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

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	35	2	6	0

THE PRESIDENT

11-9-71

Dear Dan & Bunny,

Your notes cheered
us up. It's been rather
dreary, but now there's
a nice rainbow in the sky -
more time in Maine (6 months
a year) (By the way do you
need a good fielding
1st Baseman?)

We're doing better today.
Our family lifts us up
so do our friends - Love



Mr. and Mrs. Daniel B. Burke
20 Island Drive
Rye, New York 10580

cc: (ins & out)
Rose Zamaria (lcc)

DAN BURKE

Nov 4, 1992

Dear Mr President,

You may recall that once or twice I wrote you with fragmentary news that the economy might be recovering. It was and still is, and the gradualness of the recovery is best and a blessing for the Country. Unfortunately, this

Pace was not good for your
campaign.

Our people have come to
want instant gratification and
they are sour currently about
all institutions - hospitals,
schools, churches and on and
on. Your stature as President
will grow day by day and
year by year. I am proud to be
your friend.

Dan

Wednesday, November

Dear Barbara and Mr. President,

What an exhausting campaign. With enormous pride we tuned in to Larry King and the morning talk shows. You were fabulous - & only the economy ^{and media} had cooperated.

Your years in the White House have meant so much to the country - a term of strong leadership, peace, decency, volunteerism and love of family. You have made us rethink our priorities as we've watched

Do happy to hear of Doris pregnancy...
Hope all goes well!

XX Bummy and Dad

you serve us! — with dignity!
We send our love, wish you well
in your "transition" and look forward to
fun times in the ballpact and Mabels.

THE PRESIDENT

NOV. 9, 1992

Dear Bob,

I have a lot of regrets
as I take inventory today -
6 days after the election.

One relates to you. You
would have been a superb
Ambassador for our Country.

I want to wish you
all the best saying thanks
for all you've done for me
and I am so sorry going
to New Zealand did not
work out.

Warmest Regards,

Ly B

The Honorable Robert F. Goodwin
5007 Overlea Court
Bethesda, Maryland 20816

cc: R. Zamaria
1 copy



THE PRESIDENT

November 9, 1992

Dear Paulette and Jonathan,

Thanks for the nice card today. I appreciate the warm and supportive words and your writing from the heart. Winning was just not in the cards, but Mrs. Bush and I gave it our best shot.

Soon, we'll be shifting gears to private life and grandkids. With our appreciation and best wishes to you both,

Sincerely,

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. and Mrs. Jonathan Toellner
c/o Mrs. Paulette Toellner
White House Visitor's Office
East Wing

cc: (ins & out)
ROSE Zamaria (lcc)

spruce of which I have
 the specimens of the
 first of which I have
 found the individuals in the
 same. I have also some more

Permit: Nathan
 White & Sons
 Fishery
 office



THE PRESIDENT

November 9, 1992

Dear Paul,

Thanks so much for sending me your CD with that kind inscription. I'm delighted to have it and appreciate your thoughtfulness.

Barbara and I are grateful for the wonderful support we received from all our friends in Nashville. My winning was just not in the cards, but we gave it our best shot. Thanks, again, for thinking of me.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

cc: (in & out)

~~Rose Zamaria~~ (1cc)

Charles Free (The
Pres kept cd in
his study)

Mr. Paul Overstreet
Paul Overstreet, Incorporated
Post Office Box 121975
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

WHITE HOUSE GIFT REGISTER

(Send Gift and Register to: White House Gift Unit, Room 457, OEOB, x7133)

1. Gift Intended For:

- a. President ☒
- b. First Lady ☐
- c. President/First Lady ☐
- d. First Family Other ☐

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Title: AMERICAN ENTERTAINMENT
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Presented By: PAUL OVERSTREET

4. Description of Gift:

CD

5. Report Prepared By:

Name: D. CAMP RAY Office: 185 (ADVANCE OFFICE)
Telephone: 406-7165 Room No.: 185



THE PRESIDENT

November 9, 1992

Dear Don,

Thanks so much for your letter of November 4. Your kind words really mean a lot to Barbara and me. Although winning was just not in the cards, we gave it our best shot.

Soon, we will be shifting gears to private life, grandkids, and friends. Barbara and I will always be grateful for your wonderful support.

With warmest best wishes to you and Mickie,

*Don - your note,
really helped!*

Sincerely, *[Signature]*

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Donald Keough
President and Chief Operating Officer
The Coca-Cola Company
Post Office Drawer 1734
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

cc: (ins & out)
Rose Zamaria (lcc)

DONALD R. KEOUGH
P.O. DRAWER 1734
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30301

November 4, 1992

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I know that millions of Americans and countless citizens of the world will find ways to express their admiration and gratitude to you for the incredible leadership you have given to America and the free world.

I also know that history will, with dispassionate analysis, place you in the ranks of not only one of our greatest presidents, but also as one of the world's most important leaders.

Therefore, Mr. President, I simply want to say thank you.

Thank you for the three decades or more which you and Barbara have given to America.

Thank you for your courage in war and your compassion in peace.

Thank you for the grace, dignity and wisdom which you gave to each high office which you held.

May God bless America and may he keep you and Barbara in good health.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Don', followed by a long horizontal line.

DRK:fa



THE PRESIDENT

November 9, 1992

Dear Fred,

Thanks for yours of November 4th. My winning was just not in the cards, but we gave it our best shot. Soon, we will be shifting gears to private life, grandkids, and friends.

Barbara and I are grateful for all your support during this tough political year. With best wishes,

Sincerely,

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Rear Admiral Frederick M. Reeder,
U.S. Navy, Ret.
Post Office Box 2097
Laurel, Mississippi 39440

cc: (ins & out)
Rose Zamaria (lcc)

Rear Admiral Frederick M. Reeder, U.S. Navy (Retired)

P.O. Box 2097
Laurel, Mississippi 39440

November 4, 1992

President George Bush
C/O Mr. Don Rhodes
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Well, you did your very best with class and style, but who wanted to kill Santa Claus? It was the same modus operandi employed by carter but clinton had the enormous advantage of sneaky mitchell's machinations.

You have done more than your share for our Country and now you can with clear conscience haul off and enjoy the rest of your life.

With sincere admiration and best wishes to you and your wonderful wife.

Very respectfully your old friend,



Frederick M. Reeder

FMR:kcm

P.S. Jones County, where we live, went 14,000 for you and about 8,000 for clinton.



THE PRESIDENT

November 9, 1992

Dear Mike,

I have just read your wonderful note and can't begin to tell you how much it means to me. Although winning was just not in the cards, Mrs. Bush and I gave it our best shot.

Soon, we'll be shifting gears to private life and grandkids, but I'll always be grateful for all you have done for me.

With our warmest best wishes,

Sincerely,

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Michael P. Forbes
Regional Administrator
United States Small Business
Administration
26 Federal Plaza
New York, New York 10278

cc: (ins & out)
Rose Zamaria (lcc)



U.S. SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION
NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY, PUERTO RICO
U. S. VIRGIN ISLANDS

MICHAEL P. FORBES
REGIONAL ADMINISTRATOR

November 5

Dear Mr. President,

It has been a tremendous privilege and honor to be part of a Bush administration. Thank you for this opportunity.

You did an excellent job these past four years and there is no doubt history will recognize your leadership, particularly on the Americans With Disabilities Act, the Clean Air Act, Panama and Kuwait. You have done more than any other previous Administration to nurture the small business sector and the

creation of jobs.

I am proud to be recognized since 1979 as a "Bush person" and forever will remember my association with fondness and respect.

May God bless you and Mrs. Bush and the entire family.

Sincerely —
Mike Forbes

Nov 5

Dear Rose

Thanks so much for sending this along to the President. Please accept my warmest regards and very best wishes.

You have been a wonderful resource and tremendous advisor to him and the successes of this Administration are owed to the President and the great members of his team!

Best wishes

Sincerely
Mike Forbes



THE PRESIDENT

November 9, 1992

Dear Victor,

I have just read your wonderful letter and can't begin to tell you how much it means to me. You've lifted up this friend of yours.

My winning was just not in the cards, but we gave it our best shot. Soon, Barbara and I will be shifting gears to private life, grandkids, and friends. We will always be grateful for the support we received from you and Jo Ann.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Victor J. Hancock
2009 Nantucket
Richardson, Texas 75080

cc: (ins & out)
Rose Zamaria (lcc)

*Victor J. Hancock
2009 Nantucket
Richardson, Texas 75080*

November 3, 1992

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

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you Mr. President for all that you have done for our country through the years of service you have provided.

From the days of W.W.II to the culmination of your distinguished career as our great President, you have earned your place in history for the marvelous shaping of world events during your term of office. In the future years of our beloved country the name of President George Bush will be synonymous with greatness. Your singular ability in the field of foreign relations will be the hallmark for the training of future leaders, and the world will point to the ending of the threat of nuclear holocaust as an accomplishment beyond measure.

Future Presidents of our country will have to model their behavior in the face of the threat of armed aggression in the manner that you led your country and the countries of the world against the brutal dictator of Iraq. You exhibited no equivocation and your country and the world rallied around your leadership to prevent yet another Hitler from coming on the world scene.

The changing course of world events resulted in a new economic order for which you have laid the groundwork upon which our country can build and prosper. Little is known of the complexity of this new world economy but much has been feared and yet you have been steadfast in setting the course for others to follow.

Without doubt you have been our most decent President. You have followed God's direction and lived a life of sterling example. Your reward will not have to wait for heavens call; you will feel and hear that well-earned respect even more so now.

For the past twenty six years I have been so very proud to be your friend and to have that ... friendship returned by you in so many kind and thoughtful ways.

Years ago I told you that you would surely be President of the United States. Can you imagine the sense of pride that Jo Ann I have experienced as we saw our friend excell and reach higher and higher office and become our President? It has been a wonderful privilege for our family. And Mr. President there are thousands like us throughout this land.

The speech you gave tonight at 10:15 P.M. was so typical of your magnanimous nature and gave the American people yet another example of your character and ethical standards. You have always been a 'giver' and not a taker. No one has ever been damaged in any way by your leadership or friendship. In all instances you maintained the dignity of the White House and have brought honor to that wonderful institution; for which we all owe you a debt beyond measure.

Tonight I have a mixture of sadness and caring joy as I think about the events of today. There is a sadness that now your countrymen and the world will not have your direct leadership upon which to lean; and there is a caring joy that you will receive a well-earned rest from the countrys' and the worlds' turmoil.

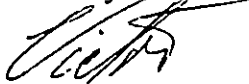
There will be a time in the near future when you will travel to the capitals of the world to receive their highest honors and they will be presented to George Bush the man and the high ideals the man expresses. Then there will be the outpouring of love from all of your fellow citizens after they have had a time to reflect upon your selfless contributions to their welfare.

Many years ago you sponsored this old pilot for a totally new career and you expressed confidence in my ability to others. Some twenty two years later, and now retired, I can provide for my family and my dear wife. That opportunity would not have been realized except for your friendship and recommendation and I shall never forget it.

Thank you again and again Mr. President for all you have accomplished for your country and the world. Our thanks are without measure and our love unbounded.

Please give Barbara our love and our congratulations for being the quintessential First Lady.

God bless you sir.



Victor J. Hancock



THE PRESIDENT

November 9, 1992

Dear Peter,

Thanks so much for your letter of November 5. Barbara and I appreciate your kind words and all your support in this tough political year. Soon, we will be shifting gears to private life and are looking forward to having more time with family and friends.

Good luck in all your future endeavors. Barbara joins me in sending you our warmest best wishes,

Sincerely,

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Peter LeBlond
Chiquita Brands Company,
North America
275 Wyman Street
Waltham, Massachusetts 02154

cc: (ins & ent)
Rose Zamaria (lcc)



Thank
you

11.5.92

Dear Mr President.

I am very saddened to know that you will not be leading this country for the next four years. You have been an inspiration to me as has Barbara. The world is a much safer place due to your efforts and I thank you very much. I also thank you for having a brief moment to see me when you pop into town. Because of you I am seriously looking at the prospect of getting into some kind of public service. My friends all tell me that I have a concern for people and that people relate to me very well. What a career you have had Mr. President. I can't express my gratitude to you Sir - Thank you again, I know our paths will cross again. All my best to Barbara & The kids. The 2 of you have always spoken from your heart.

Warmest wishes,

Chiquita Brands Company, North America
275 Wyman Street, Waltham, MA 02154 / (617) 487-0014 / FAX (617) 487-0191 / (800) 243-9555

Peter LeBlond



THE PRESIDENT

November 9, 1992

Dear Jim,

Thanks for your letter of October 20 and for sharing the story about President Truman with me. My winning was just not in the cards, but we gave it our best shot.

Barbara and I will be shifting gears soon and will be ready for private life and grandkids. We appreciate your support and good wishes.

All my best,

Sincerely,

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. James D. Cahill III
J.D. Cahill Company, Incorporated
Hampton, New Hampshire 03842

cc: (ins & out)
Rose Zamaria (lcc)

J.D. CAHILL CO., INC.

ESTABLISHED 1939

HAMPTON, NEW HAMPSHIRE 03842 · TELEPHONE 603 926-3391 · FAX 603 926-1347

October 20, 1992

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

R2
Just thank
him!

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your letter of October 12. I enjoyed my service on the New Hampshire Railroad Appeals Board, and it was very thoughtful of you to write to me about it. Your kind words are very much appreciated.

A local New Hampshire politician (who should remain nameless but whose identity Governor Sununu could probably guess), who found fault with a decision we had rendered a few years ago, wrote to me once and suggested that the Appeals Board members were basically incompetent. Sensing that this particular gentleman might have had something of an appreciation for political history, I wrote back to him and told him a story about President Truman. You probably know the story. After having gone home at the end of his presidency, Mr. Truman received a letter from an irate baseball fan asking him to use his influence with the manager and try to reverse the team's fortunes on the field. Mr. Truman replied that when he had been the President, everyone had tried to tell him how to do his job, and he hated it, and therefore he wasn't about to give the poor manager the same treatment.

I suppose that Governor Clinton and Mr. Perot have you feeling about the same way these days, and so I thought that the least I could do was to write back to you and offer you my best wishes for success on election day.

We generally stop at Chick's Marina once or twice a summer when we're out sailing. If we are in Kennebunkport next summer when you are, we'll give you a call to see if you can come over and have an end-of-the-day beer with us.

Sincerely,



James D. Cahill III



THE PRESIDENT

November 9, 1992

Dear Mr. Webber,

Ed Lawson passed along your statement and thoughts on the election and I just wanted to thank you for your positive assessment of my administration. Barbara and I are grateful for our four years in the White House and appreciate the opportunities we have had to serve our country.

Soon, we will be shifting gears to private life. Thanks, again, for your kind words.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Jerry Webber
3701 South Peoria Avenue
Tulsa, Oklahoma 74105

cc: Ed Lawson

cc: (ins & out)
Rose Zamaria (lcc)

just in over the
President's per-
sonal fax.

3701 SOUTH PULASKI AVENUE
TULSA, OKLAHOMA 74106
918/463-2222

5421 2000-10-10
74105

THE VIEWS EXPRESSED BY JERRY WEBBER
ARE HIS OWN. THEY ARE NOT NECESSARILY
THE VIEWS OF KIRH-TV, SCRIPTS HOWARD
OR ITS EMPLOYEES.

JERRY WEBBER'S PERSPECTIVE - NOVEMBER 5, 1992



I SUSPECT WHEN THE OUTGOING PRESIDENT AND THE INCOMING PRESIDENT HAVE A FEW MOMENTS TO
STEP AWAY FROM THE SOUND AND FURY OF POLITICS AND REFLECT, THEY MAY BOTH COME TO A SIMILAR
CONCLUSION. THAT THE REAGAN-BUSH SUCCESSIONS IN FOREIGN POLICY MADE IT POSSIBLE FOR BILL
CLINTON TO BECOME PRESIDENT. THERE IS HISTORICAL PRECEDENT FOR THAT THOUGHT. NO LESS THAN
WINSTON CHURCHILL, ENGLAND'S MAGNIFICENT WAR-TIME LEADER WHO HELD TOGETHER HIS "ISLAND
KINGDOM" AS HE CALLED IT WITH HIS PROSE AND HIS PASSION AND HIS WILL THROUGH THE BAD YEARS
OF WORLD WAR II WAS SUMMARILY PUT OUT TO PASTURE WHEN THE FIGHTING ENDED. CHURCHILL'S
CONSERVATIVE PARTY WAS TURNED OUT OF POWER BY THE LABOURITES IN THE 1945 ELECTION AS THOUGHTS
IN GREAT BRITAIN TURNED FROM GUNS TO BREAD AND BUTTER ISSUES. ONE COULD DRAW A PARALLEL
IN THIS COUNTRY. AFTER ALMOST A HALF CENTURY OF COLD WAR, AMERICAN AND THE SOVIET UNION,
TOE TO TOE, EYEBALL TO EYEBALL, AND THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR EVER PRESENT, COMMUNISM
COLLAPSED. THE BERTIN WALL CAME DOWN AND FREEDOM BEGAN TO FLOWER IN EASTERN EUROPE. THEN
CAME THE SMASHING VICTORY IN THE PERSIAN GULF AND SUDDENLY, AMERICA STOOD ALONE AS THE
ONLY TRUE SUPER POWER ON THE FACE OF THE EARTH. SO, THE FOREIGN THREAT WAS GONE AND WITH
IT THE FEAR. AND, AS IN ENGLAND, 47 YEARS BEFORE, AMERICA'S THOUGHTS TURNED FROM GUNS
TO BREAD AND BUTTER ISSUES. OF COURSE, THERE WERE OTHER REASONS FOR THE ELECTION RESULT.
ONE CAN BE SUMMED UP IN THREE WORDS. "LEE ATWATER DIED". AND YES, THAT'S AN OVER SIMPLIFI-
CATION. BUT MAKE NO MISTAKE, THE BUSH CAMPAIGN CLEARLY MISSED HIS GENIUS AT FOCUSING A
CAMPAIGN. BECAUSE LEE ATWATER UNDERSTOOD THE GRASS ROOTS. UNDERSTOOD THEM BETTER PERHAPS
THAN ANY POLITICAL TACTICIAN OF THIS GENERATION. THE CLINTON CAMPAIGN, ON THE OTHER HAND,
HAD THAT FOCUS. ONE MAIN ISSUE... THE ECONOMY. AND IT WAS A BRILLIANTLY RUN CAMPAIGN FROM
START TO FINISH. SMART AND HUNGRY AND IT HAD THE NATIONAL PRESS ON ITS SIDE. PERHAPS VICE-
PRESIDENT QUAYLE PAID THE ULTIMATE TRIBUTE WHEN HE SAID OF THE CLINTON CAMPAIGN, "IF HE
RONS THE COUNTRY AS WELL AS HE HAS HIS CAMPAIGN, WE'LL BE ALRIGHT". AND FINALLY, WHY?
HISTORY IS WRITTEN. IT WILL BE VERY GENEROUS TO THE GEORGE BUSH PRESIDENCY. HE ACCOMPLISHED
MUCH. AND, THERE IS A LASTING NOBILITY TO THE SENSE OF DUTY AND HONOR AND INTEGRITY HE
BROUGHT TO THE JOB WHILE SERVING HIS COUNTRY.

EDWARD C. LAWSON, JR.
2100 PHILTOWER BUILDING
TULSA, OKLAHOMA 74103

Date November 9, 1992

TO: ADDRESSEE Robin MacLean

COMPANY _____

ADDRESS _____

ADDRESSEE'S TELEPHONE NUMBER _____

ADDRESSEE'S FACSIMILE NUMBER 202-456-2397

COMMENTS: Dear Robin:

This tribute to President Bush is certainly one of the nicest

I have read. I am going to contact George W. and see if we

can get something started for some kind of outgoing celebration for

the President.

Ed

FROM: ORIGINATOR Edward C. Lawson, Jr.

COMPANY _____

ADDRESS _____

TELEPHONE NUMBER _____ ROOM NO. _____

NUMBER OF PAGES (INCL. COVER) _____
(please number all pages)

FACSIMILE

NUMBER 918/582-4537

VERIFICATION

NUMBER 918/584-5155

*****PLEASE SEE THAT JERRY WEBBER, NEWS TV ANCHOR IS COMMEDED FOR THIS GREAT TRIBUTE.



THE PRESIDENT

November 9, 1992

Dear Dr. Vaughan,

Thanks so much for your letter of November 3. I really appreciate your thinking of me. Although winning was just not to be, we gave it our best shot.

Barbara and I are grateful for all the wonderful people like you who supported us in this tough election. With best wishes,

Sincerely,

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Elizabeth R. Vaughan, M.D.
2811 Lemmon Avenue East
Suite 202
Dallas, Texas 75204

cc: (ins & out)
Rose Zamaria (lcc)

ELIZABETH R. VAUGHAN, M.D.
OPHTHALMOLOGY

HOURS BY APPOINTMENT
TELEPHONE: (214) 522-6380
ANSWERED 24 HOURS DAILY

2811 LEMMON AVE. E., SUITE 202
DALLAS, TEXAS 75204
FAX: (214) 559-2471

M.D.

Ophthalmology Center
2811 Lemmon Ave. E. • Suite 202
Dallas, Texas 75204
(214) 522-6380 • Fax (214) 559-2471

Tues. Nov. 3, 1992

Dear Pres Bush:

The Lord wants you to know that it is by
the power of His might that you will be re-elected.
Ignore the polls. He has ordained it and He will
arrange it.

With respect and admiration,
Elizabeth R. Vaughan, M.D.



THE PRESIDENT

daily
Nov. 9, 1992

Dear Eugenia,

I was deeply touched by
your note of the 4th, coming as
it did from a friend for whom
Barbara and I feel not only
respect but a true closeness.
It has been a rather

THE WHITE HOUSE

The Honorable Dame Eugenia Charles, D.B.E.
Prime Minister of the Commonwealth
of Dominica
Roseau

P.S. I hope it's not presumptuous
but we want you to be there. ⁶⁻¹³

gloomy week, but now we
are shifting gears - looking
towards our return to private
life in Texas & Maine. I
so hope our paths will cross
in either place.
One of the really nice things
about the last year has been
our meetings together. You have,
of course, my highest esteem, my thanks
& my warmest regards. ⁶⁻¹³

To: P.M. Eugenia Charles
With Warmest Regards From Two of Your Staunchest
Admirers and Two Friends, *Leah and Barbara Bush*

NOV 92



The President



W. L. Moore
Commentary & Review
H. 11. 92

Dear President Bush,

I am taking advantage
of the presence of your
ambassador in Tennessee
to send you this note.

I am waiting at home
so please receive the
information.

I have followed
the campaign and I have
suffered with you while
you got the blame for
global recession.

I would like to advise you
that your friends know
the effort you and Mrs.
Bush have put into
the great task of

leadership which takes
great toll of all of us.

We can't win them
all but you can
take courage in the
fact that you have
acted sincerely and
honestly in the service
not only of your nation
but of all nations.

The emphasis changes
from time to time and
therefore the focus of
outlook also changes.

This is not a fault
that you can take onto
yourself.
Please go on doing
sincerely what you
believe in and may

M. EUGENIA CHARLES

Suzanne

Very sincerely

and parents.
I you, your interest
be eager to have news
and I will always
deal from your friendship
I have gained a great
even again because
I do hope our paths
children.

you and Mrs. B. with
find contentment and
peace of mind in your
relationship with your
lovely children and
especially the grand-
children.



JEB BUSH, CODINA-BUSH GROUP

10-25-92

Dear Patty,

This letter comes from
a New York humorist and
writer Lewis Frunkes. He
is a nice guy... I know little

else about him.

Sincerely

Jeb

any interest

R2 send

yes a 3rd person

reply - nicely

no say "No"

(I hope no)

R2

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. Lewis B. Frumkes
One Gracie Terrace
New York, New York 10028

THE WHITE HOUSE
November 9, 1992

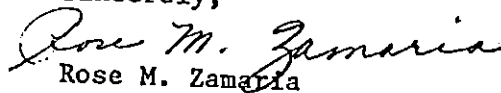
Dear Mr. Frumkes:

Thank you for your letter to the President asking him to contribute words to your book, My Favorite Words. He appreciates your thinking of him but hopes you will understand that he will not be able to accept your offer.

The President wishes you much success with your book and in all your future endeavors.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



Rose M. Zamaria
Deputy Assistant to the President

F R U M K E S .

October 4, 1992

Dear President Bush,

We all have favorite words, words that tickle our ears and please our eyes, words that we seem to use more often than other words. I, for example, am drawn to the words "eggplant" and "kumquat" for some reason, perhaps it has more to do with the shape of the objects, ovoid, than with the sounds of the words - I'm an egg man. Richard Lederer's favorite word is "usher," and Bruce Feirstein's "flotilla." Patty Volk, the author of "ALL IT TAKES," is partial to fuh-drayt, fuh-shimmeled, fuh-cocktuh, fuh-blondget, and fuh-tushed, five words that mean crazy, mixed up, addled, lost and wiped out. Just saying them, she says, and shrugging, makes you feel better.

In any event, I am doing a book for Dell tentatively called "MY FAVORITE WORDS" in which prominent writers, educators, celebrities, share their favorite words with readers in the hopes that not only will this prove interesting, and amusing, but also that it may encourage readers to more carefully examine the words they choose to communicate with their fellows. Perhaps they will even find new words to use and cherish after reading "MY FAVORITE WORDS."

All of this is by way of inviting you to contribute your favorite words to the book, (as little as a paragraph or as much as a page telling what the words are and why you love them) for which I will be most grateful. You will be properly credited in the book, and I shall follow the lead of Jack Hitt, who not only thanked contributors to his wonderful book "IN A WORD" but made a suitable contribution to a worthy literacy organization in the name of the hundred or so contributors.

Here comes the legal part.

"For the use of your words in my new book to be published by Dell Books, and in exchange for my donation to a literacy campaign, you the undersigned agree to grant me, Lewis Frumkes, the copyright to your word or words for the purposes of this book, its future editions, and its promotion. Otherwise, the copyright reverts to you. Second, I, Lewis Frumkes, warrant that your name shall always be associated with your word or words with the possible exception of promotion."

When you send me your word, or words, (please try to do this if humanly possible within 37 days) kindly sign this page of the letter and send it back; the page with both our signatures will serve as a contract. Thanks.

Yours,


Lewis Frumkes

Name

Date



News Summary

OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1992
6:00 A.M. EST EDITION

NATIONAL NEWS

DOLE URGES PROBE OF WALSH OVER 'POLITICS' -- Sen. Dole Sunday called for an investigation of Iran-Contra prosecutor Lawrence Walsh and said President Bush should consider pardoning all defendants in the scandal. (Washington Post, Washington Times)

CABINET DISPUTE DERAILS PLAN FOR STRICTER FOOD LABELING -- A dispute between two Cabinet officials over what information should appear on food labels has turned into an "unmitigated disaster" and likely will have to be resolved by President Bush, a senior Administration official said Sunday. (Washington Post)

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

E.C. TO SEEK NEW TALKS ON U.S. TRADE DISPUTE -- E.C. foreign ministers are likely Monday to urge prompt new talks with the U.S. to avert a trade war, but the E.C. is divided on when to start threatening tough action against Washington. (Reuter, USA Today)

PEACE-TALKERS SEE REASONS TO PUSH AHEAD -- Mideast peace talks resume in Washington today with the Bush Administration trying to keep the momentum going. (USA Today)

NETWORK NEWS (Sunday evening)

IRAN-CONTRA -- Republicans have long accused the Iran-Contra prosecution of being on a witch hunt. Sen. Dole today called for the Justice Department to investigate the Iran-Contra prosecution.

FOOD LABELING -- The Bush Administration will miss the deadline Monday for changing nutrition labels on all food sold in the U.S. because the Ag. Dpt. and FDA cannot agree on what the labels should look like.

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NATIONAL NEWS

CABINET DISPUTE DERAILS PLAN FOR STRICTER FOOD LABELING

A dispute between two Cabinet officials over what information should appear on food labels has turned into an "unmitigated disaster" and likely will have to be resolved by President Bush, a senior Administration official said Sunday.

As a result, the timetable for giving consumers more health and nutrition information on almost 700,000 food products has been thrown into uncertainty.

More than 4,000 pages of rules that were to have been issued Monday, requiring that manufacturers comply within nine months, have been put on hold after Secretaries Sullivan and Madigan failed to reach a compromise about aspects of the final regulations.

Instead, an earlier version of the regulations -- even less palatable to industry -- will go into effect Monday, mandating that food manufacturers change all their labels within six months.

Food industry officials sought to weaken the final regulations at the last minute. That, along with the Cabinet secretaries' disagreement, mainly over the labeling of that fat content of meat, has caused the White House to back away from approval, said an anonymous Administration official.

(Carole Sugarman, Washington Post, A1)

DOLE URGES PROBE OF WALSH OVER 'POLITICS'

Sen. Dole Sunday called for an investigation of Iran-Contra prosecutor Lawrence Walsh and said President Bush should consider pardoning all defendants in the scandal.

Dole called Walsh's office a "hot-bed of Democratic activist lawyers." A special prosecutor from the Justice Department should be brought in to determine "whether or not politics played any part" in a new indictment of Casper Weinberger issued the week before the election," Dole said on "Face the Nation."

Walsh, in an interview Sunday, denied that there had been any communication on the new Weinberger charge between "me or my office with anyone" in advance of the indictment, except for an interagency group of intelligence experts from the Bush Administration.

Dole said Bush should consider pardons for all Iran-Contra defendants, not just Weinberger, because "if you're going to do one, you do them all."

But Sen. Simpson cautioned against presidential pardons for figures in the Iran-contra affair in the remaining 11 weeks of the Bush Administration.

"I'd be very careful of that," Sen. Simpson said on "Meet the Press." He did not elaborate on his view, and when asked whether that meant he thought a pardon would be a mistake, he said: "I'm not saying that. I think he ought to be very, very careful."

(AP, Washington Post, A10)

Dole Asks For Probe Of Walsh

Sen. Dole called Sunday for a Justice Department investigation of special prosecutor Lawrence Walsh's office and urged President Bush to pardon everyone implicated in the Iran-Contra affair.

Sen. Mitchell, appearing on "Face the Nation," said pardoning those involved in the Iran-Contra affair "would be a serious mistake" for the President to make.

"Given the fact that President Bush's statements on his own participation have changed...over the past several years, I fear for his sake that it would look like the pardons were intended to prevent any further exploration of his participation," Mitchell said.

(Carleton Bryant, Washington Times, A1)

BUSH SEEMS UNSURE ABOUT HIS PLANS

When President Bush last chatted with architects about his proposed presidential library in College Station, Tex., the premise was that archive would open at the end of his second term, in late 1996.

"We may want to speed that up," Perry Atkinson, the executive director of the library project, said Saturday.

Bush leaves office in 73 days. But to where, and for what, apparently is a mystery, even to him. Aides and friends say he has no firm plans for retirement beyond getting "very active in the grandchild business and in finding ways to help people," as he told a Houston crowd Tuesday evening in his concession speech.

It is not that Bush does not feel the need to plan, associates say, but rather that he was so focused on his campaign -- and so stubbornly resistant to the prospect of defeat -- that he did not devote much thought to his options.

(Michael Wines, New York Times, A15)

FINAL CUT

Heritage Foundation president Feulner was not amused upon reading in this column Friday that members of his staff paraded a replica of George Bush's head on a serving platter before an audience of young conservatives. Feulner immediately sent a letter of apology to President Bush. Two members of the Heritage staff -- Betsy Hart and Ed Hudgins -- were fired over the incident.

("Inside the Beltway," Washington Post, A6)

BAKER WILL STAY AWHILE IN CAPITAL, ASSOCIATES SAY

...James Baker will remain in Washington for at least two years, associates say.

He is considered likely to join a Washington law firm with Texas connections a la Robert Strauss.

Associates said Baker's decision to remain in Washington was based on the wishes of his daughter, Mary Bonner Baker, to finish high school here.

("Talking Points," Washington Post, A19)

**THRIFT SUPERVISION CHIEF TO DEPART NEXT MONTH
More Than 700 S&Ls Taken Over During Ryan's Tenure;
Perhaps 110 Others Seen Still Shaky**

Tim Ryan, who in the past three years has presided over the federal takeover of more than 700 failed S&Ls, will leave his post next month, he said.

Ryan is expected to announce his resignation as director of the federal Office of Thrift Supervision at a meeting today of S&L executives in San Diego.

In a letter to President Bush, Ryan called the S&L cleanup "a success story which demonstrates that government can work."

(Susan Schmidt, Washington Post, A19)

CAPITAL GAINS

Congress next year could cut the capital gains tax -- President Bush's fondest tax wish, says Sen. Moynihan. He said on CNN the cut would be part of an overall economic program in the Clinton administration. He said a cut to 15% from the current 28% could be tied to raising taxes on people making more than \$100,000.

("Capital Line," USA Today, 4A)

CLINTON SETS ECONOMIC SUMMIT

Reassuring Business, Discussing Council Among Objectives

LITTLE ROCK -- President-elect Clinton will convene an economic summit of business leaders and experts soon here to discuss economic policy and his proposal for a White House economic security council, his top transition advisers said Sunday.

The economic summit, while "still very much in the planning stage," according to transition director Warren Christopher, is meant to signal Clinton's resolve to move quickly on economic policy and too reach out to reassure the business community.

(Al Kamen, Washington Post, A1)

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INTERNATIONAL NEWS

E.C. TO SEEK NEW TALKS ON U.S. TRADE DISPUTE

BRUSSELS -- E.C. foreign ministers are likely Monday to urge prompt new talks with the U.S. to avert a trade war, but the E.C. is divided on when to start threatening tough action against Washington.

London's Sunday Times quoted European Commission President Delors as saying: "I am in favor of sanctions to emphasize that we are on a firm line."

The E.C.'s chief negotiator in the trade talks, External Relations Commissioner Frans Andriessen, appeared to suggest that Delors' own views were out of tune with the E.C. position.

"What mustn't happen is that the president's opinion becomes decisive," Andriessen told Dutch NOS TV. (Stephen Nisbet, Reuter)

Europeans Try To Avert A Trade War

Europe appeared to blink over the weekend in its trade dispute with the U.S....

E.C. diplomats told Reuters they'll reject a French request for a list of U.S. products that could be hit with tariffs, in retaliation for U.S. plans.

Carla Hills said her office is set to resume talks. But Secretary Madigan sees difficulty ahead:

"I must have an honorable deal, a responsible deal, and a deal that is going to be perceived as being fair...and we are not anywhere near that." (Mark Memmott and Beth Belton, USA Today, 1A)

CLINTON FOCUSES ON NEW ADMINISTRATION, DEFERS TO BUSH ON TRADE WAR

LITTLE ROCK -- President-elect Clinton, returning to the talks of building his administration after a weekend break, is staying out of President Bush's way on a trade war with Europe and pardons in the Iran-Contra scandal.

"I just don't think I should say much right now," Clinton said Sunday after Sen. Dole joined other Republicans in calling on Bush for pardons for Casper Weinberger and other defendants in the case.

"These decisions have to be made," Clinton added, shrugging off questions about pardons in the Iran-Contra arms-for-hostages scandal and Bush's plans to impose punitive tariffs on French wines and other exports.

(Terence Hunt, AP)

IRAQ INSPECTION

Iraqi nuclear experts refused to release a list of foreign companies that helped build Saddam Hussein's nuclear weapons program, a U.N. official said. "They are trying to hide the information," Dimitri Pericos, a leader of a U.N. team said after meeting with the Iraqi officials. ("Capital Line," USA Today, 4A)

PEACE-TALKERS SEE REASONS TO PUSH AHEAD

Mideast peace talks resume in Washington today with the Bush Administration trying to keep the momentum going.

And despite the conventional wisdom that all sides will merely tread water over the next 10 weeks, there's still hope of a breakthrough agreement before Bill Clinton takes office on Jan. 20.

President Bush may be aided in his drive by domestic pressure to move quickly in Israel and the Arab countries.

"All of the parties are concerned about a hiatus that would lead to greater difficulty in moving forward when the Clinton administration takes office," says Martin Indyk, director of the Washington Institute for Near East policy.

(Johanna Neuman, USA Today, 4A)

U.S. SEEN AS BEING UNDER PRESSURE TO LIFT EMBARGO ON VIETNAM

HANOI -- The resumption of Japanese aid to Vietnam after a 14-year hiatus is putting pressure on the U.S. to lift its economic embargo against this country, according to diplomats and government officials here. While the embargo once served to isolate a belligerent Vietnam that was seen as a threat to its neighbors, today it is the U.S. that is isolated in trying to maintain economic sanctions against a country that now counts many former adversaries among its leading trade and investment partners, the sources said. "The embargo is dead," a European ambassador said. "It's just a question of weeks or months" until it is formally lifted, he said. The Japanese action notwithstanding, "the embargo itself has been a bit of a farce for a very long time now," said the envoy of a country closely allied with the U.S. Various consumer products are available, and some U.S. firms have managed to set up shop here through subsidiaries incorporated in other countries.

(William Branigin, Washington Post, A14)

ALL MIAS LONG DEAD, SAY U.S. SEARCHERS

HANOI -- American experts searching here for clues of missing U.S. soldiers say the sad but true story is that servicemen described for years by the media and some senior officials in Washington as missing actually died in the war.

These experts, most of them military men involved in exhaustive investigations here since 1988, say they are fed up with rumors about some still being held prisoner. "The sad thing about this issue is that when you look at it really closely, you realize there's nothing there. It's a nonissue," one U.S. government expert said of the claim that prisoners exist. "Everyone who has been working on this issue for a long time knows these men are dead, but we can't say that," an anonymous American official said.

U.S. experts says some family members in the U.S., who have formed a vocal lobby, refuse to believe credible accounts of how their men died. Investigators say they are encouraged by what they consider Washington's new, more rational approach to the issue - to talk more openly about the years of research and investigations that have been undertaken to find out what happened to missing men.

(Kathleen Callo, Washington Times, A1)

PACIFIC ISLANDERS SEEK NUCLEAR CLEANUP AID

MAJURO, Marshall Islands -- A delegation of eight Pacific islanders left for Vienna Monday to seek international help in cleaning up nuclear debris left over from years of nuclear tests on Bikini Atoll.

"We're seeking technical assistance in any form for the cleanup of Bikini Atoll, "Bikini spokesman Jack Niedenthal said in Majuro.

The delegation plans to ask the IAEA to help establish a lab on Bikini staffed by scientists independent of the U.S. government to monitor the health of islanders preparing to return home.

"We want the IAEA to review U.S. government data about Bikini's safety and to help us with the plans for a laboratory," said Niedenthal, an American working for the Bikini island council.

(Giff Johnson, Reuter)

VISA LOOPHOLE SEEN COSTING U.S. WORKERS COMPUTER JOBS

A loophole in U.S. immigration laws is allowing thousands of foreign computer programmers and analysts to enter the U.S. each year on temporary business visas, enabling them to take jobs from American workers, according to industry and government officials.

"We are being crushed by this," said James Schneider, a spokesman for the National Association of Computer Consultant Businesses (NACCB), a trade group representing 130 companies and about 10,000 workers. "This practice can't validly occur, and yet no one can figure out why it is still going on."

The problem, according to State Department officials, is that a longstanding practice aimed at easing bureaucratic obstacles for short business trips is being abused by foreign companies -- often called "job shops" -- to bring technicians into this country. And the situation is not limited to the computer industry, officials said.

(Al Kamen, Washington Post, A1)

-End of A-Section-

NETWORK NEWS

(Sunday evening, Nov. 8; CBS and NBC news were pre-empted by football coverage.)

IRAN-CONTRA/PARDONS

ABC's Forrest Sawyer: The Bush Administration continues to struggle with its own legal problems -- none more bothersome than the Iran-Contra affair. The special prosecutor has pursued the case for years, and now some Republicans are saying it is time to turn the tables.

ABC's Ann Compton: President Bush and his Republican defenders have long accused the Iran-Contra prosecution of being a political witch hunt. Today, Sen. Dole called for the Justice Department to investigate, especially since prosecutor James Brosnahan gave a campaign contribution to Bill Clinton.

(TV coverage: President and Mrs. Bush leaving Marine One.)

(Dole: "It's about time somebody investigated Lawrence Walsh and the people who work for Lawrence Walsh and their politics.")

Republican anger at the special prosecutor's team intensified the weekend before the election, when Casper Weinberger was indicted a second time. It was just as President Bush was climbing in the polls. Some White House aides are now suggesting that the President grant pardons to Weinberger and the other Iran-Contra figures. Democrats are already crying foul at that suggestion.

(TV coverage: President Bush speaking on whistle-stop tour.)

(Sen. Mitchell: "The Iran-Contra affair was an abuse of power. It would be an abuse of power for the President to issue these pardons now, and I think it would therefore compound the original problem.")

President Bush himself has never mentioned the idea of pardons, at least publicly. He has 11 more weeks in the Oval Office to decide.

(ABC-4)

KENNEBUNKPORT REACTION

Sawyer: All this week, we've been hearing a lot about Little Rock, Arkansas, where the president-elect lives now, and the town of Hope, where he grew up. Those communities are learning just how bright the spotlight of a national media can be. We asked Walter Rodgers to visit a community that's begun thinking about life after the bright lights turn off -- the village of Kennebunkport, Maine.

ABC's Walter Rodgers reports that for most of the past 68 summers, Kennebunkport more than anywhere else has been home for Bush. "It would just kill me if I couldn't come here," he once said. It was on Walker's Point in the summer of 1926 that Bush learned to walk.

(TV coverage: Black-and-white film showing Bush learning to walk.)

(President Bush, 1988: "A lot of our roots are here. Part of what I really am is here. And I want Kennebunkport to retain its magic.")

A cottage industry of Bush souvenirs will go the way of Plains peanuts paraphernalia. Though voters spurn their presidents, neighbors don't forget neighbors.

-more-

Rodgers continues:

(Howie Noyes: "Well, he's not rejected here and I won't reject him. He's my president. I love him.")

(Susan West: "We kind of like the fact that he's just a regular citizen -- see him out jogging, carrying his grandkids around, running around town. We love him.")

The President's popularity enabled him to carry Kennebunkport, though by a slimmer margin than four years ago. Like everywhere else, the recession has hit hard.

(Wanda White: "I think his government helped people with more money in the bank and in their pockets, than the people with very little.")

Lobstermen offer a different view of life than those picture postcards of Bush on vacation.

(Michael Day: "There was no real recession, per se, as far as he was concerned. And I think people consider him losing touch.")

Among these people, the right to be left alone is sacred. There are those glad to be rid of Bush's entourage.

(Jim Nadeau: "We won't have to put up with the Secret Service and the Coast Guard. That's what we don't -- you know. When he was here, oftentimes you'd give up a day fishing in that area just not to have them board you and [inaudible] see if you're carrying cannons and everything else on you, you know. Maybe the chicken farmers in Arkansas are going to have the Coast Guard. That's a good place for the Coast Guard, actually.")

So here, they're having a good laugh at what's in store for Arkansas: the traffic jams and protesters. Kennebunkport may have lost its president, but it's regained its privacy. And that's something even George Bush can look forward to when he comes back as a private citizen.

(ABC-13)

FOOD LABELING

Sawyer reports the Bush Administration will miss the deadline Monday for changing nutrition labels on all food sold in the U.S. The Agriculture Department and FDA cannot agree on what the labels should look like. Now, Bush has to step in. Even if he breaks the impasse soon, it will be six months or longer before foods carry new labels giving shoppers more guidance in choosing healthy foods.

(ABC-10)

CLINTON TRANSITION

Sawyer: President-elect Clinton enjoyed the afterglow of victory in Little Rock today, preparing for a year in which he says there will be a world of work to be done. Mr. Clinton will soon summon business leaders and economists to Little Rock to advise him on the economy. In the meantime, his transition team is already moving full speed ahead.

(ABC-Lead)

-end of B-Section-

ABC -- THIS WEEK WITH DAVID BRINKLEY

Moderator: David Brinkley. **Panel:** George Will, Sam Donaldson.
Guests: Vernon Jordan, Rep. Foley, Robert Reich of the Clinton campaign.

On the trade conflict: With Reich.

Donaldson: Do you think the present outgoing Administration is on the right track in its face-off with the European Common Market over agriculture?

Reich: I think that the current Administration is trying to do two things at the same time. It has the Uruguay Round, which has stalled. It has the GATT, which is going nowhere. It's making a little bit of progress with regard to NAFTA. But it has to build up, and any new administration also has to build up a multilateral trading system that is not a little bit frayed.

Donaldson: Do you think we'll actually have a trade war?

Reich: ...Every advanced nation has a tremendous stake in avoiding a trade war, and that's why I don't believe it will happen. Again, take my predictions, please, for what they're worth.... I'm not speaking for the nascent Clinton Administration.

On the trade conflict: With Foley.

Donaldson: Do you think there will be [a trade war], and do you think the Administration is correct in taking a very tough stand?

Foley: I don't want to argue with a tough stand. It is sometimes necessary for these issues to come to the point of crisis before they're resolved, but I certainly agree with Prof. Reich that it would be a tragedy if Europe and the United States and Japan begin a process of a trade war. That benefits no one. It would seriously diminish the chance of recovery in the rest of the economy, and it simply has to be avoided.

On the transition: With Jordan.

Donaldson: There is talk in this town now that President Bush ought to pardon -- in advance, of course -- people who are either indicted, may be indicted, have been convicted in this so-called Iran-Contra scandal. Do you think that that's a good idea?

Jordan: I have no judgment on that, Sam.... First of all, I think that George Bush is president. It's a decision that he has to make, and he's still president, as Bill Clinton said the other day.

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NBC -- MEET THE PRESS

Moderator: Tim Russert. **Panel:** R.W. Apple, Andrea Mitchell.
Guests: Vernon Jordan, Rep. Michel, Sen. Simpson.

On the transition: With Jordan.

Russert: ...Jim Baker...has gotten high marks for his performance working in the Middle East. Is there a possibility he might be asked to continue as a special envoy for that region?

Jordan: I would think that the Clinton Administration would seek advice and counsel in this transition process and subsequent to the transition in the process of governance from any persons who have expertise and knowledge and experience in any area of government, be it domestic or foreign. And I do not exclude Jim Baker from that process.

On the transition: With Simpson.

Russert: Have you spoken to President Bush since his defeat?

Simpson: I did, election night.... [My wife] and I spoke to him and Barbara and said we were very proud of him; it was a great honor to serve with him; and we wished him well. And he said in a sense he did it his way and that he hoped he hadn't let anyone down. I hope he won't be hard on himself. He's a very decent and splendid man....

Russert: ...Did the President raise Iran-Contra with you in your phone call?

Simpson: No. But I personally think that was one of the cheapest shots of the whole campaign. In fact, the whole thing with regard to Cap Weinberger is a travesty....

Russert: Do you think that revelation hurt the President?

Simpson: Yes, yes, I do.... It raised the issue of trust, and Bush was carrying that beautifully to that point.

Russert: Do you think the President should consider granting pardons to people involved in the Iran-Contra situation?

Simpson: I'd be very careful of that. I think that certainly he wants to review whether this new reindictment has any credence at all. I don't think it does. I think it was a political gimmick, and if you look at the press release that came out of the Clinton campaign, it came out the night before the release of the information. That ought to give somebody an indication that there was some steorage behind it.

Mitchell: ...Republicans like Specter, D'Amato, Packwood ran away from George Bush and, in fact, put commercials on television talking about how much they shared values and views with Bill Clinton?... Didn't it hurt George Bush?

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Simpson: I think probably George Bush was disappointed in that, but George Bush is a man that holds no grudges. You're going to see a very generous and decent man who's going to work very hard to see that this administration works....

Apple: ...I think most people, even journalists, saw a George Bush they didn't recognize for much of the campaign.... What happened in that last debate and in the weeks after it?

Simpson: He's a man that does follow his own star and his inner gyroscope. There were many of us who've said, "Why don't you do this? Why don't you do that?" I became concerned out of friendship where I just laid it on the line. I said, "I'm going to risk my friendship. Here's what I think ought to be done." And he listened attentively and then he does it his way. He took a lot of counsel. He took a lot of flack. And I think the part that he never liked was the staged event where he would have to present himself in this way. He did a few of those and they were bruisers, like buying socks. Those are no good. -

Apple: There were, as you well know, endless rumors that he was ill, that there was a kind of depression -- if not a clinical depression, some sort of depression -- that had gripped him. Is all of that nonsense?

Simpson: I think it's truly nonsense. That just irritated him to pieces. He'd say, "Boy, what kind of harbingers of doom are these people hanging over there with their vulture claws out over the edge of the corral fence?" He didn't like that and I think it was a bad shot.

POLITICAL DISCUSSION

On the transition: Michael Kramer and Mark Miller join the panel.

Russert: Michael Kramer, you've been a watcher of a gentleman named James Addison Baker III for some time. What happens to Jim Baker?

Kramer: I think we'll still keep watching him. He had an impossible [task] this time obviously, but he'll survive. He's had a very, very good run for a dozen years. The last four have been very good, at least over at the State Department.

Russert: Do you think he wanted to parlay the State Department into the presidency himself in '96 if the President had been reelected?

Kramer: I think that to quote Nelson Rockefeller, "Real success in American politics means only one thing: Everybody wants to be president." It's hard to see him going out now running for an intermediate office or slogging through the snows of New Hampshire. But I think it's all context.

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CBS -- FACE THE NATION

Moderator: Bob Schieffer. **Guests:** Sen. Mitchell, Sen. Dole, Warren Christopher.

On the campaign: With Dole.

Dole: ...One thing we ought to do is to make certain we have a special prosecutor to look into Lawrence Walsh's activity the Friday before the election, because the attorney handling that case contributed \$500 to Bill Clinton. His law firm contributed \$20,000 to Clinton, and it seems to me it was outrageous that they would have this indictment of Weinberger with a note sort of bringing George Bush into the loop the Friday before the election. I think there ought to be an investigation.... I would also hope that President Bush would consider pardons for some of these people, including Cap Weinberger.

Schieffer: ...What about pardons for the other people?

Dole: My view: If you're going to do one, you do them all.

On the campaign: With Mitchell.

Schieffer: Sen. Dole has just leveled a very serious charge, suggested that perhaps the Clinton campaign had something to do or some connection with the indictment of Caspar Weinberger and that story. What's your reaction to that?

Mitchell: There's no evidence to support that, to my knowledge. I think it would be a serious mistake for President Bush to make the kind of blanket pardons that have been suggested. Iran-Contra was an abuse of power. To pardon all of those involved now would itself be an abuse of power, compounding the original problem, and given the fact that President Bush's statements on his own participation have changed and been contradictory over the past several years, I fear for his sake that it would look like the pardons were intended to prevent any further exploration of his participation. So I think the process ought to work its way.

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THE McLAUGHLIN GROUP

Moderator: John McLaughlin. **Panel:** Patrick Buchanan, Eleanor Clift, Jack Germond, Fred Barnes.

On the election:

Clift: ...I also want to say, "Thank you, Pat," for helping push George Bush so far to the right that it made it a lot easier for the Democrats to capture the mandate of the middle class....

Buchanan: ...I was not assigned at that convention to bring home the "log cabin club."... After the primaries were over, Mr. Bush had a majority in the electoral college, Bill Clinton had only Arkansas [inaudible]. That was after all the primaries were over, Bush was way ahead....

McLaughlin: ...Are you absolving yourself of all culpability in what happened to George Bush?

Buchanan: I did not get in the race to advance the political fortunes of George Bush. All I'm saying is that Bush got a wake-up call.... The question is not whether what I said is of any interest at all, it's whether the disconnect was valid. And we were disconnected.... It's no question we hurt Bush in the primaries, but the primaries to me were virtually over by March 1 -- eight months ago.

Barnes: The rap against Pat that his speech at the convention somehow drove all these people away from Bush is nonsense. The problem for Bush at the convention was Bush's own speech. If Bush had given a good speech that was riveting, like his speech in 1988, people would have forgotten about Pat's speech. But Bush didn't do that.

Clift: The campaign didn't turn on a single Bush speech. Pat is right. He doesn't deserve full blame for this.... What he did was make George Bush kowtow to the right more than he needed to. He overcorrected with that convention, which made the Republican Party the party of homophobics and anti-women and everything else.

Buchanan: I think that is the media-bashing of the platform. The platform in 1992 was identical to the platform in '88, '84 and '80 on all the social issues. The media just went bananas.

Germond: ...The truth is George Bush destroyed himself, starting a year ago this week. He didn't understand what was going on with the Wofford election over Thornburgh. When the concern about the economy crystallized, he said, "I'll get back to you in 60 days with the State of the Union." He went up to New Hampshire, everybody's worried about the economy, he's up there with Arnold Schwarzenegger.... Then he goes down, he caves in to [Buchanan].... It was him. It wasn't anybody else.

Clift: He has handled defeat gracefully. I think we ought to give him that.

###

INSIDE WASHINGTON

Moderator: Gordon Peterson. **Panel:** Charles Krauthammer, Carl Rowan, Nina Totenberg, Juan Williams.

On election day:

Krauthammer: ...I see it really as a rejection of a man, George Bush, in the middle of a recession. Very hard campaign for him to run and he ran it badly.... If Kemp or Cheney or Bennett had been running on the Republican side, it would have been a close election....

Williams: ...If you look at the election exit polls, what you find is that Americans who made the least amount of money in American society...voted overwhelmingly for Clinton. So did young people who feel that there's no future for them in this country. Those people went heavily for Bill Clinton because they found that the way George Bush has been handling things, and trickle-down economics, have not brought posterity to them. That's real people suffering in this country, and that's what went against Bush.

Rowan: ...This was a personal defeat for George Bush. How in the world does a man go from 90 percent favorable rating, war hero, and get 39 percent of the vote? He runs a campaign where he puts it on trust, but the people didn't trust him. Here's a guy who first says, "No recession, weak recession."...

Williams: If you look at experience, people who made experience the criteria for which they voted, voted for George Bush. People who were concerned about taxes voted for George Bush.... They trusted Bush in terms of experience, but they wanted change.

Krauthammer: ...It was a rejection of Bush, and that's why I think it was a personal election. It was not an ideological one and it doesn't tell us anything about what's going to happen over the next 10 years or so....

Totenberg: It may be a personal rejection of Bush, but it's also a rejection of an approach to governing.

-end of News Summary-



THE PRESIDENT

November 9, 1992

Dear Bill,

That present that you and the others sent up here is absolutely perfect. I have heard about these tiny gems but never seen one close up.

Please thank all the members for a gift I'll use and treasure.

We are shifting gears, determined to leave this precious White House with dignity and honor, with no rancor in our hearts. Barbara will be in Houston within the week to start looking for houses. I will have an office there; and then I can figure out what to do with the rest of my life. One thing for sure- friends really count.

Please, again, thank all the Breakfasters, telling them that they have given me something that will help me enjoy the rest of my life even more.

Most Sincerely,

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

Mr. William H. Watson
The Breakfast Association
6218 Holly Springs
Houston, Texas 77057

ARTS & LABOR WARRANTY 1YR

GEORGE - THIS STORE
IS OWNED BY YOUR
FRIEND, LARRY POE -
Bill

November 5, 1992

Dear Mr. President:

As the spokesman for the Breakfast Association of Houston, I've been asked to express our deeply felt appreciation for the countless contributions you have made to our country over your many years of public service. We are extremely proud of you!

Now it's time for you to enjoy some of the fruits of your labor and those fruits include quality time for family, and recreation. The Breakfast Club is now a club of grandfathers and when you mentioned in a TV interview that you intend to spend more time in the "grandchild business" we decided to send you something that we grandfathers have found handy to use with our grandchildren and our recreational pursuits.

This tiny TV camera can be attached to a comfortable strap around your neck and can serve as an instant "notebook record" of "grandchild visits and recreational pursuits." It's been our grandfather experience that the moments captured and preserved in this manner have proved to be priceless treasures.

Thanks again for all you have done for our country, and for your many courtesies to the Breakfast Association.

With much respect,

Bill Watson

For Breakfast Association of Houston

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN--
THE COST OF THIS GIFT HAS
BEEN SUBSCRIBED TO BY
THE 120 MEMBERS OF OUR
ASSOCIATION. 10⁰⁰-EACH-

BREAKFAST-1952-

J. H. Dalton 11-5-92

WORK

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THE PRESIDENT

File

November 9, 1992

Dear Bill,

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Please, again, thank all the Breakfasters, telling them that they have given me something that will help me enjoy the rest of my life even more.

Most Sincerely,

George Bush

Attach Presidential
pen.

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (lcc)

Mr. Alan Hall
Bill Harbert International
Construction, Incorporated
Post Office Box 360307
Birmingham, Alabama 35236



THE PRESIDENT

November 9, 1992

Dear Alan,

Thanks so much for your kind letter of November 4. Barbara and I are grateful for all you have done for us in this tough political year. Although winning was just not in the cards, we gave it our best shot.

I'm delighted to send you this Presidential pen. It comes with my sincere appreciation for your continued support.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "Bill Clinton", written over the word "Sincerely,".

BILL HARBERT INTERNATIONAL CONSTRUCTION, INC.

**P.O. Box 360307
Birmingham, Alabama 35236
Telephone (205) 987-2100
Telecopier (205) 987-2105**

November 4, 1992

Mrs. Rose M. Zamaria
Deputy Assistant to the President
and Director of White House Operations
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC. 20500

Dear Mrs. Zamaria:

I am a loyal supporter of President Bush and would appreciate if you would pass the enclosed letter to him.

Thank you for your assistance.

Regards,



Alan Hall

BILL HARBERT INTERNATIONAL CONSTRUCTION, INC.

P.O. Box 360307
Birmingham, Alabama 35236
Telephone (205) 987-2100
Telecopier (205) 987-2105

November 4, 1992

The Honorable George H. W. Bush
Office of the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

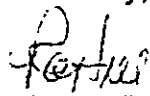
Dear President Bush:

I am devastated by the outcome of the election on November 3rd. In addition to providing financial support to your campaign, I was working as a volunteer in the Alabama Headquarters of the Bush - Quayle '92 Committee. If only more people in this country felt like those of us here in Alabama you would have been victorious. Let me extend my personal thanks for the job you've done in building a stronger, safer, and freer America. There is no doubt that history will regard you as one of our country's truly great leaders. One of the things you did during your Presidency that I will never forget is the way you elevated the spirit of the entire nation by leading us to victory in Desert Storm.

I have been a member of the President's Club in the Republican National Committee since its beginning in 1981. I would appreciate if you would send me a Presidential Pen to save as a memento of your term as President. I realize the pens are probably only given at official signing ceremonies but since I've been a loyal supporter since 1979 when I first worked for your primary campaign while at college I hope you'll make an exception.

My prayers and best wishes are with you and your family.

Sincerely,


Alan Hall

From the desk of

George Bush

Ross

R2

send over to
state I read
he has gone back

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daily
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THE PRESIDENT

Nov. 9, 1992

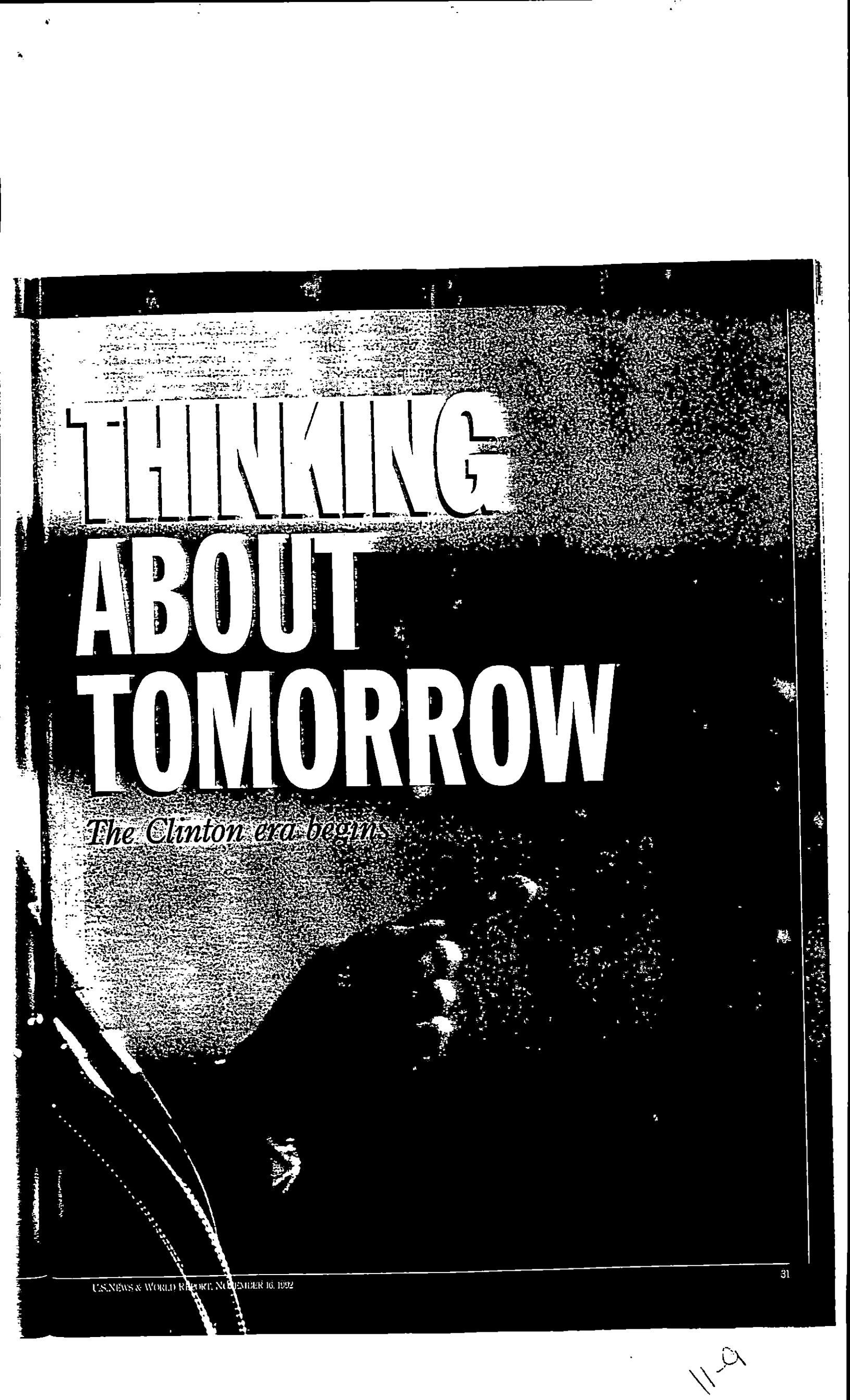
Dear Dennis,

Time marches on; but before
it marches on much further I
want to thank you for coming over
here to do so much ^{productive} work on
the campaign. The blame game is

THE WHITE HOUSE

The Honorable Dennis B. Ross

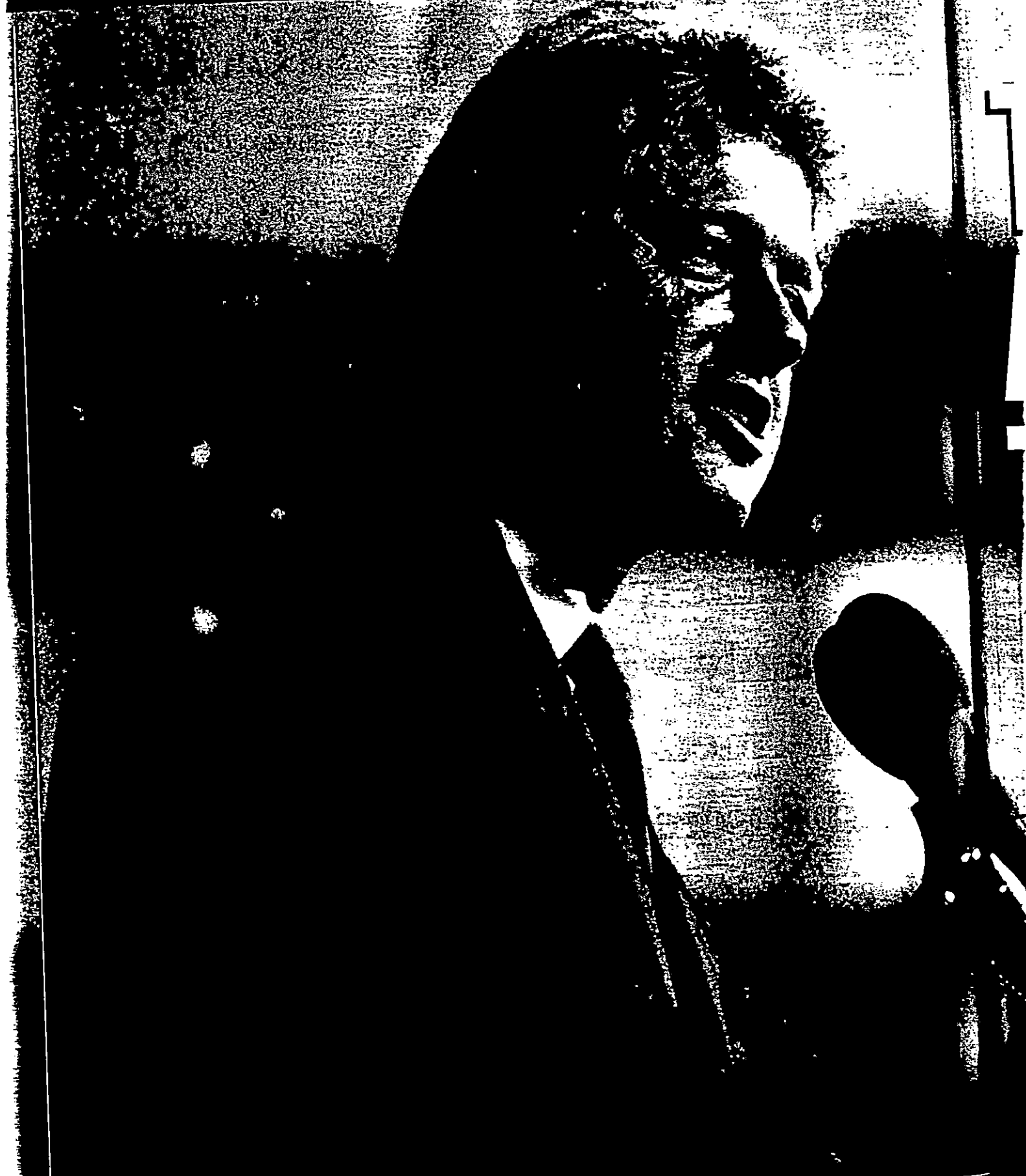
undemocratic and to hate it; but
no one, even the worst of the
negativists, can do anything but
sing your praises. I am grateful
for your campaign help; but much
more grateful for all you've done
for world peace over the last
four years. History will record your
key role in a most favorable light.
Thanks so very much for all of it
Sincerely. C. T. B.



THINKING ABOUT TOMORROW

The Clinton era begins

★ SPECIAL REPORT



★ THE CLINTON AGENDA

Just when America thought the campaign was over, Bill Clinton is bringing it back. One of his principal tenets is that politicking and governing are inseparable. And as he plans his transition to power, Clinton's perpetual campaign will start anew with a blaze of town meetings, press conferences, high-profile schmoozing sessions with new members of Congress, media

interviews—even another bus trip to portray the president-elect as a man in touch with America. Aides predict he will continue to make the rounds of television call-in shows, and might even host a few such question-and-answer sessions once he enters the White House.

This permanent campaign has been a hallmark of Clinton's style as governor. He even mounted a television-ad campaign to promote education reforms and other pet projects in the mid-1980s—funded by private contributions solicited by the governor and his staff. At the start of his presidency, that could happen again as he stumps for his evolving economic-recovery plan.

But Clinton's perpetual campaign has

a larger purpose. He knows he has more to prove than just his commitment to specific policy goals: In effect, he's on probation. The president-elect and his spin doctors argue that his victory with 370 electoral votes, against George Bush's 168, represents a mandate. It is no such thing. Nearly 6 out of 10 voters preferred Bush or Ross Perot to Clinton—at 46 the third-youngest man to win the presidency after Theodore Roosevelt and Kennedy. One poll found that 52 percent of those who voted for Clinton still harbor serious concerns about his capacity to handle the job.

Clinton's party also has a lot to prove. The Democrats fended off a big anti-incumbent tide, picking up perhaps one seat in the Senate while suffering a slight loss of nine in the House (story, Page 64). With the addition of 21 minority members and 23 women, Congress is likely to be a more liberal place in 1993. But Democrats need to demonstrate that they are not the "tax and spend" crowd, beholden to multitudes of special pleaders, whom the Republicans love to deride.

Clinton hopes to establish his bona fides as a "new" Democrat—and allay these concerns—early. He wants to maintain the gestalt of a campaign even as he begins to lay out his legislative agenda. His aggressive image-making style was clear throughout his lengthy bid for the White House. On the Thursday morning after the New York primary, for instance, Clinton sat in a hotel room and sulked. "Dammit," he stormed. "We won that primary, and they took it away from us." The big news story, he complained, was not his

**CLINTON
KNOWS HE HAS
MORE TO PROVE
THAN JUST HIS
COMMITMENT
TO PROGRAMS.**

DAVID BURNETT—CONTACT FOR US/NEWS



Permanent campaign. The Clintons and the Gores plan a virtual nonstop barnstorming effort to win passage of their initiatives.

★ THE CLINTON AGENDA

victory but exit polls showing that 55 percent of the voters believed Clinton was untrustworthy. He decided that correcting this impression would be his No. 1 priority. "From now on," he said, "we run for the exit polls." His objective, he said, was to erase his "slick Willie" reputation and portray himself as a steady, traditional family man. That was the message that clearly came out of the Democratic National Convention, even if it meant downplaying Hillary Clinton's strong views and keeping her in the background. That was also the message in his choice of Sen. Al Gore, a centrist, as his vice presidential running mate. "The whole idea," says a senior Clinton adviser, "was to undercut the you-can't-trust-him critique."

Sensing that the nation needs more reassurance, aides say, Clinton will not

**THERE ARE NO
MORE EXCUSES
FOR INACTION
BY DEMOCRATS
WHO CONTROL
WASHINGTON.**

take long to say no to special interests, such as organized labor, feminists and civil-rights groups. Staffers are still devising ways to do that. One option is to concentrate on the economy and serve notice that the burgeoning wish lists

of party constituencies will have to wait for better times. Under another, more likely scenario, Clinton would pick a fight with a key constituency, much as he did in criticizing rap singer Sister Souljah earlier this year in an effort to demonstrate his independence from Jesse Jackson. Yet Clinton and his advisers, confused by all the decisions being thrust on them so suddenly, have yet to focus on exactly how to deal with the special-interest question.

Ending gridlock. But the biggest condition for Clinton's release from probation will be whether he and congressional Democrats can end Washington's gridlock. "That is the ultimate accountability in our political system," says Stu Eizenstat, domestic policy adviser to President Jimmy Carter and an informal counselor to Clinton. "There are no more excuses for inaction." Carter, in fact, is among many Democrats who have urged Clinton to follow Ronald Reagan's model: Choose a handful of priorities and hammer at them relentlessly. Carter warned Clinton privately not to try "too much, too soon" because that will only dilute his influence. Such overreaching, Carter contended, was a big reason for his own failure in the 1970s.

Clinton and his aides are preoccupied with the economy. "I'm going to focus



Celebration. Clinton turned immediately to transition work the day after he won.

on the economy like a laser beam," he insisted after the election. And almost as important in their grand scheme is working on health-care reform. In order to keep Washington's attention focused on these issues and to avoid distracting fights on lesser topics, Clinton's aides

are pondering ways to keep other constituencies of the Democratic Party placated. They think that won't be too tough for several reasons. For one, Clinton may benefit from quick passage of some legislation that was thwarted by more than a decade of Republican vetoes. Within Clinton's first 100 days, Congress is likely to pass bills guaranteeing family medical leave, appealing

★ THE CLINTON AGENDA



DAVID BURNETT—CONTACT FOR US NEWS

CHARLIE ARCHAMBAULT—US NEWS



to feminists and ensuring campaign-finance reform, gratifying many of the angry Perot supporters by diminishing the role of political action committees.

With the stroke of a pen, Clinton also hopes to keep the pressures from constituencies from exploding. He plans to sign an executive order ending the "gag rule" on abortion counseling and to authorize research into the

High signs. Clinton's upbeat: his staff triumphs (left); his mom soaks it up.

abortion pill. He and aides hope this will forestall a confrontation with feminists over the Freedom of Choice Act—a bill that would codify the Supreme Court's *Roe v. Wade* decision ensuring abortion rights. The bill places no limits on abortion, but would

allow states to impose them if they choose. Clinton, who backs the idea of adult notification of a minor child's abortion, would just as soon avoid the fight.

To enhance his momentum, Clinton is considering other unilateral actions. Vice President-elect Al Gore is particularly interested in pushing political reforms and has strongly backed Clinton's plan to promulgate a new rule forbidding federal officials to lobby their agencies for five years after they leave government. To demonstrate his desire to slash government waste and share in the country's recession-induced austerity, aides say the president-elect may cut the White House staff by up to 25 percent. And he can quickly make nominations to fill 100 vacancies on federal courts, which will give him an opportunity to name a large number of women, blacks and Hispanics and demonstrate a new philosophy that endorses choice on abortion and takes a more tolerant approach to other social issues. Finally, he could end the government's ban on gays in the military.

The big battles. But all that would be designed to clear the way for Clinton to meet crucial self-proclaimed deadlines: an economic program headed for Capitol Hill the day after his inauguration and at least the beginnings of a health-care plan ready within 100 days. Actually, there is little real chance both of those deadlines will be met, given the mechanics of assembling such plans and the sheer complexity of the choices at stake. Moreover, Clinton must craft what amounts to both short-term and long-term policies simultaneously, all the while assembling an economic team that will work out all the details. The magnitude of the task is awesome because, within the first weeks of entering office,

Clinton will have crafted a budget package that contains decisions on a short-term stimulus of the economy, medium- or long-term deficit reduction, the shape and rapidity of the defense build-down in the wake of the cold war and ways to reinvigorate investment.

There are already deep divisions among Clinton's advisers on virtually every front—a harbinger of many internal



Chairman. Jordan's transition role will be pivotal.



Director. Warren Christopher's mandate is to find good innovators.

fight to come. Some Clinton aides say they are not contemplating any short-term stimulus beyond what Clinton proposed last spring: speeding the release of highway money, loosening mortgage requirements and pumping as much as \$20 billion in new public investment into the economy. These aides say there have been some signs of economic improvement, such as renewed bank lending and small-business borrowing, suggesting that the third-quarter pace of economic growth—gross domestic product up by 2.7 percent—may be sustainable after all. In that case, a big stimulus package, such as the \$50 billion scheme proposed by Nobel Prize-winning economists earlier this year, may not be necessary.

But those arguments in favor of a very modest stimulative plan may be a ploy designed to keep bond markets from panicking and prevent long-term interest rates from rising on fears of future inflation. Politically, some congressional liberals argue, it would make sense for Clinton to propose greater stimulus to demonstrate that, unlike Bush, he is doing something serious to relieve the country's pain.

As part of whatever plan he proposes, Clinton is likely to seek an incremental investment tax credit of at least 10 percent to encourage businesses to expand and add new plants and equipment. Some advisers also advocate a small tax credit for firms that ex-

pand employment. And there is likely to be some additional spending on roads, highways, bridges and other forms of infrastructure, but probably nowhere near the \$20 billion annually that Clinton proposed in his early economic blueprint dubbed "Putting People First." Clinton has proposed requiring firms with more than 50 or 100 employees to spend 1.5 percent of their payrolls on worker training, but that proposal hinges on the details of his health-care package, which also would require substantial contributions from companies.

To calm financial markets worried about renewed inflation, Clinton is likely to propose some medium-range deficit reduction. One option is to propose tax hikes on the affluent and spending cuts that would not take effect until 1994 or 1995. Clinton's goal would be to reduce the deficit substantially once the economy has been growing at about 3 percent annually for one to two years.

Yet there can be no long-term deficit-reduction package without long-term health-care reforms. Medicare, for example, is growing 12 percent annually, and Medicaid will grow at a 17.4 percent rate this year, all adding to the deficit. In 1996, when Clinton will be up for reelection, health-care costs are likely to be the single most explosive part of the deficit—unless the government gets them under control. The problem is that Clinton has yet to appoint the advisers who will work all this out, and his health-care plan remains somewhat inchoate. Some Clinton staffers argue that passage of a health-care plan should be timed for the summer of 1994—and the midterm elections—in order to drum up public approval for them. All of this must still be sorted out.

Culture shock. While the policy arguments play out in coming weeks, it is already clear that there will be dramatic change at the White House. Perhaps the most historic is the new, more powerful role sure to be played by the first lady (story, Page 61). Hillary Clinton, a distinguished lawyer in her own right, will begin by specializing in issues that she has long championed, such as education, family leave and other matters affecting children. But her role will inevitably expand because, behind the scenes, Hillary Clinton is her husband's most valued adviser and political partner.

Family friends say the president eventually will give Hillary a formal policy-making role, as he did in Arkansas—such as heading a government

**CLINTON'S
APPOINTMENTS
WILL SHOW HE
WANTS TO BE A
NEW KIND OF
DEMOCRAT.**



Stephanopoulos. An insider



Kantor. Lobbyist under fire

5-9

★ THE CLINTON AGENDA

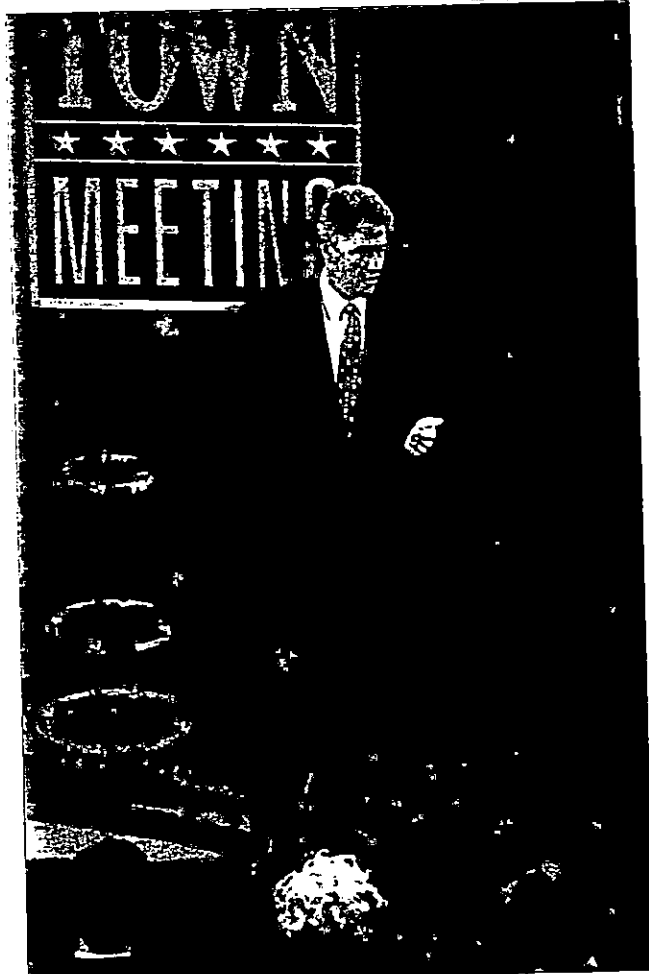
commission on children's issues. In fact, some family friends and feminists would like her to be named White House chief of staff, but that prospect seems remote.

Yet no one doubts that Hillary Clinton will be a key policy maker. The afternoon after Election Day, the weary Clintons took a nap and then, with aides waiting for word on their next steps, talked privately about what Clinton should say in the aftermath of his victory. Their decision was cautious and wise: to immediately reassure the country and governments around the world that the young president would do nothing rash. That afternoon, Clinton, accompanied by Gore, stepped before the cameras to emphasize continuity in foreign policy and declare that Clinton would assemble his governing team prudently and methodically.

No more old boys. Hillary Clinton's prominence will be part of what could be a startling new look in government. Clinton has promised to appoint more women and minorities to key jobs than ever before. And throughout the campaign, he refused to regress into the old-boy network that dominates so much of politics. During pre-debate preparations in early October, Clinton walked into a room full of aides and shook his head unhappily. "Great!" he announced. "Twelve white guys! That's not what this campaign is all about." From then on, political consultant Mandy Grunwald and other women were included in the debate prep and other key decisions.

Clinton's apparent commitment to bringing women into the highest counsels of government is clearly political, aimed at impressing career women, who gave him 51 percent of their vote, compared with Bush's 31 percent and Ross Perot's 18. But the commitment also is generational. "As baby boomers, the Clintons' lives have been much different from those of any other presidential family," says a Clinton associate. "Like so many in their age group, they are accustomed to strong women. It's a natural thing."

Clinton also has yet to establish the



Familiar stage. He plans more town meetings and bus trips.

character of his administration—the values he will try to embody and, as a role model, promote through example. Like most other baby boomers who came of age during the social revolutions of the 1960s and '70s, Clinton's views seem to have shifted over the years on fundamental matters such as the value and meaning of family, marital fidelity, patriotism and the role of government. Potential contradictions abound. As a young man, he avoided the draft, sympathized with anti-Vietnam War protesters who loathed the military and resisted the armed services. Yet in two months, he will be commander

in chief. In his first term as Arkansas governor, he was an arrogant liberal. But after a re-election loss, he spent the next decade moving toward the center. Clinton also had an exceptionally tough time during the campaign explaining the evolution of his belief system. "No one can be sure where this generation's values will come to rest," says a Clinton

adviser, "and Bill Clinton reflects that fluidity."

Clinton has a real talent for learning from others' mistakes and successes, and in some ways he seems to consider Ronald Reagan's White House a model. Certainly, Reagan practiced a version of the perpetual campaign during his first year in office to win passage of his economic program. Not only will Clinton adopt Reagan's strategy of concentrating on a tightly focused agenda he also will emulate Reagan's obsession with symbolism to enhance the image he wanted to project.

To show Clinton's determination to avoid the isolation of the Oval Office, he would like to host private meetings, lunches and dinners with ordinary citizens away from the White House. Aides expect him to order his staff to travel on commercial aircraft rather than government jets wherever possible, to reduce the use of limousines and curtail free parking for federal executives, end government subsidies at the White House mess and cancel free health-club memberships for senior staffers.

In still another bit of symbolism, Clinton plans to meet soon with the 110 new members of Congress—both to gain their support for his economic program and to show he intends to end Washington's gridlock. "He will be as vigorous in courting members of Congress as any president since Lyndon Johnson," says a longtime friend. In Arkansas, Clinton set up a special office outside the doors of the state legislature so he could lobby members in the hall. He also lobbied them late at night on the phone. Clinton is said to think the new members of Congress will be pliable, but he may not be reckoning on the sensitivities of congressional leaders, who are accustomed to operating unencumbered in their own fiefdoms. The barons may not be happy with Clinton's in-your-face style.

Wooing the world. One last plank in the permanent campaign is the creation of a Clinton administration team designed to score political points with key constituencies. Clinton partisans know that as much as their final policy pronouncements, their personnel decisions will either help Clinton get off probation or deepen doubts about him. After

CLINTON

WILL ADOPT

REAGAN'S

GAME PLAN OF

FOCUSING ON A

TIGHT AGENDA.

★ THE CLINTON AGENDA

some infighting among his aides. Clinton named former diplomat Warren Christopher and Washington attorney and civil-rights activist Vernon Jordan to lead his transition planning.

Advisers admit Clinton needs, as a top priority, to assuage Wall Street's fears that the Democrats will again allow inflation to run rampant. As a result, Clinton is under strong pressure to name as Treasury secretary a stable moderate or conservative of undoubted stature such as Texas Sen. Lloyd Bentsen, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, or a noted inflation fighter such as former Federal Reserve Board Chairman Paul Volcker, or a respected Wall Street figure like Roger Altman of the Blackstone Group. Democratic veterans point out that John Kennedy took the same course when he named Republican Douglas Dillon as his Treasury secretary in 1960.

The other major constituency that needs reassurance is the community of world leaders—to whom Clinton is a complete mystery. They hanker to see familiar Washington faces, not new ones, in a Clinton administration. So he plans to nominate figures from the party's foreign policy priesthood to key slots. That means Rep. Lee Hamilton is

among the favorites for secretary of state. Reps. Les Aspin and Dave McCurdy and Georgia Sen. Sam Nunn are considered strong contenders for defense secretary.

New faces. Beyond those, Clinton wants to use appointments to cement the notion that his kind of Democrat is different from the past. The system he has set up to make those choices says much about the way he'll organize and manage his White House. Most important, Clinton will establish a personnel system that will enable him, not his advisers, to make the final decisions. Aides say he is likely to run his administration from the White House, rejecting cabinet government, to maximize his personal control. Senior Democrats say he is leaning toward a three-tier system for organizing his personal staff under an Economic Security Council, in addition to the existing Domestic Policy Council and National Security Council, with a chief of staff coordinating the entire operation and keeping policy goals and politics inextricably linked.

There are already raging disputes

about this scheme at the organizational and personnel levels. Washington insiders and veterans of past Democratic administrations are urging Clinton to name a strong chief of staff, but he is likely to resist. Clinton wants to hear advisers' arguments personally and make the key decisions himself, and he is concerned that his chief of staff might shut off access to him. In his presidential campaign, power was diffuse. Yet during the first hours after his election, aides felt the collegial, tell-Bill-everything atmosphere slipping away. They complained of being shut out by key campaign administrator Mickey Kantor and protested

that economic adviser Ira Magaziner had prepared an economic plan without consulting other insiders. All this deeply upset Clinton, who had angrily suspended transition planning a week earlier when he felt it was proceeding too fast without his direct involvement. As he moves ahead with his transition, he is likely to keep a close hold on central decisions in Little Rock while allowing lesser decisions to be made at the official transition offices in Washington. He has

LIKE BUSH.

CLINTON HAS A

WIDE NETWORK

OF FRIENDS

WHO GIVE HIM

FEEDBACK



Unbowed after Election Day. The Bushes and Quaytes have promised to cooperate fully with the Clinton-Gore transition team.

★ THE CLINTON AGENDA

asked friends and advisers to "send me papers" on their subjects of expertise and has been returning some with handwritten comments.

Kantor figures prominently in the more intimate personnel wars that have broken out over Clinton's staffing plans. Kantor may be offered the job of White House counsel, rather than his preferred position of White House chief of staff, in part because Hillary Clinton and campaign-communications czar George Stephanopoulos are said to object to his imperial, somewhat aloof management style. Another possibility for chief of staff is former South Carolina Gov. Richard Riley, although Washington veterans warn that former elected officials often have had trouble becoming effective staff aides.

Clinton's inner circle will be eclectic in background and outlook and organized around the idea that Clinton wants input from many venues and perspectives. It will likely include several key campaign aides. Among them are Stephanopoulos, economic advisers Robert Shapiro and Robert Reich and possibly aides Eli Segal, David Wilhelm, Bob Boorstin, Bruce Reed, Bruce Lindsey and Tom Donilan.

Innovators. The guiding principle of domestic cabinet and agency appointments will be that a maximum number should come from outside the disreputable and intellectually spent party establishment in Washington. A premium will be placed on attracting governors, mayors and policy makers who have established themselves as government innovators. Further emphasis will be placed on attracting moderate Republicans to a "coalition" government. For instance, former New Jersey Gov. Tom Kean, a Republican who worked on reform ideas with Clinton during the mid-1980s, is being touted as education secretary. Finally, business leaders who have voiced encouragement for government-business partnerships and who have strong backgrounds in technology will also get top jobs. John Sculley, the head of Apple Computer, and John Young, former head of Hewlett-Packard, are just such figures.

As America's anxieties and expecta-

tions for his presidency rise, Clinton's immediate challenge is to make the nation feel good again about itself and its government. A planning summary from the Democratic Leadership Council, the moderate political group that Clinton once headed, suggests that he has three fundamental choices: serve as a healer of divisions, as a fighter against the recession, the deficit and other problems, or as a teacher who tries to guide his people toward new answers.

Friends say Clinton would find the teacher's role the most appealing of the three. Having read the biographies of

all the presidents of the United States, Clinton may well have run across Franklin Roosevelt's thoughts on the educational aspects of the White House. The presidency, Roosevelt wrote, "is pre-eminently a place of moral leadership. All our great presidents were leaders of thought at times when certain historic ideas in the life of the nation had to be clarified." If Clinton adopts that model as his own, he will make a good start.

BY KENNETH T. WALSH WITH MATTHEW COOPER AND SUSAN DENTZER



A bittersweet farewell. Hillary and Bill Clinton in the last hours of their 13-month campaign.

9-9

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BY HARRY NALTCHAYAN—THE WASHINGTON POST

In the 1978 White House, Rosalynn and Amy Carter in the solarium.

Chronicles

Habitation Speculation

Will There Be Presidential Pillow Talk?

By Sarah Booth Conroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

Bill and Hillary Clinton have no doubt been too busy to worry about how they're going to settle into the White House.

So the *Chronicler* discussed how they will use the family quarters, the second floor of the Executive Mansion, with Betty Monkman, assistant White House curator. The first question is whether the First Couple will share a bedroom, as the Fords, Carters, Reagans and Bushes did, but the Johnsons, Kennedys and Nixons did not.

The *Chronicler*, contrary to popular opinion, did not personally inspect the family quarters during the brief reign of the first occupants of the house, John and Abigail Adams, in

1801. But your nosy scribe did once ask Richard Nixon if, when cataclysmic events occurred in the middle of the night, he sought advice and comfort from the First Lady in the other bedroom. He said no. And added politely that he didn't like to disturb her.

The presidential family has essentially 17 rooms on the second floor, but some are more ceremonial than comfortable.

The president's bedroom sitting room is used by the Bushes as their private sitting room. The Carters used it the same way, with two comfortable chairs and one ottoman.

The First Lady's or the joint bedroom still retains the Chinese butterfly and flower wallpaper from Nancy Reagan's \$1 million (mostly private money) redecoration.

See CHRONICLES, F2, Col. 4

1-2

Floor Plan

CHRONICLES, From F1

A small chamber overlooking the Old Executive Office Building has been used as a dressing room, but Lady Bird Johnson used it to write her journal, and for Bess Truman it was a bedroom.

The President's Dining Room, now the ultimate place to be invited, was originally the northwest bedroom. Jacqueline Kennedy, faced with having to feed two small children in public, decided to turn the room into a more private place to eat. Currently, the 19th-century French wallpaper shows imaginary views of the American Revolution. Various presidents have put up and taken off the wallpaper. An adjacent chamber was converted into a small kitchen.

Two central bedrooms are traditionally used for White House children. Chelsea Clinton should call Amy Carter to discuss the accommodations. One small chamber, which once held Amy's dollhouse, was used by Nancy Reagan as a beauty parlor.

Between the rooms to the north and south is the great Sitting Hall with its handsome Palladian windows at each end. The hall is divided by doors into three sitting rooms.

Over the first-floor Blue Room is the Yellow Oval Room. It is used as a ceremonial drawing room, when royalty and other presidents come to call and exchange gifts. Former curator Clement Conger called it "the most beautiful room in the White House." Nancy Reagan complained about the stiffness of its formal furnishings. When her decorator moved in two soft sofas, Conger complained. That was the end of his White House career. The famous Truman balcony, so called because that president insisted it be built amid much architectural controversy, opens to the south.

The President's Office, as it is now called, was known from 1961 until the start of the Bush administration as the Treaty Room and contained Ulysses S. Grant's Cabinet-room furnishings. Jim-

my Carter brought the Grant conference table down to the north grounds for the signing of the Camp David Accords between Egypt and Israel. In 1989, Bush made the room into his private office. He uses the famous oak desk, made from the timbers of the HMS Resolute, that Queen Victoria presented to Rutherford B. Hayes in 1880.

The Lincoln Bedroom, the Cabinet room during the Civil War, now holds the furniture Mary Todd Lincoln bought for a guest bedroom. Nowadays, it's the bedroom for favored company.

Nixon liked to sit in the adjacent Lincoln sitting room, light a fire, turn on the air-conditioning and smoke cigars. A staff member once pointed out to the Chronicler the small burns in the carpet from the president's cigar made when he'd drop off to sleep. The fire detection system was kept busy.

The Queen's Bedroom is, as the name implies, where many royal heads have lain. Sometimes the visiting king or president slept in the Lincoln Bedroom, and the queen or spouse in what was earlier called the Rose Room.

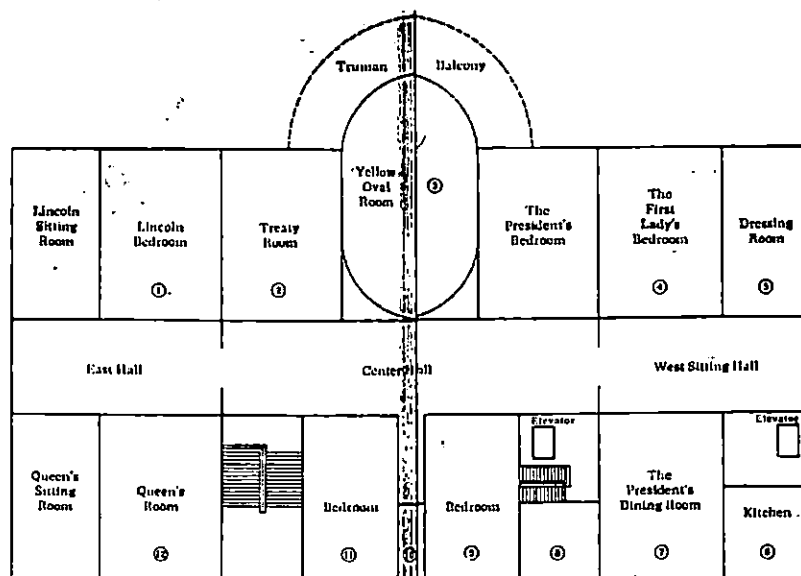
Now guests of state stay in the rehabilitated Blair House, the official President's Guest Quarters.

If the Clintons bring in family and friends to visit, there's more room still. On the third floor are another seven bedroom-sitting rooms, along with laundry rooms and storage, and a small secretary's office used by the Carters as a billiards room.

On the tippy-top is the solarium—every First Family's favorite. The Johnson daughters used it to entertain dates and it served as both the Carters' Sunday morning breakfast room and the place for Rosalynn Carter's Spanish lessons. A narrow balcony around it held the Carter children's telescope for stargazing.

Grace Coolidge called it "the sky parlor." Who could ask for more?

Some of these tidbits come from the White House Historical Association's "The White House: An Historic Guide," as well as "Upstairs at the White House," by former chief usher J.B. West, with Mary Lynn Kotz.



© 1973, FROM "UPSTAIRS AT THE WHITE HOUSE, MY LIFE WITH THE FIRST LADIES," COWARD, McCANN & GEOGHEGAN, INC.
A plan of the White House family quarters from former Chief White House usher J.B. West's book with Mary Lynn Kotz.

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PRESS: 863-8550

THE DAILY NEWS SUMMARY



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19 OEOB

Transcript of President Bush's Radio

Address on His Defeat at the Polls

WASHINGTON, Nov. 7 (Reuters) — Following is the transcript of an address delivered by President Bush on radio today, as recorded by News Transcripts Inc.

Way back in 1945 Winston Churchill was defeated at the polls. He said, "I have been given the order of the boot." And that is the exact same position in which I find myself today. I admit this is not the position I would have preferred, but it is a judgment I honor. Having known the sweet taste of popular favor, I can more readily accept the sour taste of defeat, because it is seasoned for me by my deep devotion to the political system under which this nation has thrived for two centuries.

I realize that defeat can be divisive, and I want the Republican Party to be as constructive on the outside of executive power as it

has been for 12 years on the inside. There must be no finger-pointing, no playing the blame game. New ideas will flourish, and that is good.

But as for what is past, I can only say that it was my Administration, my campaign, I captained the team and I take full responsibility for the loss. No one else is responsible; I am responsible.

I hope history will record that the Bush Administration has served America well. I am proud of my Cabinet and my staff. America has led the world through an age of global transition; we've made the world safer for our kids. And I believe the real fruits of our global victory are yet to be tasted.

I'm also proud of my campaign team. They put together a tenacious spirited effort in a difficult year. When you win, your errors are obscured; when you lose, your errors are magnified. I expect history will take the edge off both interpretations.

One thing I know for sure: My supporters should go out with their heads held high.

And one final thought: As I campaign across this nation, I had the opportunity to talk to many people. I felt the anxiety that accompanies a time of change, but I could also see every day in ways large and small the resiliency of the American spirit. Ours is a nation that has shed the blood of war and cried the tears of depression; we have stretched the limits of human imagination and seen the technologically miraculous become almost mundane. Always, always, our advantage has been our spirit, constant confidence, a sense that in America the only things not yet accomplished are the things that have not yet been tried.

President-elect Clinton needs all Americans to unite behind him so he can move our nation forward. But, more than that, he will need to draw upon this unique American spirit. There are no magic outside solutions to our problems. The real answers lie within us, and we need more than a philosophy of entitlement. We need to all pitch in, lend a hand, and do our part to help forge a brighter future for this country.

On Jan. 20, Barbara and I will head back to Texas. For us there will be no more elections, no more politics. But we will rededicate ourselves to helping others, because, after all, that is the secret of this unique American spirit. With this spirit, all of us can realize the golden opportunities before us and make sure that our new day, like every American day, is filled with hope and promise.

Thanks for listening, and God bless the United States of America.



President Bush waving to a crowd of supporters after voting in Houston on Election Day.

GOP works toward united front in '96

Conservatives, moderates jockey

By Ralph Z. Hallow.
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The Republican Party shows signs of mending its shattered coalition faster than President-elect Bill Clinton is defining his new administration, interviews with GOP factional leaders suggest.

But the obvious effort at reconciliation between GOP conservatives and moderates will face its first test in the selection of a new national party chairman.

"I can work with Bill Weld. His record on economic matters is exceptional," Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas said of the Massachusetts governor, his new duck-hunting chum. "He proves the success of Republican programs."

Mr. Gramm, who told The Washington Times he is "interested" in becoming the party's standard-bearer in 1996, is an across-the-board conservative: pro-growth on economics and pro-life on abortion.

Mr. Weld, also a possible presidential contender, shares Mr. Gramm's anti-tax and anti-spending views but is pro-choice and has favored homosexual rights.

Rep. Susan Molinari of New York, a rising star in the GOP's moderate wing, says conservatives are the dynamo in the party and "should dominate." She sees conservatism's preeminence as particularly important to differentiate the GOP from the Democrats, especially if the

Clinton administration manages to project its own version of moderation.

Republican moderates and conservatives, often at war in the past, now agree that the party's stand-for-nothing image on domestic policy in the Bush years can't continue if gains are to be made.

"There is some truth to the observation that the moderate wing stands less strongly for things," said Rep. Jim Leach of Iowa, another GOP moderate. "But on the issue of less government, where we all agree, the Republican case will always be viable."

"I think you are going to see a new party emerge that speaks in strong tones yet is tolerant," he said.

John K. Andrews, the Reaganite president of the Independence Institute, a think tank in Golden, Colo., agrees. "We see the need for the party to rededicate itself to the core principles of limited government, individual freedom and traditional values, but with a tolerance it had under Reagan, when 'values' were not a code for gay bashing, racism or banning all abortions."

"Economic and social conservatism does very well in Colorado unless it carries a Republican label," added Mr. Andrews, the GOP gubernatorial nominee in 1990.

There is an emerging consensus among Republicans that both their message and their messengers need

improvement since, despite Mr. Clinton's election, exit polls across the nation last Tuesday confirmed that most voters are conservative on taxes, spending, limited government and traditional family values.

Although the first name out of Mr. Gramm's mouth for national Republican chairman was fellow conservative Charles Black, Mr. Gramm told The Times he could support Labor Secretary Lynn Martin, a pro-choice moderate.

Besides Mr. Black and Mrs. Martin, leading candidates to succeed Bush operative Rich Bond as RNC chairman are retiring Rep. Vin Weber of Minnesota and Haley Barbour, an RNC member from Mississippi.

Spencer Abraham, who as director of the National Republican Congressional Committee helped the GOP pick up seats in the House despite the party's loss of the presidency, also wants the job, as does former Delaware Gov. Pete du Pont.

Each contender has problems. Mr. Weber, who did not seek re-election to the House, served as Bush-Quayle '92 co-chairman. Considered to be one of the brightest members of the Jack Kemp "progressive conservative" wing of the party, he projected himself as a soothing, reasonable spokesman for the Bush campaign.

Mr. Weber also has nuts-and-bolts experience. At age 28, he ran former Sen. Rudy Boschwitz's successful campaign in 1978 before winning a House seat for himself two years later. Although pro-life, he has lowered his voice on the issue recently and gets on well with all factions of the party.

Yet Mr. Weber is a close friend and ally of Mr. Kemp, a prime contender for the 1996 GOP presidential nomination. Accordingly, because the GOP chairman is expected to be neutral when the party doesn't control the White House, Gramm allies will oppose Mr. Weber.

Pro-life forces, fearful the party may abandon its strong stand against abortion, are opposing Mrs. Martin, as are many conservatives who feel she will be unable to speak with conviction on their economic and social issues.

In an apparent effort to head off Mrs. Martin, Pat Buchanan's sister, Bay, campaign chairman of his presidential challenge, issued a press release last week opposing the election of a party chairman who is not pro-life and conservative.

Mr. Barbour, a Gramm ally who has played an enforcer role at national committee meetings and knows his way around the RNC constituencies, has tried in recent years to soften the party's stand on abortion.

Mr. du Pont, as governor, successfully instituted supply-side tax cuts in his state before Ronald Reagan was elected president. He is cool, smooth, urbane and respectful of Republicans who don't share all his conservative views. But some say he may be too polished and upper-class



to be the national spokesman for a party that may have slipped back toward its country-club image in the Bush years.

Mr. Black has Reagan credentials and experience in several presidential campaigns. Despite ideological differences, he was loyal to Mr. Bush to the end, appearing on television more often and, many say, more effectively than any other top Bush aide while struggling quietly to bring a modicum of managerial order to the chaotic campaign organization.

But Mr. Black also suffers from perceived partisanship: Having run Mr. Kemp's 1988 presidential nomination bid, he then became a senior adviser to the Bush campaign that year. After the election, he decided Mr. Gramm was the most viable conservative successor and early in Mr. Bush's term introduced Mr. Gramm at a conservative conference as the man who would be president in 1996.

"We need in '94 a national chairman who can focus on local needs, building the party back up from the grass roots," said Hawaii GOP Chairman Jarred Jossem.

Mr. Abraham fits that job description, but critics say he doesn't have the presence or speaking ability to be the GOP's chief voice in a Washington dominated by a Clinton administration.

Whoever becomes national chairman, most conservative leaders in Congress and the states agree that abortion will not be the divisive issue in the emerging Republican coalition and in the party itself by 1996 that it was in 1992.

GOP candidates, they say, will continue to voice their personal position on the issue without insisting it is a matter in which the state should get involved.

Knives honed in GOP

House factions face showdown

By Major Garrett
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

As Republicans try to rebuild from President Bush's defeat, one of the first showdowns in the coming struggle between moderates and conservatives will occur in next month's House leadership elections.

Top leadership will remain the same. Minority Leader Bob Michel and Minority Whip Newt Gingrich will, by previous agreement, make sure neither is challenged.

But races for lower echelon positions will highlight the stylistic tension between accommodation and combativeness that have pitted these two leaders, and sizable segments of the party, against one another.

Most House Republicans are waiting for Bill Clinton's economic proposals before deciding whether to comply or pounce. If his plans are viewed as more centrist than liberal, they see the possibility of helping the new president much as the Democratic moderates assisted Ronald Reagan in his first term.

"If his instincts are truly in the center, I think he'll find a lot of commonality," said Rep. Scott Klug of Wisconsin, a member of the Gang of Seven that confronted the Democratic leadership over the House bank and other perks. "Frankly, he may need us very badly."

Several senior House Republican aides, representing moderates and conservatives, said they expect Republicans to help Mr. Clinton resist pressures from the left wing of his party to propose higher taxes and greater spending than he campaigned for.

"Clinton campaigned rhetorically from the center," said Tony Blankley, spokesman for Mr. Gingrich. "If he presents his issues, we will be his loudest supporters. If he tries to govern from the left, we will run wild against him."

The latter possibility is what most troubles some moderate Republicans. They worry that a combative approach will rob the party of a constructive voice in the new government at a time when voters appear fixated with movement, not ideological skirmishes.

"You will get greater clarity if opposition is developed by the broad base of the party," said Rep. Nancy Johnson of Connecticut.

Mrs. Johnson and other moderates worry that if conservatives take over key leadership posts they will fight most Clinton proposals — thus losing any chance of contributing to bills that eventually become law.

"We're going to have to be very careful to base our opposition on principles," she said.

Mrs. Johnson and others recently tried to dramatically alter the House GOP leadership. They wanted to abolish all leadership posts, with the exception of the minority leader and

minority whip. The leader would then appoint a 12-member panel to generate unified party positions on key issues.

Conservatives saw this as a power grab by moderates who feared they could not defeat conservatives in upcoming leadership elections, an assertion Mrs. Johnson denies.

"They are orbiting off on their own," Mrs. Johnson said of the conservatives. "They are not feeding the party. It trivializes us."

Voter anger over the House bank scandal, which Republicans fanned, cost the party three top House leaders.

Michigan's Guy Vander Jagt, chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee, and Oklahoma's Mickey Edwards, chairman of the GOP Policy Committee, lost in primaries. Vin Weber of Minnesota, secretary of the GOP conference, retired in the wake of 125 overdrawn checks and with a distaste for the bruising campaign ahead.

Races for these and other vacancies will pit conservatives against moderates and serve as an early venue for the type of squabbles the party must settle as it looks for a new agenda and voice.

The sharpest contrast will pit conference Chairman Jerry Lewis against challenger Dick Armey of

Texas.

Mr. Lewis, the No. 3 ranking House Republican, is a moderate who privately detests the tactics of Mr. Gingrich, who delights with other conservatives in obstructing and attacking the Democratic leadership.

Mr. Armey is closely aligned with Mr. Gingrich and hopes to use his ranking position on the Joint Economic Committee as a platform to deliver the GOP indictment against the economic policy of the Clinton administration.

Another dividing line, besides style, will be over who supported the 1990 budget deal and who opposed it.

Conservatives frustrated with the president's lukewarm commitment to supply-side economics will argue the deal hurt Mr. Bush and dozens of GOP challengers.

Mr. Lewis supported the president and the budget deal, arguing the White House needed friends, not enemies within its own party. Mr. Armey and Mr. Gingrich opposed the deal and are eager to push the party back toward a low-tax, supply-side message.

Neither Mr. Lewis nor Mr. Armey would grant interviews. Both are aggressively seeking votes for the Dec. 7 election. Mr. Armey has contributed more than \$36,000 to Republican incumbents and challengers and Mr. Lewis has contributed more than \$30,000 directly to GOP candidates.

Quayle seeks high-visibility job for next 4 years

 DATE: 11-9
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 By Paul Bedard
 THE WASHINGTON TIMES

He's hardly flipping through the want ads, but Vice President Dan Quayle is looking for a new line of work that will meet one key requirement: launch him into the 1996 presidential race.

Mr. Quayle, who was hurt the most by last week's Republican loss to Bill Clinton and Al Gore, is losing the stage he used to push his conservative cause and searching for a replacement that will keep him in the public eye.

"Without it he's doomed," a Quayle adviser said.

But Mr. Quayle feels confident that he has refurbished his image — sullied in the harsh 1988 campaign

— by giving a much-heralded Republican National Convention speech, performing aggressively in the vice presidential debate and making a more spirited showing on the campaign trail than President Bush himself, according to associates.

And now Mr. Quayle and his top aides consider him the leading contender for the GOP nomination in 1996.

"I have always stood up for what I believe in and I will continue to stand up and to speak for what I believe in," Mr. Quayle said on election night as a loud crowd in downtown Indianapolis displayed "Quayle in '96" campaign buttons.

"We have made a difference and will continue to make a difference," he said.

While he is still stunned by last Tuesday's defeat, aides and advisers are pressing Mr. Quayle to consider these options:

- Take over a prominent think tank, such as the Indianapolis-based Hudson Institute. From that perch, he could influence Washington policy and politics and travel between Washington and his home state of Indiana.

- Join or start a Washington-Indianapolis law firm. Mr. Quayle and his wife, Marilyn, also a lawyer, could use the firm to influence Republican politics much the same way former Vice President Walter Mondale did with the Democratic Party.

- Take a job as executive vice president of his family's publishing company, Central Newspapers Inc., and buy media outlets that will spread the Quayle conservative

message.

- Move into the Republican National Committee as chairman, replacing Rich Bond.

GOP sources said Mr. Quayle must consider those options and others as he grapples with the early stages of running for president in 1996 against other Republican aspirants, such as Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp and Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas.

Mr. Quayle isn't discussing details of his future, however, except to note that his high-school-age children may want to stay in the Washington area until they complete the school year.

Mr. Quayle told an interviewer last week that his two children still living at home — Corrine and Benjamin — are at "very, very sensitive ages . . . and I've got to consider their interests."

But he added: "I think Marilyn and I would just as soon return to Indiana as soon as possible. . . . I'm going to have to sort of pick up the pieces, as they say — move on. You know, look, there's life after public service."

At two staff meetings last week, the Quayles gave a message of hope and optimism to their workers, although that theme was stunted by the somberness of the defeat and tears shed by Mrs. Quayle.

The early betting is on Mr. Quayle's shifting to head a think tank, aides and associates said.

"It makes logical sense," said an associate, who requested anonymity.

From the Hudson Institute, for example, Mr. Quayle could focus on public policy and push his conservative agenda. Former Bush and Reagan administration official William Bennett and former Reagan political director Mitchell Daniels have followed that path.

In addition, because the Hudson Institute is based in Indiana, Mr. Quayle could return to his home base, which would give his 1996 candidacy more credibility and link the former Indiana senator to his Midwestern roots.

But aides, such as Mr. Daniels, now an executive with Eli Lilly & Co. in Indianapolis, said the vice president should "examine some options outside of politics."

Mr. Daniels, a member of Mr. Quayle's brain trust, said it would be difficult for anyone to begin immediately running for 1996.

Instead, Mr. Daniels is advising Mr. Quayle to join his family's newspaper business and help build a media empire to "continue his war with the media elite," an associate said.

Before the election, Quayle advisers had considered pushing the vice president into the chairmanship of the Republican Party.

But associates say now that Mr. Quayle isn't gunning for the job and may back efforts to install his former political aide Spencer Abraham as chairman.

No matter what path he chooses, said aides and advisers, Mr. Quayle wants to stay in the public eye and press issues that he feels will help his bid in 1996.

Gary Bauer, president of the Family Research Council, said Mr. Quayle deserves to be considered the 1996 front-runner, but to stay there "he certainly can't just fade away. . . . He's got to do something to stay out there."

Bush Urged To Grant Pardons

Aides Advise Action On Iran-Contra Cases, Including Weinberger's

By Ann Devroy and Walter Pincus
Washington Post Staff Writers

Some White House aides and senior Republicans, including the vice president, are advising a presidential pardon of Iran-contra defendants, starting with former defense secretary Caspar W. Weinberger, as President Bush begins clearing his desk of the final business of 12 years of Republican rule.

According to White House and GOP sources, no formal recommendation has been made to Bush, but some of his aides have raised the possibility informally. White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater said yesterday he had heard no discussion of such a move.

Bush is said by close aides to believe the announcement four days before Tuesday's election of a revised indictment of Weinberger and the release of Weinberger notes from the Iran-contra era eliminated any chance he might have had of catching Democrat Bill Clinton. Bush also is said to believe that Weinberger is "an innocent victim of [Iran-contra special prosecutor Lawrence E.] Walsh's drive to get [Bush] and that it is a travesty overall," according to one of the president's associates.

As Bush rested at Camp David this weekend, before a five-day Florida fishing trip next week, he planned a radio address today, pledging his help and cooperation to President-elect Clinton and to rebuilding the Republican Party, split into conservative factions already battling over who will be the next party chairman.

Charles Black, a senior political adviser in the Bush campaign, launched a quiet campaign this week to become the new party chairman. But other candidates are organizing to stop him, suggesting that his roles as a lobbyist, whose extensive consulting business includes foreign clients, and as what one called "a stalking horse" for the presidential ambitions of Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.) would be counterproductive to rebuilding a shattered party.

At the White House and in Republican circles, thousands of Bush appointees have begun adjusting to life out of power, with the first sign being telephones that no longer ring. Fitzwater, who served as White House press secretary for

President Ronald Reagan and then Bush, was uncharacteristically poetic about his abrupt change of status.

"Receding power rides a swift horse," Fitzwater said, adding, "You know, it's kind of nice. No hordes waiting outside my door. No endless phone list. It is kind of peaceful."

Some Bush aides got a more abrupt welcome to the new world. Margaret Tutwiler, director of communications at the White House and assistant secretary of state in the State Department under James A. Baker III, said she arrived home from Houston Wednesday to find letters from two Washington real estate agents offering to sell her Northwest house. Yesterday, television crews were filming the house as part of a story on the outgoing team. Tutwiler, however, plans to remain in Washington and find a job in the private sector after Clinton's inauguration.

Some senior aides described Bush as bitter about the final-hours re-indictment of Weinberger. "Many of us will go to our graves believing there was political motivation in the timing of this by Walsh and that any dim hope we had of catching Clinton died when we spent the last two days of the campaign on the defense over Iran-contra," said one.

Aides to Vice President Quayle said yesterday his conversations with Bush are private and they did not know whether he directly suggested to the president that Weinberger and others be pardoned before Bush leaves office. One aide said that mid-level Bush aides discussed the issue on the flight from Houston to Washington on Wednesday after the election.

Weinberger's trial on five counts of perjury to Congress and false statements to prosecutors is scheduled to begin Jan. 5.

Both Bush and Quayle publicly expressed anger and frustration over the re-indictment of Weinberger and release of a 1986 note written by Weinberger that contradicted Bush's account of his role in the Iran-contra affair.

The note said that Bush, as vice president, supported the arms-for-hostages deal during a critical White House meeting in which several top aides, including Weinberger, opposed it. Bush has said he did not realize that a direct deal, in which arms were sold to Iran in exchange for Iranian help in freeing hostages held in Lebanon, was occurring until many months later, and that he did not realize the extent of the opposition to it.

Walsh has heard the pardon rumors but "can't do anything about them," according to sources close to the Iran-contra prosecution. Robert S. Bennett, Weinberger's attorney, said earlier this week that he was unaware of any such move being in the works.

A presidential pardon would not prevent Walsh from filing a report on the findings of his six-year, \$33 million investigation into the worst scandal of the Reagan administration.

"Bush has never been a target" of Walsh's inquiry, one source said, and the prosecutor agreed in August to postpone questioning the president in the final phase of the Iran-contra investigation until after the election.

If Bush were to pardon Weinberger, questions would be raised about what he should do about the three other pending cases and about seven Iran-contra figures who have pleaded guilty to Walsh's charges.

Some Republican sources have connected the use of the Weinberger note in the new indictment to Walsh's newly named prosecutor in the Weinberger case, James J. Brosnahan, who took over the case on Oct. 15.

A California trial lawyer and head of Morrison and Foerster, a large San Francisco firm, Brosnahan is a registered Democrat. According to Federal Election Commission records, Brosnahan contributed \$500 to the Clinton for President Committee last March during the primary season. Other members of his firm gave an additional \$22,000 to the Clinton committee, the records show.

A spokesman for Walsh said that the independent counsel, a longtime Republican who was an appointee in the Eisenhower, Nixon, Ford and Reagan administrations, never looked into Brosnahan's political background when he was deciding whether to hire him.

The Washington Times reported yesterday that Republicans were alleging that the Clinton campaign had advance notice of the Oct. 30 Weinberger indictment, because the campaign's press release on it was dated Oct. 29. The press statement was not released until Oct. 30.

Yesterday, George Stephanopoulos, spokesman for the president-elect, said he was "guilty" of having a wrong date on the release, but that there had been no contact with the Iran-contra prosecutors.

"I can say categorically we had no contact with Walsh prior to the indictment," Stephanopoulos said. He added that "no one on the [Clinton] staff talked to Walsh's staff as far as I know."

"Nobody from our office talked to anyone outside the office on this or any indictment," said James Wieghart, a spokesman for Walsh's office.

According to Stephanopoulos, the first he learned of the indictment was "around 1 o'clock" on Oct. 30, when a Reuters story came over the news wire. It took the Clinton "rapid response team" another two hours, Stephanopoulos said, to pull together a press release that went out under the headline: "New Iran-contra evidence released by prosecutor."

Sources close to Walsh have said that the Weinberger notes were included in the indictment to meet defense complaints that the earlier charge had been too broad and vague. They said the timing was set by court agreements, not the election.

The Republicans

Bush Seems Unsure About His Plans

By MICHAEL WINES
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 8 — When President Bush last chatted with architects about his proposed Presidential library in College Station, Tex. the premise was that the archive would open at the end of his second term, in late 1996.

"We may want to speed that up," Perry A. Atkinson, the executive director of the library project, said Saturday. That, and more.

Mr. Bush leaves office in 73 days. But to where, and for what, apparently is a mystery, even to him. Aides and friends say he has no firm plans for retirement beyond getting "very active in the grandchild business and in finding ways to help people," as he told a Houston crowd Tuesday evening in his concession speech. Indeed, the President and his wife, Barbara, do not even have a permanent place to live.

Their 26-room seaside mansion in Kennebunkport, Me., is not fully winterized. Their legal residence, in suburban Houston, is but a hotel suite. The declared site of their retirement home — 9 West Oak Lane South, in Houston's upscale Post Oak neighborhood — is a postage stamp of a vacant lot, and most associates doubt that Mr. Bush intends to build a home there.

Focused on Campaign

It is not that Mr. Bush does not feel the need to plan, those associates say, but rather that he was so focused on his campaign — and so stubbornly resistant to the prospect of defeat — that he did not devote much thought to his options.

"I don't think he's focused on any of that at all," his son Jeb said in a telephone interview on Friday from Miami. "He's still President of the United States, and public opinion notwithstanding, the world's still a dangerous place. There are still things that require more than just his passing attention."

In fact, one of Mr. Bush's first acts after conceding the election appears to have been to hand his wife the task of finding a new home. Mrs. Bush will travel soon to Houston to begin looking, said her press secretary, Anna Perez.

Other aides said the White House will probably begin scouting the city soon for an office suite Mr. Bush can occupy during his segue into retirement, much as former President Ronald Reagan has kept a desk in an office tower in suburban Los Angeles.

Going Fishing

"That's probably the kind of thing he'll think about when he goes fishing," Jeb Bush said. And others agree that Mr. Bush probably will delay any serious thought about his future until this week, when he leaves town for five days of fishing on Florida's Gulf Coast.

Nobody expects Mr. Bush to make detailed plans until he has had a chance to unwind from the rigors of office. "He'll probably regroup with his friends," said Senator Alan K. Simpson of Wyoming, who is one of the President's closest allies on Capitol Hill. "He'll take off and, by God, get in a boat and drive it and enjoy it. It's something he couldn't do before, for fear it would appear on the front page of every newspaper in America. And he'll probably go out and shoot a bobwhite and not worry about the animal rightists along the parade trail. All that has had a very limiting effect on him."

The President will face no shortage of options.

The day after his defeat, Mr. Bush's name was already being floated to succeed Benno C. Schmidt Jr. as president of Yale University, Mr. Bush's alma mater and the premier institution in his boyhood home of Connecticut. The Yale Daily News, the student newspaper, said at least two alumni had recommended him for the post.

Academia Seen as Unlikely

But Yale did not even give Mr. Bush an honorary degree during his tenure as President, and most associates interviewed for this article said they thought the life of an academic would be too confining for such a peripatetic man.

Others, noting Mr. Bush's stint on Yale's baseball team, suggest he might be interested in the vacant commissioner's post in Major League Baseball, a job coveted in the past by some of the nation's most powerful and respected leaders, from senators to academicians.

But even if he were tempted, skeptics say, the job has two strikes against it: its authority is somewhat less than Presidential, given the effective dismissal of its last occupant by team owners, and Mr. Bush's adviser, chief

In the President's immediate future is a fishing trip in Florida.

of staff and friendly rival, James A. Baker 3d, turned it down a few years ago himself.

Mr. Bush, they say, would never go slumming in a job that his old friend had rejected.

Memoirs, Speeches and Service

That leaves the obvious: memoirs, which everyone agrees Mr. Bush will plunge into; corporate boards, in which they suspect he will dabble; speeches, and public service, in which he has expressed interest.

Peter Teeley, an old adviser and friend who is now the American Ambassador to Canada, said Friday that he has not talked to Mr. Bush since the election and has no firsthand knowledge of his plans. "But I do have the feeling that he may involve himself in some sort of educational effort," he said, "and that he may get involved in foreign affairs from an academic standpoint," perhaps through a foundation or research organization.

In the end, friends and aides say it is unlikely that the President will pursue either of the extremes followed by his most recent predecessors as ex-Presidents, Ronald Reagan, Jimmy Carter and Gerald R. Ford.

Mr. Carter has made his mark as a diplomat-without-portfolio and as a humanitarian, traveling the world in the cause of democracy and human rights and helping the poor at home. By contrast, Mr. Reagan and Mr. Ford were widely accused early in their retirements of trying to cash in on their fame: Mr. Reagan accepted millions of dollars in speaking fees from Japanese companies only months after leaving office, and Mr. Ford was criticized for hitting the commercial speaking circuit, at a reported \$10,000 to \$15,000 a speech, and accepting lucrative directors' posts on a number of corporate boards.

Mrs. Bush, Moneymaker

The real moneymaker in the post-Presidential Bush family may be Mrs. Bush. The First Lady, who netted nearly \$1 million in royalties for a book that she wrote about the family dog, Millie, is said to have another book in waiting that could well make even more.

That book, if it is ever written, would be based on diaries that Mrs. Bush has scrupulously maintained for at least 20 years of life in Washington. "It could be one of the great Washington memoirs," her press secretary, Ms. Perez, said.

Jeb Bush said: "My mom is probably the second-most organized person on the planet, next to my dad. So it would probably be easy for her to convert it to a book."

And lucrative as well: Unlike the fees from "Millie's Book," which were funneled to a foundation that promotes literacy, the proceeds from Mrs. Bush's memoir would be hers to dispose of as she chooses.

Bush's Loss Moves 'Unshackled' Dole to Center Stage Among Republicans

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

Some were elated by last Tuesday's elections; others were depressed. Senate Republican leader Robert J. Dole (Kan.) was liberated.

"Let's face it, sometimes when you carry the administration's water, it's a pretty heavy bucket," he said in an interview Friday. "Other times, it was a light bucket. But, now, suddenly you're a free spirit, a free agent, you've been unshackled."

For four years after then-Vice President Bush buried Dole's presidential ambitions in New Hampshire, the normally acerbic Dole bit his lip, hid any hard feelings and demonstrated extraordinary loyalty in pushing the legislative program of his former rival.

But now, with Bush having been denied a second term by Democrat Bill Clinton, an unfettered Dole has moved to occupy the center of the Republican stage.

He continues to defend Bush and express regret at the president's defeat but does not hide his exhilaration about the challenges—and opportunities—Dole faces in a new role as the most prominent Republican who will still be in office here after Inauguration Day, Jan. 20.

Speaking of the election, Dole said: "It's unfortunate, but that's politics. Having said that, I can't change any of that, I am sort of looking forward to a little different opportunity, I guess."

From his perch as Senate minority leader, Dole warned President-elect Clinton to think twice about ignoring him and other Republicans on Capitol Hill but also sent a clear message that he would welcome an early get-together between Clinton and congressional Republicans—a political "welcome wagon," he called it—with the idea of cooperating on legislation.

"Everyone wants to get the new president off to a good start," Dole said, putting aside some of the sharper barbs he used in interviews immediately after the election, which caused some heartburn among Republicans as well as Democrats.

Dole's zest contrasts starkly with his dispirited mood only a year ago when friends said he had serious doubts about seeking election to a fifth term.

Not only did he realize he probably would never be president, they said, but even his hope of again becoming majority leader, the post he held during 1985 and 1986, crumbled when it became clear that Republicans would not regain control of the Senate this year.

But Dole ran again and won by a huge margin, even while campaigning in 30 other states for GOP Senate candidates. By the early hours of Nov. 4, he was all over the airwaves with the kind of one-liners, zingers, put-downs and trenchant observations he had suppressed for four years.

It is as though, at age 69 and in apparent good health after prostate surgery, he has found a "new meaning in life," which could encompass everything from zest for combat with Clinton to another bid for the GOP presidential nomination, a Republican colleague observed.

Others thought it boiled down instead to a kind of poetic justice: Bush was impaled this year on the same issue of tax increases that he used against Dole in 1988 when he warned that Dole would raise taxes, just as Bush eventually did in signing the 1990 tax bill.

"Ah, the sweet smell of revenge," observed Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) when asked why Dole seemed to have such a post-election bounce in his step.

Dole had only kind words for Bush to the end, insisting that the defeated president was "a decent man, a man of total integrity" who was victimized by the economy and by news media characterizations of it. But his thoughts were clearly on a post-Bush future.

In Wednesday appearances on all major television networks, at a Capitol Hill news conference and on CNN's "Larry King Live" call-in show, followed by countless other interviews, Dole:

- Said he was seeking reelection by his Republican colleagues as minority leader to serve as "watchdog [for] the 57 percent who did not vote for Bill Clinton" and to use powers available to him in that post to oppose "bad policy" when the need arises.

- Claimed a "mandate" every bit as big as Clinton got because Republicans have 42 or 43 seats in the Senate, which is roughly the proportion of the popular vote that Clinton won. "If he has a mandate, then I must have a mandate," Dole said with a straight face.

- Refused to close the door to another presidential bid, first saying he would "probably not" run again, then adding that "you never close your options" and then finally observing that he rather likes to win.

- Hinted that he intends to take a major role in rebuilding the GOP by attempting to broaden its base and focusing on "traditional" Republican fiscal policy, meaning emphasis on deficit reduction. He also revived

his joke about supply-side Republican tax-cutters ("the good news was a bus-load of supply-siders went over the cliff; the bad news was there were three empty seats").

- Put out overtures to independent presidential candidate Ross Perot and his supporters, saying he wants to find some way to "harness all of the energy he's been able to mobilize in an effort to reduce the deficit."

- Made it clear that he intends to demand the same kind of "thoroughness" in examining Clinton administration nominees as the Democrats did in screening Bush appointees and served notice that he would not hesitate to initiate filibusters when the need arises.

- But also said he was ready to "cooperate with him [Clinton] when he can't get Democratic support," suggesting—undoubtedly with some mischief in mind—that Republicans would back him in passing legislation to give the president the right to veto specific items in appropriations bills, which most Democratic lawmakers oppose.

"Of course, we may want to 'sun-set' the legislation" by putting in an expiration date just in case Clinton uses the power in ways they did not have in mind, he added.

The power of Dole and his Senate Republican troops may seem to have been diminished when voters reestablished one-party government in Washington last Tuesday. But Democratic elation may not survive the first cloture vote in the Senate next year.

By retaining more than the 41 votes necessary to defeat cloture motions aimed at ending filibusters, the Republicans—who will have 42 or 43 seats depending on the outcome of a Georgia runoff Nov. 24—have kept one of the most important levers of minority party power in the government.

In alternately stressing his desire to cooperate with the new administration and his power to trip it up, Dole seemed to be relishing his options, which were constricted while he served as the Republican president's man in the Senate. Dole likes options: His ability to create and exploit them is part of his prowess in the Senate.

For instance, Dole indicated he might consider an economic stimulus program that would increase the deficit over the short run, so long as it was wedded firmly to a long-term deficit reduction plan. If it is not, Dole indicated, forget it.

Meanwhile, Dole has an eye cocked on the 1994 senatorial elections, when Democrats again will have far more seats at risk than the Republicans. And, he said with a wide grin, "It's always easier to run against the White House."

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For Quayle, the Road to the White House Hits a Detour

■ **Politics:** Some say that Bush's fall may be fatal to the Indianan's ambitions. Even his aides admit he must regroup and remake his political persona.

By PAUL RICHTER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

INDIANAPOLIS—George Bush gaveth, and he tooketh away.

So it may be with the presidential hopes that have glimmered for Dan Quayle ever since Bush picked the then-obscure senator from Indiana as his running mate in 1988. With Tuesday's defeat of the Republican ticket, those dreams may have been snuffed out forever. At the least, Quayle's journey to the White House became a lot longer.

If Bush had won reelection, the vice president would have approached the 1996 election as a front-runner for the GOP nomination, backed by a solid-gold network of allies and an eight-year incumbency in a party that attaches great importance to high rank.

Instead, he's "been tainted by his association with Bush, and may not recover," said Burton Yale Pines, a conservative activist with the Washington-based Center for Public Policy Studies think tank.

And, referring to the ridicule Quayle has endured over whether he measured up to the demands of national office, Pines said, "Think of it: He gave up a safe seat in the Senate, and took a beating for four years. Dan Quayle has lived a Greek tragedy."

Quayle advisers and friends dispute that Bush's fall may be fatal to the Indianan's ambitions. But some acknowledge he needs to regroup and perhaps undergo reconstructive surgery on his political persona. The major challenge involves overcoming his image as a none-too-bright bumbler that has kept his negative ratings among the general public stubbornly high.

Still, even as Quayle's war with "Murphy Brown" and his misspelling of "potato" made him the butt of jokes, they also gave him a renown that is rare among vice presidents. His condemnation of his critics as members of a "cultural elite" who are out of touch with mainstream America struck a chord among conservatives and is likely to continue to make him a top drawer among them.

Quayle, 45, won't discuss how he reads his political prospects. He laughed off questions Thursday about whether he will run for President in 1996, saying only: "I want to stay active. I want to continue to make a difference. There's a lot of options out there, believe me."

Winning another public office as a stepping stone to the White House may not be one of them. His friend, Republican Dan Coats, won reelection to one of Indiana's U.S. Senate seats Tuesday. The state's other Senate seat is up for election in 1994, but its longtime occupant, Republican Richard G. Lugar, has given no indication he plans to give it up. And reelected Tuesday to a four-year term as Indiana's governor was Evan Bayh, son of the man Quayle whipped in 1980 to get to the Senate.

Mitch Daniels, a longtime Quayle associate and former White House political director, believes the vice president should bolster his image for leadership with a tour of duty outside politics, perhaps in the corporate world.

"It's hard to come off this four years and this election and move in a straight line," Daniels said. "I think he ought to take a lot of time and reflect on it."

Analysts and people around him point to a variety of things Quayle could do in the next four years to keep his name in front of the electorate. They say he could take a job with a law firm or work at his family's Central Newspapers chain and still have time to stump for conservative causes, take part in fund-raisers and perhaps write a syndicated column.

Regardless, some of Quayle's supporters are clearly

thinking ahead to 1996. On Election Day, this sign bobbed above the crowd at a Quayle appearance: "Really annoy the media: Quayle-Limbaugh '96."

Several of those close to Quayle say, with varying degrees of directness, that they expect him to seek the presidency (although it is doubtful a ticket he headed would include conservative commentator Rush Limbaugh).

Marilyn Quayle, considered by some the flame under her husband's ambition, told an interviewer last month that she believes he is so good at "solving problems," he should run for the White House.

Jeffrey Nesbit, Quayle's communications director, says he "can't believe he wouldn't run."

And aides point to history to argue that being on a losing ticket is not fatal to presidential ambitions. Former Vice President Walter F. Mondale rose from the ashes of the Democratic ticket's immolation in 1980 to win his party's presidential nomination four years later—although what it got him was landslide defeat.

Political analysts agree that if Quayle wants the top job, he will have to work on a variety of tasks.

They include distancing himself from his boss and establishing a strong independent identity from a field of conservative rivals that includes Patrick J. Buchanan, Housing Secretary Jack Kemp, Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas and former Education Secretary William J. Bennett.

Even before Election Day, Quayle staff members had begun trying to steer clear of what they viewed as a misguided Bush campaign. Aides have been hinting, ever more broadly, that their camp has all along had a different agenda than Bush's, and would have run a far different campaign. For instance, they would have pushed hard for supply-side solutions to economic ills and charted a crusading conservative agenda to address America's social problems.

The aides fault the White House's campaign tactics as well. They say Bush should have followed through on his various campaign themes, should have focused his message sooner and should never have stooped to calling Democrats Bill Clinton and Al Gore "bozos" and "crazies."

Quayle himself on Thursday said Bush might have been able to win reelection with a better, bolder campaign in the face of the country's economic difficulties.

"The economy is not as bad as we've been told, and we were unable to push through that perception," Quayle said. "That takes a strategy and being willing to take on the odds."

For their part, Bush aides have not been supine in the blame game, and it remains to be seen whether Quayle will fully escape responsibility for the GOP loss.

Even before the election, one Republican campaign aide said Quayle might cost the Republicans 5% of the popular vote. Although that remains hard to quantify, the Los Angeles Times exit polling of voters found that among those who said their opinion of Quayle influenced their decision, fully 63% voted for Clinton and 13% for independent Ross Perot; only 24% stuck with the GOP ticket.

Analysts of various political stripes agree that, love him or hate him, Quayle forced the world to take him seriously as vice president.

He led the White House Council on Competitiveness, which conservatives saw as a champion of deregulation and liberals viewed as a threat to Washington's regulatory apparatus. As head of the Space Council, he helped maintain funding for NASA programs that were under attack as overpriced and of limited value.

With a talented staff, he developed and road-tested campaign themes. He emerged as a particularly vocal advocate of "family values" and legal reform. These are among the issues that could help him rally conservatives to his side in the future, analysts say.

Dole asks for probe of Walsh

Urges president to issue pardons

By Carleton R. Bryant
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole called yesterday for a Justice Department investigation of special prosecutor Lawrence Walsh's office and urged President Bush to pardon everyone implicated in the Iran-Contra affair.

Mr. Bush "has to make the decision, but one thing we ought to do, we ought to investigate and determine whether or not politics played any part in the second Weinberger indictment," made public four days before the election, Mr. Dole said on CBS-TV's "Face the Nation."

Vice President Dan Quayle, who last week called it "a travesty of justice," and other Republican officials have criticized Mr. Walsh for the timing of the indictment's release, saying it stalled President Bush's campaign comeback. The indictment was accompanied by excerpts from notes by former Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger that appear to contradict Mr. Bush's claim that he was unaware of an arms-for-hostages plan.



Walsh

"I would also hope that President Bush would consider pardons for some of these people, including Cap Weinberger," Mr. Dole said, later noting that if one person is pardoned, all should be.

Mr. Dole is the first senior Republican to call publicly for presidential pardons for those linked to the Iran-Contra matter. The Washington Post reported Saturday that officials in the White House are discussing the possibility of pardons but that no one had taken the matter directly to Mr. Bush.

"Walsh has been six years investigating Republicans — six years — spent at least \$40 million directly, probably another \$40 million," Mr. Dole said yesterday. "It's a Democratic hotbed of Democratic activist lawyers in the special prosecutor's office...."

"They haven't gotten any convictions anyway. They've had a couple of plea bargains where they've had misdemeanors. It's been a very expensive process," the Kansas Republican said.

Mr. Walsh, he said, has had "as long as a Senate term, and he didn't pay D.C. taxes. A lot of things they didn't do right."

But the "straw that broke the camel's back," Mr. Dole said, was the timing of the second Weinberger indictment. He noted that the chief prosecutor in Mr. Walsh's office responsible for the indictment had contributed \$500 to the Clinton campaign and that his law office had given the Democratic ticket \$20,000 in all.

"I don't know whether he won or lost the election," Mr. Dole said, "but ... there's something wrong there when the press release from the Clinton-Gore headquarters said the 29th of October and the indictment didn't come until the 30th."

"There must have been some communication between the Clinton-

Gore people and the special prosecutor's office," he said.

The Washington Times first reported the discrepancy in the dates on Friday and quoted Walsh and Clinton campaign spokesmen as saying there was no contact between the two offices.

Senate Minority Whip Alan Simpson, appearing on NBC-TV's "Meet the Press" yesterday, called the Weinberger indictment "one of the cheapest shots of the campaign."

The Wyoming Republican said, however, that Mr. Bush "ought to be very, very careful" when considering pardons.

Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, appearing in a separate segment of the CBS program, said pardoning those involved in the Iran-Contra affair "would be a serious mistake" for the president to make.

"Given the fact that President Bush's statements on his own participation [in the scandal] have changed ... over the past several years, I fear for his sake that it would look like the pardons were intended to prevent any further exploration of his participation," the Maine Democrat said.

The senators' remarks highlighted one of the more contentious issues facing the Bush administration in its remaining 71 days — the multimillion-dollar investigation of illegal arms sales to Iran and the diversion of profits to arm the Nicaraguan resistance.

The announcement of new charges against Mr. Weinberger, the highest-ranking Reagan administration official indicted in the scandal, gave the Clinton campaign a political mace, which it used to hammer Mr.

Bush on the character question in the closing days of the campaign.

The Clinton-Gore statement on the charges, released at almost the same time as the indictment although dated a day earlier, included a detailed, several-page analysis of the indictment and how it contradicted the president's account.

According to a Clinton campaign spokeswoman, the news release was misdated.

Mr. Dole questioned yesterday whether the Clinton campaign obtained word of the indictment through James Brosnahan, a newly hired Walsh aide who donated \$500 to the Clinton-Gore ticket and whose law firm, Morrison and Foerster, gave more than \$20,000.

In an interview with the Associated Press, Mr. Walsh denied there had been any communication be-

tween "me or my office with anyone" before the indictment, except for an interagency group of intelligence experts from the Bush administration. That group reviews all pending indictments in the Iran-Contra investigation ahead of time for possible classified information.

Mr. Walsh said political contributions by Mr. Brosnahan before the Iran-Contra prosecutor's office hired him are "irrelevant."

Walsh critics, seeking his dismissal, see the Clinton campaign contributions by the chief prosecutor as part of a pattern of abuse that includes:

- A recent General Accounting Office audit that found Mr. Walsh was improperly reimbursed by taxpayers for as much as \$78,000 for food and lodging.

- Mr. Walsh's admission that he didn't pay D.C. income taxes as required by law for anyone living and working in the city more than 183 days a year.

Seven persons have pleaded guilty in the Iran-Contra scandal, and an eighth, Thomas Clines, is serving a prison term after being convicted of tax charges.

Retired CIA official Clair George is being retried, and former CIA official Duane Clarridge faces a criminal trial.

All charges have been dismissed against former White House aide Oliver North, whose three convictions were set aside on appeal. Mr. Walsh's office is appealing the overturned convictions of retired Adm. John Poindexter, former national security adviser.

- This article is based in part on wire service reports.

Dole Urges Probe of Walsh Over 'Politics'

Associated Press

Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) yesterday called for an investigation of Iran-contra prosecutor Lawrence E. Walsh and said President Bush should consider pardoning all defendants in the scandal.

Dole called Walsh's office a "hotbed of Democratic activist lawyers." A special prosecutor from the Justice Department should be brought in to determine "whether or not politics played any part" in a new indictment of former defense secretary Caspar W. Weinberger issued the week before the election, Dole said on CBS's "Face the Nation."

Walsh denied any political motivation in the second indictment of Weinberger, which was based in part on Weinberger's notes that placed Bush at a Jan. 7, 1986, meeting about the Reagan White House's arms-for-hostages deals with Iran. As a result of the new indictment, the president had to fend off questions about the scandal during the final days of the campaign.

Dole said the Oct. 30 grand jury charge against Weinberger was obtained by a newly hired Walsh aide, James Brosnahan, who contributed \$500 to Bill Clinton's campaign and whose law firm contributed \$20,000 to the Clinton campaign.

Dole suggested Clinton's campaign got advance notice from Walsh's office about the new Weinberger charge, because a Clinton-Gore press release reacting to the indictment and focusing on Bush was dated Oct. 29—the day before the indictment.

Clinton aides have said the date was a misprint and that they obtained information for their press release from wire service accounts after the indictment was handed up.

Walsh, in an interview yesterday, denied that there had been any communication on the new Weinberger charge between "me or my office with anyone" in advance of the indictment, except for an inter-agency group of intelligence experts from the Bush administration. That group reviews all pending indictments in Walsh's Iran-contra investigation for possible classified information.

Walsh, a Republican who was deputy attorney general in the Eisenhower administration, added that political contributions by Brosnahan before Walsh's office hired him are "it seems to me irrelevant."

Dole said Bush should consider pardons for all Iran-contra defendants, not just Weinberger, because "if you're going to do one, you do them all."

But Senate Minority Whip Alan K. Simpson (R-Wyo.) cautioned against presidential pardons for figures in the Iran-contra affair in the remaining 11 weeks of the Bush administration.

"I'd be very careful of that," Simpson said on NBC's "Meet the Press." He did not elaborate on his view, and when asked whether that meant he thought a pardon would be a mistake, he said: "I'm not saying that. I think he ought to be very, very careful."

The Washington Post reported Saturday that White House aides and Vice President Quayle are advising a presidential pardon. It said no formal recommendation has been made to Bush, and that mid-level aides discussed the issue with the president Wednesday.

Now It's Time for Bush to Concentrate On a Domestic Issue: His Retirement Plan

 DATE: 11.9
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YOUR MONEY MATTERS

By ELLEN E. SCHULTZ

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
 President Bush will soon join the millions of other Americans who have lost jobs to the faltering economy.

He will still be more fortunate than most, of course. Thanks to more than \$337,000 a year in government pensions and another quarter of a million or so in personal investment income, his retirement shouldn't require a lot of belt-tightening.

Still, Mr. Bush's retirement package is far from extravagant. In fact, compared with what most departing corporate chief executives can expect, the president's package is downright modest.

"Bob Stempel of GM is going to get a whole lot more than Bush gets," says Mary Malgoire, a Bethesda, Md., financial planner who has many clients in the civil service.

In any case, after years of grappling with affairs of state, it's time for Mr. Bush to do some personal financial planning so that he and Barbara can make the most of their newly private lives.

"Major life changes call for a review of



President Bush

his tax strategy, pension provisions, investments and estate planning," says Andrew Zuckerman, director of employee benefits at accounting firm Grant Thornton in Washington.

And Mr. Bush shouldn't take too long to get started. With the Clinton administration readying plans for its first 100 days, financial planners and accountants advise the president to consider accelerating income into 1992. That's because Mr. Bush—like other upper-income Americans—faces the prospect of higher income taxes in 1993 under President-elect Clinton's proposal to raise the top rate to 36% from 31%.

The first step in financial planning is to take a hard look at what you've got and what you can expect. Mr. Bush may be pleasantly surprised at what he has to look forward to:

—A pension equivalent to 71.5% of his former pay, or \$143,800 a year in monthly payments of \$11,983 starting after January. This presidential pension is indexed for inflation and is scheduled to rise to an annual rate of \$153,269 during 1993.

—An annual payment for an office and staff that amounts to \$150,000 a year for the next 2½ years and \$96,000 a year thereafter.

—Pensions from earlier years of government service totaling at least \$44,000 a year, according to an estimate by Russell J. Mueller, actuary with the House of Representatives.

—Investment income from a portfolio valued last year at \$1.3 million that is held in a blind trust Mr. Bush set up when he became vice president in 1981. According to the first family's federal tax returns, these investments generated income of \$173,384 in 1991 and \$252,732 in 1990. The Bushes also earned more than \$65,000 from other investments.

—Other assets, including his home in Kennebunkport, Maine, which is valued at \$2.2 million, and other property, bank accounts and investments totaling \$206,000.

—Additional income from speeches, consulting and other activities once Mr. Bush leaves the White House. Mrs. Bush, who earned \$891,894 for the book supposedly dictated to her by First Dog Millie, may also have another book or two in her. (Mrs. Bush donated the book's proceeds to charity.)

Given the numbers, Mr. Bush and his advisers will want to do some serious tax planning. Because his pension will be in the form of annuity payouts, he won't be able to defer taxes on the payouts. And while the extent of his future income from speaking engagements and other such sources is impossible to gauge, the potential is clearly enormous.

Now that he won't be able to veto any more federal tax increases, one of his best bets is to keep his legal residence in Texas. That way, he can at least escape income and capital gains taxes at the state level. "I would certainly stay there if I were him," Ms. Malgoire says.

Buying a house would also be a good idea, as mortgage interest is one of the few big deductions left. With interest rates and prices low, "now's the time to buy," Mr. Zuckerman says.

The president also has a crucial decision to make about his civil service pension, says Jane V. King, a financial planner with Fairfield Financial Advisors in Wellesley, Mass., who has worked with dozens of executives who were retired early by corporate cutbacks. Unless Mr. Bush opts for a joint-and-survivor payout,

Comfortable, Not Lavish

What President Bush will receive in his first year in retirement, excluding earnings from speeches and other activities:

Presidential pension	\$143,800 ¹
Post-presidential expenses	150,000 ²
Pension from civil service (military, Congress, ambassador, CIA chief and vice president)	44,000 ³
Income from savings and investments	240,000 ³
TOTAL	577,800

¹Indexed for inflation, scheduled to rise next year to \$153,269.

²For the next 2½ years, \$96,000 a year thereafter.

³Estimated.

the pension will last only as long as he lives.

Taking the joint-and-survivor option would reduce the \$44,000 annual payout by about 9% to \$39,000, depending on the actuarial formulas used, Ms. King says. But "if he wants Barbara to get something, he has to take a haircut today," she says. (Because the decision is irrevocable, Ms. King advises Mr. Bush to get advice from his accountant.)

Financial advisers say it's difficult for them to say what Mr. Bush should do with his investments, since they are in a blind trust. "This gets really weird. I'm not sure he really knows what he can do," says Mr. Zuckerman. "Most retirees don't have blind trusts. They know what they've got."

Still, advisers say that because the president's tax return suggests that the holdings generated income of about 13% last year and 19% in 1991, a lot of them may well be oil investments. If that's the case, they say, it might be prudent to diversify.

"While it's usually a good idea to stick with what you know, the '90s will be a whole different ballgame for oil than the '70s were," Ms. Malgoire says.

Investment advisers have been suggesting lately that people may want to emphasize small-company stocks, which historically have done well when Democrats are in the White House, and maybe increase their holdings of cyclical stocks, which would be among the first to rise if the economy rebounds.

Tax-exempt municipal bonds look like a good bet, too, many advisers say.

There are some typical retiree issues that Mr. Bush won't have to worry about: Medicare, possible reductions in medical benefits paid by a former employer, Medicaid coverage, long-term care policies, disability coverage or a dental plan. As a former president, he will have most of his medical needs taken care of by the government.

"That saves him a bundle," says Mr. Zuckerman.

McConnell May Oppose Gramm for NRSC Post

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

Sen. Phil Gramm (Tex.) a likely candidate for the GOP presidential nomination in 1996, faces a challenge for his continued leadership of the National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC) in Senate leadership elections Tuesday.

Although Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) has not formally declared his candidacy for the post, he has been campaigning among colleagues for weeks and is expected to have his name put in contention if he thinks he has enough votes to win.

With Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine) and Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) assured of reelection, attention in the leadership races centers on the Gramm-McConnell struggle, which is an unfriendly rematch of the contest Gramm won two years ago.

In the only other likely race for a leadership post, Sen. Slade Gorton (R-Wash.) has indicated he may challenge Assistant Minority Leader Alan K. Simpson (R-Wyo.). A potentially more serious challenge to Dole or Simpson by the party's often unhappy right wing, which has

been rumored for some time, apparently has fizzled, sources said last week.

In the race for the NRSC chairmanship, McConnell has attempted to tap resentment over Gramm's pre-presidential activities on his own behalf while recruiting candidates and raising funds for this year's races.

But senators said Gramm escaped more serious damage when the Democrats failed to pick up more seats than they did in last Tuesday's elections. Republicans either will hold 43 seats or lose one, depending on the outcome of a Nov. 24 runoff in Georgia.

In a contest for a junior Republican leadership post, Sens. Christopher S. Bond (Mo.), Trent Lott (Miss.) and Frank H. Murkowski (Alaska) are competing for the job of secretary of the Republican Conference, now held by Sen. Robert W. Kasten Jr. (Wis.), who was defeated.

Democrats will fill their deputy whip job, now held by Sen. Alan J. Dixon (Ill.), who was defeated in a primary. The new chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee will be appointed by Mitchell.

Religious Right Hopes Clinton Swells Ranks

*Democrat in White House
May Fire Up Conservatives*

By Gustav Niebuhr
Washington Post Staff Writer

When President Bush went down to defeat Tuesday night, conservative religious activists lost their most visible ally.

But some of those activists say they believe that a Clinton White House could be a big recruiting poster for their causes.

"Instead of Bush being there to energize the pro-abortion forces, you've got Clinton there to energize us," said Ralph Reed, executive director of the Christian Coalition.

The conservative political organization, the creation of religious broadcaster Pat Robertson, hopes to double its membership—to about 700,000—by this time next year. "Only conservatives can savor defeat because it lays the seeds for future victories," Reed said. "For Christians, without a crucifixion, there's no resurrection."

The Rev. Jerry Falwell, preoccupied during the past three years with financial problems at his Liberty University in Lynchburg, Va., said he is being deluged with demands from former followers to get back into the political arena. "We've been literally inundated since the election, [with evangelicals] saying please, please, please, crank up the Moral Majority again," the grass-roots political action network Falwell headed from 1979 to 1989.

And the Rev. Keith Tucci, director of the antiabortion group Operation Rescue, predicted that the election of a president who supports legalized abortion may well push more people into public protests against abortion clinics. The "whole false hope of so many pro-lifers that somebody is going to wave a magic political wand" to abolish abortion has been dealt a terrible blow, he said. "So Operation Rescue becomes a more viable" alternative than ever before, he added.

Underlying the siren calls to a new wave of activism is a nexus of political and theological concerns. While many prominent evangelicals say that they will follow biblical injunctions and pray for the new administration, President-elect Clinton's support for abortion rights and gay rights—as well as the allegations of marital infidelity that have dogged him for months—are deeply disturbing to many. Some fret that divine retribution may follow on the heels of Clinton's election.

"I think a nation that would put a man like

that in a position of leadership is just asking for the judgment of God," said the Rev. D. James Kennedy, pastor of the 8,000-member Coral Ridge Presbyterian Church in Fort Lauderdale, Fla., whose religious broadcast, "Coral Ridge Hour," is carried on 360 television stations nationwide.

Citing biblical passages in which the ancient Israelites were punished for the sins of their kings, Kennedy said too many voters put concern for the economy above basic moral issues. "I will never sell my principles for money; I'm afraid many Americans have done that. . . . I think the philosophical label is, let us do evil so that good may come."

Falwell, who had discussed the election results with pastors gathered for a large conference at his Thomas Road Baptist Church in Lynchburg, said: "I've never sensed such a deep concern as I do right now. . . . I would suggest that by mid-1993, there will be a resurgence of all the pro-family and 'religious right' forces."

Professor John Green, director of the Ray Bliss Institute, a bipartisan political research center at the University of Akron, said Falwell is probably correct: "All social groups—particularly religious movements—prosper in opposition. . . . I think the Christian right is going to do well under a Clinton administration."

Voter surveys taken immediately after the election suggested conservative religionists had solid bases of strength going into the voting, enough to play decisive roles in several contests Tuesday. Green cited the importance of religious conservatives in the ouster of Democratic Sen. Terry Sanford in North Carolina, in the slim victory of GOP lawyer Bob Inglis over incumbent Democratic Rep. Elizabeth J. Patterson in South Carolina's 4th District and in Bush's narrow victory in Florida.

To that list, Reed added the victories of Republican Reps. Jim Nussle and Jim Light-

foot in Iowa, where the Christian Coalition mailed out 650,000 voters' guides and made 45,000 get-out-the-vote calls. The group also took credit for the defeat in that state of a proposed Equal Rights Amendment.

Since the election, the coalition released the results of a national survey of 1,100 voters showing that 55 percent of evangelicals supported Bush in the election—one of the few groups to remain loyal to the president. Citing that figure, Reed cautioned Republicans against blaming conservative Christian activists for alienating more secular voters from the GOP. "You don't want to take the only voters who voted for you and kick them in the teeth. That's not a wise strategy," he said.

Still, not all evangelicals see their role as one of inevitable opposition.

Richard Land, director of the Christian Life Commission, an agency of the Southern Baptist Convention, said Clinton—as a "masterful politician" and pragmatist—could find "common ground" with evangelicals.

How? Land recommends that the president-elect "come out foursquare" for the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, a bill pending in Congress that backs protection of religious liberties, and that he adopt a tougher stance against Serbia because of its involvement in the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Speaking of the latter issue, Land said, "If Governor Clinton would push an updated agenda of human rights that President Carter pushed, he'd find a very receptive audience among evangelicals, including me."

But Charles W. Colson, a former Nixon aide who is now chairman of Prison Fellowship, said evangelicals ought to put aside their preoccupation with national politics and focus instead on their own spiritual development to influence life and politics in their local communities. "I'm a believer in the invasion at the grass roots, not [in] trying to capture the other side's general," Colson said.

Clinton, After Raising Hopes, Tries to Lower Expectations

By MICHAEL KELLY
Special to The New York Times

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Nov. 8 — As President-elect Bill Clinton begins the transition from campaigning to governing, his overarching concern is to cope with the emotion he has stirred: hope.

A volatile expectation colors everything about the beginning of the Clinton years. Against accepted political wisdom and the currents of an angry year, Mr. Clinton's Presidential campaign seemed to revive at least a limited belief that Washington can actually do something good for people.

Now, as the President-elect settles into his job, he and his strategists face the tricky task of bringing the grandly hopeful promises of his campaign into line with the grimly difficult realities of governance: a huge Federal deficit, a highly taxed public, a Congress determined to hold onto its own share of power and the factionalization of politics by pressure groups.

The inculcation of a vast and passionate Hope (the word, uttered every few seconds in Clinton circles, seems to come out capitalized) was at the core of the Clinton electoral strategy, a plan based on the idea that

people eager for change would vote for him if their hopes could be made to rise above the level of their trepidations.

"This is a race of hope against fear," was Mr. Clinton's slogan. The glowing biographical film that created the candidate's general-election image celebrated his upbringing in Hope, Ark., and in speeches Mr. Clinton made a point of saying he "still believed in a town called Hope."

Facing the Perils of Hope

Post-election polls indicate the strategy's success: an overwhelming percentage of the voters who chose Mr. Clinton did so not just to remove President Bush from office, but also in the belief that the new President, as he had promised, would improve their lives. Among other things, the candidate promised to end working-class poverty, to change welfare, to provide health care for everyone and to eliminate illiteracy.

Publicly, Mr. Clinton's advisers describe the national expectation level as a great opportunity. Privately, some of them regard it with worry as well. Hope got Mr. Clinton elected; they figure, and will be the crucial weapon of the first hundred days of his Administration, a stick with which to beat the recalcitrant and critical forces of Congress, the permanent bureaucracy and the press. But hope expects success, and deferred, sours with nearly the violence of spurned love.

To retain the political promise of hope while minimizing its peril, Mr. Clinton and his strategists are beginning to chart a course of contrary impulses. The nascent strategy is directed at maintaining expectations for a Clinton Presidency at a high enough level that Congress, the bureaucrats and the press will fear thwarting the Administration's aims, while simultaneously dampening those expectations to bring them closer to what can be achieved.

Mr. Clinton voiced the dual nature of this approach in his first official statement of Presidential intent, a five-paragraph speech delivered the day after his election.

"We have entered a period of great challenge and extraordinary opportunity for our nation," he said, in a passage that spoke in high and rich terms of national greatness. But the next, and final, passage sounded a note of shared sacrifice, a signal that greatness would not be achieved without pain.

Lowering the Expectations

"America has called on me to be our next President," Mr. Clinton said. "But our forebears call on all of us at this moment to honor their efforts, their sacrifices, their ideals and their lives by working hard and working together to improve this good and great nation as much for our children and our children's children as those who preceded us did for us."

It is this latter theme of sacrifice and a lowering of hope to reality's borders that is most urgently sounded now by Mr. Clinton's advisers. The imperative, in the wake of a campaign of blue-sky, no-pain promises, is obvious to them. Asked how much patience the American public might have with the Clinton Administration as it sets out to fulfill its promise, Eli Segal, Mr. Clinton's campaign chief of staff, had a succinct answer: "Not much."

And so, this week, the low-balling began.

"The expectation is not that he will solve everything in a hundred days, but that he will address the problems seriously, and begin the process of working toward solutions," said Mandy Grunwald, one of Mr. Clinton's chief image and media consultants.

Democrats are finding perils in the politics of hope.

Bruce Reed, Mr. Clinton's issues adviser, said: "I'm not that sure how high expectations are. Obviously, in record numbers people demonstrated that they thought there was a lot at stake in this election, and they care deeply about the outcome of the questions raised, but I think people still have doubts about what Government can do."

Considering Many Ideas

"The Governor never promised that Government could solve every problem; he just promised it was time that leaders start trying," he added. "As he has said over and over, we didn't get into this mess overnight and we won't get out of it overnight."

Possible means of furthering this point are under discussion within the wide circle of Mr. Clinton's advisers. A strategy pushed by one economic adviser calls for him to address the nation in a televised "national audit," in which he would, in Ross Perot style, grimly lay out economic realities.

A Clinton campaign official cautioned that neither this idea nor any other specific plan had yet been brought to Mr. Clinton's attention. But the essence of the ideas is clearly in line with the desires of a number of Mr. Clinton's policy advisers.

"I think leveling with people is a good idea always," said Al From, the director of the Washington-based Democratic Leadership Council and one of Mr. Clinton's advisers. "If you level with the people, they're going to be more willing to help you get along with what you need to do."

'Audit of Where We Stand'

Warren M. Christopher, Mr. Clinton's transition director, spoke of another version of the "national audit" idea today on the CBS News program "Face The Nation."

Saying Mr. Clinton would convene a group of business executives and economic leaders to advise him, Mr. Christopher called that effort "an attempt to make an audit of where we stand now."

The need for reducing hope to a manageable level arises directly from the oratory that helped elect Mr. Clinton. The Democratic candidate, in the course of the campaign and especially toward its conclusion, did often make the point that positive change could only come with shared responsibility and that it would not be easy to achieve. But he also spoke, and more often, in promises that were breathtaking in their ambition.

He said he would end welfare "as we know it." He would restore America's industrial manufacturing base so that good, high-paying jobs are widespread. He would insure that no working family would fall below the poverty line. And he would make "health care a right, not a privilege," for all Americans without subjecting businesses to an additional tax burden or rationing health care.

He promised to eliminate adult illiteracy in five years, to halve the Federal deficit in four years without raising taxes on the middle class or significantly cutting the Government entitlement programs that account for the bulk of Federal spending, while offering a modest tax break to the middle class.

He said he would guarantee all Americans either a college education or two years of vocational training after high school, under the guidance of a national service program that would "solve the problems of this country while educating a generation of Americans."

Mr. Clinton pledged to keep abortion legal while "making it as rare as possible," to end racial, religious, geographical and sex-oriented divisions in society, safeguard environmental concerns without costing jobs and protect the rights and privileges of workers without costing business growth.

It is the hope of Mr. Clinton's advisers that he will be able to cope with both the heightened hopes of the public at large and the deferred expectations of Democratic interest groups through the great skill of promoting himself and his ideas through the mass media that he demonstrated during the campaign.

Increasingly, the model for Mr. Clinton's Administration was seen as that of Franklin D. Roosevelt, another President who took office amid doubts of his trustworthiness and whose fireside chats induced in the nation a sense of shared sacrifice and common good that carried it out of the Great Depression and through World War II.

"Bill Clinton is an information age politician; he understands the importance of communication," Mr. From said. "With that talent, what he has to do is what Roosevelt did, which is subsume the narrow agendas of organized interests into a larger national agenda for progress. I believe he is going to make this an idea-driven Administration, and an idea-driven Administration can appeal to a potpourri of interests. If he can do that, he will be fine."

Clinton Plans To Quickly Pick Economic Aides

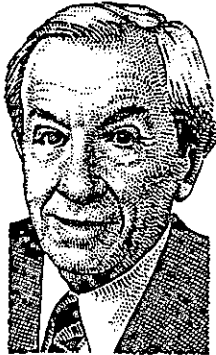
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He Also Intends to Meet
Shortly With Leaders
In Business, Economy

By JEFFREY H. BIRNBAUM

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — President-elect Clinton plans to act quickly to fill three top economic posts now that he has chosen the officials who will lead his transition effort.

The Clinton camp has privately set a goal of selecting the Treasury secretary, the director of the Office of Management and Budget, and the chairman of a new Economic Security Council before Thanksgiving. Mr. Clinton also intends to meet in Little Rock, Ark., within the next few weeks with a contingent of prominent business and economic leaders.



Warren Christopher

Vernon Jordan, chairman of the Clinton transition operation, in a series of weekend television interviews, made clear that economic appointments would receive a top priority with the president-elect and that some might be made "by Thanksgiving."

Mr. Jordan, a Washington lawyer and former president of the Urban League, was named chairman on Friday. Warren Christopher, a Los Angeles attorney and former deputy secretary of state, was named the transition's director of day-to-day operations.

The appointment of such heavyweights ended a spate of bickering among some of the campaign's senior officials and clears the way for Mr. Clinton to move expeditiously on his appointments. The choice of Messrs. Christopher and Jordan also signaled that Washington lobbyists may not have much leverage in this transition process.

Clinton wants to make these economic appointments rapidly as a way of reassuring the world financial markets that he is serious about tackling the nation's economic ills. Although Mr. Jordan said that decisions haven't yet been made, a half-dozen people are thought to be under serious consideration for the Clinton administration's Big Three economic posts. They include Paul Volcker, the former chairman of the Federal Reserve Board; Robert Rubin, vice chairman of Goldman, Sachs & Co.; Roger Altman, vice chairman of the Blackstone Group; Texas Sen. Lloyd Bentsen, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee; Felix Rohatyn, a partner at Lazard Freres & Co.; and Alice Rivlin, former head of the Congressional Budget Office and a candidate for budget chief.

These contenders are generally considered to be in the mainstream in their economic thinking. Mr. Rohatyn, however, has been ardent in calling for massive spending on the nation's infrastructure to bolster the economy. In general, though, each is well-regarded in the upper reaches of the nation's economic and business establishment.

But the selection of any of them as Mr. Clinton's top economic advisers won't assure tranquility in the new administration. The president-elect is likely to place in other administration posts advisers such as Robert Reich and Ira Magaziner, academics who have strong opinions about the need for more government intervention in the economy that would clash with these others.

Like other presidents, Mr. Clinton will continue to have a Council of Economic Advisers, but a post there could be eclipsed by the soon-to-be created Economic Security Council. That council, under tentative plans, would play a major role in devising and coordinating Mr. Clinton's plans for economic revitalization.

During the campaign, Mr. Clinton promised to create the Economic Security Council as a counterweight to the National Security Council. Although it includes cabinet officials, the NSC has its own staff independent of the Defense and State Departments. As a result, the national security adviser has in some administrations clashed over turf with the secretary of state.

In the meantime, Mr. Clinton will consult with prominent members of the business and academic world on the economy. "The governor will convene in Little Rock, business leaders, economists, a variety of people with expertise in the economy, and international economy," Mr. Jordan said yesterday on NBC News's "Meet the Press." They will talk, he said, "about priorities and about his approach, and about his new approach having the economic security council very much similar to the national security council as it presently operates."



Vernon Jordan

Mr. Clinton is expected soon to expand the six-member board that is overseeing the transition. He also is expected this week to name a woman as a deputy transition director. Mr. Jordan said on ABC News's "This Week with David Brinkley" that "diversity" would be a watchword of the administration, meaning that Republicans as well as women and minorities are likely to receive appointments.

The current members of the transition board are Mr. Jordan; Mr. Christopher; Henry Cisneros, former mayor of San Antonio, Texas; Madeline Kunin, former

governor of Vermont; Thomas McLarty, chairman of Arkla Inc.; and Mickey Kantor, chairman of the Clinton campaign.

Many thought Mr. Kantor was slated to head the transition effort. But he got sidetracked by opposition from campaign officials and others who argued that his association with his law partner, Charles Manatt, a former chairman of the Democratic National Committee and a Washington wheeler-dealer, would send the wrong signal about business-as-usual with high-paid lobbyists. Ironically, Mr. Kantor has been active in efforts to overhaul campaign-finance laws and force increased disclosure by lobbyists. Still, the perception of close ties to Washington influence-peddlers played a role in dooming his prospects for becoming transition chief.

Mr. Jordan, 57 years old, is based in Washington as a senior partner in the law firm Akin, Gump, Hauer & Feld. The firm does engage in high-powered lobbying and represents foreign interests. But Mr. Jordan is primarily a corporate lawyer and is a member of about a dozen corporate boards, including Dow Jones & Co., publisher of this newspaper. He has actively supported the advancement of minorities in corporations and the legal profession, and is likely to press that cause in shaping the Clinton administration. But he also is expected to champion the bringing of top corporate leaders into the Clinton camp.

Mr. Christopher, 67, headed the selection process that led to the choice of Albert Gore as Mr. Clinton's running mate. His new job is seen as a reward for the judgment he showed in that effort. Mr. Christopher won the Medal of Freedom for his diplomatic efforts that helped free the Iranian hostages. And as head of the Los Angeles law firm O'Melveny & Myers, he headed the commission that investigated the videotaped beating of Rodney King.

Mr. Christopher's new task has made him a leading contender to become Mr. Clinton's White House chief of staff. But he muddled that possibility by saying that he had told Mr. Clinton, "I assumed in undertaking this role that I would not have a major responsibility in the future."

Mr. Jordan declined to rule out joining the new administration, and Mr. Christopher indicated in a news conference on Friday that he hoped the president-elect would find a position for Mr. Jordan there. Mr. Jordan is prominent on the list of those being considered for attorney general.

Several former campaign aides are expected to have major roles in the transition and the new government. Chief among these is George Stephanopoulos, the Clinton campaign's communications director. Mr. Stephanopoulos is known to have the complete confidence of Mr. Clinton, who talked to him before choosing Mr. Christopher over Mr. Kantor as transition director. Although at 31 years old Mr. Stephanopoulos is probably too young to be the chief of staff, he is likely to continue as a senior adviser of some sort.

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VERNON E. JORDAN JR.

Chairman of President-elect Bill Clinton's transition board

Born: Atlanta, Aug. 15, 1935

Age: 57

Family: Married Ann Dibble Cook, Nov. 22, 1986. One daughter from a previous marriage.

Education: Bachelor's degree, DePauw University, 1957. Law degree, Howard University, 1960.

Career highlights: Law practice, Atlanta, 1960-61. Georgia field director, NAACP, 1961-63. Law practice, Pine Bluff, Ark., 1964-65. Director, Voter Education Project Southern Regional Council, 1964-68. Lawyer, Office of Economic Opportunity, Atlanta, 1969. Executive director, United Negro College Fund, 1970-71. President, National Urban League, 1972-81. Partner, law firm Akin, Gump, Hauer & Feld, Washington, 1981-present.

Other: Member, National Advisory Commission on Selective Service, 1966-67; American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, 1972-present. Presidential Clemency Board, 1974. Board of directors, Brookings Institution, 1985. Fellow, Harvard Institute for Politics, 1969.

Source: Who's Who in America, 1992

The Washington Times



WARREN CHRISTOPHER

Director of President-elect Bill Clinton's transition board

Born: Scranton, N.D., Oct. 27, 1925

Age: 67

Family: Married Marie Josephine Willis on Dec. 21, 1956. Four children.

Education: Attended University of Redlands, 1942-43. Bachelor's degree, University of Southern California, 1945. Law degree, Stanford University, 1949.

Career highlights: Law clerk for U.S. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, 1949-50. Lawyer, O'Melveny & Myers, Los Angeles, 1950-57. Partner, O'Melveny & Myers, 1958-67, 1969-76, 1981-present. Deputy U.S. attorney general, 1967-69. Deputy secretary of state, 1977-81.

Other: Vice chairman, Governor's Commission on L.A. Riots, 1965-68. Chairman, U.S. delegations to U.S.-Japan Cotton Textile Negotiations, 1961. Special representative to the secretary of state for the Wool Textile Meetings, London, Rome, Tokyo, 1964-65. Member, Trilateral Commission, 1975-77, 1981-88. Chairman, Independent Commission on L.A. Police Department, 1991. Trustee, Stanford University, 1973-77, 1981-present.

Source: Who's Who in America, 1992

The Washington Times



Opportunists Knock at Clinton's Door, Seeking Posts in New Administration

By JILL ABRAMSON

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Now that Bill Clinton has won the White House, a lot of his biggest boosters want to help him create jobs — for them. Their efforts were apparent on election night, when a stampede of hopeful job-seekers rushed to Little Rock to be on hand for the celebration.

"There will be folks trying to pull political strings," observes Jody Powell, former press secretary in the Carter White House and one of the few well-positioned Democrats in Washington who isn't dusting off his resume for a Clinton administration. But "the bottom line is that there are too many jobs to fill, too many applicants and too little time," adds Mr. Powell, who manages a public relations firm that he launched during the Reagan-Bush era.

The jockeying for posts in high places began long before last Tuesday's election, but in different ways.

The Anglers

Felix Rohatyn, the Lazard Freres chief-tan and eminence grise of municipal finance, is considered to have a serious shot at being named to a top economic post. This very fact is remarkable, considering that the New York investment banker began the political season flirting with New York Gov. Mario Cuomo, then was widely linked to the independent candidacy of Ross Perot.

Only 15 days after Mr. Perot's withdrawal from the presidential race on



Felix Rohatyn

July 31, Mr. Rohatyn jumped on the Clinton bandwagon in a big way: with a \$100,000 contribution to the Democratic Party. In September, he made an additional \$10,000 donation at a lavish fund-raising dinner hosted by influential Democratic socialite Pamela Harriman at her Middleburg, Va., estate (Mrs. Harriman thoughtfully seated Mr. Rohatyn next to Mr. Clinton at dinner).

Two weeks later, Mr. Clinton picked Mr. Rohatyn to serve as one of his emissaries to Mr. Perot when the Texas billionaire abruptly re-entered the race. Mr. Rohatyn's presentation on the Clinton economic plan was about the only thing the Texan complimented. The investment banker soon began making more public appearances as one of Mr. Clinton's most visible boosters.

Mr. Rohatyn didn't return calls seeking a comment.

The Climbers

Short of actual campaign experience, a social connection to the Little Rock power axis is probably the next best thing. And few have social resumes that can match Richard Holbrooke, a Lehman Brothers managing director who is a fixture at

Manhattan power dinners, talking foreign policy with the likes of Henry Kissinger and Oscar de la Renta.

Mr. Holbrooke's close friendships with senior Clinton advisers Anthony Lake and Samuel Berger, who both served with Mr. Holbrooke in the Carter State Department, make him a strong contender for a top post. After business trips to Europe and China, Mr. Holbrooke dashed off memos about his visits with foreign dignitaries and sent copies to Messrs. Lake and Berger. He also wrote a letter to The Wall Street Journal complaining about an article and editorial that he deemed unflattering to a Clinton economic adviser. One hurdle is that some others on Mr. Clinton's staff in Little Rock perceive Mr. Holbrooke as having too zealously curried favor.

The 'New' Democrats

No Democrats are scrambling more than the Old Democrats now busily positioning themselves as New, Clinton Democrats. The identity change was already beginning on election night, when the U.S. ambassador to Moscow, Robert Strauss, appeared on network television to reclaim his old title of "Mr. Democrat." After spending the past decade hobnobbing with James Baker and the past 18 months serving inside the Bush administration, Mr. Strauss wanted to make sure that Americans knew he had voted for Mr. Clinton, and had even told President Bush he was doing so. "I went in a Democrat, and I'm coming out a Democrat," said Mr. Strauss, a former Democratic National Committee chairman. Although Mr. Strauss himself probably doesn't want a job in the Clinton administration, some of the partners at his Wash-

ington law firm certainly do.

New Democrats can even have served in the Reagan administration. Richard Schifter, a former top State Department official for the past decade before leaving earlier this year, has been advising Mr. Clinton on foreign policy. Mr. Schifter, who retained his Democratic Party affiliation, likely is in line for a top post. But he declines to comment; "We'll see what the future brings," he says. Then, he calls back to add that one of his first calls after leaving the State Department came from Gov. Clinton, inviting him to join his foreign policy advisory team.

The Overeager

Some job-seekers didn't even wait for Mr. Clinton's election before they began acting as if they had already been named to top Clinton administration posts.

About three weeks ago, lobbyist Kevin Nealer met with officials of the European Community in Washington to discuss various scenarios involving the GATT trade agreement. The EC representatives apparently were under the impression that Mr. Nealer was speaking as an emissary from the Clinton campaign.

Mr. Nealer, who acknowledges attending the meeting and telling the EC group that Congress might view any pre-inaugural GATT agreement with suspicion, says he wasn't being presumptuous. He stresses that he didn't meet the EC leaders "in any official [Clinton] capacity" but on behalf of his private clients, some of which are foreign companies. Gene Sperling, one of Mr. Clinton's top economic advisers, says Mr. Nealer didn't have any authorization to talk to the EC for Clinton. Nevertheless, Mr. Nealer is still considered in the running for an administration job involving trade.

The Booted

The most desperate category of job-seeker is the defeated Democratic incumbent who is out and wants to be back in.

One lawmaker with an inside track to a top post is Arkansan Beryl Anthony. One of the House's bad-check writers, Mr. Anthony was bounced from Congress in a primary runoff in June. But even before his defeat, his press spokeswoman assures, Rep. Anthony was out beating the drums for Mr. Clinton.

The spokeswoman gives an exhaustive account of the congressman's work on behalf of Mr. Clinton (which runs the gamut of speaking to the media during the Gennifer Flowers imbroglio to defending Mr. Clinton's draft record on the CNN television program "Crossfire.") Then she calls back to say she had forgotten to enumerate Mr. Anthony's role as a super-delegate at the Democratic convention.

LOOKING AHEAD

The Washington Times asked a group of foreign policy experts to list the top foreign policy challenges facing the Clinton administration. They all included trade or economy on the list.



Francois Heisbourg
Former director of the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) and now chairman of its French Committee.

1. The deadlocked world trade talks known as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).
2. The Middle East, including Arab-Israeli peace talks and violence in Iraqi Kurdistan.
3. Proliferation of nuclear weapons and other arms of mass destruction.
4. Relations with Western Europe and the United States, including the future of NATO and U.S. troops in Europe.



Robert E. Hunter
Vice president of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and foreign policy adviser to the Clinton-Gore campaign.

1. "The No. 1 foreign policy issue is getting the U.S. economy right."
2. Spurring global economic growth.
3. Ensuring that Russia's political and economic reforms succeed.
4. Pursuing the correct policy toward the Middle East, particularly the Persian Gulf and Central Asia.



Jeanne Kirkpatrick
Former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations; senior fellow, American Enterprise Institute.

1. As the sign in Clinton-Gore campaign headquarters said, "The economy, stupid."
2. Support for democratic forces in Russia.
3. The Balkans, where violence will continue to spread.
4. World trade, and the increased threat of major trade disputes.



Rep. Lee Hamilton
Indiana Democrat, incoming chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

1. The former Soviet Union, especially Russia where "there is no guarantee" that Yeltsin will succeed.
2. Arms proliferation, both weapons of mass destruction and conventional weapons.
3. Trade, including the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and global trade talks.
4. U.S. relationships in Asia, especially Japan and China.

The Washington Times

Trade

Tensions are rising with major U.S. trading partners such as Western Europe, Japan and China. The outcome of global and two-way trade talks will shape relations with these nations and affect the U.S. economy.

The Persian Gulf

The oil-rich Gulf remains unstable, with Iraq's Saddam Hussein still in power and Iran flexing its muscles.

Russia

President Boris Yeltsin appears headed towards heightened confrontation with conservatives opposed to economic reform and cooperation with the United States.

The Balkans

Violence in former Yugoslavia continues and could spread, drawing in outside nations.

Arab-Israeli dispute

Arabs and Israelis are impatient because year-old peace talks have produced little concrete progress.

East Asia

The U.S. military presence is waning, raising the prospect of friction between China, Japan, Korea and other big powers.

GLOBAL CHALLENGES

When President-elect Bill Clinton takes office Jan. 20, he will face a host of global and regional foreign policy problems.

Map by Henry Christopher / The Washington Times

Clinton Sets Economic Summit

Reassuring Business, Discussing Council Among Objectives

By Al Kamen
Washington Post Staff Writer

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Nov. 8—President-elect Clinton will convene an economic summit of business leaders and experts soon here to discuss economic policy and his proposal for a White House economic security council, his top transition advisers said today.

The economic summit, while "still very much in the planning stage," according to transition director and former deputy secretary of state Warren M. Christopher, is meant to signal Clinton's resolve to move quickly on economic policy and to reach out to reassure the business community, which traditionally has been wary of a Democrat in the White House.

Washington lawyer Vernon E. Jordan Jr., chairman of the transition, said, "I think it's fair to say that sometime very soon, that the governor will convene in Little Rock business leaders, economists and a variety of people with expertise in the economy and international economy, to come and have a conversation with the governor and with Senator Gore about priorities and about Clinton's planned economic security council.

The new council, a Clinton campaign pledge, would "give higher visibility, more importance to domestic economic issues," Christopher said. It would be modeled on the National Security Council, which pulls together the disparate elements of the government involved in security issues, including the State and Defense departments.

Both Jordan and Christopher, appearing separately on television talk shows, said they were well aware that the new council would have to be carefully structured to avoid the kind of bitter turf battles often waged between the national security adviser and the department heads, especially the secretary of state.

The transition leaders said some of that infighting might be avoided by looking at the selection of key officials to make sure they could work together as a team. "That's a key factor in Governor Clinton's mind," Christopher said.

Clinton received a briefing book on Wednesday that outlined possible structures for the council, sources said. The book raised—but did not resolve—key questions on the membership of the council, how

it would relate to the Cabinet agencies, how it would function, and whether the economic security adviser would be considered an "economic czar" or a coordinator.

Jordan, on NBC's "Meet the Press," said Clinton would preside over the council and the economic security adviser "will in fact coordinate" economic policy. But he said he could not "promise" the administration would be successful in avoiding turf battles.

In describing the economic summit, Christopher said on CBS's "Face the Nation" that Clinton hoped "to assemble a group of the top business and economic leaders in the country to advise him" during the transition. The summit, Christopher said, would be "an attempt to make an audit of where we stand now, to get advice from those individuals who run big companies or who are well-known in the economic field."

Clinton would not be the first new president to convene an economic summit. President Gerald R. Ford, soon after becoming chief executive in August 1974, held a series of "mini-summits" around the country culminating in a major two-day gathering in Washington to examine the twin threats of inflation and recession.

But the 1974 summit—which brought together 2,000 economists, business leaders, labor officials, farmers and consumers—did little to focus on the root of the economy's problems, and developed virtually no consensus as the interest groups in attendance portrayed themselves as victims of "stagflation" and sought government help.

Christopher and Jordan both attempted to dampen speculation that any key appointments would be made in the next week. "There might be some appointments next

week of other members of the transition team," but not of Cabinet members, Christopher said. Jordan said he hoped they could begin making announcements on appointments perhaps around the first of December, although some might come sooner.

The transition team's desire to assess various Cabinet prospects as part of economic or national security or domestic policy "teams" might serve to delay nominations until entire teams are assembled.

Clinton advisers said that by creating an economic security council, Clinton is signaling that economic issues will be as important to his administration as traditional security issues. One adviser said that Clinton is motivated partly by his concern that U.S. industries have fallen behind in a number of areas of competition with Japan and other leading industrial nations. Clinton contends that the United States has been working at a disadvantage because it does not pursue a coordinated strategy aimed at winning the competition.

C. Fred Bergsten, chairman of the bipartisan Competitiveness Policy Council, a federal advisory committee, said the new council would "formulate, coordinate, and direct a comprehensive competitiveness strategy." Bergsten said that much of the strategy could be implemented through a revitalized Commerce Department that would place its prime focus on competitiveness issues.

But Herbert Stein of the American Enterprise Institute, who was chairman of President Richard M. Nixon's Council of Economic Advisers, said an emphasis on "security" and competitiveness in the proposed economic security council would be wrong because the main challenge is to make the domestic economy work well.

Like the idea of an economic summit, the notion of coordinating economic policy within the White House is not new. For more than two decades, every president has made some attempt to do this, including Ford, who established a 14-member economic policy board. The Bush administration had an economic policy council under Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady, but Brady did not play a strong coordinating role. And Bush does not believe in strategic planning as much as Clinton does.

Clinton, who has been recuperating from the grueling campaign at his mansion here, also suggested that no major appointments were imminent. During a morning jog here, Clinton told reporters he was not going to rush the process. Answering reporters' questions in conversation for the first time since his election, Clinton said: "I'm going to work hard, but not rush decisions."

Staff writers Kathy Sawyer and Daniel Southerland contributed to this report.

LAWYERS

Attorneys and Clients Hustle to a Clinton Beat

By Sandra Torrey
Washington Post Staff Writer

The votes for president had not even been tallied when the Washington office of Jones, Day, Reavis & Pogue was moving ahead to stage its first Bill Clinton event. Already on Election Day, the giant law firm was drawing up a schedule for briefings in Cleveland, Chicago, Dallas and Los Angeles to give corporate clients the scoop on how the new government might work.

By Wednesday, attorneys and clients throughout the capital were hustling to respond to the first transfer of political power in a dozen years. Anybody with a Democratic background or—better yet—a direct link to Clinton stood to prosper. So many Washington lawyers were flying into Little Rock to help with the transition, or try to, that someone said the airport there looked like a D.C. Bar convention.

Meanwhile, some clients were looking to trade in their Republican-leaning lawyers, no longer the in-crowd. "The Japanese are out lawyer-shopping like crazy," said one attorney. Even before the election, he said, some executives from big Japanese firms called to set up lunch dates with three law firms they'd never dealt with before. The firms all had a definite Democratic bent.

At a firm more identified with Republicans, a senior lawyer said he spent the post-election morning "figuring out which of my friends had died overnight."

But even firms that don't have a personal link to the administration may do well if they have the right practice specialties. Some expect to benefit from a new activist Democratic administration that they believe will beef up the enforcement of everything from environmental law to plant safety, and will revamp the nation's health-care system, build new roads and bridges, and rewrite the tax laws.

Any of those moves will create work not only for lawyer-lobbyists, the initial beneficiaries, but also for regulatory lawyers who will try to influence the way the rules are written. Transactional lawyers will help businesses structure their ventures to take advantage of new laws. Practice specialties aside, certain firms already have grabbed a spot on the list of the politically favored.

Lobbyist extraordinaire Thomas H. Boggs showed up a few weeks ago on the cover of the National Journal, next to a headline with double-edged marketing value: "Patton, Boggs & Blow," it said next to his photo, "Ready to Cash In On Clinton."

Some clients were "scared off" by the cover's bluntness, said a Republican lawyer-lobbyist. Said a Democratic lawyer from a competing firm: "Oooh, I bet Tommy regretted that headline."

Still, it's unlikely that Boggs's firm—home to Democratic National Committee chairman Ron Brown—could do too badly in the next four years.

Besides, the firm boasts Tim Chorba, Clinton's roommate from Georgetown University. Managing partner Tim May concedes, though, that "as the months have passed the number of Clinton roommates is growing somewhat like those who served on PT-109 with Jack Kennedy."

Other firms also have mined gold-plated Clinton-Gore connections.

Arnold & Porter partner Jack Quinn was general counsel in Al Gore's 1988 bid for the Democratic nomination and coordinated preparation for the vice presidential debates this year. His partner Peter Grossi Jr. was a Clinton classmate from Yale Law School.

Manatt, Phelps, Phillips & Kantor's name partner Charles Manatt is the former head of the DNC, and Mickey Kantor headed Clinton's campaign.

O'Melveny & Myers's Warren Christopher was named Friday as director of Clinton's transition team and will oversee day-to-day operations. Christopher's partner, Thomas Donilon—"who's been in

politics since he was three," said a friend—was one of Clinton's top debate advisers.

Williams & Connolly's Robert Barnett had a critical role in the debates too: He played George Bush in practices with Bill Clinton. Barnett's an old hand at this. In 1984, he played Bush in mock debates with Democratic vice presidential nominee Geraldine Ferraro and repeated his performance in 1988 with Michael Dukakis.

Hogan & Hartson's Samuel Berger has been one of Clinton's top foreign affairs advisers, and his partner Anthony Harrington was general counsel to the Clinton campaign.

Verner, Lipfert, Bernhard, McPherson and Hand has Democratic ties going back to Harry McPherson's days as counsel in the Lyndon B. Johnson White House. This time around, one of its newest partners, James Blanchard, former governor of Michigan, ran Clinton's successful campaign in that state. Blanchard is rumored to be headed for a Cabinet post.

Akin, Gump, Hauer & Feld seems to be well connected no matter who's in power. They proved it Friday when Clinton named partner Vernon Jordan to serve as chairman of his transition team. Meanwhile, the firm is likely to see the return soon of Robert Strauss, former head of the DNC and the Bush administration's ambassador to Russia.

Other firms hope to follow Strauss's

example of working both sides of the political fence. Take Baker, Worthington, Crossley, Stansberry & Woolf of Nashville, whose most visible partner is former Republican senator and Reagan White House chief of staff Howard Baker Jr.

In Tennessee, however, the firm has several prominent Democratic partners and lawyers who have worked on the Clinton-Gore campaign. "From where we sit, it's a definite plus that [Tennessee Senator] Al Gore was on the ticket," said Baker, Worthington partner Edward Hamberger.

The stock of all these firms likely will be boosted by clients' perception that they have access and know the people running government.

But lawyers are trying to walk a fine line between subtly making their connections known and blatantly hawking them. The Clinton crew will be wary of "hired guns," said one lawyer who knows Clinton well.

Even some Republicans grudgingly admitted that the Clinton-Gore victory might bring business advantages.

"It's terrible for our clients, terrible for the economy and terrible for the American people," grumbled Republican William Kilberg, who manages Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher's Washington office. "But it *will* be good for our [labor] practice."

In an odd twist, even some government cutbacks expected from Clinton could mean more work for lawyers. Cuts in defense spending, for instance, may mean less business for the defense industry. But to Crowell & Moring's Patrick Lee, "The significance for our practice is to create more disputes [among rival contractors] over the business that is left."

As firms seek to capitalize on the new administration, the Arkansas entries should not be overlooked in the contest to be anointed "First Law Firm."

Mitchell, Williams, Selig, Gates & Woodyard, based in Little Rock, has a one-lawyer Washington office and is plotting a major expansion, said partner Maurice Mitchell, a longtime Clinton supporter. The firm includes a former Clinton administration insurance commissioner and one of Al Gore's cousins, said Mitchell. Of the Clinton-Gore victory, he said, "I don't think it's going to hurt us."

And, of course, there's Little Rock's Rose Law Firm, which has been looking at "options to establish a Washington presence," said partner William Kennedy.

That's the law firm where a partner named Hillary Clinton has been on a leave of absence.

HOT CONNECTIONS



TOMMY BOGGS
...DNC chair's law partner



JAMES BLANCHARD
...early Clinton backer



VERNON JORDAN
...possible Attorney General?

The Democrats' Day

Long-Lasting Changes on the Horizon for D.C. Area

By Sandra Sugawara
and Martha M. Hamilton
Washington Post Staff Writers

An excited Roger Blunt, president of Essex Construction Corp. of Oxon Hill, is thinking of getting back into the bridge-building business on the theory that Bill Clinton's administration will raise spending on public works projects.

An equally happy Scott J. Dankman, chairman of TelePad Inc. of Reston, said Clinton's plans to grant tax credits and launch an ambitious technology program have heightened investors' interest in his small computer firm.

But down the road in Tysons Corner, defense industry executives are glum. "A lot of people are scrambling to NASA, EPA and other civilian agencies," said Carl N. Guerreri, president of Electronic Warfare Associates Inc. of Vienna.

From downtown legal offices to small businesses on the fringes of the suburbs, the new Democratic administration will usher in long-lasting changes—some subtle, some dramatic—for the local economy. While Washington is no longer a one-industry town, the federal government's policies and philosophy still shape this region's business more than that of any other area in the country.

At this early stage of the transition, it's possible only to speculate about Clinton's impact. But businesses already are rethinking strategies and making adjustments based on the president-elect's campaign promises and on expectations about how a Democratic regime will differ from the Republican rule of the past 12 years.

The most optimistic industries, naturally enough, are the ones in which Clinton has pledged to invest more federal resources. Companies in the environmental, job training and construction fields—all well represented in the Washington area—say they are positioned to benefit from Clinton's anticipated push of funds into their areas.

Computer and biotechnology firms, which also have a strong presence here, are happy about Clinton's numerous proposals designed to give U.S. technology a boost to help make the economy more competitive internationally. Small businesses, especially those headed by minorities and women, are hopeful that a Clinton administration will be more sensitive to their needs.

But executives also voiced concern that Clinton's health care and job training plans could raise their costs of doing business. Many fear that a Democratic administration would impose more regulations.

"We are concerned about health care, labor questions and being over-regulated," said Pete Manos, president of Giant Food Inc., the area's dominant grocery chain. "Right now we have a wait-and-see attitude."

The area's many military-oriented companies are particularly worried that a Democrat in the White House will mean a worsening of troubles that they already had because of the shrinking, post-Cold War defense budget.

The result is likely to be a reversal of what happened the last time one political party drove another from office.

In 1980, the election of President Reagan led many of the federal contractors that ring the Beltway to chase federal dollars as they were shifted from social programs to the Pentagon. Now, under the Clinton administration, defense contractors will be knocking on doors looking for work at the Environmental Protection Agency, the departments of transportation and health and human services and other civilian agencies.

The change to a Democratic from a Republican White House will mean shifting fortunes in another of the area's largest industries—law and lobbying. Firms are rushing to shore up their Democratic credentials and to strengthen their expertise in practices such as taxes, health care and environmental regulation where a Clinton ad-

ministration is likely to provide more work.

For federal workers, who also make up a significant chunk of the area's consumers, the outlook seems somewhat better under Clinton. He is likely to be a more sympathetic president than George Bush, said John Sturdivant, president of the American Federation of Government Employees.

Sturdivant, who supported Clinton, said Bush had mounted various attacks on federal employees, including Bush's recent call for a 5 percent cut for those earning more than \$75,000 a year. Bush also threatened to shut down federal offices and furlough workers during budget disputes with Congress.

"Under the last four years, there has been a lot of uncertainty among our members," Sturdivant said.

Clinton has promised to eliminate 100,000 U.S. government jobs, but through attrition rather than layoffs. And that is out of a total federal civilian work force of 2.9 million employees, of whom only 12 percent, or 360,000, are in the Washington area.

Clinton's proposed cutback is "not even going to be a bump on the screen, quite frankly," Sturdivant said.

There are wild cards that could affect the Washington region. Perhaps one of the most significant is Sen. David Pryor (D-Ark.), considered one of Clinton's closest friends in the Senate. In recent years, Pryor has waged war on two groups that play substantial roles in the Washington economy: the government consulting industry, which includes the large number of government contracting companies along the Washington Beltway, and the drug industry.

Pryor has charged that the Beltway government consulting companies constitute a shadow government, do-

ing jobs the government should be doing and wasting taxpayers' money. He already has persuaded Congress to cap the amount of money going to them in selected programs, and now his crusade could take on new steam.

Likewise, Pryor has campaigned against the high cost of drugs, which he said has unfairly enriched the pharmaceutical industry. Clinton has endorsed Pryor's bill to hold down drug prices.

But local executives in the biotech industry, one of the area's most promising, say that they must be able to charge high prices to recoup the cost of their investments. Otherwise, they said, they will be unable to persuade investors to put money into their high-risk operations.

A change of presidential administrations always brings at least a short-term energizing impact on the region's economy. Inaugural festivities create more customers for caterers, cab drivers, restaurants and hotels. "We're prepared for a lot of entertaining," said Lou Statzer, owner of Uptown Bakers in Washington.

George Washington University economist Stephen Fuller, who follows the region's economy for the Greater Washington Research Center, contends that the arrival of a new, activist president will provide a psychological

Staff writers John Burgess, Stephen C. Fehr, Gary Lee, Steven Pearlstein, Mark Potts, Snigdha Prakash, Michelle Singletary, Cindy Skrzycki, Kara Swisher, Sandra Torrey and Margaret K. Webb contributed to this report.

boost that should trigger an increase in consumer spending.

Washington could benefit quickly, Fuller said, because its economy has been so bleak that consumers have been hanging on to a great deal of money that they are too cautious to spend. "We've just been sitting there waiting for leadership," he said.

But many local retailers are skeptical about such optimistic predictions. "I really don't think someone is going to say, 'Hey, Bill Clinton is president, I think I'll go and buy that dishwasher now,'" an appliance retailer said.

"I think that initially there will be a small blip in sales of people looking to fix their house and those looking to buy them, but it will not account for much," said Clark McClelland, senior vice president of finance for the Hechinger Co., the do-it-yourself hardware retailer based in Landover.

Defense contractors also said they are braced for a slowdown, and anticipated that they and their employees would cut back rather than increase their consumer spending.

A change in presidential administration also can have another short-term negative impact on the economy, by disrupting Washington's large government contracting community. A wholesale change in political appointees means that contract awards often are put on hold until the new bosses are in place.

"Our experience in previous changes in administrations was that no matter who is the new president, there is usually a hiatus for six months to a year while all the new people get in place," said Charles Rossotti, chairman of American Management Systems Inc. of Arlington.

"I can remember in 1981, it was a tough year in the federal business,"

Rossotti said. "But things started to pick up in 1982."



And so the real question facing most area businesses is how the economy will fare after the end of the short-term roller coaster ride that any new president brings to the region.

Defense cuts are in store. Clinton's defense program does not differ markedly from the Bush administration plans, yet many defense contracting executives believe Pentagon programs will be easy targets as the new administration goes searching for money.

"The general feeling in the industry was: We knew the defense budget was going to be cut, but if Clinton got in, the cuts were going to be worse," said Electronic Warfare's Guerrieri.

But there are industries that expect to come out long-term winners. For instance, Clinton's proposed Rebuild America Fund would spend \$20 billion a year on roads, rails, technology and information networks, training for laid-off defense workers and environmental technology.

ICF International Inc. of Fairfax, one of the growing number of locally based environmental firms, is poised to profit. It has been involved in Superfund cleanup projects and in numerous construction and infrastructure rebuilding efforts.

Clinton's job-training proposal

would increase the size of the training market by about \$21 billion from the current \$30 billion to \$40 billion, said J.H. "Bill" Walton, president of Industrial Training Corp. of Herndon, maker of computerized training systems. The proposal would require businesses to spend 1.5 percent of their payroll on worker training, or contribute that amount to a federal worker training fund.

Certain Washington lawyers can expect more business. "The Clinton ad-

ministration will be a more activist White House, which will be proposing more legislation in a variety of areas" including job training, taxes, health care and infrastructure, said Stuart Eizenstat, head of Powell, Goldstein, Frazer & Murphy.

A key component of Clinton's economic revitalization effort has been his proposal to boost high-tech industries. In addition to proposals to build up the country's technology and information networks, other plans include pro-

grams to help start technology companies, to focus federal research on critical technologies, and to revamp tax, trade and regulatory policies to promote technology.

High-tech executives seem particularly thrilled at the prospect that Al Gore Jr. will be vice president. He is a technology enthusiast with a deep understanding of the subject.

"The fact that Al Gore has taken a particular interest in this is good for us," said James V. Kimsey, chairman and CEO of America Online Inc. of Vienna.

Northern Telecom Inc., based in Canada with U.S. headquarters in McLean, said actions proposed by Clinton could help that company in several emerging telecommunication markets.

At Washington-based MCI Communications Corp., Chairman Bert C. Roberts Jr. said, "We could expand faster and put technology in quicker and not hurt earnings if we were incentivized by [tax] credits."

Clinton's technology proposals were so attractive that they overrode another important consideration for Kenneth Stephens, president of Behavioristics Inc., a small College Park software company. He is an enthusiastic supporter of the Democrat, despite Clinton's opposition to the proposed alliance between British Airways PLC and Arlington-based USAir Group Inc., with which Stephens's firm has a big contract.

CLINTON AND CONGRESS

WHO'S IN THE DRIVER'S SEAT?

Summary: Like Jimmy Carter before him, Bill Clinton was a Southern governor with little national experience. The similarities end there. President Carter was at loggerheads with his fellow Democrats in Congress, but President-elect Clinton has forged strong alliances on Capitol Hill. It could mean the end to legislative stalemate.

By Eric Felten

Come January, the Democrats will control both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue — the first time one party has ruled in 12 years. Gridlock is over, the American people have been told. But who will be directing the traffic that now promises to whiz back and forth between the White House and Capitol Hill?

Hopes ran high in 1976 that President Jimmy Carter and a Democratic Congress would dissolve the conflict and controversy of the Nixon and Ford years. It didn't work out that way. Carter quickly earned the enmity of Capitol Hill, and his party's lawmakers in turn helped reduce his presidency to a shambles.

Congress didn't know Carter; Congress didn't work with Carter. Bill Clinton is no Jimmy Carter.

What has Clinton learned from the Carter years? Above all, that he will not be able to govern without Congress. Indeed, the chances are high that Congress will govern him. Throughout the campaign, Clinton quietly developed or renewed ties to key lawmakers, suggesting that he thinks his best hope for a successful presidency, or one perceived as such, is to become Congress's front man.

Carter went to Washington with no particular mandate from the voters. He pitched himself not as the bearer of an agenda but as the candidate of personal virtue, the outsider untainted by the machinations of the Capitol. This was not just packaging. Carter had not participated widely in national politics.

Although Carter served as chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee in 1974, it did not help him build the relationships he needed to work with Congress. The freshman Democrats elected in the wake of Watergate also had run as outsiders and did not harbor much loyalty to party institutions like the DCCC. When Carter arrived in Washington, he had little leverage with Congress. He could neither threaten lawmakers with the public's wrath (because the election was not seen as ratifying any policy) nor look to many supporters with whom he had long-standing alliances.

Had Carter recognized how little leverage he had, he might have made the best of it by going along to get along. Instead he made matters

Clinton has made sure he will not be the odd man out in Washington.

worse, staffing the White House with Georgia pals and imagining he could simply dictate legislation to Congress. Nine months into his administration, Carter's budget director and principal adviser, Bert Lance, was forced to resign under congressional pressure for financial conflicts of interest, and the president's bellwether legislative proposal — the overambitious energy plan — was foundering in the Senate. After the Lance affair, Carter's White House lost its image of heartland virtue, and the president, weakened, was soon seen as incompetent, hopelessly tilting against a Congress he could not best. Carter never recovered.

Clinton will not make the same mistakes. "Everybody learned from the Carter experience," says Mark A. Peterson, associate professor of government at Harvard University. Clinton and Carter share some superficial similarities — they were governors of Southern states with relatively small populations and ran as moderates against weak incumbents — but the resemblance ends there.

To begin with, as Peterson points out, Clinton was governor of his state for much longer than Carter. He also suffered defeat after his first term and learned how to make the compromises needed for reelection. Perhaps more important, he will not be bringing with him truckloads of Arkansas advisers. Carter was surrounded by his "Georgia mafia," says Peterson, but Clinton "is at the center of an enormous network of people, built on friendships he developed at Georgetown, Yale and as a Rhodes scholar." That network includes lawyers, academics, businessmen and government officials — people from "all walks of life," says Peterson. "But most of them are tied to the Washington policy community."

With Washington insiders staffing the White House, Clinton will be poised to work smoothly with Capitol Hill. It is a relationship that the power brokers in Congress anticipate with relish and one that Clinton has been cultivating for months. (Washington veterans have been reminiscing about the legislative steamroller following LBJ's 1964 victory.)

During the campaign, however, the congressional leadership kept a low profile. The object of voter scorn and contempt for various scandals and embarrassments, congressmen were not a plus at the podium. About one-third of the Democrats in the House

and Senate were at the Democratic National Convention in New York, there to cast votes as superdelegates. But few were anywhere to be seen in the media coverage of convention events. Clinton might have been tempted by this turn of events to ignore Democratic lawmakers during the fall campaign, assuming that they were so weakened by scandal he could roll over them if elected. He resisted that temptation.

Though top legislators were not the sought-after campaign trail celebrities they have been in election years past, Clinton was busy building ties with them. Before the convention, the candidate began meeting and consulting with Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, the soft-spoken liberal from Maine who has emerged in the past four years as the prime power broker on Capitol Hill.

According to a Democratic Senate staff aide, Clinton and Mitchell coordinated their campaign and legislative strategies and have been "sharing ideas about what will be a new legislative environment."

It was not just with an eye to his first 100 days that Clinton met with Mitchell. Congress helped keep an embattled George Bush pinned down well into the fall by sending the president bill after bill that would embarrass him whether he signed or vetoed them. The urban aid package, for example, contained enterprise zones — a program Bush has touted to combat inner-city poverty and could have bragged about passing — but it also was shot through with tax increases that would have allowed Clinton to paint Bush a liar had he signed it. Democratic lawmakers proved to be valuable allies in Clinton's campaign.

The president-elect also has close ties to House Majority Leader Dick Gephardt. Clinton campaigned hard in and won Missouri, Gephardt's home state, and met frequently with the congressman while there. Though he never wholeheartedly endorsed Gephardt's protectionist views, Clinton did moderate his support of the free trade agreement with Mexico, promising to limit its effect. Even before the campaign, Clinton had ties to Gephardt. Both are prominent members of the Democratic Leadership Council, a group created to win back the moderate label for the Democratic Party. George Stephanopoulos left Gephardt's staff to become the communications director and chief



Power broker Mitchell
is among those
Clinton has courted

spokesman of the Clinton campaign.

Add Clinton's track record in Arkansas to his chumminess with Democratic leaders in Congress, and it becomes clear that the next president will not battle it out on the Hill, Carter-style. "As a president, I think, [Clinton will] be the kind of guy who will be calling legislators, seeing them and bringing them into his office," says Arthur English, a political science professor at the University of Arkansas at Little Rock. "I think he will work very closely with Congress, because that's in the political culture down here in Arkansas." English calls this the "politics of intimacy."

Clinton is famous in Arkansas for his political intimacy. As he will in Washington, he enjoyed one-party rule there. Yet he never took that majority for granted, courting state lawmakers in an extended charm offensive. David Matthews, once the governor's point man in the Arkansas General Assembly, described for the *Washington Post* how Clinton never stopped wheedling legislators who didn't back him, "even following them into a bathroom." As governor he was not afraid of compromise and worked hard to find consensus positions.

This taste for collegiality doesn't mean Congress will give Clinton what he wants. Even more so than Carter, Clinton will arrive in Washington lacking a clear legislative agenda. Instead he has offered volumes of policies and programs, elaborate analyses with five prongs here and nine points there. These might win high grades on term papers at policy schools, but simple principles are the stuff mandates are made of: Ronald Reagan was able to bully Congress in his first year because he could point to his election as a referendum on two

clearly stated goals: a strong defense and tax cuts.

Clinton also will enter office with only a plurality of the popular vote. He survived his own high negative ratings in the public opinion polls only because his rivals were deemed even less sympathetic. By contrast, nearly all of the legislators whom Clinton will have to work with won their contests outright, with a majority of the vote. Though Congress as a whole was badly battered in this anti-incumbent year, individual lawmakers who won easily will negotiate from a position of strength. A cooperative, collegial relationship with Congress may very well mean giving them what they want.

If Clinton facilitates powerful lawmakers and their agendas, he is likely to look successful. As long as a president does not make life difficult for legislators, they will try to make him look good. Unless Congress wants to court another Reagan-style assault on Washington four years from now, it's in its interest to promote the image of one-party rule as the solution to gridlock. But if Clinton and Congress come to blows, both sides know Clinton will suffer most.

If Clinton cannot bully lawmakers, what clout will he have with them? "There are two main ways a president can persuade Congress," says Allen Schick, a professor of public policy at the University of Maryland. "The first is intimidation, but that's not Clinton's style, and he's not in a position to do it. The second is to offer inducements." That is, lawmakers can easily be seduced by programs that provide some baubles for the home district. Carter's energy bill faced opposition not only because he

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presented it without consulting congressional powers but because it entailed sacrifices rather than opportunities to dispense largess.

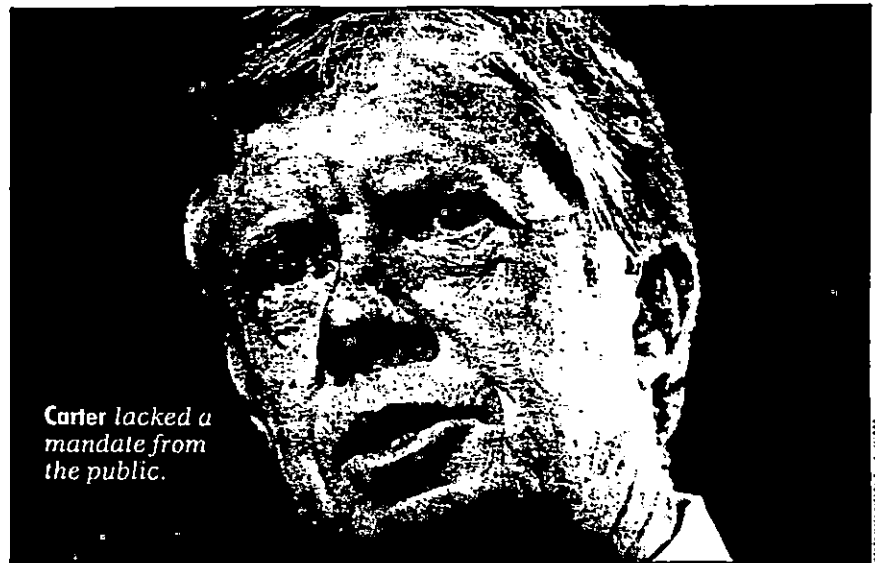
Not so with a jobs and economic stimulus program, likely to be the first major legislative package presented by Clinton. He will get quick action because a broad spending program allows lawmakers to dispense favors. "He will get his good, strong jobs package," says one Democratic House staff aide, "though of course each proposal will come back complete with three desserts."

And it's unlikely that Clinton will want to turn down the sweets. He's "a skilled enough legislative practitioner," says the House aide, "to realize that if you're all rowing in the same direction, it doesn't matter if people bring their own oars." Mitchell and Gephardt will help to highlight Clinton's jobs plan; it is expected that the program will be the first legislation offered by the 103rd Congress, carrying the coveted label of S 1 in the Senate and HR 1 in the House.

What cannot be gained in the legislative arena can often be won in the careful writing of regulations, which are drafted far from the limelight. To stiffen antipollution laws, for example, Democrats won't need to pass a new Clean Air Act; they can simply have Clinton's EPA write tougher rules.

Further lending an aura of success to the Clinton administration in its early days will be a flurry of legislation that has awaited only a Democratic hand on the presidential fountain pen. "There is a whole set of bills that Bush vetoed that Congress can bring up quickly," says Peterson, pointing to the family leave bill and legislation prohibiting replacement of strikers. "If those bills are passed and signed — boom, boom, boom — Clinton will have some momentum."

Whether that momentum is maintained will be up to the Democratic leadership in the House and Senate,



Clinton lacked a mandate from the public.

leaders to whom Clinton already owes much for his election win. In the early seventies, Congress passed reforms that broke up the power of the committee chairmen and led to the fragmentation of power in the House. In recent years the Democratic leadership has refocused that power by gaining control of House proceedings. As committee chairmen were weakened, members gained opportunities to alter legislation by offering amendments on the floor.

At the bidding of the Democratic Caucus, the House Rules Committee has reasserted the power of the leaders by controlling what amendments can and can't be offered. Clinton will have little success in getting the legislation he wants without the cooperation of congressional leaders. That cooperation will likely entail buying into a backlog of 12 years of frustrated legislative proposals.

For starters, there is a list of perennial bills, most of which have impeccable liberal pedigrees and the backing of such old-line liberal powers on the Hill as Sens. Robert Byrd of West Virginia and Ted Kennedy of Massachusetts and Reps. John Dingell of Michigan and Henry Waxman of California. These include pro-labor legislation, trade protection bills and more expansive environmental laws.

In those areas where Republicans are able to mount significant opposition to new legislation, Clinton will be able to oblige his congressional allies by giving them more say in the drafting of regulations by executive branch agencies. The past 12 years have seen a constant struggle between Republican regulators and Democratic congressmen, fighting over the drafting of details to fill in what is left vague in vast legislation

such as the Clean Air Act. What cannot be gained in the legislative arena due to public scrutiny can often be won in the careful writing of regulations, which are drafted far from the limelight by bureaucrats. To stiffen antipollution laws, for example, Democrats won't need to pass a new Clean Air Act; they can simply have Clinton's Environmental Protection Agency write tougher rules.

Though some kind of health care reform was a touchstone of Clinton's campaign, that issue promises to end up on a back burner. The problem is that leaders in Congress have not worked out among themselves a favorite approach. "It seems like there are more health plans on the Hill than there are Democratic members," says the House aide. An early indication that Clinton wants to lead Congress rather than simply follow will be if he stakes much of his reputation and popularity on sorting out the competing health plans.

This too-many-cooks problem is the main risk Clinton faces with a government driven by Capitol Hill. Congressional government is government by committee, complete with all the perversities and inconsistencies that come from cobbling together the druthers of hundreds of players.

Letting Congress lead will no doubt get Clinton a jobs program — and any number of other bills for him to sign. Congressional government, however, offers little hope for spending discipline. As the House aide says, "It will be the legislative equivalent of 40 acres and a mule: Everybody will get his own piece of turf." Not that he thinks that will be new for Congress. "When was the last time we saw a coherent piece of legislation?"

Reporting by Robert Schmults

House Democratic Leaders Travel to Freshman Class

Foley, Five Others Begin Round of Visits to Take Early Soundings From Members-Elect

By Kenneth J. Cooper
Washington Post Staff Writer

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 8—A group of 18 Democrats newly elected to the House from western states caucused with party leaders today for the first time, and the members-elect didn't have to fly to Washington to get to the closed-door meeting.

It was Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) and five House Democratic leaders who did the traveling, so they could be the first to convene and size up the freshman Class of 1992, which has been inundated with more than the usual number of invitations to "orientation" sessions in the coming weeks. With 110 members, the largest incoming class since 1948 will make up a little more than a quarter of the House at a time congressional overhaul has become a major issue.

But at today's meeting the incoming legislators were said to be far more concerned about the economy, health care and the federal deficit than with how the House operates.

"What's vital is the economy, what's vital is health care, and what's vital is getting the deficit under control," said Sam Copper-smith, a Phoenix lawyer who defeated Rep. John J. Rhodes III (R-Ariz.). "The other issues, I think, are less important to those three things."

Anna G. Eshoo, a San Mateo County (Calif.) supervisor, said the

the three-hour meetings, which are privately financed, are being conducted at airport hotels. The airport sites and tight schedules have led some Democratic aides to dub the trip a "fly-around," a campaign term for rapid tarmac-to-tarmac stops just before an election. The campaign metaphor is apt because the stated purposes sounded expressly political.

"We want to know what this class is thinking, particularly as they get together and compare notes for the first time," Rep. Vic Fazio (D-Calif.), vice chairman of the Democratic Caucus, said last week. "What is it that they are expecting from their leaders? Should they be reelected? What is it that they hope to accomplish in terms of . . . rules changes?"

"We're going to have a dialogue with them, talk about opportunities in Congress," Foley said last week.

Several western freshmen confirmed that among "opportunities" discussed informally were committee assignments, with more choice ones open than usual because senior members joined a postwar record wave of retirements. Foley told reporters freshmen were "likely" to get some slots on powerful panels.

Dan Hamburg, a former county supervisor who defeated Rep. Frank D. Riggs (R) in northern California, said beforehand he planned to "angle a little bit for the committee assignments I want" on Appropriations, Ways and Means, or Energy and Commerce.

House Democrats, including the newcomers, are to meet in Washington next month and consider rules changes as well as elect leaders and committee chairmen. Under an accelerated schedule given to members-elect, committees are to be organized and ready to do business before Bill Clinton's inauguration Jan. 20, Foley said.

Foley, whose speakership was rocked by the House Bank scandal last spring, has recouped so strongly that he and the other Democratic leaders are expected to be re-elected without serious opposition. One leadership aide said about 200 Democrats out of fewer than 260 have promised to vote for Foley.

But the Democratic leaders are taking no chances that their party's 64 or so freshmen might find a voice, set a course or pick leaders in orientation meetings hosted by others.

A Republican House candidate in California who lost, Tom Huening, is still trying to pull together two days of bipartisan meetings in Omaha later this month. About 150

candidates from both parties signed up, but only 15—two of them Democrats—won last week.

"I don't think that's much of a revolt, do you? I think this is a better one here," said Eshoo, who defeated Huening but had already signed up for the Omaha meeting.

The Heritage Foundation, a conservative research group, has for the first time organized policy briefings for House freshmen to compete with ones Harvard University's Institute of Politics has hosted since 1972.

The Congressional Black Caucus has scheduled its first freshmen orientation meetings for a record 17 new members to follow the last

Democratic leadership meeting Tuesday in Atlanta.

Robert Filner, a San Diego councilman, has tried to arrange a gathering of freshmen Democrats before the Democratic Caucus meets in December. Filner said he wanted "to see if we can get organized before they disorganize us."

Among freshmen from California, Washington, Oregon, Utah, Arizona and Texas at today's meeting, two characteristics of the Class of 1992 were pronounced. All but one have been elected to public office or worked in government, and the 10 women are better than half the group. In the entire class, nearly three in four are experienced in government or politics, and one of five is a woman.

"I want to say something about this team. Take a look at it: It represents America," Lynn Woolsey, a city councilwoman in a San Francisco suburb, said of a group that besides the women included two Hispanics, one African American and one Asian.

Besides Foley, the leaders attending today's meeting were: Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (Mo.), Democratic Caucus Chairman Steny H. Hoyer (Md.) and Chief Deputy Whips John R. Lewis (Ga.), Butler Derrick (S.C.) and Barbara B. Kennelly (Conn.).

"We want to know what this class is thinking, particularly as they get together and compare notes for the first time."

—Rep. Vic Fazio,
Democratic Caucus vice chairman

politically experienced westerners were "prepared, with our collective background and experience, which I'm sure is a couple of hundred years of experience between us, to hit the ground running" on those major issues.

Democrats and Republicans are to receive their formal freshmen orientations in Washington next month, but leaders of the Democratic majority are making an unprecedented trip here and to Chicago and Atlanta on successive days this week to take early soundings from their new colleagues and pick up any hints of conflicts ahead.

Louisiana's Edwards faces second recall drive

NEW ORLEANS (AP) — Gov. Edwin Edwards, who claimed the governor's mansion for an unprecedented fourth time last year when the choice was between him and David Duke, is facing the second recall drive of his scandal-plagued career.

"Elect the Crook — It's Important" urged bumper stickers displayed during the 1991 campaign by people who found the prospect of Mr. Duke as Louisiana's governor repellent. Mr. Duke is a former Ku Klux Klan leader.

Now the state is dotted with bumper stickers urging "Recall the Crook — It's Important."

"We were faced with a nonchoice," Steve J. Lindsley, state coordinator for the recall drive. "Neither of those guys should be in office, so we said, 'Why don't we recall the one who wins?'"

Mr. Edwards, once renowned for his wheeling, dealing, womanizing, gambling and colorful quips, vowed that he was a changed man after his landslide victory over Mr. Duke. But his critics say it's the same old Mr. Edwards.

"After Edwards won, some people wanted to wait and give him a chance," Mr. Lindsley said. "Well, he

hadn't changed. So here we are."

Leaders of Recall-92, angered in part by Mr. Edwards' support of casino gambling, have until Dec. 14 to submit 740,000 signatures, or those of one-third of the state's 2.1 million voters, to force an election. They say they already have more than 400,000 signatures.

Ted Schirmer, a Baton Rouge lawyer, launched the recall drive in June, soon after the Legislature approved a bill — backed by Mr. Edwards — to allow casino gambling in New Orleans.

Critics say Mr. Edwards rammed the bill through and accepted a vacation from Christopher Hemminger, a developer who won the right to build a \$415 million casino. State ethics officials said Mr. Edwards and other officials who took trips did nothing illegal since they reimbursed Mr. Hemminger.

Mr. Edwards says the recall drive doesn't worry him. Asked if he thought it would be successful, he said, with a laugh, "I think not."

A French-speaking Cajun and the son of sharecroppers, Mr. Edwards, 65, built his political career with the support of blacks, labor and New Deal Democrats.

During his first two terms, from 1972 to 1980, Mr. Edwards was investigated by at least five federal and state grand juries as well as the Internal Revenue Service. No charges were filed. One of his top aides did go to prison.

The state constitution, rewritten under Mr. Edwards, prevented him from serving more than two consecutive terms. But he was back in 1984 for a third term.

Then came his indictment on charges that he accepted bribes from companies trying to win state approval for new hospitals. His first racketeering trial ended in a hung jury in 1985. The next year, he was acquitted.

A recall effort during his third term failed, but it did enough political damage to lead to his 1987 primary defeat by reformer Buddy Roemer.

Mr. Edwards' career appeared over before he staged his stunning comeback last year, when he and Mr. Duke edged out Mr. Roemer. Mr. Edwards went on to defeat Mr. Duke with 61 percent of the vote in a runoff.

"I hope this time people will look at me less with a jaundiced eye and recognize from time to time I may have a good thought," Mr. Edwards said after his victory.

If the recall issue makes it to the ballot and a majority votes Mr. Edwards out, Lt. Gov. Melinda Schwegmann would fill out his term.

Silas Lee, a political science professor at Xavier University, said the number of signatures needed for a recall is daunting.

"It's never easy to oust someone outside an election," Mr. Lee said, adding "I think the fact that it's happening reaffirms the frustration that people have in our political institutions."

Abortion Rights Supporters Claim Election Gains

*Exit Polls Indicate That a Majority of Voters Favor
Access, but With Some Restrictions*

By E. J. Dionne Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

Supporters of abortion rights claimed large gains from the 1992 elections, the most important being the victory of President-elect Clinton, who is committed to reversing many of President Bush's antiabortion executive orders and vetoes and to appointing Supreme Court justices who would keep abortion legal.

Abortion rights backers also picked up strength in the House of Representatives, both sides in the controversy agree.

The National Abortion Rights Action League estimated a net gain of 11 House seats for its side, according to Loretta Ucelli, the group's communications director. Douglas Johnson, legislative director for the National Right to Life Committee, said this estimate was "pretty close to the mark." There was little change in the Senate.

Nevertheless, exit polls show there is still ambivalence about abortion in this year's electorate.

These polls suggested that supporters of unlimited access to abortion vastly outnumber those who would make abortion illegal in all

cases. But the polls also found that abortion foes continue to be more likely than abortion rights supporters to say that they based their voting decision on the abortion issue. And the polls showed that most Americans favor at least some restrictions on abortion.

These results came at the end of a campaign in which the abortion issue took a back seat to other concerns, notably worries about the economy. As in the 1990 midterm elections, predictions that the abortion issue would be a central voting concern proved misguided. But partisans on both sides of the issue in-

sisted that it had important secondary effects.

While Clinton and Bush profited from energetic organizing by activists on both sides of the abortion issue, each campaign sought to stake out at least some middle ground.

Bush repeatedly described his stand as "pro-life," but Vice President Quayle seemed to be staking out a new Republican position emphasizing restrictions on abortion rather than outright prohibition.

When asked on the campaign trail whether he thought abortion should be illegal, Quayle usually sidestepped the question by saying he was sympathetic to restrictions such as requiring that parents of minors seeking abortion give their consent—or at least be notified—before an abortion could be performed.

Many Republicans, including conservatives who oppose abortion, said privately after the election that the party needed to seek some middle ground on the issue because voters appear reluctant to make abortion entirely illegal.

Clinton took many stands in line with positions of the abortion rights movement, including supporting the Freedom of Choice Act, which would codify the right to an abortion into federal law. He also said he would lift the "gag rule" that prohibits non-physicians at federally financed family planning clinics from providing advice about abortions.

But Clinton also followed the middle ground by emphasizing his

***Predictions that the
abortion issue would
be a central voting
concern proved
misguided.***

support for notifying the parents of minors who seek abortions, except for those who have reason to fear their parents' reaction. Clinton has been described by some aides as determined to depolarize the abortion debate by supporting parental notification and emphasizing programs to promote adoptions and to prevent unwanted pregnancies.

The middle ground is clearly a popular place to stand, according to a nationwide exit poll of about 15,000 voters conducted by Voter Research & Surveys for major news organizations.

The poll found that 34 percent of voters surveyed thought abortion should be "always legal" and 9 percent thought it should be "always illegal." In the middle were 30 percent who said abortion should be "mostly legal" and 23 percent who said it should be "mostly illegal."

Seen in one light, the country is about 2-to-1 "pro-choice," if those who say abortion should be "always" or "mostly" legal are counted together. Seen in another light, the vast majority of Americans favor at least some restrictions on abortion, although many in this majority appear to favor keeping such restrictions to a minimum.

As for the power of the abortion issue to move votes, the exit polling produced ambiguous results.

On the one hand, 12 percent of the voters surveyed said that abortion was one of two issues that determined their vote for president; this group strongly backed Bush, giving him 56 percent, compared with 36 percent for Clinton and 8 percent for independent Ross Perot. Johnson of the National Right to Life Committee used these figures to argue that voters most concerned about abortion are inclined to oppose it. He estimated that Bush's antiabortion stance produced a net gain of 3 percentage points for the Republican.

But the exit poll also gave voters another list of issues and asked if any of them had been "very important" in determining their vote. The poll found that 32 percent said future Supreme Court appointments were "very important" to their vote; this group voted 50 percent for Clinton, 39 percent for Bush and 11 percent for Perot. This measure suggested that Clinton was helped by his relative liberalism on constitutional issues, including abortion.

The abortion issue failed to produce the pro-Clinton surge among Republican women that abortion rights supporters had predicted. Clinton got 10 percent among Republican men and exactly the same among Republican women, according to the exit poll. On the other hand, 49 percent of female college graduates, who tend to be supportive of abortion rights, voted for Clinton, while male college graduates gave the Democrat 40 percent of their votes.

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Pollsters Hope Commercial Clients Elect To Note Firms' Work During Campaign

By JOHNNIE L. ROBERTS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

NEW YORK — The White House is the victor's spoils for President-elect Clinton. For political pollsters who vied to best project his margin of victory, the payoff may be millions of dollars in business from commercial clients.

Numerous pollsters say they plan to wield their high-profile work in the political arena as a sales tool in the far more lucrative market for corporate work. Some firms have already begun to jockey for an advantage in the race for nonpolitical work by citing the mixed record of their rivals.

Indeed, in recent days various pollsters have privately helped to fuel controversy over the surveys and methods this year of the most prominent pollster, the Gallup Organization. Gallup has made aggressive efforts to become a growing force in the commercial market. In the election, Gallup tried to take the lead by projecting the critical issue of which of the three major presidential candidates would garner most of the undecided voters. The result, rivals gleefully note: Gallup erred badly.

Massive Publicity

During the quadrennial presidential contest, pollsters pop up like wildflowers on the electoral landscape. Some are quoted constantly in the media, and others work for candidates' campaigns. Yet while political poll-taking generates massive amounts of publicity, it typically represents a mere fraction of pollsters' overall business.

Industry officials estimate that political work generally accounts for no more than 10% of a polling firm's revenue, which typically totals \$7 million to \$12 million a year. The political surveying isn't even profitable for some. The Gallup Poll generates less than 1% of the firm's \$60 million in revenue, says James T. Medick, Gallup's senior vice president of world marketing. "If we did [political polls] for a living, it wouldn't work," he adds.

Even so, the high-profile political polls can have untold value as a lure for the most lucrative customers — the corporations, foundations and other concerns that turn to pollsters to conduct market research, gauge consumer attitudes and project product sales.

David Krane, executive vice president of Louis Harris & Associates Inc., which conducts the Harris Poll, says projecting an early winner in the presidential sweepstakes "helps us with all of our [commercial] clients. It reaffirms the impression they have that Harris does high-quality polling. We can point to the polls as a very concrete example anytime we are trying to sell ourselves."

This year, while most of the polls came close to predicting the actual vote that each of the three major candidates collected, Harris won bragging rights — and presumably a marketing edge — with the best showing. The final Harris forecast: 44% for the Clinton/Gore ticket (actual share: 43%); 38% for Bush/Quayle (actual: 38%); and 17% for Perot/Stockdale (actual: 19%).

No Client

So important was the political profile that Harris conducted polling throughout the presidential race, despite having no client lined up to pay for the work.

But, of course, even as a marketing tool, the polling work is worthless unless it yields accurate results. "Political polling is the only kind of public opinion research that has an outside validity check — namely, the election," says Harry W. O'Neill, president of the National Council on Public Polls, a professional group. "If the polls are way off, then we lose credibility in everything we do."

Some pollsters are privately pointing out what they describe was a poor showing by Gallup in attempting to apportion the undecided vote. While early Gallup prognostications that excluded undecided voters were in line with rivals' results, Gallup missed the mark significantly when it attempted to distribute the 6% of undecided votes. When the firm included that segment, it had Gov. Clinton at 49%, President Bush at 37%, and Ross Perot at 14%.

Wrong Theory

Gallup, it appears, wrongly theorized that the biggest portion of the undecided vote would go to Gov. Clinton, rather than to President Bush. Thus, it assigned five points of the six-point undecided group to Gov. Clinton, the rest to the Bush camp — and gambled that no undecided voters would cast ballots for Mr. Perot.

In the end, however, it was Mr. Perot who garnered the most of the undecided vote, getting five of the six percentage points. President Bush got the remainder — and Gov. Clinton didn't get any.

"They were off by a mile," says one rival pollster, who requested anonymity. "They've never had such an erroneous final poll." Another prominent pollster, who also asked to not be identified, contends that Gallup's work harms the industry. None of Gallup's competitors, however, would venture to guess whether its prospects in the commercial market would be lessened by the problem.

In Gallup's defense, Frank Newport, editor and chief of the Gallup Poll, says that his organization is the only one with "a history of seeing if it can make a guesstimate of what happens with the undecided voters." He acknowledged, however, that "to some degree, we stuck our neck out." Unlike his rivals, Mr. Newport concluded, "at least we have the guts, or courage, to make an attempt at allocating the undecided voters."

POLITICS

**Weber's New Job
May Keep Him Out
Of Running for RNC**

Rep. Vin Weber, the Minnesota Republican who declined to run for reelection this year, will form a business consulting firm, effectively taking himself out of the contest for chairman of the Republican National Committee.

The votes were hardly counted Tuesday when the maneuvering over the GOP chairmanship began. Richard N. Bond, the current chairman, will give way to a new party leader when Republican committee members convene early next year.

GOP sources said last week that Charles Black, a Washington lobbyist aligned with Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.), is making a major behind-the-scenes effort to get the post. Black, who helped run the committee after Lee Atwater was stricken with cancer after George Bush's election in 1988, was a senior adviser to Bush's reelection campaign.

Black has been controversial because of his firm's lobbying on behalf of foreign clients and he is not expected to get the party post without a major fight.

Vice President Quayle and his aides, along with Weber, former

administration official William J. Bennett and others, began at week's end to push the candidacy of Spencer Abraham, who is co-chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee, a former Michigan GOP chairman and former deputy to Quayle.

A third candidate may be Labor Secretary Lynn Martin, who campaigned relentlessly for the GOP ticket. Martin is seen as the moderate candidate—she supports abortion rights, for example—but it is unclear whether she wants the post. Martin, too, would have her troubles. Angela "Bay" Buchanan, sister and campaign manager of GOP primary candidate Patrick J. Buchanan, has called on Republicans to oppose "liberals and pro-abortionists" for party leadership.

Despite the broadsides, many Republicans think the party needs a new, inclusive face to speak for it and to rebuild it at a time Democrats own the White House and Congress.

Succession in Arkansas

■ Once he resigns as governor, Bill Clinton will be succeeded by Arkansas' lieutenant governor, who has been pretty much doing the job the past year.

Circuit Judge John Plegge has ruled that a 1914 state constitu-

tional amendment, which created the lieutenant governor's office and automatically replaces the governor with the lieutenant governor, should apply. He rejected two other provisions that suggest a special election may be needed to replace Clinton, or that Clinton may be able to appoint his replacement.

Lt. Gov. Jim Guy Tucker (D), who has been acting governor for all or part of 250 days while Clinton was campaigning outside the state, said, "I think it's a very good decision, and one that will help with the orderly transition," the Associated Press reported.

But state Attorney General Winston Bryant, a Democrat who wants to be governor, said he may appeal the decision to the Arkansas Supreme Court.

Plegge's ruling came in a lawsuit filed by political science professor Arthur English, who asked for a constitutional interpretation. English, who teaches at the University of Arkansas, also chairs the Arkansas chapter of Common Cause.

Tucker, meanwhile, has told Clinton that he can live in the governor's mansion until he moves to the White House. Clinton, who has lived in the mansion for 12 of the past 14 years, does not own a home.

"The mansion is designed not only for the governor, but also for guests of the state, and I think the president-elect of the United States is an appropriate guest for us to have staying at the mansion," Tucker told reporters.

Succession in Tennessee

■ In Tennessee, Gov. Ned R. McWherter (D) said he will appoint a Senate successor to Vice President-elect Gore soon after the electoral college makes Gore's new position official Dec. 14.

That would permit the new senator to be in place before Congress convenes Jan. 3. Gore's successor will serve until a special election in 1994. The winner of that election will serve until the end of Gore's term in 1996.

The governor would not say at a news conference who is under consideration, but those rumored to be include Democratic Reps. Jim Cooper, Bart Gordon and John S. Tanner; state Public Service Commission member Jane G. Eskind; and Peaches Simpkins, named by McWherter to head the state's Higher Education Commission.

—Maralee Schwartz
and Ann Devroy

TALKING POINTS

Baker Will Stay Awhile in Capital, Associates Say

He could move to Wyoming, site of his new ranch, or to Texas, his official home state, but James A. Baker III will remain in Washington for at least two years, associates say.

Baker was White House chief of staff and treasury secretary in the Reagan administration and in the Bush administration was secretary of state and now is chief of staff. He is considered likely to join a Washington law firm with Texas connections a la Robert S. Strauss, the Democratic rainmaker.

Associates said Baker's decision to remain in Washington was based on the wishes of his daughter, Mary Bonner Baker, to finish high school here. A child of Washington, she has grown up here as her father moved from one powerful government post to the next.

One aide said Baker, an already wealthy man who has no desire to amass great wealth, might write a book over the next two years but has made no firm decisions on that.

Some of Baker's aides who went with him to the White House are expected to return to the State Department until Inauguration Day. Dennis B. Ross, who was head of policy planning at State, is likely but not certain to return. Ross kept his hand in major foreign policy issues in his months helping Baker at the White House.

Andrew Carbondale, another Baker aide on policy issues, is also expected to return to State during the transition. Neither of their posts requires Senate confirmation. The three other members of the Baker team from State—Margaret Tutwiler, Janet G. Mullins and Robert B. Zoellick—will remain at the White House until their lease runs out.

Retiring presidents take a team of their closest aides into private life and Bush will be no different. Likely candidates to help Bush move from public to private life are Ronald C. Kaufman, White House political aide and a devoted Bush political operative from Day One, and Timothy J. McBride, who was a personal aide to the president, then a Commerce Department official before again becoming a Bush aide.

He did express elation at the election of a Democrat to the White House and said he and the incoming president have been friends for 15 years, "not just political friends but close personal friends."

Carter said Clinton's first task should be to "show to the American people as early as possible that there can be some teamwork, some harmony, some cooperation, some effective governance coming out of Washington."

"I think the American people are sick and tired of seeing a totally incompetent government because of division between the White House and the Congress," Carter said.

Agriculture Official Quits

■ The head of the Agriculture Department's Food and Nutrition Service, Betty Jo Nelsen, resigned Friday and said she was returning home to Milwaukee.

The former minority leader in the Wisconsin House, Nelsen has been the agency's administrator for three years.

President Bush had nominated her to become USDA's assistant secretary for food and consumer services in March, but the Senate Agriculture Committee did not vote on Nelsen before Congress recessed for the year.

Committee Chairman Patrick J. Leahy (D-Vt.) had criticized Nelsen's handling of food stamps for victims of the Los Angeles riots and a program for feeding preschoolers in homeless shelters.

Nelsen was responsible for programs including school lunches and supplemental food aid to Women, Infants and Children (WIC).

She said she had no immediate job plans. "This is a wonderful agency and I'll miss the people and the work a great deal. But it's time to move on and I'm very much looking forward to going home," she said.

Nelsen said she had been commuting to Milwaukee nearly every weekend to see her husband and family for the past three years and that her resignation had nothing to do with the Senate's handling of her nomination.

"I came to do this job for the president and thought I would stay for two years, but stayed through the election," Nelsen said.

From staff reports and news services

Carter Not Job-Hunting

■ Former president Jimmy Carter said Friday he would not accept a regular position in the Clinton administration if it were offered, but added that he would consider some kind of special assignment.

Carter said in a taped interview on NBC's "Today" show that he might be interested in an assignment from the president-elect if he were "uniquely qualified" for the job. He said the new administration might be able to make use of his skills in settling disputes in such an ad hoc role.

But Carter said he would not accept any offer of a Cabinet position or other regular post within the administration.

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Looking to Michigan

Liberal pundits are wasting no time in declaring that Bill Clinton's five-percentage-points victory means the end of a conservative era in American politics. They haven't been reading the same election returns we have.

Bill Clinton campaigned as a moderate Democrat against an incumbent who had angered much of his party's base. George Bush lost because he won the votes of only 73% of Republicans. Only 10% of Republicans deserted to Bill Clinton. But 17%, or one in six, bolted to Ross Perot, clearly no liberal. Even Barry Goldwater in 1964 won 80% of the GOP vote. But despite the awful Bush showing, Republicans held their own elsewhere. If they win a runoff in Georgia, they will stay at 43 Senate seats. In the House, they picked up nine seats — a respectable showing given that *every* Republican winner had to run ahead of George Bush.

Republicans did well in state legislatures. They now control both chambers in nine states, up from six. The GOP will call the shots in the Illinois Senate after 15 years out of power. Republicans secured a tie in the Florida Senate, the first time Democrats haven't won every legislative chamber in the South.

But if Republicans really want to learn how to assemble a winning coalition they should look to Michigan, where the GOP apparently has won control of state government for the first time in 26 years. In a state which Bill Clinton carried easily, Republicans captured either an actual or working majority in the state House of Representatives with an aggressive, reform-oriented campaign.

The GOP success was due in large part to Governor John Engler, who first won in 1990 by ousting a Democratic incumbent by 18,000 votes. But he didn't let either his narrow victory or his state's 9% unemployment rate deter him from taking bold action. In his first year he closed a \$1.1 billion

budget deficit without raising taxes, ended the state's scandal-ridden welfare program for single, able-bodied adults and cut an onerous value-added business tax. However, he was stymied by the Legislature in his plan to cut Michigan property taxes.

Rather than cut an unsavory budget deal with legislative Democrats, Governor Engler took his case to the people with a tax-cut initiative. While it ultimately lost, the coordinated campaign he mounted against entrenched legislators paid big dividends. Mr. Engler recruited Mike Goschka, a plain-talking union forklift driver to run against House Speaker Lou Dodak.

Mr. Goschka's ads declared it was "time government tightened its belt, just like the rest of us." In stunning upsets, Mr. Dodak and several of his allies lost. Republicans now have a 55-to-54 edge in the state House, and trail in another seat by six votes. At least one conservative Democrat has hinted he will help them break any tie. Governor Engler plans a bold "100 days" reform blitz, including tax cuts, trucking deregulation and privatization.

Of course, all politics is local and Michigan's experience isn't fully applicable to other states. Still, it shows how conservatives can do well if they articulate a bold economic vision and convince people they will indeed pursue it. Bruce Herschensohn, a painfully blunt California conservative, narrowly lost a Senate race while President Bush and Senator John Seymour, a moderate, were each swamped by over 1.5 million votes.

In debating their party's future, Republicans should remember it was Ronald Reagan, a candidate who always made it clear where he stood, who led them to two landslide victories. The "kinder and gentler" approach of his successor, absent any concerted dedication to a clearly defined set of goals, ended in confusion. People don't vote for confusion.

Asides

ABA Defections

The reputation of the American Bar Association took another blow recently with the resignations of 3,100 members, who were protesting the House of Delegates' decision in August to oppose laws that restrict abortions. Many members, regardless of their views on abortion, thought it was inappropriate for the ABA to take a posi-

tion on such a divisive political issue. Moreover, the imperial delegates refused to take the vote to the general membership. The ABA, it should be remembered, makes supposedly impartial recommendations on judicial appointments, including nominees to the Supreme Court. The resignations are one more reminder that the ABA is no longer a nonpartisan professional body, but one with a political agenda.

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Mr. Clinton's solid plurality was a bit short of a landslide

It was, to be sure, a solid victory for Bill Clinton. It was not, however, a landslide, and to the extent that it is being described as such in the media, it is further indication of the media's determination to cheerlead for their candidate, now the president-elect. Persons with memories capable of recalling 1988 — which seems to exceed the capacity of media institutional memory — will recall that George Bush's much larger victory over Michael Dukakis was not called a landslide. That was because it compared unfavorably with the recognized standards of the modern era, namely, Lyndon Johnson's win in 1964 and Richard Nixon's in 1972, as well as Ronald Reagan's victories in 1980 and 1984.

Calling it an "electoral landslide," as this newspaper did in a headline, is fair enough — although the truth is that as regional differences diminish, victory and defeat are only likely to be magnified by the electoral college system. Ross Perot's extraordinary support nationwide turned into no electoral votes, though previously even some third party candidates who did not do as well nationally as Mr. Perot did were able to garner some.

Even in the map of Mr. Clinton's strong win, however, one can see the contours of what used to be called the Republican "electoral lock." That's why Mr. Clinton's top strategist (and now the reigning bad boy of national politics) James Carville described his client's victory not as finding a key to the electoral lock but as finding a way to pick it. Republican predominance in the south and west remains. But it is absurd to say that elections don't depend on candidates.

■ How was it, exactly, that the Clinton campaign found out about Iran-Contra special prosecutor Lawrence Walsh's indictment against former Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger a day before Mr. Walsh filed it? Well, probably by somebody in the independent counsel's office picking up the phone and calling one of his or her pals at the Clinton campaign, naturally. Illegal and unethical, you say? Well, welcome to the Iran-Contra prosecution.

Mr. Bush is said to believe that the last-minute disclosure of the Weinberger indictment brought the momentum he had built up in the campaign's final week to a halt, thus ending his chances of an upset victory. He is probably overstating the case, though it is clear that the Bush-Quayle effort was distracted by the revelation. In any event, however, in this case the issue is not the effect of the disclosure but the fact of the disclosure, as well as the timing of the indictment.

It is abundantly clear that Mr. Walsh wanted (and may still want) Mr. Bush's scalp for his remarkably empty Iran-Contra trophy wall. The most recent evidence for this comes in a new book by Elliott Abrams, "Undue Process." Mr. Abrams, who pleaded guilty to two misdemeanor counts of withholding information from Congress (a "crime" Mr. Walsh and his henchman, Craig Gillen, made up) in order to avoid the time, expense and risk of defending himself on felony charges, had to agree to be interviewed by the prosecutors once again to see if he could offer any dirt on other officials of the Reagan administration. He couldn't. But:

"For two hours they asked me about Don Gregg, who had for eight years been Bush's National Security Adviser. I had already told them I remembered nothing about Gregg that would advance their prosecution. Gregg had never been in my office. I had never been in Gregg's office. We had spoken on the phone perhaps once a year, perhaps twice. But boy oh boy did they want Don Gregg, and they tried to 'help' my memory a little. They unearthed every single point where Gregg's path and mine had crossed in the 1980s: every meeting we both attended, every list we both appeared on, every reference to both of our names in someone's memo. Didn't that help me remember? Didn't that jog something in my mind? Nope. It was a calm, relaxed afternoon, just a bunch of guys sitting around trying to see if they could start something up that would end in impeaching the President."

It is clear that Mr. Walsh, Mr. Gillen et al. believe Iran-Contra was a broad-based conspiracy reaching the highest levels of the Reagan administration and that the criminal cover-up continues to this day. It is also clear that they have precious little evidence for this proposition — nowhere near enough to convince juries. Yet they are convinced.

We know that their office is sufficiently corrupt to leak word of the Weinberger indictment to the Clinton campaign. We also have some indication that Mr. Walsh and Mr. Gillen are personally corrupt: Their expense accounts are padded; they have cheated the D.C. government out of taxes; Mr. Walsh may have accepted an illegal gratuity in the form of a reduced rate at the Watergate Hotel. Given

Perhaps it's time for Mr. Bush to appoint an independent counsel to investigate Mr. Walsh.

that, it is not implausible to think that they cooked up the Weinberger indictment for election eve because they were trying to get Mr. Bush in whatever way they could.

This newspaper has consistently opposed so-called "independent counsels" on grounds of separation of powers. The Supreme Court, in Morrison vs. Olson, disagreed, finding the law to contain sufficient checks against prosecutorial abuse to satisfy the Constitution. But in editorials here, the nod has gone to a more scrupulous reading. Perhaps, given this latest outrage, it's time for a change — time for Mr. Bush to appoint an independent counsel to investigate Mr. Walsh's actions.

■ The polls hadn't even opened last Tuesday and already the latest social crisis was upon us. On Monday, The Washington Post kicked off the presidential election with a look at voters who don't vote, a species of American that every four years provokes the deepest soul-searching and teeth-gnashing amongst those whose profession is really Social

Responsibility.

The Post's excursion into non-voterology discovered a truth awesome in its implications — that many non-voters are affluent, middle-class and well-educated. Can you imagine that? There they were with choices ranging from Bill Clinton to George Bush to Ross Perot to Bo Greitz to Howard Phillips to Andre Marrou to the communists, the prohibitionists or the half-dozen or so other "third parties" lurking about the polling places. And they didn't pick one. Probably if you — you upscale reader of The Post and confirmed voter — actually ran into these non-voters at your local watering holes or fern bars, you wouldn't even recognize them, let alone be embarrassed by their company. It's really incredible.

Non-voting in fact remains common, despite the uptick this time. In fact, it's practically a time-honored tradition by now. In 1960, 65.4 percent of eligible voters cast ballots. The all-time low was in 1988, when only 52.8 percent of those eligible actually went to the polls.

The reasons for the fall-off are legion. First, for all the 1960s chest-pounding about giving 18-year-olds the vote and removing obstacles in the way of poor people and minorities, a lot of these folks simply take no interest in politics. Then there are those who wish a pox on all your parties. It is this crowd that most excites the pity and passion of the Social Responsibility set, who inevitably infer from their hostile apathy that we have to "do something" to make the system more responsive.

But the non-voters the Post surveyed last week are not exactly in that category. These people simply seemed too busy to vote. Too busy with what, you ask. Well, with things such as making a living, raising children, getting an education, going to church or any number of other activities that normal Americans find important.

More important than politics, you say? How could that be? Well, very easily. Most Americans and probably most human beings have other things to do with their time and energy than pay much attention to politicians. Among those who are not registered to vote, 71 percent agreed with The Post's telephone poll statement, "Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on." Therefore, unlike the professional politicians who don't understand what's going on either, they don't vote.

There is no question that voting is the foundation of political democracy, and those who want to keep a democracy ought to learn how to vote and what (and whom) to vote for and against. But no one can tell voters this. If they don't want to vote, they don't have to.

Editorial Notebook

An Unfair Late Hit on Mr. Bush?

President Bush cried foul when four days before the election Lawrence Walsh, the court-appointed prosecutor in the Iran-contra cases, made public evidence challenging Mr. Bush's claim that he was "out of the loop" of the hostage ransom operation. Was this a political cheap shot or legitimate prosecutorial action?

That's a fascinating and fair question, one that Mr. Walsh needs to answer, at the latest when he files a final report on his six-year investigation of the Reagan Administration's major scandal. The reverse question also needs attention: Would it have been proper to suppress the information and release it only after the election?

The release came in a revised indictment of former Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger charging that he lied to Congress when he denied taking extensive notes of meetings about ransoming hostages. Mr. Weinberger opposed this arms-for-hostages plan, but is nevertheless accused of lying to conceal it from investigators.

An earlier indictment had merely summarized the meetings covered by the Weinberger notes, leaving the notes themselves for the trial. The new indictment, made necessary by a court decision striking one of the original counts, quoted the notes themselves.

One of the most embarrassing notes for Mr. Bush told of an Oval Office meeting on Jan. 7, 1986: "President decided to go with Israeli-Iranian offer to release our 5 hostages in return for sale of 4,000 TOWs to Iran by Israel. George Shultz + I opposed. Bill Casey, Ed Meese + VP favored — as did Poindexter."

Here was fresh evidence that Vice President Bush was in the loop of informed officials who expected that hostages would be freed "in return for" weapons. Indeed, he favored the transaction. So much for Mr. Bush's public stance against paying ransom to terrorists.

The disclosure's impact on Tuesday's voting is debatable. Americans already disbelieved Mr. Bush on this question by more than two to one, according to polls. But the news plainly rattled the President in his public appearances over the campaign's final weekend. Vice Presi-

Delaying Disclosure Also Raises Questions

dent Dan Quayle called the disclosure "the final nail in the coffin." He and others bitterly questioned the timing. Some have foolishly suggested firing Mr. Walsh or pre-emptively pardoning Mr. Weinberger.

Timing, and its implications for the prosecutor's motivation, are the significant questions. No one disputes that the prosecutor may use any and all of Mr. Weinberger's notes as evidence at the trial. The note in question serves the additional function of suggesting to the jury a motive for falsely denying the notes' existence: they were explosive, damning.

Was it necessary to quote from the notes in the indictment itself? No; that was the prosecutor's option. It's clearly proper and quite common to quote evidence, especially in perjury-type cases. And colorful indictments are totally in keeping with recent Justice Department practice.

Doubtless the Reagan or Bush Justice Departments would have found a reasonable basis for postponing publication of the notes. Indeed, they never would have indicted Mr. Weinberger, a loyal soldier. But the executive branch was riddled with conflicts of interest, as former Attorney General Edwin Meese recognized when he applied for the court-appointed independent counsel.

Could Mr. Walsh have postponed the indictment past the election? Yes, but his office had promised it by the end of October under a demanding court timetable. Could he have sealed it until after the election? Perhaps, but that would have had political consequences too, and sparing candidates embarrassment is not one of the customary reasons for sealing an indictment.

So the question becomes: What should an independent prosecutor, appointed to guard against politically tainted justice, do when his decision — either way — might affect a national election? Here's a rough first answer: If Lawrence Walsh had suppressed this information, the public would be justifiably angry. Angry enough to wonder why we bothered to have an independent counsel.

JOHN P. MacKENZIE

David S. Broder

What Future for the GOP?

Within hours of the polls' closing Tuesday, the two faces of the Republican future became clear. Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole, just reelected to a fifth term in Kansas, proclaimed himself the de facto leader of the Republican opposition inside the Beltway, adding that he would be happy to speak for the Ross Perot voters as well. And columnist Robert Novak, semi-official court chronicler of the non-loony right, declared Jack Kemp the "clear Republican heir apparent" across the country.

There's a lot of truth in what they both have to say. When George Bush leaves on Jan. 20, Dole will be the most influential Republican in Washington. Nominally, he will share that distinction with House Minority Leader Bob Michel of Illinois. But with his more assertive personality and with Senate rules that enhance the leverage of the 42-member Republican minority, Dole will be the force that President-elect Clinton and the Democrats must engage.

Kemp's lease as secretary of housing and urban development expires when Bush leaves the White House—but not his hold on Republicans' hearts and minds. Clearly there will be other important players in the national GOP. Vice President Dan Quayle has strong adherents within the party who argue that he showed more fight in the 1992 campaign than Bush himself did. Pat Robertson and his Christian Coalition have gained important footholds in the grass-roots party structure. Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.), openly ambitious for the 1996 nomination, has financial-political alliances from his work this year as chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee.

Former education secretary Bill Bennett delivers Quayle-like speeches on family values better than Quayle does. Massachusetts Gov. William Weld has great appeal to libertarian conservatives and an abortion-rights stand that also makes him seem a leader of the moderate Republican fragment. California Gov. Pete Wilson has the biggest base of all—if he can keep it by being reelected in 1994.

And then there is the quiet man—

Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney—who is esteemed by Bush administration insiders and those who ran the last five Republican presidential campaigns. He is trusted by conservatives and moderates and has a built-in network among the House Republicans, who moved him rapidly into their leadership before he became the Pentagon chief.

But none of them has a standing today that matches Kemp's. It is remarkable to see how much the idea has taken root among Republican activists that Kemp embodies the party future. He lost out early in the contests with Bush, Dole, Robertson and others in the 1988 primaries. But somehow, in his four years at HUD, when he became the outspoken advocate of "empowerment" programs for the center cities and the poor, he has acquired a stature that his 18 years in the House of Representatives never gave him.

That was evident during a late-October campaign trip to Connecticut on which I accompanied Kemp. After a pep talk to Bush-Quayle volunteers at the state headquarters in Berlin was concluded by chants of "Kemp in '96," Brian Gaffney, the veteran Connecticut Republican leader, turned to me and said, "Are we looking at the future? I think so."

In an interview that day, which was embargoed for post-election use, Kemp was intensely critical not only of the Bush campaign but of the economic policy-making, which he blamed for the politically crippling record Bush had to try to defend. Citing the recent series of Washington Post articles by Bob Woodward, Kemp assailed "the cynicism" with which his old foe, Budget Director Richard Darman, "undermined the populist economics that Ronald Reagan and George Bush had been elected on." The 1990 budget deal, which Kemp argues prolonged the recession, and the failure to provide any serious stimulative remedies left Republicans "with a terrible economic message and an even worse political message," he said.

The result, as he accurately predicted, was that "the base we had

broadened in the 1980s shrank on us," with the sharpest losses among young voters and middle- and low-income families who had believed for a time "we were the party of expanding opportunities." The problem was compounded, he said, at the Republican National Convention, when speakers like Patrick Buchanan delivered what Kemp called "mean-spirited, divisive and exclusionary" messages.

"There's nothing wrong with talking values," he said, "but you can't be perceived as leaving the single mother making heroic efforts to raise her kids out of the equation. You can speak up for what you believe, but you can't change society's values as quickly by preaching to people as you can change the economy by picking the right policies and giving people a sense of boundless optimism and real equality of opportunity."

Republicans would deserve to lose, Kemp said, "if our campaign is just beating up on Bill Clinton. We have to inspire, motivate, energize people."

A great many Republicans see Kemp as the man who can do just that.

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Transition Intrigue

No sooner had final returns come in Tuesday night than Washington lobbyists, many with close ties to President-elect Clinton, began circulating a plausible scenario to get the new administration off to a jump start.

The universally respected Sen. Lloyd Bentsen of Texas would be unveiled within days as secretary of Treasury, thereby reassuring power centers suspicious of the young new president—financial markets, business, Congress, the Washington establishment. That would enable Senate Democrats in their biennial reorganization to affirm Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan succeeding Bentsen as Finance Committee chairman, helping Moynihan's 1994 bid for reelection from New York. In Texas, Gov. Ann Richards would be pleased by the chance to name a new senator to replace Bentsen (possibly former Lt. Gov. Bill Hobby, who would serve only the two years remaining of Bentsen's term).

The only trouble with this please-everybody scenario is that Bill Clinton

had not signed off on it and, according to associates, had not even considered such a course. Like much else that happened in the first week of the Clinton transition, political intrigue far outran decision-making.

It would be unfair to say so soon that Clinton's transition is off to a bad start. But so far it contrasts unfavorably with the smoothly orchestrated Clinton campaign. Clinton's transition has begun looking more like Jimmy Carter's than Ronald Reagan's, an ill omen if what is happening now foreshadows the kind of administration that will follow.

In its total commitment to beating George Bush, the Clinton campaign barred the word "transition" and did not ponder what kind of Cabinet members were desired, much less their identities. Thus, it is unclear whether Bentsen makes the grade, because nobody really is sure what the grade is.

Bentsen, a conservative by Democratic standards who looks like a secretary of the Treasury should, em-

bodies reassurance. But he is a dim presence in Frankfurt and Tokyo, where the money men anxiously eye the new crowd in Washington. For those Clinton advisers who see this as a first priority, Bentsen falls short.

The rest of the world would be pleased most by the selection of former Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker, a nonpartisan technocrat appointed to high office by John F. Kennedy, Richard Nixon, Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan. It is no daydream. Clinton, who loves to talk, conferred at length secretly with Volcker on the campaign trail.

However, Volcker is an old-fashioned fiscal conservative who would look askance at a vigorous Clinton stimulus package. Moreover, while Bentsen, 71, and Volcker, 65, fit the "graybeard" classification that some Clinton advisers think is necessary for Treasury, they also constitute a look back instead of a look forward by the self-proclaimed "change agent" just elected.

Thus, Clinton is being advised to pick a close supporter, Wall Street investment banker Roger Altman, 46, who was an assistant secretary in Carter days. He is much more growth-oriented and fits better into the Clinton orbit than either Bentsen or Volcker. But does the president-elect want to put somebody at Treasury as young as himself? The decision was delayed by last week's infighting over who would direct the transition.

Here, too, there was more political game-playing than substantive disagreement. Bitter opposition to Mickey Kantor, the Los Angeles lawyer-lobbyist who was campaign chairman, stems from enemies generated the last three months by his personal style.

The tip-off came Wednesday at a Little Rock victory meeting of Clinton operatives when Eli Segal, the campaign chief of staff then considered Kantor's rival for transition chief, generated applause so loud and sustained that it seemed contrived to send a message. Not until two days later were big-time lawyers Vernon Jordan and Warren Christopher named to share transition duties.

Their first mission will be to cut through this week's political machinations that peaked in New Jersey. Word was spread there that Sen. Bill Bradley, another baby boomer at age 49, was about to be named secretary of state. New Jersey party leaders immediately asserted that Gov. Jim Florio's choice to succeed Bradley would be Rep. Robert Torricelli, whose inclinations to challenge Florio for governor next year then would become moot. That's what goes on inside a party luxuriating in the lure of Cabinet seats for the first time in 12 years.

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Pruden on Politics

By Wesley Pruden



Mad enough to spit, but no saliva tests

A little saliva goes a long way, except in certain Republican circles. Some of these guys should have been dentists, because they can't get enough of it.

Alan Simpson, the straight-talking senator from Wyoming (the state with perhaps the least tolerance of the mouthy mumbo-jumbo that sells so well in the East), remarked the other day that if George Bush should lose he could blame Republicans, not Democrats.

Someone called him on it yesterday on NBC-TV's "Meet the Press."

"Did I say that?" asked Mr. Simpson. "I remember it now. It comes to me like a spectral image. Yeah, well —"

"Who were they?"

"Well, there were plenty of them. I know this party. My father [the late Milward Simpson] was a delegate to the national convention in 1952 for Ike and therefore he was called a pinko by some in the party who were favoring Robert A. Taft. And yet when Pop left the U.S. Senate he was called someone to the right of Barry Goldwater.

"And he said, 'How does this party manage to confer those types of definitions?' The issue is when Republicans are unified, they're magnificent, and when they give each other the saliva test of purity, they're a mess. And there were a lot of them giving that test and — and George Bush suffered because of it . . . I hope he won't be hard on himself. He's a very decent and splendid man."

Mr. Simpson understands, as a growing number of pols, observers, analysts and even some of those in the media who were leading the rahs-rahs only last week do, that Bill Clinton's mandate of the 43 percent reveals unusual opportunities for the Republicans if they can resist the usual temptation to

shoot their wounded for supper. This is the political disease found most often on the fringe. Democrats suffer from it, too.

The trick for the Republicans is to be nice to the president-elect while making life as miserable for the liberal and left-wing red-hots who will soon enough be taking shots at the new president for not being as savage and as nutty as they are.



Alan Simpson

The place to make a start is with Lawrence Walsh, a one-time Republican who agreed to make his special prosecutor's office a front for the Democratic campaign. At his age, Mr. Walsh probably figures he may never get another client so easy to roll, so he has to hang on to this one. An old man can chase ambulances, but he can't count on catching one. Barratry is hardly the word for what he's doing.

Mr. Simpson is eager to make Mr. Walsh pay for his manipulation of the election campaign by tipping the Clinton-Gore campaign, seeking to implicate the president, the day before his grand jury indicted Caspar Weinberger.

"Just because [Mr. Weinberger] wouldn't plead to a misdemeanor they indicted him, and one of the young jackals of the law fraternity who was involved [told him]: 'You'll probably get off, but it's going to cost you a lot of bucks. Good luck.'"

Bob Dole of Kansas, the Republican leader in the Senate, wants an investigation — by the Justice Department first, then maybe even by another special prosecutor — of the travesty that Mr. Walsh has made of due process, the law and the Congress.

"One thing we ought to do is to make certain we have a special prosecutor to look into Walsh's activity the Friday before the election — the so-called special prosecutor — because the attorney handling that case contributed \$500 to Bill Clinton. His law firm contributed \$20,000 to Clinton.

"There's something wrong there when the press release from the Clinton-Gore headquarters [was dated] the 29th of October and the indictment didn't come until the 30th. There must have been some communication between the Clinton-Gore people and the special prosecutor's office."

If Bill Clinton had been similarly set up, the press would be leading the cry for retribution, if not justice. We all know that. But instead of railing at the press, and at each other, the Republicans ought to make the Walsh fiasco their next campaign, beginning this morning. They could do the Republic a service, and save a lot of saliva, too.

Who laughs last ...

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. (AP) — During the presidential campaign, Bill Clinton's "I didn't inhale" claim concerning his admission of a college experimentation with marijuana was often the subject of mocking jokes. As the victor, it's Mr. Clinton who can afford to make light of the phrase now.

The president-elect was photographed Saturday with a big cigar in his mouth as he golfed with a friend. Yesterday, as he spoke with passers-by during a walk around his Little Rock neighborhood, one woman asked Mr. Clinton what his doctor would say about cigar smoking.

"Oh, I didn't smoke it," Mr. Clinton said. "You didn't inhale?" a man standing on the sidewalk said, laughing.

The president-elect cracked a broad smile and repeated the line, "I didn't inhale."

He said someone at the golf course had given the cigar to him as a symbol of victory.

"I never smoke those things," he said. "I'm allergic to them. Besides, that's a bad example."

Pruden on
Politics

By Wesley Pruden

Ain't nobody here
but us turkeys

After a brief pause to profess a little fraudulent humility in the wake of the election, Washington is back to the things it does best, self-abuse and the cultivation of narcissism.

Certain conservatives who spent the autumn sabotaging George Bush are pushing each other out of the way to get their chance to kick him, now that he's good and safely down. The media are, as usual, raising toasts to themselves, since nobody else will.

Some of the best and the brightest at the Heritage Foundation celebrated by serving party goers a plastic replica of the head of George Bush on a platter, in the way that Salome, who was at least a bit of a dish herself, took the head of John the Baptist.

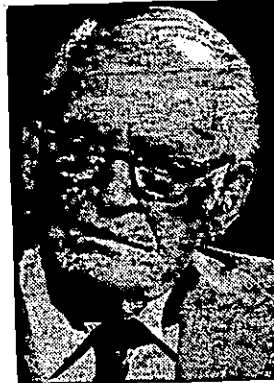
Some of the older if not necessarily wiser heads at Heritage insisted it was just a joke, but it was a reminder of the attitudes of some conservatives who, like their counterparts on the leftmost edge of the radar screen, would rather be right in their own wild eyes than win the partial victory that most of us understand is the only victory life delivers, and then only when we're lucky.

Barry Goldwater, who was buried under the greatest avalanche in American history in 1964 (they're still counting the ballots cast against him in some rural precincts), has been playing too long among the rattlers and Gila monsters. He accused George Bush of running "the worst campaign I have ever witnessed."

This finally confirms what a lot of people thought at the time, that Mr. Goldwater slept through the '64 campaign and never bothered to look at — or "witness" — what was going on around him.

The president's campaign made more bonehead mistakes than it could afford, and Bill Clinton's campaign made hardly any, but somebody please tell Barry Goldwater, of all people, to put a cork in it.

Some of the conservatives berating Mr. Bush



Barry Goldwater

loudest are those who did all they could to wound him in the spring and summer, and, indeed, some of them continued to snipe at him — usually from behind elaborate disguises in the safety of the box seats — through Tuesday night.

Nevertheless, the hypocrisy stakes are hotly contested. The organs of the dominant media, which threw away its traditions of objectivity and

fairness to lead Democratic cheers as soon as the gavel banged down to close the Democratic National Convention in July, are busy now trying to rewrite their campaign history.

Jonathan Wolman, the chief of the Washington bureau of the Associated Press, which in the waning weeks of the campaign made no attempt to hide its lust for Bill Clinton, thinks the coverage was generally pretty nifty.

"I thought that the coverage was a great deal better than in 1988 when the campaign was often dominated by sideshows like Boston Harbor and the flag factories. The shift from rallies to TV talk shows had one great benefit — the candidates couldn't help but focus on issues that might actually matter over the next four years."

Concurring hurrahs of self-congratulations are heard from the usual suspects. Dan Rather thinks he was terrific. Stephen Hess, a researcher at the Brookings Institution, praises the press for being "educable" in 1992. (We "grew.") Everette Dennis of the Freedom Forum Media Studies Center, a man of small expectations, is a man in a maiden's swoon. He is encouraged, he says, that "both the quantity and quality have really soared this year in a way I wouldn't have expected."

Robert Lichter, the director of the Center for Media and Public Affairs, which probably pays closest attention to how reporters do (and don't do) their jobs, applauds with one hand the coverage this year as "more aggressive and more substantive," but agrees with the conclusion, nearly unanimously held everywhere but in the newsrooms, that the coverage was tougher on Mr. Bush than on Mr. Clinton, and "less balanced than in '88."

Marion Just, a political science professor at Wellesley College who has been conducting interviews with voters, finds a common complaint: "Many people object to the reporters offering their own, off-the-cuff opinions, especially about things that are obvious or that the voters can determine for themselves."

Inside Politics



On tour

House Speaker Thomas Foley, Washington Democrat, embarks today on an "unprecedented series" of meetings in Los Angeles, Chicago and Atlanta with the 64 newly elected House Democrats.

He hopes to build support for Bill Clinton's domestic agenda and to foster loyalty among the large crop of freshman, many of whom do not have established ties with the chamber's leadership.

The Seattle Post-Intelligencer called the journey "a populist touch: He will be going to the freshmen, rather than waiting, as in the old days, for the novice members to pay respects to him."

Mr. Foley said most of the incoming Democrats have pledged support for his re-election as speaker: "I don't have any sense of anything except for very strong support from the group."

The week's quotes

"My God," exclaimed New York Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan to the Wall Street Journal in talking about the Clinton victory. "Now it's *our* deficit."

Edwin J. Feulner Jr., president of the Heritage Foundation, wrote in the Journal, "George Bush's loss marks a major setback for the Republican Party, not the end of the conservative revolution."

On CNN, Labor Secretary Lynn Martin, asked if she wants to head the Republican National Committee, said: "I don't know. A lot of people have asked about it. I'll be talking to people as varied as Pat Robertson."

Perot quotes

Georgetown political scientist Stephen Wayne on Ross Perot: "What's changed by virtue of the Perot candidacy? Very, very little. I'm not sure there's going to be any lasting legacy. It was an ego trip that, for 19 percent of the electorate, touched a responsive chord."

William Bennett on whether Mr. Perot deserves a place in the new administration: "How about we just settle for, 'Ross, you deserve some credit for touching a chord in people.'"

Sen. Jay Rockefeller, West Virginia Democrat, said on CNN: "Give the man credit for getting 19 percent... [but] is he elevated to Cabinet status, is he a major factor in our future? I don't think so."

Comedian Jay Leno said Mr. Perot has asked for a recount: "He said he paid for 20 percent of the vote and only got 19." Mr. Leno added that the post-election news is going to be less interesting: "It's just not the same. It's like watching 'Fantasy Island' without Tattoo. You miss the little guy."

Hindsight

William Kristol, Vice President Dan Quayle's chief of staff, said President Bush mishandled voter unrest: "When



Dan Quayle's gesture has nothing to do with "Taps" for the Quayle Quarterly.

75 percent of the country thinks you're on the wrong track, you can't look like you're sitting back." Former Ronald Reagan political advisers Lyn Nofziger and Ed Rollins agreed.

The three, on CNN, also agreed that Mr. Clinton had fashioned a formidable campaign.

Mr. Rollins, who served briefly this year as co-manager of Ross Perot's independent bid for the presidency, said Mr. Clinton's was "the best campaign I've ever seen a Democrat run."

He added that the Bush White House "always underestimated this candidate.... They thought they had [Michael] Dukakis all over again. Obviously he was a much better candidate than Dukakis."

Mr. Rollins and Mr. Nofziger said the Bush campaign abandoned key people from Mr. Reagan's years who might have helped, including themselves. Both said they offered and were rejected.

Quit for Quayle Quarterly

In Bridgeport, Conn., they are sounding the death knell for a magazine that has thrived on a steady diet of Dan Quayle gaffes.

The Quayle Quarterly will shut down when the vice president makes his career change but not before a farewell issue with headlines such as "Democracy Without Dan" and "Get a Job."

The editors couldn't be happier, the Associated Press said.

"I realized that to think about Dan Quayle as much as I have is beginning to affect my brain," said Deborah Werksman, who edits the magazine with her husband, Jeffrey Yoder.

The self-proclaimed "Watchful Eye on the Vice Presidency" has built a circulation of 12,000, with subscribers in all 50 states. It combines mostly critical articles on Mr. Quayle's activities in office with a nearly day-by-day documentation of his blunders.

The magazine's 11 issues served as a prime advertising vehicle for partisan Quayle-hunting paraphernalia, from a misnumbered Quayle wristwatch to the Dan Quayle Spelling Checker software.

Its issues included such nuggets as Mr. Quayle's refusal of an honorary membership in the Gilligan's Island Fan Club because of "ethical constraints."

THE FAR SIDE GARY LARSON



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REPRINT OF A 1987 CARTOON

Early archaeologists

Bon appetit, y'all!

Over at Dominique's, they're dishing up "Clinton Cuisine." You've got a choice of "Ozark fresh" fried catfish or chicken-fried steak that promises to be "just like Mama's." But if the French restaurant entices you with fresh Arkansas spinach, politely decline. Seems a mouse scurried his or her way into a 15-ounce can of spinach that was produced and packed in Siloam Springs, Ark., recently. A customer at a Giant Eagle grocery store last week found parts of the mouse in the vegetable, triggering a recall of the Arkansas spinach in three states in the East.

The Pittsburgh-based grocery store chain said it will no longer buy any products from the Arkansas packing company.

Pulpit power

If evangelical Christians had "gone fishing" on Election Day, Bill Clinton would have received 52 percent of the popular vote, according to an exit poll conducted by the Market Research Institute for the Christian Coalition. Instead, Mr. Clinton received a 43 percent "mandate."

If evangelicals had avoided the voting booth, Mr. Bush would have won only 32 percent of the popular vote instead of the 38 percent he did receive.

The experts say this voting group, which often responds to "family values" issues, makes up as much as 25 percent of the voting public.

Foreign relations

As you can see in the photograph, this is how Iraqi President Saddam Hussein celebrated news of President Bush's defeat last week. Luckily for the crowd, Mr. Hussein was in a good mood and aimed his bullets skyward.

Pope John Paul II, at the same time, didn't fire a pistol into the air.

INSIDE THE BELTWAY



Reuters
Saddam Hussein has an odd way of showing his glee at the Bush defeat.

but the Holy Father yesterday did send a warning shot to Bill Clinton. A front-page commentary in Sunday's L'Osservatore Romano, the Vatican newspaper, warned Mr. Clinton not to let the United States slip into immorality, referring to the president-elect's support for abortion rights.

While the Holy See began the article by offering best wishes to Mr. Clinton, it quickly added that those wishes were "deeply rooted in moral concern."

Freedom should never become a "license to strike at the most weak, from unborn babies to outcast elderly people," said the court of the pope.

Clinton officials told us yesterday that they would have no comment on the Vatican statement.

Final cut

Heritage Foundation President Edwin Feulner was not amused upon reading in this column Friday that members of his staff paraded a replica of George Bush's head on a serving platter before an audience of young conservatives. Mr. Feulner immediately sent a letter of apology to President Bush, which read in part:

"I want to offer my sincere apologies — and those of my colleagues at The Heritage Foundation — for the ugly and disrespectful episode which reportedly took place in our auditorium Wednesday night. . . .

"As you know, we have had many sharp policy disagreements with the White House over the past two years, but we have never allowed our criticisms to become personal or vindictive.

"The kind of behavior reported in this morning's Washington Times crosses the bounds of good taste and we will not tolerate it."

Two members of the Heritage staff — Betsy Hart and Edward Hudgins — were fired over the incident.

— John McCaslin

Job description

Bill Clinton's former minister said the president-elect is everything except "Slick Willie" and added that Mr. Clinton might make a good pastor if he ever tires of politics.

Mr. Clinton "has principle and conviction a mile deep," says Wayne Ward, now a professor at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, Ky. Mr. Ward, 71, twice served as interim pastor at the Little Rock church where the Clintons worship.

Blessing in disguise

Now that the president-elect knows the pope is watching and listening, he might want to clean up his language a little bit. When Mr. Clinton caught sight of photographers while preparing to tee off in a golf outing Saturday in Little Rock, he shouted, "Goddamn it!"

Directing his anger toward the manager of the Chenal Valley Country Club, Mr. Clinton said, "I thought we had an agreement that they weren't going to be up here."

Bum rap

You might remember the name Eliot Ness. The real Eliot Ness was a federal agent who brought Chicago criminal Al Capone to justice for tax evasion. The fictitious Eliot Ness was a federal agent who appeared in "The Untouchables," the popular television drama that originally aired about 35 years ago. Now the Washington-based Commission for Social Justice, Order Sons of Italy in America, is seeking to block the proposed return of

"The Untouchables" for fear that the series will unfairly stereotype Italian-Americans as gangsters.

"Week after week, millions of television viewers witnessed the heroic adventures of Eliot Ness and his crusaders in their single-minded quest to rid the streets of heinous criminals, virtually all of whom were of Italian-American descent," said the CSJ's Philip Piccigallo.

Three out of every four adults who participated in a recent national survey believed that Italian-Americans are into organized crime. But according to the Justice Department, fewer than one-tenth of 1 percent of the 23 million Americans of Italian heritage are involved in the mob.

Names & Faces

The Bucks Brigade

■ No wonder Michael Jordan smiles so much!

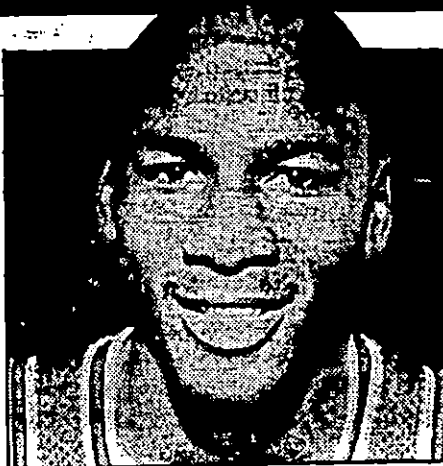
At the tender age of 29, the Chicago Bulls superstar will rake in \$36 million in '92, catapulting him to the top of Forbes magazine's list of the 40 best-paid athletes.

But it's not his on-court performance that put him over the top. Jordan's mega-contract with Nike Inc. is the sports world's richest endorsement—Forbes estimates that he'll bring home \$20 million a year by plugging the high-tech status sneakers. Not to mention his plum deals with McDonald's Corp., General Mills Inc. and Gatorade.

Jordan, the first non-boxer to top the business magazine's third annual list of the "Super 40," slam-dunked Evander Holyfield, the heavyweight boxing champ, who will knock down a mere \$28 million this year. Among the others in the Top 10 Club: Arnold Palmer, Andre Agassi, Joe Montana and Monica Seles.

Soaring salaries gave baseball players 10 of the 40 slots—followed by tennis players (nine), golfers (six), race-car drivers (four), basketball players (four), boxers (four), football players (two) and hockey players (one).

Footnote: Last year's No. 2, heavyweight boxer Mike Tyson, is now pulling down a whopping \$5 an hour in prison, where he's serving time for rape.



Michael Jordan, scoring big.

until this weekend—when the two became dads.

Murphy's fiancée, Nicole Mitchell, gave birth Saturday morning to little Miles (named after the late jazzman Miles Davis), who joins the couple's 3-year-old daughter, Bria. "Love's all right," said the proud papa in a statement.

Rivera and his wife, C.C. Dyer, who had shared their infertility problems with viewers of his daytime talk show, presented Isabella Saturday. Rivera, no stranger to hyperbole, said in a statement that he was "the happiest man in America."

End Notes

■ Some patients trying to get to the emergency room at Bethesda Naval Hospital Saturday night were a little annoyed to find that film crews had commandeered part of the facility to shoot scenes for the upcoming political flick "Dave," starring Sigourney Weaver and Kevin Kline. Complained one: "Couldn't they have just built a set?" . . . Ousted General Motors Chairman Robert Stempel was listed in good condition yesterday after heart surgery in suburban Detroit on Saturday. The surgery was described as elective. . . This year's National Christmas Tree is coming to Washington from the Chippewa National Forest in Minnesota. The 62-foot white spruce has about two weeks left to live—it'll be cut Nov. 23 and then lighted in a ceremony Dec. 9. . . In case there's a soul out there who didn't get enough of Ross "It's That Simple" Perot in his once-ubiquitous infomercials, you're in luck. Video Plus, a Dallas company Perot hired to film his rallies, has announced it's selling a seven-hour tape of the independent's TV shows. And just in time for Christmas.

—Compiled from staff and wire reports by Mary Alma Welch

Labor Gains

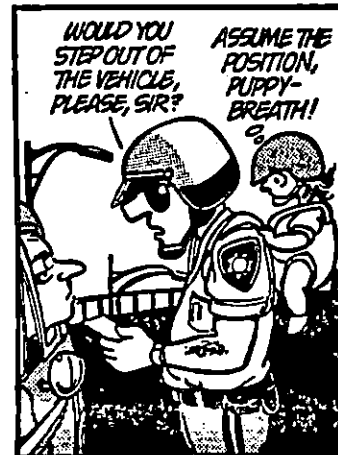
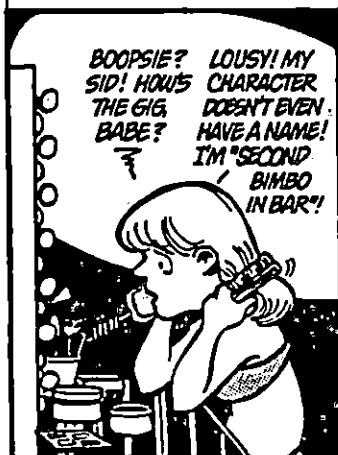
■ What do Eddie Murphy and Geraldo Rivera have in common? Surely not much,

THE RELIABLE SOURCE

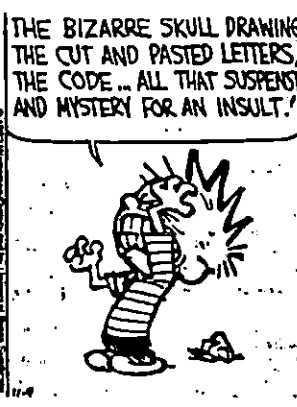
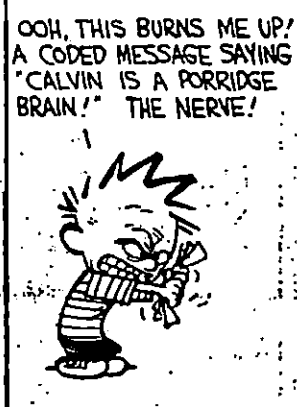
Lois Romano's column will resume tomorrow.

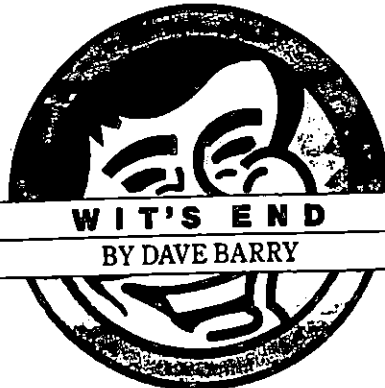
DOONESBURY

By G.B. Trudeau



CALVIN AND HOBBS BILL WATTERSON





WIT'S END
BY DAVE BARRY

Rock Bottom

IN A RECENT COLUMN I NOTED THAT certain songs are always getting played on the radio, despite the fact that these songs have been shown, in scientific laboratory tests, to be bad. One example I cited was Neil Diamond's ballad "I Am, I Said," in which Neil complains repeatedly that nobody hears him, "not even the chair." I pointed out that this does not make a ton of sense, unless Neil has unusually intelligent furniture. ("Mr. Diamond, your Barcalounger is on line two.")

Well, it turns out there are some major Neil Diamond fans out there in Readerland. They sent me a large pile of hostile mail with mouth froth spewing out of the envelope seams. In the interest of journalistic fairness, I will summarize their main arguments here:

"Dear Pukenose:

"Just who the hell do you think you are to blah blah a great artist like Neil blah blah more than 20 gold records blah blah how many gold records do YOU have, you scumsucking wad of blah blah I personally have attended 1,794 of Neil's concerts blah blah What about 'Love on the Rocks'? Huh? What about 'Cracklin' Rosie'? blah blah if you had ONE-TENTH of Neil's talent blah blah so I listened to 'Heartlight' 40 times in a row and the next day the cyst was GONE and the doctor said he had never seen such a rapid blah blah What about 'Play Me'? What About 'Song Sung' Blah? Cancel my subscription, if I have one."

So we can clearly see that music is a matter of personal taste. Person A may hate a particular song, such as "Having My Baby" by Paul Anka (who I suspect is also Neil Sedaka), and Person B might love this song. But does this mean that Person B is wrong? Of course not. It simply means that Person B is an idiot. Because some songs are just plain bad, and "Having My Baby" is one of them, and another one is "Bad, Bad Leroy Brown."

That's not merely my opinion: That's the opinion of many readers who took time out from whatever they do, which I hope does not involve operating machinery, to write letters containing harsh remarks about these and other songs. In fact, to judge from the reader reaction, the public is a lot more concerned about the issue of song badness than about the presidential election campaign (which, by the way, is over, so you can turn on your TV again).

And it's not just the public. It's also the media. I put a message on the newsroom computer system, asking people to nominate the worst rock song ever, and within minutes I was swamped with passionate responses. And these were from newspaper people, who are legendary for their cold-blooded noninvolvement ("I realize this is a bad time for you, Mrs. Weemer, but could you tell me how you felt when you found Mr. Weemer's head?"). Even the managing editor responded, arguing that the worst rock song ever was "which-ever one led to the second one."

Other popular choices were "A Horse With No Name," performed by America; "Billy, Don't Be a Hero," by Bo Donaldson and the Heywoods; "Kung Fu Fight-

ing," by Carl Douglas; "Copacabana," by Barry Manilow; "Me and You and a Dog Named Boo," by Lobo; "Seasons in the Sun," by Terry Jacks; "Feelings," by various weenies; "Precious and Few," by some people who make the weenies who sang "Feelings" sound like Ray Charles; "The Pepsi Song," by Ray Charles; "Muskrat Love," by the Captain and Tennille; every song ever recorded by Bobby Goldsboro; and virtually every song recorded since about 1972.

"It's worse than ever," is how my wife put it.

Anyway, since people feel so strongly about this issue, I've decided to conduct a nationwide survey to determine the worst rock song ever. I realize that similar surveys have been done before, but this one will be unique: This will be the first rock-song survey ever, to my knowledge, that I'll be able to get an easy column out of.

So I'm asking you to send me your nominations in two categories: Worst Overall Song and Worst Lyrics. In the second category, for example, you might want to consider a song I swear I heard back in the late 1950s, which I believe was called "Girls Grow Up Faster Than Boys Do." I've been unable to locate the record, but the chorus went:

*Won't you take a look at me now;
You'll be surprised at what you see now.
I'm everything a girl should be now—
Thirty-six, twenty-four, thirty-FIVE!*

I'm sure you can do worse than that.

So write your two nominations (one song in each category) on a postal card—NOT a letter—and send it to Bad Song Survey, c/o Dave Barry, The Washington Post Magazine, 1150 15th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20071.

Send your card today. Be in with the "in" crowd. We'll have joy, we'll have fun. So Cracklin' Rosie, get on board, because Honey, I miss you. AND your dog named Boo. ■



ILLUSTRATION BY AD MCCAULEY

DATE: 11-9
PAGE: 1

What's News—

* * *

World-Wide

CLINTON TARGETED three economic posts he wants to fill by Thanksgiving.

The president-elect's transition team has privately set a goal of selecting the Treasury secretary, the director of the Office of Management and Budget, and the chairman of a new Economic Security Council before Thanksgiving. Clinton also intends to meet in Arkansas within the next few weeks with a contingent of prominent business and economic leaders. Vernon Jordan, a former president of the Urban League who was named chairman of the Clinton transition operation Friday, emphasized over the weekend that economic appointments would get top priority. (Article on Page A12)

Warren Christopher, a deputy secretary of state under President Carter, was appointed director of the transition team's day-to-day operations.

* * *

Iraqi nuclear experts refused to release a list of foreign companies that helped President Saddam Hussein in building his nuclear weapons program, a U.N. official said in Baghdad. "They are trying to hide the information," Dimitri Perricos, leader of a 32-member U.N. team, said after meeting with the Iraqi officials.

* * *

Colombia's president declared a 90-day state of emergency after more than 30 bombs exploded across the country Saturday night, killing at least nine people and wounding 60. Gaviria made the announcement after calling an emergency meeting of top officials to discuss measures for combating a wave of guerrilla and drug violence.

* * *

Senate Minority Leader Dole urged President Bush to consider pardoning former Defense Secretary Weinberger and other Iran-Contra defendants and called for an official investigation of any links between Weinberger's Oct. 30 re-indictment and the presidential campaign.

* * *

Food labeling rules have been delayed because of a cabinet-level dispute over the new labeling format. The federal government had planned to issue the regulations today, but the dispute between Agriculture Secretary Madigan and Health and Human Services Secretary Sullivan has left the food industry in limbo. (Article on Page B1)

* * *

German radical leftists threw stones and eggs at President von Weizsaecker in Berlin as he addressed a rally against rightist violence. As the president was urging Germany to eschew violence, riot police shielded him from the hurled objects. Earlier, Chancellor Kohl was whisked away from a march after he was pelted.

* * *

Relief flights were halted temporarily into Sarajevo after fighting flared up near the Bosnian capital's airport. Residents of the city were without water and electricity for a third consecutive day.

* * *

A Japanese escort ship collided with a Greenpeace boat tracking a freighter laden with plutonium, the Greenpeace crew said. The collision reportedly occurred in the English Channel as the Japanese freighter, with 1.7 tons of plutonium, began its trip home from Europe. (Article on Page A7)

* * *

Japan's ruling party is reported to be considering filing libel charges against prosecutors, as well as against a leader of a rightist group who gave testimony mentioning Liberal Democratic Party members in connection with a political-scandal trial. (Article on Page A7)

* * *

FBI agents arrested the chief of New York state's court system, Sol Wachtler, on Saturday, accusing him of trying to extort money from an ex-girlfriend and threatening to kidnap her daughter. Judge Wachtler, 62, who had been mentioned as a potential GOP candidate for governor, was being held in a hospital psychiatric ward.

* * *

Nigerian forces pounded a stronghold of Liberian rebel leader Taylor two days before a cease-fire was set to begin in Liberia. West African leaders have threatened to impose economic sanctions against Taylor if the truce isn't observed starting tomorrow.

* * *

The PLO hardened its stance on Mideast peace talks, rejecting the notion that Israel retain overall control in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip while the territories' eventual future is decided.

* * *

Died: Alexander Dubcek, 70, former Czechoslovak leader whose 1968 bid to loosen the Communist grip on his nation—known as the "Prague Spring"—was suppressed by the Soviets, Saturday, in Prague, of internal injuries from a car crash two months ago.



THE PRESIDENT

November 9, 1992

Dear Mr. Webber,

Ed Lawson passed along your statement and thoughts on the election and I just wanted to thank you for your positive assessment of my administration. Barbara and I are grateful for our four years in the White House and appreciate the opportunities we have had to serve our country.

Soon, we will be shifting gears to private life. Thanks, again, for your kind words.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Jerry Webber
3701 South Peoria Avenue
Tulsa, Oklahoma 74105

cc: Ed Lawson

cc: (ins & out)
Rose Zamaria (lcc)

Transition Meeting



OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTO 09NDU92 DU P037997 -004 - — -