (Mrs.)	A
Marriott, Jr., Donna (Mrs.)	A		
Marriott, Jr., J. Willard (Mr.)	A	Rakolta, Jr., John (Mr.)	A
McCloskey, Louise (Mrs.)	A	Rakolta, Jr., Terry (Mrs.)	A
McCloskey, Peter F. (Mr.)	A	Ransom, David (Mr.)	A
McLennan, Juliette C. (Hon.)	A	Robinson, Gilbert A. (Hon.)	A
<u>McManus</u> , William (Mr.)	A	Roche, Bill (Mr.)	A
Mitchell, William G. Champion (Mr.)	A	Rodriguez, Mario F. (Mr.)	A
Moley, Dorothy (Ms.)	A	Rohrkemper, Patricia Ann (Mrs.)	A
<u>Moley</u> Kevin (Mr.)	A	Rohrkemper, Stephen F. (Mr.)	A
Molloy, Clarence E. (Mr.)	A	<u>Rollins</u> Sherrie (Hon. (Mrs.))	A
Molloy, Lawrence (Mr.)	A	Rosenstock, Carol (Mrs.)	A
Moran, Kate (Ms.)	A	Rosenstock, Jerome I. (Mr.)	A
Morrissey, Timothy (Mr.)	A	Rosenstock, Matthew Scott (Mr.)	A
		Ross, Lovie Lowe (Ms.)	A
Naiman, Elimelech (Rabbi)	A	Rowland, John (Mr.)	A
Naman, I.A. (Mr.)	A	Rubin, Clara (Mrs.)	A
Nelson, Anne (Mrs.)	A	Rubin, Jeffrey L. (Mr.)	A
Nelson, John P. (Mr.)	A		
Newman, Helen L. (Miss)	A	Sampler, Myra (Dr.)	A
Nixon, William (Mr.)	A	Sampson, Andrew (Mr.)	A
Norris, Frances (Hon.)	A	<u>Schuchert</u> Joseph S. (Mr.)	A
Norris, Stephen L. (Mr.)	A	Scowcroft, Brent (Hon. (Gen.))	A
		Sheridan, Marina (Ms.)	A
O'hara, Barbara (Miss)	A	Sick, Stephanie (Mrs.)	A
Obermayer, Betty (Mrs.)	A	Sick, William N. (Mr.)	A
Obermayer, Herman J. (Mr.)	A	Silverman, Joy A. (Hon. (Mrs.))	A
Openshaw, Jr., James A. (Mr.)	A	Simms Wilson, Donna (Ms.)	A
Orkand, Donald S. (Dr.)	A	<u>Simon</u> Barbara (Mrs.)	A
		<u>Simon</u> Michael E. (Mr.)	A
Paul, William F. (Mr.)	A	<u>Simonetti</u> Jr., Gilbert (Mr.)	A
Petrone, Augusta (Mrs.)	A	<u>Simonetti</u> Phyllis (Mrs.)	A
Petrone, Joseph Carlton (Hon.)	A	Skinner, Samuel (Hon.)	A
Pfautch, Roy (Mr.)	A	Sloane, Barry S. (Mr.)	A
Pillsbury, George (Mr.)	A	Sloat, Jane DeGraff (Hon. (Mrs.))	A
Pillsbury, Sally (Mrs.)	A	Sloat, Jonathan W. (Mr.)	A
Pines, Robert H. (Mr.)	A	Smith, Annette D. (Ms.)	A
Ponzio, Jr., Frank J. (Mr.)	A	Smith, Jr., Harold B. (Mr.)	A
		Smith, J. Dorrance (Hon.)	A
Quarles, William (Mr.)	A	<u>Smith</u> Jacqueline (Hon.)	A

REPORT DATE 04/09/92
REPORT TIME 03:36PM

GATE LIST

Reception in Honor of the Republican Eagles - April 9, 1992
Contact Social Office X7788

ACCEPT AND NO RESPONSE

NAME

NAME

<u>Smith</u> , Joshua I. (Mr.)	A	<u>Whitehead</u> , James (Mr.)	A
Son, Chong Nak (Mr.)	A	Williams, Michael G. (Mr.)	A
Son, Mi Ja (Mrs.)	A	Wilson, Frank F. (Mr.)	A
Spohrer, B. F. (Mr.)	A	Wilson-Spohrer, Lynn (Mrs.)	A
Starer, Althea (Mrs.)	A		
Starer, Merle A. (Mrs.)	A	Yeutter, Clayton K. (Hon.)	A
Starer, Robert L. (Mr.)	A	Ylvisaker, William T. (Mr.)	A
Starer, Thomas (Mr.)	A	Yung, Frances (Ms.)	A
Steelman, Deborah (Ms.)	A		
<u>Stephens</u> , Alexis S. (Mrs.)	A	Zachem, Molly (Mrs.)	A
Stephens, Wallace O. (Mr.)	A	Zahniser, Dulce (Ms.)	A
Stewart, Sally Ponzio (Ms.)	A	Zalenski, Susan (Ms.)	A
Stowe, Ronald F. (Mr.)	A	Zemke, Marguerite (Ms.)	A
<u>Sussman</u> , Paul Edward (Mr.)	A	Zlotkin, Martin (Mr.)	A
Symanski, Michele (Ms.)	A	Zlotkin, Shelley (Mrs.)	A
		Zylberberg, Suzanne (Ms.)	A
Taylor, Catherine Blaffer (Mrs.)	A		
Taylor, Nicholas (Mr.)	A		
<u>Telling</u> , Barbara (Mrs.)	A		
<u>Telling</u> , Fred W. (Mr.)	A		
<u>Terpeluk</u> , Diane (Mrs.)	A		
<u>Terpeluk</u> , Peter (Mr.)	A		
<u>Todd</u> , James S. (Dr.)	A		
Tong, Anita K. (Mrs.)	A		
Tong, George S. (Mr.)	A		
Tripp, Norman (Mr.)	A		
Vernon, Elliott H. (Mr.)	A		
Vernon, Joyce B. (Mrs.)	A		
Vest, Ann (Ms.)	A		
<u>Vest</u> , Herb D. (Mr.)	A		
Waksberg, Morry (Dr.)	A		
<u>Ward</u> , Gregg (Mr.)	A		
Ward, Lew O. (Mr.)	A		
Ward, Myra (Mrs.)	A		
<u>Wasik</u> , Donna (Mrs.)	A		
<u>Wasik</u> , Vincent A. (Mr.)	A		
Webster, Ann (Mrs.)	A		
<u>Webster</u> , George D. (Mr.)	A		
<u>Weiss</u> , Harriet (Ms.)	A		

REPORT DATE 04/09/92
REPORT TIME 03:36PM

GATE LIST

Reception in Honor of the Republican Eagles - April 9, 1992
Contact Social Office X7788

REGRETS AND SUBSTITUTES

NAME

NAME

Alpert, Malkie (Mrs.)	R
Atkins, Donna (Mrs.)	R
Atkins, George L. (Mr.)	R
Austin, James (Mr.)	R
Barnette, Joanne (Mrs.)	R
Barrow, Annicette (Mrs.)	R
Barrow, Willie (Mr.)	R
Bond, Valerie (Mrs.)	R
Brinker, Nancy (Mrs.)	R
Brovitz, Joan (Mrs.)	R
Brown, Jr., Alice (Mrs.)	R
Craig, Jr., Earle M. (Mr.)	R
Dewhurst, David H. (Mr.)	R
Estrin, Suellen G. (Mrs.)	R
Fitzwater, Max Marlin (Hon.)	R
Henington, Julianne (Mrs.)	R
LeBlanc, Robert (Mr.)	R
Lee III, Burton J. (Hon. (Dr.))	R
O'Malley, Shaun (Mr.)	R
Paul, Gloria (Mrs.)	R
Reynolds, Jr., Deborah (Mrs.)	R
Reynolds, Jr., Russell E. (Mr.)	R
Schuchert, Karalyn (Mrs.)	R
Wachner, Linda J. (Hon.)	R
Wang, Chen Chi (Mr.)	R
Wang, Victoria (Mrs.)	R
Zachem, Harry M. (Mr.)	R

03:36PM

TOTAL COUNTS

NUMBER OF ACCEPTS:	273
NUMBER OF REGRETS:	27
NUMBER OF NO RESPONSES:	1
NUMBER OF UNKNOWN GUESTS:	0
NUMBER OF EXPECTED ATTENDEES:	274

Presidential Phone Calls



DATE:

4-9-

TIME:

9:20

Incoming/outgoing

WITH:

Walter Annenberg

SUBJECT:

1. Thanked for message.
Told him - For more show he gets action
2. Talk to UK, conserv. party
won - Says we're in "

FOLLOW UP:

Wednesday, April 8, 1992

Bush

*4/11
White*

1) PHONE CALL FOR THE PRESIDENT
FROM: Walter Annenberg (1610)

He just wished to leave the following message for you:

him

"I hope the President will try to convince Mr. Greenspan to reduce the Federal rate. It would be great for the morale of the country."

He was calling from Rancho Mirage, California. White House operators have the number if you wish to call him back.

MATERIALS FORWARDED TO THE PRESIDENT
April 9, 1992

ACTION

1. Condolence letter to Congressman Michael Bilirakis
2. Mail sample
3. Telephone Call to Senator Jim Jeffords re Exon Amendment to the Senate Budget Resolution.
4. Demarest Request for Signature on Photo
5. Transmittal Message "Accountability in Government Act of 1992."
6. Judicial Nominations: Rudolph Randa, U.S. District Judge for the Eastern District of Wisconsin; Norman Stahl, U.S. Circuit Judge for the First Circuit; Michael Melloy, U.S. District Judge for the Northern District of Iowa; Joseph A. DiClerico, Jr. U.S. District Judge for the District of New Hampshire
7. Personnel Selections: Arctic Research Commission -- James Campbell; Cultural Property Advisory Cmte -- Jack Josephson, Harold Mark Kehishian, Frederick Lange; President's Council of Science and Technology Advisors -- Harold Shapiro; Board of Governors of the American Red Cross -- Norman Augustine
8. Military Nominations: VADM William Owens, USN and RADM Thomas Lopez, USN
9. Letter to Congressman Henry Gonzalez re Resolution Trust Corporation

CLASSIFIED

1. Telephone Call to President Perez of Venezuela
2. Telephone Call to President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine

INFORMATION

1. Mail summary, 04/01 through 04/07 from Shirley Green
2. Boskin Memo re Reactions to His Business Roundtable Speech Last Week in New York
3. Teeter Memo re Democrat Black Support in Primaries

4. Congressional Reading File: Letters from Senator Chafee, Senator Symms, and Congressman Houghton
5. CEA numbers -- Consumer price indexes for March

REMARKS

1. Video Scripts for 04/09
2. Video Scripts -- Reading Copy
3. Address to the American Society of Newspaper Editors -- Reading copy
4. Radio Program on Welfare Reform

SCHEDULE

1. And accompanying briefing papers

Mr President:
Please read
carefully -
Rose

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

Presidential Phone Calls



DATE:

4-8-92

TIME:

5⁰⁰

incoming/outgoing

WITH:

Jim Weintraub

SUBJECT:

send Altovise Davis
a note, advising
bad news -

just write -

From the desk of

George Bush

RZ

FYI

I called

Weintraub 4-6

He will check out
Altovise Davis - call
me tomorrow.

daily

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

April 9, 1992

Dear Mrs. Davis,

Just wanted to thank you for your offer to assist in my reelection campaign. I know my campaign headquarters is presently considering your kind offer.

Your late husband was a wonderful entertainer, and Barbara and I miss him too. I am pleased to hear of your efforts in speaking to our students. They are vital in the future of America.

Best wishes and thank you for your support.

~~Thanks so much~~

Sincerely,

GB

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

Mrs. Sammy Davis, Jr.
1210 North Weatherly Drive
Beverly Hills, California 90211

April 2, 1992

*Resh
call her*
02 APR 3 P5:36

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BOB TEETER *BT*

SUBJECT: ALTOVISE DAVIS

Attached is a copy of the letter I received yesterday from Altovise Davis (the late Sammy Davis, Jr's widow) offering to help you in the reelection effort. We will be in touch with her to follow up. Do you know her?

*Mr President:
Please read
carefully -
Rose*



*Alto
&
Associates*

The Sammy Davis, Jr. Foundation

President
Altovise Davis

March 13, 1992

Mr. Teeter, Chairman

Dear Mr. Teeter:

Allow me to introduce myself. My name is Altovise Davis and my husband was the late Sammy Davis, Jr. He was a staunch supporter of the Republican Party, even when, oddly enough, it was not that fashionable. Just maybe history repeats itself by the fact that I feel President George Bush is getting an unfair point of view from the Black community.

I am proud to be an American and, although under the direction of advisors, my husband was instructed badly in reference to tax shelters, he was probably the greatest performer to ever grace the stage. However, he entrusted his business to others, with this I have been speaking to college students throughout the United States to push them to get an education, to respect their country and to know that there is no show without business.

In my travels, I have found myself inadvertently in support of President George Bush. Politics almost always becomes a topic with the students and I feel the United States is in safer hands and has a better possibility to weather the storm in reference to recession and global peace with President Bush.

Let this letter serve as notice that I would very much like to bring the Black community together in support of George Bush throughout the United States. This is the only country where a person can be down \$5 million, reach a compromise with the Internal Revenue Service, start all over again and prevail. Mr. Teeter, I am a stronger person now and I feel I can be of help. I do not want "fly by night" operators in the White House. We need people like President Bush who has so many respected years as a public servant and a statesman.

ALTOVISE DAVIS
March 13, 1992

I do not believe any other candidate can compare on or off the field.

Any help I can be to President George Bush would be a pleasure. When we lost Pearl Bailey, we definitely lost care and love; just maybe I can try to fill that slot and just possibly speak on behalf of the President's candidacy and become just "one point of light" for President Bush.

Please give my best to Barbara Bush and know that my support is there for you and the President. I have enclosed my personal address and home number.

Respectfully,



ALTOVISE DAVIS
1210 North Weatherly Drive
Beverly Hills, CA 90211
(213) 857-1396

FROM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

(self-typed)

Mr. Eli S. Jacobs
E.S. Jacobs and Company
Suite 1800
375 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10052

(Personal)

April 9, 1992

Dear Eli,

After dropping you that "bread and butter" note thanking you for the great Orioles treat, I remembered what I forgot.

I forgot to thank you for all you did for the Gates hearing.

Bob, after discussing the game, told me in some detail what a great help you had been to me. Dave Boren at the game told me the same thing.

So, if it's not too late, many thanks for that, too. Bob is justifying your trust by doing a superb job at Langley.

Warm Regards,



*Eli pardon
my computer*

FROM THE PRESIDENT

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
06. Letter	President Bush to Robert M. Gates, Re: Thank-you note; redaction. (1 pp.)	04/09/92	(b)(3)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Thursday, April 9, 1992 [4]

Date Closed: 8/27/2019

OA/ID Number: 90668-007

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

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

Deed of Gift Restrictions

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

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

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

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

(Self-typed)

The Honorable Robert M. Gates
Director of Central Intelligence

(b)(3)

REC-37

April 9, 1992

Dear Eli,

After dropping you that "bread and butter" note thanking you for the great Orioles treat, I remembered what I forgot.

I forgot to thank you for all you did for the Gates hearing.

Bob, after discussing the game, told me in some detail what a great help you had been to me. Dave Boren at the game told me the same thing.

So, if it's not too late, many thanks for that, too. Bob is justifying your trust by doing a superb job at Langley.

Warm Regards,

Bob - Hope this does the job -

FROM THE PRESIDENT



April 9, 1992

Dear Eli,

After dropping you that "bread and butter" note thanking you for the great Orioles treat, I remembered what I forgot.

I forgot to thank you for all you did for the Gates hearing.

Bob, after discussing the game, told me in some detail what a great help you had been to me. Dave Boren at the game told me the same thing.

So, if it's not too late, many thanks for that, too. Bob is justifying your trust by doing a superb job at Langley.

Warm Regards,

File

FROM THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 9, 1992

FACT SHEET ON REFORMS TO THE DRUG APPROVAL PROCESS

The Administration today announced four actions to speed up the availability of new drugs and cut years off the drug development process. Earlier access to promising new drugs could ultimately save millions of lives and billions of dollars in the decades ahead. It will also help create jobs by enhancing the competitiveness of American pharmaceutical companies.

Most of the actions announced today implement decisions made last November by the Council on Competitiveness and the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS). HHS's Food and Drug Administration (FDA) is accelerating implementation of these reforms in response to the President's January 28 directive to "identify and accelerate action on initiatives that will eliminate any unnecessary regulatory burden or otherwise promote economic growth."

1. Accelerated Approval. Today the FDA proposed for public comment an accelerated approval process for "breakthrough" drugs for patients with life-threatening or serious illnesses.

- o Accelerated approval will speed up the availability of vitally important drugs to treat diseases such as cancer, AIDS, Alzheimer's disease, depression, and cystic fibrosis.
- o The new process will speed the approval of new drugs primarily by allowing sponsors to demonstrate a drug's efficacy using "surrogate endpoints." A "surrogate endpoint" is an indicator of a change in some bodily condition -- such as a patient's blood cholesterol level -- that is correlated with improved health. By allowing the use of surrogate endpoints rather than more direct measures of health, FDA can grant approval earlier in the drug development process.
- o Because a new drug under accelerated approval can now be approved much earlier in the typical drug development process, a sponsor may be required to initiate or complete additional studies after FDA approves the new drug. In addition, FDA will implement a streamlined process for withdrawal of the new drug if the conditions for expedited approval are not met.

2. "Parallel Track." Today the FDA issued a final policy statement implementing a new "parallel track" system under which promising new drugs for treating AIDS and other HIV-related diseases will be made widely available as early as possible in the drug development process.

- o Patients with AIDS and other HIV-related diseases who cannot participate in ongoing controlled clinical studies now will have an alternative avenue - i.e. a "parallel track" - by which to obtain these promising therapies.
- o This system will eventually be established for other serious diseases such as cancer.

3. External Review. To improve the efficiency of the FDA approval process, FDA announced today that it has begun to contract for external review of some categories of new drug applications by qualified non-government experts.

- o External review will significantly reduce the time required for review of new drugs that are similar to drugs that have previously been approved and are not expected to pose unusual problems. External review will also enable FDA to obtain the benefits of outside experts, and to direct agency resources towards reviewing innovative new therapies for life-threatening and serious diseases.
- o FDA will retain absolute authority to determine whether a new drug meets statutory requirements of safety and efficacy. FDA will also supervise all external reviews.
- o Because of the current backlog of applications and supplementary applications for approval of anti-allergy, anti-infective, anti-inflammatory, and analgesic drugs, the FDA has targeted these categories of drugs for external review.
- o FDA has announced its intention to award the first contract for external review and has requested bids for additional contracts.

4. Streamlined Animal Testing. FDA also issued a proposed guidance document that will speed up the testing of new human drugs in animals.

- o Under the FDA's new guidance, animal test data developed for foreign countries under consensus standards adopted by FDA and other countries can be accepted for review in the United States, thus eliminating the burden of multiple studies.
- o The overall time for approval should be substantially reduced, and the number of animals required for testing also should be reduced.

- o This guidance is one of a series of consensus agreements with the European Community and Japan that will harmonize scientific requirements and technical standards and that will reduce the time and resources currently required for drug testing. The new guidance is a first step toward international harmonization and reciprocity of drug approval requirements.

5. Administration Goals. In addition to these concrete steps, the Administration also reaffirmed the following goals, first announced November 13, 1991, to expedite the rapid development of safe and effective therapies necessary to save lives and eliminate suffering:

- o By 1994, the FDA will reduce from 9.75 years to 6 years the average development and approval time for all new drugs.
- o By 1994; the FDA will reduce by 45% (to 5.5 years) the average development time for therapies eligible for "accelerated approval." To accomplish this, FDA will reduce the approval time for these new drug applications to 6 months.
- o By 1994, the FDA will reduce by 25% (to 7 years) the average development time for all other (non-accelerated approval) reviews. To accomplish this, FDA will reduce its approval time for these new drug applications to 12 months.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 9, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS

J.W. Marriott Hotel
Washington, DC

1:53 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Dave. And may I start by thanking the members of the board, and say to all the members of ASNE, I'm grateful for this return engagement, glad to participate in an annual event that Washington looks forward to -- this annual conference.

Even in the age of VCRs and CNN, people who want to understand the times we live in still, as Dave indicated in that sweet and short introduction, turn to the printed word.

And today I want to share some serious observations with you on events around the world. Look around the world today. Think of the page one stories of the past few years and our victory in the Cold War, the collapse of imperial communism, the liberation of Kuwait. Think of the great revolutions of '89 that brought down the Berlin Wall and broke the chains of communism and brought a new world of freedom to Eastern Europe. And this of the role this nation played in every one of these great triumphs -- the sacrifices we made, the sense of mission that carried us through.

Each day brings new changes -- new realities, new hopes, new horizons. In the past six months alone, we've recognized 18 -- in six months -- 18 brand-new nations. The bulk of those nations, of course, are born of one momentous event: the collapse of Soviet communism.

And today I want to talk to you all about the most important foreign policy opportunity of our time -- an opportunity that will affect the security and the future of every American, young and old, throughout this entire decade.

The democratic revolutions underway in Russia, in Armenia, Ukraine, and the other new nations of the old Soviet empire, represent the best hope for real peace in my lifetime. And shortly after taking office, I outlined a new American strategy in response to the changes underway in the Soviet Union and East and Central Europe. It was to move beyond containment, to encourage reform, to always support freedom for the captive nations of the East.

And now, after dramatic revolutions in Poland and Hungary and Czechoslovakia, revolutions that spread then to Romania and Bulgaria and even Albania; after the unification of Germany in NATO; after the demise of the one power -- the USSR -- that threatened our way of life, that mission has been fulfilled. The Cold War is over. The specter of nuclear armageddon has receded and Soviet communism has collapsed. And in its wake we find ourselves of the threshold of a new world of opportunity and peace.

MORE

But with the passing of the Cold War, a new order has yet to take its place. The opportunities -- tremendous. They're great. But so, too, are the dangers. And so we stand at history's hinge point -- a new world beckons while the ghost of history stands in the shadows.

I want to outline today a new mission for American policy toward Russia and the other new nations of the old USSR. It's a mission that can advance our economic and security interests, while upholding the primacy of American values -- values which, as Lincoln said, are the "last, best hope of Earth."

Americans have always responded best when a new frontier beckoned. And I believe that the next frontier for us and for the generation that follows is to secure a democratic peace in Europe and the former USSR that will ensure a lasting peace for the United States of America.

The democratic peace must be founded on twin pillars of political and economic freedom. The success of reform in Russia and Ukraine, Armenia and Kazakhstan, Byelarus and the Baltics will be the single best guarantee of our security, our prosperity and our values.

After the long Cold War, this much is clear: Democrats in the Kremlin can assure our security in a way nuclear missiles never could. Much of my administration's foreign policy has been dedicated to winning the Cold War peacefully. And the next four years must be dedicated to building a democratic peace -- not simply for those of us who live through the Cold War and won it, but for generations to come.

From the first moments of the Cold War, our mission was containment -- to use the combined resources of the West to check the expansion, the expansionist aims of the Soviet empire. It's been my policy as President to move beyond containment to use the power of America and the West to end the Cold War with freedom's victory.

And today, we have reached a turning point. We have defeated imperial communism. We've not yet won the victory for democracy, though. This democratic peace will not be easily won. The weight of history, 74 years of communist misrule in the former USSR, tells us that democracy and economic freedom will be years in the building. America must, therefore, resolve that our commitment be equally firm and lasting.

With this commitment, we have the chance to build a very different world -- a world built on the common values of political and economic freedom between Russia and America, between East and West and, at long last, a peace built on mutual trust, not on mutual terror.

And today, we find ourselves in an almost unimaginable world where democrats, not communists, hold power in Moscow and Kiev and Yerevan; a new world where a new breed of leaders -- Boris Yeltsin, Levon Ter-Petrosian, Leonid Kravchuk, Askar Akayev among others -- are pushing forward to reform.

They seek to replace the rule of force with the rule of law. And they seek for the first time in their countries' histories not to impose rule in the name of the people, but to build governments of, by and for the people. And they seek a future of free and open markets where economic rights rest in the hands of individuals, not on the whims of the central planners. They seek partnerships. They seek alliances with us. And they also seek an end to competition and conflict.

Our values are their values. And in this time of transition, they are reaching out to us. They seek our help. And if we're to act, we must see clearly what is at stake.

Forty years ago, Americans had the vision and the good sense to help defeated enemies back to their feet -- as democracies. Well, what a wise investment that proved to be. Those we helped became close allies and major trading partners.

Our choice today just as clear: With our help, Russia, Ukraine, other new states, can become democratic friends and partners. And let me say here, they will have our help. What difference can this make for America, you might ask? We can put behind us for good the nuclear confrontation that has held our very civilization hostage for over four decades. The threat of a major ground war in Western Europe has disappeared with the demise of the Warsaw Pact.

A democratic Russia is the best guarantee against a renewed danger of competition and the threat of nuclear rivalry. The failure of the democratic experiment could bring a dark future -- a return to authoritarianism, or a dissent into anarchy. In either case, the outcome would threaten our peace, our prosperity, and our security for years to come.

But we should focus not on the dangers of failure, but on the dividends of success.

First, we can reap a genuine peace dividend this year, and then year after year, in the form of permanently-reduced defense budgets. Already we've proposed \$50-billion worth of defense spending reduction between now and 1997. Now that cut comes on top of savings totally \$267 billion, more than a quarter of a trillion dollars in projected defense expenditures since the fall of the Berlin Wall. Make no mistake: I am not going to make reckless defense cuts that impair our own fundamental nation security.

Second, working with our Russian partners and our allies, we can create a new international landscape -- a landscape where emerging threats are contained and undone, where we work in concert to confront common threats to our environment, where terrorists find no safe haven, and where genuine coalitions of like-minded countries respond to dangers and opportunities together.

And finally, third, the triumph of free governments and free markets in the old Soviet Union will mean extensive opportunities for global trade and economic growth. A democratic Russia, one dedicated to free market economies, will provide an impetus for a major increase in global trade and investment. The people of the former Soviet Union are well-schooled and highly skilled. They seek for their families the same better future each of us wishes for our own.

And together, they form a potentially vast market that crosses 11 time zones and comprises nearly 300 million people. No economist can pinpoint the value of trade opportunities we hope to have. It's impossible to compute. But the potential for prosperity is great. Increased trade means vast new markets for American goods, new opportunities for American entrepreneurs, new jobs for American workers. And I'm committed to giving American business every possible opportunity to compete fairly and equally in these new markets.

For example, last week I asked the Congress to repeal the Stevenson and Byrd amendments that limit Export-Import Bank's ability to help promote American exports to the former USSR. And I'm pleased that Congress has acted. I'm also seeking to conclude trade, bilateral investment and tax treaties with each of the new

Commonwealth States. The first agreement between the U.S. and Armenia was signed last week. And we expect a lot more to follow.

Russian democracy is in America's interest. It's also in keeping with this nation's guiding ideals. Across the boundaries of language and culture, across the Cold War chasm of mistrust, we feel the pull of common values. And in the ordeal of long-suffering peoples of the Soviet empire we see glimpses of this nation's past. In their hopes and dreams, we see our own.

This is an article of the America creed: Freedom is not the special preserve of one nation. It is the birthright of men and women everywhere. And we have always dreamed of the day democracy and freedom will triumph in every corner of the world, in every captive nation in closed society.

And this may never happen in our lifetime, but it can happen now for the millions of people who for so long suffered under that totalitarian Soviet rule. Some may say this view of the future is a little unrealistic. Let me remind you that three of our leading partners in helping democracy succeed in Russia are none other than Germany, Japan and Italy. And if we can now bring Russia into the community of free nations who share American ideals, we will have redeemed hope in a century that has known so much suffering.

It is not inevitable, as De Toqueville wrote, that America and Russia were destined to struggle for global supremacy. De Toqueville only knew a despotic Russia, but we see and can help secure a democratic Russia. One of America's greatest achievements in this century has been our leadership of a remarkable community of nations, the free world. This community is democratic, it is stable, it's prosperous, cooperative, it is independent; in America all of us are the better for that. And we have strong allies. We have enormous trade and we are safer as a result of our commitment to this free world.

And now, we must expand this most successful of communities to include our former adversaries. Now, this is good for America. A world that trades with us brings greater prosperity. A world that shares our values, strengthens the peace. This is the world that lies out there before us. This is the world that can be achieved if we have the vision to reach for it. And this is the peace that we must not lose.

And this is what we're doing right now to win this peace. Strategically, we're moving with the Russians to reach historic nuclear reductions. We've urged speedy ratification of START and CFE. And we're working with all the new states to prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction. We are offering our help in safety, in nuclear weapons safety, in security, and, yes, in the dismantlement.

And we're engaged in an intensive program of military-to-military exchanges to strengthen the ties between our two militaries; indeed, to build unprecedented defense cooperation -- cooperation that would have simply been unthinkable a few short months ago.

Politically, we're reaching out so America -- and American values -- will be well represented in these new lands. We are the only country with embassies in all of the former republics. We're planning to bring American houses and American expertise to the former USSR; to send hundreds of Peace Corps volunteers to help create small businesses; to launch major exchanges of students, professionals and scientists so that our people can establish the bonds so important to permanent peace.

Economically, working with the European Community and many other countries, we organized a global coalition to provide urgently-needed emergency food and medical supplies this past winter. And now we will send Americans to help promote improvements in food distribution, energy, defense conversion and democratization. I have sent Congress the Freedom Support Act -- a comprehensive and integrated legislative package that will provide new opportunities to support freedom and repeal all Cold War legislation. In its key features this bill asks Congress to meet my request for \$620 million to fund technical assistance projects in the former USSR. It urges congress to increase the U.S. quota in the IMF -- International Monetary Fund -- by \$12 billion.

And I pledge to work with the Congress on a bipartisan basis to pass this act. And I want to sign this bill into law before my June summit with President Yeltsin here in Washington, D.C.

Just as the rewards of this new world will belong to no one nation, so, too, the burden does not fall to America alone. Together with our allies, we've developed a \$24-billion package of financial assistance. Its aim: to provide urgently needed support for President Yeltsin's reforms.

And ours is a policy of collective engagement and shared responsibility. Working with the G-7, the IMF and the World Bank, we are seeking to help promote the economic transformation so central to an enduring democratic peace. Forty-five years after their founding, the Bretton Woods Institutions we created after World War II are now serving their original purpose. By working with others we're sharing the burden responsibly and acting in the best interests of the American taxpayer.

I know that broad public support will be critical to our effort to get this program passed. And so let me say something to those who say: Yes, the people of Russia and all across the old Soviet Empire are struggling; yes, we want to see them succeed, to join the democratic community. But what about us -- what about the challenges and demands we must meet right here in America? Isn't it time we took care of our own? And to them I would say this: Peace and prosperity are in the interest of every American -- each one of us alive today and all the generations that will follow.

As a nation, we spent more than \$4 trillion to wage and win the Cold War. Compared to such monumental sacrifice, the costs of promoting democracy will be a fraction -- and the consequences for our peace and prosperity beyond measure. America must take the lead in creating this new world of peace.

Three times this century, America has been called on to help construct a lasting peace in Europe. Seventy-five years ago this month, the United States entered World War I to tip the balance against aggression. And yet, with the battle won, America withdrew across the ocean and the "war to end all wars" produced a peace that did not last even a generation. Indeed, by the time I was born in 1924, the peace was already unraveling. Germany's economic chaos soon led to what? To fascist dictatorship. The seeds of another, more terrible war were sown.

And still, the isolationist impulse remained strong. Years later, as the Nazis began their march across the continent, I can still remember the editorials here in the United States talking about "Europe's war," as if America could close itself off, as if we could isolate ourselves from the world beyond our shores.

As a consequence -- you know the answer -- we fought the most costly war in the history of man. A war that claimed the lives of countless millions. At war's end, once again we saw the prospect

of a new world on the horizon. But the great victory over fascism quickly gave way to the grim reality of a new communist threat.

We are fortunate that our postwar leaders, Democrats and Republicans alike, did not forget the lessons of the past in building the peace of the next four decades. They shaped a coalition that kept America engaged, that kept the peace through the long twilight struggle against Soviet communism. And they taught the lesson that we simply must heed today: that the noblest mission of the victor is to turn an enemy into a friend.

And now America faces a third opportunity to provide the kind of lasting peace that for so long eluded us. At this defining moment, I know where I stand. I stand for American engagement in support of a democratic peace, a peace that can secure for the next generation a world free from war, free from conflict.

After a half-century of fear and mistrust, America, Russia and the new nations of the former USSR must become partners in peace. After a half-century of Cold War and harsh words, we must speak and act on common values. After a half-century of armed and uneasy peace, we must move forward toward a new world of freedom, cooperation, reconciliation and hope.

Thank you all very much for inviting me here today. And may God bless the free peoples of the former Soviet Empire -- and may God bless the United States of America. Thank you very, very much. (Applause.)

(A Q&A with the audience begins.)

THE PRESIDENT: -- (in progress) -- of the Gulf area. At that time not only the United States but the United States and many of the Gulf countries, the GCC countries, felt that the major threat to stability in the Gulf was from Iran. We did not want an Iran that would take over Iraq and then inexorably move south. So there was a real logic for that.

Shelby, I'm not going to -- by my silence, acquiesce in all the charges that the question included, but some of this was true. We did some business with Iraq, but I just don't want to sign off on each one of the allegations that some of these stories have contained. But this was our policy.

And then we saw what Saddam Hussein did after this war ended. We tried to bring him into the family of nations through commerce, and we failed. And when he reached out to crush a neighboring country, we mobilized the best and most effective coalition, I think, that's been seen in modern times. And the objective was to set back aggression.

The U.N. resolutions never called for the elimination of Saddam Hussein. It never called for taking the battle into downtown Baghdad. And we have a lot of revisionists who opposed me on the war now saying, how come you didn't go into downtown Baghdad and find Saddam Hussein and do him in?

We put together a coalition. We worked effectively with the coalition to fulfill the aims of the United Nations resolutions. And we fulfilled those aims. We set back aggression. And as any one of our respected military leaders will tell you, we have all but removed the threat of Saddam Hussein to his neighbors.

Now, we are still concerned about him. There's no question about that. And I am very much concerned, as he goes north of the 36th parallel the other day with airplanes, as to what that means to the safety of the Kurds. I am concerned about the Shiites in the south and to the southeast. I was also concerned when I saw

an Iranian incursion of the Iraq borders to go after those Shiites. We can't condone that, as much as we detest the regime of Saddam Hussein.

So we will -- do I have regrets was your question? I guess if I had 90-90 hindsight and any action that we might have taken beforehand would guarantee that Saddam Hussein did not move down into Kuwait, which he did, I'd certainly rethink our position. But I can't certify that by not helping Iraq in the modest way we did that that would have guaranteed that he would stay within his confines, the confines of his own border. And I can't say to you what would have happened in terms of Iran's aggression.

We are dealing with the facts as they came down the pike. And one of them was that he committed an aggression that mobilized the whole world against him. And he is going to remain isolated as long as I am President. He is going to live by those U.N. resolutions, and we are going to see that he complies with each and every one of them, including the most dangerous of all -- the one that -- in the most dangerous area of all, the one where he is doing things he ought not to be doing in terms of missiles and in terms of a nuclear capability.

So we're not going to lighten up on it. And I think -- oh, there's one other point since you've given me such a wonderful opening, Shelby. (Laughter.) I read that General Norm Schwarzkopf wanted to keep going after I stopped the war. I will tell you unequivocally that that is simply, totally untrue.

I sat in the Oval Office that fateful day -- when you remember the turkey shoot along the highway going north -- and Colin Powell came to me, our respected Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, and said, Mr. President, it's our considered opinion that the war is over. We have achieved our objectives, and we should stop. And I said, do our commanders in the field feel that way? And he said, yes. And I said, well, let's double-check. Something to that effect. He walked over to my desk -- I was sitting on this end near the Stewart picture in the Oval Office -- picked up the secure phone, dialed a number, and talked to Norm Schwarzkopf out in the desert. And said, what do you think? The President has asked me to double-check. We have achieved our objectives. We ought to stop. We agreed that we would stop at -- I think it was midnight that night -- 100 hours after the battle began.

And now we're caught up in a real peculiar election year. And you hear all kinds of people -- some of who supported what I did, many of whom oppose it -- now going after this administration and our military for stopping too soon. I don't think that's right. Am I happy Saddam Hussein is still there? Absolutely not. Am I determined he's going to live with these resolutions? Absolutely. But we did the right thing. We did the honorable thing. And I have absolutely no regrets about that part of it at all.

Q Mr. President, as you know, another Texan is thinking about running for President in 1992. He'll be joining us tomorrow morning. As a matter of fact --

THE PRESIDENT: Are you speaking about Lloyd Bentsen? (Laughter.)

Q Let's say two other Texans.

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, I see. (Laughter.)

Q Some might even think that Ross Perot sounds a little more Texan than you do. My question would be, why do you think he's been as successful as he has in the early going in gaining support? What impact do you think he might have in the general

election, particularly his possible ability to carry the state of Texas? And finally, do you feel part of his appeal is based on his ability to connect with the average American who wants to lift himself economically? Is he better able to do that than you are?

THE PRESIDENT: You know, I'm going give you another question because I am not going to get -- do something now I've assiduously avoided all during the primary: going after anybody else or quantify it in any way that might run or is running. And I'm going to stay with that ground rule right now. When the battle is joined and the conventions are over and the nominees are out there, I will happily answer your question for you. But let him -- Ross -- make his determination. Let him do what the rest of us do -- take our case to the American people. Let him enjoy the same scrutiny that I've had for, what, 12 years at this relatively high level of government -- Vice President and President.

But there's no point in me trying to define his candidacy, nor the candidacy of the Democrats that are left in the race on the other side. What I'm trying to do, having gone into some of these primaries and emerged, I think, as the nominee of our party, is to lead this country, to talk about these serious issues.

You know, they say to me, as they say -- how can you be the candidate of change? You've been in Washington all this time. I say we're the ones that are trying to change things -- whether it's education, whether it's tort reform, whether it's in matters of this nature that have to do with life and death and peace and war.

And so I'm going to keep on doing that now. And then, when the battle is joined and we get past the convention stage, I'll have plenty of comment to help you along in assessing the opposition. But I really am going to stay out of it now. And this isn't a new position. Just because I'm standing before a lot of editors, I think most that -- these traveling White House press will tell you that's the way it's been.

So if you want another one that I can answer, shoot.

Q Let me ask one other one then, Mr. President. Abortion certainly continues to be one of the hottest issues not only in the United States but in the Republican Party. Is it your preference that the GOP platform in 1992 stay silent on that issue, come out flatly against abortion, or support those abortion rights activists who are inside the GOP?

THE PRESIDENT: My position has not changed. I am pro-life. And I'm going to stay with that position. In terms of the platform, we have a platform committee that's going to debate that. You mentioned inside the Republican Party -- take a look at the state of Pennsylvania. This isn't an issue that divides just Republicans, this is an issue that divides Democrats as well if you look at the laws in the books and the position of the governor of that state and other states as well.

So each of us should say what we feel, fight for our views, and then we've got a party platform process that will resolve that.

Q Mr. President, you have attended three economic summits since taking office in which a very high priority was assigned to a new world trade agreement under GATT. Each time these deadlines have been broken; on Easter I think we're going to have another deadline broken. And you just spoke about a world in which we would trade with the Soviet Union or the former Soviet Union. How can the Soviet Union really survive unless we get a world trade agreement?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think they could survive but they would survive much less well. And we are going to keep on working for a successful conclusion of this Uruguay Round of GATT. The major stumbling block has been agriculture. And we cannot have a satisfactory conclusion to the GATT Round unless agriculture is addressed. That has been a particularly difficult problem for France and a particularly difficult problem for Germany.

And we, as you know, from following this have said we will work with the Dunkel text -- this is highly technical -- but it spells out some broad ground rules on agriculture. And we still have some problems other than agriculture.

I am told that the EC leader, Delors, now feels that we are very, very close on agriculture. He's coming here soon with Cavaco Silva of Portugal, and we're going to be sitting down in one of each -- we have meetings twice a year. I will then be talking to him -- I won't be doing the negotiating -- but with our top negotiators and try to hammer out that agreement.

We still have some other problems -- property rights, and, you know, trademarks and all this kind of thing. But I am more optimistic now. I asked Brent the other day, my trusted and able National Security Adviser, where do each of these deadlines that you referred to come from? They keep coming. Well, we'd have a deadline -- and you're right, somebody throws up a deadline and says we've got to meet it by February; we've got to do it by June. I don't know where the deadline comes from. But I do know that it is in the interest of the free world, say nothing of the now freeing world -- the Soviet Union, the former Soviet Union -- that we achieve this agreement.

And one last point on the trade agreement. Far better -- far better than a foreign aid program for the emerging democracies of the Third World, Africa particularly, is a trade agreement. Far better than aid is trade. And so we will keep on playing, I think, a very constructive role to achieve a conclusion of this.

And, parenthetically, we are going to work for the North American Free Trade Agreement. You know, we're in a political year, some of you may know, and we're getting shot at by various predictable organizations on the Mexican agreement. The Mexican agreement, in my view, will create jobs in the United States, will help the environment. A country that's doing better economically can do a lot more for its environment than one that is kept down on the ropes because we don't have fair and free trade.

So we're going to work to that end to get a Mexican agreement along with the Uruguay Round. And, yes, all of that will benefit the emerging republics that I've been talking about here today. But I'm not despairing about it. The point is, if we come to some new deadline, we're going to keep on pushing. But right now, it looks like we may have a better chance than we've had in the last years of negotiation.

Q You're office says one more question.

THE PRESIDENT: Do they? Okay.

Q Mr. President, oddly enough part of your reply there dealt with my question. You've given a good vision of our obligations to help redeem the emergent nations of the former Soviet empire. But I wonder if anyone's paying much attention to our obligations to the truly hungry, starving nations of the world. Patrick Buchanan wants to do away with all foreign aid as part of his, I guess, Judeo-Christian tradition platform, forgetting the admonition that we bear one another's burdens. Our foreign aid appropriation has been about \$18 billion a year. Almost half went to

Middle East countries. And our spending, seems to me, to be a disgraceful pittance in relation to the hunger and the deprivation of the really deprived nations of the Third World.

I wonder if you think we should spend more to help the countries that have no influence, like Somalia and Ethiopia and even Haiti, closer where there are millions of children with swollen stomachs crying for aid still. Do you think we are spending enough for actual food and aid for the hungry countries of the Earth?

THE PRESIDENT: Not included in the figures you gave are other activities, such as the Peace Corps, such as some agricultural programs. And such is clearly the most important -- the benefit of trade that you referred to in the first part.

Let me tell you something, it is going to be impossible to get anything through the Congress this year, in terms of foreign aid, beyond what we have suggested. We would be unrealistic to think that there might be more. I'm not suggesting, though, that the answer is to spend more money on it. I think the trade initiative is important. I think the position that our administration has taken in debt forgiveness has been tremendously important to many of the emerging democracies in Africa and, indeed, in this hemisphere.

Look at the basket case that was Argentina just a while back. And working with us, they are now on the move. They've come in, they've taken a very constructive approach to their economy. They are in the debt forgiveness -- we've worked out a deal, they have, with the private financial institutions, just very recently, to lower their debt burden. The Enterprise for the Americas Initiative and the Brady Plan are meaningful. And the impoverished people in that country, and in other countries in our hemisphere, are beginning to get a little break here.

So we're in a realistic time. I will continue to push for the trade agreements. I will continue to do what I can in these debt-reduction initiatives. And we'll continue to support foreign aid. And I think everybody here who writes, understands that that is not necessarily a popular position in an election year or any other time.

But we are dealing also with a time when we must address ourselves, and are trying so to do, to our own problems at home. And when you're operating at enormous deficits in a sluggish economy, it isn't easy. And yet I want to not end here because we can take a couple more -- but I'm a little more optimistic on the economy. And I was very pleased today when the Fed lowered its rates by another quarter. That was instantly pretty well received in the market. Far be it for me to mention what levels markets should be at. I learned that long ago by mistake saying something that triggered -- I don't remember how it worked, triggered a market reaction.

But I think the lowering of the rate by the Fed is a good thing, and I hope that it will guarantee that this fledgling recovery that we're seeing will now be a little more robust.

Q Mr. President, over here, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Got you.

Q The government's going in the hole about a billion dollars a day right now. And what reason can you give the American people for voting for four more years of the same kind of deficit spending?

THE PRESIDENT: I certainly don't want them to vote for four more years of deficit spending. And I would like to get some changes in the United States Congress to guarantee against that. I

would like to see them enact our budget that takes a major step towards the containment of an area that is the main area that's causing the deficit, and that is the entitlement area. And what are we proposing? We're proposing that the entitlements not grow beyond inflation and population growth. That in itself will save literally billions -- billions, many billions -- of dollars.

So we've got to go forward with a sensible budget approach. Right now I'm battling against a Congress that wants to knock off the one guarantee that the American taxpayer has on spending and that is the caps out of the nefarious 1990 budget agreement, the caps on discretionary spending. We're getting into an election year so we're trying to hold the line on those caps. And I'm determined to do it and I think we will prevail.

But what I'll be doing is taking my case to the American people and say, yes, we've had some tough things. We've had banking problems that have cost the taxpayer enormously. We've had savings and loan problems that have cost the taxpayers enormously as we protect every single depositor. But we've got to try to exert some fiscal discipline on the system. And I'll be ready for the debate that will follow come fall, because I think we're on the right track with what I've just told you here.

Dave says I'm out of here. We'll do one more and then I'm gone.

Q It's your staff, Mr. President, who says you're out of here. (Laughter.) You can stay as long as you want.

THE PRESIDENT: I don't want to be in trouble with them. (Laughter.) Let's see what we've got here.

Q Mr. President, as you've astutely noted for us today we are in an election year.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. (Laughter.)

Q And in seven months, much to the chagrin of this group, many Americans will be deciding their vote on the basis of television advertising. In 1988, many voters -- most of us were bombarded with what we would probably consider very negative television advertising that attacked the reputation of your opponent and seemed to pander to some of the fears of our society.

I guess my question to you as you look into this election year, do you plan to direct, encourage or discourage your consultants from pursuing a similar negative ad campaign in 1992?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, you asked me at a time when this is in the heightened attention of the American people, isn't it? I look across at the Democratic primary and anything that happened in 1988 is pale in comparison to what's going on there. We've tried to have most of ours positive.

You may recall an ad we ran in Michigan that triggered the famous line I used at the Gridiron Club, "Ich Bin Ein Mercedes owner." (Laughter.) But that is a negative ad. Now, I don't know whether you consider that a turn-off or not, but just by the genesis of that ad came about that the opponent in this case was talking about protection and jobs and American jobs and American workers and all of this, and he was driving a Mercedes. Nobody was pointing it out. A lot of editors here -- and I don't remember a brutal revelation of this terribly important fact. (Laughter.) So we brought it out.

Now, I don't know if you consider that -- I don't want to get into a debate since you might clearly win it -- (laughter) -- but is that a negative ad or is that fair in the way -- everybody now that puts on the television at least have a thing -- and the

newspapers, too -- here's why the ad was fair or unfair. I can't remember what they said about that one. I think when you define a person on issues, that's very, very important. I think some would consider it negative.

But just seriously on that one. Then I can maybe answer your question a little better.

Q I think what it does is set the tone. I guess people maybe care whether the opponent drives a Mercedes. But I guess we get into discussions of other character issues. I think that's really where the --

THE PRESIDENT: Well, as I've said, I would like to see it on the issues and not on some of the sleaze questions. I've said that before and I'll keep repeating that. I know that we will try hard, but I also know that this is about the ugliest political year I've ever seen already. And I don't know what it's going to hold, but I will try to keep my head up and try to do my job as President and try to do it with a certain sense of decency and honor.

But we've seen it start off that way in the early primaries and then something else evolved, for reasons I'm not quite sure I fully understand. But I don't want to make you a firm statement because I don't know what's negative and what's not these days. If it's just ripping down somebody's character or tearing them apart, I don't want to do that. If it's factual and brings out something that hasn't been brought out, I think that's fair. And so we have to just use your judgment I guess is the answer to that one.

Well, I guess I really do have to go. But thank you all very, very much. I appreciate it. (Applause.)

END

2:45 P.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 9, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate Timothy E. Flanigan, of Virginia, to be an Assistant Attorney General in the Office of Legal Counsel. He would succeed J. Michael Luttig.

Currently, Mr. Flanigan serves as Acting Assistant Attorney General in the Office of Legal Counsel at the Department of Justice. Prior to this, he served as Principal Deputy Assistant Attorney General in the Office of Legal Counsel at the Department of Justice, 1990-1991. He served with the law firm of Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy in Washington, D.C., 1988-1990; and the law firm of Shearman & Sterling, 1986-1988.

Mr. Flanigan was graduated from Brigham Young University (B.A., 1976) and the University of Virginia (J.D., 1981). He was born May 16, 1953 in Fort Belvoir, Virginia. Mr. Flanigan is married, has twelve children and resides in Great Falls, Virginia.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

April 9, 1992

The President today recognized the volunteers of the Wyoming Colony of Delta Chi Fraternity of Laramie, as the 741st Daily Point of Light for the Nation. Founded at the University of Wyoming in December of 1990 on the premise that alcohol should have no role in fraternal activities, Delta Chi mobilizes its members for activities that leave a lasting impact on their community.

Every Friday, members of Delta Chi visit the Basic Beginnings Preschool, where they read stories to the children. Others make weekly visits to the Iverson Home for Aged Ladies, where they entertain residents at a read-aloud session. This interaction enables residents to enjoy novels while appreciating the company and conversation of these enthusiastic young men.

Delta Chi is committed to a cooperative endeavor with the foresters at Medicine Bow National Forest. The young men have participated in clean-ups of twenty-four campgrounds and have planted grasses to prevent the erosion and depletion of topsoil. The fraternity has also compiled data from visitor surveys, which foresters use to increase access, determine needs, and improve the environment. Delta Chi plans to initiate and implement a park-wide recycling program in the near future and to assist the park foresters in maintaining clear snowmobile trails next winter.

The President salutes the volunteers of the Wyoming Colony of Delta Chi Fraternity for exemplifying his belief that, "From now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others."

#

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 9, 1992

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

In accordance with the requirements of section 6(c) of the Federal Advisory Committee Act, as amended (Public Law 92-463; 5 U.S.C. App. 2, sec. 6(c)), I hereby transmit the Twentieth Annual Report on Federal Advisory Committees for fiscal year 1991.

GEORGE BUSH

THE WHITE HOUSE,
April 9, 1992.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 9, 1992

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

I am pleased to announce that, as part of the Administration's ongoing efforts to reduce unnecessary regulatory burdens, the Food and Drug Administration is today implementing important reforms to the drug approval process.

The reforms announced today could ultimately save millions of lives by giving patients -- including those suffering from such debilitating diseases as cancer, AIDS, and Alzheimer's -- earlier access to promising new drugs. The reforms will also make American pharmaceutical companies more competitive by allowing them to cut years off the drug development process.

These are the first steps toward achieving the Administration's goal of reducing by about 40 percent the average amount of time it takes to bring new drugs to market.

Today's announcement is the outgrowth of an initiative I began in 1988 as chairman of President Reagan's Task Force on Regulatory Relief. I commend the Council on Competitiveness and the Department of Health and Human Services for bringing this initiative to fruition.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

April 9, 1992

The President today recognized the volunteers of the Wyoming Colony of Delta Chi Fraternity of Laramie, as the 741st Daily Point of Light for the Nation. Founded at the University of Wyoming in December of 1990 on the premise that alcohol should have no role in fraternal activities, Delta Chi mobilizes its members for activities that leave a lasting impact on their community.

Every Friday, members of Delta Chi visit the Basic Beginnings Preschool, where they read stories to the children. Others make weekly visits to the Iverson Home for Aged Ladies, where they entertain residents at a read-aloud session. This interaction enables residents to enjoy novels while appreciating the company and conversation of these enthusiastic young men.

Delta Chi is committed to a cooperative endeavor with the foresters at Medicine Bow National Forest. The young men have participated in clean-ups of twenty-four campgrounds and have planted grasses to prevent the erosion and depletion of topsoil. The fraternity has also compiled data from visitor surveys, which foresters use to increase access, determine needs, and improve the environment. Delta Chi plans to initiate and implement a park-wide recycling program in the near future and to assist the park foresters in maintaining clear snowmobile trails next winter.

The President salutes the volunteers of the Wyoming Colony of Delta Chi Fraternity for exemplifying his belief that, "From now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others."

#

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 9, 1992

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

April 9, 1992

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

Enclosed are classified and unclassified copies of the annual Report on Soviet Noncompliance with Arms Control Agreements.

Last year the Soviet Union ended and we have every reason to hope that this will lead to a new era of compliance with arms control agreements. The report I am forwarding covers actions taken in 1991 by the former Soviet Union, not the newly independent states which have succeeded it. We have already seen an improvement in the willingness of these new governments to adhere to arms control obligations.

For our part, the United States will continue to expect scrupulous compliance with all arms control obligations. Such compliance is especially important as we build new and better relations and as conventional and nuclear forces are dismantled.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 9, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate John Cunningham Dugan, of the District of Columbia, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Domestic Finance. He would succeed Jerome H. Powell.

Currently, Mr. Dugan serves as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Financial Institutions at the United States Department of Treasury in Washington, D.C. From 1987-1989, Mr. Dugan served as Minority General Counsel to the Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

Mr. Dugan was graduated from the University of Michigan (B.A., 1977) and Harvard Law School (J.D., 1981). He was born June 3, 1955 in Washington, D.C. Mr. Dugan is married, has one child and resides in Washington, D.C.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 9, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AND PRESIDENT CHAMORRO OF NICARAGUA
IN PHOTO OPPORTUNITY

Oval Office

3:13 P.M. EDT

MRS. CHAMORRO: It's a wonderful visit. It always is, but I think we feel even more united now than ever.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think so.

PRESIDENT CHAMORRO: We always come to the United States feeling at home, just as we are awaiting your visit in Nicaragua.

THE PRESIDENT: We weren't sure our Assistant Secretary was -- Bernie Aronson -- was going to make it. He was down in Peru. He can tell us -- he can tell us, yes. He's coming over -- he's going to wait for these cameras.

Q Mr. President, your reaction to the Noriega verdict?

THE PRESIDENT: Noriega was convicted, I think, on eight out of ten counts. Well, I think it's a major victory against the drug lords. We're going to continue the fight against drugs in every way possible. But I think it's significant that he was accorded a free and fair trial and he was found guilty. And I hope it sends a lesson to drug lords here and around the world that they'll pay a price if they continue to poison the lives of our kids in this country or anywhere else. And so, in my view, the case was a solid case and I've not commented on it since it began in the court, but now that he has been convicted I think it's proper to say that justice has been served.

Q Was it worth invading Panama to get this verdict?

THE PRESIDENT: It was certainly worth bringing him to justice. It's certainly always worth it when you protect the lives of American citizens and when the partial result of that -- a part of the result of that is democracy in a country it makes it doubly worth it. But, yes, I'm glad he's out.

Q Are you sorry things are not better for the Panamanians these days?

THE PRESIDENT: I wish things were better for the Americans, for the Panamanians, for the Nicaraguans, and for everybody. But we're going to continue to work to see that that is true.

Q Mr. President, are you surprised by the verdict, given the fact that it almost ended in a mistrial?

THE PRESIDENT: No, because I think I've felt that from what I understood that the case was very solid. But I think it's a good thing, and I think the main thing is it sends a message to the drug lords that they are going to be brought to justice. And I

MORE

salute those countries that are waging a good fight against narcotics in their countries; and many in this hemisphere are doing just exactly that.

Q Mr. President, have you heard from John Major?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I haven't. Any exit polls? They don't start -- we talked to the --

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: They don't cast anything about exit polls until the polls close, which is 5:00 p.m. our time.

THE PRESIDENT: Ten p.m. their time, yes. They stay open late over there. Big British election, as you know.

Okay, you guys, you're out of here.

END

3:17 P.M. EDT

Rose

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

4 calls

Recommended Telephone Call

TO: Judge Rudolph T. Randa

TELEPHONE: Home: (414) 962-4772
Office: (414) 278-4496 / 4497

DATE TO CALL: April 9, 1992

RECOMMENDED BY: The Attorney General, Samuel K. Skinner,
Nicholas E. Calio, C. Boyden Gray, and
Constance Horner

PURPOSE: To ask him to serve as United States
District Judge for the Eastern District of
Wisconsin

TOPICS OF
DISCUSSION

1. Since 1982, Judge Randa has served as a Judge for the Milwaukee County Circuit Court. Before that, he served as Appellate Court Judge for the Wisconsin Court of Appeals for the First District, 1981-1982; a Judge for the Milwaukee County Circuit Court, 1979-1981; a Judge for the Milwaukee Municipal Court, 1975-1979; an Assistant City Attorney for the City of Milwaukee, 1970-1975; an Attorney with the Civil Rights Division of the United States Department of Justice, 1969; and a sole practitioner, 1966-1967.
2. He received a B.S. degree (1963) from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and a J.D. degree (1966) from the University of Wisconsin Law School.
3. Judge Randa is 51 years old, married, his wife's name is Melinda, they have two children, and reside in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

DATE OF SUBMISSION: April 9, 1992

ACTION _____

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Recommended Telephone Call

TO: Judge Norman H. Stahl

TELEPHONE: Office: (603) 622-0123
Home: (603) 225-1525

DATE TO CALL: April 9, 1992

RECOMMENDED BY: The Attorney General, Samuel K. Skinner,
Nicholas E. Calio, C. Boyden Gray and
Constance Horner

PURPOSE: To ask him to serve as United States Circuit
Judge for the First Circuit

TOPICS OF
DISCUSSION:

1. Since 1990, Judge Stahl has served as United States District Judge for the District of New Hampshire. Before that, Judge Stahl was affiliated with the law firm of Devine, Millimet, Stahl & Branch as an associate and then a partner, 1956-1990; and was a law clerk to the Honorable John Spalding, Supreme Judicial Court, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1955-1956.
2. He received a B.A. degree magna cum laude (1952) from Tufts College and an LL.B. degree (1955) from Harvard Law School.
3. Judge Stahl is 61 years old, married, his wife's name is Sue, they have two children, and reside in Bedford, New Hampshire.

DATE OF SUBMISSION: April 9, 1992

ACTION _____

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Recommended Telephone Call

TO: Judge Michael J. Melloy

TELEPHONE: Home: (319) 362-0897
Office: (319) 362-9786

DATE TO CALL: April 9, 1992

RECOMMENDED BY: The Attorney General, Samuel K. Skinner,
Nicholas E. Calio, C. Boyden Gray, and
Constance Horner

PURPOSE: To ask him to serve as United States District
Judge for the Northern District of Iowa

TOPICS OF
DISCUSSION

1. Since 1986, Judge Melloy has served as a United States Bankruptcy Judge for the Northern District of Iowa. Before that, he was affiliated with the law firm of O'Connor & Thomas, P.C. as an associate, as a partner, and then as a shareholder, 1974-1986.
2. He received a B.A. degree magna cum laude (1970) from Loras College and a J.D. degree (1974) from the University of Iowa College of Law.
3. Judge Melloy is 44 years old, married, his wife's name is Jane, they have three children, and reside in Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

DATE OF SUBMISSION: April 9, 1992

ACTION _____

April 9, 1992

To: Connie H

If one of these three refuse this I have an archeological friend Scotty McNeish of the Peabody Museum at Andover who might be good. We'd need to check out his politics but I know him favorably and I know he is big into 'digs' etc. The Peabody is a fine small archeology museum at my old school.

GB

CG

FROM THE PRESIDENT

4/21 - Per Connie's
office, everyone
looks good and
board will, at
this point, go as
is. She'll let us
know if there's a
last minute change.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 7, 1992

2 APR 9 AM: 00

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: CONSTANCE HORNER 
SUBJECT: Personnel Selection - Cultural Property
Advisory Committee

I. Background

✓ The Cultural Property Advisory Committee was established in 1983. In response to requests from foreign governments for U.S. import bans on endangered artifacts, the Committee assists the Director of USIA in making certain determinations as to the significance of artifacts, the state of jeopardy in which they exist, and the international market for the material. The Director makes the final determination on import bans.

II. Term

Members serve two year terms.

III. Membership

There are eleven members on the Committee who are appointed to staggered terms of two years. The Cultural Property Act provides that the President shall appoint members of the Committee who are experts in archaeology/anthropology/ethnology, the international sale of cultural property, or who represent the museum community or the general public. Members are expected to be knowledgeable about the significance of archaeological and ethnographic materials of other cultures and the movement of such materials in international commerce. The Chairman of the Committee is designated from among the members by the President. The Committee's membership is as follows:

<u>NAME</u>	<u>POSITION</u>	<u>APPT</u>	<u>EXPIRATION</u>
Josephson, Jack	CHAIRMAN	6/12/90	4/25/92
Coggins, Clemency	ARCH ANTH REP	4/25/88	4/25/91
Lange, Frederick	ARCH ANTH REP	6/12/90	4/25/92
Wildesen, Leslie	ARCH ANTH REP	4/26/88	4/25/90
Chait, Allen	INTL SALE	2/20/92	4/25/93
Keshishian, Harold	INTL SALE	6/12/90	4/25/92
Ward, Michael	INTL SALE	clearance	4/25/93
Anawalt, Patricia	MUSEUM REP	4/26/88	4/25/90
McCredie, James	MUSEUM REP	clearance	4/25/93
Hudson, Edward	PUBLIC REP	2/26/92	4/25/93

IV. Recommendations (select three of three)

JACK A. JOSEPHSON, of New York, to be a Public Member of the Cultural Property Advisory Committee, and, upon his appointment, to be redesignated as Chairman. Reappointment. Mr. Josephson is President of Sellers and Josephson, a wall covering manufacturer. He is a noted collector of art and has authored a scholarly work on Egyptian art history. Mr. Josephson is the Chairman of the Council of Friends of the Institute of Fine Arts at New York University, a fellow of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, a member of the American Research Center in Egypt and a member of the Egypt Exploration Society in London. His brother, Marvin, was an early and significant supporter of President Bush. (Part-time PA serving a two year term expiring 4/25/94.)

Recommended by: Henry Catto, Bruce Gelb

APPROVE CB 4/9

DISAPPROVE _____

HAROLD MARK KESHISHIAN, of the District of Columbia, to be an international sales representative on the Cultural Property Advisory Committee. Reappointment. Mr. Keshishian has 33 years experience as a public appraiser of oriental rugs and textiles. He has international experience as a merchandiser, designer, lecturer, author, and expert in his field. He is a life-long Republican and was an active supporter of the 1988 Bush Campaign. (Part-time PA serving a two year term expiring 4/25/94.)

Recommended by: Henry Catto, Margaret Tutwiler, Grace Moe, Rex Scouten (White House Curator), Clement Conger (Curator of the Diplomatic Reception Rooms).

APPROVE CB 4/9

DISAPPROVE _____

FREDERICK W. LANGE, of Colorado, to be an archaeology and anthropology representative on the Cultural Property Advisory Committee. Reappointment. Dr. Lange is the Curator of Anthropology and Director of the Center for Central American Art and Archaeology at the University of Colorado. He is one of the foremost authorities on Central American archaeology and has also directed research in the Caribbean, Canada, and the United States. (Part-time PA position serving a two year term expiring 4/25/94.)

Recommended by: Henry Catto, Neil Bush.

APPROVE CB 4/9

DISAPPROVE _____

Upon your approval, all appropriate clearances will be initiated. Announcement of your intention to appoint these individuals will be made as soon as the necessary clearances are completed.



THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

3-8-92

Mr. President.

Eli Jacobs did a great deal on my behalf in the confirmation process, using his considerable influence to very good effect (especially among Democrats-- With. Mikulski, Lieberman, Robb, Johnston, et. al). Seeing you together at the ballgame reminded me that I had probably not told you all he had done. I know you have much on your mind, but I would be very grateful if (over)

You could drop Eli a note mentioning
his efforts on my behalf and their
importance to a successful outcome.
(In light of the passage of time, you might
say Sam Bowen mentioned all this at the
same.)

Thanks very much.

BT.

Speechwriters



Capital
Classic
All-star
High School
Basketball





OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTOGRAPH 09 APR 92 P30677 21A CP

DATE: April 9 '92

DAILY NEWS CLIPS

The Washinton Post

The Washington Times

The Wall Street Journal

USA Today

The New York Times

Office of Media Affairs

Following Brown's Lead, Clinton Courts Labor

Arkansan Sends a Message to Tsongas

By David Maraniss
and Donald P. Baker
Washington Post Staff Writers

On the first day of what Bill Clinton and his advisers optimistically view as the rally-round-the-front-runner phase of the campaign, the Arkansas governor flew to Peoria, Ill., yesterday to stage a pro-labor event in a state that already has held its primary—a clear signal that Clinton would like to shift his focus to President Bush and the fall election.

In journeying to Peoria, world headquarters of Caterpillar Inc., the heavy-equipment company being struck by the United Auto Workers, Clinton also took a page out of challenger Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr.'s union-label campaign book and sent a preemptive message to his once and possibly future Democratic rival, Paul E. Tsongas.

Tsongas has been criticized by labor for supporting management's right to hire permanent replacement workers during a strike, as Caterpillar has taken steps to do. Clinton opposes striker replacement and has emphasized that position to bolster his otherwise uneven labor record. The trip to Peoria underlined Clinton's differences with Tsongas as the campaign heads toward labor-heavy Pennsylvania.

"Going to Peoria was kind of like saying to Senator Tsongas, 'Okay, we dare you,'" said Clinton's deputy campaign manager, George Stephanopoulos. Most of Clinton's advisers said they do not expect Tsongas to reenter the race.

Meanwhile, Brown became the first presidential candidate to campaign in Virginia this year, speaking yesterday at campus rallies in Richmond and Charlottesville. While the two appearances seemed to rejuvenate Brown, at one point he nearly conceded the nomination to Clinton.

Asked if he would support the Democratic nominee in the fall, Brown quipped to University of Virginia law students, "If he behaves himself."

Then Brown added a list of qualifiers—"if he supports same-day voter registration, agrees to make Election Day a holiday . . . then we'll have something to talk about."

Brown invoked the name of the university's founder, Thomas Jefferson, who he said came up with the idea of the Democratic Party in 1791 "while on a botany expedition."

"Talk about a flake," Brown said to cheers. "He was into flowers, books, architecture" and when a law student men-

tioned another Jefferson occupation, Brown said, "yes, and a lawyer too."

Brown said Jefferson wanted to create a party to "stop the power of the few from riding on the labors of the many." What a description of what's going on," Brown said.

Most in the packed auditorium appeared to be strong Brown supporters, including Bennett Simpson, a second-year law student from the District, although he said he found Brown's "flat tax a little iffy."

Leslie Batchelor, a second-year student from Oklahoma City who heads the Virginia Law Democrats, which sponsored Brown's appearance, said she remains "absolutely committed" to Clinton and while she agrees that "the system is corrupt, I don't share his [Brown's] perception that people are evil."

At Virginia Commonwealth University in Richmond, the former California governor urged an enthusiastic crowd to participate in this weekend's Virginia caucuses, the first step in a process to select delegates to the Democratic National Convention.

When Brown asked how many in the student-dominated crowd were not registered to vote, only a few hands went up, to which he responded, "You lie."

During Clinton's three-hour stay in Peoria, he met with management and UAW officials. He sought to blame the strike on Bush administration policies, arguing that the major impasse over health insurance could have been avoided if there were a national health care system.

Clinton urged company officials not to follow through on their efforts to hire permanent replacements for the striking UAW workers at Caterpillar. "I have the feeling that they know what a terrible precedent it would set and that somehow it should be avoided," he said after meeting with the officials. Clinton then shook hands with hundreds of strikers who lined the sidewalks outside the factory gate.

After his back-and-forth campaigning yesterday from New York to Peoria to Philadelphia, Clinton returned to Little Rock. He intends to stay in the Arkansas capital for several days, where aides say he will sharpen his message to focus more on his vision of public service and what he would do as president—and recover from a chronic sore throat.

Maraniss reported from Peoria; Baker from Richmond.

WE'VE HEARD THAT...

■ A slightly embarrassed Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee hurriedly recruited Sen. Bob Graham yesterday to replace Sen. Tim Wirth as this morning's breakfast keynote for high-rolling donors. Since Wirth announced retirement plans yesterday, he no longer seemed the best choice to address the "Leadership Circle" of \$15,000 givers.

■ The 6-6 White House counsel C. Boyden Gray is quite a sight walking his new pet Vietnamese pol-bellied pig in Georgetown.

■ Richard Nixon has split loyalties in the California primary race for his old Senate seat. Monday night he slipped into town to attend a fund-raiser for GOP candidate Bruce Herschensohn, and the next morning briefed opposing candidate Tom Campbell on foreign policy.

■ Oklahoma war veterans have been berserk over persistent rumors that Jane Fonda might accompany husband Ted Turner to a Rep. Mike Synar



SWEAT ALONG WITH MIKE, AS HE TAKES POLITICAL HEAT NOW BRINGING TED TURNER AND WIFE JANE FONDA TO OKLAHOMA. BY SIMPSON FOR THE TULSA TRIBUNE

fund-raiser next week. Says Synar unapologetically: "It's a great opportunity for the folks in the district to meet Time's Man of the Year." As for the Fonda mystery, those right-leaning Oklahomans can chill out. Seems the star can't make it after all.

■ George and Barbara Bush sneaked down to the Jefferson Memorial for a dawn stroll yesterday through the cherry blossoms. Of course, reporters and Secret Service agents were in tow.

ART BUCHWALD

Economy-Class Statesmanship

When Secretary of State James Baker decided to fly tourist class on commercial airlines to silence the criticism of his use of military aircraft for personal business, it was a noble gesture—and also a dumb one.

No statesman of a superpower should be required to fly in coach no matter what kind of message Secretary Baker is sending to the American taxpayer.

Let's discuss it point by point. Flying tourist class is a security risk. What if, by accident, Baker ate the airline food? You can't expect him to come up with any kind of peace plan for the Middle East and survive a tourist-class beef stroganoff at the same time.

The news stories report that the secretary was very pleased with his flight. This is because it was a onetime event. Wait until the next trip when he flies coach and the lady in the adjoining seat asks for his help while she changes her baby's diaper.

Or, worse still, wait until the kid in the row behind him starts hitting him over the head with a Walt Disney bungee stick.

According to the secretary's spokesman, while flying in coach the secretary received notes from other passengers on U.S. foreign affairs.

It's pretty hard to have a coherent policy when everyone on the plane is giving him advice on what the State Department should do about the Kurds in Turkey.

"Give the money to Israel," "Get the British army out of Northern Ireland" and "Don't forget to bomb Libya" were just some of the suggestions that he received. All these people mean well, but I don't want those who travel on special low-fare airline packages making foreign policy for this country, particularly when many of them don't even know how to fasten their safety belts.

To show the type of people Baker must travel with these days I relate this true story. I was on a flight recently from Paris to Washington when an American passenger opened the overhead compartment and his bag fell on a Japanese gentleman's head.

The Japanese passenger, who was fluent in American curse words, let out a stream of expletives against the American, who could have been a construction foreman on leave from the Middle East.

The American answered (in almost the same language the Japanese gentleman used) that he was not responsible because

his bag had been placed there by someone else.

The Japanese man demanded an apology. The American refused.

The other passengers sat frozen in their seats and finally, with the persuasion of the flight attendant, both men returned to their seats. The Japanese passenger flew the rest of the way with an ice bag on his head. Had Secretary Baker been on board he could have been accused of Japanese bashing.

The flight attendant was not too surprised at the incident because people are behaving strangely on all flights these days.

A few weeks previously, she told me, an Arab sheik demanded that she give him a manicure. She tried to explain that flight staff are forbidden to give manicures on transatlantic flights. But he insisted.

She asked him why he expected her to give him a manicure, and he replied, "Because you are a woman and I am a man."

I only tell this story because if Baker had been on the same flight, the sheik could have demanded that Baker take his side. This is the best reason why the secretary should not fly commercial.

© 1992, Los Angeles Times Syndicate

HIGHLIGHTS

■ The season finale of "Knots Landing" on WUSA.
■ Part II of "The Creative Spirit" and a new "Mystery" on WETA.

Public Broadcasting

The Creative Spirit: Part II of four explores how childhood experiences can determine creativity; hosted by child actor Charlie Korts-mo (of the movie "Hook") (Channel 26 at 8).
Mystery: Inspector Morse V (CC) (DVS). Part I of two. Morse is arrested after being discovered with a knife over a corpse back-stage during Mozart's "The Magic Flute" (Channel 26 at 9).

Tamango (1987). A Dutch sea captain sails an illegal slave ship to Europe; among those aboard is Tamango, who plots his freedom (Channel 32, approx. 9:30 p.m.).

Around Town. With a look at the film "Edward II," the play "Life During Wartime," and an exhibit of Mesopotamian art from the Louvre at the Sackler Gallery. 30 minutes (Channel 26 at 10).

Primetime Movies

Columbus: Grand Deceptions (R) (1989). Columbus matches wits with a brilliant colonel who heads a secret paramilitary operation and may have killed the one man who could expose his dark secrets. Two hours (Channel 7 at 8).

In the Line of Duty: The FBI Murders (1988). Michael Gross and David Soul play two killers on the run in south Florida. 2½ hours (Channel 50 at 8).

Series

The Cosby Show (R) (CC). Cliff teaches a men's course in etiquette that turns into a forum on sex and parenting (Channel 4 at 8).

The Simpsons (CC). Newly released from prison for robbery, Sideshow Bob (Kelsey Grammer) begins dating Marge's sister but Bart suspects a dark motive when Bob proposes marriage (Channel 5 at 8).

Top Cops (CC). A cop calms an outraged husband; a deputy sheriff captures armed robbers; and a New Jersey man starts a program to help runaways get home (Channel 9 at 8).

A Different World (R) (CC). Jasmine Guy plays both Whitley and her wealthier cousin Liza who visits Hillman to snare a husband (Channel 4, 8:30).

Drexelle Class (R) (CC). Otis becomes a spy when Melissa moves in with Slash (Channel 5, 8:30).

Cheers (R) (CC). Cliff attempts stand-up comedy and Carla bargains with God with her son as the payoff (Channel 4 at 9).

Beverly Hills, 90210 (R) (CC). Newcomer Emily leads the gang into the club scene to experiment with drugs and alcohol (Channel 5 at 9).

Street Stories (CC). With reports on experimental brain surgery; a Texas woman's battle with the IRS; and a grandmother who comforts crime victims (Channel 9 at 9).

Wings (R) (CC). Fay and Joe compete for a seat on the town council (Channel 4, 9:30).

L.A. Law (R) (CC). Van Owen defends an abusive mother against enforced contraception; Becker tempts Roxanne to live with him; and McKenzie takes temporary custody of a movie-star chimpanzee (Channel 4 at 10).

PrimeTime Live (CC). With a report on Japanese companies with American business-ess that may be erasing taxes (Channel 7 at 10).

Knots Landing (CC). In the season finale, Val leaves town without telling Gary, a stranger takes an interest in Meg, Paige is fed up with Sumner's clandestine actions and romance fires up between Kate and Alex (Channel 9 at 10).

Friday Morning

Today (CC). With a performance by members of the Ringling Bros. and Barnum & Bailey Circus and author Lester Thurow (Channel 4 at 7 a.m.).

Good Morning America (CC). With Patrick Swayze, Beverly Sills and author Mary Higgins Clark (Channel 7 at 7).

CBS This Morning (CC). With Don Johnson and Melanie Griffith from Paris on the opening of the Euro-Disney theme park (Channel 9 at 7).

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, APRIL 9, 1992

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

Ted Koppel will appear tonight on "The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson," instead of tomorrow night, as previously announced...

Why the change? Because ABC News suddenly announced yesterday that Ted will anchor a "Nightline" town meeting tomorrow night from Palo Alto, Calif., called "The Process Run Amok: A Look at the Presidential Campaign"...

It will be broadcast live, starting at 11:30 EDT, from Dinkelspiel Auditorium on the campus of Stanford University before an audience of 700 students, faculty and Bay Area residents...

Candidates from the Democratic and Republican campaigns have been invited to participate...

The British hold their general election today. Many pundits in this country—tired of writing about Jerry and Bill and Paul and Pat—have discovered parallels between the reelection problems of Prime Minister John Major and George Bush. This has raised interest in the British election results to a fever pitch (well, maybe a potential 2 rating, anyway)...

C-SPAN tonight will provide a live simulcast of the BBC's election-night coverage from London from 7 until 10:30. Coverage will be anchored by senior BBC reporter David Dimbleby "and will include some lighter moments courtesy of political humorist Rory Bremner"...

WETA, for its part, will provide live election updates during station breaks between 6:30 and 11 tonight...

Then, starting at 11, the station will provide two hours of live coverage from Britain's Independent Television News, as relayed through WHYY, the Philadelphia PBS station...

The U.S. broadcast will be hosted from the WHYY studio by Robert Siegel, host of NPR's "All Things Considered" and a former NPR London correspondent, who will be joined, as they say in TV and radio, by Andrew Stephen of the London Observer and Michael Elliot of the Economist...

In Other News

CBS yesterday announced that four new series—including an animated prequel to the Disney studio hit "The Little Mermaid"—will join the Saturday morning kiddies lineup in the fall...

Disappearing will be "Where's Waldo?," "Muppet Babies" and "Riders in the Sky"...

Joining the schedule, in addition to "Disney's The Little Mermaid," will be "Fievel's American Tails," "Disney's Raw Toonage" and "The Amazing Live Sea Monkeys"...

The last is billed as a "new live-action creation from Howie Mandel and the Chiodo Brothers, featuring a trio of funny, fishface characters. Mandel contributes to the mayhem as the mad-cap professor who brought them to life." Nuff said...

In "Disney's the Little Mermaid," Ariel, "the rambunctious daughter of King Triton, is a 'mer-teen' on a mission. With her pals, the lovable calypso crustacean Sebastian and the often flustered Flounder, she sets out on exciting adventures in the visually stunning underwater world"...

"Fievel's American Tails," from Steven Spielberg, "continues the escapades of Fievel Mousekewitz and the entire Mousekewitz family," as first seen in the film "An American Tail"...

"Disney's Raw Toonage" (I think I'd work on that title, Mickey) is described as a "half-hour of comic shorts, hosted each week by Disney's most popular characters"...

Mandel, by the way, will star in a primetime special on CBS touting his Amazing Live Sea Monkeys, scheduled to air shortly before the new season kicks in next September. No dates have been set for (1) Howie's primetime special or (2) the start of the new kiddie fall season...

CBS today will announce the full cast for the six-hour miniseries to be filmed from "Queen," the late Alex Haley's story of his great-grandmother, which will air sometime in the 1992-93 season on the network...

Among those selected so far: Halle Berry will

play the title role; Danny Glover will play Haley's grandfather, Alec Haley; and Martin Sheen and Ann-Margret will play the plantation owners whose son has a relationship with a slave that results in the birth of Queen...

In other news from CBS yesterday, the network confirmed that Bette Midler will star in a three-hour movie as Mama Rose in a remake of "Gypsy," the musical and film about the life of Gypsy Rose Lee...

The expanded length of the production will enable Universal to revive the musical "exactly as it was originally performed," according to a CBS spokesman...

Moving Right Along

The Bethesda-based Discovery Channel said yesterday that the premiere of "In the Company of Whales" on Sunday "collected an aggregate rating of 3.4," reaching some 2.2 million cable homes...

The two-hour program will be repeated Monday, April 13, at 8 p.m.; Thursday, April 16, at 11 p.m.; and Saturday, April 18, at 3 p.m....

"Today" executive producer Jeff Zucker is 27—today...

And a tip of the ole rabbit ears, tastefully enwrapped in blue, to Bonnie and Arty Berko, proud parents of Jess, who arrived at Holy Cross Hospital in Silver Spring on Tuesday weighing 7 pounds 6 ounces. He joins Sam, 4, on the Berko roster...

Mother is a freelance director currently working at Channel 4 on the 6 and 11 news. Dad is a national field producer for ESPN, based in Washington...

Oh, the price paid for Doing Good sometimes. Especially in an election year. ABC jettisoned "Civil Wars" Tuesday night in favor of a one-hour news special at 10 dealing with the primary results in New York, Kansas, Wisconsin and Minnesota...

Moreover, WABC in New York moved "Roseanne" and "Room for Two" from the 9 to 10 timeslot to midnight to make room for state primary election results...

But the ABC News special averaged only a 6.6 national Nielsen rating and an 11 share (down from the 10.8/19 "Civil Wars" did a week ago) while the loss of the biggest market in the country from 9 to 10 knocked 7.3 percent from ABC's primetime total on Tuesday night...

Thus, CBS won ABC's night with a 14.0/23. ABC was second at 13.0/21, NBC trailed at 12.1/20...

Without New York, N.Y., the Rosie repeat did an 18.2/28, which is not exactly chopped liver, while "Room for Two" slipped to a 13.7/21 from an 18.1/29 average after two appearances...

The CBS movie, "In the Eyes of a Stranger," averaged a 14.2/23. NBC's "Dateline NBC" managed an 11.1/19...

Nor will steady readers of the TV Column be surprised to learn that each ratingzzz point represented 921,000 TV homes throughout the evening (a local ratingzzz point, 18,199 TV homes)...

Channel 7 will repeat Monday night's education special, "Starting Point: Making Education Work," at 2 p.m. Saturday afternoon...

Although the one-hour program did only a 3.5/6 at 8 on Monday, the station received some 170 calls within 90 minutes that night from volunteers offering to help...

Renee Poussaint anchors the WJLA-produced program, which is the first of four such specials planned by the station in 1992...

ABC Entertainment, whose cupboard seems to be a little bare, will bring back the first two two-hour "Columbos," starring Peter Falk, during the May ratingzzz sweeps...

The very first one, called "Prescription: Murder," aired on NBC on Feb. 20, 1968...

After a second tryout in "Ransom for a Dead Man" on March 1, 1971, "Columbo" joined the NBC Mystery Movie wheel ("McMillan and Wife" was another) as a regular series...

"Prescription" will air on Thursday, May 7; "Ransom," on May 14, both of them in the 8 p.m. timeslot. Gene Barry, Nina Foch and William Windom star in the first drama. Lee Grant and Harold Gould show up in the second...

JACK ANDERSON AND MICHAEL BINSTEIN

How Foley Should Have Handled Gingrich

If House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) is deposed, it will be because he lost a battle that this "Mr. Nice Guy" never fought. It should have begun on June 6, 1989, when his predecessor, Speaker Jim Wright (D-Tex.), told Congress, "Let me give you back this job."

Foley made a mistake that month by not putting on the gloves and coming out swinging against the man most likely to make his life miserable, Rep. Newt Gingrich (Ga.), the GOP's guerrilla fighter who has the Democrats and Foley reeling.

Minority Whip Gingrich has been hammering Foley for the way the House is run, even to the point of blaming Gingrich's own bounced checks on the Democratic leadership.

This is a year when all the political stars should have been aligned for the Democrats. The country is galvanized for Democratic issues of health care, jobs and tax fairness. The party should be capitalizing on the issues. Instead, Foley, the third man in line for the U.S. presidency in the constitutional chain of command, is making headlines about kited checks, no-cost prescription drugs, free parking and low fees at the House gym.

The beleaguered Foley is being flogged on television by the telegenic Gingrich, who accuses the speaker of coverups and other crimes. The response from the unflappable Foley has been lawyerly and measured, reminiscent of Michael S. Dukakis's robotic response to a question about the hypothetical rape of his wife.

Gingrich put his finger on Foley's biggest handicap back in 1990 when he said of the speaker, "He has to get an A-plus for having helped return the House to a sense of decency, and returning congressmen to being colleagues again. He's very decent." In retrospect, the comment is less a compliment than the assessment of a man sizing up his enemy's Achilles' heel.

In Foley's home town of Spokane, his father is remembered as the judge who was so well-liked that even defendants thanked him when he sentenced them to jail. In Foley's first congressional race in 1964, he set the tone by citing his opponent for "distinguished service." In 1985, Foley pronounced that he was "temperamentally not a basher."

Too bad. One pol told us that Foley didn't have to fight Gingrich on the floor of the House. He merely had to make life miserable for Gingrich in his home state of Georgia, where the Republican barely scraped by with a reelection victory in 1990 with a margin of 1,000 votes.

The first step should have been to rally the unions in Georgia and other traditionally Democratic constituencies to a "scorched earth policy" against Gingrich, the Democratic pol suggested. Step two would have been to orchestrate fund-raising and radio advertising against Gingrich on his home turf. Had this been done, according to some party strategists, Gingrich could have been pinned down in his own district this year fighting for his life at the polls instead of roiling the waters closer to the Potomac.

"The only way to deal with Newt is on the ground level," explained one chagrined Democrat, sympathetic to Foley. "If you treat him like a national figure, he'll be a national figure."

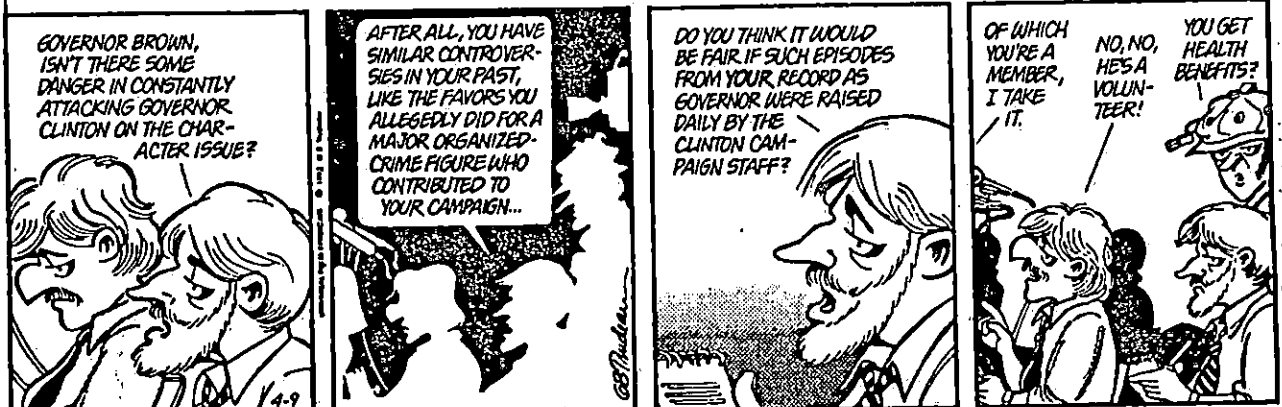
Now, because Gingrich has been allowed the luxury of a national forum, Foley's leadership is in peril and his congressional seat is threatened back home. Local Republicans there are running radio ads depicting Foley, in a fictional conversation, gloating over the "whopping pay raise" he gave Congress and announcing to check kitters: "No problem. I'll just have our little House Bank cover them."

It's the kind of mortar fire that Foley can't seem to return in kind. Americans admire wisdom, patience and turn-the-other-cheek restraint. But they also feel better when the person in their corner has a limit to his patience. One source said that Foley would have gone greater political distances if a story had circulated about how he "grabbed somebody by the tie and punched him in the nose at any time in his life."

Meanwhile, Sen. Connie Mack (R-Fla.) may have found the antidote to the anti-incumbency fever sweeping the nation. He called on President Bush to fire Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady because Americans are hurting. "It was one of the smartest things I ever did," an astonished Mack later told his colleagues. "It made me more popular in Florida than just about anything I've done."

DOONESBURY

By G.B. Trudeau



Bush Squeezed Out at White House

By Christine Brennan
Washington Post Staff Writer

Jackets, hats and jerseys have become standard gifts for sports teams to give the president in White House ceremonies, but yesterday might have been the first time a president received a hug, a kiss and "a few squeezes" from an athlete.

The defining moment of the sun-splashed, star-spangled White House reception for the U.S. Winter Olympics team occurred when short-track speed skating gold medalist Cathy Turner presented President Bush with a team jacket.

After helping him put on the multicolored jacket, Turner gave Bush a hug. Then they bumped into each

other and Turner put her arms around him again and gave him a kiss on the cheek.

"There was one hug and a few squeezes," Turner, a former hotel lounge singer, said after the ceremony at the south portico. "After we hugged, we turned and I just kind of grabbed him and kissed him."

Chagrined, Turner said with a smile, "Maybe I shouldn't have done that. I'd like to go back over and just talk to him."

Turner was one of four women who stood with Bush and his wife during the 20-minute ceremony attended by about 130 members of the U.S. team that went to the 1992 Winter Olympics in Albertville in February.

She and the others—figure skat-

er Kristi Yamaguchi, speed skater Bonnie Blair and moguls skier Donna Weinbrecht—were the United States' gold medalists at the Games. (Blair won two golds; Turner, a gold and a silver.) Not only did four women account for the five U.S. gold medals, but of the 11 total medals won by U.S. athletes, nine were won by women.

Bush said the ceremony provided a variation of the biblical phrase, "Let us now praise famous men," saying that at the Winter Games, "we praised famous women."

But as he looked at the athletes gathered around him on the two exterior White House staircases, he said: "I almost didn't recognize you all without the interruptions for commercials."

"I have said for a long time that we enhance our chances of beating George Bush in November if we have an early nominee so we can focus all of our time, attention, resources and energy on defeating Bush rather than beating up on each other," he said, smiling broadly. "The closer we get to that, the happier Democrats are."

"People are saying, 'This could be the year,' " agreed Colorado Rep. Pat Schroeder. "It could be the year. Absolutely. We're thinking positive."

Or as Fazio put it, "After 12 years of the same song out of the White House, we think the American public is looking for a new tune."

"One of the great songs is 'Happy Days Are Here Again,' " whistled West Virginia Sen. Robert Byrd. "No matter what party you're in, I think that's just a great song."

It must be spring.

In my class of '92," Rep. Vic Fazio, chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, said the House banking scandal hurts—but not just his party. "I think it's going to hurt Congress and its going to hurt incumbents. But we've seen some polls that show that the wrath—and there is some—is fairly uniformly applied."

So what's a few setbacks? San Francisco real estate developer Walter Shorenstein, a megabucks Democratic fund-raiser for more than 20 years, is still pouring money into the Democrats. "My very nature is to be optimistic," he said. "I wouldn't be in the kind of business I'm in unless I was optimistic. When you look ahead, you have a tremendous feeling that so much is needed and the best way it can be done is through the Democratic Party."

No wonder DNC Chairman Ron Brown was in such a good mood. Okay, he's always in a good mood, but he was

around their respective flags and we'll have an election in November."

With Clinton, presumably, as the nominee, there was no talk of any other candidate; no late entry into the race. What lurks in the heart of Gephardt or Sen. Lloyd Bentsen remains a mystery. Bentsen kept quiet; earlier in the day, Gephardt stopped short of endorsing Clinton but dismissed talk of a brokered convention.

"The last brokered convention was in 1924," said former Democratic National Committee chairman Chuck Manatt. "One hundred four ballots and we lost rather handsily to Calvin Coolidge."

Besides, the dinner was to raise money for congressional races—as summing the Democrats can get their guys to stay in office. Colorado Sen. Tim Wirth announced Tuesday he was resigning; Robb spent yesterday on the phone with the rest of the gang. "I can't afford to lose any more senators

Democrats' Balmy Mood

The Upbeat Congressional Fund-Raiser

By Roxanne Roberts
Washington Post Staff Writer

And the Democratic candidate is: Alfred E. Neumann!

Just kidding. It looks like Bill Clinton has the party nomination locked up and there was positively a "What, me worry?" atmosphere at last night's Democratic Congressional Dinner at the Washington Hilton.

Maybe it was the balmy spring day, maybe it was Tuesday's primary results, maybe it was the open bar—but 1,800 party loyalists who brought in \$2.5 million for Democratic Senate and House races at the annual black-tie fund-raiser were in an awfully good mood.

"Well, we raised a lot of money—more than people expected—and Clinton won four primaries yesterday, and Bush is at, what . . . 40 percent, 38 percent popularity?" said West Virginia Sen. Jay Rockefeller. "That's the making of a nice dinner."

"I think Democrats are always upbeat," said House Majority Leader Dick Gephardt with a smile. "It's a beautiful spring day, the blossoms are out. Why shouldn't you be upbeat?"

Well, there's the recession and voter anger and the House banking scandal and that nasty Democratic habit of fratricide—for starters..

See DEMOCRATS, C11, Col 1

And boy, were they positive. None of the Democratic candidates attended day's exit polls said 65 percent of Democrats and 50 percent of Republicans who voted said they had doubts about their candidate.

"There's the traditional desire for something other than what you have," said a calm Sen. Robb. "It's a natural human instinct that is universal. You can see it's happening on both sides of the equation. But the nominees are clear and everyone will soon rally

Whether people care about the optimistic feeling."

"You only get somewhere by being negative and downcast," he said. "You never believed you get anywhere in the past months, but the Congress in the past months, but we've had our share of problems in rare Washington appearance, accompanied her daughter, Lynda Robb, and son-in-law Sen. Chuck Robb, the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee chairman."

"I think Democrats care about people," said Lynda Robb. "That's a very

Dinner

DEMOCRATS, From C1

THURSDAY, APRIL 9, 1992

The Washington Post

Michael Kinsley

Message: I Don't Care

What is George Bush trying to say?

By the end of President Reagan's first term, friend and foe alike had begun to use the term "Reaganism" to refer to his governing ideology. But no one uses the word "Bushism" to mean any coherent set of political beliefs. A "Bushism" has come to mean his funny way of talking. The staccato sentences with no pronouns. The long, meandering non-sentences that reverse course or get lost completely halfway through. The fractured syntax. The weird mixed metaphors and non sequiturs.

Bush's rambling, semi-coherent style has been compared to Eisenhower's, famously captured in a parody of the delivering the Gettysburg Address: "I haven't checked these figures, but 87 years ago, I think it was, a number of individuals organized a governmental setup here in this country, I believe it covered certain eastern areas, with this idea they were following up, based on a sort of national independence arrangement," and so on.

But even this parody is reasonably coherent compared with some of Bush's riffs. And Eisenhower's verbiage lacked Bush's essential frantic

quality. Eisenhower's admirers believe he could turn the log machine on or off at will, and used it purposely to divert and confuse. No one has ever tried to make that case about Bush, so far.

The positive spin on Bushism is different. It's that his inarticulateness illustrates his sincerity and lack of artifice. It shows he's a regular guy. Bush himself advanced this theory in the most eloquent performance he's ever given: his acceptance speech at the 1988 Republican convention. Naturally he didn't write it himself. The author was Peggy Noonan, Official Purveyor of Soaring Lyricism to Republican Presidents.

In one of that speech's most absurd flights of Noonanism, Bush read from his teleprompter: "Now I may be—may not be the most eloquent, but I learned that early on the eloquence won't draw oil from the ground. . . . And I'm a quiet man, but I hear the quiet people others don't."

In fact, no one has ever accused Bush of being a "quiet man." He's a babbler. And some of his most insin-

cere babbling comes when he wants to be demotic. ("When I need a little free advice about Saddam Hussein, I turn to country music.") The best case for Bushspeak as an expression of the democratic impulse is different. It was made by Jacob Weisberg of the New Republic, who compared Bush to "a big, clumsy golden retriever, drooling and knocking over furniture in his eagerness" to please everyone.

The canniest description of Bush's strange discursiveness belongs to Timothy Noah of the Wall Street Journal, who compares it to call-waiting: Bush is always putting one half-finished thought on hold to take up the next one. Closely related is the tendency described by Meg Greenfield in Newsweek: "Bush is always telling you how to look at what he is doing, or what the impression is he is trying to create." ("We have—I have—want to be positioned in that I could not possibly support David Duke, because of the racism and because of the bigotry and all of this.") What these tics share is a clear view of the mind at work. Bush's mental processes lie close to the surface.

This is honesty of a sort. Bush is famous for his attitude that politics is something one stoops to when necessary. When he denies a remark he has just made ("People understand that Congress bears a greater responsibility for this—but I'm not trying to assign blame"), or reads his stage directions aloud ("Message: I care"), he is telegraphing that he doesn't really mean what he says, that it's all just politics. It's a verbal wink. The implication is that as long as we're all in on the joke, it doesn't matter. ("I've told you I don't live and die by the polls. Thus I will refrain from pointing out that we're not doing too bad in those polls.")

But maybe it does matter. What Bush seems to have no interest in is not just politics in the narrowest sense but political ideas of any kind. He reveals this in unconsciously dismissive references to "freedom and democracy and things of that nature." When he says, "I think in politics there are certain moral values. I'm one who—we believe strongly in pluralism . . . , but when you get into

some questions there are some moral overtones. Murder, that kind of thing," he is transparently faking it.

Bush's problem is not a lack of intelligence—or (as some have suggested) an excess of the prescription tranquilizer Halcion. At bottom, his problem is a simple lack of anything to say. That's why he babbles. That's why he contradicts himself. That's why he tells you how you should perceive what he's saying, instead of just saying it. That's why he tells transparent whoppers.

A man anchored in true beliefs not only would be more articulate in expressing those beliefs. He would make a better liar, too. He wouldn't wreck a story about how faith sustained him while he waited to be rescued from the sea during World War II by adding, preposterously, that he was also sustained by thoughts of "the separation of church and state."

If there were a real Bushism, in other words, there might not be all those Bushisms. Is that clear at all?

© 1992, UFS/The New Republic Inc.

In This Contest, Winner Will Quickly Lose

For White House and Congress, the Pressing Political Priority Is Purging Perquisites

By Dana Priest and Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writers

The race is on: Find the perk and purge it, fast, before your opponent has a chance to wave it in the air.

The contestants: the White House and Office of Management and Budget Director Richard G. Darman on one side, members of Congress and their busy-bee staff members on the other.

Sitting in the bleachers is the sometimes cheering, sometimes irate public.

Yesterday's match was played in the Appropriations subcommittee hearing room of Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.). Darman stepped up to bat.

He warmed up: "Mr. Chairman . . . it's a pleasure to appear before you once again. I heard this morning—as I drove myself to work . . ." Darman said, a reference to his publicized vow this week to give up his portal-to-portal car service.

But the only real factoids Darman offered were these: that his own travel bill during his tenure as director "has averaged under \$350 a year," and that there are 151 gyms within buildings operated by the General Services Administration, which does not include all government buildings.

But he promised more answers, quickly.

While factoids were traded, DeConcini offered his own: There are approximately 530,000 government-owned vehicles, which cost the government \$1.3 billion to operate each year. They do not include, according to GSA, the executive fleet of perquisite cars. Oh well.

"I think that we have to have a sense of proportion and yet I believe you are exactly correct that in the current context the public is rightly disturbed about some patterns it observes in the Congress and in the executive branch," Darman said.

"And so if you or we, in pursuing this in greater detail, find something which does not properly withstand inspection," he added, "it'll be a race between the two of us as to who can propose to eliminate it first."

A senior administration official

"If you or we, in pursuing this in greater detail, find something which does not properly withstand inspection, it'll be a race between the two of us as to who can propose to eliminate it first."

—Richard G. Darman, director, Office of Management and Budget



said yesterday that the administration is compiling its own executive departments perk list and is prepared to announce eliminations with something of a flourish, perhaps in a second package of spending rescissions from President Bush to Congress.

Last Thursday, Darman sent the heads of all departments and agencies a memo reminding them that the White House is looking for further budget savings. The memo notes that he is seeking "even relatively small savings from our own operations, particularly if the spending in question creates symbolic problems that could weaken public confidence" in the agency or department.

And after at first refusing to have officials testify before the House Post Office and Civil Service subcommittee on human resources, which is looking at the costs of some White House operations, including Air Force One, the White House will send senior officials to Capitol Hill today to provide some information.

A senior official said today's testimony would include details on the size and cost of the White House staff, including "detaillees," the officials from other agencies who work at the White House and are paid by their parent agencies but

whose costs do not show up on the White House budget. The official insisted the details would be a "good news story" for the White House because its staff level and costs were low compared to prior years.

Subsequent testimony will be given on the cost of Air Force One. The actual cost of a presidential trip has been shrouded in secrecy in Democratic and Republican administrations. Tracking the cost is difficult because the bills have been spread throughout a variety of departments, such as the Pentagon.

The cost of operating the plane itself has been provided—\$25,000 an hour in fiscal 1992. But the associated costs, such as the cost of aides who travel with the president, the equipment and the setup that occurs days before a visit, have never been made available by this or other administrations.

A senior official said yesterday that whatever information the administration provides to Congress on presidential travel "is not likely" to include a full breakdown of such costs.

Darman yesterday defended the president's use of Air Force One, even for political trips.

The costs of political, personal and official trips by the president are paid for by taxpayers. DeConcini and others have suggested that

the president's campaign committee or Republican National Committee be required to reimburse the Treasury for flights for purely political trips the president takes while campaigning.

"If you were to adopt the proposal . . . you'd put the incumbent at a very significant financial disadvantage, given all the other rules," Darman said.

Later, Darman elaborated. "The president of the United States, when he is campaigning for reelection, is not free to say 'I'll forget my responsibility as commander-in-chief for the next six or eight months,'" Darman said. "He doesn't have that freedom. He's commander-in-chief whether he likes it or not—24 hours a day, seven days a week . . . and that is a burden which the other candidates don't have."

A White House official insisted yesterday that Bush had never used the perk issue politically against the House, although the president has quipped about it. But he conceded that GOP use of the perks issue against the Democrats had produced a "perk war" between the executive and legislative branches and the administration was now trying to put itself in the mode of spotting and publicly killing perks it is willing to forgo.

Clinton Aides Seek Strategy to Ease Doubts

Challenger to Get on the 'Larger Stage' Against Bush Rather Than Aim at Brown

By E.J. Dionne Jr. and Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writers

Gov. Bill Clinton's advisers, grappling with what they acknowledge are serious voter doubts about their candidate's character, believe they found a clue to easing them amid the chaotic and generally unedifying New York primary campaign.

For one day, said Stanley Greenberg, Clinton's polltaker, Clinton managed to rise above the charges and countercharges. It was the day he gave a major foreign policy address, which just happened to coincide, almost to the hour, with President Bush's announcement of a foreign aid program for Russia.

Suddenly, Clinton was running not against himself but against the president of the United States. "It's clearly a signal to a larger strategy," Greenberg said, "which is to get on a larger stage with George Bush rather than into the muck with Jerry Brown."

Despite his four-state sweep Tuesday, Clinton yesterday found himself dealing once again with the good-news, bad-news pattern his campaign has followed—winning primaries but leaving behind exit polls showing that half or more of the voters do not trust him.

"How could they not think that way?" Clinton said yesterday before leaving the tumult of New York. "I was swimming against a big tide of negative stuff that was dumped on me before I got here."

Campaign consultant James Carville said his mission for the next few weeks would be to "do a better job of telling people what Bill Clinton stands for and what kind of president he would be," a task he acknowledged would not be easy.

"All my life I've been looking for the silver bullet for anything in the world, but there isn't one," Carville said. "You've got to go out there and slug it out."

There will be a lot for Carville and his Clinton comrades to slug against, according to Tuesday's exit polls. Nearly half of New York's Democratic primary voters said Clinton lacked the "honesty and integrity" to be president, and the independent candidacy of Texas businessman H. Ross Perot gained strong support against Clinton from supporters of Brown, and Paul E. Tsongas.

Equally worrisome for Clinton and his advisers is the fact that the demand for new Democratic presidential candidates keeps rising as Clinton keeps winning and the Democratic field narrows. In the mostly southern Super Tuesday primaries of March 10, only 42 percent of Democratic voters wanted a new candidate in the race. In Illinois a week later, 48 percent wanted a new candidate. In New York Tuesday, the proportion rose to 66 percent.

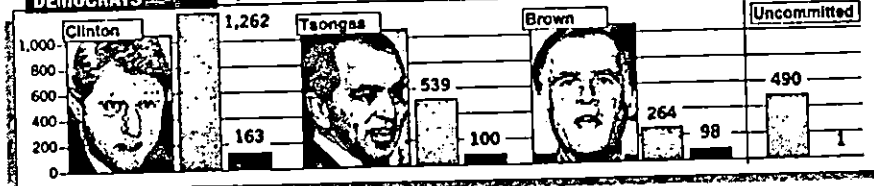
Clinton's aides do not dismiss the importance of these figures, but argue they tell only part of the story. For one thing, they say, Clinton's difficulties are much greater in the Northeast than they are elsewhere in the country. That, they say, suggests that Clinton's "problem" is not nationwide and not incurable.

For example, in Kansas, which

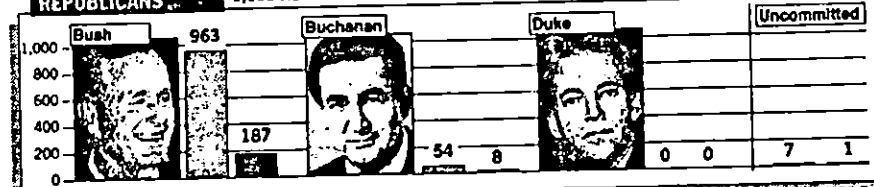
DELEGATE SCOREBOARD

■ Total delegates ■ Number won in New York, Wisconsin, Minnesota and Kansas

DEMOCRATS 2,145 NEEDED FOR NOMINATION



REPUBLICANS 1,105 NEEDED FOR NOMINATION



SOURCE: Associated Press

THE WASHINGTON POST



Clinton holds bumper sticker after news conference yesterday in New York.

also voted Tuesday, 59 percent of primary voters said Clinton did have the honesty and integrity to make a good president, according to

The demand for new Democratic presidential candidates keeps rising as Clinton keeps winning.

ABC News reports of exit polls. Clinton backers say midwesterners and southerners seem to have more instinctive trust in him, and have

been less affected by stories about Clinton's character than voters in tabloid land.

Moreover, Clinton supporters say, the political class is now forgetting that another candidate suffering low poll ratings is Bush.

In Kansas, the bad news for Clinton from the exit polling was that 26 percent of the state's primary voters would back Perot in a three-way race with Bush and Clinton. The good news for Clinton was that 27 percent of Republicans also said they would abandon their party for Perot.

"We find this a lot in other races," said Frank Greer, Clinton's media consultant. "People will complain and complain until you say: Okay, but it's this person against this person." When the choice is between Clinton and Bush, Greer said, Clinton will look a lot better.

"We're not running against Prince Charming," said Ronald H. Brown, the Democratic National Chairman.

Greenberg added that Clinton is not the first candidate to bring high negative ratings into a campaign: Ronald Reagan did so in 1980, he said, and so did Bush in 1988. Both won.

"Can a man be elected president if his negatives outweigh his positives?" Rep. Barney Frank (D-Mass.) asked. "Sure, if his positives outweigh the other guy's positives."

This, of course, assumes Perot will not emerge in the fall as a strong third alternative to two unpopular candidates. That is a safe assumption in light of the history of third-party candidates, but may not be so safe in this anti-political year.

Even Clinton sympathizers say he will not overcome his problems unless he changes the course of his campaign in coming weeks. Rep. Dave McCurdy (Okla.) calls Clinton "the best campaigner I have ever seen," but argues that Clinton has lost his larger themes in the rough-and-tumble of the primaries. "When you're down in the mud and the weeds, it's hard to sound big," McCurdy said.

"Clinton is, in a sense, now running against Clinton and what he needs is a large enough set of ideas that they can take center stage," said Robert Shrum, a Democratic consultant who worked for Nebraska Sen. Bob Kerrey's presidential campaign.

Rep. Jim Cooper (D-Tenn.), a strong Clinton supporter, summarized his side's hopes with exceptional candor. "Many people's principal motivation for voting is negative," he said. "People are much more likely to vote against someone than for someone. The key is whether you win or not." Whatever Clinton's shortcomings, Cooper noted, he does keep winning.

Staff writer David Maraniss traveling with the Clinton campaign in Illinois, and polling director Richard Morin and senior polling analyst Sharon Warden in Washington contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, APRIL 9, 1992

Clinton Woos 'Super Delegates'; Tsongas Return Unlikely

By Dan Balz and E. J. Dionne Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writers

Fresh from a clean sweep of Tuesday's primaries, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton began seeking support from leading uncommitted Democrats yesterday, while a close adviser of Paul E. Tsongas said the former Massachusetts senator would not reenter the Democratic race.

Tsongas, who finished a surprising second in the New York primary without having campaigned, scheduled a news conference in Boston today to announce his plans, and an adviser said he will not reactivate his campaign.

A number of Tsongas advisers said yesterday they believed that Tsongas understood that he had virtually no chance of winning the Democratic nomination and that he did not want to play the role of a spoiler.

Clinton campaigned with striking Caterpillar Inc. workers in Illinois, a partial warning shot to Tsongas, who enjoys little support from organized labor, and then flew to



Gov. Bill Clinton relishes a laugh the day after victory in New York's primary.

Pennsylvania, whose primary is April 28, for an evening rally. Former California governor Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr., whose insurgent campaign suffered a serious setback Tuesday, stumped in Virginia, which holds its caucuses Saturday.

Clinton and his campaign officials began contacting party leaders, hoping to begin a process of consolidation that would assure a first-ballot nomination at the Democratic National Convention in New York in July. These "super delegates" con-

stitute a large block of uncommitted Democrats and are crucial to Clinton's success.

Clinton is expected to receive an endorsement soon from Sen. John D. "Jay" Rockefeller IV (D-W.Va.), who briefly explored running for president himself last summer. Aides said Clinton spoke with New York Gov. Mario M. Cuomo and Texas Sen. Lloyd Bentsen by phone yesterday morning.

By Clinton's account, Cuomo, who has sent out mixed signals in recent days while maintaining that Clinton was the likely nominee, said it was time for the party to heal its wounds and unite against President Bush, but he did not say he would endorse Clinton.

An endorsement from Bentsen, the 1988 Democratic vice presidential nominee, would be particularly important to Clinton because Bentsen has been the focus of talk within the party about an alternative candidate, should Clinton run into further problems. Deputy campaign manager George Stephanopoulos said he believed "things will come

See DEMOCRATS, A12, Col. 3

DEMOCRATS, From A1

around our way" by the end of the weekend.

Bentsen, in a brief interview yesterday, said, "I would expect to make a decision [about an endorsement], probably in the next week," but he would not comment further about his intentions, and an aide said a decision might come later. Asked whether Tsongas should reenter, Bentsen said, "That's a very personal decision to be made by the candidate himself."

Democratic National Chairman Ronald H. Brown spent a busy day working the phones in an effort to determine how quickly key Democrats will close ranks behind Clinton as the party's likely nominee. Brown has long wanted to avoid a protracted nomination fight, hoping to move the focus of the campaign to the general election contest with Bush.

"A lot of people who have been undecided are reassessing their positions," Brown said. "I wasn't pushing anybody [to back Clinton]. You don't want to overplay your hand. . . . But there are certain factual matters you should bring to people's attention."

Brown, according to Democratic sources, generally got a good response to his desire to wrap up the nomination process, but was warned that efforts to push Jerry Brown out of the race prematurely could play into the hands of a can-

didate running against the Washington establishment.

One congressional source said that, in light of Tuesday's results, elected Democrats were reluctantly coming to the conclusion that Clinton would be their nominee. "They don't like the result, but it's not going to be changed," this Democrat said. "They're saying the guy is going to be the nominee. We've got no other choice. It's beginning today."

David Wilhelm, Clinton's campaign manager, said the response to his candidate's victories in New York, Wisconsin, Kansas and the beauty-contest primary in Minnesota, had been extremely positive. "The phone is ringing off the hook

here," he said from Clinton's headquarters in Little Rock, Ark.

Clinton, who returned to Arkansas late last night to nurse a chronic sore throat, plans to spend part of his time there calling other party and elected officials.

Tsongas met with top advisers at his home in Lowell, Mass., yesterday afternoon. One adviser said he was told the political landscape in Pennsylvania, the next primary state, resembles that of Michigan and Illinois, where Tsongas's support for higher gasoline taxes and opposition to legislation prohibiting companies from hiring permanent replacements for strikers cost him badly.

Wilhelm said a Tsongas reentry

would prolong the nomination fight but that if Clinton wins 40 percent of the remaining delegates, including "super delegates," he would be assured of a first-ballot victory.

"One thing this process has taught us is not to take anything for granted," he said. "We're going to roll up our sleeves and . . . do what is needed to coalesce [the party] behind Bill Clinton. I think that is going to start happening in earnest."

Staff writers David Maraniss with Clinton in Illinois, Donald P. Balz with Jerry Brown in Virginia and researcher Mark Stencel in Washington contributed to this report.

PRIMARY VOTES

UNOFFICIAL RESULTS IN TUESDAY'S PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE BALLOTING

	NEW YORK			KANSAS			MINNESOTA			WISCONSIN		
Candidate	Votes	%	Delg.	Votes	%	Delg.	Votes	%	Delg.	Votes	%	Delg.
DEMOCRATS	99% of precincts			100% of precincts			97% of precincts*			99% of precincts		
Brown	253,653	26	67	20,983	13	2	59,261	32		261,950	35	29
Clinton	395,894	41	101	81,490	51	27	60,831	33		283,884	38	35
Tsongas	280,759	29	76	24,252	15	6	42,498	23		166,051	22	18
Uncommitted	***			21,847	14	1	10,977	6		15,683	2	0
REPUBLICANS	**			100% of precincts			97% of precincts			99% of precincts		
Buchanan			0	31,580	15	0	31,473	25	8	77,534	17	0
Bush			100	131,698	62	30	83,607	68	22	360,281	78	35
David Duke			0	3,825	2	0	***			12,798	3	0
Uncommitted	***			35,081	17	0	4,123	3	1	8,922	2	0

* Minnesota Democrats expressed their preference for president in primary, but delegates were pledged in earlier caucuses.

** New York Republicans selected individual delegates yesterday in their primary, but there is no presidential preference vote on their ballot. All 100 delegates have been awarded to President Bush because he is the only Republican candidate to qualify in New York.

*** Not on ballot.

SOURCE: Associated Press

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, APRIL 9, 1992

Alexander Says Education Unlikely to Be Issue; Clinton Campaign Demurs

By Mary Jordan
Washington Post Staff Writer

Education Secretary Lamar Alexander said yesterday he doubted education would become a major issue in the presidential campaign because there is little difference on the subject between President Bush and Democratic front-runner Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton.

"How can you have an issue, if there is little difference?" Alexander said during a breakfast meeting with reporters.

Alexander pointed to Clinton's key role in the 1989 education summit during which the nation's governors and Bush agreed to six education goals. Clinton and Bush also both support new national standards and voluntary national tests.

But Clinton advisers saw Alexander's remarks yesterday as an attempt by administration officials to neutralize Clinton's strong suit.

"Education reform will be a major issue," said John R. Krieger, the Clinton campaign's deputy policy director. He said Bush has been unable to provide leadership needed to pass a major education reform bill, and that the administration's proposal to create 535 state schools would only improve one-half of 1 percent of our schools.

Education officials see the November election shaping up as a showdown between the self-styled "education president" and the "education governor," a nickname Clinton acquired presiding over the governors' task force that wrote the national education goals.

During Clinton's tenure as governor, Ar-

kansas instituted teacher competency tests, established new standards, and increased its school spending so that it now funnels a larger portion of its budget to education than all but two states. Still, Arkansas ranks 45th among the states in its per pupil expenditures.

Arnold F. Fegge, director of government relations for the National Parent Teachers Association, said Alexander is "half-right" in his assessment of the similarities.

Fegge said the two candidates agree on many things, with the notable exception of the "choice" provision for private schools.

Unlike Bush, Clinton does not approve of giving parents the choice of using tax dollars to send their children to either public or private schools. Clinton, like many Democrats, argues that such an option would hurt public schools. Instead, Clinton favors al-

lowing parents to choose among public schools.

Clinton also supports spending an additional \$4 billion a year on Head Start, the popular preschool program for disadvantaged children. The Bush proposal is far short of that, with about \$600 million in new money this year.

Bush's highly publicized "America 2000" program unveiled one year ago, seeks to accomplish the six national goals agreed on with the nation's governors. They include making American students first in the world in math and science by the year 2010, and making sure every child goes to school in a condition to learn.

Bush has proposed, among other things, building new "break-the-mold" schools and cutting away some federal education regulations.

Clinton has proposed several innovations, including a student aid program that would allow students to repay loans through community service and a new national apprenticeship program for those who do not go to college.

Another similarity between the two candidates, according to Fegge, is that neither of them is talking about where the money will come from.

Alexander, a former Tennessee governor who has worked alongside Clinton on education issues, said he thought the Democrat was "bright" and had done several "constructive" things in education. The secretary also said that last month Bush instructed Cabinet members to "stay out of any negative discussions of the candidates."

George F. Will Brown's Burlesque

It is exquisite burlesque, Jerry Brown leading tattered remnants of America's hapless left into supporting conservatism's agenda.

Conservatism has rhetorical and fiscal strategies for diminishing government power. One strategy is to peel away government's authority by flaying it rhetorically as an incestuous jumble of corrupt elites incapable of empathy with ordinary people and incompetent at government's basic tasks—budgeting, educating, maintaining public works. Brown's rhetoric abets this strategy.

Brown's flat-tax proposal serves the conservative fiscal goals of reducing government power three ways—by shrinking its revenue base, curtailing its ability to fine-tune society's "fairness" and augmenting the private sector's countervailing power.

For example, Brown would end the deductibility of state and local taxes. This would ignite state tax revolts, particularly in high-tax states such as New York, which have become liberalism's last redoubts.

Brown is not an economic man, he is a moralist, and his tax plan is a measure for political hygiene. He believes, plausibly, that radical simplification of the code would put out of business Washington's swarm of complicators who gain advantages from generally unnoticed nuances in legislation and regulations.

Brown is extreme but not nutty when depicting Washington as a mare's-nest of interests bending public power for private advantages. But Brown's moralism stops short of acknowledging this: Today's Washington is what you get when you have a hyperactive modern state using its myriad subsidizing and regulating activities to allocate wealth and opportunity in the name of "fairness" and for the ultimate benefit of elected officials.

Brown disdains his party's recent obsession with the tax code's "fairness." But the correct implication of his critique of Washington is that the modern state is inherently unfair because it is so susceptible to manipulation by well-heeled and well-connected interests. It is axiomatic: He who

**"Economic distress
moves America to
the right."**

will the end, will the means to that end. If Brown wants the modern state that liberalism has rationalized, he

that liberalism has rationalized, he should not be shocked that he gets modern Washington too.

To be on the left is to believe this: The goal of politics is to capture state power to force egalitarian social change. Brown's platform makes this problematic. The left's agenda presupposes a government strong in fiscal resources and moral authority. Brown's rhetoric—the most acid anti-Washington rhetoric since George Wallace's (which prepared the ground for Reaganism)—and Brown's tax plan subvert both strengths.

Most arguments for progressive taxation are implausible or empirically unsupported. The arguments include: Progressivity is economically efficient because it stimulates rapid expansion of society's aggregate product; in a middle-class society government will not be generous to the poor unless the wealthy are thought to be paying disproportionately; the existence of the poor is caused by the existence of the wealthy.

Belief in progressivity has weakened because of the belief that progressivity is usually vitiated by arcane tax code provisions accessible to the wealthy who can hire experts who understand them. Thus when The New York Times asked one unemployed person if Brown's flat tax would "let the rich off the hook," the person replied, "What hook?"

Other reasons for today's weak commitment to progressivity are given by Walter Blum of the University of Chicago Law School. He asks: Why does the middle class—a whopping majority which could act imperiously—not favor more confiscatory taxation of the wealthy? Blum locates the answer in America's faith in energizing society with private property and private initiative.

"Members of the middle class may believe that their own self-interests will be served better by a system which radiates the assumption that individuals are entitled to what they own rather than a system which radiates the assumption that the individuals are entitled only to what the government decrees they can keep."

Furthermore, economic distress moves America to the right, not the left. As America's economy falters, many Americans become more wary of the economic effects of progressivity on savings, investment, entrepreneurship and industriousness generally. Also, the commitment to progressivity weakens as people become concerned that the existence of large pools of private wealth—a prerequisite for private hospitals, universities, research centers, publications and much more—is necessary to counteract the encroachment of government on society.

Brown and the ragtag of the left sharing his raft are riding on a wave of revulsion against the modern state that liberalism has made. And Brown is making the wave larger. In this, as in his self-congratulatory moralism, he is a reprise of the 1960s, when the campus left played a large part in provoking the nation's move to the right.

David S. Broder

Choking as They Cheer

The closer Bill Clinton gets to the Democratic presidential nomination, the more nervous—if not despairing—many of his fellow partisans become. To hear them talk, they're not sure whether their convention will serve as prelude to an election or a political execution.

It's not uncommon, to be sure, for doubts to be expressed about any first-time presidential candidate. The Los Angeles Democratic convention in 1960 had its share of skeptics questioning whether John F. Kennedy could measure up to the "stature" of eight-year Vice President Richard M. Nixon. History says there were similar reservations about Gov. Franklin D. Roosevelt's ability to take on a national figure like President Hoover.

What's unusual about this year is that the more Clinton wins, the larger the question marks loom over his candidacy. It's usually the other way around: Victory stifles the skeptics. Clinton seems to accumulate as many doubters as delegates.

Tuesday's New York primary was supposed to be the "point of closure" for the Democratic nomination—the rallying-around time. Instead, three-quarters of the state's eligible Democratic voters boycotted the polls rather than make a choice among Clinton, Jerry Brown and the ghostly "suspended" candidacy of Paul Tsongas. Among those who voted, Clinton won 40 percent—or 10 percent of the total Democratic electorate. Two out of three of those who voted—and presumably even more of those who stayed home—said they wanted another choice.

The two-week campaign added two new chapters to the catalogue of Clinton character questions, one on his youthful experience with marijuana and the other on his avoidance of

the Vietnam War draft. Neither was crippling—or even terribly important—in itself. But both showed Clinton's tendency to evade straightforward answers.

Some Democrats praised Clinton's ability to take all these shots and keep moving forward toward nomination. But New York exit polls showed only half those who voted answered yes when asked if Clinton "has the honesty and integrity to serve effectively as president." And those were Democratic activists—not the broad electorate. Among the one-fifth of the primary voters who rated personal honesty as particularly important to their choice, Clinton won only 8 percent of the vote.

No wonder so many Democratic politicians are saying privately that Clinton is carrying a heavier burden of doubt than any prospective nominee can afford, even against a candidate with vulnerabilities as visible as George Bush's. And no wonder so many Republicans are publicly rubbing their hands in glee at the prospect of Bush getting to run for reelection against Clinton.

Robert Teeter, chairman of President Bush's reelection campaign, commented the other day that when it comes to choosing a president, "character dominates in voters' minds. They're smarter than the rest of us. They don't take a checklist of 12 issues and grade the candidates. They decide which of two candidates they want to go sit in the Oval Office for four years and make value judgments for them."

Teeter did not come right out and say Republicans would love to run on the "character issue." But last week Sen. Don Nickles of Oklahoma, Bush's choice to head the Republican platform committee, told reporters, "I think the Slick Willie thing will come back and



Victory usually stifles skeptics, not the other way around.

bite him [Clinton] when Republicans start recycling stories about "extramarital affairs, pot-smoking and the draft."

Nickles said that he had personally called Bush's attention to an overlooked passage in Clinton's 1969 letter to Col. Eugene Holmes, the former commander of the University of Arkansas ROTC unit in which Clinton had

promised to enlist after receiving his draft induction notice.

Toward the end of the letter in which Clinton tried to explain why he reneged on that commitment, the 23-year-old Rhodes Scholar wrote:

"I am writing too in the hope that my telling this one story will help you to understand more clearly how so many fine people have come to find themselves still loving their country but loathing the military, to which you and other good men have devoted years, lifetimes, of the best service you could give."

Nickles said the "loathing the military" phrase "will really hurt him against George Bush. . . . I can see George Bush and Lee Greenwood singing 'Proud to be an American' while Clinton is depicted as 'somebody who organized demonstrations against the war,' working for George McGovern with 'people who were leading marches and burning flags.'"

Some of us would like to think that the serious challenges facing American families in 1992 would dissuade politicians from refigiting the divisive battles of the 1960s. But the Republicans have shown in election after election they know how to exploit value and character questions.

A Times Mirror poll released April 3 exposed equal numbers of voters to critical comments about Bush and Clinton and concluded that "a Republican campaign attack on Bill Clinton's personal character would likely damage his election chances to a considerably greater degree than would a Democratic attack on George Bush's record."

That is why so many Democratic leaders choke up when they try to cheer Clinton's victories.

The Democrats Slog On

had to do not with Mr. Clinton, but with Jerry Brown. Trying to capitalize on his upset victory of two weeks before in Connecticut, he made a maximum effort in New York and came in third behind even Paul Tsongas, who didn't campaign. Mr. Clinton beat him narrowly on a supposedly friendly playing field in Wisconsin as well. Mr. Brown from our standpoint has run a shrill, mostly vacuous and often demagogic campaign, and we were not sorry to see it cost him. Mr. Tsongas did well in New York, a tribute apparently not just to surviving support for him but to a lack of enthusiasm for his rivals. He plans to announce today whether he will resume his suspended campaign.

Bill Clinton continued on Tuesday to win delegates. The Republicans, whether or not with great enthusiasm, seem pretty much to have rallied behind or resigned themselves to their sitting-president candidate; the Buchanan insurgency has fizzled. The Democrats have not comparably come together. Partly the problem is Mr. Clinton's own and is unique to this year, but partly it's a Democratic habit.

The postwar Democrats have rarely been content with their own apparent choices in the close-to-conclusive stage of the nominating process. Truman, Kennedy, Humphrey, McGovern, Carter (even as president), Mondale and Dukakis were all held up to a degree of scorn from some part of the party's diverse constituency. That's not to dismiss the problems Mr. Clinton faces; he plainly has his work cut out for him. But he's not the first such candidate to have found the Democratic Party prickly, skeptical and more than a bit perverse.

He won four diverse states on Tuesday, and if none of the victories was dazzling the four together were impressive. He keeps chugging along. The clearest result of the day may have

The knock against Mr. Clinton continues to be that he is shifty. Our own sense is to the contrary—that he has a pretty steady history and has survived the investigative onslaught pretty well. He also seems to us to have been an able, constructive and progressive governor of a difficult state whose resources have never been equal to its problems. Maybe next the phase of the campaign could shift to that and other issues of substance.

• THURSDAY, APRIL 9, 1992 •

47,000 applicants to choose from

Clinton shows solidarity with UAW workers

By Kevin Johnson
USA TODAY

EAST PEORIA, Ill. — Forty-seven thousand applicants and counting.

That many people applied for jobs in one day to replace the 12,600 workers now on strike at Caterpillar, company Chairman Donald Fites said Wednesday.

And those were just Tuesday's figures. The company said it wasn't sure how many responded Wednesday to its ads for the \$16- to almost \$18-an-hour jobs as machinists, laborers and electricians.

Meanwhile, national politics entered the bitter, 5-month-old strike Wednesday, when Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton walked the picket line and met with company officials, who've told the strikers that unless they come back to work, they'll be replaced.

"I made the strongest personal appeal" to Caterpillar management not to fire strikers, he told striker Tim Stull, 37. "If I was president, I could sign the striker replacement bill."

The striker replacement bill, a hot issue in the presidential primaries in heavily unionized states, would forbid companies from hiring permanent replacements for workers striking over economic issues.

Former California governor Jerry Brown plans to meet with strikers on Friday.

Caterpillar's bid to hire replacements for its workers is the biggest management-labor showdown since President Reagan fired more than 11,000 striking air traffic controllers in 1981. And the company's willingness to use the tactic against the mighty United Auto Workers, who represent Caterpillar workers, could poison labor relations for years to come.

Meanwhile:

► In Wilmington, Del., where Caterpillar stockholders were meeting, 200 people protested outside while UAW Secretary-Treasurer Bill Casstevens tried to speak inside.

"You've laid out a lot of things that are false up there," Casstevens said to company chairman Donald Fites. "You told your side to shareholders. They're entitled to hear the other side."

But Fites, who says he doesn't want to destroy the UAW, ruled Casstevens out of



CROSSING THE LINE: Striking United Auto Workers at the Caterpillar plant in Montgomery, Ill., jeer employees entering the company grounds on Wednesday.

By Mark Elias, AP

Firm facts

Headquarters: Peoria, Ill.

Employees worldwide: 53,638, including 38,669 in USA; 16,000 are represented by UAW

1991 revenue: \$10.2 billion

1991 loss: \$404 million

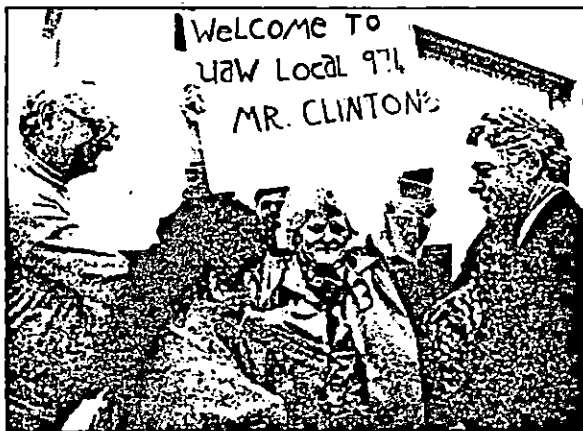
Products: World's largest maker of earth-moving, construction and materials handling equipment. Also makes gas and diesel engines

Sales abroad: 59%

Factories: 23 manufacturing plants in USA, including factories in Illinois, Colorado, Tennessee, Pennsylvania. Affiliates and subsidiaries run 15 plants overseas.

order. "This is not a debate. It is not a bargaining session ... not a press conference."

► In Washington, 15 senators asked Labor Secretary Lynn Martin to name a federal mediator for the dispute. Martin didn't respond. A spokesman said Martin hasn't appointed a mediator since taking office a year ago.



SHOW OF SUPPORT: Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton meets with employees at the East Peoria, Ill., plant on Wednesday.

By Stephen Saville, AP

Fites said it was too late for federal mediation: "We don't see a role for them to play in this process at this time."

The dispute centers on the issue of "pattern bargaining," a practice in which unions work out the same wage and benefit package with several companies in the same industry. Caterpillar says the practice is passe in a global market but the UAW wants the same deal given workers at Deere & Co. last year.

Casstevens, whose union turned down three Caterpil-

lar proposals, told Reuters Wednesday the UAW was willing to negotiate a new contract "issue by issue and just see where it leads."

He said the company was unwilling to reopen talks, adding the union is not wedded to what he called a "cookie-cutter" pattern agreement.

Said Caterpillar spokesman Bill Lane: "If they want to present a new proposal that deviates from the economic and non-economic agreements with John Deere, we'll ... respond to it."



By David Seavey, USA TODAY

LETTERS

Troubled times

After the unveiling of President Bush's new plan to aid the former U.S.S.R., I was disturbed by the shortsighted comment of House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt, D-Mo.: "There are going to be a lot of people who understandably... will wonder why in the world it is that American taxpayers have to be part of an effort to help people we've been fighting and who have been our enemy for 45 years."

As the 20th century nears its close, we find ourselves at a historic turning point: to help these new countries realize the freedoms of democracy or to fall back to an even darker place than before.

Gephardt's statement seems filled with bitterness. We haven't been fighting with the people of the former Soviet Union but with a corrupt system that contained them.

Gephardt panders to the emotions of hatred and prejudice in us all, and it seems a cowardly and politically motivated statement against the backdrop of these troubled times. Is this leadership?

Steve Williams
Santa Barbara, Calif.

Everyone is special

We might have more women involved in politics except that many bright, energetic, intelligent women would be destroyed by the media for not being Mother Teresa in their private lives.

Many women have had abortions, been divorced once or twice, had more than one sex partner, and are quite successful women. But the religionists want society to despise these women, to call them murderers and sluts.

Sex is not a sin, but our society sure acts like it is.

Religionists, like countries, need someone to bully and despise. Thank God, there are women, minorities and homo-

sexuals to hate!

No one group of people is more special than any other; women are equal to men in the eyes of God.

Maybe some of your writers will focus their words on the themes of unity, peace, harmony and love. Our country's motto: I may not understand you, but I accept and love you.

Sarah Nightingale
Amado, Ariz.

Black woman's support

I am an outraged, embarrassed African-American woman. I cannot believe the response and lack of sympathy for Desiree Washington, Mike Tyson's accuser. He (a black man) raped a black woman, which is a crime and has nothing to do with race. It is a crime, pure and simple.

The most outrageous thing I've read was in the March 27 USA TODAY. Two rape victims claimed Desiree deserved to be raped because a gun was not held to her head.

A gun was not held to my head, either, when I was raped by a business client. Did I deserve it because I delivered some research papers to his home at 6 p.m.?

Unfortunately, I did not have the same courage as Desiree and press charges. For one year, I did not tell anyone and recently told a close friend, who is a therapist. It is a constant struggle to handle the anger and shame.

Rape by any person is a serious crime, including Mike Tyson. Every day he spends in jail is not enough for the hurt he has caused. Desiree Washington showed tremendous courage, and she needs our support. (Hint: Black ministers, black women's associations, where are your priorities?) We can only pray that Mike Tyson will realize he has committed a crime and a sin.

C. Washington
Chicago, Ill.



Reuter

Leona Helmsley

Leona's no threat

I am writing to you in regard to the highly publicized court case involving Leona Helmsley (who was ordered Tuesday to report to prison on April 15).

Helmsley is alleged to have been involved in tax evasion and was therefore convicted and sentenced to four years in prison at 71 years of age. Helmsley's jail sentence is said by her doctors to be possibly "fatal" due to her age and ill health.

In a world today where there is extreme overcrowding and violence in our jails, I do not understand why this lady in her "golden years" cannot perform community service. In doing this, she could pay her debt to society, hopefully remain in good health and take care of her ailing husband.

This would save our valuable jail space for the people who are really threats to society.

Helmsley is one of the most remarkable women I have ever read about.

Martha A. Benton
Birmingham, Ala.

JOE URSCHEL

Can you pass third grade?

You probably think kids just aren't as smart as they were in our day because you've been reading all those stories about declining test scores.

Hah! To help a kid with homework is to learn how much you don't know. My guess is you couldn't pass third grade these days.

Here's a test on some of the things I've picked up from my kid and her teachers. The answers are below and upside down. It will be good for you to suffer the embarrassment of turning the paper

around to satisfy your curiosity.

We'll start with the solar system

because I'm not sure that had even been discovered when we were in school.

(Sorry, no multiple choice.)

1) What's the closest planet to Earth? 2) Which planet rotates fastest? 3) Which has the most moons and how many? 4) Which is farthest from the sun?

5) Out-of-this-world bonus question: We all know the deep holes on the moon are craters. What are the flat areas?

6) What is the smallest number evenly divisible by 6 and 7 — but not 5.

7) "Don't walk in front of me — I may not follow. Don't walk behind me, I may not lead. Walk beside me and just be my friend." Who said that? (I'll take your word that you know what it means.)

8) What's a googol?

9) What animal lives in a beaver dam?

Those are the easy ones.

Author and educator E.D. Hirsch Jr. is writing a series of books to help parents and teachers make sure kids learn the essentials. Books for the first two grades are out now. What Your 3rd Grader Needs to Know is coming in August. But here's a preview to see if you are up to his standards.

10) How much of the USA is drained by the Mississippi River system? 11) Name the nine parts of speech. 12) From what is the name Tuesday derived? 13) What's a polygon? 14) What was the capital of the Roman Empire in 350 A.D.? 15) What was the capital of the empire that sprang up after the fall of the Roman Empire?

Answers: 1) Venus 2) Jupiter 3) Saturn 23 4) May 5) June 6) 42 7) 1999 8) It was a number 9) It was a number 10) It was a number 11) It was a number 12) It was a number 13) It was a number 14) It was a number 15) It was a number

Hey, cheer up. At least nobody is going to put your score on the board for all your friends to see.



Joe Urschel's column appears on Tuesdays and Thursdays.

U.S. stocks rattled by Japan drop

By David Craig
USA TODAY

U.S. stocks suffered another beating Wednesday in reaction to a near-freefall in the Japanese stock market.

The Dow Jones industrial average — off more than 50 points early in the day — closed down 32.20 points at 3181.35.

Tuesday, the Dow dropped 61.94 points for a two-day loss of 94.14 points, or 2.9% — the worst two-day slump since November.

U.S. stocks are following a bigger stock drop in Japan. The first three days this week, the Tokyo Stock Exchange's key Nikkei average of 225 stocks had dropped 1,384.82 points (7.5%) to 17,175.53.

"Japan is the main worry right now," says Pete Keane, stock market analyst at brokerage Interstate/Johnson Lane.

The plunge in Japanese stocks has no concrete effect on the value of U.S. stock. But the panic there is beginning to scare investors here.

U.S. investors could continue to take their cues from Japan until that market settles down.

Though some analysts say the Dow could fall another 100 points in the next week, they see higher stock prices ahead.

"We're seeing the bottom of the barrel," says Heiko Thieme of American Heritage Management. "This is setting a rational base for the next leg of the bull market."

Also likely to affect stocks:

► Today, the government reports on wholesale inflation during March. Inflation is expected to be flat vs. the 0.2% rise in February.

► Next week, many companies will start to report earnings for the first three months of the year. Some stock traders hope for good news, while others don't expect to see good earnings news until July.

Today's debate is on **VOTER DISCONTENT** and the chance people have now to force changes they want.

Voting makes a difference

OUR VIEW Not going to vote this year? You'll send Washington a message — but the wrong one.

The good news in this week's political events: At last, voters are turning mean.

The bad news: Far too many are proving it by becoming former voters — which invites a government that would serve only special interests with the clout to tailor the law to their liking.

Here's how bad it is: In the New York primary Tuesday, 38% fewer voters showed up than in 1988. In Minnesota, 11% at most bothered to ballot.

Granted, many voters are as enthusiastic about this year's crop of candidates as President Bush would be at finding "broccoli surprise" on his dinner plate.

Two of three New Yorkers told exit pollsters Tuesday they'd like to see someone else on the ballot: 9% said that given a choice among Bush, Democratic front-runner Bill Clinton and businessman H. Ross Perot, they simply wouldn't vote.

In contrast, people are flocking to vote on which Elvis Presley portrait goes on a

stamp. After two days' voting, the Postal Service is running short of ballots.

When voters do turn their attention from crooners to candidates, they're discarding and discouraging incumbents with a vigor unseen since 1978.

Six House members and a senator already have lost primaries; 33 more — including several caught up in the House bank scandal — are retiring, perhaps before voters choose that option for them.

So are seven senators, including Tim Wirth, D-Colo., who announced his decision Wednesday. Congress easily could see its biggest turnover since World War II. This is no business-as-usual election. Nor is the presidential race, in which Paul Tsongas — who quit and hasn't campaigned for weeks — placed second in New York's primary.

It's political chaos, but this very turbulence shows the system's health. Voters are fed up — and whether by choice or force, near-record numbers of lawmakers are making way for new faces.

So stay mean; it's working. But do it the smart way: Vote.

► Election '92, 4A.

Not voting sends a message

OPPOSING VIEW Voters know the only real choice is to boycott the status-quo system.

As long as Americans insist on voting, they're never going to have any real choices on election day.

The Republicans have saddled us with a network of laws that makes it virtually impossible for any candidate to run an effective campaign for public office unless he's either a Republican or a Democrat, which means an advocate of the status quo.

There isn't a dime's worth of difference between the Republican and Democratic front-runners in this year's presidential race, for example. And there isn't a snowball's chance in hell that a Bill Clinton presidency would be any different in any important respect from four

more years of George Bush. The electorate knows this. Pollsters report that at least one voter in three is dissatisfied with every presidential candidate in this year's race. And voters are staying away from the primaries in droves.

If you share their disenchantment, do as they're doing. If you don't like the way politicians are botching things, all you need to do is remember a simple rule of thumb: Don't vote — it only encourages them.

When you vote, you signal your approval of an electoral system in which the only candidates with any chance of winning will differ no more than Tweedledum and Tweedledee.

When you vote, you signal your acceptance of a system devoted to politics as usual, a system from which all hope of real change has been systematically removed by the Demopublicans in power. The most effective protest against such a system is to boycott it. Notify the politicians that if they want to be able to pretend to have our support, they're going to have to change their ways.



By Jeff Rigenbach, a Houston writer and broadcaster.

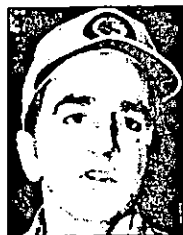
ELECTION '92

LOOK AT THE CANDIDATES AND THE ISSUES

Tsongas biding his time on a decision

Aides and friends of Paul Tsongas said late Wednesday he hadn't decided whether he'll revive his suspended candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination at a news conference scheduled for 10 a.m. EDT today in Boston.

"I still think it's unlikely," said spokeswoman Peggy Connolly, "but that's just my opinion." Asked how to characterize Tsongas' state of mind, she said, "Say he hasn't reached a decision and won't until just after your deadline."



By Scott Maguire, AP
TSONGAS: May revive candidacy

At his home in Lowell, Mass., Tsongas said he'd gotten advice on all sides of the question, meaning, "you've got to make your own decisions." Buoyed by surprising showings Tuesday in New York and Wisconsin primaries, he spent the day talking with friends, supporters, his former campaign team and Democratic National Committee Chairman Ron Brown.

Connolly couldn't characterize the conversation between Brown and Tsongas, who left the race March 19 but held on to his delegates, now totaling 539.

But Brown said on NBC's Today show, "An understanding of rudimentary mathematics tells you that nobody else (besides Bill Clinton) has a chance to get a majority of the delegates." Tsongas has said he wouldn't stay in the race only to be a spoiler, and reportedly he'd jump back in only if he thought there was a real chance Clinton would falter.

TAKE A CARD, FOLD, OR TSONGAS? Players in one of New York City's most celebrated poker games — including Esquire magazine's David Hirshey and actor-director Josh Mostel — had an election-night debate over incorporating a new rule, to be called "pulling a Tsongas."

Writer Gil Schwartz explains: "The hand is dealt everyone. The ante is on the table. You look at your cards. You have a 7, 9, Jack. The best you would be able to make of those cards is pull an inside straight. You fold. The cards go around the table. Halfway through the hand, your hand doesn't look as bad as you thought. Nobody has anything to show, either. You say, 'I'd like to go back in now.' That's pulling a Tsongas. It's a verb — to Tsongas. People were talking about Tsongasing, getting Tsongased."

The rule was defeated. "It would be madness," says Schwartz. "It would ruin the game. While other people have been gambling, you've been out. You could re-enter a hand after rounds of gambling, after the money is all on the table, and you don't have anything to lose."

Bill Clinton might say the same thing.

BROWN STEAMS ALONG: Jerry Brown insists he still could get the Bill Clinton locomotive off the track to the Democratic nomination. "We're not going to go away quietly," he said before heading to Virginia, which has caucuses this weekend. "The scenario would be winning Pennsylvania and Clinton stumbling in some continuing way that would render him unsatisfactory. ... We'll see what happens." Brown visits Pennsylvania next week. He says the state, with its April 28 primary, could be fertile ground, noting that he backs a universal health care plan and Democratic Sen. Harris Wofford won an upset on that very issue. Wofford's come-from-way-behind victory was masterminded by James Carville, now advising Bill Clinton.

DOCTOR'S ORDERS: Bill Clinton, whose chronic laryngitis has left him with a perpetually raspy throat, has been advised by doctors to avoid talking for a few days or risk permanent voice damage.

TURNOUT FALLS: Voter turnout in Tuesday's Democratic primaries continued a downward trend from 1988, with sharp declines in New York and Wisconsin.

Election coverage

- Heavy turnout for topless dancing, 3A
- Editorial, 10A

Turnout in New York — which had only a Democratic vote — was off by 38% from the nearly 1.6 million Democrats who voted in 1988. This year, turnout was just under 1 million. With no black candidate, black-voter participation dropped by nearly half — 14% of the turnout this year, compared with 27% in 1988.

In Wisconsin, where slightly more than 1 million voted in the 1988 Democratic primary, this year's participation was down 26%. On the Republican side, New York had no contest. Wisconsin's GOP turnout was up by 29% to more than 464,000. Turnout figures for Kansas and Minnesota weren't comparable to 1988, when both states held caucuses.

Late Wednesday, Minnesota officials finished counting votes and said Clinton beat Brown 33%-to-32% in Tuesday's advisory-only primary.

NEWS YOU MIGHT HAVE MISSED: All the news from Tuesday's elections was not in the presidential race.

► Fed-up taxpayers in seven southwest Kansas counties voted to secede from the Sunflower State. They say they're tired about forking over a disproportionate \$72 million in oil and gas taxes and getting back what they consider a pittance for services. In the seven counties that had tallied results — an eighth hadn't counted returns yet — 85% of voters backed the incipient rebellion. "This is for real," says Bob Boaldin, chairman of Morton County commissioners. Still needed: amendments to the state and U.S. constitutions. Don Concannon, a Hugoton lawyer, says he and other Stevens County residents pay \$3,400 per capita in state taxes every year while taxpayers who live in Sedgwick County, home of Wichita, pay 41 cents. No name yet for the proposed new state — border counties in Oklahoma and Colorado are interested, too — but Concannon says the capital would be moved every month to avoid regional disputes.

► In Thorp, Wis., for the second election in a row, a race for alderman ended in a tie. And again, it was settled as state law dictates, by the luck of the draw — again with Allen Olejniczak the loser. In 1990, he lost a coin toss. Tuesday, he lost when Ervin Klick's name was drawn from a hat to settle the 47-47 vote. "I suspect I'm not going to spend much time in Las Vegas," laughed Olejniczak, 35. He says he'll run once more. "I figure three strikes and you're out."

WHERE CANDIDATES ARE TODAY

Democrats Jerry Brown: Alexandria, Va., City Hall; Fairfax, Va., George Mason University; University of Pittsburgh; Norfolk, Va., Old Dominion University. Bill Clinton: Little Rock.

Republicans George Bush: White House, addresses American Society of Newspaper Editors; sees Nicaragua President Violeta Chamorro. Pat Buchanan: Washington.

Compiled by Gwen Flanders. Contributing: Richard Benedetto, Bruce Frankel, Judy Keen, Darci McConnell, Bill Nichols, Brian O'Connell

U.N. weighs Iraq missile move

By Laurence Jolidon
USA TODAY

Western allies are weighing a response to Saddam Hussein's latest sign of belligerence: shifting anti-aircraft missiles north in violation of U.N. orders.

The missile batteries were moved north of the 36th parallel within the past 10 days, into the Kurdish zone patrolled by U.S., British and French forces.

National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft said Wednesday electronic gear on U.S. aircraft had detected Iraqi radar signals from the missile batteries but that the Iraqis had not

"locked on" the radar to Western warplanes, which is the last step before firing.

"It's minor at the present time," he said.

Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, met with British Prime Minister John Major in London to discuss a possible response.

Powell said the allies were "very familiar" with the deployment and could "deal with any situation without exposing themselves to new hazards."

At the close of the Persian Gulf war, the United Nations forbade Iraq from shifting forces or flying warplanes over the Kurdish zone, to prevent

the Iraqis from resuming violent suppression of the rebels.

Kurdish leaders criticized Western governments for not providing protection against an Iraqi military buildup. Also:

► A U.N. team began destroying an Iraqi nuclear complex that experts say will reduce chances of Baghdad building a nuclear bomb. ► The private Lawyers Committee for Human Rights said refugees and displaced persons in Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Saudi Arabia should be given "enduring" protection.

► A Kurdish rebel group, said it downed an Iraqi jet in retaliation for an air raid.

Free rides, plants and library cards

Here's a sample of perks for Senate and House members:

FREE RIDE: Ten members qualify for free limos and drivers. Getting limos in the Senate: Majority Leader George Mitchell, D-Maine; Minority Leader Robert Dole, R-Kan.; Majority Whip Wendell Ford, D-Ky.; Minority Whip Alan Simpson, R-Wyo.; president pro tem Robert Byrd, D-W.Va. Getting the cars in the House: Speaker Tom Foley, D-Wash.; Majority Leader Richard Gephardt, D-Mo.; Minority Leader Robert Michel, R-Ill.; Minority Whip Newt Gingrich, R-Ga. Majority Whip David Bonior, D-Mich., does not use the car available to him.

SAY HELLO: Members can use House and Senate radio and television studios to tape feeds and transmit by satellite to local television and radio stations.

SAY CHEESE: Congressional photographers take pictures of lawmakers and constituents. A 5x7 color print costs members \$1.40, according to a House pamphlet. Commercial rate: about \$3.

SAY GOODBYE: Congressional spouses travel free on military jets with lawmakers for overseas trips, if space is available. Spouses pay hotel and food bills.

TICKETS: Airline and railroad ticket offices at the Capitol make reservations and issue tickets for members at government rates available for all federal workers.

PLANT CITY: The U.S. Botanic Garden will lend members potted plants for their offices.

CHEAP EATS: Capitol restaurants and cafeterias serve food at subsidized prices.

CUT-RATE CALLS: House members have an MCI telephone credit card for business use. Their offices are charged 11 cents a minute for long-distance calls. Senators have a WATS line.

CLEAN CARS: A car wash is available for \$3 in two House office buildings. The cars are washed by two garage workers in their after-work hours.

CLIPPING: A haircut in the House or Senate costs \$10, near



HALVERSON

Chaplain: Press calls me a perk

The House and Senate have chaplains who open daily sessions with prayers and provide pastoral counseling for members and their families. The salary of the House chaplain is \$119,810 a year; the Senate chaplain is paid \$112,100.

Chaplains say they provide a valuable service.

"I can spend 24 hours a day, seven days a week, working. The press considers me a perk," says the Rev. Richard Halversen, Senate chaplain.

the commercial rate.

PARKING: Free parking at National Airport in a lot adjacent to the terminal. At a minimum, public parking costs \$7 a day. Members get free reserved parking in the Capitol. Parking in a nearby garage: about \$100 a month.

TAX HELP: The Internal Revenue Service sets up temporary offices in two congressional buildings from January to April to help members, staff and the public with tax questions. Last year, 5,000 people used the service.

BOOK IT: Members may check out books at the Library of Congress — a service available to reporters and the clergy but not to the public. Members also have two reserved reading rooms at the library.

Resilient Clinton faces relentless GOP attack

By Adam Nagourney
USA TODAY

Bill Clinton's victory in New York on Tuesday after a bruising battle planted the seeds for a fall campaign against President Bush that could be as tough as any in recent history.

Despite a showing that delivered him to the brink of the nomination, Clinton left New York a battered and tempting target for Republicans this fall.

If his victory displayed for the nation his strengths — a compelling message of social change that has allowed him to stitch together a formidable coalition of blacks, Jews and blue-collar workers — it showed just how many doubts remain about his character.

As a result, should the race be close this fall it seems inevitable the Republicans will hammer Clinton on the personal problems that have made Democrats so wary of Clinton.

"This will not be an election for faint hearts," said Robert Squier, an independent Democratic consultant. "This is going to be the roughest election in the history of this country. I promise you it will be."

Based on the New York results, Clinton will strive to put himself forward as the "agent of change," a phrase he uses in virtually every speech.

As for the Republicans, "ultimately, whatever they say they're doing, their strategy will be to play underlying doubts about his fitness to lead," said Democratic consultant Ann Lewis.

A number of things could alter the equation.

The first question is whether Clinton gets a chance to begin

presenting his case against President Bush.

Jerry Brown has shown no signs of ceasing the attacks on the "scandal-a-week" Clinton, keeping him off-stride.

However, some Democrats suggest the Clinton-bashing has actually been good for him. They argue the controversies, coming so early in the process, have inoculated Clinton to later GOP attacks. That assumes Clinton has no more shoes to drop, an assumption even Lloyd's of London might not want to insure.

"I'm not worried about Bill Clinton in the general election," said Tad Devine, who ran Nebraska Sen. Bob Kerrey's presidential campaign. "He'll be a strong candidate: All the tougher for having gone through this process."

Indeed, across Washington Wednesday, there seemed to be a reluctant, though definite, accepting of the prospect of Clinton as the nominee.

Consultant Mike McCurry left this message on a reporter's answering machine: "You can put me in that paragraph that says that Democratic operatives began rallying to Clinton's side, though grudgingly."

"He's our Timex candidate. He takes a licking but keeps on ticking," said Democratic spokeswoman Ginny Terzano.

There were also signs that elected officials, among the 700 "superdelegates," will migrate to Clinton.

"The superdelegates could fill a vacuum," said Massachusetts Rep. Barney Frank. "But they won't stand against a tide. I think a lot of people now feel the best thing to do is get a nominee."

Dems hope to clean up image with reform bills

By Judi Hasson
USA TODAY

The House hopes to pass reform measures today to give members protection when they go home next week to see their angry constituents.

Faced with two scandals, House check-kiting and apparent wrongdoing in the post office, and polls showing voter anger exploding against incumbents, Democrats hope to clean up a tarnished image.

Today, the House acts on:
▶ A campaign finance bill to limit how much money candidates spend in election bids.

▶ A bill to hire a professional administrator to run House non-legislative matters.

Both are expected to be debated and approved.

But a bipartisan effort to draft an even broader reform package, as part of the second bill, fell apart over political bickering.

Democrats, who control the House, wouldn't buy GOP efforts for a greater say in how the place works, such as more power on committees. Republicans insist they'll keep pushing.

Still, House Democratic Leader Rep. Richard Gephardt, D-Mo., argued the two reforms are "some of the most sweeping broad reforms ... that we have done in decades."

House Speaker Thomas Foley, D-Wash., said reforming

campaign financing has broad support. "Every group that I know of that has concerned itself with campaign reform ... has now endorsed enthusiastically this bill."

The bill would set voluntary \$600,000 limits for House candidates and limits for Senate candidates based on a state's population. It provides public financing for candidates whose opponents exceed the limit.

Republicans cite a problem: no way to pay for it.

"It's a billion-dollar rubber check," said Rep. Guy Vander Jagt, R-Mich. "We can't stop laughing at it."

The bill, expected to be approved by the Senate after spring break, would not take effect until Congress figured how to pay for public financing. Lawmakers are pressing for a mechanism, much like the one that funds the presidential campaign fund with an income tax check-off.

President Bush has threatened to veto the bill.

Foley is moving swiftly to create a non-political administrative job after the check scandal, to replace Jack Russ, the sergeant-at-arms who ran the bank. Russ resigned his patronage job after the scandal.

It's not enough, says Rep. Jerry Lewis, R-Calif. "It doesn't provide the kind of change that assures us we won't be back in a pattern of business-as-usual."

IN WASHINGTON

JOBLESS BENEFITS: President Bush wants to extend emergency jobless benefits through 1992, Labor Secretary Lynn Martin said Wednesday. But she criticized a measure introduced last week by Rep. Thomas Downey, D-N.Y., to provide up to 20 weeks of extra benefits to 1.5 million jobless Americans, saying it would make permanent changes in the benefits program and would require a tax increase. Emergency unemployment benefits — now due to expire July 4 — have been extended twice since last fall.

HAITI REFUGEES: The General Accounting Office reports today that "flawed processing procedures" by U.S. officials resulted in dozens of Haitian refugees with credible claims for U.S. asylum being improperly sent back to Haiti.

RESERVE CUTS: The Pentagon doesn't have a plan to assist reservists who'll be cut as the military reduces in the post-Cold War era, said Stephen Duncan, assistant Defense secretary for reserve affairs. The Pentagon's recommended cuts for fiscal 1993 of 113,000 reservists is drawing considerable opposition in Congress. Sen. Wendell Ford, D-Ky., told the Senate Armed Services panel on manpower and personnel: "The list (of reserve cuts) is dead on arrival."

CHERRY BLOSSOMS AT DAWN: The First Couple took a turn as first tourists with a dawn stroll through the famed cherry blossoms of the capital's Tidal Basin. President Bush and his wife walked arm-in-arm through the blossoming trees, illuminated by lights from the TV crews. They left the White House in darkness because, Bush said, "we're trying to avoid holding people up in the traffic."



• THURSDAY, APRIL 9, 1992 •

Senate says \$18 million subway's no free ride

By Judi Hasson
USA TODAY

The Senate is planning to spend \$18 million for new enclosed subway cars to carry members for free from their offices to the Capitol.

The system, on the planning boards for several years, was approved last November. It includes a \$15.8 million contract for the Transportation Group Inc. to manufacture four enclosed three-car units to replace the 36-year-old open cars now traveling on rails from the Hart and Dirksen office buildings to the Capitol. The shortest line — from the Russell building — will not be replaced.

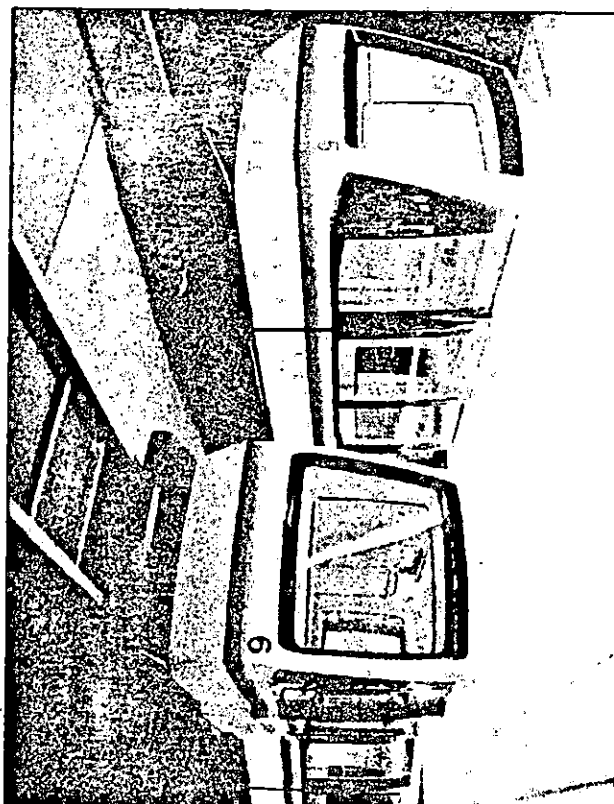
The 3,000-foot run will take 1.7 minutes. The new subway, like the current one, will be available to the public when it opens in 1994.

Asked if it was a perk to spend money on a new subway system, Sen. Wendell Ford, D-Ky., chairman of the Senate Rules Committee that oversees the subway, says no, "I know what the public and the handicapped will think about it."

Cars now in use are not accessible to the handicapped, but the new cars will be, Jim King, staff director of the Senate Rules Committee, says lawmakers considered a number of options, including a moving sidewalk, before opting for the cars — similar to ones in use at airports in Houston and Atlanta.

He said the new cars are needed because there is no way to get spare parts for the existing system. When a car needs a part, it has to be manufactured. Old cars from the existing system will be kept for parts for the subway from the Russell building.

William Ratnes, spokesman for the Office of the Architect, said the new subway cars won't need drivers; three jobs will be eliminated and maintenance costs will be cut in half. Total yearly savings: \$122,071.



NEW CARS: The new system, accessible to the handicapped, will replace the 36-year-old open cars and will be available to the public when the system opens in 1994.

Lawmakers say bargain TV studios good idea

By Judi Hasson
USA TODAY

No one knows the importance of using television to get his or her message out better than members of Congress.

Congress operates two TV studios — one in the House and one in the Senate — for members to videotape non-political messages at reduced costs.

Some members regularly tape video programs and mail them to stations in their districts. Others make radio spots and send them home, too.

The studios also tape the proceedings of the House and Senate and provide them to C-SPAN, the cable network that broadcasts gavel-to-gavel coverage of the sessions, and to anyone else who wants the signal free of charge.

Many members say the studios are not perks. They describe it as an "electronic newsletter." Says House Speaker Thomas Foley, D-Wash.: "It's a method of communicating to constituents."

Rep. Charles Rose, D-N.C., whose House Administration Committee oversees the House recording studio, says 42 people are employed to run the House studio at an annual payroll of \$1.9 million. "The charges that members pay for the services goes to pay for the equipment in the studio. The personnel are paid for by the Congress," says Rose.

He strongly defends the operation: "I make no excuse for the fact that this operation does not pay its own way. It helps us

balance off the power of the presidency. When the president opens his mouth, he gets prime-time media coverage, even when he upchucks."

Adds Ray Colley, deputy clerk of the House: "We don't go to a commercial studio and buy services. We operate our own services in order to save funds. Why is that a perk? It sounds to me like a pretty smart thing to do."

Martha Pope, the Senate sergeant-at-arms, said senators generally are prohibited from using the studio 60 days prior to an election. The House has the same rule.

Sen. John Breaux, D-La., who defends the congressional studios, says he uses Democratic National Committee-provided studios. They're free.

Cheap ride on airwaves

Senate and House members pay small fees to use in-house TV and radio facilities. Here's a sample of costs compared with commercial rates:

	House	Senate	Commercial
1 hour studio time (includes multi-cameras, crews, TelePrompTers)	\$135	\$70	\$750
All-day production outside a studio	N/A	\$120	\$3,600
1 hour post-production	\$100	\$37.50	\$375
1-hour blank tape	\$47	\$47	\$240
1-inch format			
Radio production	\$6	\$5	\$75
1 hour			

Satellite Commercial rates at time of transmission
Senate charges \$695 per hour, 4 p.m. to 11 p.m.

1 - Commercial rates are based on charges in Washington, D.C.
Source: House Recording Studio Rate schedules, Senate Recording Services and Fees 1991

Congress ready to pack in some perquisites

By Judi Hasson
USA TODAY



• THURSDAY, APRIL 9, 1992 •

When Rep. Charlie Wilson, D-Texas, came to Congress in 1973, he received a steamer trunk to store his papers.

Every year, the House Clerk's Office delivered a trunk to every House member.

The trunks stopped arriving in the mid-1970s. Now, Congress is sending other perks the way of the steamer trunks:

► Free prescription drugs will be ended.

► The cost of belonging to House and Senate gyms will jump to \$400 a year, from \$100.

► Free medical care will give way to a \$520 annual tab to see a doctor in the Capitol.

► The House and Senate stationery stores will stop carrying gift items at cut-rate prices.

"We are going to look at all of the perk questions," says House Speaker Thomas Foley, D-Wash. "We are going to make a determination ... which are related to job requirements and which aren't."

Despite congressional promises to "de-perk" special services for Congress remain:

One of the most sacred is untouched: Members are given money to send official mail to constituents. Critics charge misuse of the privilege, especially during election years.

Critics would love to eliminate all the perks.

"It isn't just one car wash or subsidized haircut. They are never paying full price for anything," says Claire Riley, director of the Congressional Accountability Project, founded by citizen activist Ralph Nader.

Vice President Quayle, who served in the Senate and House, echoes that sentiment. "It's the systemic nature of the beast," Quayle says.

Congress is attempting to deflect some criticism of its freebies by taking a look at those available at the White House.

A House subcommittee today holds a hearing on White House personnel assignments. Wednesday, budget director Richard Darman told a Senate committee he had given up his limo for "symbolic" reasons.

Quayle used military planes several times in two years to



By George James, AP
FOLEY: 'We are going to look at all of the perk questions.'

take trips with White House chief of staff Samuel Skinner, mostly to play golf. *The New York Times* reports today.

Members of congress rankle when asked about perks and react quickly to criticism they are getting a free ride.

Some congressional offices decline to provide information about services for members.

Rep. John Dingell, D-Mich., says: "There's damn little we can cut back now and still do our job."

He says the underground subway that whisks members from a congressional office building to the Capitol on the House side saves time.

The elevator operators — 49 of them who are paid \$16,056 a year to drive automatic elevators — help members get to the House floor and elsewhere in the Capitol complex.

"I go to a barber shop (in the Capitol complex) and pay 10 bucks. It's close. I don't have to spend an hour going downtown," Dingell says.

Rep. Dan Glickman, D-Kan., says items usually identified as perks aren't the real problem.

"The real perks are the perks of the process," says Glickman. "Too many committees which impede the flow of legislation ... committees that are overstaffed."

Take back all the perks, Wilson says. The barber shop gives bad haircuts, he says. The car wash isn't very good and the gym is second-rate.

"None of them," Wilson says, "are worth a line of ink."

Reading's doggone important



By Scott Applewhite, AP

OUT OF THE MOUTHS OF BABES: President Bush talks to first-graders Antonette Aguilar, left, Steven Lacy and Kate Vlach at a Washington parochial school Wednesday for 'Great American Read-Aloud Day.' During a reading of 'Harry the Dirty Dog,' Bush asked the pupils who owned dogs. Several children volunteered, but with laments that their pets had died or were dying. 'Anybody got a live dog?' the president prodded. 'Max,' said one boy.

U.S. JETS FERRIED QUAYLE FOR GOLF

Trips Are Detailed in Political Jousting Over Privileges

By STEPHEN LABATON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 8 — With Congress and the White House dueling for the political high ground in the battle over the perquisites of high office, a Government report disclosed today that Vice President Dan Quayle used military planes several times in the last two years to take trips with Samuel K. Skinner, mostly to play golf.

Four of the trips with Mr. Skinner, who was then Transportation Secretary and is now the White House chief of staff, were listed in the report prepared by the Government Accounting Office. The fifth created a political uproar when it was disclosed last May at the same time that the White House was struggling to answer questions about personal and political trips on military planes by John H. Sununu, Mr. Skinner's predecessor as chief of staff.

Aides to Mr. Quayle and Mr. Skinner said the Government had been partly reimbursed for the trips when they also involved political events, like fund raisers and endorsements, by the sponsors of those events. But they conceded that the repayments represented a small fraction of the total cost to taxpayers of the flights and declined, citing security considerations, to provide the financial details.

For instance, one three-day trip to a golf and tennis tournament in Wil-

Report Tells of Golf Trips by Quayle

Continued From Page A1

liamsburg, Va., in June 1990 that was listed as a political fund raiser cost taxpayers at least \$10,989, according to Congressional investigators. A spokesman for Mr. Quayle said the Government was repaid \$2,742 by the sponsors of the tournament.

David C. Beckwith, a spokesman for Mr. Quayle, said the Government was repaid for the cost of a commercial airline ticket plus \$1 — the standard regulation used by officials — when the Vice President used the military planes for political reasons. He conceded that the repayment was a fraction of what the use of the plane cost taxpayers.

He said Mr. Quayle needed to use Government aircraft for security and to have instant and secure communications with the White House in the event of a crisis. "He has no choice about taking them," Mr. Beckwith said. "He's second in command." Mr. Beckwith said Vice Presidents for years have been using Government planes for private travel for just those reasons.

Mr. Beckwith said the trips were all political fund raisers, sometimes mixed with official business. For official and personal trips, all bills are paid by the Government.

But some Democrats on Capitol Hill thought the trips were an excessive use of the public purse.

"What this report shows is that the public trust has been violated and that taxpayer funds have been used to sub-

sidize political and personal needs of these officials," said Representative John Conyers Jr. of Michigan, who heads the House Committee on Government Operations and was among those lawmakers who requested the G.A.O. study.

Accusations Right and Left

The new report came as Congress and the Bush Administration traded accusations over the perquisites and privileges that high officials have enjoyed for decades. The White House, which has regularly attacked the lawmakers for their perks and abuse of the House Bank, has steadfastly refused to disclose how much it spends on Presidential travel, citing security concerns.

The report was requested by Congress last year after reports of Mr. Sununu's extensive use of Government planes and cars to see his dentist in Boston, ski in Colorado and buy rare stamps in New York. It did not provide any new details about the cost of Mr. Bush's use of Air Force One.

But when portions of the report concerning personal travel by Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d were disclosed last week, Mr. Baker announced he would use commercial airlines in the future.

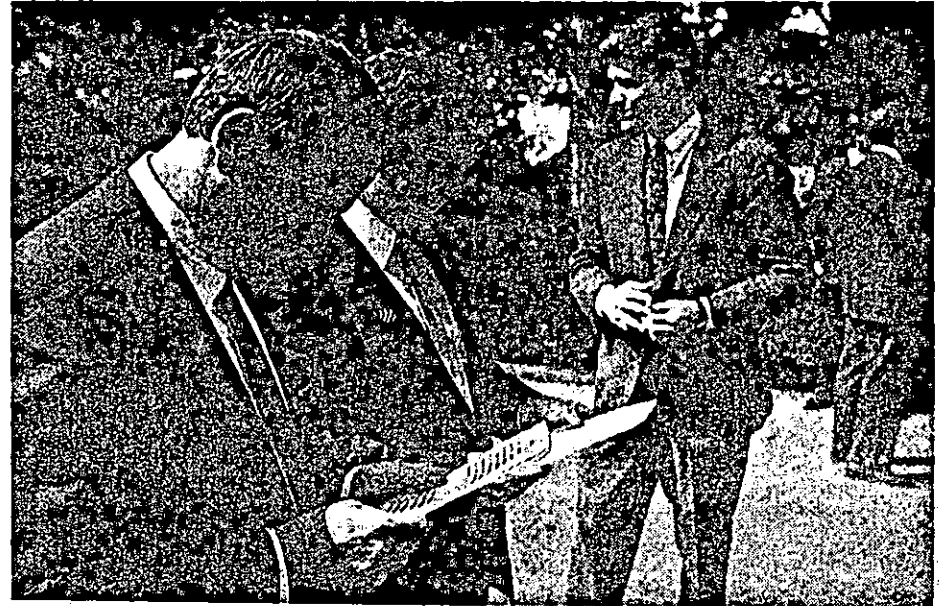
Reflecting the new mood of austerity that has suddenly gripped Washington

In this election year, Mr. Darman told a Senate subcommittee that he would crack down on unnecessary perquisites and privileges in Government. As his own sacrifice, he said, he has begun to drive himself to his office at the Old Executive Office Building, next door to the White House, rather than use a Government car and chauffeur.

"I gave it up for symbolic reasons," Mr. Darman told skeptical members of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service and General Government. "It might seem hypocritical to ask other people to give things up."

A senior White House official, speaking on condition of not being identified, said Mr. Skinner had undertaken a broad review of executive departments to find new areas to cut spending. The White House also issued copies of a memorandum sent by Mr. Darman to the heads of all Federal departments and agencies that called on them to investigate how to cut unnecessary costs.

"Your response should also include even relatively small savings from your own operations, particularly if the spending in question creates symbolic problems that could weaken public confidence — and that are not counterbalanced by clear public benefits," the memorandum said.



A Government report disclosed yesterday that Vice President Dan Quayle used military planes several times in the last two years to take trips with Samuel

K. Skinner, foreground, mostly to play golf. Mr. Skinner reviewed papers yesterday as he awaited the beginning of a ceremony on the South Lawn.

Continued on Page A16, Column 1

Bush Seeks Another Extension of Jobless Benefits

By ADAM CLYMER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 6 — The Bush Administration today opposed Congressional efforts to make permanent changes in the unemployment insurance system and urged instead prompt enactment of a third temporary extension of benefits to the long-term jobless.

Labor Secretary Lynn Martin called for the extension, under which jobless workers could collect up to 59 weeks of benefits. She called for bipartisan efforts to move the legislation quickly and wrote Congressional leaders, "I am prepared to work immediately with you and your colleagues in the Congress to develop and enact an extension."

But at the same time she declined to testify at a House hearing on the issue scheduled for Thursday. A spokesman for Secretary Martin, Steven Hoffman, said she had a schedule conflict and would be unable to appear when a Ways and Means subcommittee would be considering a bill to make it easier for workers to get extra benefits than it is under the current arrangement.

A long-term change is supported by most Democrats and many Republicans because it would remove the need for repeated emergency benefits measures during a recession.

Mending vs. Fixing

Ms. Martin said, "Action should not be delayed by consideration of controversial structural reforms this year." Representative Thomas J. Downey, the Long Island Democrat who heads the subcommittee, replied: "We have dramatically learned throughout this recession that the unemployment insurance system is broken and needs to be fixed. If we do not do this now, then when does the Bush Administration think is the right time?"

Under emergency measures enacted last November and again in February, extended benefits are paid by the Federal Government after a jobless worker exhausts the basic 26 weeks of compensation most states provide. Jobless workers can get 26 weeks of extra benefits or, in states with especially high unemployment, 33 weeks. Benefits, which are taxable, average about \$170 a week nationally but vary greatly from one state to another.

After President Bush killed two earlier versions, the emergency measures were enacted because few workers ever qualified for the 13 weeks of extended benefits allowed under permanent legislation. Last year, only eight states had the required conditions —



Paul Heston/The New York Times

Labor Secretary Lynn Martin briefing reporters on her request to Congress for a third temporary extension of unemployment benefits.

high unemployment plus a sharp increase in a particular state's joblessness. Mr. Downey's bill would make those extended benefits much more readily available.

Ms. Martin proposed an extension of the emergency benefits through December 31 of this year. Mr. Downey's bill would continue the emergency benefits at least until next February, when Congress would be in session to continue them longer if necessary.

Resisting longer-term changes in aiding the unemployed.

Timing Is Questioned

Some Congressional Democrats grumbled that the Administration proposal was timed to get the issue out of the way before the election, a charge Mr. Hoffman denied. He also said that as the economy improved "we're hopeful that people won't need the extension" being proposed today.

The Administration's stand was also criticized by Senator Lloyd Bentsen, the Texas Democrat who heads the Finance Committee. He said: "There's little doubt we'll extend it again, for the third time in less than a year. What I'm interested in doing is making some permanent changes to end some of the doubts and ease the minds of unemployed Americans. I also want to know how the Administration plans to pay for this."

Ms. Martin's statement and letter said the extension should be paid for without increasing the Federal deficit and without raising taxes. Mr. Downey's proposed legislation would raise payroll taxes to pay for making extended benefits more readily available.

The payroll tax to pay for extended benefits is now eight-tenths of 1 percent of a worker's first \$7,000 in earnings, or a maximum of \$36 a year. Under Mr. Downey's proposal, the rate would drop but the taxable wage base would be raised. Under his bill the tax would go to three-tenths of 1 percent of the first \$27,000, or a maximum of \$81 per year.

Mr. Downey would pay for his extension of the current emergency benefits program by continuing tax benefit provisions for some high-bracket taxpayers now scheduled to be phased out in 1996 and 1997.

With unemployment nationally at 7.3 percent, workers in 18 states and Puerto Rico are now eligible for 33 weeks of extended benefits. Elsewhere workers are eligible for 26. The unemployed in New York, New Jersey and Connecticut are eligible for 33 extra weeks.

Baton Rouge Journal

By FRANCES FRANK MARCUS
Special to The New York Times

BATON ROUGE, La. — Unlikely fights are normal here in Louisiana's fractious state capital, but the most unlikely is happening outside the political loop on quiet Mimosa Street.

The chief strategist, general and foot soldier is Gil Glynn, a 71-year-old government retiree. His Holy Grail: A posthumous Presidential Medal of Freedom for Benny Goodman, King of Swing.

Who would deny Benny Goodman, the virtuoso clarinetist who thrilled millions of Americans in the big band era and beyond, the highest civilian honor bestowed in the United States? Apparently Presidents Bush and Ronald Reagan.

"The question is why, why, why?" says Mr. Glynn, pacing the polished oak floor of his house on Mimosa Street, the headquarters of the drive to secure the medal posthumously for Goodman. The campaign has cost him hundreds of dollars in telephone calls, stationery and postage stamps and countless nights of sleep.

He began the campaign in 1985 with the highest of hopes. Benny Goodman was a longtime hero, king of the airwaves in the Great Depression, when Mr. Glynn was growing up in Baton Rouge, his ear pressed to the radio. In 1942 in a drugstore near the University of Tennessee, he listened again and again to Goodman's popular recording, "Why Don't You Do Right," sung by Peggy Lee.

It's the same question Mr. Glynn is asking President Bush today. Mr. Glynn is leading the fight for the medal, and he has enlisted the help of Bob Hope, Richard M. Nixon, Irving Berlin, Ann Landers and a host of others, who wrote letters on Goodman's behalf. Mr. Nixon praised Goodman for lifting the morale of American troops in World War II: "He personified everything we were fighting to protect."

According to Federal rules, those who merit the medal must have contributed to "the security or national



Benny Goodman in 1972.

interests of the United States, or world peace, or cultural or other significant public or private endeavors."

In 1985, after learning that Goodman was ill, Mr. Glynn began his campaign with urgency, gathering endorsements from an array of weighty names, including A. Bartlett Giamatti, the late president of Yale University and baseball commissioner, who praised Goodman for his "artistry as a clarinetist" and "his humanity as a champion of equality for blacks and other minorities."

Alas, the 1985 medals went to Count Basie, Jacques Cousteau, Jerome Holland, Sidney Hook, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, George Low, Frank Reynolds, S. Dillon Ripley, Mother Teresa, Frank Sinatra, James Stewart, Gen.

Seeking a Presidential medal for Benny Goodman.

Albert Coady Wedemeyer and Charles Yeager.

On June 13, 1986, Goodman died the age of 77. In 1987, Mr. Glynn calls, "Someone high in the White House told me Benny Goodman was high on the list," but now he is one of 200 nominees.

"There is no short list," said Charles Horvath, White House deputy director for Presidential correspondence. "The President and the President alone makes the decision. We submit a notebook with the names in it and a paragraph of background about the nominee's life."

In 1989, Lucille Ball, who received the medal posthumously, was among seven recipients. In 1990 no one received the medal, and in 1991 the 15 honorees included heroes of the Persian Gulf war. Altogether, 287 medals have been awarded, several posthumously.

The Bush White House has responded pleasantly but perfunctorily. Mr. Glynn remains undaunted for he is convinced his cause is just. Beside being a master of jazz and the classics, he says, Benny Goodman helped end racial segregation on the nation's bandstands.

John J. Joyce, a professor of jazz at Tulane University, says Goodman was "the first commercial jazz band leader to dare to integrate a band racially."

Far from giving up, he recently sent his old Olivetti horn for an overhaul, and it's now back on Mimosa Street. If the medal continues to elude his hero, he says he may take his fight to Congress, "to ask them to declare Benny Goodman a national treasure and to take a hard look" at how the medal is awarded.

Media

Little-Heard Clinton Speech Shows Shackles on Candidates

By ELIZABETH KOLBERT

About 12 minutes into his victory speech in Manhattan Tuesday night, Gov. Bill Clinton exhorted a crowd of cheering supporters: "Tonight when you go home, when the celebration stops, when you finish looking at the numbers and reveling in the success, in the quiet moments before you go to bed, remember that nothing has yet been done to change the lives of the people, and our battle has just begun."

With this exhortation, and indeed, with his entire 14-minute prepared speech, Mr. Clinton seemed to be trying to chart a more high-minded course for the next phase of his campaign, reviving the themes of hope and hard work with which he began the race six months ago.

But except for several hundred supporters and the throngs of reporters who attended his victory celebration at the Ritz, very few people actually heard the Arkansas Governor's remarks. Four minutes into his speech, the only CNN and C-Span still had their cameras trained on Mr. Clinton. Five minutes after that, only C-Span was left.

The clipping of Mr. Clinton's speech into progressively smaller sound bites, until on NBC's "Today" show it was reduced to "I love Wisconsin and Minnesota and Kansas, and I really love New York!" is illustrative of the difficulties Presidential candidates face in communicating a sustained thought to voters.

Chances Are Few

Some of the most revealing coverage of the campaign has come from those forums, like the novel one-on-one debate staged by Phil Donahue on Monday, in which the two main candidates were simply allowed to fail on uninterrupted. But it is rare that

Delegate Tally

Current breakdown of Presidential preference of delegates to the national political conventions as compiled by The New York Times.

DEMOCRATS	Pledged	Super	Total	REPUBLICANS	
Brown	267	5	272	Buchanan	54
Clinton	1,029	250	1,279	Bush	965
Tsongas	503	12	520	Uncommitted	0
Undetermined	223	395	618		
Total delegate votes			4,288	Total	2,209
Needed to nominate			2,145	Needed	1,105

Preferences are based on state laws, party rules, and projections from early results in caucus states. The Democratic tally includes preferences of superdelegates who are members of Congress, Democratic National Committee members, governors and former elected officials.

the candidates have the chance, either on the air or in print, to speak to the voters for a sustained time in their own voices, unless those voters happen to be C-Span junkies.

For those die-hards who did tune in to C-Span's post-primary broadcast Tuesday night or the rebroadcast at 7 A.M. Wednesday morning, both Mr. Clinton and former Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California demonstrated a grace and eloquence that often seemed to be missing in the rancorous New York primary.

Mr. Brown used his concession speech, which was broadcast live by WABC as well as other two stations, to explain in a more compelling way than he had during the rest of the New York campaign just what he was doing in the race.

"I want to reiterate this is not

about one person," he said. "It is not about a candidate reaching for some brass ring of ambition. It's about ordinary people taking back what belongs to all of us, and that's our democracy, it's our country, it's our dreams, it's our ideals."

"A woman in Laconia said it better than — Laconia, New Hampshire — said it better than anything I could say," he continued. "She said to me, as I walked out of the door of her house, she said: 'Governor, you know how the system works. You have a voice that can be heard. You have to speak for me. Will you promise me that?' And I told her — I looked her right in the eye, and I said, 'I will speak for you, and I will speak for people like you who don't have a voice that can be heard.'"

In his speech, Mr. Clinton spoke in

the tones of a man who believed himself to be the Democratic nominee. He used his address to reach out to those Democrats who had voted against him, praising opponents he had just recently ridiculed and stressing their unity of purpose.

"Tonight every person who voted in the Democratic primary — every person — voted for change," he said. "Every vote for Jerry Brown was a vote that recognized the power of technology through his first-derided and now-respected 800 number that the power of technology can give dignity to ordinary people and can give the average voter a say."

"Every vote for Paul Tsongas tonight was a vote for change," he went on. "A vote that respected his courage in getting into this race when George Bush was at over 70 percent in the approval polls, a vote that recognizes these are serious economic problems we face that require a serious response."

"Tonight I ask you to reach out to those who did not vote for me but voted for change. We want to be their campaign, too. From Manhattan, Kansas, to Manhattan Island, people said tonight: 'We want Americans to be able to earn a decent living, to walk on safe streets, to educate their children and to have them do better than they did. We want our country to win again and to be one again.'"

Marvin Kalb, director of the Shorenstein Barone Center on Press, Politics and Public Policy at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government, was watching ABC's primary special Tuesday night when Governor Clinton appeared live before a giant flag and started his speech. Mr. Kalb said he saw that the Governor, in an uncharacteristic move, was reading from notes.

"I assumed this was a significant statement — something that had res-

Results

Vote is in percent.	N.Y.	Kan.	Wis.
DEMOCRATS			
% Reporting	99	100	99
BROWN	26	13	35
CLINTON	41	51	38
TSONGAS	29	15	22
OTHER	4	21	5
REPUBLICANS			
% Reporting	—	100	99
BUCHANAN	—	15	17
BUSH	—	62	78
DUNK	—	2	3
OTHER	—	21	2

"Other" includes other candidates and uncommitted delegates. Numbers may not add to 100% because of rounding.

onance," he said. But, Mr. Kalb complained, he never had a chance to find out. After about three minutes, the station cut away from the speech to more analysis of the primary results from New York, Wisconsin and Kansas. Yesterday morning's papers made only brief mention of the speech. Mr. Kalb said he called his cable television company yesterday and added C-Span to the list of stations he received.

ANTHONY LEWIS

'Time for a Change'

BOSTON

The message coming from the Democratic primaries could not be clearer. It is a cry of discontent — of anger — with things as they are. The voters are saying, "It is time for a change."

People coming out of the polling booths in New York were asked whether they agreed with "Jerry Brown's criticisms of the political system"; 70 percent answered yes. It was a clumsy question, because voters would have very different understandings of what "Jerry Brown's criticisms" were. But the overwhelming answer surely showed a high level of discontent.

The question is whether Bill Clinton, the now almost certain Democratic nominee, can channel that discontent into a constructive and persuasive vision of change in this country. I think it is going to be the crucial question of the campaign.

Americans are troubled by many things these days: by the way the rich have grown richer while most people have lost ground, by the arrogance of Congress members and Presidential aides in their enjoyment of perks, by the sense of falling behind other countries economically, by fear of illness without adequate health insurance...

A people so troubled may come to think that the whole system is rotten and must be overthrown. That is what Jerry Brown essentially stands for. Nihilism can be appealing in pain-

The political message and the messenger.

ful times. It appealed to many in the late 1960's and early 1970's, when the established politicians had produced — and most continued to defend — the irrational horror of the Vietnam War. But "burn, baby, burn" was not a solution.

We are not today in an emotional crisis like that of the Vietnam period. But public disaffection from government is profound. Americans in large numbers think the system is incapable of solving the problems that are grinding them down. They see in Washington a Government that barely even pretends to deal with the hard issues of investment, unemployment, education, health and the rest.

The challenge of leadership is to make people believe again that government can make a difference. That is what Franklin Roosevelt did in far darker times: He offered not specifics but hope, and the feeling that someone in Washington was listening.

Voters are skeptical now, resistant. But they are far from writing off the system. After all, 70 percent in New York may have said they agreed with Governor Brown's criticisms of the system, but 70 percent voted for candidates who argue that government can work: 41 percent for Bill Clinton, 29 for Paul Tsongas.

Can Governor Clinton offer voters a believable vision of change? Can he persuade people that we can have effective government again, within the constitutional system that has kept us free for 200 years?

The answer turns in part on whether the press and television will allow Mr. Clinton's message to get through. Journalism has seemed lately to be in a competition to see who can produce the most frivolous, distorted, out-of-context attack on his "character." But that is another subject.

It is up to Mr. Clinton, in any event, to get a message across. There is no question of his intelligence or his ability to function in the give-and-take of politics. Other governors, Republican and Democratic, considered him the most capable in their ranks.

What remains to be seen is whether he can convince Americans that he offers hope. He can and should talk about economic growth and medical needs and political spending and other particulars. But the underlying question is belief in government.

Few of us are naive enough anymore to think that any President, any government, can quickly transform our society. The problems are beyond instant solutions.

But government can make a difference. The President of the United States can face up to the environmental dangers menacing the world, or he can hide from them. He can try to ameliorate our racial differences, or he can agitate them for partisan reasons. He can choose as judges men and women of varied backgrounds and politics, learned in the law, or he can pick judges from a narrow ideological caste.

If and as Bill Clinton works free of the mudslinging, he will have to make Americans believe again in the possibilities of government.

Aid Package for Russia Seems To Be Far From Wrapped Up

By STEVEN GREENHOUSE
with THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 8 — The Russian aid package announced last week by the Bush Administration and some Western allies is less concrete and less complete than many officials made it seem, it appears from interviews with Administration officials, American lawmakers and senior officials in Europe, Japan and Canada.

They said eagerness to show support for President Boris N. Yeltsin before his crucial encounter with the Russian Parliament this week accounted for the hasty announcement.

There is still considerable confusion among the allies about what the final package will contain, who will pay for what and precisely how much of the money goes beyond pledges previously made. For instance, many Group of Seven officials, saying they are uncertain how the \$24 billion figure announced by the White House will be reached, are still counting on other nations, especially those in Scandinavia, to contribute.

'We Are In Midair'

British officials say the International Monetary Fund and other international organizations will provide \$6 billion of the package. German officials say those organizations will provide \$5.5 billion, and American officials say they will contribute about \$4.5 billion. Some allies, particularly the Japanese, are still chafing that the package was an-

nounced before there was final agreement on all the details.

"All the figures that the United States has provided are hypothetical," said an official in Japan's Finance Ministry.

A British Treasury official said, "If you take a snapshot, at the moment we are in midair, about three-quarters through our double spin."

When Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d went to Brussels on March 11

Continued on Page A10, Column 1

Plan for Russia Aid Far From Ready

Continued From Page A1

for arms-control discussions, Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev of Russia informed him that at a Congress of People's Deputies scheduled for this week there would be a real campaign by "old thinkers" to attack Mr. Yeltsin's reforms. Mr. Kozyrev said if there was ever a time for the West to give Mr. Yeltsin a strong signal of support, it was before that Congress.

While that conversation was taking place in Brussels, former President Richard M. Nixon was circulating a memo describing the Administration's aid efforts as pathetic.

For weeks Mr. Bush had shied away from foreign-aid initiatives as Patrick J. Buchanan, the Republican Presidential candidate, attacked him for paying too much attention to foreign affairs. But after Mr. Nixon's memo received wide attention, Mr. Bush for the first time acknowledged publicly that he was ready to consider a large-scale aid package. In many ways, the package seemed to be intended to shore up two Presidents: President Bush and President Yeltsin.

"Nixon did not hurt," said an Administration official. "But we wanted to get it out before Yeltsin's meeting so that the impact would sink in and give him several days to take advantage of it. He needed some time to work the crowd over there."

Officials say President Bush also rushed to announce a package before the leading Democratic Presidential contender, Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, criticized him for foot-dragging on Russian aid. President Bush announced the package at a White House news conference last Wednesday moments before Mr. Clinton delivered his foreign-policy address in New York.

"Of course one sees the electoral logic of the day he chose," said a German official about the timing of President Bush's announcement.

Indeed, some of the lingering confusion over the aid package and where the money will come from may stem, at least in Washington, from the Administration's reluctance in an election year to be clear about exactly what taxpayers will have to contribute.

The Bush Administration had been considering various aid programs for Russia since September, but it vastly sped up its efforts in recent weeks to meet Mr. Yeltsin's deadline.

New U.S. Attitude After Failed Coup

While acknowledging that many of the numbers in the aid package are rough, Administration officials underline that the Group of Seven — the world's seven leading industrial nations — has made a commitment to meet the \$24 billion in financing that Russia is estimated to need this year. They also say that while little of the \$24 billion requires new authorizations by Group of Seven governments, much of the money will be new aid as far as Russia is concerned.

By some estimates, about \$10 billion of the \$11 billion pledged in bilateral aid has already been announced by Group of 7 nations, while other estimates put that figure at \$6 billion. According to the Treasury Department, the aid package includes a \$6

billion fund to stabilize the ruble, \$2.5 billion in debt rescheduling, about \$4.5 billion from international organizations and the remainder in bilateral aid.

The Administration's attitude toward Russian aid has come a long way since July's economic summit meeting in London, when Washington opposed aid to Moscow, arguing that President Mikhail S. Gorbachev was not committed to serious reforms.

But the Administration warmed up to the idea after the August coup in Moscow, when the United States and other Group of 7 countries began looking for a way to bolster Mr. Gorbachev's shaky rule by discussing a plan to reschedule the huge Soviet debt.

In the fall, Secretary Baker, Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady and the Federal Reserve Chairman, Alan Greenspan, visited Moscow and discovered that the country was rapidly running out of hard currency to pay its debts and finance crucial imports.

At the Group of Seven finance ministers' meeting in Bangkok, Thailand, in October, Mr. Brady threw his weight behind efforts to help Russia with its debt burden, but he remained frustrated that the Russians were not providing enough data to determine how much aid they needed.

Large-Scale Aid And I.M.F. Role

After Mr. Yeltsin effectively took power in December, discussions about aid became more serious. During Mr. Baker's visit to Moscow in late December, Mr. Yeltsin appealed to the Secretary of State for any advice he could give on how to garner more Western aid. One Administration official quoted Mr. Yeltsin as saying: "Tell us what we need to know. Tell us how to approach it and we will take the necessary steps."

Mr. Yeltsin informed Mr. Baker that he was developing a serious economic plan and intended to remove stateprice controls. American officials were inclined to help but were still dubious, having heard such promises before.

Still, on Jan. 3, Treasury Secretary Brady announced that the Administration had changed its mind and now supported Russia's becoming a full member of the International Monetary Fund, which includes virtually all the industrialized democracies. In late January, the Group of Seven finance ministers, meeting on Long Island, seconded that call, believing that the global fund should spearhead the Russian aid effort because of its expertise on economic reform.

They agreed that large-scale aid would flow once Russia joined the fund and once the fund gave its seal of approval to Moscow's reforms. Their hope was that Russia could become a member when the fund held its spring meeting in Washington in late April.

On Feb. 2, President Bush and Mr. Yeltsin met at Camp David in early February, and Mr. Bush and the Treasury Department became more convinced of Mr. Yeltsin's seriousness about economic reform. Secretary Brady also came away impressed with how eager Mr. Yeltsin's chief economic adviser, Yegor T. Gaidar, was to press ahead with reform.

"Yeltsin was quite impressive up at Camp David," said an American official who took part. "I was struck by his

command of things. He made a very impressive economic presentation, without any notes. He made it clear that as far as he was concerned, there was no going back."

A Financing Scheme With a 60's Fund

Mr. Yeltsin was clearly disappointed that President Bush was not ready to give any firm promises on aid after the meeting. When Mr. Yeltsin went to Canada that evening, he grumbled about unspecified countries that "talk and talk" but "for the past five months we have been asking for help, and it hasn't happened."

"Camp David was a pivotal time," said a senior Treasury official. "It was clear that Yeltsin was putting a real program into place."

It was about that time that American officials started thinking that aid should be not just debt rescheduling, but also aid to help finance crucial imports like medicine, machinery and spare parts.

A few days later Secretary Baker, while heading for Frankfurt for a Western airlift of food and medicine for Russia and other republics, tentatively broached the idea with reporters that the State Department was exploring support of a fund to stabilize Russia's economy. Administration officials say Mr. Baker, who had been the most forward-leaning on helping the Russians, floated the idea to prod the White House and the Treasury. But Treasury officials say they were already working hard on Russian aid and needed no prodding.

On Feb. 27, the Group of 7 deputy finance ministers held a crucial meeting in Germany, where they began sketching details of an aid package that Russia would receive after joining the global lender. At the meeting, the Americans proposed a novel way of financing the \$6 billion ruble stabilization fund the Russians had asked for.

In the 1960's, 10 major industrial countries set up a fund now having \$23 billion — known as the general arrangements to borrow — that they could draw from to help stabilize their currencies, and the Americans proposed that \$6 billion from that fund be used to stabilize Russia's ruble.

Tokyo Criticizes 'Rough Numbers'

The Group of Seven embraced that plan because Washington, Bonn and Tokyo were not hungry to appropriate \$6 billion in new funds to underwrite the risky currency.

The momentum for a package picked up in March. In addition to the Nixon memo and Secretary Baker's meeting with the Russian Foreign Minister, the American Ambassador to Moscow, Robert Strauss, returned to Washington to lobby Congress and Mr. Bush to provide large-scale aid. And several key Senators pressed Mr. Bush to move aggressively on such aid.

All those factors seemed to finally spur the Administration into action. Mr. Baker had the State Department begin drafting a legislative package that would combine all of the American contributions, those already committed and some new ones.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 9, 1992



David Small

Tsongas, Role Model for '92

By Charles Peters

I hope that Paul Tsongas announces today that he will re-enter the Presidential race. His chances of winning may be slim, but maybe that's not the most important issue. Regardless of his chances, he can do a great service to the campaign — not to mention the Republic — by elevating the debate and giving us time to figure out what we're getting into with Bill Clinton.

Because Mr. Tsongas is respected by both Democratic candidates and the public, he can challenge Mr. Brown and Mr. Clinton to rise above the slash-and-burn attacks that have increasingly demeaned this campaign.

In addition to elevating the debate, Mr. Tsongas's entry would lengthen it. And I have two reasons for wanting the campaign to continue until the convention. The first, one that I share with roughly half my fellow Democrats, is that, as much as I am attracted by Bill Clinton's obvious ability, I still have doubts about his character.

On the sex, dope and draft issues, I think most fair-minded people are ready, even eager, to forgive and forget Mr. Clinton's past. The problem is that he has in each case insisted on adding to his otherwise persuasive defense a detail that many of us find very hard to believe. The comedian Billy Crystal has made the point about inhaling marijuana.

As for sex, although I greatly admire the stand that he and his wife took about past marital problems on "60 Minutes," his specific denial about Gennifer Flowers was not easy

Charles Peters is editor of *The Washington Monthly*.

He leads the way on the high road.

to accept in light of transcripts in the supermarket tabloid, *Star*, and the state job his administration gave her.

And although I generally sympathize with Mr. Clinton's desire to escape Vietnam, I do not believe that he saw his induction notice as an insignificant event. (Wouldn't it, by the way, have been better if he had not just ducked the draft but had found, as Mr. Tsongas did in the Peace Corps, another way to serve.)

But the most troubling manifestation of Mr. Clinton's character came in this campaign when he attacked Paul Tsongas's proposal to slightly reduce Social Security payments to the wealthy. Mr. Clinton was committing one of the greatest sins of public life: cruelly punishing another politician for being brave enough to take a first step down the right road. Such punishment guarantees a continued shortage of courage among our political leaders. Mr. Clinton's misrepresentation of Mr. Tsongas's position on Israel and of Jerry Brown's on abortion were similarly destructive.

My other reason for wanting to see the campaign continue is that the issues, which received a gratifying amount of attention in the early debates, have been lost in the barrage of attack commercials and sound bites. We need to know much more about how the candidates are going to give us decent health care and good schools at prices we can afford to pay, how they are going to cut defense spending and eliminate excess bureaucracy, how they are going to find

work for the unemployed and rebuild the nation's infrastructure.

The character issue should be included, but it should not be raised in the attack mode that Jerry Brown used to smear Hillary Clinton's law practice. A calmer, more dispassionate approach could examine whether Mrs. Clinton had reason to know that her name might have been used to attract clients who sought influence with state government.

Mr. Tsongas was especially good in keeping the early debates focused on the important issues. He got off the track in trying to respond to Mr. Clinton's unfair attacks in Florida and began to descend into nastiness himself. He found this process so dispiriting, I think, that it is the real reason he withdrew from the race (if it were money, all he had to do was follow Jerry Brown's excellent example of how funds should be raised).

The solution is for Mr. Tsongas to announce that he is back in the race but insist that he's going to do it his way — on the high road. I hope Mr. Clinton and Mr. Brown, with an occasional nudge from the press, will have the decency and good sense to follow his example. If they don't, we'll learn something about them, won't we?

Mr. Tsongas has to face the probability he will lose. I would encourage him to press on with these words spoken by Senator Warren Rudman, Republican of New Hampshire, who last month decided not to run for reelection: "It's time to tell them the truth, and if you get defeated while doing it, at least you do something good for the country. There are people who have given their lives for their country. I don't see what's wrong with giving a political life for the country."

Bush Backs Wisconsin's Attempt to Change Welfare System

By ANDREW ROSENTHAL

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 8 — In an effort to put substance behind President Bush's oratorical calls for welfare reform, the Administration plans on Friday to give Wisconsin the first in a series of waivers that will permit states to cut welfare benefits, Administration officials said today.

The waiver will be issued through the Administration of Children and Family, which is overseen by the Department of Health and Human Services, and will be directed at a proposal to experiment with Wisconsin's welfare law by reducing welfare benefits for women who have more children while receiving welfare.

Although Federal welfare programs are administered by individual states, payment levels are set under Government guidelines and changing them requires approval from Washington.

Other States, Too

A senior Administration official said today that Mr. Bush also has directed Louis W. Sullivan, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, to speed up consideration of all other waiver requests from states, including Oregon, New Jersey, and Florida.

The waivers are intended to put some teeth into Mr. Bush's campaign-year talk of welfare reform, a subject that had rarely appeared in his speeches until he announced his candidacy for re-election and began casting about for ways to change his image from a representative of the political status quo and the Washington establishment to an agent of change.

Since then, Mr. Bush has made frequent references to welfare reform during campaign appearances and in official speeches, but the White House has yet to come up with any legislative initiatives of its own. The senior official said top Bush aides were reviewing the

possibilities for such a proposal.

In the meantime, Administration officials have seized on the waiver requests.

Encouraging State Action

"One of the major things we can do is accelerate, as the President has directed, some of these waivers," the official said, denying that Mr. Bush had taken up the cause of welfare restructuring simply because it promised to be a powerful political issue in the Presidential and Congressional campaigns.

"We've got states that are doing some innovative and creative things in welfare reform right now," he said.

White House officials said Mr. Bush had doubled money for the Head Start program. They also claimed an increase in enforcement of child-support

laws as evidence of Mr. Bush's support for welfare restructuring.

The issuance of the waiver for the Wisconsin program was timed to coincide with a visit to Washington by the state's Republican Governor, Tommy G. Thompson, who is a Bush supporter, officials said.

Wisconsin proposes to test its new approach over three years in Milwaukee and three other counties, not yet selected.

'Family Responsibility'

The state describes the program as a "parental and family responsibility initiative." State officials said the proposal would, among other things, discourage teen-age women from having additional children to get more money from the main welfare program, Aid to

Families with Dependent Children.

In Wisconsin, where welfare benefits are higher than in all but 10 other states, a two-person family composed of a mother and child now receives a welfare benefit of \$440 a month. If the woman has another baby, the family gets a welfare benefit of \$517 a month. Under the experimental program, the three-person family, composed of a woman and two children, would get only \$479 a month.

There would be no increase for additional children beyond the second. The maximum monthly payment for a single-parent family would be \$479, regardless of whether there were two children or eight children in the family, state officials said. Wisconsin, like most states, now pays more for additional children.

The Myth of the Black Vote

That African-American voters are indivisibly monolithic is the most stubborn myth of modern politics. Are they inexorably Democrats? Surely not. Conservative middle-class blacks would embrace the party of Lincoln if race-baiting Republicans hadn't written them off. As for the black Democrats, this year's primary races offer abundant evidence that they, too, are as diverse as their white counterparts.

Bill Clinton has won the support of many black voters, but by widely varied margins depending on the region — and news of the moment. He won at least three out of four black votes in the South; that could also be called the Southern Accent Belt, likely to favor a son of the South.

In the Northeast, black voters, like whites, have been more wary of Mr. Clinton's Southern charm — and his sometimes slippery answers to questions. His share of the black vote in Connecticut dropped to 58 percent, exit polls showed, and to 52 percent this week in New York.

Jerry Brown, the former California Governor, never exceeded 10 percent among blacks in the

South. In Connecticut, however, he won 30 percent of the black vote. In New York he improved that showing somewhat, to 37 percent.

The way blacks voted in New York speaks mightily against the myth of the monolith. Mr. Clinton won little more than half the black vote despite endorsements from many black political figures. And Mr. Brown failed to improve his standing among blacks despite the overt support of the Rev. Jesse Jackson, whom he even suggested would be his running mate.

In the end, that gesture ended up costing Mr. Brown dearly, losing many more Jewish votes than it gained votes among blacks. In Connecticut Mr. Brown won the Jewish vote with 37 percent, compared with 34 percent for Mr. Clinton. In New York, Mr. Clinton won seven Jewish votes for every one that went to Mr. Brown.

Had Jesse Jackson been running on his own, he might well have won across New York City, just as he did in 1988. But he couldn't do much to confer his influence on Jerry Brown in New York. That's more evidence against the myth of the black monolith.



President Bush and his wife, Barbara, on an early-morning walk yesterday to see the cherry blossoms.

White House Memo

With Bloom Off, Bush Takes Time to Smell the Flowers

By ANDREW ROSENTHAL
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 8 — It's morning again in the White House. At 5:55 A.M. today, during a week in which the Administration is scrambling to dispel the notion that it is drifting aimlessly, President Bush took his wife to look at the cherry blossoms. In the dark.

Mr. Bush wandered around the Tidal Basin and the Jefferson Memorial for about 15 minutes, while a few early joggers ran by (one woman threw the First Couple a kiss), reporters and photographers tried to keep up without falling in the water, and Secret Service agents prowled about with automatic weapons and bullet-proof vests.

Of Jefferson and Dogs

The President thrust his hands into his pockets. He put his arm around his wife, Barbara. He gushed over the pink and white flowers, visible only in the glare of television floodlights until a rosy dawn broke toward the end of the walk.

"This is beautiful," the President said. "Isn't this beautiful? It's a little early."

Claiming inspiration from Thomas Jefferson, he discoursed on the 1992 election (not afraid of Buchanan), Congressional careers (too long), the Supreme Court (on the right track), his health (just fine), his son George (still asleep back at the White House) and his pitching arm (a bit rusty). The White House stenographers, struggling as always to punctuate the Bush syntax, produced a seven-page official transcript that will undoubtedly befuddle some Presidential scholar of the 21st century.

At 8 A.M., Mr. Bush read aloud from "Harry, the Dirty Dog," to about two dozen first graders sitting on the floor in the Diplomatic Reception Room of the White House. He then told how his own dog, Ranger, had killed a rat. The children told him about pets who were sick, dying or dead. Then the President of the United States went to the Oval Office for his daily Intelligence briefing.

After days in which the only news from the White House was a fresh burst of stories about policy paralysis,

Continued on Page A16, Column 1

BUSH TAKES TIME FOR LITTLE THINGS

Continued From Page A1

sis, this morning was filled with the sort of small-bore events that Mr. Bush loves. Republican strategists hate and Republican critics cite in support of their conviction that the Bush team is wasting the power of the Rose Garden.

Mr. Bush, who had definitely not been having fun earlier this year trying to beat back Patrick J. Buchanan, was obviously having a good time this morning.

"Good morning, everybody," said the President. "Bright and early. Wait until the sun comes up."

It is one of the delights of office for Mr. Bush that he can roust a news pool for early morning fishing in Florida, golf in Maine and jogging all over the world. It is one of the burdens that he set off in the dark to see the cherry blossoms, a ritual that hundreds of thousands of couples in courting tourists in buses and functionaries in gray suits can enjoy when the sun is up.

"It will be daylight at 6:20 A.M., but we just want to get out here before we held up too much traffic," Mr. Bush said. "As I speak, the sun is starting to rise somewhere."

Surely He Would Agree

Sauntering into the Jefferson Memorial, Mr. Bush read from an inscription from the marble wall in hope of demonstrating that the third President, were he alive, would support the 41st President's call for Congressional term limits.

"With frequent changes laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind," Mr. Bush intoned. "As that becomes more developed, more enlightened, with new discoveries were made, new truth discovered, matters of opinion change is certain of that. Institutions must advance also to keep pace with my times."

Pausing to draw a breath, he said, "I've ever heard an eloquent plea for term limits, that's it."

What followed was a curious convergence of Peruvian martial law and H. Ross Perot's Presidential ambitions.

REPORTER: You're misinterpreting Jefferson.

THE PRESIDENT: No I'm not.

REPORTER: You ought to send this statement to Peru.

THE PRESIDENT: Perot?

REPORTER: Peru.

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, sorry. I heard you.

REPORTER: Perot, right. Is he on your mind?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I think he's on yours.

REPORTER: Not at all.

THE PRESIDENT: This is a lovely memorial.

'Can't See in Our Bedroom'

After his usual protestations — "Look, we're out here to enjoy the flowers, thank you very much" — Mr. Bush seemed to enjoy bantering with the press. His wife was less amused. As her husband dismissed reports of disarray in his White House as "silly," Mrs. Bush chimed in: "You can't see in our bedroom window. That's the good news."

That merely inspired her husband to gaze at the White House and point out the bedroom where his son George, a part-owner of the Texas Rangers, was sleeping. "See on the far right window?" he said. "That's my son George. That's our son George's room, and when he got the word that the Texas Rangers won 4 to 0 at 9:45 A.M. he went back to sleep for another hour and refused to come out to see the cherry blossoms. That's my boy for you."

Executive Decisions

Usually the President refuses to talk about how he reaches a decision. He made an exception today. "Here's the way the decision-making process works," he said. "Barbara and I got home at about 11 P.M., so I made the command decision to go either this morning or tomorrow morning. So we went this morning."

Editorial Notebook

How Jerry Brown Fell Flat

Asked in Milwaukee last week if his trip to Wisconsin indicated that he was conceding New York, Jerry Brown said, "No, I'd like to be in both places, but I haven't yet achieved bilocation." But on the stump in the Badger State, he achieved a comparable feat by turning the strong wine of his flat-tax proposal into skim milk.

Mr. Brown bounced into Wisconsin saying his campaign was "simple" and his proposals "easily understandable," like his plan to institute a flat 13 percent income tax with few deductions and a 13 percent value-added or sales tax. Some predicted a Brown sweep, given misgivings about Bill Clinton even among senior Democrats.

It didn't happen. Governor Clinton outpointed his rival, despite Wisconsin's historic predilection for insurgents. The reason? The flat tax 'ell flat. The more Mr. Brown talked about his plan, the riskier he made it seem. This was not surprising: progressive taxation was pioneered in Wisconsin by "Fighting Bob" LaFollette, whose name Mr. Brown intoned like a mantra.

Critics calculated that the flat tax would cost 600,000 Wisconsin taxpayers around \$600 million in lost deductions on state income and local property taxes. Clinton

Voters in Wisconsin Grounded His Tax Plan

commercially warned that the change would wreck the Social Security trust fund and beggar the old and needy. Hillary Clinton regaled a student audience by assailing Mr. Brown's "cockeyed, flat-earth tax policies."

In his final foray, Mr. Brown backstepped. "We will work it out in a progressive way," he said in Madison to The Wisconsin State Journal. "It's so simple. You add a little more in the value-added and you can rebate money back to those based on need." Retired people are part of his coalition, he added. "We've got a concept here."

Mr. Brown said he would get rid of the Social Security payroll tax and take the money instead from a larger pool. He would also give tax credits to the working poor, provide direct support for people who need assistance, protect the family farmer, protect the environment and provide for health care — thus re-creating the very "stuffed turkey" of intricate entitlements he insists his flat tax would replace.

The New York campaign was dominated by talk-show and tabloid noise. Wisconsin focused on issues. Voters paid Mr. Brown the compliment of taking his proposal seriously. And then rejecting it. KARL E. MEYER

The 1992 Campaign

"The negatives will go away." BILL CLINTON

On the Sidelines

Tsongas II: Ex-Senator Ponders Revival

By ROBIN TONER

Former Senator Paul E. Tsongas was pondering a re-entry yesterday after his surprising second-place finish in New York's Democratic primary, but many Democrats said they were hard put to see how a revived Tsongas candidacy could wrest the nomination from Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas.

As a result, some of Mr. Tsongas's aides said yesterday that they expected the former Massachusetts Senator to decide against re-entering the race, although they cautioned that he is known for last-minute and closely held decisions.

There was a spirited case being made for Tsongas II, with some of his allies arguing that a revived campaign could further his influence in the party and keep the former Senator well-positioned in the event of a Clinton collapse.

Mr. Tsongas is expected to announce his decision at a news conference today.

Despite the strong showing of his

A spirited case is being made by some advisers.

sidelines campaign this week, Mr. Tsongas would face numerous obstacles, many Democrats said yesterday. His campaign is carrying a debt of about \$400,000, according to his campaign manager, Dennis Kanin.

And before Mr. Tsongas suspended his campaign on March 19 he was decisively defeated across the South and in Illinois and Michigan, suggesting more serious flaws in his candidacy than a simple lack of money.

For example, while Mr. Tsongas often ran well with affluent, educated suburbanites, he had difficulties with core Democratic constituencies like

blacks and organized labor, which will play an important role in the coming contest in Pennsylvania.

On top of all this, Mr. Clinton is leading Mr. Tsongas in delegates by better than 2 to 1, with only 17 primaries and caucuses remaining and with party rules of strict proportional representation that make it extremely difficult to overcome such leads.

Mr. Tsongas has been given those particular facts of life by many Democrats, including Ronald H. Brown, the Democratic national chairman, who spoke to him Tuesday night.

"Mathematical Realities"

"I did talk to him," Mr. Brown said, "about the mathematical realities of this thing, which are that Bill Clinton's got about 1,400 delegates; that it's certainly impossible for anyone not in the race to accumulate sufficient delegates, and that it's virtually impossible for anyone in the race, other than Bill Clinton, to accumulate a majority before the convention."

Mr. Brown, who has long said that an early end to the nominating battle would be a big plus for his party in November, asserted that his conversation "wasn't an attempt to encourage or discourage" Mr. Tsongas, but rather "a good, open conversation about the lay of the land."

David Wilhelm, the Clinton campaign manager, said there were "no behind-the-scenes negotiations" between his camp and Mr. Tsongas's, but added: "We try to keep the lines of communications open. Typically, it takes the form of friends talking to friends."

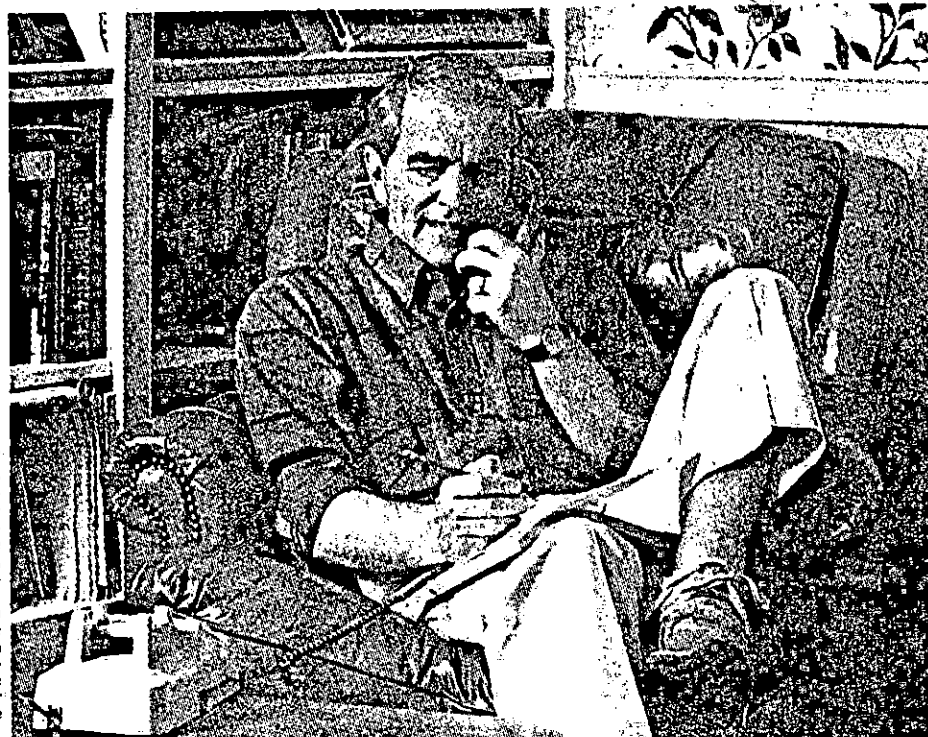
Mr. Wilhelm was taking a careful but cordial tone yesterday. "We respect him and we're not going to thrust ourselves into the middle of that very personal decision," the Clinton campaign manager said of Mr. Tsongas.

But Mr. Wilhelm added, "It's definitely true that if he were to get into the race, it would prolong a process that I believe would ultimately lead to a Bill Clinton nomination nevertheless."

"Spoiler" Role Debated

When Mr. Tsongas left the race last month he said he had no desire to be a "spoiler" by pressing a doomed crusade for the nomination that would only end up helping President Bush in the fall. Mr. Kanin, the Tsongas campaign manager, suggested last night that much of the internal debate revolved around that issue.

"I think you've got to decide what being a spoiler means," Mr. Kanin said. "If you have the view — and I'm not saying Paul has this view — that the reservations the electorate has



Paul E. Tsongas at his home in Lowell, Mass., where he was photographed yesterday during a series of telephone calls with supporters and fund-raisers about possibly reviving his campaign.

Numerous obstacles remain, for Tsongas, say Democrats.

of his allies assert that he could return with a scaled-back campaign that would, at the very least, carry his message forward.

The former Senator campaigned as a "pro-business liberal" who combined the party's liberal stance on social issues with such economic measures as support for a cut in the tax on capital gains to encourage investment.

Power to Shape the Party

Nathan Landow, the state Democratic chairman in Maryland, a prominent fund-raiser and a Tsongas supporter, said he believed that returning to the race would increase Mr. Tsongas's power to shape the party "at the negotiating table in New York," where the Democrats will hold their national convention in July.

Ted Van Dyk, an adviser to Mr. Tsongas, said he had urged the former Senator to consider a re-entry, but added: "He's got to be committed; it would be painful. It would be a knock-down, drag-out battle."

He said his impression was that Mr.

Tsongas was most worried about seeing his message fade away.

Mr. Brown, the Democratic chairman, said he had told Mr. Tsongas that "I didn't think we could win without him and his supporters," and wanted to see the former Senator take an active role "in the fall campaign and in the convention."

Amid all the political maneuvering, Tsongas aides said he was simply trying to analyze Tuesday's vote. There were signs that much of it in New York was rooted in protest: 48 percent of the Tsongas voters categorized themselves as disliking the other candidates, compared to 24 percent who said they liked their candidate but with reservations, and 27 percent who said they strongly favored their candidates.

Jim Ruvo, a Democratic national committeeman from Ohio, said: "There will always be a significant vote for somebody else, and Tsongas is more palatable than Jerry Brown, so his vote may be higher. But it will not stop Clinton's march to the nomination — he doesn't have the money or the time."

New York Voters: What Mattered Most

	Brown voters	Clinton voters	Tsongas voters
"Which one or two candidate qualities mattered most in deciding how you voted?"			
Has specific ideas	22%	33%	35%
Has experience	10	15	7
Will shake things up	32	11	10
Can win in November	5	23	8
Could handle a crisis	2	12	5
Is a strong leader	8	13	5
Cares about people like me	30	19	17
Is honest	26	4	42
Best represents what my party stands for	14	18	10
Said economy and jobs were the most important issue	37	44	52
Strongly favored their candidate	30	31	27
Liked candidate with reservations	49	52	24
Disliked the other candidates	18	14	48

Based on a poll conducted by Voter Research and Surveys of 1,763 Democratic primary voters in 38 randomly selected precincts throughout New York State on Tuesday.

DOUBTS OF VOTERS
TEMPER EUPHORIA
IN CLINTON'S CAMP
3 VICTORIES ARE HARD WON

Nomination Is Within Reach, but Many Who Backed Him Did So Reluctantly

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas joined strikers on an Illinois picket line yesterday, with the Democratic Presidential nomination within his reach as the result of hard-won victories in three primary elections on Tuesday but not yet in his pocket.

Tempering the euphoria in the Clinton camp was the knowledge that many voters said they had backed him reluctantly as the best of a dubious lot.

Troubling the party's leaders, including Gov. Mario M. Cuomo of New York, who discussed the problem with Mr. Clinton by phone late Tuesday night, was the fear that hand-to-hand combat among the Democrats in the three months before their convention would play into President Bush's hands.

Democratic officeholders and strategists were split over what to do next. Some sought a negotiated cease-fire; some pressed for a new candidacy. As Mr. Clinton's Southern supporters in the Senate circulated a letter in an effort to persuade uncommitted delegates to endorse him, others like Representative Don Edwards of California tried to persuade colleagues not to act yet.

Brown Vows to Fight On

Mr. Clinton's sole active rival, former Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr., flew to Virginia, which holds delegate-selection caucuses on Saturday and next Monday. He vowed to fight on, "tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow," at least until the California and New Jersey primaries on June 2, despite his dismal performance in New York. Mr. Clinton is "in the lead, all right," the former California Governor said, "but there are enough questions" to make him vulnerable.

Former Senator Paul E. Tsongas of Massachusetts, who stunned his party by taking second place here with 29 percent of the vote, kept suspense alive concerning his plans. He promised to announce this morning whether he would resume an active candidacy; his aides were betting he would not. [Page A20.]

By winning the pivotal New York primary in the face of Mr. Brown's unsparring attacks and the hostility of much of the news media in New York City, Mr. Clinton regained his status as the probable if not the presumptive nominee. But his triumph here was marred by the desire of two-thirds of the electorate, as expressed in polls of voters as they left the booths, for a

Continued on Page A20, Column 1

Mrazek Is Out of Senate Race

Representative Bob Mrazek quit the New York Senate race and denied abusing House privileges. Page B1.

Continued

With Clinton Surging, Party Splits on Next Step

Continued From Page A1

wider choice than they were offered.

Robert M. Teeter, Mr. Bush's campaign chairman, said in an interview that "it looks like Clinton will be the nominee." He added that the Arkansas Governor did not appear, on the basis of voting trends and other factors, "to be a particularly strong opponent."

Clinton's Count Mounts

Still, the New York triumph, combined with a landslide in Kansas and a narrow victory in Wisconsin, brought the Governor's delegate total to almost 60 percent of the number needed for nomination. No one else is close.

A tally by The New York Times showed that Mr. Clinton had gained 162 delegates on Tuesday, putting his total at 1,279 of the 2,145 needed for nomination. Mr. Tsongas won 100 for a total of 520 and Mr. Brown picked up 98 for a total of 272. A total of 618 delegates remain uncommitted.

Interviews yesterday with superdelegates, who are prominent party officials and officeholders, showed no strong trend toward or away from Mr. Clinton in the last 24 hours. If a stop-Clinton drive is to materialize, it will require the participation of most of the uncommitted superdelegates. Some of those in the House of Representatives said they planned to attend meetings this week to discuss what they should do before the Pennsylvania primary on April 28.

Overnight, two strong convictions took hold of many party elders.

Clinton Now Hard to Stop

The first was that Mr. Clinton would be hard if not impossible to stop, now that he had come back from his losses in Connecticut and Vermont. Richard Leone, a longtime Democratic operative from New Jersey, who is chairman of the Port Authority of New York and

Doctor Silences the Front-Runner

Special to The New York Times

PEORIA, Ill., April 8 — He coughed his way through New Hampshire, rasped his way through Illinois and croaked during much of the New York primary campaign. But Gov. Bill Clinton's doctor has finally laid down the law.

No speeches and no pontificating for the Arkansas Governor for at least four days. Not even talking will be allowed.

Mr. Clinton returned to the Governor's Mansion in Little Rock tonight, and his aides said he would be prohibited from doing any more than reading and thinking.

This for a man whose claim to fame was talking so long at the 1988 Democratic convention while nominating Michael S. Dukakis that a New York radio disk jockey

asked him last week if he had ever gotten around to finishing the speech.

This for a man who can talk about health-care policy to a bystander in a doughnut shop at three in the morning.

And this for a man who can talk to reporters on his campaign plane at such length and with such concentration on issues so detailed and obscure that a television producer listening to one such chat recently stumbled up the aisle afterward mumbling: "O.K., I'm blue in the face."

The Clinton campaign said today that the Governor's doctor had "recommended complete voice rest" because the rigors of campaigning had resulted in "overuse and fatigue of the larynx."

New Jersey and heads the 20th Century Fund, commented that "people increasingly admire Clinton's guts."

"It's up to the superdelegates now," Mr. Leone said, "and they will respond to those who court them. A lot of people don't want Clinton, but they're disorganized. I suspect the Clinton people will be just as adroit, just as persistent and just as hard-nosed in this as they've been in the other aspects of inside politics."

Indeed, reports circulating on Capitol Hill said the Clinton campaign was mounting a strong campaign to swing uncommitted Senators behind the Arkansas Governor, and that Ron Brown, the party chairman, was taking part in them. Mr. Brown said he had made no

request of any superdelegate, although he conceded that he had talked to many "who were reassessing their positions on the day after Bill Clinton took an extraordinary leap forward."

Officials who spoke with the chairman said he had told them that he had been talking about "the simple reality that only Clinton could win."

Superdelegates Courted

A slow-Clinton effort, meanwhile, was reportedly mounted in the House of Representatives. According to Representative Carroll Hubbard Jr. of Kentucky, Mr. Edwards called uncommitted superdelegates from the House together in his office yesterday at 4 P.M., urged them to stay that way and said he thought the eventual Democratic nominee would be Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas.

Mr. Edwards, who confirmed that the meeting took place, said 17 Representatives had attended and commented that "it's still awfully early to make commitments." But he denied he was part of an anyone-but-Clinton campaign and declined to give any details of what he or others had said.

The second conviction shared by most of the party hierarchy, and most of the consultants who spent the day swapping opinions on the telephone, was that Mr. Clinton's victory in New York was seriously clouded by the tiny turnout, the size of the vote for Mr. Tsongas despite his inactive status and the comments in exit polls expressing dissatisfaction with the whole Democratic field.

"There's obvious repair work to do," said Tom Donilon, a Democratic strategist in Washington, "and that's what Clinton and the party need to get about doing" — a very tall order with Mr. Brown still firing away.

Mr. Clinton said that in terms of delegates he was doing as well as Jimmy Carter in 1976, Walter F. Mondale in 1984 and Michael S. Dukakis in 1988, all of whom won the Democratic Presidential nomination on the first ballot.

He explained voters' negative feelings as the product of a "a highly combative and contentious and intensely-covered atmosphere." Asked whether he could get a majority of voters to love him, he answered, "I'm not interested in whether they love me or not. I want them to respect me."

In time, the Arkansas said on television, "the negatives will go away."

Visits Caterpillar Strikers

On the picket line in Peoria, Ill., where workers at Caterpillar plants have defied orders to return to work, he reiterated his opposition to the permanent replacement of strikers, which is what the Caterpillar company is threatening. He told company officials the same thing, then said his trip to Illinois had no political motivation. Mr. Brown is expected in Peoria in a few days.

Governor Clinton told reporters of his conversation with Governor Cuomo, during which he said the two agreed that "now the time had come for us to unite, heal and focus our attention on President Bush." But he said nothing about Mr. Cuomo's suggestion, which Mr. Cuomo disclosed, that Mr. Clinton should sit down with Mr. Brown, with Mr. Tsongas if he returns to the race, and with Congressional leaders to negotiate an agreement to "cut the negatives."

The problem with that is Mr. Brown. The whole thrust of his campaign as the lonely outsider bravely battling the Establishment would be undercut if he agreed to any such arrangement.

No Apologies from Brown

Speaking to reporters on the tarmac at La Guardia Airport before leaving for Richmond, Mr. Brown said Mr. Clinton had been as guilty of negative campaigning in New York as he had, with "a very powerful attack on my flat tax proposal." He vowed not to "get distracted by this underflow of conventional politics that does try to get us into the meat grinder" of controversy.

"You saw how few people turned out" for the primary, the Californian said. "The Democratic Party is facing a very dismal prospect unless we can recruit people. That's the crisis our party chairman is not looking at."

Asked how he could win, Mr. Brown answered, "The scenario would be winning Pennsylvania and Clinton stumbling in some continuing way that would render him unsatisfactory to enough of the delegates. We'll see what happens."

A Portrait of New York Voters

All figures in percent.

TOTAL	STATE	CITY
State City	Brown Clinton Tsongas	Brown Clinton Tsongas
45 44 Men	27 41 27	27 45 23
55 56 Women	26 41 31	24 48 26
79 70 White voters	23 39 34	19 48 30
18 23 Black voters	37 52 9	39 47 9
3 5 Hispanic voters	— — —	— — —
1 1 Asian voters	— — —	— — —
38 33 All Catholics	30 35 32	24 41 33
21 27 All Protestants	31 43 23	34 45 18
33 25 White Catholics	29 32 34	20 39 38
White		
12 11 Protestants	27 34 35	27 39 37
24 36 Jewish	9 54 33	10 58 29
10 11 18-29 years old	34 30 31	41 28 27
28 22 30-44 years old	36 30 31	37 38 22
26 26 45-59 years old	25 42 30	23 50 22
36 42 60 and older	18 51 26	16 52 27
Union		
28 27 households	30 38 28	28 43 22
Blue-collar		
10 7 workers	36 43 16	— — —
Voted for		
19 18 Bush in '88	23 35 39	15 44 36
45 48 Liberals	30 39 28	30 40 24
40 39 Moderates	23 44 30	22 50 24
15 18 Conservatives	20 39 39	14 50 32
Considered self:		
71 70 Democrat	25 44 28	23 49 24
27 27 Independent	27 33 38	28 38 27
Family income		
10 11 Under \$15,000	21 53 21	19 56 17
20 20 \$15,000-30,000	28 44 26	28 49 21
27 27 \$30,000-50,000	32 39 24	27 43 24
23 20 \$50,000-75,000	27 34 35	28 40 29
20 22 Over \$75,000	22 39 38	27 42 29
Family financial situation compared to four years ago...		
11 8 Better	23 34 40	22 43 34
42 44 Same	25 40 31	23 43 28
45 46 Worse	28 44 25	27 49 20

Based on a survey conducted by Voter Research and Surveys of 1,763 voters leaving polling places in 38 randomly selected precincts throughout New York State in Tuesday's Democratic primary. Of these voters, 777 were in 12 New York City precincts. Some categories may not add to 100 percent because of rounding, votes for others, or no opinion. Dash (—) indicates too few cases for reliable analysis.

Black Panther Is Defeated in Milwaukee

MILWAUKEE, April 8 (AP) — An alderman who had threatened guerrilla warfare if he lost his bid for a third four-year term was defeated Tuesday by a police sergeant.

But the 41-year-old alderman, Michael McGee, said he wanted people to remain calm.

"I don't want nothing stupid to happen," he said at a sidewalk news conference after he was defeated by George C. Butler, 4,105 votes to 3,539.

Both candidates are black, but Mr. McGee said racism hurt his re-election effort. He had established a Black Panther militia and threatened violence if conditions for the city's blacks did not improve by 1995.

His district was redrawn before the election, giving it more white voters. Mr. McGee called city officials racists, and said Mayor John O. Norquist and others were campaigning to get rid of him.

Mayor Norquist, 42, won his own re-election effort on Tuesday, defeating Gregory Grac, a 45-year-old firefighter who had been accused of sexual harassment. The vote was 99,937 votes to 57,078, a margin of 64 to 36 percent.

Mr. Norquist said the voters ousted Mr. McGee because they were unhappy with his attendance on the council. He missed 18 meetings in 1991, often blew whistles to disrupt news conferences and wore a band on his head for the Common Council.

New York

Voter Turnout Is Ominous Sign For Candidates

Lawmakers May Face Danger in Primaries

By SAM ROBERTS

Voters turned out in New York's Presidential primary on Tuesday at the lowest rate since the present system was adopted in 1980, reflecting voter dissatisfaction that could be dangerous to incumbents in Congressional primaries in September and the general election in November.

A survey of voters leaving the polls by Voter Research and Surveys found that only 3 in 10 Democratic voters said they actually favored one of the seven candidates. The rest had reservations or said they were voting to stop someone else's candidacy.

A low turnout sometimes benefits the candidate with the most committed constituency. In New York, that was supposed to be former Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California. But he carried only two of New York's 34 Congressional districts, both upstate. And in only one of those two districts was the turnout higher than four years ago, and that barely.

Little Comfort for Clinton

The figures do not hold much comfort for Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, either. He won a 41 percent plurality, but the Democrats who voted on Tuesday accounted for fewer than 1 in 10 voting-age New Yorkers statewide — just over 7 percent. And the candidate who finished second, with a surprising 29 percent of the vote, was Paul E. Tsongas, who had suspended his campaign.

The statewide turnout was 27 percent of enrolled Democrats, down from 45 percent in 1988 and 39 percent in 1984, years when Jesse Jackson was on the ballot, and 31 percent in 1980. That was the first year New Yorkers could vote directly in the primary for Presidential candidates, as distinct from their delegates to the national convention.

Several politicians suggested yesterday that the general discontent registered Tuesday, coupled with anger over check-writing abuses by members of Congress, would make them the next target of voters. Some of that anger may also rub off on state legislators, but its effect on the Democratic primary for the United States Senate is uncertain, since no candidate is an incumbent although four of the five are veteran politicians.

Tuesday's results also suggest that a candidate can still build a potent coalition of blacks and Jews in New York, as long as the candidate is not associated with Mr. Jackson.

Shock Waves From Jackson

Mayor David N. Dinkins said yesterday that Mr. Brown might have alienated Jewish voters by reaching out for the support of Mr. Jackson, whose remarks about Jews and Israel in earlier campaigns still excite anger here. And while Mr. Clinton may have lost some black voters as a result of the Brown-Jackson alliance, his gains among Jewish voters may have more than made up for those losses.

"Two issues I thought could be dangerous to Brown," said Barry Feinstein, the teamsters' union leader who endorsed him. "One was his flat-tax proposal, and one was Jesse."

Mr. Brown's campaign directed last-minute mailings and leaflets at blacks and Jews. But it does not seem to have helped him. Mr. Clinton won Tuesday



Associated Press

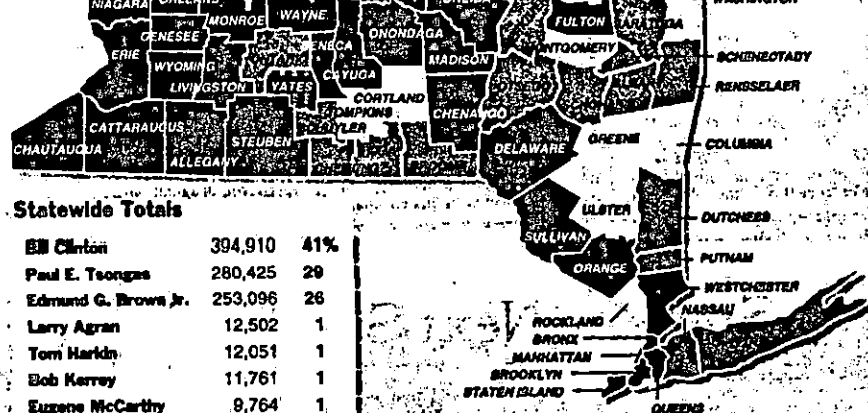
The day after New Yorkers gave his candidacy a lukewarm endorsement with a 41 percent plurality, Gov. Bill Clinton stopped off at the Caterpillar plant

in East Peoria, Ill., to show his support for the United Automobile Workers who are on strike. His next campaign will be in Pennsylvania.

Where the Candidates Led

Unofficial returns with 99% of the precincts reporting statewide.

- Clinton
- Clinton/Tsongas tie
- Tsongas
- Too close to call
- Brown



Statewide Totals

Bill Clinton	394,910	41%
Paul E. Tsongas	280,425	29
Edmund G. Brown Jr.	253,096	26
Larry Agran	12,502	1
Tom Harkin	12,051	1
Elo Kerrey	11,761	1
Eugene McCarthy	9,764	1

Mayor David N. Dinkins said it would be unfair if his long friendship with the Rev. Jesse Jackson hurt the Mayor politically. Page B3.

with the support of more than half the blacks, Jews and the elderly, those Democrats over 60 years old. Those three groups together accounted for more than half the electorate.

Mr. Brown held Mr. Clinton to his weakest showing among blacks, re-

ceiving the votes of 1 in 2, as against 6 in 10 in Connecticut and 7 in 10 in Southern and Midwestern primaries. But blacks accounted for a smaller share of the total vote than they did four years ago, magnifying the influence of other groups.

Arguably, a turnout like Tuesday's, at the low end of the average range, usually benefits the party organization. But these days the term party organization is largely oxymoronic. To the

extent that an organization exists, the Presidency is often among its lesser priorities.

Representative Thomas J. Manton is chairman of the Queens Democratic organization, which endorsed Mr. Clinton. But in Mr. Manton's own Congressional district, Mr. Clinton got about one-third of the vote and trailed Mr. Tsongas, who, presumably, inspired a higher turnout from fellow Greek-Americans in the district.

"Two issues I thought could be dangerous to Brown. One was his flat-tax proposal, and one was Jesse."

BARRY FEINSTEIN

Boy, we wish we'd said that!

Earlier this year Senator Malcolm Wallop of Wyoming had some rather sharp observations about some of his colleagues. In the national interest, Senator Wallop said that he would not vote against the National Energy Security Act (S.2166). He did, however, think the "environmental hypocrisy" of some of his colleagues and their constituents worthy of note.

Following are excerpts from Senator Wallop's remarks on the debate:

"Mr. President, there is one additional point which should not be lost in this debate, and that is the environmental hypocrisy involved in the lust of some to end any form of domestic energy production.

"The majority leader just this morning spoke about how the President is not doing enough to curb carbon dioxide. Does it not strike anyone as curious that you can get an environmental vote on legislation dealing with global warming and then flip-flop to the other side of the issue and get another gold star for supporting moratoria to put the gas reserves of this country out of reach?

"In the North Atlantic planning area, we are talking about over 2.54 trillion cubic feet of natural gas. That is the equivalent of over 450 million barrels of oil. But no—let us not develop the gas. Let us simply import the oil in tankers that ply the coast of Maine, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New York. Besides, when there is a tanker spill, we can all blame the administration for its recovery response.

"We already have a moratorium in this legislation off New Jersey. The mid-Atlantic planning area has an estimate of 5.35 trillion cubic feet of natural gas. That is over 950 million barrels of oil equivalent. But many who give speeches on global warming do not want us to develop the natural gas reserves off their shores which could mitigate the effects

of global warming....

"And to my friends who want to buy back producing leases off the coast of Florida, I would ask, 'Where do we get the petrochemical feedstocks to manufacture those ever-popular mouse ears?'

"Mr. President, at some point there has to be an end to the environmental game of political gamesmanship. If we are ever to get serious about our energy dependency and our legitimate environmental concerns, then we need to look to our natural gas reserves. Senators simply cannot come to the floor and demand that we convert the federal fleet to natural gas and at the same time oppose onshore and offshore production of natural gas.

"At some point the so-called environmental community has to come forward with something positive. They hate hydro, they despise OCS, they get apoplectic over ANWR, they denounce coal, and they become catatonic about nuclear. They are appalled that we could wind up in a war in the Mideast which they made almost inescapable. All you need do is look around the Chamber and count the votes.

"Think of the hypocrisy. Some of my colleagues argue against offshore drilling because they believe offshore drilling is more dangerous than onshore drilling and because a majority of the voters in their states don't want it.

"Yet in November, many of these same colleagues voted against cloture on S.1220 because of ANWR, which was onshore and had the support of a majority of the citizens of Alaska.

"Against the war, against OCS, against ANWR, against nuclear, against hydro. Mr. President, theirs is not an energy policy. Theirs is not a national security policy. It is the essence of no policy at all."

Enough said?

Mobil®

Pennsylvania

Quirky State Is Setting For Next Primary Battle

By MICHAEL deCOURCY HINDS

Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPHIA, April 8 — The Presidential candidates are now turning their attention to Pennsylvania, the next state to hold primaries, and one that has a cranky, pessimistic and unpredictable electorate.

This is the state, after all, that just last November elected its first Democrat to the United States Senate in 30 years. Harris Wofford, a relatively unknown state official when he was appointed to fill the seat of the late John Heinz, rode a wave of anti-incumbent sentiment to defeat former Attorney General Dick Thornburgh, a Republican closely linked to President Bush's domestic policies.

The engineers of Mr. Wofford's upset victory, James Carville and Paul E. Begala, are also top strategists for Gov. Bill Clinton. That team also ran Gov. Robert P. Casey's two successful campaigns here in 1986 and 1990.

The primary is scheduled for April 28, but there is a possibility that it may be postponed as a result of litigation carrying over delays associated with the court-ordered remapping of Congressional districts. A Federal court held a hearing here today on the issue.

Tsongas as Wild Card

Mr. Clinton and his main rival who is actively campaigning, former Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, have just begun to vigorously court Pennsylvania. But former Senator Paul E. Tsongas of Massachusetts is also on the ballot, and political experts say he could be influential if he re-entered the race.

"Tsongas is really the wild card here," said Michael L. Young, a professor of politics and public affairs at Pennsylvania State University at Harrisburg. "But I don't think he will be a serious factor unless he actively campaigns."

The conservative cast of the Democratic electorate may help Mr. Clinton and Mr. Tsongas, he said.

But it was here — in front of the Liberty Bell — that Mr. Brown announced his candidacy, and some analysts say he still has a chance to do well in Pennsylvania, which prides itself as being independent.

Fond of Protest Votes

"We like to stage protest votes at the end of the primary process," Professor Young said. He noted that in the state's 1980 primaries, Pennsylvanians voted for Senator Edward M. Kennedy and George Bush after Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan had all but clinched their parties' nominations.

Pennsylvania, the nation's fifth-most populous state, has a conservative-leaning electorate of 5.3 million registered voters. Registered Democrats outnumber Republicans by 330,000, but Republicans have been narrowing that margin for years, and many registered Democrats vote for moderate Republicans. In surveys, half the voters identify themselves as conservatives, one of three call themselves liberals and the rest call themselves moderates.

The issues of most concern to Pennsylvania voters, according to survey data, are jobs and unemployment, the economy and health care, which, poll takers say, is an issue that captures specific concern about health care costs as well as a general uneasiness about the economy. The recession had hit the state hard, and Pennsylvania's unemployment rate in March was 7.2 percent, as against a national rate of 7.3 percent.

The lingering recession has in-

Pennsylvania Profile

Democratic primary April 28

Delegates at stake 169

All figures are for 1990 except where indicated. Pennsylvania's population in 1990, excluding people living abroad, was 11,881,643 or 4.8 percent of the U.S. total. It ranks fifth among the states in population.

	Pa.	U.S.
Growth since 1980	0.1%	0.5%
Median age	35.0	32.8
Married couple households	55.7%	59.7%
Unemployment rate		
March '92	7.2%	7.3%
Per capita income	\$16,672	\$16,685
Race		
White	88.5%	80.3%
Black	9.2	12.1
American Indian	0.1	0.8
Asian	1.2	2.9
Other	1.0	3.9
*Did not specify on census form.		
Hispanic	2.0	9.0
People of Hispanic origin can be of any race.		

Sources: Census Bureau; The Almanac of American Politics, 1992; The World Almanac and Book of Facts, 1992; Bureau of Labor Statistics

The New York Times

creased frustration with incumbent politicians and any candidate who sounds like the incumbents. "We're still seeing a very strong anti-incumbent feeling, perhaps because Pennsylvania voters, by a three-to-one margin, think their own financial situation will worsen next year," said G. Terry Madonna, director of politics and public affairs at Millersville University of Pennsylvania in Lancaster.

Mr. Madonna, who polled 673 likely primary voters over the last weekend, also found that Mr. Clinton has a 13 percentage point lead over Mr. Brown but that almost a third of the voters remain undecided. Mr. Tsongas was not included in the survey. The statewide poll, sponsored by Millersville University and WHTM-TV in Harrisburg, was conducted by telephone between April 2 and 4; it has a margin of error of plus or minus 5.4 percentage points.

The two big voting blocks here are labor union members, with about 22 percent of the voters, and the elderly, with about 20 percent of the voters. Blacks make up about 9 percent of the voters and Jews about 3 percent; both groups are overwhelmingly registered as Democrats.

Mr. Brown appears to have attracted more labor support than Mr. Clinton, who is meeting with local A.F.L.-C.I.O. officials here tonight, but none of the major unions have made endorsements yet.

As for Pennsylvania's Republicans, they consistently give Mr. Bush a higher approval rating than he receives nationally. In last weekend's survey, Republican respondents gave Mr. Bush a 66 percent approval rating, compared to a 26 percent approval rating for Patrick J. Buchanan. "This is Bush country," Mr. Madonna said.

Republicans Gaining

In the last decade, Pennsylvania Democrats gave primary victories to Michael S. Dukakis over the Rev. Jesse Jackson in 1988, to Walter Mondale over Gary Hart in 1984 and to Senator Kennedy over Jimmy Carter in 1980. But in four of the last five Presidential general elections, Pennsylvania helped elect Republicans. This is an old tradition for Pennsylvania, which, for example, was the only big state that stood with Herbert Hoover over Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932.

The tilt in voter registration toward the Republican Party may reflect a shift in the Pennsylvania economy. The state may conjure up images of coal or steel, but Pennsylvania now has more jobs in research and high-technology areas than it does in manufacturing. And agriculture is the largest industry in the state, with 3.7 million of its 11.8 million people living in rural areas.

In the 1988 primary, Mr. Dukakis defeated Mr. Jackson by 67 to 27 percent, but Mr. Jackson carried Philadelphia, where a quarter of the state's Democrats live. Mr. Brown, who has said he would like Mr. Jackson as a running mate, could benefit from Mr. Jackson's popularity.

At stake in this month's primary are 110 Democratic delegates and 63 Republican delegates. But Pennsylvania, which has many media markets at some distance from each other, is a hard place to campaign. "Candidates end up spending a lot of money," said David L. Buffington, publisher of a political newsletter in Harrisburg, "for a relatively small number of delegates."



Stephen Crowley for The New York Times

Barbara H. Franklin, the veteran management consultant who is now in her second month on the job as Secretary of Commerce.

Progress Reported in Talks On North American Trade

By CLYDE H. FARNSWORTH

Special to The New York Times

MONTREAL, April 8 — The United States, Canada and Mexico have narrowed differences on issues ranging from autos to energy in negotiations on a North American free trade area, ministers of the three countries said after three days of meeting here. The Bush Administration is hoping for a pact before November.

Despite reports from Washington that the Administration is getting cold feet because an agreement might give capital to political opponents, the United States trade representative, Carla A. Hills, said today in a meeting with reporters that the President wanted to "complete negotiations as soon as possible."

"I think we could complete our negotiations and initial an agreement, and subsequently sign it by November," she said.

Progress in Technical Areas

With Mrs. Hills were Canada's International Trade Minister, Michael H. Wilson, and Mexico's trade minister, Jaime Serra Puche. All three spoke of progress in narrowing differences in technical areas.

While they took a generally optimistic tone, the negotiators declined to provide evidence of emerging accords on specific industries, emphasizing that nothing was final until everything was agreed.

One contentious issue relates to the way rules defining North American content are worked out for automobiles, computers, textiles and other products.

In autos, the United States wants Canada and Mexico to accept a 60 percent content rule — which means that at least 60 percent of the value of a car would have to be produced in North America for it to avoid tariffs.

In the existing United States-Canada free trade accord, 50 percent was agreed on. Canada and Mexico both want the 50 percent maintained, arguing that at 60 percent the United States would take Asian investment away from them.

Washington is also seeking to open parts of Mexico's energy industry, which was nationalized in 1938 and is protected as part of the national patrimony in Mexico's Constitution.

While Mexico does not want to be seen giving away control of oil to the United States, its oil industry needs huge sums to modernize and increase output.

Negotiators are looking for ways to allow for foreign investment and other participation in the industry without touching off a domestic political storm.

The Political Consequences

Mrs. Hills said she thought the political consequences of an agreement could be positive. "Those voters who believe that it is good for the region to find ways to become more competitive globally will mark that as a plus," she said. "Those who are resigned to the belief that a free trade area is not in their best interest will mark it as a minus."

Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, the front-runner for the Democratic Presidential nomination, has expressed support for North American free trade, but some political analysts say he could make any accord negotiated by the Bush Administration an issue by promising to renegotiate to get a better deal.

Edmund G. Brown Jr., who is fighting Mr. Clinton for the nomination, has said he would delay a North American trade deal until he had a job protection strategy in place.

Some experts say the agreement will provide more jobs in the United States, but it could create some dislocation for a number of lower-skilled workers in sectors in which the United States competes with Mexico, like agriculture and apparel.

A recent study by the Institute for International Economics found that the free trade agreement would create 600,000 jobs in Mexico and 130,000 jobs in the United States. Canada would undergo a net loss of 4,000, the study said.

The President has to give Congress 90 days' notice that he will sign an agreement. Once the 90 days is up, the Administration must negotiate with Congress on legislation needed to make existing laws conform to the trade pact.

Canada and Mexico are eager to conclude the accord this year. It would weld the three North American economies into the world's largest free trade zone, with 360 million people and a gross national product of \$6 trillion.

The good news

You can just forget all that stuff you've been hearing about how White House misfits Marlin Fitzwater, Bobbie Kilberg and Tony Snow are on their way out of the Bush administration. NOT!

In a genial display of support for his embattled aides, President Bush brought them along to his Kennedy Center presidential box Tuesday night to hear a favorite country-pop balladeer, Anne Murray.

"It just goes to show that this really is a nice guy. He knows how to make his folks feel good," says an obviously envious administration official who observed the party from his "paid-for seats." Mr. Bush and coterie had better — and free — seats.

The hassles that Mr. Bush's companions have been through are pretty much common knowledge

by now. Mr. Fitzwater was recently reported to be looking for other employment after lecturing the new White House honchos on which end is up. He's denied he's looking for work. Mr. Snow was the victim of a communications coup that pushed him out of the speech-writing shop. Mrs. Kilberg ... well, never mind that.

Mr. Snow says he had "a spectacular time." Asked what the occasion was, he puts it this way: "The president asks and you go."

Miss Murray sang all of the president's favorite tunes, including "A Little Good News."

INSIDE THE BELTWAY

Changing the guard

The instability of Congress is rocking a few more boats than just those leaky craft paddled by incumbents. Some extremely influential inside-the-Beltway types, generally unsung in the media but the real powers in Washington nonetheless, may be packing it in. We're talking lobbyists, who earn their bread and butter (well, champagne and caviar) based on connections built over the years.

Some of the old-timers are said to be very unhappy as more and more members of Congress decide they'd just rather not face an angry electorate. Two younger members of the lobbyist breed were overheard recently speculating about how there might just be a lot more room at the top because of the turnover. Some of the big shots, they allowed, think it might just be a whole lot easier to retire than to get to know a brand-new Congress.

So who's next?

The two most recent senators to announce their retirement, Kent Conrad, North Dakota Democrat, and Tim Wirth, Colorado Democrat, were both targets of voter anger on the home front because they signed a 1989 letter recommending the establishment of a Senate bank — modeled after the House bank.

Political Hotline reports that there are a number of other Democratic senators who signed that letter facing election this year. Among them: John Breaux of Louisiana, Tom Daschle of South Dakota, Wyche Fowler of Georgia, Bob Graham of Florida, Barbara Mikulski of Maryland, Harry Reid of Nevada, Terry Sanford of North Carolina and Richard Shelby of

Alabama.

On the Republican side, Sen. John McCain of Arizona is up for re-election. He floated the Senate bank proposal back in 1987.

Listen up!

On March 23, OMB Director Richard Darman sent an official memo to heads of departments and agencies under the letterhead of the Executive Office of the President. He mentioned that President Bush had announced some ways the administration would be cutting back on spending. Mr. Darman told the various federal bosses that "the president also indicated that he wished to go further in identifying opportunities for spending reforms" and told recipients to get their suggestions in, pronto.

Then, on April 2, another memo went out. It told the heads of departments and agencies that in addition to making cuts in areas where they might be most expected or justified, the honchos should also look at "symbolic" areas. One can almost imagine the big cheeses tearfully kissing their limos goodbye. But it must have been a long kiss, because the memo from Mr. Darman also reminds recipients that "your first response to the March 23rd memo was due on March 30th."

In testimony before the Senate Appropriations subcommittee on the Treasury yesterday, Mr. Darman allowed as how he had driven himself to work that day. He's eligible for door-to-door limo treatment.

Piggyback ride

Virginia Langley of Kennebunk, Maine, figures to capitalize on the popularity of retired Marine Lt. Col. Oliver North's autobiography. She has published "The Real Ollie North Story." It comes shredded in a plastic bag.

If the joke doesn't go over, the author suggests, the "book" also can be used as a gerbil nest.

— John Elvin



Nicaragua's 50-cordoba note commemorates the 1979-90 Sandinista reign.

Sandinistas on the money

The Sandinistas are officially out of power in Nicaragua, but they are said to be in control of most of the strings anyway. A recent traveler to Managua says the leftist organization is making sure the people don't forget it. When the nation's currency hit a level where a barrel of bills wouldn't buy an empty barrel, new money was printed up, including a 50-cordoba note commemorating the Sandinista revolution. Other bills show various Sandinista heroes.

In other Nicaragua news, our informant says a poster is making the rounds offering a \$10,000 reward for information leading to the conviction of whoever assassinated Col. Enrique Bermudez, former commandant of the Contra freedom fighters. The reward has been posted by a group of Americans frustrated that the Chamorro government has not acted on information currently available that might solve the case.

2 White House staffers to testify

By Carleton R. Bryant
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Two White House administrators have been allowed to testify today before a House subcommittee examining White House staff and travel costs.

Last week, amid growing public anger over congressional scandals and perks, the White House refused to permit the administrators to appear before the House Post Office and Civil Service subcommittee on human resources. The White House said it had already given Congress all pertinent information on the matter.

"In the light of the changed posture by the White House ... it is my



Darman

belief that this subcommittee should give the White House the opportunity to demonstrate that it truly wants to work with us before issuing subpoenas," Rep. Paul E. Kanjorski, Pennsylvania Democrat, said yesterday.

The human resources subcommittee, which Mr. Kanjorski chairs, is expected to take testimony today from two Office of Administration directors — Ron Rasmussen, head of financial management, and Phillip Larsen, personnel chief.

Mr. Kanjorski, who has said White House costs may exceed \$130 million a year, said "subpoenas would remain an option" if his panel is "disappointed with the information provided by the White House."

"I hope that does not become necessary," he added.

As public ridicule mounted over the House bank scandal last month, the Bush administration lambasted Congress, but it apparently has relented in the brouhaha over perqui-

sites. Administration officials have opted to cooperate with congressional inquiries into executive branch perks and to voluntarily cut some of their privileges.

Testifying before a Senate Appropriations subcommittee yesterday, Richard Darman, director of the Office of Management and Budget, said he has taken to driving himself to work.

Mr. Darman said, beginning this month, he has sworn off using a government car and driver. "I gave it up for symbolic reasons," he told the general government subcommittee. "It might seem hypocritical to ask other people to give things up."

He testified that he has done just that — asked administration departments to consider forgoing their special or non-essential privileges.

"I believe ... the public is rightly disturbed about some patterns it observes in the Congress and in the executive branch and that we should, wherever we can fairly, ter-

minate anything that is not properly justifiable," he said.

Sen. Dennis DeConcini, Arizona Democrat and subcommittee chairman, yesterday objected to the White House practice of repaying the equivalent of first-class airfare for political trips the president makes aboard Air Force One. Mr. DeConcini said it costs at least \$25,000 an hour to operate the modified Boeing 747 jetliner.

"I think when the president's in the campaign mode, he ought to be more like a candidate," Mr. DeConcini said. "If the president ... mixes politics with official business, the politics has to pay the real cost."

But Mr. Darman defended the practice, saying the president must use the aircraft to fulfill his duties as commander-in-chief. "The president ... when he is campaigning for re-election is not free to say 'I'll forget my responsibility as commander-in-chief,'" he said. "He is commander-in-chief 24 hours a day."

Skinner critics getting louder

By Frank J. Murray
and Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Four months into his White House rescue mission, Chief of Staff Sam Skinner gets little credit, has not yet solved communication problems of the John Sununu era and must fend off the kind of criticism that drove his predecessor to quit.

While some senior officials say Bush bashers in the press merely found a new target in Mr. Skinner, others are impatient and concerned over his lack of action and the role of his top aide, Henson Moore.

"The discontent here is very deep, but it is really hard to tell why," a Bush adviser said. "There is a lot of blaming and finger-pointing going around, and the finger-pointing is going ever higher."

"They're involved in process and procedure, but not about what President Bush stands for," a campaign official said, defining a view phrased differently by others.

"When your ship is sinking, you don't worry about navigation. You bail," said an aide who discounted Mr. Skinner's long-range approach to change.

Some aides suspect rivalry between the chief of staff and Budget Director Richard Darman helps stir the pot. Others say top staffers are giving up hope that Mr. Skinner will turn around the policy-development, leadership and communication problems he inherited in December.

Such complaints were dismissed yesterday by a senior official who said Mr. Skinner is "frustrated" because his accomplishments go unreported and his strategy for Mr. Bush to outline "five pillars of reform" isn't making a splash.

"Our message is held hostage by the media unless they somehow are interested in what we're trying to say," said the official, who is familiar with Mr. Skinner's growing resentment at the press for attacking him and not reporting Mr. Bush's words and actions.

Critics say Mr. Skinner has been unable to make compromise look like leadership. They say the White House still draws lines in the sand before it decides how far it will go to settle, making final decisions look like surrender.

Mr. Skinner himself said yesterday that things are looking up after an unexpected setback — the months of battling Republican challenger Pat Buchanan.

"The speeches are getting better," he said. "Republicans are closer together than they have ever been."

When asked if it is his fault the president has had trouble convincing voters he understands their problems and is trying to solve them, Mr. Skinner said, "It should have happened sooner, but I think it's getting better."

see SKINNER, page A7

SKINNER

From page A1

His own list of achievements — among them the latest veto victory and development of a three-month schedule to stress Mr. Bush's issues — features the point on which criticism is sharpest: his penchant to change what he calls "the process" by which things are done.

"Bush does not need to be managed. He needs to be enlarged and defined," said a campaign aide who is intensely supportive of the president and appears to fear that his chance for re-election could suffer.

Officials in the White House political, communications and legislative offices, as well as associates of Vice President Dan Quayle, have had recent clashes over Mr. Skinner:

- The vice president's office tried to counter Mr. Skinner's attack on conservative supporters of Mr. Buchanan.

- The legislative office winced when Mr. Skinner attacked Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell of Maine in tough language that even Mr. Sununu avoided using.

- Deputy Chief of Staff Moore, a former Louisiana congressman and deputy secretary of energy not used to being a middle-level staff member carrying out strategies approved by others, has angered and irritated veteran staff members, including some who outrank him, notably



Sam Skinner

press secretary Marlin Fitzwater.

An angry outburst by Mr. Fitzwater after a recent meeting chaired by Mr. Moore was confirmed by White House officials, but they denied a Washington Post report that the spokesman suddenly left on vacation because of the confrontation. They said he'd been planning the trip for weeks.

Mr. Bush scoffs at reports that the tenure of Mr. Fitzwater — who holds the rank of counselor — is at risk.

"Absurd, absolutely absurd. And you know it," Mr. Bush said yesterday.

day.

But many officials, including Mr. Skinner, seemed to confirm the "disarray" reports in part by saying that they were "outdated" by about 10 days to two weeks.

Despite the sniper fire, Mr. Skinner said he is optimistic now about everything, but his long working hours.

It seems clear Mr. Skinner still has the president's confidence, though he sometimes delivers unpopular news or advice contradicting that from other longtime friends.

"If you're so smart, why aren't you president?" Mr. Bush reportedly said with some irritation after one particularly blunt discussion.

If Mr. Skinner can't contain the damage and is forced to defend himself instead of managing the president's staff, he could follow the loyal Mr. Sununu, who was dumped after becoming a Page One embarrassment.

Mr. Bush said yesterday there is good cooperation between campaign and staff and everything is running smoothly, an impression not universally shared.

"But you have to ask the question because somebody beat you to a story that's not true. It's silly," Mr. Bush said, referring to the Post report.

Campaign press secretary Torie Clark said some differences between the campaign and White House staffs seem inevitable.

Arafat bruised but OK

By Neila Sammakia
THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

TRIPOLI, Libya — Yasser Arafat, who has survived gunbattles, air raids and assassination attempts as leader of the Palestinian cause, walked away yesterday from a crash landing of his plane during a sandstorm in the Sahara.

Palestine Liberation Organization officials said three of the five crew members were killed when the plane's nose plowed into a hill.

Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi paid a visit to Mr. Arafat's bedside last night at a hospital in Misratah, 120 miles east of Tripoli. Libyan TV showed the PLO chief lying with a bandaged right eye, smiling and

see ARAFAT, page A6

ARAFAT

From page A1

chatting with Col. Gadhafi, who embraced him.

"We have treated him fully and comprehensively," Dr. Muftah Shwayhidi said. "His health is excellent."

Bassam Abu Sharif, a close adviser, said Mr. Arafat should be healthy enough today to preside over a session of the PLO's 80-member policy-making Central Council.

In a televised interview with a Libyan reporter, Mr. Arafat thanked Col. Gadhafi for having "mobilized the whole state" to find him. He said the two pilots and the engineer were killed and five other persons aboard were badly hurt. Others suffered minor injuries or escaped unhurt, he said.

Palestinians throughout the Arab world celebrated on hearing the news that Mr. Arafat survived. He was found at dawn, bruised but alive, after being missing for 15 hours.

Mr. Arafat has been the PLO's undisputed leader for 23 years. His loss would have been a grievous blow to the organization and could have seriously undermined U.S.-sponsored Middle East peace talks.

"God has saved the Palestinians

from a political disaster.... Arafat is irreplaceable," said Zeid Wahbeh, Mr. Arafat's representative in southern Lebanon.

Mr. Arafat's two most important aides have been assassinated in the past four years, and no one else has the stature to step in as successor of the divided PLO.

"How can you put your life at risk and go out in such a small plane in such weather?" Col. Gadhafi chided Mr. Arafat in the hospital. Mr. Arafat was in an An-26, a Soviet-built twin turboprop often used as a short-haul cargo plane.

He added jokingly, "I will set up an investigation committee to question the people who allowed you to go out in such weather."

Saeed Kamal, the PLO representative in Cairo, Egypt, said Mr. Arafat's aircraft went down near a PLO training camp at as-Sarra in Libya on Tuesday. Mr. Wahbeh said Mr. Arafat was accompanied by 13 bodyguards.

The base is 150 miles from the Sudanese border and about 900 miles southeast of Tripoli.

Coffins bearing the bodies of the three dead crew were flown last night from Misratah to Tripoli, where they received a military salute by PLO officers. On one coffin, a sign in Arabic identified the victim

as a Romanian engineer. PLO officials identified the dead pilots as Ghassan Yaseen, 32, and Mohammed Darwish 35, the latter from Algeria.

Mr. Kamal said Egypt sent five planes, Libya 6,000 soldiers and the Palestinians 850 fighters from as-Sarra to help in the search. He thanked France, Italy and the United States for help he said they offered.

Capt. Adnan Beleidy of the Palestine Liberation Army, the PLO's military arm, said in Tripoli that a Libyan air force plane found the survivors at dawn near as-Sarra.

Mr. Abu Sharif said he had asked former President Jimmy Carter to intervene with the White House, where officials said they were in the process of seeing what they could do when Mr. Arafat was found. But Washington was not involved in the search, State Department spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler said.

"The Palestinians are grateful to President Bush for expressing his will to ask the American satellite to spot that plane," Mr. Abu Sharif said.

Any U.S. help for the PLO would stir controversy with Israel, which considers the PLO a terror group dedicated to the Jewish state's destruction.

CURTIS HOXTER

Potholes along the free market pike

The expansion of two-way trade between the newly emerged Eastern-Central European countries and the West is the No. 1 priority for the industrialized nations in 1992. If the hard currency earnings of the former Soviet bloc nations do not improve significantly, it is feared that the already threatened economic-financial health of the ex-bloc countries will deteriorate to a dangerous level. But the pendulum seems to be swinging more to imports than exports in the Eastern Europeans' search for a better life.

In their efforts to move from managed to free market economies, these Eastern nations have begun to realize that the path is thorny and painful. All governments are anxious and eager to come up with solutions and programs that will give their people at least a minimum degree of improvement. This means that comfort levels, up to now unreachable, will be attainable to give at least the appearance that life under capitalism is desirable and meaningful.

One of the first consequences in the move toward a free market was a plunge in buying power throughout the Eastern European nations as newly freed prices rose and the value of the currencies decreased. Domestic demand has dropped some 50 percent in real terms over the last two years.

Allowing a currency to float against Western hard currencies, a key element of the prescription for economic recovery advanced by the International Monetary Fund, is accepted by all governments and ministers as a crucial first step. This eliminates the role of government in the economy, a factor that has been a part of the Eastern European countries for decades.

Thus, products that the Eastern population could only dream about are now on the market, if at unusually high prices. These products were instrumental in the persuasion of the population to throw off the decades-long yoke of communism. A case in point? — the automobile as the key factor of social and economic acceptance and recognition. No more waiting for a car for 10 years, no more struggling with Skodas, Trabbies, Moscovas. The second-hand Mercedes, BMWs, Volkswagens, Opels, Renaults are the East's newest prestige symbols.

But that is not the full story. Last year, Belgium's foremost export to the East was in secondhand automobiles; had it not been for that export earner, the European automobile companies would have had just a so-so year.

East Germans, in particular, were

the most eager used car buyers in 1991. The Western European automobile market rose by 1.7 percent last year, to a record 13.5 million units. Excluding the unified Federal Republic, sales on the Continent fell by some 8 percent. Demand for 1 million second-hand automobiles by the East Germans (not just German makes) soared during 1991, permitting car manufacturers throughout Europe to offset the slump in other as well as their own domestic markets, by selling more vehicles in Germany. However, the general shortage of hard currency limited the expansion elsewhere in Eastern Europe.

Such a unique occurrence is, of course, accompanied by curious side-effects. It has given rise to a totally new "industry" in these Eastern countries, aimed at satisfying the seemingly insatiable demand for Western cars: highly skilled gangs of car thieves bring their goods into the marketplace on a systematic basis. The statistics provided by the German police indicate that the number of cars stolen in the Western part of Germany rose from 17,000 in 1989, when the Berlin Wall came down, to an estimated 40,000 in 1991. These and thousands more being funneled into the East are readily and eagerly bought up at fantastic prices.

The upsurge in car thefts has actually forced automobile manufacturers to redesign security systems. Even Western car rental companies now refuse to allow rental customers to drive cars to Poland. European insurance companies are saying they can't cope any longer with the avalanche of claims.

There are indications that the most massive flow of stolen automobiles is going to the Soviet Union where well-heeled, long-established bureaucrats and black marketeers are trading expensive items, such as icons and caviar, for the stolen vehicles. Even Russian troops still stationed in the former East Bloc countries regularly move cars into the remaining garrisons in East Germany and Poland, often making their way into the former Soviet Union.

The gangs of car thieves, headed mostly by Polish nationals, have gone so far as to create an "academy of thievery" in Hamburg where recruits learn how to break into and start a new BMW within 30 seconds. The bands are highly sophisticated and amazingly well-organized.

Overall, the advent of capitalism and the free market systems have brought new ways of doing business, and automobiles are among the products most frequently offered and eagerly bought.

One key question remains unanswered: How do these people allegedly in economic stress in Eastern Europe come up with the money to buy their cars? Ingenuity appears to override all problems. The old saying is confirmed — "Where there's a will, there's a way."

MONA CHAREN

For richer or for poorer

There are some things that everybody knows that just ain't so. On the Monday before the New York primary, Bill Clinton said the reason the country needs a Democrat in the White House is that during the 1980s "60 percent of the income growth went to the top 1 percent of the population."

That is false. Mr. Clinton may not have known his figures were wrong. He was quoting from a Page One story in the New York Times on March 5, 1992, a story that seemed to prove, using Congressional Budget Office data, that during the '80s, the poor got poorer and the rich got much richer.

I was greeted by hoots and howls of derision when I said, to a gathering of the College Democrats last week, that all income groups made gains during the 1980s. Everyone simply knows that the '80s were a decade of huge income gains by the rich and losses for the poor and the "shrinking middle class."

It is true that the rich got richer in the 1980s, though not by as much as Bill Clinton thinks. But here's a

Mona Charen is a nationally syndicated columnist.

little fact of life that Democrats, college and otherwise, find hard to swallow. *The rich always get richer.* It matters little to the rich whether government policies encourage savings and investment (which benefit the whole economy) or the opposite. They, as Jack Kemp is fond of pointing out, are already rich.

In fact, as Rep. Richard Armey, Texas Republican, has discovered,

Telling the truth about income during the 1980s is like trying to shout into a tornado. As Mr. Armeys shrewd calculation proves, the rich always get richer, but under a growth regime, so does everyone else.

the rich made out even better during the late 1970s when Democrats controlled all branches of government. Even according to the flawed data of the Congressional Budget Office (we'll get to that), in the period 1977-1980, nearly 100 percent of net income gains went to the top 1 percent of income earners. During the maligned Reagan years, the gains to the top 1 percent of income earners were 38 percent.

But what about the Congressional Budget Office data and the New York Times story that seem to suggest otherwise? Well, a little healthy skepticism about the CBO is in order. Usually described in the press as "non-partisan," the CBO is actually an arm of the majority party in Congress.

The CBO data about income growth during the 1980s were skewed in many ways. In the first place, to measure the so-called "1980s," the CBO began with 1977! To include the disastrous Carter years in a study of the "80s" is, even in words of one CBO staffer, "deceptive." According to Christopher Frenze, an economist with the Joint

see CHAREN, page G4

CHAREN

From page G1

Economic Committee, 100 percent of the income decline for middle-income earners between 1979 and 1989 occurred in one year, 1980.

Mr. Frenze observes that the CBO data are misleading at all levels of the income scale. They attribute far too much income to the wealthy by failing to account for inflation when calculating capital gains income. Moreover, net capital losses are held to \$3,000 in the tax code, thus skewing the data even more. Besides, as is always the case with capital gains data, they include among the rich those who received a large one-time gain — say, from the sale of a farm or a business — even if that gain represents the work of a lifetime.

Non-politicians, however gifted, aren't necessarily well-suited to modern Democratic politics.

The CBO chooses not to include income for the middle class from pension plans and real estate sales (because the CBO was counting only taxable income, and those gains are not usually taxed). Finally, the CBO misstates the income of the poor by failing to include all of the government transfers they receive.

Telling the truth about income during the 1980s is like trying to shout into a tornado. But for those with open minds, Census Bureau data are instructive. During the period 1982-1989, the bottom fifth of earners saw a 12.6 increase in income. The next quintile saw a 10.7 percent rise over that period. The middle fifth increased income by 11.1 percent. The second-highest earners made 13.0 percent more, and the highest quintile earned 20.5 percent more.

As Mr. Armeys shrewd calculation of the gains of the rich under Mr. Carter proves — the rich always get richer, but under a growth regime, so does everyone else.

Curtis J. Hoxter is president of Curtis J. Hoxter Inc., a New York public relations and economic consulting firm.

DONALD LAMBRO

NEW YORK

The empty political dialogue about the economic and social decay of our inner cities is one of the saddest chapters in modern American urban history.

That was manifestly self-evident when a group of mayors met here last week to discuss urban problems with the Democratic Party's presidential candidates. There wasn't a single new idea expressed among them.

The candidates and the mayors voiced the usual bromides about the need for more spending for education, welfare programs and more public housing. And the air was thick with condemnations about federal "budget cuts."

Missing from the dialogue was a clinical examination of how government has contributed to the urban depression that now confronts us; how a corrupt welfare state has created huge and costly bureaucracies that must be fed with ever-increasing amounts of taxation, which in turn have sucked the life blood out of the very businesses needed to make our cities thriving, job-producing, income-generating centers of commerce.

Absent such analysis, there can never be the kind of sweeping political change needed to bring the inner cities back to life.

Donald Lambro, chief political correspondent of The Washington Times, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

Taxing business out of the cities

But the politicians are not the only ones to blame. The national news media is great on practicing the journalism of fear and tears but woefully short of dissecting urban problems and shedding some light on what works.

The respected political columnist David Broder recently wrote a column about the problems of the inner city, questioning whether the candidates were adequately responding to them. Yet nowhere in his column, or in the rhetoric of the politicians he cites, do the terms "entrepreneurs," "wealth-creation," "capital formation" or "tax-incentives" appear.

These are not cold lifeless economic terms, they are the fuel for business expansion, which is the engine that drives social change and advancement. You cannot discuss the problems of the cities without talking about the economic lifeblood that gives healthy communities their vitality and vigor.

Driving through the rundown neighborhoods of the South Bronx, parts of Harlem and other areas of this city, one sees block after block of boarded up store fronts and abandoned businesses and buildings.

These were thriving neighborhoods where people once worked, where they made, bought and sold

things, where businesses made money, supported families, and where children were raised, educated and climbed upon the shoulders of their parents to reach for a better life.

Where did these businesses and these people go? What was it that drove them from the cities and left the empty, gutted buildings and rubble-strewn vacant lots that we see today?

My cabdriver offered a big part of the answer. "They couldn't afford the taxes and they took their businesses out of the city," he said. "We're getting taxed to death."

At a stop light, my cab is surrounded by young black men carrying buckets of soapy water and sponges, offering to clean the windows for whatever you will give them. Lawmakers, like Massachusetts Sen. Ted Kennedy, sit in Washington, feeling smug that they raised the minimum wage again and priced hundreds of thousands of young people like them out of the marketplace.

Service stations, for example, used to be places where many young people could get entry level jobs. Not anymore. In response to rising congressionally mandated labor costs, many pumps are now computer-run:

insert your credit card, pump your gas, out pops a receipt, and you are on your way without having dealt with a human being.

There are no service station attendants in such places. Mr. Kennedy and his allies in Congress have priced them out of work force and sent them begging on the streets.

It doesn't take a nuclear scientist to see what is happening. The newspaper clips of the last decade tell a sad story in which overtaxed, over-regulated businesses have left unsafe cities, leaving joblessness, hopelessness and despair in their wake.

Big city mayors like New York's David Dinkins still don't get it. Until recently, he has been calling for higher taxes, even while the taxes that he and his predecessors had levied were driving employers out of the city, shrinking its tax revenue source and stripping the engine of growth.

Tragically, there are few leaders in either party, with the exception of people like Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp and urban activist Bob Woodson, who have a clue to what is needed to rescue our inner cities.

We need aggressive, business-creating enterprise zones with deep tax cut incentives for growth and new investment; tenant management and ownership of public housing; and deregulatory building and zoning incentives for more affordable housing, to name only a few.

But these and other reforms require leadership, the kind that was sorely missing from last week's mayoralty forum on the cities.

PAUL CRAIG ROBERTS

The Office of Thrift Supervision (OTS), a gang of brigands operating out of the U.S. Treasury Department, has come under withering criticism from the New York City Bar Association for its Star Chamber proceeding against the prominent law firm Kaye, Scholer, for refusing to be a stool pigeon.

The Bar Association has found that the OTS misused its power to freeze assets in order to coerce Kaye, Scholer to capitulate and to settle a highly suspect lawsuit. The OTS sued Kaye, Scholer, claiming that the law firm's obligation to defend its savings-and-loan client is subordinate to its obligation to serve as a government informer. Realizing that its case would be thrown out of court for violating the attorney-client privilege, OTS officials decided to pre-empt the ability of the law firm to defend itself by seizing its assets.

As the Bar Association puts it, "In the case of Kaye, Scholer, OTS confronted the firm with the choice of settling promptly or going out of business. The effect of this order apparently has been to deprive Kaye,

Paul Craig Roberts, an economist at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, is a columnist for The Washington Times and is nationally syndicated.

Crossing the bar over fair play

Scholer of its right to defend itself in court on the merits."

It is a sad day when officials of the U.S. government, with the permission of the treasury secretary, employ tactics hitherto used only by robber barons, absolute monarchs and authoritarian governments. This is the deplorable state to which the Bush administration, with its gross mishandling of the S&L crisis, has brought us.

The Bar Association report concludes that the OTS asset freeze order is "of questionable constitutionality"; that it "clearly went beyond a reasoned response and threatened the financial viability of the firm," and that the unilateral power to freeze assets without a judicial hearing destroys the "chief guarantee of our liberties, due process and judi-

cial review of governmental power."

The OTS' unchecked power to freeze assets was granted by the 1989 S&L legislation (FIRREA), an ill-considered and destructive act that has destroyed untold amounts of wealth and cost U.S. taxpayers billions of dollars. The Bar Association's report urges that the freeze statute be amended to require a judicial hearing in which the government must establish that it actually has a case and that there is a real risk that the assets of the defendant could be dissipated prior to trial.

Without these protections, "government regulators may use the power to freeze assets not to prevent their dissipation or to recoup the fruits of crime or fraud, but to force a law firm to settle without regard to the merits." Of course, the same pressure can be felt by any defendant, not just a law firm.

From the standpoint of anyone who might ever need a lawyer, the government's power to freeze assets destroys the attorney-client relationship. A proper defense of a client from an attorney's point of view can be branded "misleading" or "concealment" from an aggressive regulator's perspective. As the Bar Association put it, "The line not to be crossed may be so vague, and so subject to selective enforcement, that the attorney may not wish to come

see ROBERTS, page G4

ROBERTS

From page G1

anywhere close to the line and thereby risk financial ruin. The attorney is put on notice that a vigorous defense, or indeed the use of any aggressive or hardball tactics at all, may result in an attachment of the firm's assets, well beyond the fees earned in the particular matter. It is the client who will suffer from the chilling effect."

The coercion used against Kaye, Scholer by the OTS is just the latest of a number of steps taken by the government to exempt itself from the normal rules of our legal system. The Justice Department has released its litigators and attorneys from obligation to follow state ethical rules that prevent lawyers from directly communicating with adversaries in the absence of their counsel. This rule prevents those trained in law from taking advantage of those who aren't, but the government has decided that winning its

cases is more important than mere ethics.

In Latin America there is the adage: "When corruption begins at the top, everything falls into decay." As government lawlessness "trickles down" through our legal system, it will corrupt it completely.

In the meantime, expect your attorney's fees to rise because his insurance premiums are escalating.

This leaves us at the government's mercy, and it has none.

Now that government litigators have the power to extort settlements from law firms, insurance companies have to protect themselves by raising the price of coverage. For ordinary people, the government is driving the cost of lawyers out of sight. This, of course, leaves us at the government's mercy, and it has none.

'96 ban said too late to save ozone

GENEVA, Switzerland (Reuters) — The world must implement an immediate ban on chemicals that destroy the protective ozone layer, rather than wait until 1996, two environmental groups said yesterday.

Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth made a joint statement at a U.N. meeting that is considering a proposal to advance by four years — to Jan. 1, 1996 — the date for a phase-out of ozone-depleting chemicals.

Even that is not good enough, in light of continually emerging research showing the problem is worse than expected, the environmental groups said.

"There can be no room for misunderstanding: In scientific terms, anything short of a total and immediate ban of ODCs (ozone-depleting compounds) amounts to a license for continued ozone depletion and all its consequences," they said.

Ozone protects the earth from harmful ultraviolet radiation from the sun, which causes skin cancer and eye cataracts and can damage animal immune systems, crops and the oceans' rich food chains.

Gases that deplete the ozone are used in refrigeration, air conditioning, plastic foams, aerosols and industrial solvents.

Safe alternatives are available for many of these uses.

The United States and the European Community had advocated the January 1996 phase-out, and U.N. Environment Program Executive Director Mostafa Tolba formally proposed that date Monday at the start of 10 days of negotiations.

Given such trans-Atlantic consensus, it was unclear whether the call for an earlier phase-out would be heeded.

Positions over the protection of the ozone have shifted dramatically over the past few years as each scientific research reports worse findings.

Germany, for one, has already said it plans to ban the worst culprit, chlorofluorocarbons, by the end of 1993 and it would like the rest of the European Community to follow suit.

The current U.N. meeting will make recommendations for changes to the 1987 Montreal Protocol on ozone-depleting substances. Ministers will meet in Copenhagen in November to give their final stamp of approval to the changes.

CAL THOMAS

Unlimited Clinton partnership?

Hillary Clinton wants to be president of the United States. If her husband is elected, it appears he will be little more than a front man for his wife's political agenda.

What other conclusion can be drawn from Hillary Clinton's remarks that if we elect him we get her, and comments by her husband in the May issue of Vanity Fair magazine? In an article by Gail Sheehy, Bill Clinton is quoted as saying, "If I get elected president, it will be an unprecedented partnership, far more than Franklin Roosevelt and Eleanor. They were two great people, but on different tracks. If I get elected, we'll do things together like we always have."

Such a position requires a closer look at Hillary Clinton's background and beliefs and her attempts to implement them.

Hillary Clinton is a child of the radical '60s. While Bill Clinton was at Oxford avoiding the draft and smoking (but not inhaling) marijuana, Hillary Rodham was an activist student at Wellesley College, where she was president of the student government in 1968-69, her senior year.

Later she came under the influence of Marian Wright Edelman of the Children's Defense Fund. She joined the board in 1978 and was board chairwoman from 1986 until February of this year, when she resigned. The organization favors the right of children to sue their parents. ("Johnny, go clean up your room." "Shut up, Mom, or I'll call my lawyer.")

But Hillary Rodham's coming of political age occurred during her tenure as a member of the board of the Legal Services Corp. (LSC), a government-funded agency originally conceived to help poor people with their legal needs, but quickly transformed into a radical organization that has used government money to promote a liberal social agenda. This includes lawsuits against the government that pays its way.

During her last two years on the LSC board, Hillary Rodham (though married, she was still using her maiden name, perhaps as an act of feminist political correctness) presided over the publication of tax-funded training manuals that urged legal services lawyers to "develop a more 'political attitude'" and to align themselves with "the Democratic coalition" and use "muckraking" and lawsuits as means to intimidate and embarrass opponents of community action groups.

Many of these manuals were published following the 1980 election and 1981 inauguration of Ronald Reagan, so it would appear that the liberal LSC hierarchy was at-

tempting to thwart the conservative mandate given the new president, and doing so at the expense of a majority of taxpayers who had voted for Mr. Reagan.

During Hillary Rodham's tenure at LSC, attempts were made to authorize affirmative action lawsuits by LSC lawyers that would classify drug addicts, alcoholics, homosexuals and others as "protected groups" and "handicapped persons." Federal funds were channeled to various activist groups promoting abortion rights, Indian land claims, class action suits, political causes, prison reform, rent strikes, job quotas, graduated state income taxes,

bilingual education programs, halts in bus fare increases and utility rate reform.

Every citizen should have the right to campaign for or against such causes — but without taxpayer assistance. Sen. Charles Grassley, Iowa Republican, said in 1981: "My experience with the way in which this program is being implemented leads me to believe that the congressional

mandate is being ignored and, in some instances, violated. Concern with the basic needs of the poor has been replaced by a commitment to social activism and changing the fabric of our society."

The LSC charter specifically prohibits certain activities as off-limits, such as union organizing, procurement of non-therapeutic abortions, school desegregation cases, criminal cases and defense of illegal aliens. All of these, and more, found favor and federal money during Hillary Rodham's tenure on the LSC board.

In Connecticut, an LSC lawyer demanded that taxpayers foot the \$10,000 bill for a sex change operation. In Iowa, the LSC used tax dollars to lobby Congress for more food stamps. In Florida, LSC staffers used funds to organize unions and sue the federal government for \$10 million on behalf of illegal aliens. In California, LSC grantees sued the school board to challenge a regulation on the hair length of male students. Perhaps the worst abuse occurred when the LSC convened in Puerto Rico to devise a strategy to defeat the Reagan administration's plans to defund their activities. The conference cost the taxpayers an estimated \$100,000, according to a General Accounting Office report.

Hillary Rodham Clinton has no plans for being a traditional first lady. She told Vanity Fair that if she could get Jennifer Flowers, the woman who claims to have had a 12-year affair with Bill Clinton, on the witness stand, she would "crucify her."

There is little doubt that Hillary Clinton, the cookie monster who mocks stay-at-home, cookie-baking mothers, might conduct some other crucifixions if she became a de facto president. As she said, "If you elect Bill, you get me." Given her agenda, we can do without both.

During Mrs. Clinton's tenure at LSC, attempts were made to authorize affirmative action lawsuits by LSC lawyers that would classify drug addicts, alcoholics, homosexuals and others as "protected groups" and "handicapped persons."

Cal Thomas is a nationally syndicated columnist.

AMOS PERLMUTTER

Questions of when and how

The unwilling by President Bush and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl of a seven-nation plan to contribute \$24 billion for aid to Russia smacks of politics in the president's case and cynicism in Mr. Kohl's case, and raises false hopes about the future of democracy in the shards of the Soviet empire.

The maneuverings of Mr. Bush are as always transparent. The president has dawdled on this issue at length, and now springs into action, goaded by former President Nixon's recent remarks and by the imminent unveiling of Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton's own plan. Mr. Nixon raised the specter that if Mr. Bush did not act, he would be responsible for "losing" Russia, and causing the downfall of Boris Yeltsin and his young economic advisers, thus dooming democracy and assuring the rise of a new authoritarian, nationalist or fascist regime in the rubble of the Soviet empire.

There is no question that with the end of the Cold War, and with much of the former Soviet Union in such dire economic straits, that it would be wrong to refuse economic aid. But it would be also wrong to suggest in the arguments and explanations

behind this new and basically inadequate financial effort that democracy is being saved, buttressed or assured of survival.

In all the debate over financial aid, over what to do with the new Russia, some basic, so far irrefutable and empirically proven facts are being ignored, and they concern facts of history, both recent and longstanding. Economic reform has already failed — Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroika failed not only because it was not completely committed to the consequences of reform, failing to end the one-party police state and eradicate the accompanying entrenched reactionary nomenklatura that governed the former U.S.S.R. Perestroika failed because there was no real political glasnost, there was no fertile ground or political instrument to institutionalize reform. No political system emerged from the collapse of the Soviet Union — a type of system that accommodates free markets, individual needs and political freedom. The reason for this is that neither the Soviet Union nor czarist Russia saw any sort of political conditions for such a political system to thrive.

The political history and culture of the Russian, Slav, Asian and Muslim people of the new republics is burdened by the legacy of Russian and Soviet totalitarianism and imperialism, by chauvinism, authoritarianism and anti-Semitism, not to mention cultural monism and a romantic nostalgia reaching back to

Tolstoy and Dostoevsky, who were hardly democratic or liberal. The tradition is czarist, Orthodox Byzantine Christianity and communistic, barren territory in which to build the foundations for competitive, pluralistic, individualistic and democratic aspirations.

This is a question of history. In China, even under the totalitarian octogenarian perpetrators of Tiananmen Square, Southern China and Canton managed to successfully experiment in semi-market economics. Chinese history is replete with commercial and capitalistic traditions and experiences. This is not the case in Russia, even at the height of Stolypin's and Witte's turn-of-the-century reforms.

This is not to suggest that democratic hopes for Russia are doomed by history and by cultural legacy, and that democracy cannot emerge after a thousand-year autocratic, totalitarian yoke. It is rather a question of when and how, and here is where the political motivations at the heart of the Kohl-Bush measure are particularly cynical. Money is not the seed for instant democracy.

Let's remember that the West spent \$44 billion on Mr. Gorbachev's reforms, money that disappeared into the hungry black hole of the former communist nomenklatura disguised as born-again "democrats," who constitute the no-man's land between the former communist structure and the current nouveau riche of the black market entrepreneurs.



Nor is the Polish model, which is taking root ever-so-slowly and producing political instability, a model for Mr. Yeltsin and his eager but inexperienced advisers. It's hard to predict the future, but the seeds for future political disintegration may have already been sown with the recent treaty signed with 16 of the 18 semi-autonomous territories. Ever-present is the fierce political, military and economic rivalry between Russia and Ukraine. Mr. Yeltsin governs by decree, and the cries in the street are for bread, not for democracy, re-enforcing the tenacious hold of the authoritarian tradition of the past.

The truth is that today there are no institutional, structural or procedural arrangements upon which to anchor a stable political system, where the distant goal of democracy could be achieved. The nomenklatura, going by another name, remains in power, and its structures and substructures provide the only solid institution in place. The political bloodline of Russia and the Soviet Union is still pumping, while the

democrats are few and divided in their goals.

Yet, here is U.S. Ambassador Robert Strauss, a Texas wheeler-dealer and American political fixer, internationally noted for his failure in the Israeli-Egyptian negotiations over Palestinian autonomy, warning that if the United States does not invest in Russia, fascism and radical nationalism will follow. And here is Mr. Nixon, warning us not to "abandon" the Yeltsin regime. If totalitarianism does indeed return, if fascism

To suggest that financial aid of the sort unveiled by Mr. Bush and Mr. Kohl will assure the survival of democracy is cynical and absurd all at once.

emerges, it will not happen because we failed or succeeded in giving financial assistance. You could not begin to spend enough money in Russia to make a difference. The German government spent \$40 billion to rehabilitate East Germany, with a population of 18 million, compared to 120 million Russians. It would take a trillion dollars to make a dent into the Russian future, an unlikely prospect for the United States, with its steadily dwindling resources.

Let's not beat our political breasts too much over the prospect of "losing" Russia for democracy. It is not within our hands or our capacity to do so, certainly not with money and financial aid. Fundamentally, it is up to the Russian peoples to build their own political future. Humanitarian aid, political support for Mr. Yeltsin for reform, these are all laudable goals. But to suggest that financial aid of the sort unveiled by Mr. Bush and Mr. Kohl will assure the survival, indeed the institutionalization, of democracy is cynical and absurd all at once.

It's impossible for the West to create political arrangements by fiat or finance in Russia. We cannot invent democracy for Russia, or create stability. We can only help the Russians move into those directions. They have to take the first, second and all the next steps themselves, by building a market economy brick by brick, by dismantling the old regime, brick by brick.

To use the enormous task that faces the former Soviet Union as a quick-fix political football is simply another exercise in shallow statesmanship by the Bush administration.

Amos Perlmutter is a professor of political science and sociology at American University and editor of the *Journal of Strategic Studies*.

LEONARD LARSEN

There are grim smiles of shared exasperation these days in Capitol cloakrooms and there's private talk of a thankless, numbskull public that now reviles Congress as a criminal class.

Some put-upon members of the House and Senate are weighing their futures, wondering privately and sometimes out loud if they should continue in selfless service and dedication.

A few have already said they'll walk away in unhappy retirement, sick at heart with frustrations and abuse and comforted only by one of the most generous pension programs this side of high-level corporate robbery.

A few, thanks to congressional foresight, will also be comforted by six and seven-figure accumulations of unspent campaign money that will add to their private fortunes.

The congressional distemper is worse now than an ordinary encounter with a bad patch of road — say, an outbreak of drunkenness or sexual hijinks or official thievery or other behavior that might involve only one or a couple of members.

That's embarrassing when it happens, but it can be explained to voters at home as an aberration, the regretful result of stress and temptation but certainly nothing that can be blamed on all the other members.

This thing is more serious, a quickening suspicion out there among voting Americans that Con-

Congressional distemper

gress is filled with and dominated by self-serving, sanctimonious political hacks who do nothing most of the time and get it wrong when they do something.

Americans in great numbers are sniffing around a core truth that Congress most resembles some fraternal lodge — without the funny costumes — where members sit around in meetings that are mainly

Americans in great numbers are sniffing around a core truth that Congress most resembles some fraternal lodge — without the funny costumes — where members sit around in meetings that are mainly devoted to the rituals of the lodge.

devoted to the rituals of the lodge.

Another core truth dawning across the country is that the nation's elected leaders, the Republican Bush administration as well as the Democratic majorities in Congress, have reached the stage of misgovernment where the only serious work is in blaming each other.

Congressional scandals, more accurately the selfish boobyism of a broken down system of political patronage, have revealed — among other things — that most of the 435 members of the House routinely drew interest-free loans from a House "bank" that was really just a member's cookie jar.

Turning from the House bank scandals, the best brains of legislative and executive government in the world's surviving superpower have focused on flyspecks, the comparative privileges — the perquisites or "perks" — of elective office. The results have been new milestones of governance.

On Capitol Hill the Senate restaurant hours will be shortened and on the House side members will have to pay some pittance to use the House gymnasium and swimming pool. The new arrangement — if there's going to be one — for paying the House masseur hasn't yet been worked out.

Downtown at the White House most everything's apparently still intact in the perk department with

limousines rolling for undersecretaries and assorted coat-holders and whole fleets of surface and air transport available to the first family of Bushes and to the Quayles.

One White House casualty in the search for perks was Secretary of State James Baker who — maybe for just a little while until this all blows over — will sacrifice regal travel on Air Force jet transports and, instead, take commercial flights on his personal trips.

The mood of the put-upon Congress was discussed recently by Sen. Warren Rudman, New Hampshire Republican, a 12-year veteran of the Senate who announced his retirement and said — in effect — he'd had it up to here with working in a place that was broken and with no repairs in sight.

What Mr. Rudman — who's among the better members of Congress — was saying is a part of that core truth of a mired national government, unwilling to turn from petty partisanship, unable to make the decisions of government.

One remarkable thing about Mr. Rudman's retirement statement was the rare truth of it, the acknowledgment of a total governmental paralysis in the face of worsening financial crisis.

"In the main we do a lot of tilting at windmills," said Rudman. "... You have no sense of who's accountable to whom."

Leonard E. Larsen is a columnist for Scripps Howard News Service.

RICHARD GRENIER

I had a vision of Jerry Brown in a great blaze of light, floating about 10 feet off the ground in Manhattan's Washington Square, above the heads of the truest of his believers, the born-again flower children of the '60s.

Jerry was all edged with gold and trailing clouds of glory in which could be seen his numerous associates and disciples, including Jesus, Buddha, Krishna, Karl Marx, Mother Teresa, Zen masters, Zulu warriors, Saint Ignatius of Loyola, and Hodge and Rabuschka of the Hoover Institution, authors of the flat tax.

Jerry said not a word — which was why I didn't recognize him at first — but with a wave of his hand he made disappear from the face of the Earth all poverty, drugs, crime, homelessness, corruption, and IRS complications except for mortgage, rent and charitable deductions. Then he floated off over the New York University Library in the direction of the editorial offices of the New York Post.

Now it turned out I was the only person to have this vision of Jerry.

Richard Grenier is a columnist for The Washington Times.

Vaunted visions

But if Jerry can throw himself into fits of secularized religious ecstasy, why can't I? And, listening attentively to his long session with the Post's editorial board, and hearing his incantational answers, I realized for the first time the state Jerry's in.

Jerry isn't evasive. He actually hears your questions, like: "Gov. Brown, you're an aggressive statist. But what specifically would you do to keep a General Motors plant from leaving town?" And he kind of replies for a few seconds. Then he's off on his non-stop railing against human depravity and having visions of the world to come, like a man who talks personally every day to Jesus, Karl Marx, Buddha, and Alvin Rabuschka.

Bill Clinton has gained a lot of weight during the campaign, but in the last year or so Jerry has lost 50 pounds, going from 215 pounds to 165 pounds. He sleeps four or five

hours a night and is rapidly approaching the condition of St. Teresa of Avila, who had visions of Jesus and whose cross was snatched by a Divine Presence and returned to her encrusted with brilliant jewels — visible, however, only to her.

But Jerry, who also possesses jewelry visible only to him, is more syncretic. Which is to say, he throws himself into a state of politically correct ecstasy in that he's pluralistic, gathering unto himself the divines of all the world's great religions except Islam, an omission he'll have to correct if he ever expects to take Dearborn, Mich.

Now you wonder what a nice Catholic boy like Jerry Brown is doing mucking around with all these heathens. But the truth of the matter is he's merely grafted the mysticism of these exotic faiths onto a Christian base, as was apparent when he told the editorial board of the Post he still believes in Original Sin, not exactly a Zen concept.

But Original Sin is a really dynamic idea when you reverse yourself as often as Jerry. And not only on big-money campaign contributions and California's Proposition 13, but on a "North American Common Market," which he proposed when he was California governor and is now ferociously against, and even on Jane Fonda. In a dazzling tactical shift when governor, he appointed Miss Fonda — at the time still very much "Hanoi Jane" — to the California Arts Council, an appointment requiring confirmation by the State Senate. The vote was 94 to 0 against.

Jerry has also reversed himself on national health care, term limitations, gun control, economic growth, and foreign aid — saying in the same interview that he wouldn't give "one penny" in foreign aid as long as there was injustice in America, and then that we were certainly "rich enough" to afford foreign aid.

But the beauty part of Original

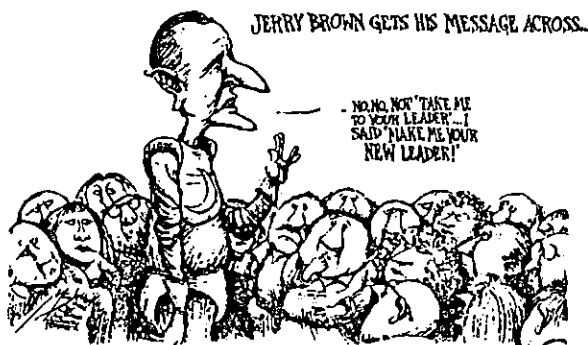
Sin is you can say and do darn near anything — because man is sinful — go to confession, receive absolution, say some Hail Marys and empty some bedpans in Calcutta for Mother Teresa, then start afresh with the flat tax.

You can even be against big campaign contributions and the special interests that are corroding political life when you're running for governor, get elected, accept big campaign contributions, then when you're out of office go to confession and begin attacking the corruption of big campaign contributions all over again. Jerry's is the most extensive and gratifying electoral use of Original Sin in political history.

Because all Jerry's flipflops are washed away by the Blood of the Lamb! And if there are any left, they're washed away by Karl Marx. Because, asked how he'd hang on to a General Motors plant, Jerry starts speaking in tongues about "social democracy," "stock options for workers" (presumably confiscatory), and management by "workers' councils" (a disaster in Yugoslavia). It's this Marxist gobbledegook that's won Jerry the support of post-Stalinists like Bella Abzug.

But Jerry doesn't give you time to think why factories under worker self-management would be more successful in Michigan than they were in Belgrade, because without drawing a breath he's off preaching against some new political depravity. Jerry thinks the ethnic and religious massacres now going on in the world are all economically motivated. Put a chicken in every pot in Nagorno-Karabakh and the lions will lie down with the Armenians.

The only trouble with Jerry's kickapoo joy juice is that it tends to leave you with a hangover. But, lean and mystical, wearing his invisible jewelry, Jerry will soon be off to his native California, where he hopes they'll be ready for another binge.



NEA bemoans fiscal belt-tightening

By Carol Innerst
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The 2 million-member National Education Association yesterday bemoaned the 7 percent increase in public elementary and secondary school spending nationwide as the "smallest percentage increase since 1984."

"Signs of fiscal belt-tightening and the recession are clearly evident in the trend of school expenditures," said NEA President Keith Geiger.

Total education expenditures, including capital outlay, rose 7 percent to \$241.1 billion, according to the union's annual "Estimates of School Statistics" report, which is based on information provided by state departments of education.

The increase came primarily from local governments and was caused in large part by increased student enrollment, Mr. Geiger said. The union estimates that 48.3 percent of elementary and secondary spending this year will come from state sources, with 6.2 percent from the federal government and 45.5 percent from local governments.

Average per-pupil spending rose 4.5 percent to \$5,452 this year.

Bond revenues for construction and renovation were down nearly 4.5 percent from the previous year, he said.

RAISES CONTINUE TO FALL

Average national teacher salaries, for a school year of about 180 days.

School year	Salary	Percentage increase over previous year.
1982-83	\$20,695	7.4%
1983-84	\$21,935	6.0%
1984-85	\$23,600	7.6%
1985-86	\$25,199	6.8%
1986-87	\$26,569	5.4%
1987-88	\$28,034	5.5%
1988-89	\$29,568	5.5%
1989-90	\$31,350	6.0%
1990-91	\$32,977	5.2%
1991-92	\$34,413	4.4%
Average local salaries		
	1990-91	1991-92 Change
The District	\$39,497	\$41,256 4.5%
Maryland	\$38,382	\$38,843 1.2%
Virginia	\$32,239	\$31,921 -1.0%

Source: National Education Association

The Washington Times

The recession took a bite out of teacher paychecks, too, producing smaller-than-usual raises, union officials said.

The average classroom teacher pocketed a \$1,436 raise this school year, but that 4.4 percent increase was the smallest in a decade, Mr. Geiger said.

Average salaries rose to \$34,413 for the nation.

But teachers in three states — Virginia, Delaware and South Carolina — lost ground.

"Virginia and Delaware have a high number of teachers who opted out for early retirement and were replaced by lower-paid, less-ex-

perienced teachers or not at all," said NEA spokeswoman Nancy Kochuk.

"Salary freezes and tight state budgets also had an impact," she said. "In some places, teachers haven't gotten their scheduled increases."

Most classroom teachers work a nine-month schedule based on a 180-day school calendar.

The average teacher's salary in Virginia dropped from \$32,239 in 1990-91 to \$31,921 this year, the NEA pointed out. The loss dropped Virginia from 21st to 25th in salary ranking among the states.

Delaware dropped from 11th to 15th place as its average salary went from \$35,246 to \$34,548, but remained higher than the national average. South Carolina slipped from 34th to 38th with a dip from \$28,301 to \$28,209.

The statistics report was the 50th put out by the NEA. Among the 50-year trends the union noted were:

- Enrollment, 27 million in 1942; 42 million in 1992.
- Handicapped students, 323,000, or 1 percent of enrollment, in 1942; 4.5 million, or 10 percent of enrollment, in 1992.
- Classroom teachers, 859,000 in 1942; 2,441,869 in 1992.
- Expenditures, \$4 billion in 1942; \$210 billion in 1992.
- Local school districts, 115,493 in 1942; 15,344 in 1992.

Clinton's victories leave other Democrats jittery

By Donald Lambro
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Bill Clinton may have emerged victorious from the latest primaries, but a growing number of Democrats now think his candidacy has been too damaged to be competitive against President Bush in November.

There was increasing interest yesterday among some Democratic activists in pushing for an open convention in which uncommitted delegates and delegates pledged to other candidates would unite behind a new consensus candidate.

Assessing Tuesday's primaries, a number of Democrats pointed to strong showings by Paul Tsongas and former California Gov. Jerry Brown, who together got more than 55 percent of the Democratic vote in New York and Wisconsin.

Mr. Tsongas, former Massachusetts senator, was contemplating getting back in the race as a result of a strong second place in New York. His campaign said he will announce his decision this morning.

"It was a very weak showing for Clinton that showed a very significant weakness for his electability in November," said Bill Batoff, a Philadelphia Democratic fund-raiser.

"I know a lot of Democrats who

feel this way," he added. "A lot of superdelegates feel this way but don't want to say it publicly."

Mr. Batoff acknowledged that it was "highly unlikely we will be able to get the convention opened" to consider an alternative to Mr. Clinton. "But someone has to come forward and speak their minds."

A Democratic Party state chairman, who did not wish to be identified, said, "There's a lot of concern about Clinton... A lot of people feel maybe we can get over it [character issues]. But there's always that concern about what else may happen."

Mr. Batoff was among several dozen prominent Democratic fund-raisers called to a meeting here on April 23 by Maryland Democratic Chairman Nate Landow to discuss the direction of the campaign with National Chairman Ron Brown.

In his invitation, Mr. Landow said, "Many members are concerned, to say the least, about our party's prospects for winning in November and feel the need to discuss openly how we got to where we are, and what options we have for the immediate future and for changing the process."

Mr. Landow, at one point during an interview yesterday, said the meeting was not being called to discuss a

brokered convention or a stop-Clinton movement. "That's a long shot. It doesn't look like it's possible or should even be considered."

At another point, when asked about a brokered convention, he said, "I'm sure that will be part of the discussion. All these scenarios will be put on the table."

Other Democratic leaders maintained that the primary process has moved too far and Mr. Clinton has amassed too many delegates to deny him the nomination.

They said that despite weak support in New York and Wisconsin, he had won all the contests, including a 51 percent showing in Kansas, and added substantially to his now-commanding delegate lead.

House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt said discussions of brokered conventions occur "in every campaign and they never come true."

Mr. Gephardt, who has yet to endorse any candidate, said that when the time comes he "would be comfortable endorsing Bill Clinton."

Mr. Clinton had 1,262 delegates as of yesterday, out of the 2,145 needed for the nomination. Charles Manatt, a superdelegate hunter for Mr. Clinton, said he had an additional 200-odd superdelegates pledged.

ROAD TO THE WHITE HOUSE

Total votes and delegates received by major presidential candidates. Delegate count includes preferences of superdelegates as compiled by the Associated Press.

DEMOCRATS			
Total votes			
Bill Clinton	5,190,294	48%	
Paul Tsongas	2,859,584	27%	
Jerry Brown	1,734,319	16%	
Others	704,065	7%	
Uncommitted	246,440	2%	
Delegates			
Clinton	1,267.25		
Tsongas	539.25		
Uncommitted	490.75		
Brown	264.25		
Other	45.00		
Undetermined	19.00		
Needed to nominate	2,145.0		
Total delegate votes	4,288.0		
Chosen thus far	2,616.5		
Yet to be chosen	1,671.5		
REPUBLICANS			
Total votes			
George Bush	4,511,029	70%	
Pat Buchanan	1,586,429	25%	
Uncommitted	137,308	2%	
David Duke	109,518	2%	
Others	60,754	1%	
Delegates			
Bush	963		
Buchanan	54		
Uncommitted	7		
Other	1		
Needed to nominate	1,105		
Total delegate votes	2,209		
Chosen thus far	1,025		
Yet to be chosen	1,184		

The Washington Times

Congressional battle likely on reforms

By J. Jennings Moss
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A Congress already on edge will face one of its sharpest partisan brawls on the House floor today as Democrats and Republicans battle over who is trying to prevent the institution from reforming.

Lawmakers are scheduled to consider the blueprints for change proposed by both parties. They are likely to pass a Democratic plan to create two new House executive posts by a vote reflective of the Democratic Party's 268-166 majority. And Republicans probably will accuse Democrats of giving the House a face lift to shake attention from the bank and post office scandals.

Democrats will have a tougher time selling their proposal to change the way congressional elections are run, which includes some public financing. Conservative Democrats, along with Republicans, balk at using tax dollars for elections.

Yesterday, the membership of both parties met separately behind closed doors. Their leaders emerged steadfast in their opinions on the two bills.

"The only thing that has brought the Democratic majority to this point in the reform process is the series of embarrassing scandals that have brought the House to its knees," House Minority Leader Robert H. Michel of Illinois said of the administrative reform bill. "We seek to reform utterly the tyranny of the Democratic majority over the legislative process."

Republicans want several changes to how lawmakers do business, not just how the House manages its day-to-day affairs. Included in the GOP package are a prohibition on lawmakers voting in committees unless they attend hearings, more Republican representation on committees and more minority power to influence debate.

House Speaker Thomas S. Foley defended Democrats' efforts during recent negotiations with Republicans, talks that broke down Monday without a compromise. The Washington Democrat said he offered to discuss the issues later in the year but was turned down.

"They, in effect, want something else," Mr. Foley said. "They want to go beyond [administrative reforms] and... make some changes up front, without discussion, just as concessions, to sort of ransom their support."

The Democrats' reform package includes the creation of a House administrator-financial officer and an inspector general. Candidates to fill the posts would be selected by the speaker, the majority leader and the minority leader.

"Now, if Republicans just want to play politics and have an issue, then I guess they would hold out forever, and never [be] for anything because

Behind closed doors

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Democratic chairman of a House investigative panel almost found a new way yesterday to bottle up Republicans: He sent aides to change the doorlocks to a room being used by the GOP.

The flap involved Reps. Charlie Rose, North Carolina Democrat, and Pat Roberts, Kansas Republican, chairman and vice chairman respectively of a House Administration Committee task force that is investigating the chamber's post office.

As House sources described the incident, Mr. Rose became angry at recent leaks to the news media and ordered suspension of the investigation until his concerns on that score could be alleviated.

Just at that moment, elsewhere on Capitol Hill, Mr. Roberts and GOP staff members were about to question a witness. They refused to leave the room in the Cannon House Office Building.

Mr. Rose, according to the sources, then sent aides who began changing the locks.

The two lawmakers decided to confer at that point, and eventually the full task force was convened and decided the investigation would proceed.

The interruption turned out not to matter much anyway; the witness had been excused to hire a lawyer.

they don't, maybe, want real reform. But this is real reform in both cases," said Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri.

Republicans object to the administrative changes because they maintain that Democrats retain too much control over the process and that the root cause of mismanagement would remain.

"We're not trying to undermine their majority status, but it's not a monopoly. This is not the House of the Democratic Party," said Rep. Tom Ridge, Pennsylvania Republican.

Democrats yesterday did make their campaign finance proposal more palatable to Republicans by agreeing to prohibit members from using their official accounts to mail items outside their districts and to keep a ban on mass mailings 60 days before an election. But the change is unlikely to draw huge GOP support.

Clinton seeks to make race more positive

By Mark Z. Barabak
COPLEY NEWS SERVICE

Bill Clinton sought to strike a more presidential stance yesterday as momentum grew inside the Democratic Party to end the nomination fight and rally around the Arkansas governor.

But Jerry Brown vowed to persist in pointing out his "sharp disagreement" with Mr. Clinton. "A lot of people are still concerned, they're still open," the former California governor said before flying from New York to campaign in Virginia.

Paul Tsongas, meanwhile, said he will announce today whether he will jump back into the race. Sources close to the former Massachusetts senator expressed doubts he would return.

On the morning after his three-state primary sweep, Mr. Clinton recounted for reporters in New York the "good advice" he received from Gov. Mario Cuomo to "heal, unite and focus our attacks on President Bush."

Mr. Clinton promised he would "try to elevate this campaign to a positive level" as the race heads to Virginia, which holds caucuses Sunday, and Pennsylvania, which holds its primary April 28.

Plagued by persistent voter doubts about his character and personal integrity, Mr. Clinton told reporters he was "not interested in whether they love me or not."

"I want them to respect me and to want me to be their president," Mr. Clinton said. "I think time will take care of it."

He then flew to Peoria, Ill., to meet with striking workers and management at Caterpillar Inc., a stop designed to project an image of can-do leadership in contrast to the backbiting and sniping that prevailed during the New York primary.

Mr. Clinton was accompanied by Illinois Sen. Paul Simon, who told reporters it was time for the Democratic Party to close ranks.

"I would be fooling you if I told you some of my colleagues didn't have reservations," Mr. Simon said. "But I think the time has come for us to be coalescing around Bill Clinton."

In Washington, Democratic Party leaders were sounding essentially the same theme. On NBC's "Today" show, party Chairman Ron Brown all but declared Mr. Clinton the nominee, citing "some rudimentary mathematical realities about the present situation."

Indeed, Mr. Clinton emerged from Tuesday's voting in a commanding position. By winning in New York, Wisconsin and Kansas, Mr. Clinton boosted his delegate total to 1,267, according to an Associated Press count, with 2,145 needed for



Bill Clinton raises his fists in emphasis at a news conference.

nomination.

Mr. Tsongas, who suspended his campaign last month but finished a surprising second in New York, has 539 delegates and Mr. Brown 264, according to the AP.

Mr. Clinton also was declared the winner yesterday in Minnesota, which held a non-binding "beauty contest" that did not involve awarding delegates.

Under the Democratic Party's system of proportional distribution, Mr. Clinton could probably wrap up a first ballot nomination even if he wins only half the remaining delegates. But given the results so far, he can probably count on doing much better.

"The geography and the calendar are very good to Bill Clinton," said Terry Michael, a Democratic strategist and expert on the party's delegate selection process. "Sixty percent of the remaining delegates are going to be chosen in primaries and caucuses in the South and industrial Midwest, where he's done very well."

However, party leaders would like to see the nomination fight end well before the primary season is over June 2. Efforts were underway yesterday to swing hundreds of the uncommitted super delegates, chiefly members of the House and Senate, behind Mr. Clinton.

"The attempt is to resolve this as quickly as possible," said one Democratic Party leader, citing an effort to get "the super delegates on board soon."

• Copley News Service reporters George E. Condon Jr. and Marcus Stern contributed to this report.

GAO: Skies friendly for Air Congress

By Paul M. Rodriguez
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Air Congress is most active during congressional recesses and travels mostly overseas, with spouses along for the ride: at taxpayer expense much of the time, the General Accounting Office says.

A new GAO report, scheduled for public release as early as today, focuses only on a one-year time period but details a system of virtually unchecked congressional travel.

GAO auditors confirm arguments

by congressional Republicans and some Democrats that stricter guidelines are long overdue.

The portions of the report dealing with taxpayer-funded executive branch travel were leaked to the Milwaukee Journal last week, but a full copy of the report, obtained by The Washington Times, provides new insights into congressional flying privileges, dubbed Air Congress by critics.

The report focuses on the operation of the 89th Military Airlift Wing at Andrews Air Force Base and

notes that congressional travel accounts for only 16 percent of the wing's flights from May 1990 to April 1991.

But congressional officials close to the investigation say that the 89th Wing accounts for only 10 percent of all congressional travel and that the GAO, claiming a full investigation of something as large as congressional travel privileges would be beyond its ability, chose to focus only on the flight group used primarily by the executive branch.

Congressional Republicans have

criticized the GAO in the past year for largely doing the bidding of the majority Democrats, but it was unclear last night whether partisan considerations dictated the unexpected narrowing of the Air Congress probe. The audit was requested last year by Rep. Frank Horton, New York Republican and the ranking member of the Government Operations Committee.

The GAO, the investigative arm of Congress, found that lawmakers were frequent users of the 89th Wing, especially during congress-

sional recesses, when senators, congressmen and their families traveled under the official designation of "congressional delegation," also known as CODEL.

Unlike an earlier report this week on executive branch travel perks, the GAO omitted the names of lawmakers who flew the most, their destinations and the costs of their trips.

Congressional and military officials familiar with the GAO's audit of Air Congress said the agency possesses not only simple lists for many of these trips — including a handful

involving Speaker Thomas S. Foley, Washington Democrat — but also some extensive backup documents that show what types of meals were served, ground accommodations provided and the number of military escorts needed to chaperone the traveling members.

For the 89th Wing alone, according to the GAO audit, there were 2,047 trips during the study period, with 337, or 16 percent, made by members of Congress and their fam-

see HILL, page A7

HILL

From page A1

ilies or aides.

The rest of the trips were made by White House officials (42 percent), high-ranking military personnel (39 percent) and other government branches (3 percent), the GAO said.

The GAO also reported that:

- Of the 337 trips by Congress, 143 were domestic and 194 were "non-U.S."

- Spousal travel "could give the appearance of impropriety or cast doubt on the true purpose of [any] trip[s]." Therefore, there needs to be a governmentwide policy to clarify

when spouses may accompany government officials on government aircraft.

- Members travel without proof that commercial services are not available.

Many officials interviewed by The Times pointed out that while the report is critical of existing congressional policies concerning use of the 89th Wing, the GAO painted a misleading picture of Congress' use of the free government-paid travel each year.

For example, congressional use of the 89th Wing represents only 10 percent of the total air travel by members of Congress, who avail themselves of 20 of the special wing's 22 planes, but also use the

390-plus aircraft operated by other segments of the military and various government agencies.

The free use of military and federal police cars, helicopters, boats, and even train and commercial plane travel paid for by other government departments is not factored in the GAO study of Air Congress.

"The real boondoggles that never get reported on are those having nothing to do with the 89th Wing," said one of the officials. "That's where the abuses come in and nobody in Congress really seems to care."

In fact, the GAO admits to such shortcomings in its 50-plus page report. But it argued that it did not

have enough time to contact all the members involved or expand the scope of its inquiry into congressional travel perks.

"There are literally hundreds of trips each year all over the world and the United States that the military and other agencies have to pay for out of their own budgets because members demand the free service," said a high-ranking military officer familiar with the congressional perk.

Officially, Congress allots itself about \$25 million each year for travel purposes. This sum, however, covers only part of the actual costs associated with operating Air Congress.

After last year's congressional up-

roar over former White House Chief of Staff John Sununu's trips at taxpayers' expense, The Times ran a series of articles showing how Congress, especially members of the House, tap into a "stealthlike" budget of free travel services plus free accommodations at hotels, meals and even cash "per diems" for their trips.

The costs for such "non-congressional" official trips is estimated to exceed \$50 million a year, said a variety of federal, military and congressional officials interviewed by The Times.

Yet Congress is never billed for such services.

In its report, GAO points out that Congress has virtually no rules or

oversight over its uses of the free travel services and that the various branches of the military ask no questions because it is up to lawmakers to determine what is considered "official" travel.

The costs for operating military aircraft, according to the GAO, range from \$5,300 to \$15,000 per hour vs. trips to similar destinations on commercial flights costing only a few hundred dollars.

As it did with the executive branch audit, the GAO recommended that Congress adopt strict rules on the use of federal travel services, including record-keeping requirements that provide extensive details of both the need and the costs of such travel in the future.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

© 1992 Dow Jones & Company, Inc. All Rights Reserved.

THURSDAY, APRIL 9, 1992

Bush Favors An Extension Of Jobless Aid

Labor Secretary Martin Asks
For Help Developing Bill
For Yet Another Round

By ALBERT R. KARR

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON—The Bush administration jumped on the newest jobless-aid bandwagon, saying it favors another extension of a program that provides additional unemployment benefits.

Labor Secretary Lynn Martin announced at a news conference that President Bush will support an extension until the end of 1992. She said Mr. Bush "is concerned about our country's unemployed men and women, about their families, about their future."

A bill to renew the extended-benefits program was introduced a week ago by Rep. Thomas Downey (D., N.Y.), chairman of the House subcommittee that handles unemployment compensation. He has scheduled a hearing on the measure for today, and had asked Mrs. Martin to testify.

The original program provided 13 to 20 weeks of additional jobless benefits after regular jobless pay, usually 26 weeks, was exhausted. The program was authorized during the recession to last until June 13 of this year. Then, it was renewed until July 4, with the extra benefits to last 26 to 33 weeks for most recipients.

The president had balked at providing the extended benefits in the two earlier instances, and the White House was again slow to go along with the idea this time, though it acted more quickly than before.

With the election only seven months away, the newest extension plan begins congressional Democrats' push to do more for the unemployed, and also has considerable Republican backing. It's becoming more difficult for the White House to oppose, as well.

Further jobless benefits may be needed even with an economic recovery beginning, Mrs. Martin said, because unemployment typically stays high for some months despite an upturn in the economy. She noted that the jobless rate has been 7.3% for the past two months, the highest level since mid-1985.

As the administration jumped on board, it again called on the driver to keep driving. Mrs. Martin said she sent letters to congressional leaders, asking them to work with her to develop a bill for another round of extended benefits.

The secretary seemed to acknowledge the political backdrop for the decision, saying it wouldn't be good for the benefits to run out in July, "in the middle of what we know is going to be a difficult election season." But she also asserted that "partisan politics must not slow this action."

She made it clear that the administration wants only a simple renewal of extended benefits, without giving details as to how many weeks of extra jobless pay will be involved or what it will cost the government. For now, anyway, the administration doesn't want any long-lasting changes as proposed by Mr. Downey and Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D., Ill.), chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, the Downey subcommittee's parent.

The Downey bill, besides extending the added benefits through the end of this year, would change the jobless-pay tax formula: it would nearly quadruple the portion of each worker's wages on which an employer pays unemployment compensation taxes, but would gradually reduce to 0.25% from 0.8% the tax rate that employers pay on that wage base. The changes wouldn't change overall revenues, Mr. Downey said, but taxes would go up for some companies and fall for others.

In addition, his bill would require states to liberalize jobless-pay eligibility, lower the threshold unemployment rate for a state before workers qualify for the extra federal aid, and take the unemployment-compensation program off the federal budget.

Mrs. Martin said the more limited extended-benefits renewal proposed by the administration can be done without raising taxes or using the White House-Congress budget agreement's emergency escape clause, which waives budget constraints.

Mrs. Martin said the more limited extended-benefits renewal proposed by the administration can be done without raising taxes or using the White House-Congress budget agreement's emergency escape clause, which waives budget constraints. As with the previous extended-benefits laws, this would mean finding "offsets" such as reductions in spending on other programs, curbing increases, or speeding up collections of some federal revenues, Labor Department officials said.

FERC Clears Pipeline Ruling On Natural Gas

By ROSE GUTFELD

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—The Federal Energy Regulatory Commission approved a rule designed to increase competition in the natural gas industry by requiring pipelines to treat all customers equally.

Under the regulation, known as the restructuring rule, pipelines won't be able to favor customers that buy both gas and transmission services over customers that purchase only one or the other. A spokeswoman said the commission hopes that the rule eventually will lead to lower prices for retail customers. It's supposed to be fully in place by the 1993-1994 heating season.

"From Main Street to Wall Street, the restructuring will provide the nation with significant long-term benefits," said commission Chairman Martin A. Alday. "The final rule will provide all segments of the natural gas industry with a regulatory certainty that is a critical step to finally establishing a nationwide competitive gas market."

The action comes at a time when the gas industry is reeling as a result of weak demand caused by warm weather and the recession.

The rule also requires pipelines to store gas for customers on a nondiscriminatory basis, regardless of whether the customers are buying gas or transmission services.

Pipeline companies, some of which had concerns about the proposed rule when it was issued last July, expressed satisfaction with yesterday's action. A spokeswoman for Enron Corp., a major Houston pipeline company, said the company is "very supportive" of the rule. In particular, she pointed to provisions indicating that pipelines will be able to recover the

Please Turn to Page A4, Column 6

FERC Ruling Places Natural Gas Buyers On Equal Footing

Continued From Page A2

full costs of making the required changes. In a statement, the Interstate Natural Gas Association of America said the order "would appear to be good news for the natural gas pipeline industry."

In another change sought by pipelines, the final rule makes clear that although the companies must separate their transmission and sales services, they can offer repackaged services to customers on a limited basis. The commission also added provisions to make it easier for customers to get additional gas from pipelines without giving advance notice.

Gas producers, who stand to gain better access to pipelines and markets, were elated by yesterday's action. The Natural Gas Supply Association called it a "historic occasion" that will allow the industry to "continue the progression toward a more competitive environment."

The affected industries have 30 days in which they can appeal to the commission to modify its rule. The commission then has 30 days to decide whether to grant any requests.

Agriculture Chief Promises to Trim Fat at His Agency

Under Scrutiny in Congress,
Madigan Agrees to Close
Or Combine Field Offices

By BRUCE INGERSOLL

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON—Agriculture Secretary Edward Madigan vowed to close every underused, inefficient office in the Agriculture Department's far-flung network of 11,000 field offices.

His pledge came after leaders of the Senate Agriculture Committee cited numerous instances of bureaucratic waste in the mammoth department and after a congressional auditor called for a major reorganization.

In testimony before the panel, Mr. Madigan acknowledged that it currently is "entirely possible for the department to have four or five offices in a single county." He told lawmakers that he will close and consolidate all offices "that can no longer be justified"—notably, in counties where agriculture has all but vanished in recent years.

Congress and the Bush administration, he said, must reassess the role of the department's nine subcommittee officers and the organization of 42 agencies under them. He also raised the possibility of consolidating three major agencies—the Soil Conservation Service, Farmers Home Administration, and Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service—into a single farm-service agency.

The idea of "one-stop shopping" for farmers isn't novel, Sen. Richard Lugar (R., Ind.) pointed out. It was first advanced by former Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz in 1973, with limited success. Some local agency offices were "co-located" under the same roof. But two subsequent efforts to reorganize the department's so-called field structure faltered in the face of fierce political resistance.

Sen. Lugar believes one-stop shopping is no longer a politically quixotic idea. He said he senses "a yearning" in voters for "some evidence that we're serious about trying to improve the efficiency" of government.

The quest for a more streamlined Agriculture Department is bipartisan. "It's time for USDA to go on a diet," said Committee Chairman Patrick Leahy, a Democrat from Vermont. He cited a 135-mile-long swath across South Carolina with 38 offices and 314 employees. "On average," he said, "there is one USDA employee for every five farms eligible for federal payments."

As reported in a page-one story in yesterday's editions of The Wall Street Journal, some county offices in metropolitan areas are running out of farmers to subsidize. As a result, one Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service office in Connecticut's suburbanized Fairfield County helped an exclusive hunt club pay for a horse manure disposal project, and now it plans to offer subsidies to horse farms and other clubs.

Currently, the stabilization and conservation service, Farmers Home Administration and Soil Conservation Service maintain 7,770 separate county offices nationwide at an annual cost of \$2.4 billion. Sen. Leahy recommended creating a special commission—akin to the panel that selected military bases for closing—to decide which offices should be closed and consolidated. Such a commission was authorized by 1990 farm law. But Mr. Madigan objected to that approach, arguing that it would be too slow.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

© 1992 Dow Jones & Company, Inc. All Rights Reserved.

THURSDAY, APRIL 9, 1992

The IMF Strikes Back

Last week came the announcement that Russia and the International Monetary Fund have reached an agreement on a quota, an essential step toward a program for Russia that can be financed by the IMF. But this news may produce a new round of criticism of the fund. In fact, an early and loud critical voice has been that of Robert L. Bartley, editor of this newspaper. On April 2, he wrote on the Journal's editorial page, "What economy has the IMF ever salvaged?"

That Mr. Bartley could ask this is ironic. In recent years, IMF advice has acquired an almost universal acceptability

Counterpoint

By Vito Tanzi

and is giving positive results in many countries. But a small group of commentators continues to castigate the IMF as if it were a scourge. If IMF policy advice is so fatal, why are so many countries making an effort to adopt it? Perhaps it is because the advice draws from the extensive experience of the IMF's 156 members.

The IMF's critics seem to believe, rightly, that these countries need a climate of growth. But they are wrong in believing this climate can be fostered only by low taxes. Such critics certainly ignore the fact that providing an essential minimum level of high-quality public services can improve the climate for economic growth and development.

The critics of the IMF sometimes commit an analytical error in the instances when they speak of tax rates and tax revenue as if they were synonymous concepts. They suggest that when the IMF asks a country to "increase taxes" it really asks for the tax rates to be raised. This is far from the truth. Fund missions are often faced with tax systems that exhibit high

tax rates but are unproductive in terms of revenue because of poor administration and large loopholes.

In most cases, IMF missions have recommended (often large) reductions in the tax rates on personal or corporate income, while recommending the widening of the tax base and other administrative reforms aimed at preserving or occasionally raising revenue. In fact, a unifying theme of the technical advice given by the IMF to member countries has been the need to reduce rates while preserving or, when necessary, raising revenue. In 1990-91, the IMF was asked to make recommendations on tax policy in 38 member countries. In 19 of these countries, the IMF recommended a reduction of basic tax rates. In only eight cases was an actual increase in tax rates for personal and corporate income recommended, and then only as a temporary measure. In 11 other cases, no changes in tax rates were proposed.

Why is the IMF interested in preserving tax revenue? This question is best addressed in the context of a specific country—take Peru. The political upheaval there this week provides hard evidence for the depth of the problems in that country. Some years ago the level of tax revenues of Peru, as a share of its gross domestic product, was around 15%. To put this level in its proper context, I should mention that the average tax level as a share of GDP for all developing countries is about 18%.

Peruvian tax revenues fell to as low as 5% of GDP, partly because of poor tax administration and partly because of excessive use of tax incentives and other factors. They fell also because the resulting fiscal deficit was financed largely by monetary expansion. Monetary expansion produced inflation so steep that the lag time between the levying of taxes and the time those tax revenues reached state coffers caused a loss in the real value of revenues. The longer the lag and the higher the inflation rate, the lower the real value

of the revenue the government receives.

In spite of recent efforts by the current government (including reducing the top marginal rate for personal income taxes to 37% from 45%, and the top corporate rate to 30% from 35%), tax revenues are even now only about 8% of GDP, still one of the lowest levels in the world. Such low tax revenues might presumably please some IMF critics (who would argue that free-market forces can function better in this environment), but not the Peruvian authorities. The problem is simply that a tax level of 8% of GDP does not generate enough money to pay teachers, to repair roads, and to provide the basic economic and social infrastructure necessary for a modern society. And, of course, without this infrastructure, growth is unlikely to take place.

Although government spending, also as a share of GDP, has fallen dramatically to a level that is creating lots of difficulties (anyone who has been in Lima can see that), the fall in spending has not matched the fall in revenue, thus widening the fiscal deficit and leading to high inflation. The Peruvian authorities are aware of the difficulties and are trying to correct this situation with IMF assistance and not through IMF pressure.

The IMF's critics do not seem to pay much attention to the consequences of fiscal deficits. They seem to feel that a deficit is no problem because either it will force a reduction in public spending, or it can be financed without inflation and other difficulties, say by selling bonds to the public, as happens in industrial countries. They sometimes think low income-tax rates are the only answer. But on the average, personal income taxes in developing countries produce less than 2% of GDP, compared with about 11% in the U.S. And what if public spending is already at such a low level as to bring social and economic disintegration to the country? Or, if for political reasons, public spending does not

come down, as seems to have happened in the U.S. in the past decade? Or if the deficit can be financed only by monetary expansion?

These are not theoretical possibilities but reality—a reality that seems to escape the critics. In such cases is there really an alternative to trying to raise revenue in the most efficient way? Or do the critics believe that inflation is costless and that a large fiscal deficit financed by monetary expansion can coexist with fixed exchange rates? This is the impression they give when they refuse to consider the need for reducing fiscal deficits while simultaneously criticizing the IMF for occasionally advocating an adjustment in exchange rates.

Of course, Peru is an extreme example of a country with a very low level of tax revenue. But my argument applies to other countries as well.

Let us now consider Russia, another country under scrutiny by the critics. In 1991, the Russian fiscal deficit was reported to have exceeded 20% of that country's gross domestic product. As one would have expected, the deficit was financed largely by monetary expansion, which led to (repressed and open) inflation. It would be nice if, without a social explosion, public spending could be reduced immediately by 20 percentage points of GDP to eliminate the deficit. This, of course, is not going to happen. But then how can one avoid some increases in tax revenue? The IMF will assist Russia in developing an efficient tax administration and in raising needed revenue with the lowest possible rates. Russia will obviously need "law, a commercial code, private property, and a currency. . . ." It will also need sound public finances. To fail to accept this is to live in Wonderland.

Mr. Tanzi directs the IMF's Fiscal Affairs Department.

Sam Walton, Bill Clinton and Adam Smith

By DAVID N. LABAND

When Sam Walton, founder of Wal-Mart, died, President Bush remembered him as "an American original who embodied the entrepreneurial spirit and epitomized the American dream." What made Sam Walton unique was his spectacular success as an entrepreneur (dare we say greedy?) capitalist. He got rich. Walton's story has timeliness in this era of resentment toward the rich.

Walton died at a moment when many voters are responding to Democratic presidential candidates' arguments that the tax burden on higher-income Americans should be made heavier. Gov. Bill Clinton spent the day of New York's primary attending a memorial honoring Walton. But proposals of the kind Mr. Clinton is making are precisely what could prevent the arrival of a new generation of Waltons.

The hard truth here is that American consumers voluntarily made Sam Walton rich. The same individuals who seek to raise taxes on the rich are the beneficiaries of the work that the rich produce. These individuals, like rational consumers, flocked to Wal-Mart stores because of the low prices, the service and the quality. Dollars can work like votes—they express what Americans prefer. With their billions of dollar-votes, consumers demonstrated they prefer the Wal-Mart product. Those

who continued to patronize other department stores benefitted too, because these stores were forced to lower prices and improve product to compete with Wal-Mart.

It's worth remembering the downside of the Walton phenomenon. In the process of making Sam Walton rich, American consumers did something else: They impoverished many of his competitors. Every dollar spent at Wal-Mart was \$1.25 or so not spent at Sears, Kmart, J.C. Penney or another large chain. Perhaps more important, it was \$1.50 not spent at local, small businesses. Small businesses, unable to take advantage of Wal-Mart's economies of scale, sought to keep Wal-Marts from their communities. The everyday low price strategy employed by Wal-Mart would drive them out of business. But let's get cause and effect straight: Wal-Mart never put anybody out of business. American consumers did.

Businesses that lose their competitive edge have options. They can change their product mix to compete better. They can close shop. Or they can petition the state for protection against "unfair competition." The first two responses enhance consumer welfare. But when the state steps in and mandates protectionism, the result is higher prices and lower quality.

The history of Wal-Mart itself illustrates this. In small towns, businessmen

tried to block Wal-Marts. But local economies do not go to pot when Wal-Marts are built. (In fact, an article in *Smart Money*, a new Dow Jones-Hearst magazine, noted that the presence of a Wal-Mart was the sign of a healthy economy.) Without question, each Wal-Mart store or Sam's Club warehouse alters the pattern of local employment. Children of local businessmen and women no longer follow in their parents' proprietary footsteps. Instead they go to work for Uncle Sam (Walton). But net jobs are not lost. Small firms are hurt, but the aggregate benefits reaped by consumers utterly swamp the losses.

There are lessons here that go beyond small towns. Pleas to local zoning boards for protection from "unfair competition" by small businesses sound identical to the rhetoric employed by the big three automobile companies and other firms seeking to restrict foreign competition. To kick Japanese producers out of U.S. markets is to deny the Sam Walton tradition. It is also to deny Adam Smith's invisible hand. If we're going to lionize Sam Walton, consistency demands we lionize every producer in the global economy of which we are part.

Mr. Laband teaches economics at Clemson University.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

© 1992 Dow Jones & Company, Inc. All Rights Reserved

THURSDAY, APRIL 9, 1992

Peace Forces May Bring Prosperity First Croats Hear Opportunity Knocking as U.N. Arrives

By ROGER THURLOW

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

ZAGREB, Croatia — As 14,000 United Nations peacekeeping troops begin arriving in what was once Yugoslavia, they are finding there is little peace to keep. Bombs still regularly explode in parts of Croatia. Snipers strafe the streets of Sarajevo, where the U.N. mission is based. Ethnic hatreds are as raw as ever.

Enter Stjepan Zunic, who believes he can help.

"Dear Sirs," his fax to the peacekeepers begins, "awaiting the arrival of U.N. forces to our country, we would like to use the opportunity to introduce ourselves and the services we can offer." Mr. Zunic works at a Zagreb company called Extra Tours. He is in the tourism business.

His agency, he proposes, can arrange holidays for weary U.N. soldiers anywhere in Croatia. It can furnish cars and chauffeurs. It can provide tour guides. It can book resort hotels. It promises the best prices around.

"The soldiers won't travel back to India, or wherever they come from, when they have a weekend off, will they?" reasons Mr. Zunic. "They will have free time in Croatia. We can show them where to relax."

Springtime in Croatia

For Balkan businessmen — be they Croats, Serbs or Bosnian Muslims — the arrival of the U.N. is as welcome as the first drops of rain after a long drought. The civil war has left more than 10,000 people dead, flattened countless cities and created nearly a million refugees. It has also destroyed the economy. Industrial output is running at half of capacity, unemployment is near 50% in some areas and tourism, which brought in more than \$1 billion a year in hard currency, is nonexistent.

Now here come 14,000 foreigners, bringing not only the prospect of peace but plenty of dollars as well. They aren't exactly Germans and Italians on spring vacation, but, given the desperate situation, they'll do.

"At least this is one group of foreigners who should feel safe in Croatia," says Mr. Zunic. "They'll be carrying guns."

Since word got out that the peacekeeping mission would be spending \$35 million a month in the former Yugoslav republics over the next year, U.N. procurement officials have been besieged with proposals of potential deals. They have been offered cars and candy bars, steaks and pork chops, kiwis and cabbage, cowboy boots and espresso machines, in addition to a host of transport and construction services.

"I could probably write an encyclopedia



about what's available," says Keith Walton, the U.N. mission's chief administrative officer.

Part of it would be X-rated. From Belgrade comes an offer to put a yacht on the Danube River, near some of the heaviest fighting, to serve as a floating bordello. In Zagreb, a nightclub owner who imported Russian women to entertain peace monitors from the European Community is interested in catering to the U.N., too.

"In Croatia, bordellos aren't legalized," notes Milan Ramljak, who coordinates Croat government contacts with the U.N. "But we can talk about it."

'Embarrassment of Riches'

Most everything, it seems, is negotiable. INA, the Croat oil company that has lost half of its gas stations to Serbian occupation, is offering to sell gas to the U.N. tax-free. And Zagreb Bank is setting up special accounts for U.N. soldiers, where they can get one-third more dinars for their dollars than the official rate. (The dollars "will help us to be faster in some of our payments," says a bank official. "We have a big lack of foreign exchange.")

With peacekeeping missions already deployed in several other hot spots around the world, the U.N. is hoping to keep the total costs of the Yugoslav operation below the initial \$600 million estimate. Because this is the first U.N. peacekeeping force ever in Europe, and one of the first in a developed country, officials are seeking to keep supply lines short and buy as much as possible locally. For instance, the prefabricated-housing maker that has supplied missions in Africa and the Middle East happens to be based in Sarajevo.

"Compared to Western Sahara, here we have an embarrassment of riches," says Mr. Walton.

Not everything is so smooth, though. There is runaway inflation: in March, Sarajevo oil prices rose three times in three days. There are also three different currencies—Croat dinars, Serbian dinars and Bosnian dinars—and a financial system as devastated as the rest of the econ-

omy. "Right now, I'm running around with bags of cash, but at some stage we'll need to write checks," says Mr. Walton. "We're looking for some normalcy."

Ready to Deal

Oddly, it is in the war-scarred deployment zones where the peacekeepers may find the most normalcy. There are barbers waiting to cut their hair, cleaners eager to do their laundry, radio stations ready to play their music, and a meat processor, who once supplied the U.S. Army in Germany, eager to fill their plates.

Georg Gavrilovic, the owner of his family's meat processing company, is offering "nonprofit production for the needs of the U.N." in return for the U.N. freeing his factory and its home, the Croat town of Petrinje, from Serbian occupation. "I want to point out my readiness to discuss all... offers," he says in a letter to the U.N.

In Zagreb, a Croat-American company called Cromex is standing by to sell cars, vans, tires, sparkplugs, soft drinks and bottled water to the U.N. Cromex opened for business during the peak of the civil war, when Zagreb residents were scurrying back and forth to air raid shelters, and is now the only Ford dealership in Croatia and one of the few firms successfully importing goods from the U.S.

"The war was the right time to start the business, because if you can survive then you will flourish later," says Fabijan Juric, a native Croat who lives near St. Louis. The U.N., Cromex has heard, is in need of four-wheel drive vehicles; Cromex, it so happens, is one of the few local dealers that can supply them. "Last year was hard times," says Mr. Juric. "Now it's time for the easy times."

That, too, is the dream of Mr. Zunic. When the tourism business collapsed, he and some Zagreb friends bought a farm complex on the Adriatic coast north of Dubrovnik. As spring comes, so will the olives, kiwis and grapes for wine. And when the dust of war settles, an Italian partner is ready to stock the farm's eel pools.

Mr. Zunic hopes the U.N. will be his first customer. At least he will make them an offer.

Bill to Regulate Cable-TV Rates Clears A House Panel, Setting Stage for Fight

By MARY LU CARNEVALE

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—A bill to regulate cable television rates and encourage emerging rivals such as microwave and satellite services cleared the House telecommunications panel and appears to be headed for a fight in the full Commerce Committee.

The bill, offered by subcommittee Chairman Edward Markey (D., Mass.), passed 17-7, with three Democrats who had sought a weaker bill voting "present." Cable companies that face effective competition would be exempt from regulation.

Under the bill, the Federal Communications Commission would set a pricing formula for a basic tier of cable service, which at a minimum would include all broadcast and public access channels. Local cable operators would use the formula to set rates, which would be subject to oversight by local franchising authorities.

Consumer groups hope that by including the so-called superstations in the basic tier, more cable operators would keep the ESPN sports channel in that tier. The superstations' big drawing card is sports, and some cable operators could find it hard to get their subscribers to pay extra for ESPN.

The FCC also would be required to develop guidelines for pinpointing "renegade" cable operators and rolling back excessive prices for cable programming.

"After quite a tussle, this comes out pretty good for consumers," said Gene Kimmelman, executive director of the Consumer Federation of America, referring to a bruising fight within the subcommittee over rate regulation and allowing companies that compete with cable to buy programming produced by cable affiliates. The subcommittee's Republicans, joined by Democrats Thomas Manton and James Scheuer of New York and Bill Richardson of New Mexico, pushed for a bill that would have limited rate increases for only a basic tier of service that relatively few cable subscribers purchase.

Mr. Kimmelman said the bill "gives consumers the opportunity for significant

rate reductions and offers a strong likelihood of competition in the near future."

The bill would bar cable companies—such as Time Warner Inc. and TeleCommunications Inc.—that own programming units from unreasonably refusing to sell programming to cable industry competitors. The legislation, however, allows certain exclusive arrangements. Multichannel microwave systems—so-called wireless cable systems—and other would-be competitors consider a provision that gives them access to cable programming crucial to their future.

One provision pushed hard by the broadcast industry would prohibit cable operators from using a local broadcast signal without the broadcaster's permission. Such signals currently can be used by cable operators without paying. This provision would allow station owners to negotiate with cable operators for money, channel position or other compensation.

Although consumer groups welcomed the legislation, the cable industry contends it goes way too far. James Mooney, head of the National Cable Television Association, compared the bill to "a ship pouring forth smoke and lying low in the water. We will continue to oppose it in its current form, and the excesses of its supporters may yet sink it."

In the all-day session, the industry managed to win a minor victory: An amendment, offered by Michael Oxley (R., Ohio) and passed on voice vote, killed a provision that would have established local consumer watchdog groups to monitor cable rates and services.

If the bill passes the House, it must be reconciled in a conference committee with a Senate bill passed in February. But the White House has threatened a veto, saying it prefers to allow telephone companies to compete head-to-head with cable operators rather than re-regulating cable rates. The White House has lobbied hard against the bill so that President Bush won't be in the position of vetoing popular consumer legislation on the eve of the election.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

© 1992 Dow Jones & Company, Inc. All Rights Reserved.

THURSDAY, APRIL 9, 1992

U.S. Turns Down Applications to Export Parts for the Python 3 Missile to Israel

By EDWARD T. POUND

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Despite months of prodding by the State Department, an Israeli government company refused to disclose its non-U.S. sources of components for the advanced Python 3 air-to-air missile.

As a result, the State Department notified the Israeli Ministry of Defense that pending export license applications for Python 3 components were being "returned without action," according to U.S. records. Concerned about possible re-export violations, the department had been holding up licenses for such equipment since last June.

The decision not to approve the requests came after meetings last month in Israel between U.S. officials and representatives of the Israeli government and defense industry. The Python 3 was only one issue on the delegation's agenda, but it was among the most controversial. The U.S. team, headed by Charles Duelfer, a senior State Department official, briefed Israeli officials on U.S. licensing requirements and potential sanctions for re-export violations.

Just last week, the State Department's inspector general, Sherman Funk, said that U.S. intelligence uncovered evidence of "a systematic and growing pattern" of unauthorized sales by Israel of American weapons technology to other countries, including China, South Africa and Chile. Although the public report didn't identify the countries by name, a classified version includes intelligence information on purported Python 3 sales. Washington's approval is required before weapons containing U.S. components may be re-exported to third parties.

U.S. intelligence reports said the Python 3 heat-seeking missile contains a "high degree" of U.S. technology. The reports said the Python 3 has been sold to China and Thailand, and is suspected to have been sold to South Africa. Israel denies violating U.S. re-export agreements and argues that the Python 3 was developed by Israel on its own and wasn't derived from U.S. technology.

Behind the scenes, arms exports by the Israeli government or private arms dealers have caused tensions between the allies for several years. In May 1988, then

Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin assured the Reagan administration that Israel wouldn't send arms of U.S. origin anywhere without U.S. approval, State Department documents show.

The assurances were given after private arms dealers from Israel, Iran, Chile and the U.S. were involved in an abortive effort to sell aging F-5 fighter jets, the Python 3 and other weapons to Iran. As soon as the defense ministry found out about the scheme, the Israeli arms dealer was ordered to terminate his activities, Mr. Rabin told the State Department.

The Python 3 missile is made by Rafael, the Israeli defense ministry's Armament Development Authority. Israeli officials contend there are two versions of the Python 3—one used by the Israeli Air Force, which contains U.S. components, and an export model that doesn't include American parts. Over the past nine months, however, Israeli officials refused to disclose to American officials the non-U.S. suppliers of their components.

Last July, in a letter to a senior Israeli official, Mr. Duelfer wrote that Israel had "agreed to provide us with information on the non-U.S. sources of supply" for the Python 3. Until that information is provided, he added, "export licenses for Python 3 equipment will not be approved." The U.S. also withheld licenses for other weapons systems because of concerns over purported Israeli diversions.

During his visit last month, Mr. Duelfer took up the Python 3 issue with Rafael's director general, Moshe Peled, who refused to disclose the suppliers, according to a U.S. account of Mr. Duelfer's trip. Mr. Peled said Rafael was unable to identify parts used in the past and, citing proprietary commercial reasons, he refused to disclose the suppliers of present components, the account said. Mr. Duelfer then notified the defense ministry that all Python 3 export applications, on hold since last year, wouldn't be approved.

Messrs. Peled and Duelfer didn't return phone calls seeking comment. An Israeli Embassy spokeswoman, Ruth Yaron, said, "We will not discuss details and various aspects of our military procurement and military arms sales publicly." U.S. officials said that the Python 3 decision closes the book on a nagging issue but that it doesn't preclude Israeli companies from

Rise in Education Outlays Is the Smallest in a Decade

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

WASHINGTON — Education spending in the U.S. will rise less this year than at any time during the past decade, the National Education Association said in a new report. It blamed the recession for the slowdown.

Nationwide, spending on education has still increased beyond inflation in the 1991-1992 academic year. But the increase is the slightest in years, and it comes at a time when enrollments are growing and when schools are struggling to acquire technology considered critical to preparing children for tomorrow's work force.

Moreover, the report suggests that the federal government is doing little to help revenue-pinch states and localities. Despite the state and local budget crunch, the federal share of spending on elementary and secondary education has slipped to 6.2% from 9.2% when President Reagan took office.

This year's report says that for the 1991-1992 academic year, teachers' salaries are up 4.4%; the average teacher's salary is now \$31,413. Spending per pupil is up 4.5% to \$5,452. Current expenditures on education—excluding capital outlays and interest payments on debt—are up 5.8%, compared with a 6.9% rise last year and an 8.9% jump in the 1989-1990 academic year. Inflation is running around 3%.

Education Secretary Lamar Alexander defended the federal government's financial commitment to education and implied that the NEA criticism was partly motivated by politics.

"The new Bush budget has more new discretionary dollars in it for education than any other part of the federal government," Mr. Alexander said.

filing new license applications.

During his visit, Mr. Duelfer told Israeli defense contractors that, despite some problems, about 90% of license requests for shipments to Israel were approved last year. According to an official of an Israeli defense concern, Mr. Duelfer said that of some 3,000 applications from U.S. and Israeli companies, about 50 were denied outright and 350 more were returned without action. In this latter category, licenses can be returned because of U.S. concerns or for such simple things as a company failing to fill out the forms correctly.

Political Finance

message. She used some of that tax money to start an almost successful suit to knock Paul Tsongas off the New York primary ballot.

Only politicians favor expanding such a skewed system to congressional races. The proposal before Congress is so jury-rigged that it's difficult to view it seriously. It would set up separate campaign-financing laws for the House and Senate. House candidates would receive federal matching funds along the lines of the presidential-campaign system. Senate contenders would receive federally funded vouchers to purchase television ad time. Sounds to us like food stamps for politicians.

The biggest problem with congressional races today is the overwhelming advantage enjoyed by incumbents, who collected 94% of all PAC money given to House candidates in 1990. But the public-financing bill isn't intended to dismantle the incumbent-protection machine that makes most Members invulnerable.

Evidence for this view surfaced this week when it was learned that through a drafting error the bill inadvertently banned House Members from sending out junk-mail propaganda in an election year. The bill's sponsors were horrified, and yesterday the House quickly voted 407 to 8 to return the bill to committee so the offending provision could be deleted.

There are ways to truly reform our elections. They include term limits, adding a binding None of the Above line to ballots and raising individual contribution limits so long as there is full disclosure. But the authors of campaign-finance bills aren't interested in real reform. The sages of Capitol Hill want to cure the ills of the current system by administering more of the public-financing poison that has made it so sterile, unresponsive and destructive to the presidential-primary system.

Voter anger isn't some vague, inchoate impulse. It has its reasons and causes. We would place the campaign-finance laws up near the top of the list. They have made a hash of the Democratic run for the presidency. And incredibly, the world's most poorly regarded institution, the House of Representatives, is this week rushing to vote out a bill to limit campaign spending and thereby make a bad situation worse.

Consider the status quo. Bill Clinton is rolling toward the nomination, though the party doesn't really want him or is frightened of his chances. But Mr. Clinton won the all-important primary to capture money. He barnstormed the country and scooped up special-interest cash as the Zelig of American politics. Every group he spoke to was convinced he had its agenda at heart. By raising big bucks as the then-favorite of party insiders, he was able to survive weak showings that hurt or finished off other candidates.

The other Democratic survivor is Jerry Brown, a chameleon who started with a big-name ID advantage from his two previous races for President. Mr. Brown made a virtue of the fact that the smart money dismissed him as a flake. He begs for money through an 800 number.

Paul Tsongas was a serious candidate with an interesting mainstream message, but he was legally barred from accepting contributions over \$1,000. That prevented idealistic Tsongas supporters from lending or giving him enough money to stay in the race.

Fringe candidates with fanatical followings love public financing. Lyndon LaRouche milked taxpayers for several million dollars. This year, Leonardo Fulani of the New Alliance Party has spent more than \$1 million in taxpayer funds to spread her anti-Semitic

THURSDAY, APRIL 9, 1992

Texas Twister

H. Ross Perot Vies For Disaffected Voters In Bid for Presidency

He Is Bold, Unconventional And Rich, and That Makes Him a Formidable Threat

Electoral College Showdown?

By DAVID SHIRIBMAN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL. DALLAS—In the crowded theater of American politics, H. Ross Perot is about to stand up and shout, "Fire!"

Mr. Perot—computer tycoon, business reformer and unabashed patriot, a master of the homespun aphorism and an amateur with a taste for the paramilitary—is on the verge of launching an independent presidential campaign rooted in public anger and financed by his own fortune. It is almost certain to disrupt the calculations of political professionals of both parties.

The U.S. has never seen anything quite like it: A billionaire entrepreneur who has

Rallying Around Clinton

Though pockets of resistance remain, Democratic Party leaders in Washington are finding it in their common interest to begin rallying around Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas as the party's presidential nominee. Story on page A16

spawned a folklore of almost mythic proportion pledging to spend more than \$100 million of his own money—"as much as necessary," he says in an interview, suggesting that the figure could climb even higher—to cast himself as the unlikely representative of "the people." He has no experience in elective politics, no natural base, no coterie of advisers, no position papers, no foreign policy, no organization, no party and no road map for victory.

Yet 61-year-old Henry Ross Perot (pronounced pur-oh) may be the most formidable outside force in U.S. politics since 1912—when Theodore Roosevelt, out of office for four years and running as the nominee of a party he invented just months earlier, finished higher than incumbent President William Howard Taft and threw the election to Woodrow Wilson.

"Anybody with \$2.1 billion has to be taken seriously," says Republican Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas, an ally of President Bush. "You don't get rich by being dumb."

Or by having bad timing. Tuesday's primary results in New York and elsewhere make it all but certain that President Bush and Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas will square off in the fall, raising the prospect of a contest between two notably weak major-party nominees at a time of enormous political alienation. Mr. Perot's campaign will both feed off that alienation and, if he is successful, add to it.

"He has real qualities of strength and is one of the only billionaires who can connect with the average guy," says John Sasso, the Democratic strategist who mapped Michael Dukakis's route to the 1988 nomination.

Mr. Perot, who made his first dollars breaking horses and selling garden seeds and later became the largest shareholder in General Motors Corp., could easily spend more than the nominees of the Republican and Democratic parties combined. But his most important resource could be the anger of the hundreds of thousands of citizens—some of whom are counted as integral parts of the Democratic and GOP coalitions, some of whom have never voted before—who in the last month have flooded his phone lines, formed spontaneous mass meetings urging him to run and lined up to sign petitions putting him on the November ballot.

"The pundits have no idea how fast this is spreading," says Thomas O'Neil, who heads the Perot effort in New Jersey. Karen Henderson, one of the leaders of the North Carolina campaign, adds: "It feels like there's a revolution going on and no one knows about it."

The result is perhaps the greatest threat to the political establishment in a generation.



H. Ross Perot

"There's never been a candidacy like this in the whole history of the Republic," says Richard Murray, a University of Houston political scientist. "Nobody's ever spent a real fortune to run for the presidency. There never have been communications links like there are now, and there almost never has been political alienation like this. There's a very slight chance he could win—but there's a very good chance he will have an effect on the race."

Mr. Perot, who supports abortion rights and some gun controls, promises that he "will not run a conventional campaign." He says that "there won't be any speechwriters or any handlers. There won't be any cosmeticians. I'm not going to get into all that phony stuff. There will be no fund-raising dinners where for an extra thousand bucks you get your picture taken with me."

Still, Mr. Perot has consulted on ballot-access questions with Lloyd Cutler, the Washington wiseman who remains in Gov. Clinton's camp. And political analysts doubt whether Mr. Perot, who delights in the image of the forthright free-lancer, can survive a national campaign without any professional advisers.

In addition, the \$100 million spoiler has

Please Turn to Page A6, Column 1

Continued From First Page

some substantial political weaknesses.

Republicans are already readying charges that Mr. Perot, who made part of his fortune by selling computer systems to handle Medicare and Medicaid claims, got rich as a government contractor—in short, the biggest welfare king of them all, and one who is an unlikely warrior against the government.

He and his family, with the help of former House Speaker James Wright, also persuaded Washington to pour more than \$41 million into building an airport near Fort Worth that is spurring development on land that the family owns. Now Mr. Perot's son is asking the government for another \$120 million for a runway extension that would make the land even more valuable.

Mr. Perot, who gave \$26,400 to tax writers on the House Ways and Means Committee after the 1974 election, then tried to win a \$15 million personal tax break by having a lobbyist slip an unobtrusive amendment into a tax bill late at night a year later.

Moreover, Mr. Perot has taken on gigantic crusades before, only to retreat later. One was a failed attempt to rescue duPont Glove Forgan, a sinking Wall Street brokerage firm. Another was his experience with GM. After selling his Electronic Data Systems to GM, he launched a huge campaign to remake the auto company, then wound up pocketing a \$700 million payment designed to make him go away and stop bothering management.

Robert Squier, a Washington Democratic political consultant, wonders if his presidential effort will follow a similar pattern. "Will this be like a lot of his ventures—the kind where he throws himself all the way in, gets a feel for it, doesn't like it, and then gets out?" he asks.

In fact, Mr. Perot's lack of experience in the rough-and-tumble of politics may be more of a liability than he expects. Like many business executives, his view of politics tends toward the simplistic, with his "can-do" approach hiding his ignorance of the complexity of the political system.

"He comes from the business world, where only the CEO's vote counts," says Frederick Meyer, the Texas Republican state chairman. "In the political world, everybody has a voice and a vote, and you can't take the dictatorship principles of business and apply them to politics."

But Mr. Perot seems unfazed. He says he won't run unless citizens, acting independently, succeed in placing him on the ballot in all 50 states. But there is every indication he will run—and every suggestion that, if he can sustain the enthusiasm he has already generated, he will win the consideration, and maybe even the votes, of millions.

Independent or third-party presidential campaigns open the possibility that the election can be thrown into doubt. If none of the contenders won a majority of votes in the Electoral College, the election would be thrown to the U.S. House of Representatives, with each state's delegation having one vote. That hasn't happened since the election of 1824, when John Quincy Adams was selected over the popular-vote leader, Andrew Jackson.

Mr. Perot has won initial support for his complaints about the shallowness of politics and the inefficiency of government. But he is also motivated to run in part because of longstanding lack of regard, even contempt, for the president that dates at least to Mr. Bush's time as director of central intelligence. Mr. Perot has spoken privately to associates about his belief that Mr. Bush was involved in clandestine arms and other deals that distracted U.S. officials from freeing Vietnam prisoners of war, among other things.

Democrats fret that Mr. Perot, himself a symbol of change, may siphon off some support from voters who want substantial change in politics. But GOP leaders are even more worried. Republicans both here and in Washington already have begun an aggressive "opposition research" effort directed at Mr. Perot. They calculate that their best tactic is to rattle him early, in part by reminding him of the petty intrusions and indecencies that are part of a political campaign.

But Mr. Perot is an independent with a difference. "This guy doesn't have to go through the primaries, and he doesn't have to spend any time asking for money," says former Democratic Gov. Mark White of Texas, who worked with Mr. Perot on the state's landmark education overhaul. "He gets to write his own name on his own chalkboard and he gets to buy as much chalk as he wants."

Even with all that chalk, though, Mr. Perot has only given the sketchiest outline of where his candidacy—or his presidency—will go.

His critique is sharp and vivid. In folksy language and with barely concealed disgust for the political establishment, Mr. Perot is running as much against Washington as against Mr. Bush and the Democratic nominee. "If you want the system to work again, you have to go back and make it work with the people of the country being the owners and the elected officials being the servants," he says.

But his remedies are hazy. He envisions an "electronic town meeting" where the public could register its views. He favors measures to require that tax increases and pay raises for federal officials are approved by the public in national votes. But he offers few other specifics, and when an aide was asked for Mr. Perot's issue positions last week, she couldn't provide any. "We don't have it yet," said Sharon Holman, a real-estate marketing executive in one of Mr. Perot's enterprises. "We don't have anything."

When Mr. Perot was asked on the MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour about his prescription for the economy, he said, "I'll do what I do every day." On foreign policy, Mr. Perot, in remarks to the National Press Club last month, said, "You can't be a superpower unless you're an economic superpower, and if you don't believe that, look at Russia. And I rest my case. That's all I have to say about it."

In a later telephone conversation from Europe, where he was on a business trip, Mr. Perot answered a question about his stands on various issues by saying: "I'll get into all that if and when I am a candidate."

Only through repeated interrogation do the outlines of Perot policy emerge—and even then the questions outweigh the answers.

He wants to debate term limitations for members of Congress but doesn't necessarily support them. He is skeptical of higher taxes, but gives no indication of whether they would be needed to right the economy. Instead, he uses the classic political dodges of Michael Dukakis—improving tax-collection technology and techniques—and Ronald Reagan—targeting waste, fraud and abuse in government.

He would like to ask wealthy older citizens to volunteer to forgo their Social Security checks and federal health benefits—but can't say whether he would seek to force them to do so. He worries about the employment implications of the proposed North American free-trade agreement, but won't commit himself to supporting or opposing it.

Health care provides some clues to Mr. Perot's vision of how he would run the government. First, President Perot would summon the nation to an "electronic town meeting," where the problem would be explained. Here is what would follow, in Mr. Perot's own words: "Then we could run pilot programs and give the people who are running them complete freedom to optimize them in the pilot phase. You run your pilot programs, come back to the people and give them the results. You might have a plan for rural areas and another for urban areas. You thrash that through. And you tell the people the cost. Then we mass-produce the successful pilot models."

The Bush campaign worries that such talk, vague as it is, will beguile the American public. "My fear is that he'll be able to avoid tough questions for a long period of time, and that a lot of people looking for the answer will think he is it," says James Oberweiser, the president's Texas campaign chairman.

Adding to their concerns is Mr. Perot's long-proven skill in gaining favorable attention from the public. Back in 1969, for instance, he chartered two 707-320C jet transports with red Christmas bows painted around the fuselage, in an effort to carry holiday meals and medical supplies to prisoners of war in North Vietnam. He also offered to rebuild North Vietnamese schools and hospitals in exchange for the freedom of the Americans. But the North Vietnamese rebuffed his efforts, denouncing them as "provocations."

Then, when Iran jailed two employees of his Electronic Data Systems in 1978, Mr. Perot swept into action. He visited the men himself, then sent a rescue team to get them out of the revolution-wracked country. The incident fed his cult of personality, spawning a best-selling Ken Follett

book and a television miniseries.

The man himself is a snapshot from the American album. He grew up in Texarkana and discovered he had a flair for buying and selling bridles and saddles, horses and calves. If nothing else, he is a man of action—and results.

"He has great vision along with real practicality," says Tom Marquez, who was his first employee at EDS and now is an independent investor in Dallas. "He's a quick learner, good listener and a great leader. He can be very demanding. He does not have much patience with lazy geniuses. And if there's something that needs fixing, he'll do it."

To his political campaign, he is applying the spirit of volunteerism that is behind much of his charitable work—he has given away about \$120 million, often taking no tax deductions for his contributions. At the base of his presidential effort are 1.7 million people who in the past three weeks called his 800 number or volunteered at the phone banks here in Dallas.

"The response we're getting from around the country can't be ignored," says Louise Eckelman, a Dallas nurse who has been answering phones here. "People want solutions. They're ready to get something done."

The Perot campaign should have little trouble getting on the ballot unless the Bush campaign or others throw up roadblocks. Still, the requirements are formidable: in all, some 700,000 signatures are necessary to get on in all 50 states. And in a symbol of the institutional restraints on independent or third-party candidacies, Mr. Perot was recently compelled to select an interim vice presidential running mate—he chose Adm. James Stockdale, a former Vietnam POW and Medal of Honor winner—in order to qualify for a ballot position in 25 states.

"He's going to have to have a battery of good lawyers and get good staff no matter what he says," says Frank Smallwood, a Dartmouth College expert on independent presidential campaigns who was the Vermont interim running mate for former Illinois Rep. John Anderson in his run for president as an independent in 1980. "He can't circumvent the system, and the system is very prejudiced against independent candidates." Mr. Smallwood says.

Mr. Anderson himself, who had the support of about 22% of the public when he announced his independent campaign in April 1980 but in the end finished with only 7%, believes that Mr. Perot could do substantially better this year. "When there's this much discouragement abroad in the land," he says, "there might be that unusual chemistry that could produce something fairly explosive."

Mr. Perot, who suffered a personal loss of at least \$15 million in his effort to salvage duPont Glove Forgan and who once suffered a \$600 million decline in market value in a single day, isn't averse to risks. He is, moreover, no political ingenue. Since 1979, Perot family members have contributed \$180,650 to politicians running for federal office, plus \$953,000 to the failed Texas gubernatorial campaign of his lawyer, Thomas Luce, a contribution that was reported after the primary so as to receive no attention during the campaign.

Now, of course, Mr. Perot's political work is winning wide attention, and the political mood that made former Gov. Jerry Brown of California a factor in the presidential race could produce spontaneous combustion with Mr. Perot.

"There's the possibility this could be an incendiary firestorm out in the open oxygen," says Patrick Caddell, a pollster who is advising Mr. Brown and who has met with Mr. Perot this year. "Brown and Perot are tapping into a political condition where the majority of American people are part of an anti-politics movement that has no party."

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

© 1992 Dow Jones & Company, Inc. All Rights Reserved.

THURSDAY, APRIL 9, 1992

Democratic Leaders Resignedly Begin To Rally Around Clinton for President

By JAMES M. PERRY
And DAVID ROGERS

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Though pockets of resistance remain, Democratic Party leaders here are finding it in their common interest to start rallying around Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas as the party's presidential nominee.

There is more resignation than excitement, but there is also a growing recognition that all sides should end the fighting. The goal now is to shift attention away from the negative perceptions that threaten not only Mr. Clinton but also the lawmakers who will be superdelegates at the presidential convention and who are fighting for their own political lives in November.

CAMPAIGN
***92**

"If George Bush frames the debate in the general election on Bill Clinton's character, he wins," says Richard Moe, a Democratic strategist and a Clinton supporter. "But if Clinton can frame the debate on the economy and the country's future, he wins."

The unease is apparent in the remarks of Sen. Bob Kerrey, who says "Clinton's got it" and vows to fight for him in the fall once he captures the nomination. At the same time, the Nebraska Democrat recounts receiving hundreds of angry phone calls from home when it was erroneously reported that he was about to endorse Mr. Clinton weeks ago.

This wariness is accompanied by a professional awe at Mr. Clinton's endurance and support for his underlying agenda. "Ten days ago it was 'This man's dead,'" says Sen. Joseph Biden (D., Del.). "Now it's 'My God, he's still walking.' I think the guy's a helluva candidate, and there is a sense that his message is where the Democratic Party ought to be."

New York Gov. Mario Cuomo says he has "been prodding all these people, Bill Clinton, Jerry Brown, the leaders in Congress, to come up with a five-point economic plan" that the party and its candidate can take to the voters in the fall. "I believe," the governor says in an interview, "the message is at least as important as the messenger." He says he talked to Mr. Clinton about his plan early yesterday, telling the man he recognizes as the party's "presumptive" nominee that from now on his message must be "positive, positive, positive."

Mr. Clinton, who went to Illinois to show sympathy for striking Caterpillar Inc. workers in Peoria, appears open to the initiative. George Stephanopoulos, his deputy campaign manager and a former aide to House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt (D., Mo.), says the Cuomo effort follows up on one begun in the fall but has new significance as attention shifts to the general election. "It is important to show him [Mr. Clinton]—and the Democrats—fighting for people," he says.

Subtle Discouragement

And Democratic Party Chairman Ron Brown began working the phones yesterday to urge elected officials and party functionaries to pull together. "It's in the party's interest to have an early nominee," says Mr. Brown, who is subtly discouraging former Massachusetts Sen. Paul Tsongas from re-entering the campaign after his strong finish in New York this week.

"Anyone who understands basic arithmetic has to be impressed with someone with 1,400 delegates," says Chairman Brown of Mr. Clinton's delegate count. "He's in striking distance."

With Jerry Brown's disastrous showing Tuesday, a revived Tsongas candidacy is all that remains for those still opposed to Mr. Clinton's nomination, but people close to Mr. Tsongas say it is doubtful he will return.

"I think the bandwagon is getting fired up," says Democratic strategist Mike McCurry.

Even party leaders who have been less than enthusiastic about Mr. Clinton's candidacy are coming around. "There will be some attempts to block the nomination," says former Party Chairman John White, "but they won't be fruitful. It's time to pull together."

"The American people are fair-minded for the most part," says longtime party activist Bert Lance, who has never been a Clinton fan. "For anyone to try to jump in the race now would be seen by most Americans as unfair. Bill Clinton has shown he's a real campaigner. He's smart. He wants to talk about the issues. It's time to get on with what's going to be a very rough campaign."

But there are still dissenters, who keep reminding the people on the bandwagon

that Mr. Clinton may be heading for a pileup against President Bush this fall. "If Bill Clinton is nominated," says Ted Van Dyk, a senior strategist for Mr. Tsongas, "the general election will be comparable to 1972, only Clinton won't win Massachusetts." (The Bay State was the only state that Democrat George McGovern won in President Nixon's landslide re-election that year.)

Mr. Van Dyk is urging Mr. Tsongas to run. And, if he doesn't, Mr. Van Dyk vows to fight on, in the hope party leaders will choose someone else at an open convention in New York in July.

Frank Mankiewicz, another longtime party activist, is seeking ways to create an open convention too, and he believes that the effort depends entirely on Mr. Tsongas rejoining the race. "If he runs," says Mr. Mankiewicz, "he supplies a convenient waiting room for voters who don't want Bill Clinton. It's up to him."



Bill Clinton

Tsongas supporters hope he will make his decision today. He met for more than two hours with Dennis Kanin, his former campaign manager, and Nick Rizzo, his finance chairman. Mr. Rizzo said that no decision was reached at the meeting but that it was his impression that Mr. Tsongas wouldn't become an active candidate.

Sen. Wyche Fowler (D., Ga.), who served with Mr. Tsongas in the House and has been sympathetic with his campaign, says he will back Gov. Clinton as a superdelegate. "I think he [Tsongas] remains a man of courage and common sense, but I think it is time to unite behind our nominee," Mr. Fowler says.

Early Hopes

Party and congressional leaders, never enthusiastic about Jerry Brown's candidacy, believe his performance Tuesday eliminated him as a serious alternative to Mr. Clinton in the race. The former California governor finished third in New York and came in second to Mr. Clinton in Wisconsin, a state where he had early hopes of winning. "If he stays in," says James Carville, a senior Clinton strategist, "he could do himself more harm than good."

But no one expects Mr. Brown to step aside. "We're not going to go away quietly," he vowed. He said, "The scenario would be winning Pennsylvania [on April 28], and Clinton stumbling in some continuing way that would render him unsatisfactory to enough delegates. We'll see what happens."

All those who yearn for an open convention look to the superdelegates to bring it about, and many of these people hope such a convention would draft Mr. Cuomo. Mr. Cuomo says he has looked through Roget's thesaurus trying to come up with the right words to describe the likelihood that Mr. Clinton will be the nominee. "Virtually assured," he said. "Absolutely. I've said he had a lock, and people asked me what that meant," he says. "As a practical matter, I don't see there is any other

choice" but Mr. Clinton. But Mr. Cuomo refuses to say the contest should be closed, because that wouldn't be fair to those left in the race, meaning Mr. Brown and, possibly, Mr. Tsongas.

Mr. White, the former party chairman,

is more direct on the question of superdelegates brokering the convention. "That's nuts," he says. "Superdelegates tend to vote the way their districts and states do. It's good politics for them. None of them is looking for trouble."

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Victor J. Hancock
Hancock & Associates
2009 Nantucket Drive
Richardson, Texas 75080



April 9, 1992

Dear Victor,

It was great hearing from you. I am glad that Jim Oberwetter, our able Texas chairman, has you all suited up and in action.

You are 100% correct on Ross Perot.

Keep up the great work and many many thanks for your steadfast and loyal support.

How do you like my computer typing.

All Best to you,

A handwritten signature, likely of Jan Burmeister, is written in the center of the page. The signature is stylized and appears to be "Jan".

CC: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria
(1 copy)
Jan Burmeister
(note ADDRESS)

FROM THE PRESIDENT

Jan Burmeister

FROM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Marvin Lender
National Chairman
United Jewish Appeal
99 Park Avenue, Suite 300
New York, New York 10016



THE PRESIDENT

April 9, '92

Dear Marvin -

I love Max Fisher - a
true and loyal friend, a trusted
adviser; but regrettably I
cannot be with you in NYC on
the big day - May 17th I
will be going from Texas to So. Bend

that day, and it just
won't fit.

I have great respect
for the UJA efforts and for
you personally; so saying "No"
is very difficult.

P.S. Marvin

I just saw the great
bagel presentation - Love it.

Warm Regards,

Ly. Bush

I'll send you a picture with it

Blind CC:
Rose Zamaria (1
copy)
Kathy Super (FYI)



BF

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
Thursday, April 9, 1992

8:00 am (20 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>		Oval Office
8:20 am (5 min)	<u>Photo with Arnie Kanter</u> (Scowcroft)	(TAB A)	Oval Office
8:30 am (15 min)	<u>Intelligence Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)		Oval Office
8:45 am (30 min)	<u>National Security Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)		Oval Office
9:15 am (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Chief of Staff</u>		Oval Office
9:45 am (30 min)	<u>Domestic Briefing</u> (Yeutter)	(TAB B)	Oval Office
10:15 am (45 min)	<u>Video Taping Session</u> (Smith)	(TAB C)	459 OEOB
11:00 am (5 min)	<u>Photo with White House Interns</u> (Petersmeyer)	(TAB D)	OEOB Steps
11:10 am (40 min)	<u>Administrative Time</u>		Oval Office
11:50 am (5 min)	<u>Photo with McDonald's Capital</u> <u>Classic All-Star High School</u> <u>Basketball Team</u> (Rollins)	(TAB E)	Rose Garden
12:00 pm (60 min)	<u>Lunch with the Vice President</u>		Oval Office
1:05 pm (5 min)	<u>Meeting with Secretary Sullivan</u> <u>and FDA Commissioner David Kessler</u> (Holiday)	(TAB F)	Oval Office

11:00
GaryUNP 04/08/92
6:00 pm

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
07. Schedule	Schedule of the President; redactions. (1 pp.)	04/09/92	(b)(3)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Thursday, April 9, 1992 [4]

Date Closed: 8/27/2019

OA/ID Number: 90668-007

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

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

Deed of Gift Restrictions

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

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

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



1:10 pm (30 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
1:40 pm	The President departs to Address American Society of Newspaper Editors at the J. W. Marriott Hotel (Smith)	South Lawn
2:35 pm	<u>Arrives White House</u>	South Lawn
2:45 pm (10 min)	<u>Staff Time</u> (Calio)	Oval Office
3:00 pm (30 min)	Meeting with President Chamorro of Nicaragua (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
3:30 pm (40 min)	<u>Administrative Time</u>	Oval Office
4:10 pm (15 min)	Meeting with Secretary Brady (Holiday)	Oval Office
4:30 pm (30 min)	Meeting with Chief of Staff	Oval Office
5:30 pm (20 min)	B <u>Reception for RNC Eagles</u> (Kaufman)	State Floor

(TAB G)

(TAB H)

(Distributed Separately) *Open*

(TAB I)

(TAB J)

7:18 POTUS In	10:20 POTUS Out to OEOB
7:58 Dan McGroarty In	11:05 POTUS In w/ Kathy Fenton, Laurie Firestone
8:00 Scowcroft In	11:09 All Out
8:17 Dan McGroarty Out	11:20 Scowcroft In
8:23 Dr. Arnie Kanter + Family In	11:50 Scowcroft Out
8:26 " " " Out	11:51 POTUS Out to Rose Garden then down to Basketball Court.
8:29 Scowcroft Out	12:04 POTUS In
8:33 Super In	12:06 Moore, Nick Burns, Dan McGroarty In
8:45 Super Out, Gates, (b)(3) Hawes In	~~12:06~~ ~~12:06~~
9:10 (b)(3) , Gates Out, VPOTUS In / 9:15 Skinner In	12:08 All Out
9:27 Scowcroft, Hawes Out / Moore In	12:09 VPOTUS In
9:35 Moore Out	1:10 David Kessler, Sec. Sullivan, Bayden Gray, Zora Brown, Suzanne Tomlinson, Holiday Jr
9:50 Skinner, VPOTUS Out	
9:51 Skinner, Yuetter, Darman In	
9:52 VPOTUS In	
10:16 O'Smith In, Darman, VPOTUS, Skinner Out	

1:17 All but Boyden Gray Out
 1:26 ~~Boyden Gray~~ Skinner In
 1:35 All Out
 1:41 POTUS Out to South Grounds
 2:53 POTUS In
 2:55 Sen. Steve Symms
 2:57 Scowcroft In
 2:59 Baker, Skinner In
 3:02 VPOTUS In
 3:07 Sen. Symms Out
 3:09 Judy Smith In
 3:13 Violeta Chamorro, Palazzo, Guerra, Cristiana Chamorro,
 Bernie Aronson, William T. Pryce In
 3:50 Mrs. Bush In
 3:58 All Out, POTUS + FIOTUS walk around south grounds
 4:11 Skinner In, POTUS In
 4:15 Skinner Out, Sec. Brady, Scowcroft In
 4:42 Skinner In, " " " Out
 4:44 Bob Bowman, Henry Wendt In
 4:58 " " " " Out
 5:08 Skinner Out
 5:32 POTUS, VPOTUS Out to State Floor
 5:36 POTUS, FIOTUS, VPOTUS + Mrs Quail Announced In