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

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

OA/ID Number: 90737
Folder ID Number: 90737-001

Folder Title:
Monday, November 23, 1992 [2]

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

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Cable 061439Z (3 pp.)		11/09/1992	(b)(1)	C

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Monday, November 23, 1992 [2]

Pinksheet Number: DJC3143
OA/ID Number: 90737-001
Date Closed: 9/16/2019
FOIA/Sys Case #: 2009-0166-S[4]
Re-review Case #:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

daily 11/23
cc'd: post election ~~letters~~ messages from world leaders

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 23, 1992

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship.

This comes to you with my personal respect for your strong leadership of Armenia, and your commitment to democracy. It has given me deep satisfaction to watch Armenia gain its independence and become a partner in strengthening democracy in the world. The American people and I are proud that we could extend support to your country, especially humanitarian assistance, in times of need.

I will be following your work and hope to see you some time in the future.

Sincerely,

Good Luck
- But wishes

George Bush

His Excellency
Levon Ter-Petrosyan
President of the Republic of Armenia
Yerevan

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 23, 1992

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best.

Sincerely,

Good Luck, sir! G Bush

His Excellency
Paul Biya
President of the Republic of Cameroon
Yaounde

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 23, 1992

Dear Mr. Deputy Prime Minister:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best.

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. I will have fond memories of our accomplishments in deepening the bonds of partnership between the United States and Canada, our dear neighbor to the north.

Sincerely,

George Bush

The Honorable
Donald Frank Mazankowski
Deputy Prime Minister and Minister
of Finance of Canada
Ottawa

Maz -
I will always treasure our friendship. Good Luck! G

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 23, 1992

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best.

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. I will be following your work and look forward to seeing you some time in the future.

Sincerely,

GBush

His Excellency
Aristides Maria Pereira
Former President of the Republic of
Cape Verde
CP 172
Praia, Cape Verde

P.S. Good Luck, my friend!

GB

[redacted]

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 23, 1992

Your Holiness:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best.

Although we have not come as far as I would have hoped, I believe that progress has been made with the Chinese in the area of human rights. It is my wish that this progress continue in a constructive fashion. Your role in this progress will not be forgotten.

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. I will be following your work and look forward to seeing you some time in the future.

Sincerely,

His Holiness
The Dalai Lama
Thekchen Choeling
McLeod Ganj 176219
Kangra District
Himachal Pradesh

[redacted]

THE WHITE HOUSE

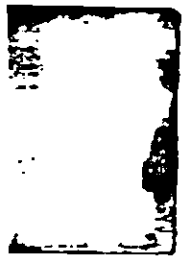
WASHINGTON

November 23, 1992

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace that comes from knowing that I did my best for the people of the United States and for peace and prosperity throughout the world.

We have known each other for many years. You are just beginning your term as President of Ecuador, and I will be following your achievements with interest. I look forward to seeing you some time in the future.



Sincerely,

George Bush

His Excellency
Sixto Duran
President of the Republic of Ecuador
Quito

P.S.

Sixto —
my respects and my
friendship come with this
letter — George B.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

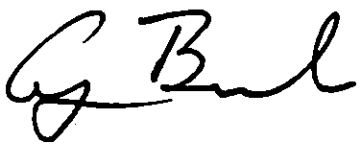
November 23, 1992

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best.

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. I wish you every success in bringing democracy and reconciliation to Ethiopia. I will be following your work and look forward to seeing you some time in the future.

Sincerely,



His Excellency
Meles Zenawi
President of the Transitional Government of
Ethiopia
Addis Ababa

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 23, 1992

Dear Mr. Minister:

Thank you for your understanding and warm message. I complete my term in office satisfied in knowing that I did my best. Working together with you and your colleagues in France much has been accomplished for peace and freedom in the world.

As we discussed during your visit to Washington, U.S.-French relations and the transatlantic partnership will remain vital to world security and prosperity in the years ahead. I will continue to encourage efforts to find solutions to the problems we face together.

I will be following your career and look forward to seeing you in the future. With my warm thanks and deep respect.

Sincerely,

The Honorable
Edouard Balladur
Minister of State
Palais Bourbon 75355
Paris 07SP

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 23, 1992

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. I am especially appreciative of your kind comments concerning our mutual goal of fostering world peace, and our joint efforts to promote democracy and prosperity here in our hemisphere. As I complete my term of public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best and that we have accomplished much.

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. I will be following your work and wish you every success. I look forward to seeing you some time in the future.

Sincerely,

George Bush

His Excellency
Rafael Callejas
President of the Republic of Honduras
Tegucigalpa

For now, Farewell my friend
& Good luck George B

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 23, 1992

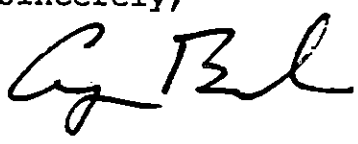
Dear Mr. President:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship.

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. I have come to value the partnership our two countries have developed over the last few years. Your contribution and support to our many mutual efforts, from the Persian Gulf War to sanctions against Yugoslavia, are appreciated and will not be forgotten.

I will be following your work and look forward to seeing you some time in the future.

Sincerely,



His Excellency
Arpad Goncz
President of the Republic of Hungary
Budapest

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 23, 1992

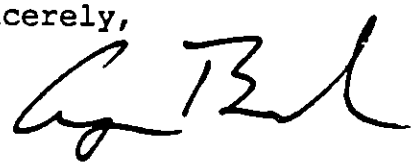
Dear Mr. President:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best.

I'm pleased we were able to talk during your visit to the United Nations. I have always valued your leadership and counsel on issues affecting Asia and other regions of the world. I will continue to follow your work in Indonesia and as Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement.

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. I look forward to seeing you some time in the future.

Sincerely,



His Excellency
Soeharto
President of the Republic of Indonesia
Jakarta

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 23, 1992

Dear Mr. President:

I was touched by your message of understanding and friendship. I can indeed leave office with the satisfaction that much was accomplished for democracy, freedom and peace in the world during the last four years. However, I must underline that this was only possible because of the close cooperation and support of America's friends and allies like Italy. I, too, remember well our meetings when you were Interior Minister. U.S.-Italian cooperation has become an essential part of the international armory against these blights.

Be assured that I will continue to work for closer U.S.-Italian relations and for a stronger transatlantic partnership. It is my belief that U.S.-European cooperation will remain just as vital in the years ahead as it has been in the decades since the Second World War. This message comes with my thanks and my respect for all that you and your colleagues are working to achieve in Italy. You have my best wishes for success.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
Oscar Luigi Scalfaro
President of the Italian Republic
Rome

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 23, 1992

Dear Giuliano:

Thank you so much for your warm and understanding message. I will leave office satisfied with the knowledge that I did my best and that working with friends and allies such as Italy, we were able to do much for the cause of peace and freedom in the world.

U.S.-Italian relations and the transatlantic partnership remain as important as ever to world stability and prosperity. Be assured that I will continue to promote cooperation between the United States and Europe and the search for good solutions to the problems between us, as well as those we face together. In this regard, I am heartened that we finally may be able to resolve the oilseed dispute which could pave the way for the successsful conclusion of the Uruguay Round.

This message comes to you with thanks and my respect for all that you are working to accomplish in Italy. I know that your agenda remains very full, but I offer my congratulations on what you have achieved so far. I will be following your progress and look forward to seeing you in the future. You have my best wishes for success.

Sincerely,

George Bush

His Excellency
Giuliano Amato
President of the Council of Ministers of
the Italian Republic
Rome

P.S. Good Luck, my friend.
George

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 23, 1992

Dear Michael:

Thank you so much for your warm and special message of understanding and friendship. I especially appreciate your kind words concerning my Administration's efforts to steer a course of genuine partnership in our hemisphere. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best and that we have accomplished much. As I told you when we had dinner last March, I have very much enjoyed working with you over the years. Like you, I expect that I will be busy in "retirement."

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. I will be following your work and look forward to getting together some time in the future. Barbara and I send our heartfelt congratulations to you and Glynne on your marriage.

Sincerely,

George Bush

The Honorable Michael Manley
Heathwood Manor
12 Wishaw Drive
Kingston 8

P.S. I treasure this friendship and I hope our paths cross again one day. G

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 23, 1992

Dear Kiichi:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best.

As you said in your letter, we have done much to advance our global partnership, but not enough. The relationship between the United States and Japan will prosper to the extent we continue our work to fulfill its promise.

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. I will be watching your success and look forward to seeing you some time in the future.

Sincerely,

George Bush

His Excellency
Kiichi Miyazawa
Prime Minister of Japan
Tokyo

Kiichi - You have my heartfelt gratitude, my friendship, too. I hope that our paths will cross often in the future. Good luck, my friend! G

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 23, 1992

Dear Toshiki:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best.

I deeply appreciate our friendship, Toshiki. You have always been supportive of me. I remember with satisfaction the efforts we made together to strengthen the U.S.-Japan relationship. You always did your best, too.

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. I will be following your work. Barbara and I look forward to seeing you and Sachiko some time in the future.

Sincerely,

Good luck, my dear friend!

The Honorable Toshiki Kaifu
9-1-1102 San Ban-cho
Chiyoda-Ku, Tokyo 102
Japan

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 23, 1992

Your Highness:

I want to thank you for the sincere expression of friendship and appreciation in your recent message. I, too, believe that history will record that the United States and Kuwait stood together at a critical moment to defeat aggression and to uphold the fundamental principles of justice and freedom. It is my hope that this historic achievement will bind the people of the United States and the people of Kuwait now and in the future and that they will work hand-in-hand to ensure stability in the Gulf and peace throughout the Middle East.

Sincerely,

GB

His Highness
Sheikh Saad al-Abdullah al-Salem al-Sabah
Prime Minister and Crown Prince
of the State of Kuwait
Kuwait

Dear Friend — Some day I will indeed come to Kuwait. Thank you, sir, for wanting me to do that — With Respect

GB

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 23, 1992

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

Thank you for your most generous letter. As I leave office, I am encouraged by the thought that new leaders like yourself have stepped forward to carry on the work of peacemaking and rebuilding in the Middle East. May your efforts prosper and a united Lebanese people enjoy a brighter future as a result.

Sincerely,

George Bush

His Excellency
Rafiq al Hariri
Prime Minister of the
Republic of Lebanon
Beirut

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 25, 1992

Dear Manfred:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best.

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. Together we accomplished much during this unprecedented era. In particular, I think back to our work in London and Rome -- the two NATO Summits that demonstrated the Alliance's ability to lead the West beyond the Cold War and beyond the collapse of the Soviet Union. Our success is due in no small part to your stewardship of NATO and your tireless efforts to ensure that NATO's success story will continue. My friend, I will be following your work and look forward to seeing you some time in the future.

Sincerely,

You're a good man; and I truly value our friendship.

The Honorable
Dr. Manfred Woerner
Secretary General of the North Atlantic
Treaty Organization
Brussels

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

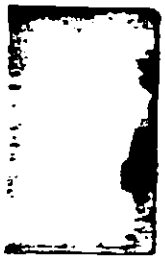
November 23, 1992

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best.

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. I will be following your work and look forward to seeing you some time in the future.

Sincerely,



The Honorable
Ngiratkel Etpison
President of the Republic of Palau
Koror

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 23, 1992

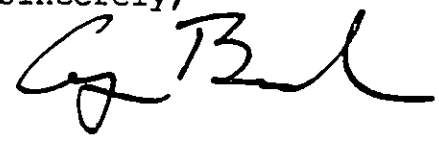
Dear Mr. President:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best.

It was a particular pleasure to work with you as we began a new era in relations between the United States and the Philippines. I am convinced that ties between our two nations will continue to flourish.

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. I will be following your work and look forward to seeing you some time in the future.

Sincerely,



His Excellency
Fidel Ramos
President of the Republic of
the Philippines
Manila

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

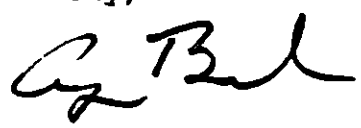
November 23, 1992

Dear Professor Constantinescu:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best.

This comes to you with my appreciation and respect. You are doing such important work for the people of Romania. Although the road ahead will not be an easy one, you have made great progress. I look forward with confidence to even better days for Romania with the hard work and commitment of you and your colleagues.

Sincerely,



Professor Emil Constantinescu
Leader of the Democratic Convention-Romania
Rector of Bucharest University
Splaiul Unirll nr.5
ap.1, sector 3
Bucharest, Romania

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

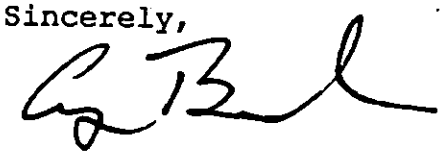
November 23, 1992

Your Royal Highness:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. As I complete my term in public service, I take great pleasure in noting the strength of U.S. relations with Saudi Arabia; a relationship deepened and enriched by our victory in the joint struggle to liberate Kuwait.

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. I will be following your work and look forward to seeing you some time in the future.

Sincerely,



His Royal Highness
Prince Saud Al Faisal
Minister of Foreign Affairs of
Saudi Arabia
Riyadh

I have enjoyed working with you.
With respect.
GB

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 23, 1992

Dear Mr. Minister:

Thank you so much for your message of encouragement and friendship. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best.

It has been a particular pleasure to work with you all these years. Your wise counsel on issues in Asia, and other areas of the world, has been greatly appreciated in this unprecedented era.

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. I will be following your work and look forward to seeing you some time in the future.

Sincerely,

You have my lasting respect, my friendship forever, GB

The Honorable Lee Kuan Yew
Senior Minister
Prime Minister's Office
Istana Annexe
Singapore 0923 Republic of Singapore

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 23, 1992

Dear Boutros:

Thank you so much for your warm message which is very meaningful to me. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best.

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. I will be following your important work and look forward to seeing you in the future.

Sincerely,

George Bush

His Excellency
Dr. Boutros Boutros Ghali
Secretary General of the United Nations
New York

Good Luck to You
and Leila. Barbara
sends her love—

George

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 23, 1992

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. You have been a good friend and I am grateful to you for the support you have given me in critical periods during the last four years.

I will be following your work during the last year of your Presidency. As I told you during our conversation right after the election, I look forward to seeing you some time in the future.

Sincerely,

GHWB

His Excellency
Carlos Andres Perez
President of the Republic of Venezuela
Caracas

CAP
You are my friend. It will
ever be this. GHWB

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 23, 1992

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best.

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. I will be following your work and look forward to seeing you some time in the future.

Sincerely,

The Honorable
Tofilau Eti Alesana
Prime Minister of the Independent State
of Western Samoa
Apia

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

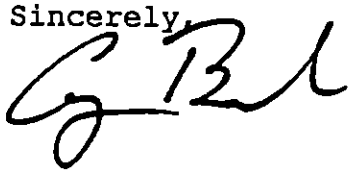
November 23, 1992

Dear Archbishop Monsengwo:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best.

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. I will be following your work and wish you every success in helping move Zaire to democracy.

Sincerely,



The Most Reverend
Monsengwo Pasinya Laurent
President of the National Conference
of Zaire
Kinshasa

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 23, 1992

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. As I mentioned in our telephone conversation, I have very much enjoyed the contact we have had since you were elected President.

With your leadership I know Zambia will make the tough but necessary choices for economic reform, and continue on the democratic path you have championed so vigorously. You have my thanks and respect for all you are doing. I look forward to seeing you some time in the future.

Sincerely,

GB

His Excellency
Frederick Chiluba
President of the Republic of Zambia
Lusaka

Good Luck in your important work. You have my lasting respect
GB

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

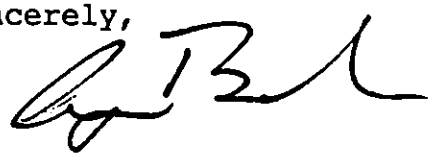
November 23, 1992

Dear Mr. Minister:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best.

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. Barbara and I will return to Texas in January, I hope to do some travelling, and hope our paths will cross again in the future. Your offer of tiger fishing on Lake Kariba is most generous. Perhaps I will be able to accept some day.

Sincerely,



The Honorable
Denis R. Norman
Minister of Transport and Energy
of the Republic of Zimbabwe
Harare

P.S. Denis,
I will never forget our visits. You have my lasting respect
GB

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 20, 1992

8293 AO-2

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

SUBJECT: Post - Election Messages from World Leaders

Purpose

To respond to an additional 30 Heads of State and other foreign leaders who have sent messages to you expressing sympathy about the outcome of the election.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letters at Tab A.

Attachment(s)
Tab A 30 Incoming Letters and Presidential Responses

DECLASSIFIED
White House Guidelines
E.O. 13526, SEC 3.4 (b), September 11, 2006
By MC NARA, Date 6/26/24

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Declassify on: OADR

POST-ELECTION MESSAGES TO PRESIDENT BUSH FROM WORLD LEADERS
BOOK III

President Ter-Petrossian of Armenia
President Biya of Cameroon
Deputy Prime Minister Mazankowski of Canada
Former President Pereira of Cape Verde
The Dalai Lama
President Duran of Ecuador
President Meles of Ethiopia
State Minister Balladur of France
President Callejas of Honduras
President Goncz of Hungary
President Soeharto of Indonesia
President Scalfaro of Italy
Prime Minister Amato of Italy
Former Prime Minister Manley of Jamaica
Prime Minister Miyazawa of Japan
Former Prime Minister Kaifu of Japan
Crown Prince and Prime Minister Saad al-Sabah of Kuwait
Prime Minister Hariri of Lebanon
Secretary General Woerner of NATO
President Etpison of Palau
President Ramos of the Philippines
Professor Constantinescu of Romania
Foreign Minister Saud Al-Faisal of Saudi Arabia
Senior Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore
Secretary General Boutros Ghali of UN
President Perez of Venezuela
President Alesana of Western Samoa
President Monsengwo of Zaire National Conference
President Chiluba of Zambia
Minister of Transport & Energy for Zimbabwe Denis Norman

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship.

This comes to you with my personal respect for your strong leadership of Armenia, and your commitment to democracy. It has given me deep satisfaction to watch Armenia gain its independence and become a partner in strengthening democracy in the world. The American people and I are proud that we could extend support to your country, especially humanitarian assistance, in times of need.

I will be following your work and hope to see you some time in the future.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
Levon Ter-Petrosyan
President of the Republic of Armenia
Yerevan

ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԻ ՀԱՆՐԱՊԵՏՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՆԱԽԱԳԱՀ
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA

His Excellency Mr. George Bush
The President
The White House
Washington D.C.
The USA

November 12, 1992

Dear Mr. President,

I would like to express my deep gratitude for all you have done for the Armenian people during these last four years. The US was one of the first countries to recognize Armenia as an independent state and to establish diplomatic relations with her.

During the dramatic days of the disintegration of the Soviet Empire your policy was noble and sober-minded, and I am confident the other CIS leaders would agree with me. We always felt, even during those notorious days of the August coup, that you would never betray the principles of democracy and humanism, and you were governed by the same principles during the war in the Persian Gulf.

The Armenian people will always remember the humanitarian aid showed by the US to the Republic of Armenia when she was in economic predicament.

Please, accept, Mr. President, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Respectfully, Լ. Տեր-Պետրոսյան

Levon Ter-Petrossian

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
Paul Biya
President of the Republic of Cameroon
Yaounde

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
OFFICE OF LANGUAGE SERVICES

Translating Division

LS No. 139883
ML/JF
French

0615552 NOV 92
FM AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3255
INFO RUTADA/AMCONSUL DOULA 2861

UNCLAS YAOUNDE 09932

E.O. 12356 N/A
TAGS: PREL, OPDC, KDEM, CM
SUBJECT: MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT BUSH FROM PRESIDENT BIYA

His Excellency George Bush
President of the United States of America
Washington, D.C.

Mr. President:

As your noble mission as President of the United States of America comes to an end, it is a special pleasure for me to express to you my deep gratitude for your actions to strengthen the friendship and cooperation between the United States of American and Cameroon.

I cherish an unforgettable memory of the particularly warm welcome you extended to me during my most recent stay in your great and beautiful country.

It is my hope that this very fruitful cooperation that has so fortunately developed between our two countries will continue in their mutual interest.

Accept, Mr. President, the assurances of my very high consideration.

Paul Biya
President of the Republic of Cameroon

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

<PREC> ROUTINE <CLAS> UNCLASSIFIED <DTG> 061555Z NOV 92

FM AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 3255
INFO RUTADA/AMCONSUL DOUALA 2861
UNCLAS YAOUNDE 09932
FOR S/S
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, OPDC, KDEM, CM
SUBJECT: MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT BUSH FROM PRESIDENT BIYA

1. FOLLOWING IS PRESIDENT BIYA'S MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT BUSH FOLLOWING THE U.S. ELECTIONS.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

S.E.M. GEORGES BUSH
PRESIDENT DES ETATS UNIS D'AMERIQUE
WASHINGTON D.C.

MONSIEUR LE PRESIDENT

AU MOMENT OU S'ACHEVE VOTRE HAUTE MISSION EN TANT QUE PRESIDENT DES ETATS-UNIS D'AMERIQUE, IL M'EST PARTICULIEREMENT AGREABLE DE VOUS EXPRIMER MA PROFONDE GRATITUDE POUR L'ACTION QUI A ETE LA VOTRE DANS LE RENFORCEMENT DE L'AMITIE ET DE LA COOPERATION ENTRE LES ETATS-UNIS D'AMERIQUE ET LE CAMEROUN.

J/ GARDE LE SOUVENIR INOUBLIABLE DE L'ACCUEIL PARTICULIEREMENT CHALEUREUX QUE VOUS M'AVIEZ RESERVE A L'OCCASION DE MON DERNIER SEJOUR DANS VOTRE GRAND ET BEAU PAYS.

JE FORME LE VOEU QUE CETTE COOPERATION SI FRUCTUEUSE QUI S'EST HEUREUSEMENT DEVELOPPEE ENTRE NOS DEUX PAYS PUISSE SE POURSUIVRE DANS LEUR INTERET MUTUEL.

VEILLEZ AGREER, MONSIEUR LE PRESIDENT, LES ASSURANCES

UNCLASSIFIED

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

DE MA TRES HAUTE CONSIDERATION.
PAUL BIYA
PRESIDENT DE LA REPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN
END TEXT.
COOK
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#9932
NNNN
<MSGID> M0046273

UNCLASSIFIED

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Deputy Prime Minister:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best.

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. I will have fond memories of our accomplishments in deepening the bonds of partnership between the United States and Canada, our dear neighbor to the north.

Sincerely,

The Honorable
Donald Frank Mazankowski
Deputy Prime Minister and Minister
of Finance of Canada
Ottawa

365370

Deputy Prime Minister | Vice-premier ministre

NSC

O T T A W A
November 5, 1992

Dear Mr. President,

Having seen the results on the November 3, 1992 election, may I take this opportunity to express my sincere appreciation for the tireless work you have done on behalf of the people of the United States of America, in helping to build and strengthen the relationship between our two countries.

The successes which you experienced throughout your term as President, and in your public life over the past thirty years, are too numerous to mention. The initiatives which you have undertaken, both domestically and abroad, consistently reflected your strong convictions and values and will certainly continue to benefit residents of all the Americas for years to come.

Your leadership and vision have helped fortify the principles of democracy and freedom around the world, and your efforts on the global stage have significantly contributed to the new spirit of international cooperation.

It certainly has been my privilege to receive your friendship over these past years, and in closing, may I wish you and Barbara all the best with your future plans, which I hope will include rest, relaxation, and many a fishing trip.

Yours sincerely,

Don Mazankowski

Mr. George Bush,
President of the
United States of America,
The White House,
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.,
Washington, District of Columbia.
20500

Deputy Prime Minister | Vice-premier ministre

Oct 27, 1992

Dear Mr President

As you enter the final days of your re-election campaign

I just wanted you to know that Lorraine and I are watching events unfold and were pulling for you all the way.

We know you will do it.

Best wishes

Ottawa, Canada K1A 0A3

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best.

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. I will be following your work and look forward to seeing you some time in the future.

Sincerely,

The Honorable
Aristides Maria Pereira
Former President of the Republic of
Cape Verde
Praina, Praia

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

09-Nov-1992 17:20 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:
VAX_MAIL@OEOB
OLEARY@A1@WHSR
FICKLIN@A1@OEOB

FROM: White House Situation Room
(WHSR@A1@WHSR)

SUBJECT: MESSAGE FOR PRESIDENT BUSH

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AMEMBASSY PRAIA
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MESSAGE FOR PRESIDENT BUSH
<TEXT>
UNCLAS PRAIA 03446
FOR S/S FROM THE AMBASSADOR
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: KSTT, OPDC, CV
SUBJECT: MESSAGE FOR PRESIDENT BUSH
REF: STATE 362083
1. THE FOLLOWING IS A ROUGH TRANSLATION OF A MESSAGE FOR PRESIDENT BUSH FROM FORMER PRESIDENT ARISTIDES MARIA PEREIRA OF THE REPUBLIC OF CAPE VERDE:
PRAIA, 6 NOVEMBER 1992
MR. PRESIDENT
EXCELLENCY,
I AM AWARE OF THE ELECTIONS' RESULT IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND, ALTHOUGH I REGRET YOUR NOT BEING REELECTED, I WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS TO YOU MY CONGRATULATIONS FOR THE DESERVING AND BRAVE WAY YOU LED YOUR GREAT COUNTRY WHILE YOU WERE THE

PRESIDENT, AS WELL AS YOUR BEHAVIOR AS A GREAT
PATRIOT, HUMANIST AND INTRANSIGENT DEFENDER OF
JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS PRINCIPLES.
HAVING HAD THE HONOR TO ENJOY YOUR FRIENDSHIP AND
SYMPATHY, I HOPE I WILL CONTINUE TO HAVE SUCH
PRIVILEGE, ASSURING YOU OF MY CONTINUED
FRIENDSHIP AND AFFECTION.
MY RESPECTS AND SYMPATHY TO MRS. BARBARA BUSH,
WITH MY BEST WISHES OF HEALTH, A LONG LIFE AND
HAPPINESS FOR YOU, YOUR WIFE AND ALL THE FAMILY.
WITH FRIENDSHIP AND RESPECT.
HIS EXCELLENCY
MR. GEORGE BUSH
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, DC U.S.A.
2. THE ORIGINAL IS BEING SENT TO THE DEPARTMENT
VIA DIPLOMATIC POUCH.
MCNAMARA
BT
#3446
NNNN
<SECT>
SECTION: 01 OF 01
<SSN>
3446
<TOR>
921109160449 M0050607

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Your Holiness:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best.

Although we have not come as far as I would have hoped, I believe that progress has been made with the Chinese in the area of human rights. It is my wish that this progress continue in a constructive fashion. Your role in this progress will not be forgotten.

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. I will be following your work and look forward to seeing you some time in the future.

Sincerely,

His Holiness
The Dalai Lama
Thekchen Choeling
McLeod Ganj 176219
Kangra District
Himachal Pradesh

THE DALAI LAMA

November 5, 1992

Your Excellency,

I am sorry that you did not win the re-elections. I shall always fondly remember my meeting with you at the White House last year. Your concern for the plight of the Tibetan people was very encouraging. I was personally touched by your genuine feelings of warmth and caring attitude which made a deep impression on me.

It is my hope that I will have the pleasure and the opportunity of meeting you again in the future. In the meantime, please continue to keep the tragic plight of my people in your mind.

With prayers and good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace that comes from knowing that I did my best for the people of the United States and for peace and prosperity throughout the world.

We have known each other for many years. You are just beginning your term as President of Ecuador, and I will be following your achievements with interest. I look forward to seeing you some time in the future.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
Sixto Duran
President of the Republic of Ecuador
Santo Domingo

EMBAJADA DEL ECUADOR
WASHINGTON, D.C

UN-OFFICIAL TRANSLATION

Quito, November 5, 1992

His Excellency
George Bush
President of the United States of America
Washington, D.C.

Mr. President and friend:

Ecuador has followed with great interest the development of the electoral process for the Forty-second President of the United States.

You have, as a distinguished politician and interpreter of your nation's problems as well as those of the world, participated in this electoral process that strengthens, every four years, the oldest democracy in the continent and confirms the fundamental beliefs that constitute the spirit of your country.

Your contribution in the struggle to find a solution to your nation's problems, and to those concerning the international relations, have been of singular value, given your vast experience.

It has been a great honor for my Government to have shared your friendship and participated in the efforts to reach solutions that allowed our nations to come closer.

I am honored to count with your personal friendship for some years now. Thank you for the support given to my Government during its first phase.

I wish the best for you, your family and your nation.

(signed) SIXTO DURÁN-BALLEN
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ECUADOR

Quito, 5 de noviembre de 1992

A Su Excelencia señor
George Bush,
Presidente de los Estados Unidos de América
Washington D.C.

Señor Presidente y amigo:

El Ecuador entero ha seguido muy de cerca y con gran interés el de desarrollo de la lid democrática norteamericana para elegir el cuadragésimo segundo Presidente de los Estados Unidos de América.

Gran estadista e intérprete de los problemas de su nación y del planeta, usted ha participado con gran entrega personal en este proceso que, cada cuatro años, fortalece la democracia más antigua del continente y ratifica los principios fundamentales que forman el espíritu de su país.

Su contribución para la solución de los problemas del pueblo norteamericano y lo que atañen a las relaciones internacionales ha sido de singular valor debido a su amplia experiencia.

Para mi Gobierno constituye un alto honor haber contado con su amistad y su predisposición para encontrar soluciones que permitan el acercamiento de nuestros pueblos.

Me honra contar con su amistad personal desde hace muchos años y le agradezco el apoyo que me brindó en el inicio de mi Gobierno.

Hago votos por su ventura personal y la de su familia, así como por el bienestar del pueblo norteamericano.

Sixto Durán-Ballén C.
PRESIDENTE DE LA REPUBLICA DEL ECUADOR

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best.

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. I wish you every success in bringing democracy and reconciliation to Ethiopia. I will be following your work and look forward to seeing you some time in the future.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
Meles Zenawi
President of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia
Addis Ababa

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

10-Nov-1992 16:28 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:
VAX_MAIL@OEOB
OLEARY@A1@WHSR
MCNAMARA@A1@OEOB
GANTT@A1@OEOB
FICKLIN@A1@OEOB

FROM: White House Situation Room
(WHSR@A1@WHSR)

SUBJECT: LETTER TO PRESIDENT BUSH FROM PRESIDENT MELES

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AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
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SECSTATE WASHDC 3584
<SUBJ>
LETTER TO PRESIDENT BUSH FROM PRESIDENT MELES
<TEXT>
UNCLAS ADDIS ABABA 05807
FOR AF/E GENNIE PRATT
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: OPDC, ET
SUBJECT: LETTER TO PRESIDENT BUSH FROM PRESIDENT MELES
1. BELOW IS THE TEXT OF A LETTER TO PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH FROM PRESIDENT MELES ZENAWI OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT OF ETHIOPIA. THE ORIGINAL IS BEING FORWARDED TO AF/E.
BEGIN TEXT:
9 NOVEMBER 1992
H.E. MR. GEORGE BUSH
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON D.C.
DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

AS YOUR EXCELLENCY APPROACHES THE END OF YOUR TENURE AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, I FEEL OBLIGED, ON BEHALF OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE OF ETHIOPIA AS WELL AS THAT OF MY OWN, TO CONVEY TO YOU VERY SINCERE WORDS OF APPRECIATION FOR ALL YOU AND YOUR ADMINISTRATION HAVE DONE TO HELP THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS IN ETHIOPIA, TO ASSIST IN THE RESTORATION OF PEACE AND STABILITY IN OUR COUNTRY AND TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE EFFORTS TOWARDS THE REHABILITATION OF THE WAR-RAVAGED ETHIOPIAN ECONOMY. YOUR ADMINISTRATION'S PROMPT RESPONSE TO THE HUMANITARIAN NEEDS OF OUR PEOPLE EVEN DURING THE PERIOD OF DICTATORSHIP IN ETHIOPIA WHEN RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES WERE DIFFICULT, IS DEEPLY APPRECIATED BY OUR PEOPLE. THIS HAS WON YOU THEIR EVER-LASTING GRATITUDE AND FRIENDSHIP.

YOUR TERM OF OFFICE WILL ALWAYS REMAIN MEMORABLE IN ETHIO-AMERICAN RELATIONS BECAUSE IT IS DURING THIS PERIOD THAT THE TRADITIONALLY VERY FRIENDLY AND CLOSE RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES WERE RESTORED.

INTERNATIONALLY, THE WISDOM WITH WHICH YOU HAVE HANDLED THE NUMEROUS MOMENTOUS CHANGES IN THE COURSE OF THE PAST FEW YEARS HAVE EARNED YOU THE SINCERE ADMIRATION AND APPRECIATION OF PEOPLES THE WORLD OVER.

IT IS MY EARNEST HOPE THAT YOU WOULD CONTINUE TO WORK TOWARDS A MORE PEACEFUL, STABLE AND PROSPEROUS WORLD AS WELL AS TOWARDS THE FURTHER ENHANCEMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ETHIOPIA.

PLEASE ACCEPT, DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, THE ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST ESTEEM AND CONSIDERATION.

MELES ZENAWI
PRESIDENT OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT OF ETHIOPIA
AND CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF REPRESENTATIVES
END TEXT.
BAAS
BT
#5807
NNNN
<SECT>
SECTION: 01 OF 01
<SSN>
5807
<TOR>
921110161208 M0053278

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Minister:

Thank you for your understanding and warm message. I complete my term in office satisfied in knowing that I did my best and that working with our friends and allies such as France much was accomplished for peace and freedom in the world.

As we discussed during your visit to Washington, U.S.-French relations and the transatlantic partnership will remain vital to world security and prosperity in the years ahead. I will continue to encourage that cooperation and efforts to find good solutions to the problems we face together as well as those between us.

I will be following your career and look forward to seeing you in the future. With my warm thanks and deep respect.

Sincerely,

The Honorable
Edouard Balladur
Minister of State
Palais Bourbon 75355
Paris 07SP

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

13-Nov-1992 11:49 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:
VAX_MAIL@OEOB
OLEARY@A1@WHSR
FICKLIN@A1@OEOB

FROM: White House Situation Room
(WHSR@A1@WHSR)

SUBJECT: LETTER TO PRESIDENT BUSH FROM EX-FINANCE

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RUFHMI/AMCONSUL MARSEILLE 0762
RUEHMQ/AMCONSUL MARTINIQUE 0182
RUFJCX/AMCONSUL STRASBOURG 0312
<SUBJ>
LETTER TO PRESIDENT BUSH FROM EX-FINANCE
- MINISTER EDOUARD BALLADUR
<TEXT>
UNCLAS PARIS 31703
FOR S/S AND EUR/WE
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, PINR, US, FR
SUBJECT: LETTER TO PRESIDENT BUSH FROM EX-FINANCE
- MINISTER EDOUARD BALLADUR
REF: STATE 263083
1. THE EMBASSY HAS RECEIVED A LETTER ADDRESSED TO PRESIDENT BUSH FROM EDOUARD BALLADUR, FORMER FRENCH FINANCE MINISTER. FOLLOWING HIS NOVEMBER 9 LUNCH AT THE RESIDENCE, MR. BALLADUR ASKED THE AMBASSADOR TO CONVEY MESSAGES TO PRESIDENT BUSH, FORMER SECRETARY BAKER, AND GENERAL SCOWCROFT. (FYI: WE

ARE POUCHING ALL THREE LETTERS TO THE FRENCH DESK.)
2. FOLLOWING IS EMBASSY'S INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF MR. BALLADUR'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT BUSH:
BEGIN TEXT:
(HANDWRITTEN INSERT: MR. PRESIDENT,)
THE PERIOD DURING WHICH YOU HAVE SERVED AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA HAS BEEN MARKED BY MAJOR EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF YOUR COUNTRY AND OF THE WORLD. IN THE FACE OF THESE EVENTS, YOU HAVE MADE DECISIONS THAT WERE ABLE, ENERGETIC, AND COURAGEOUS, AND WHICH HAVE PRESERVED THE WORLD'S BALANCE. ALL WHO HOLD LIBERTY DEAR SHOULD BE GRATEFUL TO YOU FOR IT.
NOW THAT YOU ARE ABOUT TO LEAVE OFFICE, I WANTED TO THANK YOU ONCE AGAIN FOR THE WELCOME YOU ACCORDED ME IN WASHINGTON, AND TO REITERATE MY ESTEEM AND ADMIRATION FOR THE WORK YOU HAVE DONE.
I ASK YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, TO ACCEPT THE EXPRESSION OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION, (HANDWRITTEN INSERT: AND OF MY CORDIAL SENTIMENTS.)
EDOUARD BALLADUR
BOHLEN
BT
#1703
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SECTION: 01 OF 01
<SSN>
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<TOR>
921113113117 M0058308

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. I am especially appreciative of your kind comments concerning our mutual goal of fostering world peace, and our joint efforts to promote democracy and prosperity here in our hemisphere. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best and that we have accomplished much.

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. I will be following your work and wish you every success. I look forward to seeing you some time in the future.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
Rafael Callejas
President of the Republic of Honduras
Tegucigalpa

EMBAJADA DE HONDURAS

WASHINGTON, D.C.

FREE TRANSLATION

Tegucigalpa, M.D.C
November 5, 1992

Dear President Bush:

On behalf of the people of Honduras, let me acknowledge the magnificent display of civic duty and the fine example of Democracy, shown to all by the people of the United States during the recent elections.

You have been a great President and a true friend to Honduras. I would like to convey my best wishes to you and your family in all future endeavors. I am convinced that the people of the United States recognize you as one of best Statesmen in history, for your strong and visionary international leadership, which has provided us with a much more unified and secure world to live in.

Please accept, Mister President, the assurances of my highest consideration.

RAFAEL LEONARDO CALLEJAS
President of the Republic of Honduras

His Excellency
George W. Bush
President of the United States of America
Washington, DC

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship.

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. I have come to value our partnership our two countries have developed over the last years. Your contribution and support to our many mutual efforts, from the Persian Gulf War to sanctions against Yugoslavia, are appreciated and will not be forgotten.

I will be following your work and look forward to seeing you some time in the future.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
Arpad Goncz
President of the Republic of Hungary
Budapest

A MAGYAR KÖZTÁRSASÁG
ELNÖKE

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC
OF HUNGARY

The Honorable
George H.W. Bush
President of the
United States of America
White House
Washington, D.C.

Budapest, November 5, 1992

Dear Mr. President,

I wish to express my highest appreciation for the outstanding role you have played as leader of your country in a difficult but glorious period of history when the cause and forces of democracy achieved significant gains worldwide and a breaktrough in my own country.

Just as the actions and attitudes of previous American administrations were instrumental in supporting the winds of change and encouraging those committed to democracy in Central and Eastern Europe, your actions were instrumental in improving the odds of the fledgling democracies in our part of the world. Let me simply refer here to the Support for Eastern European Democracy Act of 1989 and your subsequent contribution to and leading role in the coordinated efforts of the West.

Under your presidency the relations between our countries reached an unprecedented high level. I know I am right when I say Hungary found a friend in you, and I hope I am right when I say, based on our personal contacts and friendly discussions, that so have I.

Mr. President, I wish you good health and happiness in your private life, and further success in your activities.

Sincerely,

Göncz Árpád

/ Árpád Göncz /

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best.

I'm pleased we were able to talk during your visit to the United Nations. I have always valued your leadership and counsel on issues affecting Asia and other regions of the world. I will continue to follow your work in Indonesia and as Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement.

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. I look forward to seeing you some time in the future.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
Soeharto
President of the Republic of Indonesia
Jakarta

EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

November 5, 1992

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I have the honor to convey a letter from His Excellency President Soeharto to His Excellency President George Bush, which was transmitted to my office by cable, and which reads as follows:

"Jakarta, November 5, 1992
His Excellency
President George H.W. Bush
The White House
Washington, D.C. USA

Mr. President,

Having apprised ourselves of the results of the recently concluded presidential elections, I should like to commend you, your Government, and the American people for the magnificent manifestation of the American democratic process.

I should also like to avail myself of this occasion to convey to you our deep appreciation of the friendship and close cooperation which we have been able to forge between our countries and peoples under your administration.

Mrs. Soeharto joins me in wishing you and Mrs. Bush continued health, success and personal fulfillment in all your endeavors.

With warmest regards,

SOEHARTO
President of the Republic of Indonesia"

Please accept, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my highest consideration.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

I was touched by your message of understanding and friendship. I can indeed leave office with the satisfaction that much was accomplished for democracy, freedom and peace in the world during the last four years. However, I must underline that this was only possible because of the close cooperation and support of America's friends and allies like Italy. I, too, remember well our meetings when you were Interior Minister. U.S.-Italian cooperation has become an essential part of the international armory against these blights.

Be assured that I will continue to work for closer U.S.-Italian relations and for a stronger transatlantic partnership. It is my belief that U.S.-European cooperation will remain just as vital in the years ahead as it has been in the decades since the Second World War. This message comes with my thanks and my respect for all that your colleagues are working to achieve in Italy. You have my best wishes for success.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
Oscar Luigi Scalfaro
President of the Italian Republic
Rome

Unofficial Translation

Letter from the President of the Republic of Italy addressed to the President of the United States

.....

"November 5, 1992

Dear Mr. President,

As you prepare to leave the office of President of the United States of America following the many years spent in the political and institutional leadership of your country, permit me, Mr. President, to extend a sincere message of tribute and friendship.

In the four years of your term as President, the world has experienced changes for which all of us had hoped but impossible to predict. I would recall the role you played in crucial moments, when Italy stood side by side with the United States, which saw the end of the cold war, the fall of the Berlin wall and the reunification of Germany, the affirmation of democracy and freedom in countries that for years had been without, the confirmation--under the aegis of the United Nations--of the supremacy of international law, violated during the Gulf crisis.

The great openness you demonstrated abroad, the special attention to Europe, formalized also in the North Atlantic declaration on the partnership between Europe and the United States, are emblematic of your invaluable contribution to strengthening peace and security. This found support also in the common commitment proffered by our countries, together with the other partners of the Group of 7, to encourage a balanced development of the world economy from a perspective of common progress.

./.

I have vivid recollection of the two meetings in the years during your term as Vice President, when I was serving as Minister of the Interior, which established and unequivocally executed a determinant and valiant fight against terrorism, organized crime and the spread of drug trafficking. The success attained thanks to the exemplary collaboration between Italy and the United States has convinced other countries also that victory is possible only by fighting this war together.

On my personal behalf and in the name of a country and a people that have always been tied to the United States by bonds of fraternity, friendship and alliance, I extend our sincere gratitude for everything you have done in the interests of men of good will everywhere to foster the positive evolution of an international setting marked by profound and turbulent transformation. I assure you that Italy and Italians will not forget what you have done.

To these sentiments, my dear Mr. President, I add my most cordial and warm wishes for continued success in all your future endeavors. With my personal best to you and your family,

Oscar Luigi Scalfaro"

AMBASCIATA D'ITALIA

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Text of the letter from the President of the Republic of Italy addressed to the President of the United States

---

"5 novembre 1992

Caro Presidente,

nel momento in cui si accinge a lasciare la piu' alta Magistratura degli Stati Uniti d'America, dopo tanti anni trascorsi ai vertici politici ed istituzionali del suo paese, mi consenta, Caro Presidente, di farLe pervenire un sincero messaggio di augurio e di amicizia.

Nei quattro anni della Sua Presidenza, il mondo ha conosciuto trasformazioni che tutti asupicavano ma che era difficile prevedere. Desidero ricordare il ruolo da Lei svolto in momenti cruciali, in cui l'Italia e' stata affiancata agli Stati Uniti, e che hanno visto la fine della guerra fredda, la caduta del muro di Berlino e la riunificazione tedesca, l'affermazione dei valori della democrazia e della liberta' in paesi che ne erano stati per lungo tempo privati, la riaffermazione - sotto l'egida delle Nazioni Unite - della validita' del Diritto Internazionale, violato nel corso della Crisi del Golfo.

L'attenzione particolare rivolta all'Europa - formalizzata anche nella dichiarazione Nord-Atlantica sulla partnership fra Europa e Stati Uniti - rappresentano un ulteriore alto contributo al rafforzamento della pace e della sicurezza. A cio' ha contribuito anche il comune impegno profuso dai nostri paesi, insieme agli altri partners nell'ambito dei Vertici a sette, per favorire l'equilibrato sviluppo dell'economia mondiale, in un'ottica di comune progresso.

Sono rimasti vivi in me i due incontri negli anni in cui, durante la Sua vice-presidenza - essendo io Ministro dell'Interno - si inizio' e si condusse con determinazione una decisa e valida lotta contro il

terrorismo, il crimine organizzato e la diffusione ed il traffico della droga. I successi conseguiti grazie alla collaborazione tra Italia e Stati Uniti - che sono stati esemplari - hanno convinto anche altri paesi che questa battaglia puo' essere vinta solo se si combatte tutti insieme.

A nome mio personale, e a nome di un paese e di un popolo che sono stati sempre legati agli Stati Uniti da vincoli di fraternita', di amicizia e di alleanza, desidero farle pervenire espressioni di sincera gratitudine per l'opera che Lei ha svolto nell'interesse di tutti gli uomini di buona volonta', per favorire una evoluzione positiva di un quadro internazionale in profonda tumultuosa trasformazione, Le assicuro che l'Italia e gli Italiani non dimenticheranno cio' che Lei ha fatto.

A questi sentimenti, Caro Presidente, unisco i miei piu' cordiali, calorosi auguri perche' la Sua opera continui in modo sempre piu' efficace.

Unisco un personale saluto per Lei e per i Suoi cari.

Oscar Luigi Scalfaro"

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Giuliano:

Thank you so much for your warm and understanding message. I will leave office satisfied with the knowledge that I did my best and that working with friends and allies such as Italy, we were able to do much for the cause of peace and freedom in the world.

U.S.-Italian relations and the transatlantic partnership remain as important as ever to world stability and prosperity. Be assured that I will continue to promote cooperation between the United States and Europe and the search for good solutions to the problems between us, as well as those we face together. I hope we can use the weeks ahead well to find solutions to some of those issues, such as the oilseeds dispute.

This message comes to you with thanks and my respect for all that you are working to accomplish in Italy. I know that your agenda remains very full, but I offer my congratulations on what you have achieved so far. I will be following your progress and look forward to seeing you in the future. You have my best wishes for success.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
Giuliano Amato
Prime Minister of the Italian Republic
Rome

Unofficial Translation

Letter from the Prime Minister of the Republic of Italy addressed to the President of the United States

.....

"November 9, 1992

The results of the presidential elections brings to a close a chapter of paramount importance in the history of the United States and of the entire world. The vast and positive changes that we have experienced bear the markings of your resolve and your political foresight.

Together with my sentiments of friendship, I would also like to extend the gratitude of my Government and of the Italian people.

Please accept the most sincere wishes, which I ask that you extend to your wife Barbara, also in the name of my wife Diana."

Giuliano Amato"

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Michael:

Thank you so much for your warm and special message of understanding and friendship. I especially appreciate your kind words concerning my Administration's efforts to steer a course of genuine partnership in our hemisphere. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best and that we have accomplished much. As I told you when we had dinner last March, I have very much enjoyed working with you over the years. Like you, I expect that I will be busy in "retirement."

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. I will be following your work and look forward to getting together some time in the future. Barbara and I send our heartfelt congratulations to you and Glynne on your marriage.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Michael Manley
Former Prime Minister of Jamaica
Heathwood Manor
12 Wishaw Drive
Kingston 8

Michael Manley

Heathwood Manor
12 Wishaw Drive,
Kingston 8.
Tel: (809) 925-9158
Fax: (809) 925-9092

Nov 6, 1992

Dear George,

What can I say?
Having myself known defeat a little
given it my all, I have a vague
of what you must be going thro.
write. There were two things I
particularly wanted you to know.
Firstly, I greatly enjoyed the chance
to work with you - and deeply appreciat
your great personal kindness to me
when I was ill and at that fateful
time, the memory of which I will

treasure for the rest of my life.

Lastly, in this connection, two years ago you started something for our hemisphere with NAFTA and the E.A. Initiative that is of immense significance and will prove irreversible. History is going to be very kind to you in that regard. The debt relief element of the E.A.I. took immense courage in your political system and will be recognized as one of those watersheds which came to fruition like to call revolutionary in the context of U.S. governmental behaviour. I recognize, of course, that the word "revolutionary" will not sit

Michael Manley

Heathwood Manor
12 Wishaw Drive,
Kingston 8.
Tel: (809) 925-9158
Fax: (809) 925-9092

Comfortably with you personally!
Then, interestingly, the
Grey invasion and your response
is already recognized as a classic
International leadership. It will
be a model for future leaders
as to the end of the cold war, I have
always credited you with a major
role in its early dynamic between
1984 and 1988 and earlier. For that
reason I approved the historical
justice in the fact that you were
President at the time of the final
denouement between 1988 and 1992.
If you have a moment, would
you tell Secretary Baker how
much I admired his work

in the middle East. He is
an exceptional man; please give him
my regards and best wishes.

I am finding that retirement
is a myth. Just spent from
the grandchild census. There is
so much for you to do now with
your immense experience.

I hope somehow our paths
will cross again.

With my best wishes
to you and much respect to
Mrs. Bush —

Warmly and sincerely
Richard

P.S. Glynne and I were duly married
and she joins me in every way.
Other letter. CL

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Kiichi:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best.

As you said in your letter, we have done much to advance our global partnership, but not enough. The relationship between the United States and Japan will prosper to the extent we continue our work to fulfill its promise.

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. I will be watching your success and look forward to seeing you some time in the future.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
Kiichi Miyazawa
Prime Minister of Japan
Tokyo

November 13, 1992

Dear George,

As the hype of the presidential election fades away, I still cannot get over the thought that you will not be the President after January 20. If it is true that one shows his true caliber in adversity, you have certainly shown that in your open support for Governor Clinton in the evening of the Election Day. Let me also pay my tribute to Barbara for exhibiting the same strength and diginity during the campaign as she did in the past throughout your presidency.

I will not recount your achievemenets, which have already secured their places in history. Let me simply give you my appraisal that a most decent man had served as a great president, and will be remembered so. I join hundreds of millions of others across the world in thanking you for exercising true leadership at a time of momentous changes.

Together, we have done much to implement the Japan-U.S. global partrnership, but not enough. I will continue my efforts in cooperation with your successor to make our partnership productive. I count on your continued counsel and support in this endeavor.

Yoko will miss you and Barbara as much as I do, but no doubt we will be in touch.

Lastly let me express my appreciation to your staff. I single out Vice President Dan Quayle, Chief of Staff Jim Baker, and National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft for their outstanding service, but my tribute goes to all the good men and women who have supported your distinguished presidency.

Yours sincerely,

/s/
Kiichi Miyazawa
Prime Minister of Japan

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.
The United States of America

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Toshiki:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best.

I deeply appreciate our friendship, Toshiki. You have always been supportive of me. I remember with satisfaction the efforts we made together to strengthen the U.S.-Japan relationship. You always did your best, too.

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. I will be following your work. Barbara and I look forward to seeing you and Sachiko some time in the future.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Toshiki Kaifu
9-1-1102 San Ban-cho
Chiyoda-Ku, Tokyo 102
Japan

~~Shultz, Haig~~

362303

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USWA CO JPTT 303
TOKYO/TLX 303/280 5 1930

ETATPRIORITE
THE PRESIDENT THE WHITE HOUSE
1600 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE,
N.W.
WASHINGTONDC(20500)

NOVEMBER 4, 1992

DEAR GEORGE:

IT IS DEEPLY DISTRESSING AND DISAPPOINTING TO LEARN THE OUTCOME OF YESTERDAY'S PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION. OVER THE PAST THREE YEARS, I HAVE ALWAYS HELD DEEP RESPECT FOR YOU AS A LIKEMINDED COMRADE AND AS A MENTOR, WHO SHARED THE TASK OF MEETING MANY DIFFICULT CHALLENGES SUCH AS THE GULF CRISIS AND BILATERAL ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT. THE SERIES OF FRANK TALKS AT OUR BILATERAL MEETINGS, THE ECONOMIC SUMMITS AND OTHER OCCASIONS, AS WELL AS THE HEART-WARMING EXCHANGES WITH BARBARA AND YOUR FAMILY, IMPRESSED UPON ME YOUR OUTSTANDING LEADERSHIP AND NOBLE AND UPRIGHT PERSONALITY. THROUGHOUT THE CAMPAIGN, I THEREFORE HAD NO DOUBT ABOUT YOUR EVENTUAL SUCCESS. SUCH CONVICTION HAS MADE MY DISAPPOINTMENT EVEN GREATER.

THE HISTORY RECORDS, HOWEVER, THAT IT IS YOU WHO BROUGHT ABOUT THE END OF COLD WAR TODAY, LED THE MULTINATIONAL FORCES TO THE VICTORY IN THE GULF WAR AND CONSOLIDATED FREEDOM AND DEMOCRATIC VALUES IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, THE ACHIEVEMENTS WIDELY APPRECIATED BY THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD. LIKEWISE, THE PROGRESS IN THE WIDE-RANGING COOPERATIVE RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES COULD NOT HAVE BEEN ATTAINED WITHOUT YOUR UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION. AS A JAPANESE CITIZEN, I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS MY SINCERE GRATITUDE TO YOU.

IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT THE UNITED STATES, AND THE

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, STILL NEED YOUR WISDOM. IT IS MY EARNEST DESIRE THAT YOU WILL CONTINUE TO STRIVE FOR THE PEACE AND PROSPERITY OF THE WORLD.

I LOOK FORWARD TO SEEING YOU AGAIN IN THE NEAR FUTURE. MY WIFE SACHIYO JOINS ME IN SENDING YOU AND BARBARA OUR WARMEST WISHES FOR GOOD HEALTH.

SINCERELY YOURS,

TOSHIKI KAIFU

Tokyo Japan

NNNN

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Your Highness:

I want to thank you for the sincere expression of friendship and appreciation in your recent message. I, too, believe that history will record that the United States and Kuwait stood together at a critical moment to defeat aggression and to uphold the fundamental principles of justice and freedom. It is my hope that this historic achievement will bind the people of the United States and the people of Kuwait now and in the future and that they will work hand-in-hand to ensure stability in the Gulf and peace throughout the Middle East.

Sincerely,

His Highness
Sheikh Saad al-Abdullah al-Salem al-Sabah
Prime Minister and Crown Prince
of the State of Kuwait
Kuwait

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

Translation

STATE OF KUWAIT
THE CROWN PRINCE AND PRIME MINISTER
******

November 8th, 1992

The Honorable President George Bush
of the United States of America
The White House - Washington D. C.

Mr. President and dear friend,

It is imperative for me particularly at this juncture to write to you in order to reiterate a fact which I think you fully realise at heart : that the feelings of affection, esteem and gratitude which Kuwait has for your kind person have never been stronger or deeper.

In fact, such true sentiments will further strengthen and deepen as the years go by. The successive generations of Kuwaitis will always remember with high regard, esteem and recognition your courageous principled stand against the Iraqi tyrant's occupation of our homeland Kuwait, and your firm determination since the very first hours to defeat his savage aggression and to oust the invading aggressor from Kuwait. To all Kuwaits " George Bush " has become a symbol of courage and of the determination to reject aggression, to confront tyranny, to uphold right and justice and to defend freedom and peace throughout the world.

Mr President

The greatness of leaders is judged by the greatness of their beneficial achievements that do not stop at their national borders but rather extend to embrace all mankind. This is why you have been a truly great leader. You have made a major contribution to global developments that have changed the course of history and made the world a safer and better place, including for example : putting an end to the cold war and the

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

initiation of a new world order based on understanding, cooperation, freedom and democracy. You also led your great nation and the international community in an unprecedented consensus to fight the forces of evil and tryanny and to defend the cause of right, justice and legitmacy.

Mr President and dear friend

I would like to assure you that you have loving friends in every Kuwaiti home. All the Kuwaitis will be happy to cordially welcome you and members of your family at any date of your choice to visit our country Kuwait.

I will always cherish and highly value your personal friendship and would like to extend to you and your esteemed family best wishes for your good health and wellbeing.

With my warmest regards and highest consideration.

Your friend

Saad AlAbdullah AlSalim AlSabah
Crown Prince and Prime Minister.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

فخامة الرئيس جورج بوش
رئيس الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية
البيت الأبيض - واشنطون

فخامة الرئيس والصديق العزيز

أجد لزاما عليّ في هذه الفترة بالذات أن أكتب اليكم لأؤكد حقيقة أعتقد أنكم تحسونها في قرارة نفسكم وهي ان مشاعر المودة والتقدير والامتنان التي تكنها الكويت لشخصكم الكريم لم تكن أبدا أقوى وأعمق مما هي الآن ، وان هذه المشاعر الصادقة سوف تزداد قوة وعمقا على مر الأيام . وستظل أجيال الكويت المتعاقبة تذكر دائما بالتقدير والاكبار والعرفان موقفكم المبدئي الشجاع ضد احتلال طاغية العراق لوطننا الكويت وتصميمكم الثابت منذ الساعات الأولى على هزيمة عدوانه الوحشي وطرد الغزاة المعتدين من الكويت . لقد غدا " جورج بوش " في نظر الكويتيين جميعا رمزا للشجاعة والعزم على رفض العدوان ومجابهة الطغاة ونصرة الحق والعدل والدفاع عن الحرية والسلام في العالم .

فخامة الرئيس

ان عظمة القادة تقاس بعظمة إنجازاتهم الخيّرة التي لاتقف عند حدود بلادهم بل تتجاوزها لتشمل البشرية جمعاء . ولهذا فقد كنتم قائدا عظيما حقا . لقد أسهمتم بدور رئيسي في تحولات عالمية غيّرت مجرى التاريخ وجعلت العالم مكانا أفضل وأكثر أمنا منها على سبيل المثال وضع حد للحرب الباردة وبدء نظام عالمي جديد قائم على التفاهم والتعاون والحرية والديمقراطية . وكذلك قدتم بلادكم العظيمة والمجتمع

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الدولي في اجماع لم يسبق له مثيل لمحاربة قوى الشر والطغيان والدفاع عن الحق والعدل والشرعية .

فخامة الرئيس والصديق العزيز

أود أن أؤكد لفخامتكم ان لكم أصدقاء محبين في كل بيت كويتي . ولسوف يسعد كافة الكويتيين أن يرحبوا أخلص الترحيب بكم وبأفراد عائلتكم في أي وقت ترونه مناسبا لزيارة بلدنا الكويت .

انني سأظل اثمن عاليا واعتز بصداقتكم الشخصية ، وأعرب لكم ولعائلتكم الموقرة عن أصدق تمنيات الصحة والسعادة .

مع أطيب تحياتي وأسمى تقديري ،،،

سعد العبدالله السالم الصباح
ولي العهد ورئيس مجلس الوزراء

الكويت في ١٤ جمادى الأولى ١٤١٣ هـ
٨ نوفمبر ١٩٩٢ م

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

Embassy of the State of Kuwait
2940 Tilden Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

سفارة دولة الكويت
واشنطن

KEA/185/92

The Embassy of the State of Kuwait presents its compliments to the Department of State and has the honor to request that the enclosed letter (in English and Arabic) which was received by facimile from His Highness, Shaikh Saad AlAbdullah AlSalim AlSabah, Crown Prince and Prime Minister, addressed to The Honorable, President George Bush, President of the United States of America, be forwarded accordingly.

The Embassy of the State of Kuwait avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Department of State the assurance of its highest consideration.

Washington, D. C.

November 9, 1992

EMBASSY OF THE STATE OF KUWAIT
WASHINGTON D.C.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

Thank you for your most generous letter. As I leave office, I am encouraged by the thought that new leaders like yourself have stepped forward to carry on the work of peacemaking and rebuilding in the Middle East. May your efforts prosper and a united Lebanese people enjoy a brighter future as a result.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
Rafiq al Hariri
Prime Minister of the
Republic of Lebanon
Beirut

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

16-Nov-1992 12:05 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:
VAX_MAIL@OEOB
OLEARY@A1@WHSR
HAASS@A1@OEOB
FICKLIN@A1@OEOB

FROM: White House Situation Room
(WHSR@A1@WHSR)

SUBJECT: MESSAGE FOR PRESIDENT BUSH

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161525Z NOV 92
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AMEMBASSY BEIRUT
<TO>
SECSTATE WASHDC 7015
<SUBJ>
MESSAGE FOR PRESIDENT BUSH
<TEXT>
UNCLAS BEIRUT 04985
S/S
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: KSTT, OPDC, LE
SUBJECT: MESSAGE FOR PRESIDENT BUSH
1. EMBASSY RECEIVED THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FOR PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH FROM H.E. RAFIC B. HARIRI, THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS IN THE REPUBLIC OF LEBANON. ORIGINAL WILL BE FORWARDED TO THE DEPARTMENT.
2. BEGIN TEXT:
DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:
NOW THAT THE UNITED STATES PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IS OVER, I WISH TO EXPRESS TO YOU, PERSONALLY AND IN MY NEW CAPACITY AS PRIME MINISTER OF LEBANON, MY DEEP APPRECIATION FOR ALL THAT YOU HAVE DONE TO PLACE THE HIGHEST PRIORITY ON FINDING A WAY TO BRING PEACE TO

THE TROUBLED COUNTRIES OF THE MIDDLE EAST. YOUR DEDICATION TO THIS NOBLE CAUSE IS NOT ONLY DEEPLY APPRECIATED BY ALL LEBANESE, BUT ALSO BY PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.
I AM GRATEFUL FOR THE OPPORTUNITY THAT I NOW HAVE TO CONTINUE MY LIFETIME DEDICATION TO PROSPERITY, PEACE AND JUSTICE IN LEBANON, AND I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT MY THOUGHTS ARE WITH YOU AND MRS. BUSH. PLEASE ACCEPT, MR. PRESIDENT, MY DEEP GRATITUTDE AND APPRECIATION FOR ALL THAT YOU HAVE DONE TO MAKE THIS WORLD A BETTER PLACE IN WHICH TO LIVE AND WORK.
MOST SINCERELY YOURS,
SIGNED, RAFIC B. HARIRI.
END TEXT.
CROCKER
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#4985
NNNN
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SECTION: 01 OF 01
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921116115136 M0061887

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Manfred:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best.

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. Together we accomplished much during this unprecedented era. In particular, I think back to our work in London and Rome -- the two NATO Summits that demonstrated the Alliance's ability to lead the West beyond the Cold War and beyond the collapse of the Soviet Union. Our success is due in no small part to your stewardship of NATO and your tireless efforts to ensure that NATO's success story will continue. My friend, I will be following your work and look forward to seeing you some time in future.

Sincerely,

The Honorable
Dr. Manfred Woerner
Secretary General of the North Atlantic
Treaty Organization
Brussels

361969

ORGANISATION DU TRAITÉ
DE L'ATLANTIQUE NORD

NORTH ATLANTIC
TREATY ORGANIZATION

LE SECRÉTAIRE GÉNÉRAL
SECRETARY GENERAL

[redacted]

BOULEVARD LEOPOLD III
1110 - BRUXELLES
TEL 728 41 11 - 728 49 17
FAX 728 46 66

Mr. President, dear George,

I can imagine how you feel. But I know your strength of will and character and admire greatly the noble and dignified way in which you reacted to the outcome of the elections.

Let me first thank you from all my heart for the friendship and kindness you showed to me, especially during the time of my illness.

I will never forget the weekend which I spent with you at Camp David. In our talks I could sense your dedication to the fate of Europe and your determination to achieve unification of my country for which, as a German, I owe you special gratitude.

NATO owes you even more. You showed the strong and continuous leadership which the Alliance needed for its difficult but successful phase of transition. Your support was crucial

for coping with the momentous challenges of the post Cold War period. I shall not forget your personal contribution to the success of our summits in Brussels, Rome and London.

I feel the highest respect, esteem and admiration for your achievements in public office. I am sure that history will acknowledge you as one of the great US Presidents, but even more I feel privileged for having the opportunity to know and work with such a fine, noble and caring person.

I know we will remain in contact. Don't forget that you have a permanent friend in Brussels. You and Barbara would be most welcome at any time in our home. Please give Barbara my best regards. Elie joins me in my thanks and best wishes.

Yours sincerely and
in friendship

W. Rudd

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best.

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. I will be following your work and look forward to seeing you some time in the future.

Sincerely,

The Honorable
Ngiratkel Etpison
President of the Republic of Palau
Koror

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

10-Nov-1992 02:46 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:
VAX_MAIL@OEOB
OLEARY@A1@WHSR
FICKLIN@A1@OEOB

FROM: White House Situation Room
(WHSR@A1@WHSR)

SUBJECT: PALAU: PRESIDENT'S LETTER OF BEST WISHES

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UNCLASSIFIED
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USOFFICE KOROR
<TO>
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2081
<SUBJ>
PALAU: PRESIDENT'S LETTER OF BEST WISHES
- TO PRESIDENT BUSH
<TEXT>
UNCLAS KOROR 0630
QQQQ
DEPT FOR S/S
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: KSTT OPDC PREL PNAT UNTC INT PS
SUBJECT: PALAU: PRESIDENT'S LETTER OF BEST WISHES
- TO PRESIDENT BUSH
REF: (A) 91 STATE 78590 (DTG 120647 Z MAR 91) (NOTAL)
- (B) STATE 362082 (DTG 051850 Z NOV 92)
(C) STATE 362083 (DTG 051851 Z NOV 92)
1. ON THE AFTERNOON OF NOV. 10 (LOCAL), POST RECEIVED
THE FOLLOWING LETTER OF THE SAME DATE FROM THE OFFICE OF THE
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF PALAU, NGIRATKEL ETPISON, WITH THE
REQUES
CQQQ:PGSMIT IT TO PRESIDENT BUSH VIA APPROPRIATE
CHANNELS:

(BEGIN TEXT OF ETPISON-BUSH LETTER OF NOV. 10)

"DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:
ON BEHALF OF THE PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF PALAU, I TAKE THIS OPPORUNITY TO EXTEND TO YOU AND YOUR FAMILY OUR SINCERE BEST WISHES FOR THE NEXT YEAR WHEN YOU STEP DOWN FROM THE PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.
THE REPUBLIC OF PALAU HAS FARED WELL DURING THE PAST 12 YEARS OF REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATIONS. WE SINCERELY THANK YOU AND YOUR IMMEDIATE PREDECESSOR IN OFFICE, FORMER PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN FOR YOUR HELP. NOTABLE AMONG RECENT ACCOMPLISHMENTS IS THE CONSTRUCTION OF MODERN HOSPITAL FACILITIES. GRAND OPENING CEREMONIES FOR BELAU NATIONAL HOSPITAL ARE SCHEDULED FOR FRIDAY, DECEMEBER 4, 1992.
ON A MORE PERSONAL NOTE, HAVING LOST MY RE-ELECTION BID AT THE SEPTEMBER 22, 1992 PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY IN PALAU, I EMPATHIZE WITH WHAT YOU MAY BE FEELING. YOU AND YOUR FAMILY HAVE MY BEST WISHES."

(END TEXT OF ETPISON-BUSH LETTER OF NOV. 10)
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2. POST WILL FORWARD THE ORIGINAL OF THE LETTER TO EAP/FAS.
MOSS
BT
#0630
NNNN
<SECT>
SECTION: 01 OF 01
<SSN>
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best.

It was a particular pleasure to work with you as we began a new era in relations between the United States and the Philippines. I am convinced that ties between our two nations will continue to flourish.

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. I will be following your work and look forward to seeing you some time in the future.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
Fidel Ramos
President of the Republic of
the Philippines
Manila

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

18-Nov-1992 03:58 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:
OLEARY@A1@WHSR
PAAL@A1@OEOB
GANTT@A1@OEOB
FICKLIN@A1@OEOB
BRANSCUM@A1@OEOB

FROM: White House Situation Room
(WHSR@A1@WHSR)

SUBJECT: CONGRATULATORY LETTERS FROM PHILIPPINE PRESIDENT

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AMEMBASSY MANILA
<TO>
SECSTATE WASHDC 9677
<SUBJ>
CONGRATULATORY LETTERS FROM PHILIPPINE PRESIDENT
RAMOS TO PRESIDENT BUSH AND VICE PRESIDENT
QUAYLE.
<TEXT>
UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 MANILA 30368
FOR S/S
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: OPDC, RP
SUBJECT: CONGRATULATORY LETTERS FROM PHILIPPINE PRESIDENT
RAMOS TO PRESIDENT BUSH AND VICE PRESIDENT
QUAYLE.
1. THE EMBASSY RECEIVED COPIES OF THE FOLLOWING LETTERS FROM PHILIPPINE PRESIDENT RAMOS ADDRESSED TO PRESIDENT BUSH AND VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE. THE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS HAS CONFIRMED THAT THE ORIGINALS WERE TRANSMITTED DIRECTLY BY THE PHILIPPINE EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON TO THE RECIPIENTS FULL TEXTS OF THE LETTERS FOLLOW BELOW, FOR THE RECORD.

2. BEGIN TEXT OF RAMOS LETTER TO PRESIDENT BUSH.
NOVEMBER 4, 1992

EXCELLENCY,

THE STERLING MOMENTS OF DEMOCRACY, AS EXHIBITED IN THE RECENT ELECTORAL PROCESS IN THE UNITED STATES, IS A TRIBUTE TO YOUR LEADERSHIP AND ADMINISTRATION.

THE ACHIEVEMENTS THAT YOUR PRESIDENCY HAS DEMONSTRATED IN VARIOUS POLITICAL FRONTS WORLDWIDE, HAVE PUT YOU ON THE LIST OF ESTEEMED AMERICAN LEADERS.

WE NOTE WITH APPRECIATION THE EFFORTS OF YOUR ADMINISTRATION IN NURTURING THE LONG-STANDING HISTORIC TIES OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES AND ADVANCING THE INTEREST OF REGIONAL STABILITY IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC.

I AM CONFIDENT THAT AS YOU OVERSEE THE SMOOTH POLITICAL TRANSITION, THE PHILIPPINES-UNITED STATES RELATIONS WILL CONTINUE TO FLOURISH BASED ON THE FOUNDATIONS OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION, MUTUAL SUPPORT AND DEMOCRATIC COMMITMENT.

THE FILIPINO NATION SALUTES YOU AND WHAT YOU STOOD FOR DURING YOUR DISTINGUISHED YEARS AS PUBLIC SERVANT AND PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

WE SINCERELY WISH YOU ALL THE BEST IN YOUR FUTURE ENDEAVORS.

//S//
FIDEL V. RAMOS

HIS EXCELLENCY
GEORGE W. BUSH
PRESIDENT
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

3. BEGIN TEXT OF RAMOS LETTER TO VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE.
NOVEMBER 4, 1992

EXCELLENCY

DEAR MR. VICE-PRESIDENT,

IN BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES AND THE FILIPINO PEOPLE, PLEASE ACCEPT OUR BEST WISHES AND HIGHEST ESTEEM.

THE TRIUMPH OF DEMOCRACY, AS EXHIBITED IN THE RECENT ELECTORAL PROCESS IN THE UNITED STATES, IS A GLOWING TRIBUTE TO YOUR LEADERSHIP AND ADMINISTRATION.

THIS ONLY SERVES TO DEEPEN THE CONVICTIONS OF ALL FREEDOM-LOVING PEOPLES OF THE WORLD THAT DEMOCRACY IS VERY MUCH ALIVE NOT ONLY IN AMERICA BUT IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD WHERE THE PEOPLE'S MANDATE IS SACROSANCT AND MADE SUPREME THROUGH A FREE AND ORDERLY ELECTORAL EXERCISE. THIS IS HOW IT IS IN THE PHILIPPINES WHICH HAS JUST COMPLETED ITS OWN NATIONAL AND LOCAL ELECTIONS RESULTING IN A PEACEFUL AND CONSTITUTIONAL TRANSFER OF POWER TO THOSE CHOSEN BY THE PEOPLE.

TRUST THAT YOU REMAIN CLOSE TO THE HEARTS OF THE FILIPINO PEOPLE WHO SHALL ALWAYS REMEMBER THAT YOU HAVE BEEN A STAUNCH ALLY AND SUPPORTER OF OUR DEMOCRATIC IDEALS AND ASPIRATIONS.

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 MANILA 30368
FOR S/S

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: OPDC, RP
SUBJECT: CONGRATULATORY LETTERS FROM PHILIPPINE PRESIDENT
RAMOS TO PRESIDENT BUSH AND VICE PRESIDENT
QUAYLE.

OUR MANY THANKS AS WE WISH YOU ALL THE BEST IN YOUR FUTURE ENDEAVORS.

//S//

FIDEL V. RAMOS

HON. DAN QUAYLE
VICE-PRESIDENT
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
END TEXT. SOLOMON.
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SECTION: 01 OF 02
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Professor Constantinescu:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best.

This comes to you with my appreciation and respect. You are doing such important work for the people of Romania. Although the road ahead will not be an easy one, you have made great progress. I look forward with confidence to even better days for Romania with the hard work and commitment of you and your colleagues.

Sincerely,

Professor Emil Constantinescu
Leader of the Democratic Convention-Romania
Rector of Bucharest University
Splaiul Unirll nr.5
ap.1, sector 3
Bucharest, Romania

Professor Emil Constantinescu

Leader of Democratic Convention - ROMANIA

Rector of Bucarest University

George Bush
President of United States

Mr. President

I have followed with great emotion the elections in the United States. Their results are what they are, but they could never shadow your great achievements in the last years. We, Romanians, will never forget it was under your Administration and with your own, invaluable contribution that the communist system has collapsed. Under your guidance and will, the United States have contributed in a decisive way to the world peace and progress.

As a citizen of a newly - and not yet completely free - Eastern country, allow me to assure you of my highest esteem and everlasting gratefulness.

Yours faithfully,

Emil Constantinescu

Professor Emil Constantinescu
Leader of Democratic Convention - ROMANIA
Rector of Bucarest University
Splaiul Unirii nr. 5
ap. 1, sector 3
Bucuresti, ROMANIA
tel: 40 1 3124041
fax: 40 1 3124041

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Your Royal Highness:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. As I complete my term in public service, I take great pleasure in noting the strength of U.S. relations with Saudi Arabia; a relationship deepened and enriched by our victory in the joint struggle to liberate Kuwait.

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. I will be following your work and look forward to seeing you some time in the future.

Sincerely,

His Royal Highness
Prince Saud Al-Faisal
Minister of Foreign Affairs of
Saudi Arabia
Riyadh

(Unofficial Translation)

November 13, 1992

The Honorable George Bush
President of the United States of America
Washington, DC

Dear President Bush:

I wish to convey to you, on the occasion of the announcement of the results of the Presidential elections in the United States of America, our deep appreciation for the important and essential role which you have undertaken to enhance the close relationship which binds the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the United States of America.

The great historic accomplishments which you have achieved to secure the foundation for freedom, peace, and security in the world is a source of pride for all of us.

I would like to take this opportunity to express to you, Mr. President, my best wishes for your continued good health and happiness, as well as success in your future endeavors.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Saud Al-Faisal
Minister of Foreign Affairs

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

المملكة العربية السعودية
وزارة الخارجية
مكتب الوزير

صاحب الفخامة الرئيس جورج بوش
رئيس الولايات المتحدة الامريكية

بمناسبة اعلان نتائج الانتخابات الرئاسية في الولايات المتحدة الامريكية ، يسعدني ان انتهز هذه الفرصة لكي اعرب لفخامتكم عن مدى التقدير للدور الهام الذي قام به فخامتكم في سبيل توطيد وترسيخ العلاقات المتينة التي تربط بين المملكة العربية السعودية والولايات المتحدة الأمريكية ، وعن مدى الاعتزاز بالانجازات التاريخية الكبيرة التي استطاع فخامتكم من خلالها تثبيت قواعد الحرية والامن والسلام في العالم . ولايسعني في هذه المناسبة سوى الاعراب لفخامتكم عن تمنياتي بموفور الصحه والسعادة والنجاح في تحقيق ما تتطلعون اليه من اهداف وما تصبون اليه من غايات .

وتقبلوا فخامتكم اسمى اعتباري ،،،

سعود الفيصل

وزير خارجية المملكة العربية السعودية

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Minister:

Thank you so much for your message of encouragement and friendship. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best.

It has been a particular pleasure to work with you all these years. Your wise counsel on issues in Asia, and other areas of the world, has been greatly appreciated in this unprecedented era.

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. I will be following your work and look forward to seeing you some time in the future.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Lee Kuan Yew
Senior Minister
Prime Minister's Office
Istana Annexe
Singapore 0923 Republic of Singapore

8252

Senior Minister
Singapore

22 October 1992

Dear President Bush

I write to encourage you and cheer you on in the final days of the campaign. With two weeks to go, give it all you have got.

I remember what you told me when we met in Washington in April of 1988 when you were campaigning. You looked calm and serene. You said you were going to do your best but that if you lose that was the way it was. Try and recapture that spirit, that frame of mind.

You have done a first class job for the world. The pity is the world economy is in a downturn, in Europe, in Japan and in the US.

Many in leadership positions in Asia are silently cheering you on. They are quiet because they cannot interfere in an American process.

All the best

Yours Sincerely

Lee Kuan Yew

The Honourable George Bush
President of United States of America
Washington DC

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Boutros:

Thank you so much for your warm message which is very meaningful to me. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best.

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. I will be following your important work and look forward to seeing you in the future.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
Dr. Boutros Boutros Ghali
Secretary General of the United Nations
New York

THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

4 November 1992

Dear Mr. President

As Washington enters a period of transition, I should like to express my deep appreciation for your personal contribution to the work of the United Nations, beginning with your involvement here two decades ago as Permanent Representative of the United States of America.

The world Organization has begun its own transition into a new global era made possible in large part by the ending of the cold war. The role which you and your Administration played in this historic transformation, and in helping to revitalize and strengthen the United Nations, deserves great respect. For my part, I look forward to remaining in contact with you, not least to draw on your wisdom and experience in international affairs. It will always be a pleasure to welcome you to United Nations Headquarters.

Leia joins me in sending you and Barbara our warmest regards.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali

Boutros Boutros-Ghali

His Excellency
Mr. George Bush
President of the United States
of America
Washington, DC

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. You have been a good friend and I am grateful to you for the support you have given me in critical periods during the last four years.

I will be following your work during the last year of your Presidency. As I told you during our conversation right after the election, I look forward to seeing you some time in the future.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
Carlos Andres Perez
President of the Republic of Venezuela
Caracas

UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION

Miraflores, November 4, 1992

His Excellency
George Bush
President of the United States of America
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear President and friend,

After the conclusion of a the electoral process with the election of a new President, I avail myself of this occasion to reaffirm to you my feelings of friendship, respect and personal admiration.

You have led the relations of the United States with Latin America with growing understanding and historical awareness and specially, I must so recognize, with Venezuela.

During your term of office, the world has undergone substantial changes and you have had the responsibility of leading your country during a key moment of contemporary history which you have done with wisdom, intelligence and a wise perception, trying as well to guide the world toward peace. The Enterprise for the Americas and the conclusion of the negotiations leading to the NAFTA are decisions which will forever link your name to Latin America and to the future.

It has been an honor to be your friend, and having worked together in a spirit of mutual understanding and of the common desire of strengthening the relations between our countries to make them more open and creative within the framework of our common pledge in favor of democracy in Latin America.

Cordially

Carlos Andrés Pérez

EMBAJADA DE VENEZUELA
WASHINGTON, D.C.20007

Nº 1721/P-8

The Embassy of Venezuela presents its compliments to the Department of State and has the honor to transmit herewith the message that the President of Venezuela, Mr. Carlos Andrés Pérez, has sent through this Embassy to H. E. George Bush, President of the United States of America:

"Miraflores, 04 de noviembre de 1992

Excelentísimo Señor
George Bush
Presidente de los Estados Unidos de América
La Casa Blanca,
Washington

Muy estimado Presidente y amigo:

Cumplido el proceso electoral y habiendo sido elegido un nuevo Presidente, deseo aprovechar esta ocasión para reiterarle mi amistad, mi respeto y mi admiración personal. Usted ha conducido con creciente comprensión y sentido histórico las relaciones de Estados Unidos con la América Latina y, de modo especial, deseo reconocerlo así, con Venezuela.

Durante su período presidencial, el mundo ha sufrido cambios sustanciales y a usted le correspondió dirigir a su país en un momento clave de la historia contemporánea y con ponderación, inteligencia y lúcida percepción, encaminar al mundo hacia la paz. La Iniciativa para las Américas, postulada por usted, y la conclusión de las negociaciones del NAFTA, constituyen decisiones que vincularán su nombre al futuro latinoamericano.

Ha sido para mi un honor ser su amigo y haber llevado a cabo con usted un trabajo conjunto, signado siempre por la comprensión y el deseo de consolidar las relaciones de nuestros países y de hacerlas más abiertas y creativas, en común compromiso por la democracia en América Latina.

Al formularle, en nombre del pueblo y del gobierno de Venezuela nuestros mejores votos por su ventura personal, me reitero de usted,

Cordialmente,
Carlos Andrés Pérez"

The Embassy of Venezuela avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Department of State the assurances of its highest consideration.

SAG

Washington, D.C., November 4, 1992

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best.

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. I will be following your work and look forward to seeing you some time in the future.

Sincerely,

The Honorable
Tofilau Eti Alesana
Prime Minister of the Independent State
of Western Samoa
Apia

PRT: PAAL

<PREC> ROUTINE <CLAS> UNCLASSIFIED <DTG> 101953Z NOV 92

FM AMEMBASSY APIA

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 0000
INFO RUEHWL/AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON 0597
UNCLAS APIA 0248
DEPT. FOR S/S
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: OPDC, WS
SUBJECT: MESSAGE FOR THE PRESIDENT FROM THE PRIME MINISTER OF WESTERN SAMOA
1. THE PRIME MINISTER OF WESTERN SAMOA HAS ASKED THIS EMBASSY TO TRANSMIT THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO THE PRESIDENT, DATED NOVEMBER 4:
QUOTE:
HIS EXCELLENCY PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON D.C.
DEAR PRESIDENT BUSH:
I AM SORRY TO LEARN THAT THE RESULTS OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS WENT AGAINST YOU.
I WANT TO LET YOU KNOW THAT I APPRECIATED VERY MUCH OUR MEETINGS AT THE SUMMIT IN HONOLULU AND AT THE WHITE HOUSE. I THINK THAT YOU HAD PROVIDED THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD THE LEADERSHIP THAT WAS NEEDED IN THE CRISES OF EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST.
I WISH YOU AND YOUR GOOD LADY THE VERY BEST FOR THE FUTURE.
GOD BLESS
YOURS SINCERELY,
TOFILAU ETI ALESANA
PRIME MINISTER OF WESTERN SAMOA. END TEXT.
TUNIS

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Archbishop Monsengwo:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. As I complete my term in public service, I have the peace of knowing that I did my best.

This comes to you with my thanks and respect. I will be following your work and wish you every success in helping move Zaire to democracy.

Sincerely,

The Most Reverend
Monsengwo Pasinya Laurent
President of the National Conference
of Zaire
Kinshasa

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

09-Nov-1992 13:37 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:
VAX_MAIL@OEOB
OLEARY@A1@WHSR
FICKLIN@A1@OEOB

FROM: White House Situation Room
(WHSR@A1@WHSR)

SUBJECT: LETTER TO PRESIDENT BUSH FROM NATIONAL

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AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
<TO>
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 0189
INFO RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 0024
<SUBJ>
LETTER TO PRESIDENT BUSH FROM NATIONAL
CONFERENCE PRESIDENT ARCHBISHOP MONSENGWO
<TEXT>
UNCLAS KINSHASA 06977
DEPT. FOR S/S
ROME FOR VATICAN
E.O.12356: N/A
TAGS: OPDC, PREL, CG
SUBJECT: LETTER TO PRESIDENT BUSH FROM NATIONAL
CONFERENCE PRESIDENT ARCHBISHOP MONSENGWO
1. THE FOLLOWING LETTER WAS SENT TO PRESIDENT BUSH BY ARCHBISHOP MONSENGWO, PRESIDENT OF THE SOVEREIGN NATIONAL CONFERENCE (CNS). THE CNS IS CHARGED WITH GUIDING ZAIRE THROUGH A TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY. ALONG WITH PRESIDENT MOBUTU AND PRIME MINISTER TSHISEKEDI, ARCHBISHOP MONSENGWO IS CURRENTLY ONE OF THE LEADING POLITICAL FORCES IN ZAIRE.
2. THE ORIGINAL OF THIS LETTER WAS IN FRENCH. WE PROVIDE AN INFORMAL EMBASSY TRANSLATION. BEGIN TEXT:
TO MR. GEORGE BUSH

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.
DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:
AT THE TIME WHEN YOU ARE PREPARING TO LEAVE THE PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES, WE WOULD LIKE, ON BEHALF OF THE SOVEREIGN NATIONAL CONFERENCE (CNS), OF ITS GOVERNING COMMITTEE, AND IN OUR OWN NAME, TO EXPRESS TO YOU OUR APPRECIATION FOR THE EFFORTS UNDERTAKEN BY YOUR ADMINISTRATION TO PROMOTE AND SUSTAIN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IN AFRICA IN GENERAL AND IN ZAIRE IN PARTICULAR.
THE WORLD CAN ONLY CONGRATULATE YOU, AND REJOICE, AT THE ADMIRABLE FINESSE WITH WHICH YOU CONTRIBUTED TO THE END OF THE COLD WAR, AND TO A CALMING OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION.
WE HOPE THAT THE EXAMPLE OF PEACEFUL AND DEMOCRATIC CHANGEOVER OF POWER WHICH WE HAVE JUST SEEN IN THE UNITED STATES WILL INSPIRE AND ENGAGE OUR PEOPLE AND THEIR LEADERS TO FOLLOW IN THE SAME PATH.
MAY THE EVERLASTING ACCORD YOU HIS BENEDICTION IN WHATEVER NEW ACTIVITIES YOU UNDERTAKE, SO THAT YOU MAY CONTINUE TO SERVE YOUR COUNTRY AS WELL AS THE CAUSE OF PEACE AND JUSTICE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.
PLEASE ACCEPT, MR. PRESIDENT, THE EXPRESSION OF OUR HIGHEST ESTEEM.
L. MONSENGWO PASINYA
PRESIDENT OF THE CNS
END TEXT.
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear President Chiluba:

Thank you so much for your message of understanding and friendship. As I mentioned in our telephone conversation, I have very much enjoyed the contact we have had since you were elected President.

With your leadership I know Zambia will make the tough but necessary choices for economic reform, and continue on the democratic path you have championed so vigorously. You have my thanks and respect for all you are doing. I look forward to seeing you some time in the future.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
Frederick Chiluba
President of the Republic of Zambia
Lusaka

State House

Lusaka, Republic of Zambia

5th November, 1992

His Excellency Mr. George Bush,
President of the United States of America,
WASHINGTON D.C.
United States of America.

Dear President Bush,

On behalf of the Government and people of Zambia, may I say how sorry I am that after a long hard-fought campaign, you have been unsuccessful in securing a second term as President of the United States of America. The contribution you made to World Peace will be remembered for many years to come

As you rightly put it the other night "you fought a good fight". I shall always cherish the few moments we spent together at the White House and the receptive manner in which you and your Government have supported our Structural Adjustment Programme, balance of payments, debt relief as well as our drought relief programme. We hold you in very high esteem and we shall certainly remember the timely manner in which your Administration responded to our request in our hour of great need.

I was impressed by the sincerity and forth-rightecousness with which you graciously conceded defeat. It is a living testimony of America's long standing democratic tredition. We shall always count you among our close friends and I promise to keep in touch with you in the weeks, months and years to come. My sympathy also goes to Vice-President Dan Quayle.

I send you and Mrs. Barbara Bush my warm regards and personal best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Frederick J.T. Chiluba
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Cable	061439Z (3 pp.)	11/09/1992	(b)(1)	C

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Monday, November 23, 1992 [2]

Date Closed:	9/16/2019	**OA/ID Number:**	90737-001
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2009-0166-S[4]	**Appeal Case #:**	
Re-review Case #:		**Appeal Disposition:**	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		**Disposition Date:**	
AR Case #:		**MR Case #:**	
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

Deed of Gift Restrictions

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

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

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

11/23/92

TO: Patty - Rose - Brent

RE: CAMP DAVID, DECEMBER 18, 19, 20

FROM: THE PRESIDENT

This is a "planning" letter. Please discuss it with me.

John Major will be coming up on Friday the 18th in time for supper.

Neil's family and George W's family will be up there with us.

Michael W. Smith should come Saturday and sing at vespers. Spend Saturday night, then attend Sunday family party if he can.

I'd like to have another vespers service for Saturday evening.

Let's discuss an afternoon program 4 - 5 PM. No dinner for outside attendees. Dinner for Majors and maybe a small handful of guests.

PLEASE DISCUSS.

RZ/Have typ

TO

Patty - Rose - Brent

RE: Camp David.
Dec. 18, 19, 20

This is a "planning" letter. Please discuss it with me

John Major will be coming up on Friday the 18th in time for supper

Neil's Family and George W's Family will be up there with us.

Michael W. Smith should come Saturday & sing at vespers spend Sat Nite, the attend Sunday family party if he can.

I'd like to have another vespers service ~~Sunday~~ for Saturday evening.

Let's discuss an afternoon program 4-5 PM. No dinner for outside attendees. Dinner For Majors and Maybe a small hand full of guests.

Please Discuss -

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - George Bush Handwriting

11/23/92

Patty/cc Rose FROM THE PRESIDENT

Two Items

1) I want to invite Weintraubs and Jack Jansings to Camp David. Maybe December 4, 5, 6.

PLEASE DISCUSS

2) Find out if Dana Carvey is coming east. He made a good living off of me. Let's invite for 10 minute "farewell" if he plans to be East (or we could get him to do 15 minutes for our staff -- a "surprise" for staff - EAST ROOM FAREWELL)

Patty: re item #2 -- the President asked the telephone operator to try to track him down. They left message on his recorder. He has not called back.

Typ[illegible]

Patty cc- Rose

Two Items:

(1) I want to invite Weintraubs and Jack Tansings to Camp David. Maybe Dec- 4, 5, 6.

Please Discuss

(2) Find out if Dana Carvey is coming East He made a good living off of us - Let's invite for 10 minute "farewell" if he plans to be East (or we could get him to do 15 minutes for our staff - a "surprise" farewell) for staff - East Room

THE PRESIDENT

November 23, 1992

To: JAB III and Brent

Re: A farewell Speech.

Attached is a letter from A & M that interests me a lot. You may remember we gave a key foreign policy speech there once before. Now this suggestion re: The Berlin Wall.

Please discuss this with me.

We might do a "
farewell" on foreign policy then, in January, another with emphasis on domestic policy and values.

GB

11/24/92
We need to get back to Mobley shortly.
GB

Bush Library Photocopy
George Bush Handwriting

TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE STATION, TEXAS 77843-1246
(409) 845-2217
FAX (409) 845-5027

Office of the President
William H. Mobley

November 11, 1992

The Honorable George H. W. Bush
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

The Berlin Wall Commemorative Group represented by Major General (Ret.) John Mitchell, former Commandant of U.S. Forces in Berlin, have shipped to Texas A&M University a section of the Berlin Wall which they have contributed to the George Bush Presidential Library. They have given similar sections to the Reagan, Nixon and Ford libraries. You may have seen the section at the Reagan Library when you were there.

The Berlin Group would like to present the wall section to you in person at a ceremony on the Texas A&M University campus before you leave office. They indicate that they would be represented by a high level group representing the city of Berlin and the German government. We believe the occasion would be a great opportunity for you to recount the role of your administration in the demise of communism.

The purpose of my letter is to invite you to come to Texas A&M to accept this section of the Berlin Wall. If you would like to do this, it would be best to come while all the students are on campus. Since they will leave around December 15 for mid-term break and will not return until January 20, if you decide to accept this invitation it would be best to come in early December as we will need a few days to install the wall and make it ready for presentation. Also, the delegation from Germany needs as much advance notice as possible so they can arrange their schedule and travel here. If you are not able to come before January 20, we would be pleased for you to come whenever it is convenient.

We trust you will be able to accept our invitation as it would be a great occasion for our students and faculty to have you back on campus.

Respectfully,

Bill

William H. Mobley

cc: Bush Foundation Officers

11/24/92
gave copy to
Kathy Super.

DATE: NOVEMBER 23, 1992

CONTACT: KEITH WRIGHT

PRESS: 863-8550

THE DAILY NEWS SUMMARY

Republican National Committee
310 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003

To: Jan Burmeister

The Washington Times

DATE: 11.21
PAGE: 9

Democrats contacted EC negotiators

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills confirmed as fact yesterday Democratic pre-election intervention in European trade talks, but she would not link that with published reports that the action was to help get Bill Clinton elected.

The Justice Department said afterward it will meet the 30-day deadline for responding to a congressional request to appoint an independent prosecutor in the case, noting the 15-day period in which it must reject a frivolous or incomplete request had ended.

"We do know that someone from the Democratic Party did contact the Europeans," Mrs. Hills said at the White House when asked by The Washington Times to assess the truth of charges cited often by President Bush during the campaign's final days.

The intervention, which Republicans said was intended to help swing the election, was reminiscent of charges of political motives among State Department aides who dredged through Mr. Clinton's passport files, although no crime was found and no link to the White House detected by investigators.

Ten congressional Republicans — acting on earlier published reports of the attempt to stall the talks — charged that Democratically linked Washington trade consultant Kevin J. Nealer approached the European Community ambassador to Washington "with the authorization of the Clinton/Gore '92 campaign."

Carla Hills

George Stephanopoulos, Clinton transition communications director, said yesterday the Clinton camapign did not intercede.

"I can't speak or take responsibility for all Democrats," he said. "Nobody from this campaign was authorized by Governor Clinton or any representative of the campaign to speak with EC officials about the trade agreements."

Mr. Bush said during the campaign — two weeks after Mrs. Hills was informed of the contact on Oct. 13 — that if the charge was true, "it is a sorry, pathetic thing to be doing a few days before an election."

Without commenting on possible Clinton-Gore delaying action, Mr. Bush said yesterday's farm trade deal came after "vigorous" negotiations that he said "avoided a possible trade war."

Another administration official who watched the events develop, speaking on condition of anonymity, said European negotiators did "significant back-pedaling" after the Clinton aide's contact but dropped those objections and largely accepted proposals on the table before the election as the basis for the final agricultural agreement announced yesterday.

"The agreement reached today had as its basis a proposal that we had left with the Europeans on October 13," the official said, while emphasizing that some changes were made.

"We were coming very close at that time and suddenly about a week later, the Europeans came back with something that represented significant back-pedaling, objections that evaporated after the election," the official said.

The official did suggest that European politics might have been more pivotal than the American election in delaying agreement, but the negotiating events outlined also matched pre-election charges of a power play that would allow Mr. Clinton to close the deal if he were elected.

Mrs. Hills would not draw any connections between the contact and the delay.

"I wouldn't speculate. I don't want to speculate," she said, adding that the Bush administration would now seek to finalize the entire world trade agreement before leaving office.

Aside from confirming the contact, the first government official to do so, Mrs. Hills would not speculate on the extent to which the contact may have postponed settlement of the six-year talks.

She said she knew only what was in published reports.

The New York Times

DATE: 11.23
PAGE: 13

Facing His Term's End, Barr

Defends His Record

By DAVID JOHNSTON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 22 — The melancholy that pervades the Bush Administration these days runs particularly deep at the Justice Department, where Attorney General William P. Barr has taken a pounding from Congressional critics in recent months and is preparing to relinquish to Democrats an agency that drove the Republicans' conservative legal agenda for a dozen years.

"I'm still breathing," said Mr. Barr, smiling guardedly from his office at the Justice Department's headquarters, an Art Deco fortress on Pennsylvania Avenue where he talked at length about the department and his 12-month tenure. "I recognized from the beginning that this job consisted of walking through mine fields and I'd be happy just to survive. I think most people would say I've done more than that."

In the interview last Thursday, Mr. Barr seemed to be opening up again, agreeing to speak publicly after a low-profile period in which he appeared hesitant to defend himself against Democratic lawmakers who accused him of allowing political factors to shape his prosecutorial decisions.

Conservative Agenda Doomed

Still, associates say the 42-year-old lawyer is giving up his Cabinet post with a familiar politician's complaint: that he has been treated unfairly by the press and political opponents.

The impression of gloom among the Attorney General and his senior aides is underscored by their belief that the new Administration will soon unravel the conservative policies on abortion, judicial appointments, civil rights and criminal justice that formed a core domestic agenda for the last 12 years.

"I think there's potential for many setbacks for what was accomplished during the Reagan and Bush Administrations," Mr. Barr said. "The big difference is going to be in the philosophy of approaching crime, and generally speaking we say that part of the solution of dealing with crime has to be holding individuals accountable. I am talking about violent crime and making violent criminals pay by sending them to prison for a long period of time. I am doubtful the approach will be same."

Election-Year Tenure

But the Justice Department, with 85,000 employees and an annual budget of $11 billion, has twice the employees and five times the budget it had when President Jimmy Carter left office in January 1981. Much of the growth is earmarked for law enforcement and prisons.

Mr. Barr has concentrated primarily on the Attorney General's managerial role as the head of a burgeoning agency. In a tenure shaped by the political dynamics of an election year, he ran into conflict by asserting the department's primacy in law-enforcement matters against the counterweight of an increasingly hostile Congress.

Michael Geissinger for The New York Times

"I think there's potential for many setbacks for what was accomplished during the Reagan and Bush Administrations," said Attorney General William P. Barr.

In recent months, lawmakers have accused Mr. Barr of shielding the Bush Administration from criminal inquiry, but he said it is the lawmakers themselves who were engaging in political interference, trying to turn policy debates into criminal investigations.

"There's an increased willingness on the Hill to intervene in criminal proceedings, to haul prosecutors up if they don't take the action that the Congressmen want them to take, rifle through all their files and really sort of become a kibitzer in the criminal process," Mr. Barr said. "And that's where I think the danger to the department lies. That is the danger of politics becoming insinuated into the process."

At War With Congress

Representative Jack Brooks of Texas, the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, which oversees the department, said Mr. Barr had "jeopardized the American people's trust in the even-handed nonpolitical administration of justice."

The flash-point issue has been Mr. Barr's unwillingness to seek the appointment of independent counsels under the Ethics in Government Act, a post-Watergate statute that gives Congress the power to force an Attorney General to consider whether such prosecutors are needed but allows the Attorney General to reject the lawmakers' request if it there is insufficient evidence of criminal wrongdoing.

"Frankly, I don't think prosecutors should be independent," he said. "That's the basic difficulty of the statute." Mr. Barr has rejected Democratic requests for a special prosecutor in two major cases. Democratic lawmakers, in response, have have been especially critical of his unwillingness to seek such a counsel to examine possible Government wrongdoing in a bank-fraud case involving Iraq.

"I'm going to enforce the law as it is, including the independent counsel statute, and I'm going to apply those criteria faithfully," said Mr. Barr, who would not comment on the case involving the Atlanta branch of the Banca Nazionale del Lavoro. "But I'm not going to be buffaloed into appointing independent counsels by political clamor and by the views of editorial writers."

Politics Versus Law

Mr. Barr's critics cite his resistance to seeking outside prosecutors to investigate Administration officials as evidence of how he has permitted politics to shape prosecutorial decisions.

Mr. Barr said he saw the harsh debate over politics and law that has engulfed him in recent months as an outgrowth of the Presidential election.

"I think the campaign season is a silly season," he said. "I recognized from the beginning that we had to move quickly because the second half of the year would be dominated by the election and a lot of people would be trying to derail us from our agenda and put us on the defensive."

Mr. Barr managed to avoid a serious clash with Congress in his first months in office. With a flexibility uncharacteristic of his predecessors, he found room to maneuver on almost any issue, until last spring when he appointed a retired Federal appeals court judge to examine the check-writing practices of hundreds of lawmakers who overdrew their accounts at the House bank.

Democrats on the House Judiciary Committee accused Mr. Barr of seeking to keep open a political wound. Last summer they struck back, formally asking Mr. Barr to appoint independent counsels to investigate two cases in which former or current department employees were potentially at risk: One complaint involved Inslaw, a bankrupt computer company whose owners had accused Justice Department officials of stealing its software.

Uproar Over Bank Case

More hotly debated was Mr. Barr's decision in the bank case. At a sentencing hearing in Atlanta for a bank official charged with making fraudulent loans, Government lawyers acknowledged that the Central Intelligence Agency had failed to alert prosecutors it had information contradicting the Government's central theory: that the bank's headquarters in Rome was the unwitting victim of the fraud.

Coming as the election campaign shifted into full gear, the renewed questions about the case created an uproar. Democratic lawmakers in the House and Senate sought an independent counsel, and this time, Mr. Barr backtracked, appointing Frederick B. Lacey, a retired Federal judge, to investigate whether to seek the appointment of an independent counsel.

Mr. Barr has said he will seek Judge Lacey's recommendation in early December. His decision whether to seek such a counsel is likely to be one of his last official acts as Attorney General. "I've called every decision as I've seen it and tried to do the right things for the right reasons," he said. "There's not one thing I would have done differently knowing what I know today."

Gloom pervades the forge of the Reagan-Bush social agenda.

The Washington Times

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News blackout charged

Dole says media ignore Walsh flap

By Carleton R. Bryant
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole complained yesterday of a "news blackout" on Republican charges that special prosecutor Lawrence Walsh's Oct. 30 indictment of Caspar Weinberger was politically motivated.

Dole

"I can't believe we almost have a news blackout on... our allegations about Mr. Walsh," Mr. Dole said on CNN's "Newsmaker Sunday." "You never read anything in the New York Times or The Washington Post—never see anything on the network news."

"You know, we're the minority party now," the Kansas Republican added. "If we ever needed help from the media, it's now."

Mr. Dole noted that on Friday he led other GOP senators in urging Joseph Biden, Senate Judiciary Committee chairman, to hold hearings to determine if the Iran-Contra prosecutor colluded with the Clinton campaign in issuing its second indictment against Mr. Weinberger.

Republicans have argued that the timing of the indictment—four days before the national election—stalled President Bush's campaign.

But Mr. Dole said yesterday that their arguments probably will go unheard in the Democratic-controlled Congress.

"There's a double standard here, and I'm just asking anybody to help us. You think Joe Biden's going to investigate Democrats? Certainly not," said Mr. Dole, who has called on the Justice Department to investigate the issue.

On Friday, he and Sen. Strom Thurmond, the Judiciary Committee's ranking Republican, sent Attorney General William P. Barr a list of criminal statutes to consider in deciding whether to investigate Mr. Walsh's activities.

Of particular interest to the Republicans is an Oct. 29 Clinton-Gore news release about the Oct. 30 indictment, complete with detailed references to Mr. Bush's alleged involvement in the arms-for-hostages deal with Iran.

The Washington Times first reported the discrepancy, which prompted Clinton aides to say that their news release was misdated.

Republican leaders also have called for an investigation of James Brosnahan, the Iran-Contra prosecutor who handed up the Weinberger indictment and donated $500 to the Clinton campaign.

"He's a very active liberal Democrat," Mr. Dole said yesterday. "He's been engaged in a number of activities to try to derail Republicans."

GOP senators have previously requested a Justice Department inquiry into the activities of Mr. Walsh and his staff in the six-year, $35 million investigation.

The letter to Mr. Barr on Friday asked for a review of the following laws to determine if Mr. Walsh violated them:

- 18 U.S. Code 595, which concerns government employees using their offices to "interfere with or affect the election of any candidate for president." The letter said that if political considerations went into the decision to release an indictment four days before an election, this law was violated.
- 18 U.S. Code 241, which covers conspiracies to deprive a person of their constitutional rights.
- Rule 6(e), which prohibits leaking grand jury testimony or decisions before they are incorporated into an indictment. "Press reports indicate that the Clinton/Gore presidential campaign released a press release dated October 29 which commented in detail on the indictment which was handed up one day later," the letter said.

A Justice Department official said a response will be made to the request for an investigation of Mr. Walsh by early December, as required by law.

Mr. Dole also reiterated his call for Mr. Bush to pardon Mr. Weinberger and all those implicated in the Iran-Contra scandal.

"I'm not suggesting what he should do unless there's politics involved. Now, if there's politics involved, then I think it changes everything. But how do we find out if nobody will investigate?" he said.

The Washington Times

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Jackson makes up with Clinton

Says he'll back the 'covenant'

By Ronald A. Taylor
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. — The Rev. Jesse Jackson appealed yesterday for sustained public support of President-elect Bill Clinton, a sure sign that squabbling within the Democratic Party's house of many mansions is over, at least for now.

"The same people who voted Nov. 3 must be part of an active movement to make certain that promises made are supported as well as kept," Mr. Jackson said.

His goal is to blunt the expected strong resistance he said Mr. Clinton's legislative initiatives on social issues are likely to encounter from "entrenched monied forces, the institutional forces."

"Those who support those propositions must now be in a position of making those promises real. We want to join hands to keep the covenant," he said after a 30-minute meeting with Mr. Clinton at the Governor's Mansion.

The meeting followed Mr. Jackson's sermon-like remarks at a church service here in which the charismatic black minister frequently invoked the "new covenant" label Mr. Clinton used as a campaign theme.

Mr. Jackson also frequently used the Clintonesque phrase "we don't have a person to waste" in an address that suggested some social ills are inflicted by blacks on themselves.

He focused on gun-toting school children and drug abuse, saying that "we have lost our children and ... our self-confidence."

At a news conference later, Mr. Jackson signaled that the friction that marked his relationship with Mr. Clinton during the campaign was over.

He hailed the Clinton victory as a sign that the nation is "moving from bitter to better without bloodshed, a testament to the greatness of America."

In a biblically styled reference, he said, "Today after 12 years of flood ... we gather in the ark after the flood seeking a new covenant — not one person to waste."

Mr. Jackson, invited here by an interracial group of local ministers, fully endorsed the Clinton program in remarks that echoed the president-elect's campaign rhetoric.

"In the course of a rough and tough campaign, you have to count up the costs, look at our choices and move on," he said when asked to reconcile the apparently chilly relationship between the two men during the campaign with the warm public countenance they shared side-by-side in the front pew of St. Theresa's Catholic Church.

The Jackson appearance here was arranged about 10 days ago by a group of Little Rock clergy who wanted him to speak at several churches here, said Frank Watkins, Mr. Jackson's spokesman. When Mr. Clinton learned of the planned visit, he asked Mr. Jackson for a meeting.

After emerging from the governor's mansion, Mr. Jackson described the talks as "very fruitful," but said there was no discussion of an administration job for him.

He also praised Mr. Clinton for endorsing statehood for the District of Columbia.

Relations between the two politicians bottomed out in June when Mr. Clinton appeared at the convention of Mr. Jackson's National Rainbow Coalition.

While Mr. Clinton, who had clinched enough delegates to win the nomination by then, praised the group's announced goal of racial harmony, he chastised Mr. Jackson for allowing the rap music performer Sister Souljah to appear at the gathering.

The action allowed Mr. Clinton to distance himself from Mr. Jackson at a time when the Arkansas governor was actively pursuing white Democrats who had voted for Republican presidential candidates.

Subsequently, Mr. Jackson campaigned independently of the Clinton organization. Using Democratic National Committee money, Mr. Jackson visited 40 states during the general election campaign, seeking votes for Mr. Clinton while pushing for voter registration.

He did not take credit for an enhanced black vote for Mr. Clinton, however, noting that President Bush did not reach out to minorities during the campaign or during his administration.

He noted, for instance, that reapportionment in the South enhanced the power of the black vote and made it possible for blacks to be elected to Congress from North Carolina and Florida.

Mr. Clinton's election marked "a victory for inclusion over exclusion," Mr. Jackson said.

"He said that his Cabinet would look like America," Mr. Jackson said. "So far, his transition team certainly looks that way."

After the 8:30 a.m. service at one of the few racially mixed churches in Little Rock, Mr. Clinton said: "He was terrific. It was a great service. He gave a great sermon."

Mr. Jackson indicated that he would like to be a part of the economic summit to be convened by Mr. Clinton and his transition team. He said he has not been invited to the gathering at which the heart of the Clinton strategy for reviving the nation's economy and trimming the deficit is to be hammered out.

Mr. Jackson, asked how he would react to a deficit-reduction approach that would cut from social programs, said at the news conference that he endorses "shared sacrifice" by both the wealthy and the needy.

At the same time, he said, there is ample room to slash federal spending in a post-Cold War world.

"The idea of cutting the military budget without cutting defense must be on the table," he said. "There's a better use for $300 billion a year than to defend Europe from a Russian bear that's under a tombstone."

Still, he issued no demands on the incoming president.

"It's premature to attack before we know where we're going," he said.

The Washington Post
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Jackson Preaches the Challenge of Clinton's 'Covenant'

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Nov. 22—Outside it was cold and blustery, but inside the church, Jesse L. Jackson put a warm smile on the face of President-elect Clinton, a man with whom he has often sparred politically.

With the civil rights leader in the pulpit and the president-elect in the front pew, the parishioners at St. Theresa's Catholic Church heard vintage Jackson—a sermon of hope and generosity that challenged the country as much as Clinton to live up to the promises of the campaign.

"God has raised up a leader from among the common people who set forth a covenant to spare them from the effects of the flood," Jackson told a sanctuary that was standing room only.

Praising Clinton for "a victory of inclusion over exclusion," Jackson added, "Hurt abounds, but hope abounds even more because of a new covenant between leaders and people and God."

"He was terrific," Clinton said as the two emerged from the church and greeted the worshipers after Mass. "He gave a great sermon."

Later, after a 30-minute meeting at the governor's mansion, Jackson told reporters that he and Clinton "walk in lockstep" on the country's priorities. "We are fundamentally on the same road, that is, we must heal the country and rebuild it," he said.

Jackson said the priorities outlined by Clinton will face "stiff resistance from the monied forces, the institutional forces" in the country. "Those who supported those propositions must now be in a position to make it real, to join hands with him [Clinton] to keep the covenant."

Despite the goodwill exhibited today, Jackson and Clinton may find themselves at odds in coming months over the pace of Clinton's program, particularly the amount of money the new president is willing to spend on cities, on education and other social programs.

At a news conference this afternoon, Jackson indicated he hopes to be invited to Clinton's upcoming economic summit with business and economic leaders, a sign that he does not want to be ignored during the formulation of a package that will be Clinton's top priority next year.

Throughout the campaign, Clinton spoke of a "new covenant" between government and the people that would combine opportunity with personal responsibility. Jackson played repeatedly on that theme today, saying those who supported the Democratic leader are "joint heirs to the victory, joint signatories" to the covenant.

And while he suggested that the success of Clinton's administration will owe as much to the people's willingness to change their own behavior, he reminded Clinton that his description of a new covenant implies "a commitment more powerful than the law, for in the law there are loopholes. But the covenant is solemn. It is beyond legal. It is spiritual."

Since the election, Jackson has suggested that those who supported Clinton must be ready to go into the streets to keep pressure on the new administration to hold firm against those who will try to scale back on the commitment to new spending on cities, education and other social programs.

But today he described the mood of the country in positive terms. "We are gathered in the ark after the flood seeking a new covenant," he said. Jackson said the country had turned to the South for "the balm, the healing, the medicine to make the country whole."

He recalled southern governors "wrapped in the Confederate flag . . . blocking school doors." But "today a governor, who with his wife, his partner, has been opening school doors, who sees diversity as strength, is bound for the White House, elected, exalted by its nation to serve at its highest level," he said.

The country, he said, is focused intently on the first 100 days of Clinton's administration because it has endured "12 years of bad days." But he asked the country to contribute by looking at itself as much as Clinton for changes.

"We cannot just sit back and watch what's going to happen in the first 100 days and not deal with what's going to happen in your house and my house for the same 100," Jackson said.

With Clinton's economic advisers beginning to debate the size of a stimulus package for the economy, Jackson said he and Clinton had not discussed details of the new administration's spending priorities. But he said he favored significant public spending to reduce unemployment, which he said was the best way to reduce the federal deficit over the longer term.

As Jackson was meeting with Clinton, Robert Reich, the leader of Clinton's economic transition team, said there have been no decisions on whether to submit a package to Congress that would call for an increase in the deficit for the first year of the new administration.

Reich, a Harvard professor, said on CBS News's "Face the Nation" that the issue was whether to "front-load" Clinton's overall jobs and deficit-reduction plan to bring about more stimulus at the beginning of his administration "and pay for them a little bit later."

"You may just need the stimulus right now," Reich added. "But the two major long-term structural issues are, number one, investing in the future, public and private, and, number two, getting that long-term deficit down. That's what the governor is going to be focusing on."

The Washington Post

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Clinton Advisers Refocus Views on Fixing Economy

Team Stresses Experience Before Theories

By Steven Pearlstein
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEWS ANALYSIS

The election of Bill Clinton represented not only a repudiation of the Bush administration's economic policies, but also something of a snub to economists.

Candidate Clinton's inner circle of young economic advisers included two lawyers, a business consultant, a professor of urban planning, two investment bankers, a speech-writing policy analyst, two journalists and the vice president of a Washington think tank—but no certified economists.

For a decade or more this group had been writing and thinking about the U.S. economy's long-term decline, only to be dismissed by large segments of the economics profession as historians, sociologists or, even worse, pamphleteers.

By focusing on American management's failings and the need for government industrial policy, they ran afoul of the widely held belief among economists that tinkering with government policies and corporate management practices will not improve the overall economy.

These baby boomers now are preparing to chart a new economic future for the nation. Their ascendancy represents a generational shift that will expand the economic debate to ground-level microeconomic concerns, such as training, technological innovation and improved management techniques, from all-encompassing macroeconomic issues, such as money supply and currency values.

"For years, much of the profession had contempt for them," said economist Richard Nelson, a professor of international and public affairs at Columbia University in New York. "Now I suspect you're going to get a bit of a backlash."

Clinton aides acknowledge the turnabout but said the transition process has begun to reach out to licensed practitioners of the science.

"Some of our best friends are economists," said Derek Shearer, an urban studies professor at Occidental College in Los Angeles and a charter member of Clinton's economic brain trust.

Others point out that the Clinton team is knee-deep in discussions of macroeconomic issues, such as tax cuts or public works programs that add funds to the economy and increase demand for goods and services.

"It's not like we have some theological belief that macroeconomics don't matter. Of course they do," said Robert Shapiro, a top Clinton adviser with a doctorate in political economy and a résumé that includes jobs as a journalist and head of a Washington think tank. "They just don't tell the whole story."

The problem, Sharpiro said, is that the once tried-and-true macroeconomic techniques of fixing the economy—lowering interest rates, increasing federal spending, manipulating the dollar's value—have become ineffective at a time when investment capital flows freely across borders and global competition is intense.

"George Bush has been pulling furiously at all those macroeconomic levers," Shapiro said. "The problem is that they no longer work."

It is how they think of the economy—not what they think—that distinguish Shapiro and other microeconomists from macroeconomists who have dominated the economic debate for a generation.

The new focus is on regaining long-term competitive advantage over Germany, Japan and other economic superpowers. They reason from experience to theories, not the other way around.

And they are more comfortable explaining the economy's workings by using words and anecdotes instead of the complex mathematical equations and computer models that have become the reigning vocabulary of the economics profession.

In terms of policy prescriptions, the members of the Clinton economic team are less consistently liberal or conservative than they are pragmatic. They propose that government intervene more in the operations of the economy, but they also propose to bring more business discipline to the operation of government, which has a $300 billion budget deficit.

Clinton said he learned his economics lessons as a governor trying to implement a development strategy for his poor, rural state.

When Clinton thinks about economic policy, his aides said, it is usually in the context of helping specific industries deal with the cold winds of international competition or providing growing companies with the capital, employees and technologies that they require.

"People involved in economic development find the economics profession useless, and I suspect the feeling is mutual," said David Osborne, a journalist who has studied economic initiatives in Arkansas and elsewhere and served as an informal adviser to the Clinton campaign.

Last month, for example, Clinton met with his advisers past midnight before stating his position on the proposed free-trade agreement with Mexico and Canada. According to several participants, the lone economist present proposed to frame the issue in terms of the salutary effects of free trade on the nation's gross domestic product and closer coordination among the industrial nations.

But Clinton was worried as much about the parts of the proposed agreement as the whole. He ordered his staff to calculate the impact of the treaty on every industry and draw up policies to help any that would be disadvantaged by the pact.

Heading up Clinton's economic transition team is Robert B. Reich, a lawyer who, despite his prolific writing on economic competition, has never received a permanent faculty appointment at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government. The reason: he holds no doctorate.

A decade ago, Reich and another top Clinton adviser, Ira Magaziner, wrote a book about the decline of U.S. industry that began with a sweeping critique of the traditional economic analysis that often led companies and governments to make wrong decisions.

> *"George Bush has been pulling furiously at all those macroeconomic levers. The problem is that they no longer work."*
>
> — Clinton adviser Robert Shapiro

At the time, most economists had concluded that the United States suffered primarily from a lack of investment capital necessary to modernize plants, launch new products and companies and finance research and development. Magaziner and Reich argued that the problem was not so much with the overall level of investment, but rather the unproductive ways in which so much of the capital was invested.

More recently, in analyzing the performance of the American automobile industry, Reich has pointed out that General Motors Corp. has invested tens of billions of dollars in plant modernization without stemming its slide in market share.

The Washington Post
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The problem with the theoretical models used by most macroeconomists, according to Reich and Magaziner, is that they are based on a number of faulty assumptions: all business executives were equally rational, competent and greedy—"profit-maximizers;" companies and government agencies had no real bearing on the success—"output" of a nation's economy; and innovation and technological advances were irrelevant—"exogenous events"—because the impact could not be quantified.

The assumptions, however, ran counter to what Reich and Magaziner found in their own experiences—Reich as director of policy planning at the Federal Trade Commission; Magaziner as a consultant for some of the largest U.S. companies and the governments of several foreign nations.

By the late 1970s both men had come to the conclusion that much of what ailed the U.S. economy stemmed from bad corporate management or misguided government policies and that technology was a key factor in economic competition between countries.

That put them in direct conflict with the central tenet of economic thinking in the Reagan era, namely that a free and unfettered marketplace corrects for its own excesses and is the best guarantor of economic growth and efficiency.

Since then a group of younger economists has begun to challenge this free-market orthodoxy, but unlike Reich and Magaziner, these economists were able to use some of the theoretical and analytic techniques valued by the profession.

Traditional economists, for example, argue that when one nation succeeds in selling more of a product than a rival, it's mostly because the successful nation enjoys immutable factors, such as climate or the availability of natural resources.

But Paul Krugman, 39, a economist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, showed that competitive advantages were sometimes created—by accident or design.

New growth-minded economists such as Paul Romer, 37, of the University of California at Berkeley, found that not all investments were created equal. Research and development, for example, had unintended but beneficial spillovers while others, such as building shopping malls, did not.

A new Keynesian school of theory also was developing, epitomized by Harvard economist N. Gregory Mankiw, 34, who found recessions were not simply the healthy "cleansing action" that free-market advocates had assumed, but also were because of small competitive imperfections in large numbers of key industries.

"For people in their fifties, the cutting edge of economics was to show how markets were perfect," said Krugman, a Clinton campaign adviser. "For people in their thirties, the cutting-edge work is now in showing how markets are imperfect."

The political implication of these findings was unmistakable: If markets are imperfect, then there might be a constructive role for government in the management of the economy. It was precisely the same conclusion that Clinton and his array of unlicensed advisers had come to by alternative routes.

But despite this fundamental agreement, the licensed and unlicensed practitioners continue to view each other warily.

"The economic lessons drawn from the story of a particular company or industry sound to an economist like those miracle cures you see advertised on cable TV," said Mankiw, a Bush supporter. "For an economist, the plural of anecdote is data."

Robert Solow, the Nobel-prize-winning economist who helped organize economists in support of Clinton, has said that "the translation of the Clinton program into numbers has yet to be done."

George Perry, a Brookings Institution economist and Clinton backer, said he worries that too much of the Clinton economic analysis sounds like convincing "cocktail party lines."

"Bob Reich is an imaginative thinker, but you need serious economic analysis to make sure that when you are designing specific policies, you get what you're after," Perry said.

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In From the Cold After 12 Years, Democrats Open Winter Meeting

By Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writer

ST. THOMAS, V.I., Nov. 21—Democrats gathering for a post-election meeting here found themselves in an unaccustomed activity: celebrating.

"When we were here in 1984 it was hard to get folks to come to the meeting because everybody was a little hesitant about seeing the pain and the frowns on the faces as we mourned our losses," recalled Democratic National Committee vice chair Lottie Shackelford, who is director of intergovernmental relations for the Clinton transition.

At the meeting four years ago in Arizona, said Texas party chair Robert Slagle, "most Democratic Party chairmen were very frustrated. They thought '88 was a winnable year and they thought Mike Dukakis just blew it away."

But as the Association of State Democratic Chairs opened its two-day winter meeting here Friday, the first slide in the presentation by DNC political planning director Mark Bohannon said it all. "We Won!" it exclaimed.

Instead of acrimonious finger-pointing, the Democrats found themselves worrying about such unfamiliar matters as how many seats would be available at the Inaugural and who should be on the mailing list to receive commemorative invitations.

"This isn't something that any of us here have a lot of experience at," Joan Baggett, who is handling political affairs for the inauguration, told the gathering.

In one indication of the new world that has opened to Democrats—the jockeying for jobs that will reach fever pitch before the transition is over—Oklahoma party chair Mike Turpen jokingly asked DNC Chairman Ronald H. Brown this morning: "Can I be an assistant attorney general for you?"

At a news conference, Brown indulged himself in a bit of long-awaited gloating at the state of the opposition and took a shot at President Bush for remaining silent on Mississippi Gov. Kirk Fordice's description of the United States as a "Christian nation."

Asked what advice he would offer the GOP as it undergoes the sort of internecine warfare that has been a Democratic Party trademark for much of the last decade, Brown said he was happy to "stand back and watch them do what they're doing—that is, coming apart at the seams" and "facing a real dogfight" over the Republican National Committee chairmanship and the 1996 presidential nominee.

As a Democrat, he said, "It sure feels good. We know what the other side is going through."

Usually, lobbying to succeed Brown as chairman of the Democratic National Committee would be a staple of this gathering. But with a Democrat about to enter the White House, intensive work would be wasted, noted DNC vice chair Lynn Cutler—one of those who wants the job—because "there is a constituency of one" who will pick the next chair: President-elect Clinton.

Brown told the group that, based on conversations with Clinton, "my judgment is the politics is not going to be done out of the White House but out of the party," and that the next party chairman will be someone "who is clearly identified with Bill Clinton politically, so it sends a message."

Chief among the leading suspects is Clinton campaign manager David Wilhelm, who is assistant director for political affairs of the transition. Other names mentioned here include Clinton campaign research director Betsey Wright, director of outreach for the transition; Cutler; Georgia chairman Ed Sims; California chairman Phil Angelides; and DNC member Don Fowler of South Carolina.

With the choice up to Clinton, what politicking went on here was largely confined to the January contest for president of the Association of State Democratic Chairs, in which incumbent James J. Brady of Louisiana is being challenged by Colorado state chair Howard Gelt. Brady also is considered a possible DNC chairman.

One repeated message to the party leaders from Brown—and from Wilhelm, Wright and other Clinton transition officials who made a pilgrimage here—was that Clinton would not repeat the mistakes of the Carter administration and exclude party regulars after taking office.

"He understands that if you're going to move a legislative agenda, it sure helps to have an institutional base, not only in Washington but all over the country," Brown said. "He spent a lot of time talking to me about how he worked with the county parties in Arkansas and how they became his political underpinning. So he gets it. He understands."

The transition officials announced the formation of transition advisory committees in all 50 states, including the chair and vice chair of the state parties, reporting to regional coordinators in Little Rock. Wilhelm said the committees will help in recruiting personnel and would continue into the administration to mobilize support for Clinton's legislative program.

"Chair after chair stood up in the closed meeting and said, 'This is great. . . . Don't leave us out now that you've won the election. We've been left out before,' " he said.

Despite the celebratory tone of the meeting, Democrats being Democrats, they found something to worry about. "We won and with winning comes a whole different set of responsibilities," said California party chairman Angelides. "This is a party which for the first time in two decades has to come to grips with the fact that it is now the governing party of America."

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The Outlook

Smoke-Filled Rooms Could Choke Clinton

WASHINGTON

President-elect Bill Clinton may call himself a free trader, but many of those surrounding him are less comfortable with that phrase, which has tumbled from its apple-pie perch since the last time Democrats held the White House. "I reject any label like that," bristled one Clinton adviser when told last week that this newspaper intended to describe him as a free trader. "I'm pragmatic. Realistic."

Then there's Laura D'Andrea Tyson, a professor of economics at the University of California at Berkeley who was named last week to the Clinton transition team and will likely be offered a post in a Clinton administration. Ms. Tyson's new book, "Who's Bashing Whom; Trade Conflict in High-Technology Industries," starts with the notion that "free trade is not necessarily and automatically the best policy."

The book argues that subsidies to key export industries, selective trade retaliation against foreign countries and government negotiations to achieve an increased share of foreign markets — so-called managed trade—can all improve economic well-being, if used smartly. Ms. Tyson says she is neither a "free trader" nor a "managed trader," but a "cautious activist."

Ms. Tyson is one of the bright lights of academia, and her book is well-reasoned. The world has changed since David Ricardo laid out the theory of comparative advantage two centuries ago, arguing that free trade allows nations to specialize in what they naturally do best. There is now abundant evidence that nations can create their own comparative advantage, and that it often pays for them to do so. Favoring certain industries can carry important spillover effects for the nation as a whole, helping to disseminate technology, for instance, or raise the skill level of the work force.

While such notions make sense in the clear air of academia, they quickly become obscured in the smoke-filled rooms of Washington. Ms. Tyson carefully distinguishes between good trade activism and bad trade activism; but she doesn't provide much guidance on how to get government to do the same. Decisions in this city aren't based on her principles; they are based on power. Unless the Clinton administration finds a way to insulate trade decisions from power politics, trade activism will likely go awry. Instead of nurturing the most worthy industries, it will protect the most powerful.

That problem permeates the Clinton economic plan, which calls for increased government intervention in the economy on numerous fronts. Mr. Clinton wants to launch a vast infrastructure program, spending $20 billion a year, not just on roads and bridges, but on fiber-optic communications and environmental technology. And he calls for billions of dollars of new government investment in civilian technology.

All this has been thoroughly vetted by the best minds in academia. Just last week, investment banker Roger Altman and World Bank economist Lawrence Summers—advisers to the president-elect — held a series of meetings with top-flight economic thinkers, including Nobel-prize-winners Robert Solow, Paul Samuelson and James Tobin and Brookings Institution economists Alice Rivlin and Charles Schultze, to discuss the new administration's economic program.

But far less attention has been paid by the Clinton team to making these ideas hold up in practice. How do you ensure the massive new infrastructure program is allocated the way that Mr. Clinton and his 10 Nobel prize-winning economists want, rather than becoming a feeding trough for members of the appropriations committees? And how do you ensure research dollars go to the most deserving projects, rather than the ones backed by the best organized, most powerful industries?

"We don't have any systematic and sensible way right now of deciding whether we need a water treatment plant in Texas or a bridge in Utah," concedes Alicia Munnell, research director of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston and one of those who argue that infrastructure spending can spur private economic growth. Steven Kelman, a professor of public policy at the Kennedy School at Harvard, agrees. "It would be very foolish to blindly assume that the system will automatically produce decisions based on the merits," he says.

Has the Clinton team addressed the challenge of changing government so it makes these economic decisions based on merit rather than raw political power? Clinton insiders say yes, and argue their plan will organize economic decision making in a more rational way so that it is less subject to political pressures.

But there is plenty of reason to be concerned. The economic transition team appointed last week is prodigious in academic talent, but surprisingly light in knowing the workings of Washington. Moreover, few of Mr. Clinton's remarks suggest he has given this problem the attention it deserves.

It is clear the Clinton administration will be more active in managing the economy; that, after all, is what many Americans voted for. It's also clear that the president-elect's economic ideas, in theory, make sense. But the real challenge for Mr. Clinton is to make Washington work the way his advisers want. If he fails, an administration that began with a call for clean government and high ethical standards will end with a proliferation of sordid stories about powerful legislators and lobbyists who turned Mr. Clinton's new economics into old-fashioned pork and protectionism.

—ALAN MURRAY

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Clinton's Economic Advisers Studying Possible Easing of Banking Regulations

By JEFFREY H. BIRNBAUM
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Advisers to President-elect Bill Clinton are considering easing banking regulations to encourage more lending as a way to stimulate the sluggish U.S. economy.

The advisers also haven't ruled out increasing the federal budget deficit in the short run as a means of spurring economic growth, but Mr. Clinton himself hasn't made any decisions.

Appearing on CBS-TV's "Face the Nation," Robert Reich, who is heading Mr. Clinton's economic team during the transition, said yesterday that aides are examining ways to "stimulate more bank lending" to bolster the economy. That option was attractive, he said, because it wouldn't widen the budget deficit. But he wasn't more specific about what regulations might be altered. Other advisers confirm that the transition team is looking closely at the possibility of easing bank rules.

Mr. Reich's comments yesterday make it clear that the Clinton transition staff is working to shape an economic program even before the key members of the new administration's economic team have been named. Mr. Clinton and his top advisers are continuing to focus on the key appointment of Treasury secretary, with former Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker high on the list. Senate Finance Chairman Lloyd Bentsen (D., Texas) is still under consideration, despite his disavowals last week.

Mitchell's View Cited

But a number of people, including Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, are said to have warned the Clinton campaign that Mr. Volcker is too independent-minded to be a team player. As for Sen. Bentsen, some Clinton advisers contend that he is more valuable as Senate Finance Committee chairman, and Texas Democrats worry that a Republican could win his seat at the next election. Others still being considered for the Treasury post include Robert Rubin, co-chairman of Goldman Sachs & Co.

Yesterday, Mr. Reich said the Clinton advisers may consider increasing the deficit, at least for a brief time, to stimulate the economy. Previously, Mr. Clinton's advisers have said they were leaning toward an economic stimulus package that made no net increase in the budget deficit. That was in line with a growing desire among many in the Clinton camp to emphasize long-term deficit reduction as a way to keep international financial markets stable. But a package that includes an increase in the deficit during its first full year is also a possibility, aides said.

Two Definite Steps

Two of Mr. Clinton's campaign promises would surely be included in the final economic program, Mr. Reich said. One was an increase in taxes for high-income individuals. The other was a cutback in military spending. He didn't go beyond those particulars except to say "corporations don't worry" about extra tax increases on them, although he didn't rule out such tax increases, either. Mr. Reich also asserted that Mr. Clinton hadn't abandoned his pledge to give middle-income families some tax relief.

As part of its process of gathering options, the economic team has been talking to experts in the field. Lawrence Summers and Roger Altman, who are senior Clinton economic advisers, met Friday in Boston with various economists, and they are scheduled to meet with others today in New York.

In Washington, advisers are preparing to launch an "audit" of the operations of practically the entire federal government. A Clinton group headed by Al From, who heads the president-elect's domestic policy transition team, plans to examine ways to restructure at least part of the federal government to make it less wasteful and less bureaucratic.

Mr. Clinton is expected to announce this week that he is forming 10 clusters of individuals who will study how the major federal agencies operate and then make suggestions about possible changes. Mr. Clinton has long said he intends to make government "better, not bigger" – a task that overworked aides see as daunting at best.

On top of this difficult audit function, the clusters also will help Mr. Clinton to staff the huge federal government. Subcabinet appointments number between 2,000 and 3,000, according to Clinton aides.

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Clinton Economic Stimulus Plan May Be Delayed As Few Transportation Projects Are Ready to Go

By BRUCE INGERSOLL
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Bill Clinton's plan to jump-start the economy by funneling large amounts of money into state transportation projects is about to run into the "bare-shelf syndrome."

"My shelf is bare," says Ronald Zook, chief engineer for Ohio's Department of Transportation. He doesn't have any major projects on which he's ready to move full speed ahead. "It's pretty hard for me to hire 100 engineers on the chance the new administration may do something," he says.

Because many state transportation agencies have few ready-to-go projects on the shelf and because of the long lead times required for any major construction program, Mr. Clinton's $20 billion-a-year plan to put the unemployed to work quickly on major "public investment" projects may get off to a slow start.

To spend money quickly, the new president and Congress will have to forgo ambitious projects that Mr. Clinton described in his campaign, such as breaking big-city traffic bottlenecks and building new airports, and go with the mundane, labor-intensive three Rs—repairing, rehabilitating and rebuilding.

Local Block Grants Likely

The emerging consensus is that $10 billion is the most that can be spent effectively before the end of fiscal 1993 next Sept. 30. And to spend that, probably half of the money will have to go directly to local governments, perhaps in the form of no-strings block grants, because of the limits on how much money state agencies can absorb.

And if an army of general contractors is to get started next summer and finish off by winter, Congress will have to enact the economic-stimulus package by the end of February, an almost impossible target.

"You are going to have to start spending no later than July," says Richard Harris, executive vice president of the American Road and Transportation Builders Association. "Otherwise, economists will tell you that you're just wasting your time. The economy may be on the upswing then."

Speedy congressional action, however, could be thwarted by pork-barrel politics as lawmakers squabble over projects of special interest to their respective constituents. What's more, federal dollars, once funneled to state and local officials, could be tied up by nasty disputes over how to put the money to best use.

Two politically potent coalitions — one led by lobbyists for the trucking and construction industries and the other by the U.S. Conference of Mayors and the National Association of Counties — have caught the ear of Mr. Clinton's economic advisers and powerful chairmen of the public works committees.

Lobby Seeks Full Funding

The trucker-contractor lobby is calling for full fiscal 1993 funding of the surface transportation law. Because of budget constraints last fall, Congress appropriated $4.6 billion less than it had previously authorized for highways, transit and airports under the six-year $151 billion law. The lobby is seeking a supplemental appropriation of about $5 billion for the current fiscal year.

Mr. Clinton's communications director, George Stephanopoulos, last week suggested that the transition team is considering such a move, figuring that whatever increase in the deficit that resulted would be offset by lowering the projected deficit in later years. "There's already money authorized in the highway program," he told reporters, "and if you could just accelerate some of that, it wouldn't . . . increase . . . the deficit over time."

"You can be sure that whatever money they add won't be wasted," says Francis Francois, executive director of the American Association of State Highway and Transportation Officials.

Meanwhile, the city-county lobby is pushing for a sharp increase in federal assistance. The U.S. Conference of Mayors has compiled a wish list of 7,252 public works projects, ranging from bicycle paths to storm drains, that are purportedly ready to go in 500 cash-strapped towns and cities. The group estimates it would cost $12.9 billion to start them this year. The immediate benefit: an estimated 418,000 jobs.

Much of the block-grant money would go to poor urban neighborhoods or to small rural communities, says Ralph Tabor, legislative director of National Association of Counties, which is seeking $3 billion in additional block grants for such uses as repairing public buildings and expanding community centers.

No Strings Wanted

Almost every supplicant for more infrastructure money insists that it come without any bureaucratic strings attached, especially a requirement that states match federal dollars with their own. For highways, it's currently 80% federal and 20% state. "If you put a matching requirement on it, you can forget it," says Mr. Harris. "It won't work."

There is widespread skepticism about whether state transportation agencies are really in a position to handle a sudden federal-aid windfall. Waves of early retirements and other staff cutbacks in recent years have left many agencies short of engineering expertise and experience.

"Many of the states are under very limited human-resource constraints and don't have a significant reserve of plans on shelf," says Eugene McCormick, deputy federal highway administrator. Adds Michael Boskin, President Bush's chief economic adviser: "We're funneling [money] out as fast as the states can absorb it, so I don't see how more infrastructure spending is going to help."

State officials in the Northeast, Kentucky and Missouri say they can move ahead quickly on some highway repaving projects, commuter-rail improvements and bridge replacements, but only if they are given the flexibility to spend the extra money on a wide mix of projects. "The secret to getting money out is staying away from complex, big-ticket projects" that can become ensnared in environmental disputes, says New Jersey DOT director Thomas Downs.

Critics say they already can smell the political bacon sizzling on Capitol Hill. "What we're looking at isn't progress; it's pork," says Anthony Kimbrell, policy director for the Center for Sustainable Transportation, a pro-transit group. "Unless we spend a lot more time [on planning], all this money will simply go into rebuilding the mistakes of the past."

Clifford Winston, a Brookings Institution economist, questions the wisdom of pouring more money into the transportation system before trying to correct its inherent inefficiencies. "You would be better off to redistribute the money to poor people," he says. "They would plow the money into more efficient sectors that would create more jobs than infrastructure ever would."

Some Republican lawmakers are likely to object to any sort of economic stimulus because history shows that public spending to perk up the economy often boomerangs. In 1976-77, Congress spent $6 billion on public works, but most of the jobs increase came two years later, just as the economy was surging, according to a Congressional Budget Office study. Result: the spending was a major factor in worsening inflation.

To avoid a repeat of this, David Aschauer, a Bates College economic professor, recommends enacting a contingency plan. "If the economy isn't doing any better by June or July," he says, "we could begin spending the money."

—David Wessel contributed to this article.

The Washington Times

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Hillary airport? Not in Little Rock

Residents oppose renaming plan

By Joyce Price
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Overwhelming public opposition killed a proposal by members of the Little Rock Airport Commission to rename the regional airport for Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Little Rock Regional Airport, Adams Field — current name of the 66-year-old, 2,000-acre facility — honors Capt. George Geyer Adams, World War I veteran, pilot and city official who died in a 1937 accident.

"I don't think the airport's name is going to be changed. The majority of people in Little Rock don't want it changed," said Seth Ward, a commission member opposed to the change.

John Flake, an Airport Commission member who urged the name change, acknowledged it had no future. "I'm extremely sad," he said in a telephone interview. "It is behind us, and that's all I care to comment."

Charles M. Taylor of Little Rock, who served with Mr. Adams in the Arkansas National Guard's 154th Observation Squadron, added, "All hell would break loose down here" if the name is changed.

Lisa Caputo, a Clinton spokeswoman, said Mrs. Clinton had no comment on the airport controversy.

Capt. Adams' daughter, Jayne Adams Withers, hopes the issue is dead. "Will the airport now be renamed whenever a person of political prominence comes along?" she asked in a letter sent yesterday to the Arkansas Democrat-Gazette.

"It has been Adams Field for 55 years. How tragic for the state of Arkansas that names of people, who were remembered for having served faithfully, can be wiped out by a politically motivated vote."

Mrs. Withers was unaware the Little Rock Airport Commission was considering a name change until Thursday, when she was called by a friend who heard national radio talk-show host Rush Limbaugh discussing it on the air.

Mr. Flake suggested renaming "Adams Field" for Mrs. Clinton toward the end of a commission meeting Oct. 26. The two other commissioners present — Chairman Les Hollingsworth and Donna McLarty — agreed.

The name change was proposed in recognition of Mrs. Clinton's more than 12 years of service as legal counsel for the commission.

Although no formal action was taken, Mr. Flake said there was an understanding the proposal would be brought up later. That prospect ended this week when news of the plan appeared in the Arkansas Democrat-Gazette.

After the first report on Wednesday, commission members and the airport were besieged by callers opposed to the change, Mr. Ward said.

An aide to James R. Rodgers, the airport manager, said she received between 150 and 175 calls. "All the calls have been negative," she said. "Everyone basically has said they don't want it."

Pat Lynch, host on radio KARN in Little Rock, said the proposal was a "fairly lively issue" on his talk show. "I've received mostly negative calls," he added. "It is obviously not a very good idea, and I'm a flagrant Clinton admirer."

Mr. Lynch said he expected the calls to be "entirely negative" but added a "couple" of callers felt it would be a nice way to honor Mrs. Clinton for efforts to improve educational standards and other work on behalf of children.

"But one fellow pointed out that if they are going to rename the airport, they ought to open up the competition to other outstanding Arkansans, such as Fulbright and Footsie Britt," Mr. Lynch said.

Democrat William Fulbright served in the Senate from 1945 to 1975. Mr. Lynch said Mr. Britt was the second-most-decorated veteran of World War II: "He lost a hand in combat, was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor and served as the state's lieutenant governor."

A state history commission employee, who asked not to be identified, said: "I'm always a little hesitant to name things for people who are still alive. We've had things named for people here who've later been indicted, though I'm sure that wouldn't be the case with Mrs. Clinton."

Even without the public uproar, Mr. Flake said it would have been difficult to change the name because commissioners were not unanimous. "When you give recognition, everyone should agree on it," he said.

Mr. Ward said a commission member, whom he declined to identify, told him "Mrs. Clinton doesn't want her name used" this way.

Mrs. Withers, who lives in Charlotte, N.C., said her father was 32 when he was killed at the airport, which was then 110 acres.

After serving in the tank corps in World War I, Capt. Adams learned to fly. He became Little Rock mayor pro-tem, City Council member and Airport Commission member.

Mrs. Withers said he died when a biplane propeller "flew off," spun around on a hanger floor and "then rose up and hit him in the chest."

The accident occurred the day before Mrs. Withers' sixth birthday. "I was the only child," she said. "I never really knew my father. But I realized what death was because this tragedy destroyed my mother."

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NEW ENERGY POLICY MAY SHIFT ROLES

Neglected Agency May Obtain Vital Part in Clinton Plan

By KEITH SCHNEIDER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 22 — President-elect Bill Clinton is prepared to give the Department of Energy a vital role in his efforts to marry the goals of creating jobs, making industry more efficient and reducing environmental damage, transition advisers say.

Those working on the plans say they reflect Mr. Clinton's desire to transform a bureaucracy largely ignored for most of the Reagan-Bush years into an aggressive player in integrating environmental goals into economic policy.

The blueprint being put together by industry executives as well as by staff members close to Mr. Clinton and Vice President-elect Al Gore conforms with the promises Mr. Clinton made during the campaign. He said he wanted to wean the nation from its reliance on coal and oil by converting to cleaner, less costly alternatives like natural gas, using tax incentives and research money to encourage development of renewable resources and expanding the American role in the global market for pollution control equipment and services.

Looking to Long-Term Goals

The longer-term goal is to revitalize industry and make the United States more competitive with Japanese and German manufacturers, whose energy efficiency gives them far lower production costs.

Staff members close to Mr. Clinton and Mr. Gore said that to signal the new direction they have identified several actions the President-elect could take immediately by executive order or policy change. Among the proposed actions are these:

¶Converting hundreds of thousands of Federal vehicles to compressed natural gas, which burns more cleanly than gasoline and is less expensive. President Bush issued such an order, but it covers only a fraction of the vehicles in the fleets operated by the Postal Service, the military and other Federal agencies.

¶Accelerating a long-delayed program requiring more efficient energy use in buildings and appliances. Besides encouraging the development of new technology, this would save money as well as fuel, especially for the Federal Government, the advisers say. They added that it would showcase new techniques and provide a market for them.

¶Shifting the Government's research priorities to conservation technologies and renewable resources like wind, sun and water. The department's research program now favors development of nuclear energy and coal.

¶Making available to private industry the new technologies the department is developing in its $5.5-billion-a-year program to clean up the environmental damage from nuclear weapons plants across the country.

The planning underscores the potential influence of Mr. Gore, one of whose main interests is the environment, as a guiding force behind the new approach. One important figure on the environment-economy transition team is Kathleen McGinty, a 29-year-old lawyer from Philadelphia who has been Mr. Gore's chief environmental specialist since she joined his Senate staff in 1989.

"There is no question that Governor Clinton is prepared to make the Department of Energy an integral component of our long-term economic strategy," said George Stephanopoulos, the director of communications for the transition. "He has not made any final decision on personnel or specific policies. These are options prepared by his staff, and he is reviewing them."

The advisers on the transition team said Senator Timothy E. Wirth of Colorado, the chairman of the Senate Energy subcommittee on conservation who did not seek re-election, and Thomas F. McLarty 3d, chairman and chief executive of Arkla Inc., a natural gas utility in Little Rock, Ark., and one of four board members of Mr. Clinton's transition, head the short list of candidates under consideration by Mr. Clinton for Energy Secretary. Mr. Wirth is also under consideration to be as Secretary of the Interior, the advisers said.

> Government money would be used to aid development.

Both agencies have been lumped together with several others in the transition planning in an effort to integrate the economic, environmental and natural resource issues they encompass. Others in the group are the Environmental Protection Agency, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, the Department of Agriculture, and the Department of Commerce, which includes the Economic Development Administration, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration and the Bureau of Export Administration.

Mr. McLarty went to kindergarten with the President-elect in Hope, Ark., and has been a close friend ever since. He is well regarded in the industry, and Mr. Clinton touted him as a possible energy secretary during campaign swings through Texas when he discussed energy policy with oil and gas industry executives. Mr. McLarty did not respond to messages left with the transition staff and his company.

Mr. Wirth is also well versed on the considerable environmental problems that plague the Energy Department's nuclear weapons industry, which includes the Rocky Flats plutonium plant near Denver. Mr. Wirth was in Europe last week on vacation and could not be reached. Friends in Congress and in Colorado said he was reluctant to talk about his plans but might be interested in becoming Energy Secretary given Mr. Clinton's desire to make the Energy Department central to his economic and environmental policy.

"From Day 1, you'll see an Energy Department moving very aggressively, and the reason is that a new direction makes sense for jobs, for the economy, for our balance of trade and for a cleaner environment," said Bill Burton, a lawyer in Austin, Tex., who coordinated the Clinton-Gore campaign's strategy on energy issues. "An energy policy based on cheap foreign oil is shameful, and it will change."

Mr. Clinton himself signaled the change in a news conference 10 days ago. "I have read, at least in my history books, that some Cabinet appointments are considered major and others are considered minor," he said. "I don't know how you would consider the Departments of Commerce and Energy in that regard, but from the kind of economic policy I have laid out, and the things that I think we have to do to change this country economically, those are very major appointments."

Among other candidates on the list for Energy Secretary, the advisers said, are Gov. David Walters of Oklahoma, a national co-chairman of the Clinton-Gore campaign; Garry Mauro, the Texas Land Commissioner and chairman of the Clinton-Gore campaign in Texas; Michael L. Beatty, executive vice president and general counsel of the Coastal Corporation in Houston who was an important fund-raiser for Mr. Clinton; and Daniel H. Yergin

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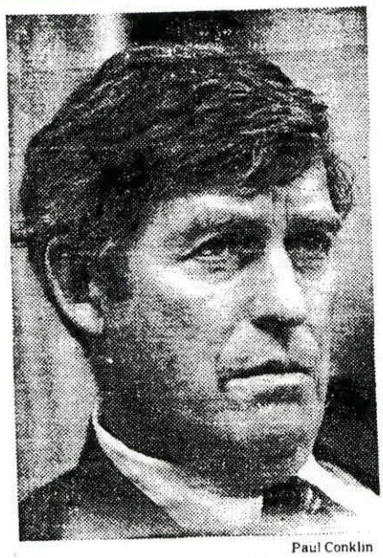

Paul Conklin

Senator Timothy E. Wirth of Colorado, who advisers on the transition team say heads the short list of candidates under consideration by President-elect Bill Clinton for Energy Secretary.

president of Cambridge Energy Research Associates in Massachusetts and a research associate at Harvard University who won a Pulitzer Prize this year for his history of the oil industry, titled "The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money and Power."

The Department of Energy was established in 1977 to help solve the problem of America's dependence on imported oil, but it has been a largely forgotten bureaucracy. President Reagan campaigned in 1980 on a promise to abolish the agency and then appointed Dr. James B. Edwards, a former Governor of South Carolina who is also a dentist.

In the late 1980's, for reasons that neither President Reagan nor Presi-

dent Bush anticipated, the department became the focus of attention for its mismanagement of the Government's network of nuclear production plants, laboratories and testing grounds. The end of cold war has produced new opportunities for reordering the department's mission while at the same time advancing Mr. Clinton's agenda for jobs, new technologies, and environmental protection.

Ms. McGinty is helping to select teams to interview officials in the Department of Energy, the Department of the Interior and the other domestic environmental agencies beginning early next month. That research is intended to help the incoming Cabinet members and their deputies understand which policy decisions made by the Bush and Reagan Administrations should be kept or rejected.

Requiring Federal vehicles to convert to natural gas is one of an array of measures that Mr. Clinton is preparing as an attempt to strengthen energy production and exploration in this country. The American industry lost 500,000 jobs during the 1980's, more than the auto and steel industries combined, the Department of Commerce has reported.

Plans to Conserve Fuel

Industry executives said roughly 20 trillion cubic feet of natural gas, all of it domestically produced, is used each year in the United States, and each increase of a trillion cubic feet in production could result in 50,000 to 70,000 additional jobs. It is not known how many jobs might be lost in the coal and oil refining industries, which would suffer declines in sales as use of natural gas increased.

The acceleration of the long-delayed program to raise the energy efficiency standards for buildings and appliances would both conserve fuel and save money, especially for the Federal Government, which spends $4 billion annually to heat and cool its buildings, said James Wolf, executive director of the [illegible] group in Washington.

"The highest priority for new technology is to develop a market," said Mr. Wolf, who helped to write a blueprint for energy policy that was requested by Mr. Clinton's energy advisers. "The new Administration has the opportunity to make Government buildings showcases for new energy technology."

Mr. Clinton's advisers also said the President-elect wanted an aggressive Energy Secretary who would use the office to change energy research priorities. Of the $3 billion that the Department plans to spend this fiscal year on civilian research and development programs, $1.3 billion is set aside for the development of coal and nuclear energy. Just $212 million is devoted to inventing new machines to take advantage of wind, sun, water, and other renewable energy sources, while $310 million is to be spent of energy conservation measures.

"A different philosophy will be exercised in the Clinton Administration," said Christopher Flavin, vice president for research at the Worldwatch Institute in Washington. "It will look more like the European industrial strategy where governments work with different industries and accelerate the commercialization of technologies."

The department's research budget, particularly the program for developing new methods of restoring land contaminated by toxic materials, is spurring the American industrial sector for new pollution control equipment and services. Michael Silverstein, an environmental economist from Philadelphia, said the American share of the $50 billion international market for such equipment and services is $6 billion a year and growing.

"The salient point, one that is just as important as the technology, is how much political capital Clinton and Gore are willing to invest to make America one of the dominant players in the international environmental cleanup

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Getting a Little Help From Friends

It's been a long 12 years since Democrats ran the White House, and the newcomers might be able to use a little help from battle-scarred veterans of yore.

That was the thinking behind a 2½-hour meeting Friday at Clinton transition headquarters here attended by 15 senior officials from the Kennedy, Johnson and Carter administrations who offered their advice to Clinton aides on how to run—or not to run—a White House operation.

The Clinton people have to choose from several management models and develop an approach suited to the style of the new president. A key question is whether Clinton would be better served by having a strong chief of staff who controls access to him or a looser approach that relies on a team of senior advisers.

In the spirit of true bipartisanship, Vernon E. Jordan Jr., Clinton's transition board chairman, said he planned to convene a similar meeting after Thanksgiving with veterans of Republican presidential transitions.

"These men and women offer unmatched experience and an historical perspective that will be invaluable to President-elect Clinton and the entire transition," Jordan said in a statement after Friday's meeting. "We are grateful to them for their willingness to share their ideas and allow us to benefit from the lessons they learned in office."

Among those discussing the way it was were Theodore C. Sorensen, special counsel and speechwriter for John F. Kennedy; Joseph A. Califano Jr., White House aide to Lyndon B. Johnson and Cabinet member under Jimmy Carter; Stuart E. Eizenstat, Carter's domestic policy adviser; and Richard Moe, a top aide to former presidential contender Walter F. Mondale.

"Everybody was so tickled pink to be in the room, representing past Democratic administrations and helping a new one, there was a delightful sense of exuberance," Eizenstat said. "We've waited a long time for this."

Dogged Dieting

Now that the secrets of the Clinton family cat, Socks, are beginning to appear in print, the latest tales of President Bush's favorite dog, Ranger, can be revealed here first—and the president-elect perhaps will have some sympathy for the problem.

It turns out that Ranger, son of the more famous Bush dog, Millie, is an obsessive snacker. So bad has it been over the past months, in fact, that Bush issued an executive order of sorts ordering all the assistants, deputy assistants, special assistants and other legions who populate the White House to refrain from feeding the dog. The memo some weeks back noted that Ranger's fondness for junk food and the compliant feeding of him by White House aides was making the dog fat. Please stop, Bush said in the memo.

It appears to have worked. A significantly lighter Ranger has been seen chasing squirrels on the White House lawn in recent days.

Grapevine Pickings

President-elect Clinton spent part of the weekend reviewing candidates to head or serve on his "cluster groups" of transition teams—the teams that will review operations of the various government departments and agencies.

Nothing is final until Clinton signs off, but the grapevine has it that some of those who could be named include: J. Brian Atwood, former State Department official and head of the National Democratic Institute, to review State; neoconservative Penn Kemble, who once raised funds for Nicaragua's anti-Sandinista rebels, for the United States Information Agency; former Carter administration transportation secretary Neil Goldschmidt, for Transportation; former Denver mayor Federico Peña for Health and Human Services and Housing and Urban Development; Peter Edelman, associate dean at Georgetown's law school, for Justice; former assistant secretary of labor Ernest Green, for an Education and Labor team; and Washington lawyer and former Office of Management and Budget official Harrison Wellford, to assess the White House operation.

Reference Shelf

Harvard once offered everything you need to know about Western literature in a six-foot shelf of books. The Defense Department plans to double that—just to hold transition memoranda to President-elect Clinton.

Deputy Secretary Donald J. Atwood has asked the secretaries of the military departments, assistant secretaries and undersecretaries of defense, and the directors of defense agencies—47 in all—to produce by Dec. 1 "a transition book for your organization."

"This book should address your component's organization and management structure, external relationships, budget, personnel, and policy issues," Atwood wrote. "It should also include a calendar of issues and actions likely to require attention in the first six months of 1993."

Said spokesman Bob Taylor: "Assuming everybody did a three-inch binder, and there are 47 of them, I guess that's 12 feet."

Well, eleven and three quarters anyway. Close enough for government work.

—Al Kamen

The Washington Post
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Mixed Signals on Health Care

Transition Team Leaders Tend Toward Different Approaches

By Dana Priest
Washington Post Staff Writer

The tea leaves at the bottom of Bill Clinton's health care cup became totally illegible to the well-trained Washington eye the day the president-elect appointed Judith Feder and Atul Gawande to head his health care transition team.

While both are respected and liked by policy friends and foes, what their anointment signals about the direction Clinton will push the giant $800 billion-a-year health care problem is anyone's guess.

Feder, on leave from her job as co-director of the Center for Health Policy Studies at Georgetown University School of Medicine, is the transition team's director of health policy. Gawande, 26, dropped out of Harvard Medical School to join the campaign as a health adviser. He had previously worked in Sen. Albert Gore Jr.'s legislative office.

In her life before the campaign, Feder advocated regulatory positions, such as price controls, that Clinton appeared to back away from in the weeks before the election. But Gawande's experience on Capitol Hill suggests he is a believer in the purist "managed competition" approach favored by conservative Democrats, in which interventionist policies such as price controls have no place.

> *"I want to stay back from anything that sounds like policy pronouncements. The campaign's position was that managed competition can work within the discipline of a global budget."*
>
> —Judith Feder, transition director of health policy

Feder, who was one of a dozen Clinton campaign health advisers, is currently trying to assemble what she described as a "core team" of health specialists who will develop a legislative health proposal. This group also will solicit views from industry, academic, business, labor and consumer groups in developing the plan.

Clinton has repeatedly promised to announce his initial health care proposal within the first 100 days of his administration.

"Everyone who has been working on health care has been trying to decipher what's going to happen by looking at statements in the campaign or statements Clinton makes," said Cathy Hurwit, health lobbyist for Citizen Action, a consumer group advocating a Canadian-style approach. "Her appointment may not be a decisive factor but people are looking at every move as a potential road sign as to where the Clinton administration might be going."

"What it means," Feder said in an interview Friday, "is that Judy Feder is committed to achieving universal coverage and cost control . . . everyone's looking for the nuance and I think that's a mistake."

What everyone is looking at is exactly how Clinton will come down on the most politically sensitive elements of his rather vague plan, namely:

- Whether to let competition control costs or have the government set a national spending ceiling that would translate into price setting.
- Whether to mandate policies that guarantee health care for all U.S. citizens or to create financial incentives for employers to cover their employees.
- Whether to have the federal government set a standard benefits package that all health plans would have to offer or to let a truly competitive market compete for customers by offering different levels of benefits.

Last January, Feder penned an editorial in the New York Times indicating that she believes the federal government must set prices and require employers give their workers health insurance if the United States ever hopes to reduce health care costs and cover the 35 million Americans who do not have insurance now.

"I want to stay back from anything that sounds like policy pronouncements," Feder said. "The campaign's position was that managed competition can work within the discipline of a global budget."

"One thing you can say about her is she's very forthright and straight," said Paul Ellwood, a physician and cofounder of "managed competition," the model Clinton adopted at the end of the campaign. "She's obviously an advocate of price controls."

Feder, 45, came to health care by way of political science, in which she earned her undergraduate degree (Brandeis University) and her two graduate degrees (MA and PhD at Harvard University). Her first work was on Medicare and other economic issues in senior citizen health care. She is the author or coauthor of four books and 35 articles or chapters in the field's most prestigious publications.

They have such seductive titles as "National Health Insurance: Conflicting Goals and Policy Choices," "Juggling Goals in Nursing Home Reimbursement Policy" and "Profits and Fiscal Pressure in the Prospective Payment System: Their Impact on Hospitals."

Her firm grasp of health care financing and policy overhaul options has won her praise from all corners.

"I don't always agree with her views but she's a nice, rational person and she has credibility," said Thomas Scully, an associate director at the Office of Management and Budget, who debated Feder often during the campaign.

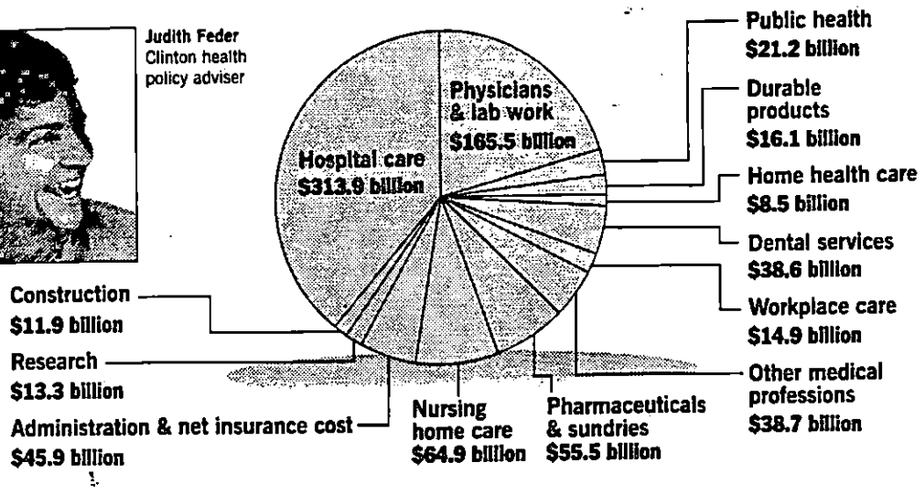
Feder has worked in Washington for 15 years. She was in President Jimmy Carter's Department of Health, Education and Welfare and conducted research at the

AN $800 BILLION HEALTH CARE BILL

WHERE IT WENT IN 1992

How does a nation of 250 million people spend $800 billion on health care each year? Here's how, according to the latest estimates from the Department of Health and Human Services:

Judith Feder
Clinton health policy adviser



Hospital care—$313.9 billion. Includes spending on everything that happens inside the walls of the nation's 6,000-plus hospitals each year, including all inpatient and outpatient care, treatment by physicians and prescriptions dispensed, as well as hospital-based home nursing care.

Physician and laboratory services—$165.5 billion. This money goes to the doctors in private and group practice, the salaries of others who work for health maintenance organizations (HMOs) and laboratory fees.

Dental services—$38.6 billion. Money spent each year on visits to private practice dentists, on dental laboratory work and on the salaries for dentists who work for HMOs.

Other medical professionals—$38.7 billion. Includes the salaries of health care personnel other than physicians and dentists, such as private-duty nurses, chiropractors, podiatrists, speech and occupational therapists, midwives and optometrists.

Home health care—$8.5 billion. Accounts for skilled nurses and other personnel and services for homebound patients. It includes information from Medicare cost reports filed by Medicare-certified home health agencies, which covers only a portion of all the people who receive medical care at home.

Pharmaceuticals and sundries—$55.5 billion. Retail sales amount spent each year on prescription drugs including items such as bandages and nonprescription drugs.

Durable products—$16.1 billion. Expenditures for eyeglasses, contact lenses, hearing aids, wheelchairs and artificial limbs.

Nursing home care—$64.9 billion. Inpatient nursing and personal care facilities.

Workplace care—$14.9 billion. Medical care provided by industrial employers at or near the workplace.

Administration of government health programs and the net cost of health insurance—$45.9 billion. Includes three components. The largest part is the difference between what insurance companies take in as premiums from subscribers and what they pay to hospitals, doctors and other care givers in benefits. That difference, which is included here, could be a company's profit, shareholders' dividends, the reserves an insurer must have, and commissions to insurance agents. The second-largest part is the expense of administering government health programs, the largest of which are Medicaid, Medicare and the health services of the Defense and Veterans Affairs departments. The third component is the administrative expenses of nongovernmental philanthropic organizations, such as the grant-writing, fund-raising and administrative costs of the American Red Cross or the American Cancer Society.

Public health—$21.2 billion. This money is spent by the federal government mainly to operate the Centers for Disease Control and the Food and Drug Administration. Also, funding for state and local government health departments.

Research—$13.3 billion. Medical and health care research done by nonprofit or government entities accounts for this figure. Drug research undertaken by drug manufacturers is not included.

Construction—$11.9 billion. This sum equals the cost of constructing hospitals and nursing homes plus additions, alterations and major renovations.

SOURCE: Department of Health and Human Services

BY TOBEY — THE WASHINGTON POST

Brookings Institution and the Urban Institute. She moved into national politics when Rep. Claude Pepper (D-Fla.) selected her as staff director of the Pepper Commission, Congress's most impressive bipartisan attempt at analyzing health care overhaul.

Sen. Dave Durenberger (R-Minn.) was so impressed with her grasp of health issues that when Pepper was interviewing candidates for staff director, Durenberger, who does not share Feder's personal views on overhaul, persuaded Pepper to name her over another candidate Pepper favored.

"It had nothing to do with philosophy," Durenberger recalled. "I thought she just had a hell of a lot more knowledge than any other candidate and I felt we'd have a running start with her."

Former commission members and staff said she was adept at briefing politicians and getting a majority of them to support a set of recommendations that endorsed a "play-or-pay" approach.

When Pepper died, Sen. John D. "Jay" Rockefeller IV (D-W.Va.) replaced him as the commission's chairman. Rockefeller urged Clinton and Vice President-elect Gore to appoint Feder to the transition, he said.

"She's very smart and knows how to reach out," Rockefeller said. "She has a secure sense of herself and doesn't feel in competition with people."

USA TODAY

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TRANSITION

AN UPDATE ON THE INCOMING ADMINISTRATION

Deficit rise possible, Clinton adviser says

Agence France-Presse
REICH: Economy's No. 1 with Clinton

Bill Clinton's top transition economic adviser said Sunday that he does not rule out a short-term rise in the federal deficit in order to give an immediate boost to the ailing economy.

"President-elect Clinton's No. 1 campaign promise and responsibility is to get this economy moving again," said Harvard economist Robert Reich.

"If it requires a little bit of deficit increase, well that's something that he (Clinton) may consider, Reich said on CBS's *Face The Nation*. "But no decisions have been made at all."

Reich said Clinton hasn't considered breaking his campaign promise of "responsible, disciplined deficit reduction over four years." But he said Clinton's economic policy team was seeking to offer him a broad "set of options and trade-offs" to boost the economy.

Reich was joined on the program by his counterparts in the transition team for domestic policy, health policy and national security. Highlights:

▶ Judith Feder, transition director for health policy, reiterated that the Clinton administration plans to have a health-care plan before Congress in its first 100 days.

▶ Reich said, despite some news reports to the contrary, that Clinton has not abandoned his pledge to provide tax relief for the middle class.

▶ Domestic issues adviser Al From said one option being studied to accomplish Clinton's national service plan would be for high school students to earn vouchers toward a college education through public service.

During the campaign, Clinton proposed offering universal access to a college education by allowing students to work off their loans by serving in their communities.

BUSY WEEK: Announcements are expected this week about transition advisory committees for all 50 states. The committees will help Clinton recruit people from around the country to work in his administration. Also, plans are in the works for an economic summit Dec. 14-15 in Hot Springs, Ark. About 100 business leaders are expected to attend. And this weekend, Clinton heads to California where he plans to have tea with former president Ronald Reagan. Today, Clinton offers his campaign help in Georgia's Senate runoff. **(Transition, 7A)**

SPECIAL PASSENGER: For a month, handlers of a screech owl tried to book a flight to take the bird from a Virginia wildlife center to the Arkansas Museum of Science and History, where it would be used for educational purposes. But a lack of direct flights from Washington to Little Rock caused problems.

That is, until the bird hitched a ride on Clinton's charter from Washington back to the governor's mansion. The owl, which replaces another bird that died, sat in a pet carrier right behind the president-elect's seat.

"The owl, like the governor, was extremely well-behaved during the flight," joked Clinton spokesman Steve Rabinowitz. "Neither screeched."

Steve Davidson of World Wide Travel Service Inc., who had helped with the owl's travel arrangements, said there was a price for passage: "To name the bird Clinton."

FLOWERS COVERAGE: James Carville, a top strategist in Clinton's campaign, says the person who elevated standards of this campaign's election coverage was Gennifer Flowers, who claimed she had been Clinton's mistress while he was governor of Arkansas.

Agence France-Presse
FLOWERS: Made media more careful

Carville, addressing the Associated Press Managing Editors convention in Honolulu on Saturday, suggested that Flowers' unsubstantiated claims led news editors to be more careful.

Carville compared editors to "a bunch of drunks who get together after a campaign and you talk and say, 'We are not going to do this again.' It's like detox.

"And then everybody gets out of detox and, wow, here comes Gennifer Flowers and it was just like a jigger of whiskey for everybody at the bar and everybody's killing each other to get it.

"And all of a sudden everyone's got a giant hangover and says, 'I don't like this.' And that accounted for better coverage," Carville told the editors.

POLL UPDATE: Over the weekend, Clinton denied he was behind schedule in his move into the White House, saying it takes time to find the right people for the right jobs.

And the latest poll confirms he's on the right track.

In *Newsweek* magazine's first opinion rating since Clinton won the Nov. 3 presidential election, nearly two-thirds of Americans approve of Clinton's handling of the transition. The poll of 764 adults taken Thursday and Friday had a margin of error of plus or minus 4 percentage points. It also showed:

▶ 60% expect to pay higher taxes.

▶ 53% said they believe improving the economy is more important than cutting the deficit; 35% favored reducing the deficit.

▶ Public support for Clinton's plan to drop the ban on homosexuals in the armed forces had declined sharply from 59% in August to just 48%. But more than half felt homosexuals should be allowed to hold jobs in Clinton's Cabinet.

AP
BUSH: Was active in civic affairs

BUSH FUNERAL: Dorothy Walker Bush, mother of President Bush and matriarch of the Bush family, will be buried today after private funeral services at Christ Church in Greenwich, Conn.

She died at age 91 after a stroke Thursday following a long illness.

Mrs. Bush grew up in St. Louis and attended the Farmington School Academy. The wife of the late U.S. Sen. Prescott Bush leaves three other sons, a daughter and more than three dozen grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

The Bushes will attend the funeral and burial with family and close friends. They'll return to the White House Tuesday and spend Thanksgiving in Kennebunkport, Maine.

WHERE THEY ARE TODAY

Bill Clinton - Macon and Albany, Ga., election-eve rallies for Democratic Sen. Wyche Fowler. **Al Gore** - Washington. **George Bush** - Mother's funeral in Greenwich, Conn. **Dan Quayle** - Washington.

Compiled by Carolyn Pesce. Contributing: Bill Nichols and Jessica Lee.

18-47

The Washington Times

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3 powerful senators face sex scandal allegations

ASSOCIATED PRESS

The casualties of Capital Hill sex scandals are many and the survivors few. Three senators are waiting to see where they fit: Bob Packwood of Oregon, Daniel Inouye of Hawaii and David Durenberger of Minnesota.

The combustible mix of politics, power and sex has kept congressional ethics panels busy investigating conduct that ranges from indiscreet to improper to outright illegal.

The latest furor arose this weekend when The Washington Post reported allegations that Republican Sen. Packwood had made unwelcome, uninvited, unreciprocated sexual advances against 10 women.

Mr. Packwood, while stopping short of admitting that he had made any unwanted sexual advances, apologized in a statement late Saturday night: "If any of my comments or actions have indeed been unwelcome or if I have conducted myself in any way that has caused any individual discomfort or embarrassment, for that I am sincerely sorry."

Few lawmakers have been hardy enough to weather such storms. Those who have include two who are openly homosexual and a married black minister accused of firing a church employee because their affair ended.

The minister, Rep. Floyd Flake, New York Democrat, denied the allegations and went on to win reelection twice by huge margins — perhaps partly because his ex-lover was killed in a car crash and the issue died with her.

When careers end, it is usually because "the allegations have been truly gross or part of a whole complex of improprieties," said Suzanne Garment, author of a book on political scandals.

A sex harassment allegation brought by a Peace Corps worker in Zaire was simply one more mark against Rep. Gus Savage, Illinois Democrat, an extremely controversial black lawmaker with anti-Semitic, anti-white views and one of the worst attendance records in the House. He won re-election in 1990, shortly after the allegation surfaced, but lost a primary fight this year.

Daniel Inouye

David Durenberger

Bob Packwood

Sen. Brock Adams, Washington Democrat, generally considered competent and likable, was buried under the weight of multiple allegations of sexual harassment and molestation. One came from the daughter of a family friend. A newspaper later published similar allegations from several other women. He did not run for a second term this year.

Republican Sen. Durenberger, up for re-election in 1994, could be the next to go. He separated from his wife in 1985 amid rumors he had had an affair with an aide. A few years later the Senate denounced him for improper financial dealings. And this month a Minnesota woman filed a paternity suit against him, contending he raped her in 1963. He has said any contact was "consensual" and agreed to take a paternity test.

"He has a pattern of perceived and actual unethical behavior," said James Thurber, a congressional expert at American University. "That adds up to problems. He seems to be vulnerable. A lot of money will go to his opponents."

When Congress convenes next year the Senate Ethics Committee will decide whether to investigate a claim by Mr. Inouye's barber that he molested her 17 years ago.

A damaging finding against Mr. Inouye or against Mr. Packwood, if the panel investigates him as well, could force either man to step down. But both also have plenty of time for the allegations to fade. They were just re-elected this month and, if they ran again, wouldn't face voters until 1998.

A former Hill aide with 1970s experience said old norms are catching up to senators from the old school. "There was a lot of fanny-patting and extramarital stuff going on in the old days," said the former aide, speaking on condition of anonymity. "There's been a rightful sea change in the way women are treated on Capitol Hill."

One recent casualty of that change was former Rep. Jim Bates, California Democrat. The San Diego Democrat lost his 1990 race after the House reproved him for making lewd remarks and gestures to female staffers and associates.

More commonly sex scandals have ruined the careers of conservative Republican champions of family values — at least four such casualties in the last decade. "The distance between their cultivated image and what was discovered was too great" to go unremarked by the press or the public, said Bob Entman, a Northwestern University communications professor.

By contrast, survivors Gerry Studds and Barney Frank of Massachusetts don't pretend to represent traditional values. Both Democrats are homosexual and still representing their districts — Mr. Studds after censure for having sex with an underage male page and Mr. Frank after a reprimand for his involvement with a male prostitute he had hired as an aide.

The New York Times

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Women Accuse Oregon Senator of Sexual Misconduct

By TIMOTHY EGAN
Special to The New York Times

PORTLAND, Ore., Nov. 22 — Ten women have come forward alleging that Senator Bob Packwood of Oregon made unwelcome sexual advances toward them, and some political leaders here said today that the case could pose the first major test of how the new Congress treats such accusations against one of its own.

The Washington Post reported today that at least 10 women gave specific accounts of alleged sexual misconduct over a 20-year period by the Senator, a Republican who was narrowly re-elected to a fifth term. The women, most of whom had worked for or with Mr. Packwood, told similar stories about Mr. Packwood: that he would get them alone and try to kiss or fondle them and unwelcome sexual suggestions.

Today in Portland, two of the women named in the Post article called on the Senate to investigate Mr. Packwood, and one said he should resign.

> Calls for the Senate to investigate Packwood.

In addition, Patty Murray, a Democrat who was one of four women elected to the Senate this month, said that she would propose legislation to eliminate the Congressional exemption to the Federal law prohibiting sexual harassment. She said the allegations against Mr. Packwood should force Congress to draw up a strict set of procedures on disciplining members in such cases.

An Apology Is Offered

Senator Packwood, in a statement released over the weekend, did not deny the main claims in the Post article. He apologized, but has refused further comment. According to the Post's account, Mr. Packwood denied the allegations when he was asked about them several days before the election. At the time, he questioned the motivation of some of the women who had accused him of making advances. But this weekend, Mr. Packwood said he would not dispute any of the specific allegations, the newspaper reported.

"If any of my comments or actions have indeed been unwelcome or if I have conducted myself in any way that has caused any individual discomfort or embarassment, for that I am sincerely sorry," Senator Packwood said in a statement released Saturday. "My intentions were never to pressure, to offend, nor to make anyone feel uncomfortable, and I truly regret if that has occurred with anyone either on or off my staff."

Elaine Franklin, who is Mr. Packwood's chief of staff, said Mr. Packwood would be on vacation this week in Washington and would have not have anything further to say.

Mr. Packwood's strategy, Ms. Franklin said, "is to take this thing one day at a time."

Many prominent women in Oregon, who have long considered Mr. Packwood one of the foremost supporters of women's rights, said today that they saw a surprising contradition between Mr. Packwood's personal behavior and public statements and voting record.

Mr. Packwood has consistently backed abortion rights, family leave, the equal rights amendment and other womens causes. He was one of only a handful of Republican senators to vote against the nomination of Justice Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court.

"There is a severe contradiction in his career," said Mary Heffernan, who is one of the women named in Post article and is now executive director of the Women's Foundation of Oregon. "If we accept his behavior we are living a lie."

Ms. Heffernan, who held a news conference this afternoon in Portland, went on: "I don't believe one's public stand can be separate from personal actions. This is a deep violation of what he says he stands for."

'Write a New Chapter'

Representative Les AuCoin, the Democrat who narrowly lost to Mr. Packwood in the Senate race, released a statement today praising the women for coming forward, and expressing hope that the allegations "would write a new chapter in the history of equality and hopefully of ethics in the United States Senate."

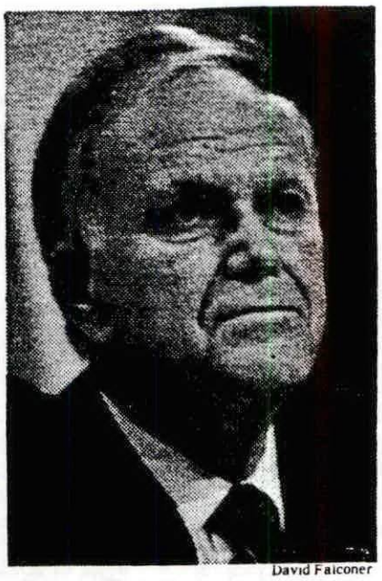
The Senate Select Committee on Ethics has not received a formal complaint about Mr. Packwood, the Senator's staff said today. Earlier this year, the committee declined to investigate allegations that Senator Brock Adams, a Washington Democrat who was also a major supporter of women's rights, had made improper sexual advances toward eight women. The allegations, published in The Seattle Times in March, were denied by Mr. Adams, but he decided not to run for re-election this year.

Ms. Murray, who won the seat held by Mr. Adams, said the Senate will probably take a different attitude toward sexual harassment when all the new members take their seats in January.

"Until Anita Hill's allegations against Clarence Thomas last year, this whole issue of sexual harassment was just not a topic in the Senate," Ms. Murray said. "Now, with these Packwood allegations, as well as what was said about Brock Adams, we need to put in a policy on sexual harassment that covers all members of Congress."

At her news conference today, Ms. Heffernan repeated her allegations that Senator Packwood grabbed her and "kissed me forcefully on the lips" while she was in the Senator's office in the early 1980's. At the time, she was working as an abortion rights lobbyist.

She called on the Senate to investigate the claims made by her and nine other women against Senator Packwood. "This tradition of not holding the Senate and Congress to the same standards as the rest of us on issues of sexual harassment and violence against women is unacceptable," she said.



David Falconer

Senator Bob Packwood

Julie Williamson, another woman whose allegations were detailed in the Post, said in a telephone interview today, "It's up to society and the people of Oregon to decide his fate, but clearly he is an inappropriate leader."

Ms. Williamson, a Portland resident, said, "As far as I'm concerned, the senator should step down."

Survives Close Election

A number of Oregon political leaders questioned why the Post waited until after the election to print its article. If the article had run before Nov. 3, they speculated, he would have lost.

"Where has the press been?" Ms. Williamson asked. "Why didn't this come out before the election."

Mr. Packwood won re-election with 52 percent of the vote over Representative AuCoin, who received 48 percent.

"He's had unusually high negative ratings for more than two years," said Tim Hibbitts, Oregon's leading political poll taker. "Had this thing been published two weeks before the election, it clearly would have knocked him out."

Leonard Downie Jr., executive editor of The Washington Post, said in an interview today that the newspaper did not publish the article right away because it needed more time to corroborate details.

"We aren't partisan and we don't want to cause one person or another to win an election," he said. "We always want to present news to our readers as soon as it is ready."

In its article today, The Post said its reporters first interviewed Senator Packwood about the allegations on Oct. 29, less than a week before the election. At the time, the newspaper said, the Senator denied making any improper advances and said, "It is simply not my nature, with men or with women, to be forward."

Two days later, The Post said Mr. Packwood began sending statements from members of his staff suggesting that some women may have invited the advances or were untruthful. This followed a request from Senator Packwood that he be allowed to give a final response before any article appeared.

The Post said some of the statements included "potentially embarassing" details about the women and "their sexual histories and personal lives."

Ms. Franklin said the statements were not meant to embarrass the women or cast doubts about their character, but rather, were meant "as a way for The Post to test the veracity, to see if what they had was responsible journal-

The Washington Times

DATE: 11-21
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Senators seek Walsh hearings

By Michael Hedges
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Republican senators yesterday pushed for Judiciary Committee hearings to determine whether the Oct. 30 indictment of Caspar Weinberger involved "political, unethical or illegal activities" by Iran-Contra prosecutor Lawrence Walsh.

And Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole and Sen. Strom Thurmond, ranking Republican on the Judiciary Committee, sent Attorney General William P. Barr a list of specific criminal statutes to consider in deciding whether to investigate Mr. Walsh's activities.

The GOP senators have called for a Justice Department investigation of whether the indictment of the former defense secretary — announced four days before the election — was intended to stem President Bush's comeback and if it was leaked a day early to the Clinton-Gore campaign.

"The timing of the indictment and the date of the Clinton/Gore press release raise serious questions as to whether improper political considerations are a factor" in Mr. Walsh's probe, Mr. Dole wrote in requesting Senate hearings.

A Clinton-Gore news release about the Oct. 30 indictment was dated Oct. 29, which Clinton aides said was a clerical error.

"The recent hiring of Mr. James Brosnahan, an individual widely known to have strong ties to the Democratic Party and politics to handle the Weinberger indictment would seem to further undermine the impartiality of the office and the legitimacy of its actions," wrote Mr. Dole, Kansas Republican.

Senate Republicans previously requested a Justice Department probe of the activities of Mr. Walsh and his staff in the six-year, $35 million investigation.

The letter to Mr. Barr asked for a review of the following laws to determine if Mr. Walsh violated them:

- 18 U.S. Code 595, which concerns government employees using their offices to "interfere with or affect the election of any candidate for president." The letter said that if political considerations went into the decision to release an indictment four days before an election, this law was violated.
- 18 U.S. Code 241, which covers conspiracies to deprive a person of constitutional rights.
- Rule 6(e), which prohibits leaking grand jury testimony or decisions before they are incorporated into an indictment. "Press reports indicate that the Clinton/Gore presidential campaign released a press release dated October 29 which commented in detail on the indictment which was handed up one day later," the letter said.

A Justice Department official said yesterday a response will be made to the request for a probe of Mr. Walsh by early December, as required by law.

The official said two factors will determine if a preliminary investigation will be ordered under Justice Department guidelines: whether there are specific allegations to investigate, and whether the source of the request is "credible."

The official said the GOP senators' letter apparently "was to buttress the point about specific allegations."

Mary Belcher, a spokeswoman for Mr. Walsh, said, "Allegations that the reindictment of Caspar Weinberger was politically linked are false."

She declined further comment, saying the office had pending investigations.

It was not clear yesterday how Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr., Delaware Democrat and Judiciary Committee chairman, would respond to the request for hearings. A committee official said yesterday afternoon, "Senator Biden is expected to respond by letter to Senator Dole either later today or Monday, but we will not release the contents of that letter."

Four days before the election, an indictment sought by Mr. Brosnahan to supersede an earlier charge against Mr. Weinberger was returned. The new indictment disclosed a note written by Mr. Weinberger that seems to put President Bush at a 1986 meeting where Iran-Contra arms-for-hostages plans were discussed.

President-elect Bill Clinton seized on the indictment to attack Mr. Bush. A news release issued within three hours of the filing of the indictment was headlined, "New Iran-Contra Evidence Released By Prosecutor Shows Bush Flatly Lied About His Role In Arms-For-Hostages."

But that news release carried the date Oct. 29, the day before the charges were announced.

Clinton communications director George Stephanopoulos called that a mistake and said the campaign's statement was generated after the first wire service reports of the Weinberger indictment.

Mr. Stephanopoulos invited reporters to look at Clinton-Gore computers to determine when the release was written. But a reporter from The Washington Times who accepted the offer found the timing could not be ascertained.

The new Weinberger indictment and the response by Clinton-Gore workers blunted an effort by Mr. Bush to close the gap with Mr. Clinton in the final days of the campaign, say GOP officials, including Vice President Dan Quayle.

Critics of the independent counsel questioned why Mr. Walsh recently added Mr. Brosnahan, a longtime liberal activist and Democrat, to an investigation at a critical point six years after the probe started.

Mr. Walsh has said the fact that Mr. Brosnahan contributed to the Clinton campaign and heads a law firm whose members donated more than $20,000 to the Clinton-Gore ticket has no bearing on his ability to prosecute Mr. Weinberger.

The special prosecutor law expires Dec. 15. Under the law first passed in the 1970s, Congress must reaffirm the act every five years.

Congressional Democrats have said they will seek to reinstate the law early next year. Some Republicans have said they will oppose it.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

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Senate Runoff Tuesday In Georgia Is Historic

By John Dillin
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

THREE weeks after his biggest triumph, President-elect Bill Clinton's political prestige once again is on the line in a historic runoff for the United States Senate in Georgia.

Sen. Wyche Fowler, the Democratic incumbent, fell just a few votes short of 50 percent in a three-way race for reelection in Georgia on Nov. 3. Now he is threatened with an upset by Republican challenger Paul Coverdell. The runoff tomorrow is considered a tossup.

Democrats are mustering all available money and manpower, including speeches today by the president-elect in two Georgia cities, to put Senator Fowler over the top, and avoid an embarrassing black eye.

Republicans sense a rare opportunity to regain the political initiative after President Bush's defeat. They are counterattacking with $1 million for advertising and a get-out-the-vote effort, plus help from Barbara Bush and other GOP bigwigs.

Contributions are pouring in for both candidates. "Money is just walking in off the streets," says Kim Greenwood, a member of Mr. Coverdell's staff.

In the closing days, even Hollywood is getting into the act. Actor Charlton Heston, a rock-ribbed Republican, has barnstormed for Coverdell, while actress Kim Basinger is bringing out the crowds for Fowler.

While incumbent senators usually breeze back into office, the portents for Fowler and the Democrats this time are ominous.

Political scientist Charles Bullock, of the University of Georgia, says a powerful anti-incumbent tide is sweeping across the Peach State, with Republicans the main beneficiaries.

In this month's general election, the Georgia GOP raised its count in the US House of Representatives from one congressman to four. In the state legislature, Republicans picked up 17 new House seats, giving them 52 in all, while in the state Senate, their ranks climbed from 11 to 15.

The US Senate race was breathtakingly close. Fowler got a little more than 49 percent to Coverdell's 48 percent. The Libertarian Party candidate, Jim Hudson, pulled in about 3 percent, and essentially forced the game into overtime.

In any other state, Fowler's 49 percent would have been enough. But in Georgia the candidate for the US Senate needs 50 percent to win.

In fact, Dr. Bullock, co-author of the recently published "Runoff Elections in the United States," says this is the first general-election runoff for the Senate in American history.

Tomorrow's outcome will heavily depend on voter turnout. Some 72 percent of Georgia's registered voters cast ballots on Nov. 3, but tomorrow, campaign officials expect that number to plunge to 25 percent or less.

The big question for Fowler: Will black voters show up in large numbers once again, as they did on Nov. 3? If not, he will almost certainly lose.

The big question for Coverdell: Will the Christian Right, which turned out in large numbers on Nov. 3 to oppose a lottery initiative, turn out again? If not, Coverdell's conservative support could wither.

Georgia's Democratic establishment, from Gov. Zell Miller to Sen. Sam Nunn, is working actively for Fowler, and could make the difference.

Yet, Coverdell's campaign team has hurt Fowler by emphasizing his record, particularly his tendency to hew the liberal party line in Congress. Fowler has taken heat, for example, for opposing the Persian Gulf war.

Republicans say Fowler, a white-collar Atlantan, too often has misled Georgians with his folksy, guitar-strumming, joke-telling, good-ol'-boy stump style.

To make the point, Mr. Heston, whose biggest screen role was portraying Moses, likes to step off campaign planes in Georgia carrying two mock stone tablets engraved with the "Top Ten Lies of Wyche Fowler."

Among those "lies," Coverdell, a former state senator and Peace Corps director, charges that Fowler vowed to support a balanced-budget amendment, but votes "repeatedly" against it.

If Republicans win in Georgia, they will hold Democrats to 57 seats in the US Senate – no gain, despite Clinton's capture of the White House.

Winning in Georgia would give Democrats the chance for a slightly expanded 58-to-42 edge, provided they also come out ahead, as expected, in a special Senate election in North Dakota on Dec. 4.

The Washington Times

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Early indications point to more tax, spending

By Donald Lambro
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

NEWS ANALYSIS

There are growing signs that President-elect Clinton's economic recovery plan prescribes more spending and higher taxes than he proposed during his presidential campaign.

While Mr. Clinton's transition team on economic policy, headed by Harvard political economist Robert Reich, remains far from completing the details in his economic stimulus plan, some clues are emerging from the mere shape of the package that will be submitted to Congress in January.

Mr. Reich's team is drafting a number of tax-and-spending options that include a tax on U.S. corporations and cuts in entitlement benefits for the middle class that he has promised to protect, the Wall Street Journal reports.

Mr. Clinton's campaign plan for the economy, "Putting People First," said nothing about a direct, across-the-board tax on corporations. And he promised during the presidential debates to protect the middle class, which he said had gotten "the shaft in the '80s."

Mr. Reich, interviewed yesterday on CBS' "Face the Nation," said the president-elect "has not, in any way, abandoned his pledge to cut middle-class taxes."

He appeared to hedge slightly, however, adding, "We're going to examine all options with regard to that, but as far as his decision of today, he has not at all abandoned that middle-class tax pledge."

Mr. Reich also acknowledged the possibility that Mr. Clinton may increase the deficit. "President-elect Clinton's number one campaign promise and responsibility is to get this economy moving again," he said. "If it requires a little bit of deficit increase, well, that's something that he may consider, but no decisions have been made at all.

"Remember the Clinton people-first program during the campaign talked of about $220 billion over four years of new public investment in infrastructure, education, training, and so forth, and also allowed incentives for private investment. But all of that was pay as you go.

"All of that was based on tax increases, that is for people at the very top, with adjusted gross incomes of $200,000 or more and military cuts and assorted other cuts, health care cost controls.

"Now the question you're asking is to what extent are you going to front-load that? To what extent may you push some of those public investments and private incentives a little bit forward and pay for them a little bit later, maybe six months later or eight months or 10 months later when the economy gets going again?"

The financial markets have been listening closely to Mr. Clinton's remarks about his stimulus package, especially his comments on what he plans to do about the deficit, which hit $300 billion in the last fiscal year and, without any change in policy, still will be over $250 billion by fiscal 1996.

Although Mr. Clinton has said he is committed to long term deficit-reduction, his immediate short-term goal remains his No. 1 priority, the $220 billion spending stimulus package. At his first post-election press conference in Little Rock, the president-elect said, "We're going to bring this deficit down ... gradually and within a framework which permits us to substantially increase investment," i.e. federal spending.

"There will have to be some give on the deficit to get the stimulus package he wants, no doubt about it," said a congressional Democrat on the House Ways and Means Committee who did not want to be identified.

Growth of the deficit would further endanger Mr. Clinton's promised middle-class tax cut, especially given another campaign promise to cut the deficit in half over the next four years.

This is how Mr. Reich saw the revenue picture yesterday: "Now [Mr. Clinton has] talked already about raising taxes on people whose adjusted gross income is $200,000. That would yield approximately $92 billion over four years. He's also talked about cutting the military. That yields an additional $60 billion — actually, $40 billion over four years, $60 billion over five years.

"There are a variety of decisions that he has already tentatively made that he has made during the campaign," Mr. Reich said. "Our job right now is to fill in the blanks, to give him some details to go from this plan ... to put it into implementation form, to give him some sense of what the priorities and the tradeoffs actually are."

Mr. Clinton has already called for other taxes on businesses and foreign subsidiaries operating in this country.

But a new tax on U.S. corporations, at a time when the economy remains weak, would spark opposition from the business community and from consumer groups as well, because businesses would merely pass any tax increase along in the prices they charge.

This is the economic and political balancing act that awaits Mr. Clinton when he unveils a draft of his plan next month for its first preview by congressional leaders.

Those who are advising him about its contents and who may be among his official economic advisers offer some further clues.

Notably, some of the key people he is considering for top policymaking jobs in his administration are among the Democratic Party's biggest boosters for higher taxes.

For example, Mr. Reich met for more than an hour last Thursday with House Budget Committee Chairman Leon Panetta to talk about economic and budget issues. Mr. Panetta, who is a major candidate for White House budget director, was a key architect and diehard supporter of the 1990 budget deal that raised taxes significantly and that many economists credit with pushing the economy into the recession.

Mr. Panetta, a Democrat, has said repeatedly that the deficit cannot be significantly reduced without new taxes and curbs on the growth in entitlements.

Similarly, Alice Rivlin, the former director of the Congressional Budget Office who is also being considered for a key economic post, has been a crusader for substantially raising gasoline taxes and enacting a value-added tax, similar to a national sales tax.

In a book she published earlier this year, Miss Rivlin said the government "cannot balance the budget ... without raising taxes."

Mr. Reich, whose writings have stressed federal spending on infrastructure programs, is thought to support raising sufficient new tax revenue to fund such spending.

USA TODAY

ETHICS

A LOOK AT SOME CASES OF POTENTIAL CONFLICTS

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Questionable ties of 14 congressmen

A review of key congressional committee members found 14 who stood to benefit from legislation they supported, but their actions are not conflicts of interest under congressional ethics rules:

Rep. Thomas McMillen, D-Md. — **Holdings:** Partnerships in two electronic paging businesses worth at least $782,000. **Potential conflict:** Member, House Energy and Commerce Committee telecommunications and finance subcommittee. Voted on and co-sponsored Emerging Telecommunications Technologies Act of 1991, which would benefit the paging industry. **Response:** Brad Fitch, McMillen's former legislative director, says because he's a member of Congress, "There's no conflict there; it isn't even close."

WALLOP

Sen. Malcolm Wallop, R-Wyo. — **Holdings:** Owns energy stocks, at least $100,000 in Exxon and $15,000 in Amoco. Received $5,466 last year in royalties from four oil and gas properties he leases to Texas-based oil companies Exxon, Permian and Moran Oil and Gas. **Potential conflict:** Ranking minority member, Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee; Wallop is the top Senate Republican who crafts energy legislation. **Response:** Wallop's secretary, Mary Blasinsky, says the holdings are in blind trusts and "he has absolutely no control over" them.

Rep. Dave Camp, R-Mich. — **Holdings:** Owns between $100,000 and $250,000 in Dow Chemical stock, one of world's largest pesticide producers. **Potential conflict:** Member, House Agriculture Committee; one of 139 co-sponsors of legislation sought by pesticide industry to thwart local regulation. **Response:** Camp had no response to repeated queries.

Rep. Thomas Bliley, R-Va. — **Holdings:** Bank stocks: at least $50,000 in Sovran Financial Corp. and at least $15,000 each in Crestar Financial Corp. and Jefferson Bankshares. **Potential conflict:** Member, House Energy and Commerce Committee telecommunications and finance subcommittee; routinely votes on banking legislation. **Response:** Elizabeth Frazee, Bliley's press secretary, says he "didn't feel the need to recuse himself because he doesn't own a substantial interest in any of the banks."

Rep. Toby Roth, R-Wis. — **Holdings:** A member of the board of directors of the Secura Companies, an insurance company in his home district. **Potential conflict:** Member, House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee financial institutions supervision, regulation and insurance subcommittee. His subcommittee is investigating insurance company solvency questions. **Response:** Spokesman Frank Maisano says, "The ethics committee doesn't have any problems with this. We've checked. Everything is kosher."

Rep. Robert Smith, R-Ore. — **Holdings:** His wife owns federal grazing permits for use in conjunction with their Burns, Ore., ranch. **Potential conflict:** Member, House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. Smith spoke out on the House floor against an increase in the fees and voted unsuccessfully to try to kill the fee increase. **Response:** Smith's press secretary, David Redmond, says "The House ethics committee set this up. . . . They told us that if his wife owned them, everything was fine."

Rep. Rick Boucher, D-Va. — **Holdings:** Owns $5,000 in First Virginia Bank stock and sold at least $15,000 of the stock last year; is a member of the board of First Virginia Bank. **Potential conflict:** Member, House Energy and Commerce Committee telecommunications and finance subcommittee; votes on banking legislation. **Response:** Boucher says, "In no instance is a minor interest of $5,000 going to influence my vote."

BOUCHER

Rep. Ralph Hall, D-Texas — **Holdings:** Owns at least $250,000 stock in Lakeside Bancshares and $15,000 to $50,000 each in two other bank interests, Crowley Holding Co. and Lakeside National Bank. **Potential conflict:** Member, House Energy and Commerce Committee telecommunications and finance subcommittee; votes on banking legislation. **Response:** Hall says he received House's ethics committee approval before voting on the bill. "The ethics people tell me it's OK to vote. They tell me I have no direct interest in banking legislation."

Sen. Sam Nunn, D-Ga. — **Holdings:** Earned $60,952 in capital gains for timber sales on one of his Georgia farms, his third-largest source of income reported last year. Nunn also received $1,040 for timber sales from another business partnership in which he owns a 13.65% interest that he valued between $250,000 and $500,000. **Potential conflict:** Nunn, Sen. Ernest Hollings, D-S.C., and Reps. Lindsey Thomas, D-Ga., Peter DeFazio, D-Ore., Jerry Huckaby, D-La., and John Spratt, D-S.C., were among 52 lawmakers who co-sponsored legislation that would have given capital gains tax breaks for timber sales on private land. **Response:** Nunn says his voting record "is consistent both with my state's economic interest and with the national interest in sound resource management."

Rep. Lindsey Thomas, D-Ga. — **Holdings:** Reported $19,000 in timber sales from his Georgia farm last year. **Potential conflict:** See entry under Nunn item. **Response:** Thomas says "my support for this legislation is broadly reflective of my district and state's interest."

Sen. Ernest Hollings, D-S.C. — **Holdings:** Owns two timber properties in South Carolina and reported $5,000 in sales from one of them last year. **Potential conflict:** See entry under Nunn item. **Response:** Hollings' press secretary, John Patterson, says, "Hollings co-sponsored this bill because he wants to help timber farmers who were hurt by Hurricane Hugo. He does what he feels is right to do; it doesn't have anything to do with personal gain."

Rep. Peter DeFazio, D-Ore. — **Holdings:** DeFazio and his wife own a one-third interest, worth at least $15,000, in a tree farm. **Potential conflict:** See entry under Nunn item. **Response:** DeFazio says he has no intention of harvesting trees; the property is for recreational use only.

Rep. Jerry Huckaby, D-La. — **Holdings:** Owns a tree farm valued at $100,000 to $250,000. **Potential conflict:** See entry under Nunn item. **Response:** Huckaby says the timber tax break is not a conflict under House ethics rules because the bill would affect all timber farmers, not just Huckaby.

Rep. John Spratt, D-S.C. — **Holdings:** Reported between $15,000 and $50,000 last year in timber sales on his 800-acre South Carolina farm. **Potential conflict:** See entry under Nunn item. **Response:** Spratt says, "This bill doesn't really benefit me. I'm trying to help timber farmers in my district."

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

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Brooke Ex-Aide Pleads Guilty In HUD Probe

By MARGOT HABIBY
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — An aide to former Massachusetts Sen. Edward Brooke pleaded guilty to aiding and abetting Mr. Brooke when he allegedly made false statements to investigators probing influence-peddling at the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

The misdemeanor plea agreement, filed Friday in U.S. District Court here, is tied to a wider investigation of influence-peddling scandals at HUD during the Reagan administration.

Former Brooke executive assistant Elaine Richardson said she remained silent when Mr. Brooke made false statements during a joint interview in September 1988 with the Federal Bureau of Investigation and agents of the HUD inspector general. Mr. Brooke, who hasn't been charged with any wrongdoing, wasn't available to comment.

In her plea arrangement, Ms. Richardson agreed to cooperate with investigators working for Independent Counsel Arlin Adams, who is overseeing the investigation. Ms. Richardson couldn't be reached to comment.

The FBI and the HUD inspector general were probing allegations of abuse in the awarding of federal funds through HUD's Moderate Rehabilitation Program, which provides rehabilitation subsidies for lower-income housing. The 1988 interview involved Mr. Brooke's work as a private consultant in Washington after leaving the Senate.

The plea agreement said the former Republican senator used his influence with senior HUD officials to obtain a 15-year, $14.5 million allocation to subsidize low-income housing in Lowell, Mass.

The plea agreement said Ms. Richardson contacted officials at the Executive Office of Community Development, the Massachusetts state housing authority, to file a written request for the federal funds. The agreement said the development office submitted a form to HUD at Ms. Richardson's request, although the state hadn't intended to apply for funds for Lowell and didn't plan to use the money.

HUD officials "held" the subsidies for Mr. Brooke, who would determine where the funds would be spent, the plea agreement said.

In 1986, Ms. Richardson and Mr. Brooke had HUD officials allocate $6.8 million of the Lowell subsidy to a Worcester, Mass., housing project owned by State Street Development Corp., one of Mr. Brooke's clients, according to the plea.

The plea said that in the September 1988 interview, Mr. Brooke said he and Ms. Richardson never "attempted to outright influence a HUD official" to allocate Moderate Rehabilitation Program funds "for ultimate award" to one of his clients. Mr. Brooke also said he didn't try to funnel the funds to the Worcester project.

In her plea arrangement, Ms. Richardson said those statements were "false, fictitious and fraudulent," because both she and Mr. Brooke "well knew" that Mr. Brooke "did attempt to outright influence HUD officials" to allocate funds that would be ultimately awarded to Mr. Brooke's clients. She also said Mr. Brooke "did lobby" for funds to be awarded to the Worcester project.

Ms. Richardson faces as long as one year in prison and a fine of as much as $100,000. No sentencing date has been set. Nine previous counts of felony perjury, obstructing justice and making false statements have been dismissed, the independent counsel's office said.

The Washington Times

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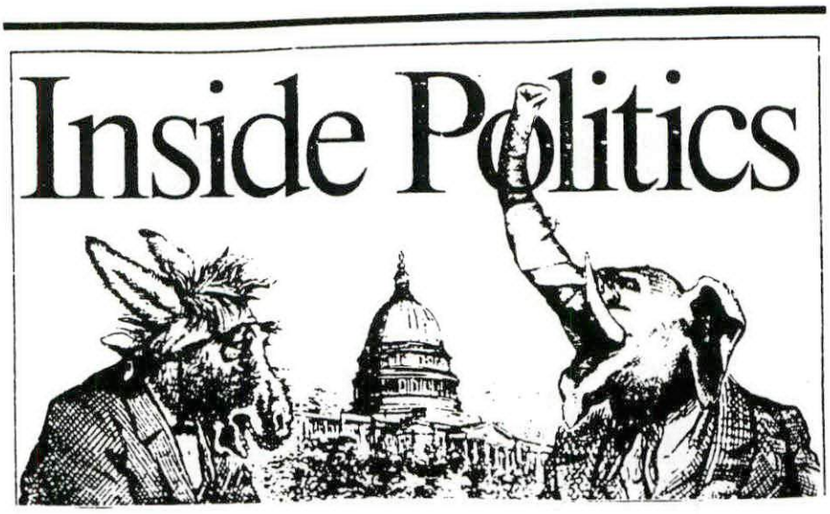
Inside Politics



Transition slow dance

Transition aides are saying President-elect Bill Clinton intends to limit the autonomy of his Cabinet and will retain some say in the naming of subcabinet personnel.

This would ensure that lower administrative levels are loyal to the Clinton program and suggests authority will probably be held at the White House rather than fully delegated to Cabinet members.

Meantime, the Wall Street Journal reported that Sen. Lloyd Bentsen, Texas Democrat, pulled himself out of contention for Treasury secretary in a meeting last week with transition director Warren Christopher.

To bolster his case for Defense secretary, fans of Rep. Les Aspin, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, are telling the transition team that Rep. Ron Dellums wouldn't be so bad.

Mr. Dellums is a critic of the Pentagon and as matters now stand, the California Democrat would be the head of the panel if Mr. Aspin departs for Defense. Next in line: Rep. Patricia Schroeder, Colorado Democrat.

The week's quotes

Barry Goldwater told ABC: "If he [President Bush] had continued to campaign after the war in the Persian Gulf, he would have won it. But he quit campaigning [and] he had a bunch of idiots in the White House advising him. . . . It got to be a sort of dirty campaign. When you call a man a bozo — what the hell is a bozo?

Rep. Dick Armey, Texas Republican, told CNN: "The first thing you've got to realize about Bill Clinton is he's very likely the best politician alive in America today. And like all politicians, he's on his own side first. He's going to protect his place in history to the best of his ability."

New York Gov. Mario Cuomo, on the possibility Mr. Clinton would name him to the Supreme Court, told the New York Times, "If the offer were made, I would answer the question so swiftly that every one of you in the media, and especially talk-show hosts, would write, 'This, surely, is the most decisive man in America.' " Asked if the answer would be yes or no: "I don't know what the answer would be."

Education Secretary Lamar Alexander observed in a speech, "Bill Clinton and Al Gore are smart and young and like to use power, and they're laying plans to be there for 16 years. We're going to have to be good [to] get back the presidency in four years."

After tasting the special at a Chinese takeout in Washington, Mr. Clinton told an aide, "Hmmm. Put it in the car."

A warning from Jackson

Jesse Jackson told the Boston Globe that the "alarm clock is ticking" for Mr. Clinton: "When people's expectations are raised, they fight to protect their hopes."

The District's "shadow senator" added: "Under more progressive administrations, you have more demands, more action, because people believe something can happen. And so you will see major action this spring, demonstrations, fighting to put America back to work, fighting for national health care, fighting for D.C. statehood."

Mr. Jackson called the Clinton campaign's approach toward him "annoying." He added: "Think of it as a burning house, and your children are in there. How you approach it would be quite different than if it were empty."

"If I had spent a lot of time attacking him in a way that diminished [minority voting] numbers, we could have lost some congressmen we were trying to get. . . .

"Now the fire is out. Now our children are out of the house. . . . When [Clinton] fights for the things we support, we support him. When he does not, we should challenge him."

Moonbeam over L.A.?

Former California Gov. Jerry Brown says he wants to influence the race for mayor of Los Angeles, and he hasn't ruled out running himself — "but it is not something I'm inclined to do."

He plans, in any case, to be a vocal observer. "What I'm really concerned about is that another group of political hacks will come to power and you will see Los Angeles continue to decline."

"So I hope someone with some charisma and some independence will run a real grass-roots campaign," he said of the April 20 election to replace Democrat Tom Bradley, who is retiring next year after 20 years as mayor.

Jersey's coming battle

New Jersey Republicans, fond of contemplating the vulnerability of Democratic Gov. Jim Florio, are manuevering for the gubernatorial nomination in next year's election.

Christine Todd Whitman, who nearly defeated Democratic Sen. Bill Bradley two years ago, is expected to officially announce for governor in January.

Her strategist is said to be Ed Rollins, and if he takes over her campaign, it may suggest a rapproachment of sorts between Mr. Rollins and some Republicans upset over his defection to Ross Perot in the presidential campaign.

Another potential moderate GOP candidate is former Attorney General Cary Edwards. Among conservatives, speculation centers on Assembly Speaker Chuck Haytaian and William Gormley, head of the state Senate Judiciary Committee.

Mr. Florio, so far unopposed in the Democratic primary, has let it be known he will not go gently. He has hired the hottest campaign strategist of the moment — Mr. Clinton's James Carville.

Schism in Texas

President Bush's adopted hometown provides one of the latest manifestations of the turmoil in the Republican Party in the wake of his defeat.

"Moderates" split with the religious right in Harris County (Houston) as Betsy Lake, who has Mr. Bush's old job as the head of the county party, formalized the break by forming a new group.

She calls her Republican Federation of Harris County "an association of mainstream, conservative Republicans, broad-minded enough to recognize that our party cannot survive as an exclusive, restrictive organization."

The move also triggered a struggle in the traditional party organization. Dr. Steven Hotze, a conservative activist, said he'll be a candidate for the top post. Former Chairman Sherry Johnson is being urged to challenge him.

GOP County Secretary Iris Manes told the Houston Chronicle: "At this time the party needs leadership that's conservative, certainly, but not known as 'religious right.' We need to welcome all people in the party."

Observers noted that Mr. Bush will soon be there to get this all straightened out.

Bushes find a house

The president and his wife, Barbara, will live in a Houston house of an old friend after relinquishing the White House, but only until a new home is built for them nearby.

Jack Fitch, who sold the Bushes a 5,280-square-foot lot near the city's Tanglewood area three years ago, said last week that he is leasing his old home to the first couple come January.

Mrs. Bush looked at houses in Houston but found nothing suitable, so the Bushes decided to build a retirement abode on the lot two doors from the Fitch home.

When Mr. Fitch sold them the 33-foot-wide lot, he gave them an option to buy an additional 4,320 square feet, which they will do, he said.

He described the house he will rent to the Bushes as "substantial," but just a "regular house." The two-bedroom, clapboard home has an appraised tax value of $367,200.

The Washington Times

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Gays in the military

Sen. Ted Stevens, Alaska Republican and ranking member of the appropriations defense subcommittee, guesses the issue of homosexuals in the military will not interfere with the president-elect's early agenda.

"The man is going to be savvy enough not to want that kind of fight with the Congress," the senator said after attending a bipartisan leadership luncheon with Mr. Clinton last week. "That's something I don't think is going to be on the front burner."

No one raised the issue in the luncheon, a signal that many in Congress are willing to wait for the new president's recommendations on abolishing the Pentagon ban on homosexuals.

Mr. Stevens endorsed the idea of creating a commission to study the matter, as suggested by Sen. Sam Nunn, chairman of the Armed Services Committee.

Mr. Stevens said he opposes any change in Pentagon policy, but conceded Mr. Clinton will ultimately prevail. "It's a generational change," he said.

Gotcha, turkey

The Central Florida Young Republican Club was pressured by the Secret Service into dropping its plans to use photos of Mr. Clinton as targets for a weekend turkey shoot.

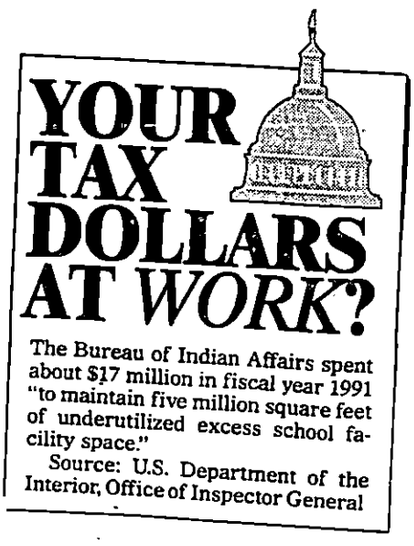
The Orlando Sentinel said two bucks would buy the chance to shoot a shotgun at the president-elect. A turkey would go to the closest shot. "This will be fun for the entire family," said club vice president David Abrami, adding: "We thought it would be a nice parody. We didn't mean any ill will by it."

Pundit Leno

NBC's Jay Leno on Mr. Clinton's use of former President Reagan as a transition model: "Clinton has a lot in common with Reagan, when you think about it: Neither of them can remember the 1960s, both of them ignored George Bush after they got elected, and neither one of them is the real power in the family."

After Mr. Clinton declined to use Air Force One for the trip from Arkansas to Washington last week, Mr. Leno observed: "I can understand that. He wouldn't go in a military plane 23 years ago, he's not going to go in one now."

With respect to Mr. Clinton's hair, Mr. Leno observed: "One day it's gray. The next day it's kind of brown. Next day it looks silver. I'm not sure I like the idea of a president with mood hair."



The Bureau of Indian Affairs spent about $17 million in fiscal year 1991 "to maintain five million square feet of underutilized excess school facility space."

Source: U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of Inspector General

Senate panel aide helps Fowler campaign

By Donald Lambro
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A Senate Agriculture Committee staffer has been helping to arrange a bus tour for Democratic members of Congress to campaign for Georgia Sen. Wyche Fowler Jr. in his runoff election, Senate sources said yesterday.

It is a violation of Senate rules for any employee to work in a political campaign while on the Senate payroll. And it is illegal to spend any federal money on a congressional campaign.

Mr. Fowler is a member of the Agriculture Committee and chairman of its Conservation and Forestry Subcommittee.

Well-placed Senate sources said that Woody Vaughan, a Democratic staffer on the Agriculture Committee, has been working in recent days to set up a bus tour through Georgia for several Democratic senators and House members to help their colleague win Tuesday's runoff.

Mr. Fowler is in a tight race with Republican businessman Paul Coverdell, who earlier this year was given little chance of beating the Georgia Democrat. The runoff is required by law because neither candidate won a majority in the Nov. 3 election, which included a Libertarian candidate who has since endorsed Mr. Coverdell.

Informed Senate officials, who asked not to be identified, said yesterday that Mr. Vaughan, who is from Georgia, has spent the past "several days" at the Agriculture Committee working on the logistics of the congressional campaign bus tour to take place on Monday.

Attempts to reach Mr. Vaughan, who is said to have returned to Georgia yesterday, were unsuccessful.

Democrats expected to join the bus tour include Florida Sen. Bob Graham, Alabama Sen. Howell Heflin, Nebraska Sen. Robert Kerrey and some House members.

Plans call for at least two buses to crisscross the state, with one to end up at a Fowler campaign rally tomorrow that President-elect Bill Clinton is expected to attend.

Both parties have a lot riding on the race and have poured big money into a wave of television ads and campaign mailings in the past two weeks.

A Fowler defeat would be a further embarrassment to congressional Democrats, who lost nine seats in the House to the Republicans. Democrats would make a net gain of one in the Senate if Mr. Fowler wins.

A Coverdell victory would give the GOP 43 Senate seats and thus strengthen their use of the filibuster, which requires only 41 votes to block key bills to be put forward by the Democrats and the incoming Clinton administration.

Mr. Clinton, underscoring the importance he places on the Senate seat, sent in Vice President-elect Al Gore last week to campaign for Mr. Fowler. Republican officials campaigned for Mr. Coverdell, with Barbara Bush making an appearance on Friday.

Mr. Clinton is expected to make appearances with Mr. Fowler tomorrow at rallies in Macon and Albany, two key areas where the senator hopes that increased Democratic turnout will swing the election his way.

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Record Numbers Of Women to Take Statehouse Seats

While the spotlight has been on the record number of women elected to the 103rd Congress—they will make up about 10 percent of the 535 voting members—women also will be represented in record numbers in state legislatures across the country.

As a result of this month's elections, women will constitute 20 percent of state legislators in 1993, up from 5 percent in 1971 and 18 percent this year, according to the Center for the American Woman and Politics at Rutgers University. More than 60 percent of them are Democrats; 38.5 percent are Republicans.

Ruth Mandel, the center's director, predicted that "these women will have a distinctive impact on public policies, especially affecting women, children and families."

The center's research shows that female legislators do more for women and are more likely to conduct government business openly.

Washington state leads the nation with 38 percent of its legislators female. Washington also elected women to one of its two U.S. Senate seats, three of its nine U.S. House seats and four of nine elected executive offices.

In congressional and legislative races, according to Lucy Baruch, the center's information coordinator, "women incumbents were highly likely to win and women challenging incumbents had the toughest races, winning only rarely."

She said it was "especially important for women to pursue nominations for open seats," noting that more than half the women who sought open seats won.

First for L.A. Board

■ Former representative Yvonne Brathwaite Burke (D-Calif.) became the first black elected to the Los Angeles Board of Supervisors when the county registrar-recorder's office Thursday declared her the winner over state Sen. Diane Watson by 2,583 votes out of more than 400,000 cast.

Watson, however, has refused to concede defeat, asserting her campaign had found evidence of vote-tampering and improper counting. She said she was considering calling for a recount or taking court action.

Watson and Burke are both Democrats; the supervisor's race is nonpartisan.

Burke was the first black woman ever elected to the state Assembly, serving from 1967 to 1972, and later became California's first black congresswoman.

STATE LEGISLATURES

PERCENTAGE FEMALE LEGISLATORS

Top 10	%	Bottom 10	%
Wash.	38.1	Ky.	4.3
Ariz.	35.6	Ala.	5.7
Colo.	34.0	La.	6.3
N.H.	34.0	Okla.	9.4
Vt.	33.9	Ark.	9.6
Idaho	31.4	Pa.	9.9
Maine	31.2	Miss.	10.9
Kansas	28.5	Va.	11.4
Nev.	27.0	Tenn.	12.1
Ore.	26.7	S.C.	12.4

SOURCE: Rutgers University

THE WASHINGTON POST

She ran for state attorney general, losing to George Deukmejian in 1978. Deukmejian later became governor.

Burke became the first black member of the board when she was appointed to a seat in 1979 by then-Gov. Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr. (D). She lost an election a few months later to present board Chairman Deane Dana.

GOP Freshmen Meet

■ Republican House freshmen will gather today in Omaha for a summit on congressional reforms, even though the Republican who planned the summit lost his bid for a seat in Congress. What is more, the gathering will be less grand than Tom Huening of Northern California, the original organizer, had imagined.

More than 150 House candidates signed up for what was conceived as a bipartisan mustering of rebels, but fewer than 20 of those candidates won election.

At least 20 Republican members-elect now are expected to attend the summit meetings, which begin informally today with a reception and are scheduled to conclude Tuesday.

Huening invited the 110 members of the Class of 1992 and then turned over organizing duties to Lincoln Diaz-Balart, a Florida state senator and Republican freshman from the Miami area. A few dropped out, others signed up, but no Democrats committed to come.

Nearly all Democratic freshmen met privately with their party's House leaders at three unprecedented regional meetings the week after the election.

Unlike the Democratic meetings—which focused on the economy, health care and deficit reduction—the Republican sessions in Omaha are to center on changes in congressional rules and procedures. The call for congressional reform had been a major campaign issue for most of these freshmen. The Republicans are to hear presentations from Common Cause, the League of Women Voters and U.S. Term Limits Campaign.

—Maralee Schwartz and Kenneth J. Cooper

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Cheney Sounds Like An Early Bird in '96 Presidential Race

President-elect Clinton is still two months away from taking the oath of office, but already Republicans are lining up—quietly and otherwise—to challenge him four years hence.

One of the first public declarations has come from Defense Secretary Richard B. Cheney.

"I'm obviously interested in the 1996 contest," Cheney told the San Diego Union-Tribune's editorial board. "I won't make a decision for some time, but clearly it's something I'm going to take a good, hard look at."

Cheney, 51, and his wife, Lynne, head of the National Endowment for the Humanities, have been fixtures on the Washington scene for nearly two decades. He was President Gerald R. Ford's chief of staff and then represented Wyoming in the House for a decade, rising to House minority whip before being named Pentagon chief.

RICHARD B. CHENEY
... "I'm obviously interested"

Bush Thanks Governors

■ They worked as hard as anyone to get him elected, and now a handful of Republican governors will get their thanks—a weekend at Camp David with President Bush.

Bush has invited six GOP governors and their wives to join him today and Sunday at the presidential retreat in the mountains. They include John Engler of Michigan, John R. McKernan of Maine, William F. Weld of Massachusetts, Tommy Thompson of Wisconsin, John Ashcroft of Missouri and Carroll A. Campbell Jr. of South Carolina.

Asked if the session was meant to be part of the continuing debate over the future of the Republican Party, one administration official said, "No. It is meant to be a thanks from the president . . . it may be a while before a Republican visits Camp David again."

Tsongas Assures Weld

■ Former senator Paul E. Tsongas (D-Mass.), who ran for president this year, said he will not be running for governor in 1994, as many of his supporters in Massachusetts had hoped.

Tsongas said he recently called Gov. William F. Weld (R) to tell him that "under no circumstances would I run against him."

Tsongas, who has said he credits the first-term governor with restoring fiscal stability to Massachusetts, said he called Weld because of the speculation. "I even heard it when I was in Washington, and I think it serves no purpose. If I am hearing it, he is, too."

Planned Parenthood Shift

■ The Planned Parenthood Federation of America yesterday named an expert in health care policy as its president, signaling a shift in emphasis for the organization.

The new president, Pamela Maraldo, said the group will remain dedicated to maintaining and strengthening abortion rights but also will enter the debate over a national health care policy. She will supervise a national office budget of $44 million.

Maraldo, who takes office Feb. 1, replaces Faye Wattleton, who resigned this year after 14 years as president of Planned Parenthood.

Maraldo, a nurse, has been chief executive officer of the National League for Nursing, a coalition promoting quality health care to the public.

Gov. Fordice Apologizes

■ Mississippi Gov. Kirk Fordice (R) apologized yesterday for saying America was "a Christian nation," following negative reactions from within his party and from religious leaders in the state and around the country.

Fordice said at a Republican governors' meeting this week that "the less we emphasize the Christian religion the further we fall into the abyss of poor character and chaos in the United States of America."

"I deeply regret any offense that any Mississippians might have taken at my remarks," Fordice said in a statement. "I want us all to go together forward in our labors to bring character, high values and moral conduct into sharp focus in Mississippi."

Fordice said he only meant "the overwhelming majority of Americans say they are Christians and that Christian values and beliefs should not be denigrated."

—Maralee Schwartz, John E. Yang and Ann Devroy

Strauss Says West Must Aid Yeltsin At 'Crucial Time'

Reuter

Russian President Boris Yeltsin is heading toward "a very crucial time" and he needs all the help he can get if his country's experiment in democracy is to succeed, Ambassador Robert S. Strauss said yesterday.

"In accomplishing what he's accomplished, which is a great deal, he's had to pretty well step on the toes of almost everyone," Strauss said of the Russian leader in an interview on CBS's "Face the Nation."

"No one really can look in their own pockets, in their own hands, and say that I have gained from this experiment in democracy and in market economy," Strauss said.

While there is "no real challenger" to Yeltsin's position as president, patience is wearing thin with his reform program and "he is besieged by every possible group in the world over there," Strauss said.

Strauss was ambassador to Moscow during the collapse of communism and the breakup of the former Soviet Union.

But Strauss, who returned to the United States last week and is expected to be replaced as ambassador after President-elect Clinton takes office in January, warned that Yeltsin needs "a tremendous amount of assistance" from the West "as he strives to make this great experiment work."

Though he is strong politically, Yeltsin is "heading towards a very crucial time right now," Strauss said, noting that the Russian parliament reopens Dec. 1.

That parliament, closed in the aftermath of Mikhail Gorbachev's downfall, is dominated by old hardline communists who "want to turn back a bit on the reform program," Strauss said.

He said it was in the best interest of the United States and other democracies to become "far more intensely and heavily engaged" in efforts to support Yeltsin's government.

"If we could make this process work, instead of letting a void develop that a new demagogue would step into, we'll save hundreds of billions of dollars in defense, money we'd have to spend otherwise," he said.

The Washington Times

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Overpowered by Funk

And so, Tamposigate — a classic exercise in Washington scandalmongering centering on the search for Bill Clinton's passport files by Assistant Secretary of State for Consular Affairs Elizabeth Tamposi — entered its next scheduled phase last week with the release of State Department Inspector General Sherman Funk's report. Mr. Funk found "an attempt to use the records and employees of [the State Department] to influence the outcome of a presidential election" — a "heinous" offense.

Sounds bad, but Mr. Funk had barely finished speaking before his report was being dismissed as grossly inadequate by those who have been enjoying themselves trafficking in this scandal. Raises more questions than it answers, averred The Washington Post editorial page archly. What did the White House know and when did it know it? demanded the New York Times editorial page.

In fact, as we shall see, the inspector general's report *is* woefully inadequate. But the way the Bush administration's enemies in the media have grabbed this story and held onto it — namely, with the determination of an angry ferret — is astonishing to behold.

Mr. Bush lost the election, after all. All the alleged dirty tricks and character assassinations and Willie Hortons in the world couldn't stop Mr. Clinton. Mr. Clinton is in, George Bush is out. There is no need for a Watergate-type scandal to get rid of the Republicans this time.

And yet it seems that that is what we must have. It is becoming increasingly clear that what we are seeing results from a fervent (if unacknowledged) desire to see Bush administration officials go to prison. They may end up being charged with violating 18 U.S.C. 595 or 371 or 1001 or whatever, but their real crime is having deprived Democrats of power for too long.

Mrs. Tamposi's actual improper behavior consisted of exactly this and no more: She acted in a way that may have violated obscure procedures for handling Freedom of Information Act requests. She was a political appointee who owed her position to John Sununu (who was exorcized from the administration in a previous scandal, and thus unable to protect her). In light of "disclosures" about her activities in the State Department — actually, a highly selective presentation of evidence against her in The Post — Mr. Bush and his acting secretary of state, Lawrence Eagleburger, threw her overboard. That did not end the matter, of course, and we now reach the point in this scandal where allegations of coverup and looking the other way take center stage.

An illustration: In Appendix D of Mr. Funk's report, we find reproduced an Oct. 2 memorandum the inspector general wrote for his files on actions in response to the concerns of Mrs. Tamposi and her subordinates that Mr. Clinton's passport files had been tampered with. In this memo, which is excerpted below, Mr. Funk describes his detailed conversations about the files and the search with no fewer than 11 high-ranking officials, including the secretary of state, the department's chief legal adviser, Mr. Funk's own chief legal adviser, the attorney general of the United States and the attorney general's chief legal adviser. Not *one* of them, as described by Mr. Funk, raised the slightest concern about how or why these files were being examined.

Why not? "A conspiracy so immense"?

No. Probably because none of them thought there was anything particularly wrong with examining those files. And they were right.

Their problem is that they didn't have the nerve to stick to that conviction once The Post decided this was a scandal. They have instead found it convenient, in retrospect, to rail against this "heinous" exercise in politicizing the State Department.

It won't work. At the press conference Wednesday, at which the inspector general's report was released, a reporter asked Mr. Eagleburger why, when he first found out about the file search (on Oct. 1), he didn't shut it down. "Shut down?" Mr. Eagleburger asked in response. "I don't know what it is we're supposed to shut down." Mr. Eagleburger either didn't understand the question or pretended not to. It is, however, a question he and Mr. Funk — and all the other officials who knew about this but have decided to try to cut and run — are going to come to understand very well as this partisan witch hunt continues.

The Washington Times

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Document: Funk to file

State Department Inspector General Sherman Funk wrote a file memo Oct. 2 on his actions after being informed of a suspicion on the part of State Department officials that Bill Clinton's passport files had been tampered with. He included it as part of his report to Acting Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger on the search of Mr. Clinton's passport files. The memo reveals that the details of Assistant Secretary of State for Consular Affairs Elizabeth Tamposi's search of Mr. Clinton's passport records were known to a substantial number of high-ranking officials in the State and Justice departments. Yet the memo records no expressions of reservations about the propriety of the search, nor for that matter any questions on the subject, by any of these officials. The excerpts from the memo reprinted below include all references Mr. Funk made to U.S. officials, whose names are highlighted in boldface. A related editorial appears above.

Last evening, shortly after 6:00 p.m., Ms. **Betty Tamposi**, Assistant Secretary for Consular Affairs, came to my office with two of her employees. One was **Carmen DiPlacido**, the Acting Head of the Passport Office. Ms. Tamposi informed me that she had received by referral a FOIA [Freedom of Information Act] request from *Associated Press* for a copy of a letter allegedly written by Governor William Clinton in the late 1960s in which he announced his intent to relinquish his American citizenship and apply for Norwegian citizenship. . . .

Ms. Tamposi said that she and two other CA [Consular Affairs] employees had visited the K Street Passport office [sic] to review any relevant files which might be there. They were advised that all applications and associated documents have been microfilmed since, I believed she stated, 1978. However, the search of the microfilm records contained no letter of the kind alleged in the FOIA request. They did locate a more recent passport application from Governor William Clinton which reflected that an earlier passport application had been filed in 1976.

Ms. Tamposi instructed Mr. DiPlacido and two others to visit the location where permanent records were stored. I believe this is the center in Suitland, Maryland. She told me that she specifically wanted to send more than one person, to ensure that there would be witnesses to the records search. The three went to the storage location and asked the supervisor for access to the 1976 files. . . . [There follows a detailed description of the search and the acquisition of the files.]

This morning, at about 7:30 a.m., I briefed **Robert S. Terjesen**, my Assistant Inspector General for Investigations, on what I knew of the matter and instructed him to open an immediate investigation, holding the matter very closely but giving it top priority. Shortly after 8:30, I met with **Lawrence Eagleburger**, the Acting Secretary of State. I learned then that Ms. Tamposi, either before or after meeting with me last evening, had informed her supervisor, **John Rogers**, the Under Secretary for Management, of the matter. He, in turn, had spoken with Mr. Eagleburger sometime last evening. I discussed with Mr. Eagleburger what I knew thus far, citing the various possibilities which came to mind and informing him that it was a potential criminal violation to tamper with, or to remove and/or destroy official documents without authorization. Mr. Eagleburger asked me whether he should advise the White House of the situation in view of the explosive implications. I pointed out the perception problems that would arise because of the former Secretary of State moving to the White House to direct the President's re-election campaign. I said that this inevitably would be viewed as the October Surprise to end all October Surprises. I suggested he not speak to anybody about it until I got back to him. (Shortly after I returned to my office, Mr. Eagleburger telephoned and said that if we notified the White House we should certainly also notify Governor William Clinton. I fully agreed.) . . .

I returned to my office and held a series of meetings with my Deputy, **Roscoe S. Suddarth**, and my Chief Counsel, **John D. Duncan, Jr.**, concerning what the best course of action would be. At the outset, I determined that this matter was to be closely held within our office and the fewest individuals possible would be informed. After some initial discussion, my Deputy, my Counsel and I all agreed that the best course of action would be to personally inform the Attorney General of the facts and for him to turn the case over to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, because of the Bureau's forensic expertise and because, in so extraordinarily sensitive a matter, the State Department should not be investigating itself. I then instructed Mr. Terjesen to immediately cease all work on this matter. Mr. Duncan suggested to him that he caution the agents (who had already been briefed) to keep it absolutely confidential.

Prior to informing the Attorney General, however, I deemed it prudent to seek the advice of the Department's Legal Adviser, **Edwin D. Williamson**. Before doing so, however, I instructed my counsel to ask Ms. Tamposi to personally take possession of the relevant files and to lock them in her office safe until futher notice. Ms. Tamposi was also informed at that time that the FBI would probably take possession of the materials within hours. My Deputy, my legal counsel and I then met with the Legal Adviser, and **James Thessin**, his Deputy. I advised Mr. Williamson that I planned to inform the Attorney General of the matter and recommended that it should be the Attorney General's decision, not the Department's, whether or not to inform the White House and Governor William Clinton of the situation. Mr. Williamson and Mr. Thessin agreed with our assessment. Mr. Williamson noted that rumors of the allegation were already around, stating that someone had mentioned them to him, apparently in a social setting, a few days ago. When I left Mr. Williamson, I immediately met with Under Secretary Rogers and told him of the course of action I would follow. He thought it was a wise decision.

At about 10:15 a.m. this morning, Mr. Duncan and I met with **William P. Barr**, the Attorney General, and **Ira Raphaelson**, his Counselor. I explained what I knew to that point and said that because of the potential for federal criminal violations and the explosive implications of any such investigation that I was referring the matter directly to him. I told him that while I believed my office was fully capable of handling the matter, with the technical assistance of the FBI, that in such a sensitive scenario I believed that the Department should not be placed in a position of investigating itself. Mr. Barr agreed. He asked me to pass on to Mr. Eagleburger his request that the Department not speak either to the White House or to Governor William Clinton, or either campaign, about the situation.

Mr. Barr said that he would get back either to me or to Mr. Eagleburger and would let one of us know when he thought it appropriate to inform either the White House or Governor William Clinton about the situation. For now, however, Mr. Barr said that he wished to fully consider the investigative options and that he did not want the potential inquiry impeded by premature notification to either party. Mr. Barr stressed that as the matter was now officially in his hands, the appropriate investigative steps were his decision and only his decision to make. Upon our return to the Department, I immediately telephoned the Acting Secretary and informed him of the results of my meeting with Mr. Barr. Mr. Eagleburger said that he fully understood the decision of the Attorney General and that he would not speak to anyone about the matter until given Justice Department leave to do so. I also called Under Secretary Rogers and relayed to him the Attorney General's request to keep the matter strictly confidential until further notice. He told me that he would do so. I also asked Mr. Duncan to instruct Assistant Secretary Tamposi, Legal Adviser Williamson and AIGI Terjesen, to do the same. They all agreed.

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Yes, the President Wears Pajamas

An Innocent Angler's Pre-Dawn Intrusion into the First Bedroom

By Angus Phillips

WE'LL SOON have a new president and the usual new worries that he'll be sealed off from the real world, lose touch with common folks and fall into an imperial presidency. Well, as one who crept quite by accident into George Bush's bedroom while he lay sleeping a while back, I can assure the new man that the White House isn't always the airtight bubble it's thought to be.

The occasion was a fishing trip a couple of years ago. The president wanted to go for largemouth bass in the Potomac and, to my utter astonishment, phoned me at home one winter day for advice.

For once in my life, I thought on my feet and blurted out an invitation to join me in April when fishing was hot. Bush, a man of action, checked his calendar, saw an opening and penciled it in.

As the day drew nearer, he called a few times to finalize the plan, putting our house in a tizzy each time he did. At last we were set. We would ride together in his limo to the launch ramp at the mouth of the Anacostia, he told me. He added casually that I should "come by the White House about 6 in the morning for coffee."

I got there a little after 5:30, pulled my rattletrap VW up to the first entrance I saw and checked in. The guards consulted a list, found my name, inspected the trunk for bombs and sent me through the gates.

I'd been told to go to the diplomatic entrance, but I didn't know which doorway that was. Neither did the guards. They gave me an ID tag with a big "A" on it and said to go to the first door I saw and ask. I found a door facing the Old Executive Office Building and banged on it.

A sleepy fellow let me in—fishing rods, tackle box, camera case and all. He knew nothing about any fishing trip but roused an aging butler in black tie, who headed off in search of information while I waited.

The butler soon returned, saying he hadn't learned a thing. "But you said you're supposed to meet him for coffee, right?" he asked. "He must want you in the residence."

"Cool," I thought, and off we went in the gloaming, through an astonishing maze of dim corridors and

GARY HOVLAND FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

doorways, I lugging my gear and hurrying to keep up with my stooped but nimble guide.

We went through an indoor garden and around a bend to a hallway with a small elevator. The butler suggested I leave my gear propped against the wall. He opened the elevator, climbed in, punched a button and up we went to the president's place.

Upstairs was quite dark and elegant. We were in a small hallway that opened onto a large, rectangular anteroom. I saw three fishing rods and a tackle box leaning against the wall—the president's gear, an unmistakable sign of an eager angler ready for a day on the river.

The butler led me into the room, then to the right into a second darkened anteroom. By now I was tiptoeing, knowing this couldn't be right but having too much fun to say anything.

Ten feet into the second room a light snapped on to my left. I whirled and faced a pair of open double doors 15 feet away. Through them I saw the president of the United States, in blue pajamas, rising from his bed. The first lady, propped against a pair of fluffy pillows, also was freshly awake.

I don't know if the president saw me, and I didn't care to find out. I gestured frantically to the butler, a few steps ahead of me, and hissed, "Let's get out of here!"

We tiptoed back to the elevator hallway. "This can't be right," I whispered. The butler shook his head and said he didn't know what else to do.

"I'll find out," he assured me, and rapped on a metal stairway door. It opened almost instantaneously, and out popped a guard with a radio wire in his ear. "Look," I said to the guard, "I'm supposed to meet the president for coffee in 10 minutes, but I don't know where I'm supposed to be."

The guard looked me over quickly, saw the ID card with the big "A" hanging from my neck and said the following:

"You can be anywhere you want."

With that, he popped back through the metal door and was gone. Honest.

I looked pleadingly at the butler. "You wait here," he said. "I'll go downstairs and see what's going on." He stepped into the elevator, pressed the button and ca-CHUNK! was gone—leaving me, as far as I could tell, absolutely alone in the presidential residence with George and Barbara Bush.

At which point I heard the one thing I really didn't care to hear—the patter of footsteps as someone drew near, and then a familiar voice shouting, "Robert! Robert! [name changed to protect the innocent] I need you to take these papers downstairs right away!"

Around the corner came the president, in leather slippers and blue monogrammed bathrobe, with his hair rumpled and glasses askew, a sheaf of papers in hand. But instead of Robert, all he saw was a sputtering fisherman-out-of-water babbling incomprehensible explanations, apologies and assurances that he meant no harm.

The president never lost his decorum, maintaining a command bearing even in his nightclothes. A moment or two of blank confusion was broken by the merciful ca-CHUNK! of the elevator, signaling the butler's imminent return.

The door opened and out stepped Robert, as poised as the president. "Coffee is downstairs in the Diplomatic Reception Room," he sniffed. "Everyone is there, waiting."

Then he turned to the president, who handed him the papers, spun on his heel and hurried back to the bedroom to get dressed—waving a finger and shouting over his shoulder, "Big fish to catch today. Big fish!"

Ten minutes later Bush strode into the Diplomatic Reception Room with his fishing rods and tackle box in hand, his hair freshly combed and wearing a cheerful smile.

"Angus!" he said, rushing over to greet me. "So good to see you again!" And never once in the course of a long day of good fishing did he mention our curious first meeting, which showed a lot of class, if you ask me.

Angus Phillips is The Washington Post's outdoors columnist.

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Charles Krauthammer

Bush: Two Great Challenges Met

No sooner had the polls closed on George Bush, confirming him for all time as a loser, than the trashing of George Bush reached a final frenzy. True, on Jan. 20, moved by the majesty of a stately presidential transition, the press will be full of sentimental guff about George Bush's grace, dignity, bearing, etc. etc. Soon the fallen president will be more pitied than pilloried. But not quite yet. For now, the election results have sanctioned one last kick in the groin.

The New Republic, for example, celebrated the election returns with a vitriolic stream of abuse for Bush and all his works: "Good riddance to George Bush, to his negligence, recklessness, and cynicism . . . [to his] clods, mediocrities, blue-haired bigots, egomaniacs, suck-ups, empty suits, and do-nothings." Michael Kinsley's rush to judgment was more tempered but fatal: "Bush is doomed to be remembered as a failed president." Sidney Blumenthal needed but a week to conclude that Bush, a "silk-stocking mugwump," must now be compared to that trinity of Republican failures, Dewey, Hoover and Taft, except that "the comparison slights Taft." Much post-election commentary had a similarly mean and dismissive tone, justified by Bush's miserable 38 percent.

Why? In a democracy, electoral numbers are supposed to decide a winner. They are not some historical arbiter of the goodness, rightness, and fitness of the candidates.

Take Ross Perot. He did far better than expected, getting 19 percent of the vote, the highest third party vote in 80 years. Now, a mere nine days earlier he had elaborated a bizarre tale of plots and conspiracies, of dogs-on-the-prowl and daughters-in-peril that raised serious questions about the man's grip on reality. Yet because he comes in at 19 percent of the vote, a man with all the appearance of a paranoid undergoes instant rehabilitation, indeed a dramatic restoration to seriousness. He is back—back as a national figure, back as a force to be reckoned with by the new president, back as a potential candidate for 1996.

Does 19 percent erase the episode of the doctored photograph? Does it cancel the lunar thinking? Nineteen percent of the vote is an achievement. But it is no proof of fitness. (Hitler got 31 percent.) It is certainly no cure for paranoia.

The tyranny of numbers can inflate a reputation. It can also deflate. Take George Bush. Yes, only 38 percent of Americans were willing to contemplate four more years of him. But that is not a historical verdict on the last four years. If we were to judge Harry Truman by the poll numbers at the end of his term—32 percent—we should deem his presidency a dismal failure.

Bush's was not a failed presidency, but a completed one. History called upon him to do two things: to close out the Cold War and thwart the ambitions of a reckless tyrant in the Persian Gulf.

Bush did both rather well. He was not terribly creative in closing out the Cold War, but he did not need to be. The time called for restraint. When your adversary is committing suicide, you get out of the way. Bush did not glory in the collapse of the Berlin Wall. Instead, he worked assiduously for the reunification of Germany within NATO, one of the major diplomatic achievements of our time, now almost entirely overlooked. (I cannot recall a single mention of it in the presidential campaign.)

Bush made his share of tactical errors, such as holding on to Gorbachev for too long. But the wisdom of his overall policy is evidenced by its success. The Cold War ended on terms astonishingly favorable to the West and to the democratic idea.

As for the gulf, it is hard to imagine another contemporary American figure doing what Bush did: mobilize a reluctant country and a recalcitrant world to defeat Saddam in war. Bush did not complete the job, and for that he is rightly criticized. But it ought not obscure the fact that almost single-handedly and against the odds Bush averted the nightmare of a nuclear-armed, bottomlessly wealthy, overtly aggressive power at the heart of the Persian Gulf.

Bush was born—and trained—for these two jobs. But only these two. By the end of four years, there was nothing left for him to do.

The new world, as Clinton rightly pointed out, is one of domestic reconstruction and rethought foreign policy. The American people in their wisdom decided that Bush was not the man for the job. They are probably right. (Though whether Clinton is the man remains to be seen.) But that is not a definition of failure.

A failed president is one who, like Woodrow Wilson, advances a dream and fails to enact it. Or who, like Lyndon Johnson, succeeds in getting done what he wants—say, prosecuting the Vietnam War—and has the policy prove catastrophic. Bush had no dreams. He left no agenda unenacted. In fact, he had no agenda. He always considered the president a steward whose job it was to deal wisely with what came.

What came for Bush were two great challenges. He met them. That he had no further ambition—no further vision—for his country or his presidency is his tragedy. It is testimony to his limited talents and fixed horizons. It is also the reason his country turned him out of office. The voters' judgment, however, is not to be confused with history's. It may suit partisan journalism to equate losing with failure, but history does not follow the polls.

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Pruden on Politics

By Wesley Pruden

Saving our heroes from the boomers

With friends like his, Bill Clinton won't need enemies.

If his transition team is really interested in the welfare of the president-elect, the first man they'll find is an old vaudeville stage hand experienced in the application of the dreaded hook.

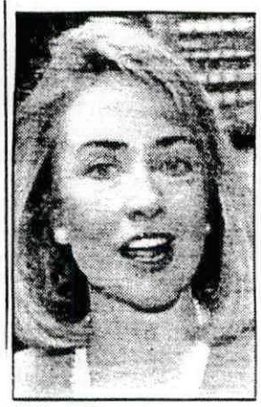
Mr. Clinton, full of bounce and energy, nevertheless has demonstated so far that he is first of all a child of his generation, with an ignorance of the traditions and realities that are important to those who preceded the noisy boomers.

His latest embarrassment is the attempt, fortunately failed, to rename the airport in Little Rock to honor his wife, Hillary, discarding the name of a World War I hero, whose family name was honored in Arkansas when the families of many of the Clinton friends in Little Rock were still slopping hogs in the sticks.

Coming out of the Vietnam experience, many of the boomers have little regard for the military — indeed, Mr. Clinton himself is on record as "loathing" it. He may or may not still harbor these feelings — he has never renounced his callow pronunciamento — but so far the only institution in American life that he has picked on is the military. This may be an accident. If so, he should move quickly to make amends, but more important, he should employ someone to tell him when he is stepping on the toes of the people he must have on his side if his administration is to succeed.

To Mr. Clinton and his boomer generation, few of whom ever wore the uniform, his promise to put homosexual soldiers in the bunks with straights was just another policy decision. They do not understand this as, first, a policy decision affecting the morale and effectiveness of the military forces, and then as an issue of privacy.

That's because they don't really understand why a soldier has to be so tough and hostile in the first place. Many of them have never thought about the ultimate mission of any nation's military establishment, which is to kill — not to understand or sympathize, but to kill the nation's enemies. Mr. Clinton's friends naturally imagine that if the goal of a combat infantry company is kinder and gentler, it's OK to load it up with gays and debutantes. This will guarantee disaster in wartime, but at least we'll all feel good about ourselves. The privacy issue doesn't count because the boomers who are prescribing upheaval have no intention of being a part of the military, anyway.



Hillary Clinton

That makes discarding the name of an authentic flying hero, and slapping the name of Hillary Clinton on the airport at Little Rock, wholly logical. The fact that George Geyer Adams, for whom the field has been named for 60 years, was a hero of the 154th Fighter Squadron, one of the most decorated National Guard squadrons in the nation's history, cuts no ice with boomers, for whom the history of the world began when they popped out of their mamas' wombs yesterday morning.

Lt. Adams' 154th Observation Squadron, as it was called over the Argonne forest and above Flanders field, was decorated in both World War II and in Korea far out of proportion to its numbers. I confess a bias here: I stood in my first military formation as a green recruit in the Arkansas Air National Guard, and I am afflicted with the Southerner's reverance for useful tradition.

Once, at dinner at the British governor's house on Guadalcanal 25 years after the fact, I remarked that it was a friendly gesture that the name of Lt. Ernest Henderson, a U.S. Navy flier killed in the Battle of Midway, had been retained as the name of the airport on the 'canal long after the Marines who named it, in a flush of gratitude and patriotism, had departed.

The governor looked at me as if I had made a pass at his wife.

"Why on earth would we have changed the name of Henderson Field?"

But the airport commissioners in Little Rock, all cronies of the Clintons, thought that relegating a war hero to the trash bin of history, and replacing it with the name of the lawyer for the bureaucracy, was a good thing to do. What's next?

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Pruden on Politics

By Wesley Pruden

We must be fairer to some than others

The editors and reporters of the media culture want to be perfectly fair, but it's important to be fairer to some than to others.

A correspondent or columnist who suggested during the late, great campaign for president that "character" is a legitimate test for a candidate for president could count on being scorned as a purveyor of "McCarthyism."

Nowhere is the double standard more carefully nurtured and brutally administered than in the erotic follies and sex scandals of Washington.

The latest "victim" is Bob Packwood of Oregon, a liberal who makes all the right noises about some of the hot-button issues — abortion being chief among them — but who is nevertheless a Republican in an era when being Republican will be an expensive indiscretion.

Mr. Packwood stands accused of "sexual harassment." This is an ambiguous crime, something like being accused of "fellow traveling" in the McCarthy era, as the McCarthy era is remembered in the fantasies of liberals. (Joe McCarthy stimulates the liberal libido in the way that the Victoria's Secret catalog stimulates the rest of us.)

Mr. Packwood's accusers, according to The Washington Post's crack victim reporters, said his woo-pitching was unprovoked, unwelcome and unreciprocated. Sometimes he pitched the woo after he had been drinking; several said he struck without warning, lips puckered for frenzied kissing. One young woman remembered that he kissed her on the nape of the neck. The details are hazy because it happened more than 10 years ago.

The senator from Oregon may well be a clumsy wooer, a klutzy swain, or a jerk who ought to have been whacked across the face or jabbed with a hatpin. He could have taken lessons from prominent Democrats, who can do this sort of thing and get away with it. Better still, he should announce that he is gay. Congressional sex fiends who are gay can get away with anything. Or he could try a race-change operation.

Gerry Studds

Rep. Barney Frank of Massachusetts hired a male prostitute to be his lover, allowed him to run his whoring out of the congressman's apartment and even applied a little heat to the young man's parole officer to keep him out of the slammer. His Massachusetts colleague, Rep. Gerry Studds, was nailed for molesting children. After a lot of huffing and puffing, Congress, which is thoroughly intimidated by the homosexual lobby, censured him and he, like that sly devil Barney, was re-elected.

Rep. Floyd Flake of New York, who is also a pastor, was accused of harassing a woman in his congregation. The voters in his district didn't care, and the media certainly didn't. He was twice re-elected by huge margins and when the woman was killed in an automobile accident the question became moot.

Rep. Gus Savage, a black man who represents a Chicago district, suffered a delirium of kissing with a Peace Corps worker in Zaire, who said she was lured into the back seat of his hired limousine. This puckered assailant also was re-elected — once — not so much for his kissing ability as in appreciation of his skill as a racist and race-baiter.

Some authorities on sexual harassment — it's possible to get a doctorate in this discipline — theorize that sexual harassment is only dangerous to congressmen who represent certain kinds of constituencies. Nobody expects much in the way of decent behavior from Barney Frank and Gerry Studds and Gus Savage, but they do of Republicans. It sounds mean and fanciful, but consider David Durenberger, the senator from Minnesota, one of our most pious states.

Mr. Durenberger was thought to have been having an affair when he broke up with his wife in 1985 — an affair! in Washington! with a congressman! — and now he is the defendant in a paternity suit brought 29 years after the fact. The poor woman has had trouble rounding up witnesses, and she wants to get this settled so the child can afford initiation dues in the American Association of Retired Persons. Sen. Daniel Inouye of Hawaii was accused this summer of having gotten carried away with his barber, a woman, 17 years ago.

Talk about a close shave.

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DONALD LAMBRO

How will Clintonomics work?

Despite Bill Clinton's promise to try something new and different to strengthen the economy, we are about to experiment with a modified version of old fashioned, 1930s-style, pump-priming Keynesian economics.

This is the economic medicine, with a strong dose of industrial policy thrown in, that will be offered by Mr. Clinton's policy-makers who believe that free-market Reaganomics failed and that only renewed government "economic planning" will work in the emerging global economy.

But the evidence is overwhelming that Reaganomics did not fail when it was deployed in the 1980s. It didn't work in the 1990s because Congress and the White House didn't use it. The facts are incontrovertible:

- During the 1980s America enjoyed seven fat years of continuous economic growth and prosperity, one of the longest expansions in peace-time history.

We created 19 million jobs, achieved nearly full employment by 1988 (unemployment was just 5.3%), with low inflation and falling interest rates. Today, despite the 1990-91 recession and a persistent slump, 117 million Americans are employed, an all-time record.

- From 1983 through the end of 1989, real economic growth was nearly 4 percent per year and we enjoyed an entrepreneurial explosion of small to mid-sized businesses that produced nearly 80 percent of all new jobs.
- The ladder of opportunity was raised for millions of Americans, including minorities and women. The National Foundation for Women Business Owners forecasts that by the end of this year women entrepreneurs will employ more workers than all the Fortune 500 companies combined.
- Meantime, despite all the gloomy talk of America no longer being able to compete in world markets, U.S. exports have boomed and continue to lead the world. We sell nearly half a trillion dollars in goods and services abroad each year, more than any other country.

American exports grew by 90 percent between 1986 and 1992, compared with 25 percent growth for the other industrial nations of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

- Despite all the fears about the new European Economic Community from the doom and gloomers, the United States finished 1991 with a $16 billion merchandise trade surplus with Europe. EuroDisney was the biggest enterprise to hit the Continent, McDonald's is doing business in China, and K mart and other U.S. chains are opening up in Eastern Europe.
- Remember all those fears that the Japanese were going to win the race in supercomputer technology? Well, in what should serve as a warning to Mr. Clinton's industrial policy wonks, Japan's Ministry of Industry and Technology announced earlier this year that after dumping a fortune into its supercomputer project, it was a flop. Supercomputer programs in Germany and France, where government planning is a way of life, have gone nowhere.

Only America leads the world in supercomputing. And one of those leaders is Cray Research, whose sales force is selling its supercomputers to the Japanese.

- But hold on to your microchips. Steven Chen, who left Cray to launch his own company, is producing an even faster supercomputer, the SS-1, which will be ready by 1994. On U.S. drawing boards are computer models that will make a trillion decisions a second.
- And forget all the end-of-the-world fear mongering that you hear from ivory-tower academics and politicians who cry that we don't make as many computer chips any more. Carver Mead and his Silicon Valley company, Synaptics, is developing an electronic computer chip, unlike any ever made, that mimics the thinking and learning patterns of the human brain.

Much of the persistent pessimism about America's position in the emerging global economy comes from the rantings and ravings of politicians who often don't know what they're talking about.

Remember Teddy Kennedy at this summer's Democratic Convention asking why the United States couldn't put its ingenuity to work on high technology instead of spending it on defense expenditures like an SDI anti-missile system?

Well, American high tech was all around him at Madison Square Garden, he just didn't know it. In fact, he was looking into a state-of-the-art high definition television camera and an HDTV image was being shown above him on a huge screen. Mr. Kennedy's Let's-Manage-The-Economy allies in the Senate wanted to dump a bundle of money into HDTV, money that would have gone into the outdated analog technology, not the advanced digital version that was developed by a U.S. consortium and is now being tested not far from here.

The Clinton crew that will soon take over the reins of power talks of economic planning, government industrial policies, "managed" health care and a host of new federal programs to guide, shape, regulate, advise and subsidize the American economy.

Unlike the Reaganites of the '80s, who wanted to get the heavy regulatory hand of government out of our lives, the Clintonites believe that government isn't involved enough.

Donald Lambro, chief political correspondent of The Washington Times, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

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WILLIAM BUCKLEY JR.

Post mortems . . .

The talk at Fontana, Wis., where the Republican governors met to do an autopsy over the remains of their party, is of the "capture" of the Republican Party by the "Christian right."

The reference is most often to Pat Robertson, as the leader of that movement, and one has the feeling, reading reports on statements by Gov. William Weld of Massachusetts, that although he too feels that the Christian right is a great weight on the Republican Party, he hasn't quite figured out a way of advancing his or his party's standing by becoming anti-Christian.

Accordingly, his words exactly were: "I don't think Pat Robertson captured the Republican Party. He hasn't captured me. I'll tell you what, I wish him well." If you can figure that out, you are ready to run for political office.

What jumps to mind as a position characteristic of the Christian right is abortion. This is interesting, of course, in that the parts don't fit at all easily into the whole.

The general impression of the Christian right is of Southern evangelicals associated with such as Pat Robertson, Jerry Falwell and Billy Graham, who are all Baptists. Yet the adamantine anti-abortionists are thought of as Catholics. And the majority of Catholics voted for the libertine Bill Clinton.

But it is true that the position of the evangelicals is anti-abortion, and one must assume that they had an influence on the Republican Party — which, at Houston, came out for a constitutional amendment against abortion. This tradition reminds us that in 1984 Ronald Reagan won 49 states.

What concretely would the Christian right do to America if it were fully in power? Sure, it would lend its weight to the repeal of Roe vs. Wade, but if so, there is no reason whatever to suppose that many, perhaps most, states would refuse to authorize abortion — as Connecticut has done pre-emptively.

Connecticut is incidentally chock-full of Catholics, and it was the Congregationalists of Connecticut who were responsible a century ago for passing the law against the retailing of birth control mechanisms, held unconstitutional under the Griswold decision of the Supreme Court in 1965.

What else would a Christian right regime foreshadow? Perhaps more prosecutions against films like "Deep Throat"? But even if that were to happen, the idea that triple-XXX pornography could be denied to citizens who wanted to view it is the equivalent of assuming that you could remove handguns from criminals, who now have 55 million handguns to choose from, a figure that probably approximates the volume of triple-XXX videotapes floating about the country.

What else? The Christian right isn't asking, as its counterparts in Israel are doing, that the Sabbath be made more ostentatiously holy by requiring church attendance, or suspending commercial traffic, or whatever. The Christian right isn't asking for a return of Prohibition.

Is it a problem of some kind of an insular denominational inclusiveness that sends out the danger signals? Consider this exchange. Gov. Kirk Fordice of Mississippi in his speech said the United States is a "Christian nation" and any dissipation of that tie to Christianity has the effect of weakening the national character. Up jumps Carroll Campbell, governor of South Carolina, to correct Gov. Fordice. "The value base of this country comes from the Judeo-Christian heritage that we all have." And, sitting down, Gov. Campbell remarked, "I just wanted to add the 'Judeo' part."

Was that really necessary, given that Christ proclaimed himself the incarnation as promised by the Jewish prophets? It is really impossible to decree a nation to be "Christian" without conveying that it is "Judeo-Christian." On the other hand, one out of two Jews voted for George Bush against Michael Dukakis, and one out of eight voted for Mr. Bush against Mr. Clinton. Something happened.

The Christian right isn't asking, as its counterparts in Israel are doing, that the Sabbath be made more ostentatiously holy by requiring church attendance.

The majority of Jews are in favor of abortion, and the majority of Protestants are in favor, and the majority of Catholics are (in practice) in favor. But we learn that only 11 percent of the American people are even aware that abortion, under Roe, is for all intents and purposes available to any woman for any reason at any time during her pregnancy. Ninety percent of the American people are against unrestricted abortion as, e.g., a gender-selection device.

All of this needs clarification. The Republicans properly begin by reflecting on the words of Mississippi party strategist Haley Barbour, who said, "Frankly, I'm chagrined that we have booted away the greatest political legacy since Roosevelt."

There is a lot to do, including some Judeo-Christian prayers for the future of the GOP and, while we are at it, for the unhappy future of a few million discarded fetuses.

William F. Buckley Jr. is president and editor at large of National Review and a nationally syndicated columnist.

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MORTON KONDRACKE

and ambush strategies

The expected Republican civil war hasn't broken out yet, as Republicans, holding their fire against each other, are convinced that President-elect Bill Clinton will offer them an inviting target for attack.

Mr. Clinton has told his domestic policy transition chief, Al From, that he really does mean to govern according to the moderate "new Democrat" agenda set forth by the Democratic Leadership Council, but whenever he varies from centrism, Republicans are preparing to assail him.

Over the weekend of Nov. 13-15, a dozen bright young Republican aides and activists gathered on Maryland's Eastern Shore to devise ways to unify the GOP by making life more difficult for Mr. Clinton.

One of their resolves: to get the next Republican national chairman, regardless of who that is, to create an enlarged research and "message" office to analyze Clinton programs, issue detailed critiques, and assemble alternative proposals.

Another idea: to get the Republican National Committee, the National Republican Congressional Committee and the National Republican Senatorial Committee to operate and propagandize in tandem, rather than separately or in conflict.

The meeting was held at the Andrews, Md., home of lobbyist Dan Crippen, a former Reagan White House aide. Participants included Sheila Burke, chief of staff to Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole of Kansas; deputy White House chief of staff Bob Zoellick; Bush campaign issues staffers Jim Pinkerton, Jim Ciccone, and Jeremy Shane; Bill Pitts, top aide to House Minority Leader Bob Michel of Illinois; Bill Hoagland and Steve Bell, present and former GOP staff chiefs on the Senate Budget Committee; and present or former Bush administration aides Hollis McLoughlin, Tim Muris and Steve Danzansky.

Though heavily weighted toward "establishment Republicans," participants say the group spent much of its time venting frustration and anger at the failure of the Bush administration to carry through on a conservative economic agenda.

The suggestion for a unified RNC "message office" came after Bush campaign aides recalled the Republicans' failure to issue a single critique last August of Mr. Clinton's economic program.

Messrs. Ciccone, Crippen, Hoagland and Shane had labored over a document meant to focus voters on the Bush campaign's assertion that Mr. Clinton's program would cost $220 billion in new spending and $150 billion in new taxes. But rival analyses were produced by Texas Republicans Rep. Dick Armey and Sen. Phil Gramm that resulted in a confused GOP message.

Those at the meeting specifically avoided discussion of who ought to be the next RNC chief. "The goal ought to be to set the track, not pick the horse," Mr. Pinkerton was quoted as saying. Mr. Shane was reportedly the group's candidate to run an expanded RNC issue office.

Members of the group also agreed that the GOP could avoid internal warfare over abortion and other social issues by allowing Mr. Clinton to grapple with them, and by responding if and when he is pushed to the left.

"He's going to support a right-to-choose bill," said one participant. "We don't have to define when abortion ought to be legal. We can aim at the fact that he won't allow parental consent, which should turn off Reagan Democrats."

Similarly, Republicans are expected to attack Clinton plans to permit homosexuals in the military, to compromise on the line-item veto and on demands for congressional staff cutbacks that he called for in his campaign, and to postpone passage of a deficit-cutting formula at the same time that he introduces an economic stimulus package.

The group vented anger at the failure to carry through on a conservative economic agenda.

Congressional Democrats recall that Ronald Reagan's landmark 1981 tax- and budget-cutting laws were not signed until August of his first year in office, but Republicans are likely to begin complaining if Mr. Clinton has not come up with a deficit-reduction formula in his first 100 days.

One Bush aide at the Maryland meeting said, "I'm inclined to give him no honeymoon at all, after the kind of treatment that Bush got from Democrats in Congress." Officially, Mr. Dole and House GOP leaders are promising to work with Mr. Clinton, but they say that the length of the honeymoon will depend on his appointments and policies.

GOP plans to concentrate fire on Mr. Clinton could go awry if he gives them no inviting target to shoot at — or if they insist on fracturing over religious or other issues.

Mississippi Gov. Kirk Fordice's eruption about the United States being a "Christian nation" could set off internecine warfare. So could a battle for RNC chair over abortion, particularly if pro-choice Labor Secretary Lynn Martin is a major candidate.

And both Mrs. Martin and former Bush campaign aide Charlie Black will arouse the ire of conservatives during the RNC chairmanship contest by having been part of the losing Bush entourage. At the moment, the leading fusion candidate may be Spencer Abraham, who's been endorsed by Vice President Dan Quayle and shortly will be endorsed, reportedly, by Housing Secretary Jack Kemp, outgoing Rep. Vin Weber of Minnesota and former Education Secretary Bill Bennett.

Morton Kondracke is a senior editor for Roll Call and is a nationally syndicated columnist.

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PAUL CRAIG ROBERTS

Choice of tools

In 1969, then-President Richard Nixon adopted the Democrats' foreign policy agenda of detente with the Soviet Union and China, which the Democrats were unable to implement.

The country at large suspected the Democrats' will in the foreign policy arena. Mr. Nixon was able to implement the agenda because the Republicans' historically strong opposition to communism placed them above reproach.

A similar situation exists today in economic policy. Lacking former President Reagan's deep populist roots, George Bush faced intense criticism every time he proposed an economy-stimulating, supply-side measure, such as cutting the capital gains tax. Mr. Bush was cowed by accusations of "favoring the rich" and suspicions about Repubican pro-business sentinment.

Mr. Clinton does not have that problem, and could quietly adopt supply-side policies without arousing feverish opposition.

At this juncture, it is impossible to predict the direction a Clinton administration will take, as he has advisers pushing in opposite directions.

Mr. Clinton selected Harvard Professor Robert Reich to head his economic policy team during the transition. A lawyer by training, Mr. Reich believes government can serve as an engine of economic development. To hold this opinion today brands Mr. Reich as a romantic in view of the collapse of communist central planning, Swedish planning, French planning and development planning in the Third World.

Paul Craig Roberts, an economist at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, is a columnist for The Washington Times and is nationally syndicated.

If industrial policy made the Japanese so successful, why are they in the doldrums now?

Mr. Reich has moderated his anti-market views since the worldwide collapse of socialism left no alternative to capitalism. Still, his 1991 book, "The Work of Nations," redefines class warfare and resurrects it as the basis for political discourse.

Mr. Reich believes the world's elite has constructed a "global economy" that leaves everyone else out. He argues that in the United States the richest 20 percent are highly educated, high-value-adders who operate in the global economy through multinational corporations. Their educated views control government policy, but their global cosmopolitanism has dissolved their loyalty to the society that they govern. Without national loyalty, their selfishness causes them to favor policies that benefit them but not the country.

Throughout his career, Mr. Reich has stirred the pot of antagonism against the economically successful, while calling for a larger government role in the economy. His commitment to industrial policy predates the current economic difficulties that Japan and Germany are suffering. Indeed, even our Bush-whacked economy is outperforming these two economies that Mr. Reich sees as role models.

With the rest of the world busily downsizing government, Mr. Reich's chance of upsizing the federal establishment might be slim.

Representing a different viewpoint within the Clinton camp are Al From and Robert Shapiro of the Progressive Policy Institute. Formerly, the word "progressive" symbolized the liberal's commitment to ever-bigger government, but for Mr. From and Mr. Shapiro it means making an accommodation with the market in order for society to benefit from its efficiency.

Although PPI is not prepared to support an economy in which people are wholly responsible for themselves, this moderate liberal think-tank doesn't favor ever more government responsibility for economic life.

Mr. Clinton seems to place success above ideology. If he looks beyond his advisers to the rest of the world, everywhere he will see governments pulling back from economic responsibilities. Privatization is sweeping the globe, and in some formerly socialist countries it has gone beyond industrial and commercial enterprises to include welfare, housing, Social Security and even national health care.

Mr. Clinton should not ignore the world's experience with big government in the 20th century. The time is propitious for him to move his party to the right in economic policy just as Mr. Nixon moved Republicans to the left in foreign policy.

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CHRISTOPHER MATTHEWS

Two-stage repairs

Judged by his own words and those of his chief economic adviser, President-elect Bill Clinton intends a two-stage economic program on taking office next January.

The first priority: putting people to work. To create quick new jobs, Mr. Clinton will speed up federal spending on roads, bridges and other public investments, what economists call "infrastructure." To create more private sector employment, which has shrunk under President Bush, Mr. Clinton will push for "first 100 days" enactment of business tax cuts to stimulate investment. Next will come Mr. Clinton's heroic effort to build the U.S. labor force of the future. This will include retraining for older workers, including those who are dependent for their living upon Cold War defense contracts; apprenticeship programs for younger, technical workers and a national service corps to allow those who pursue higher education to finance their college studies with a period of public service afterward.

The clues to this two-step program of Clintonomics can be found in the 46-year-old Arkansas governor's own reflections and in the writings of his chief economic adviser, Robert Reich.

Long before winning the presi-

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Christopher Matthews, Washington bureau chief for the San Francisco Examiner, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

dency, Bill Clinton was thinking hard on how to keep it. Aboard his campaign bus this August, the candidate looked out over the East Texas landscape and spoke of the political challenges that would face him in office.

It would not be enough, he argued, to place his new administration's hopes on long-term prospects: retraining America's work force; regaining the country's technical edge would take time. It was vital, he confessed, that the people see more immediate results; that they felt in the weeks and months after inauguration a new "movement" in the country; that they sensed a quickening of the nation's financial pulse; that they saw and smelled new construction, that they read and heard about people, people they knew, going back to work.

Only by stirring this sense of "movement," Mr. Clinton explained in August, could he engage the country's support in what was needed for long-term success: the creation of a state-of-the-art work force that could revitalize the American Dream and make this country once again a dangerous global competitor. Mr. Clinton's handpicked architect for this second economic stage is Harvard's Robert Reich. At 47, Mr. Reich represents, as does the president-elect, a new generation of thinking on what makes an individual or a country succeed. For Mr. Reich, the measure of a nation's wealth is the "value of what its citizens can contribute to the global economy." In a high-tech, computerized world, the people making the biggest contribution (and the most money) are those plugged into that world: engineers, lawyers, financial consultants, advertisers, moviemakers, journalists. In short, anyone able to, as Mr. Reich puts it, "solve, identify and broker problems by manipulating symbols."

In "The Work of Nations" published last year, Mr. Reich terms this new economic elite "symbolic analysts." What do these engineers, lawyers and journalists have in common? They make their living, he says, by their ability to "simplify reality into abstract images that can be rearranged, juggled, experimented with, communicated to other specialists and then eventually transformed into reality."

Put bluntly, they are the 20 percent of the American work force able to think, work and communicate in the abstract. Usually with the help of a laptop word processor like the one this particular "symbolic analyst" is pecking at now.

As Mr. Reich looks at the globe, the best hope for America to make it economically is not by bailing out threatened corporations or enacting Reaganlike tax cuts. What good is underwriting corporations, he asks, if they can shift their operations overnight to another country where they can find cheaper wages? How can a president justify "supply-side" tax cutting when capital moves so easily from one country to the next, when a "symbolic analyst" such as singer Bruce Springsteen can produce his work for CBS Records one day, Sony the next, without skipping a note or missing a sale?

So there it is: Clintonomics. In the short run: a quick, big push for roads, bridges and the smell of construction. In the long run: an even bigger push to create a larger, smarter work force of "symbolic analysts," those who make their living like Bruce Springsteen, rearranging, juggling, experimenting with and communicating symbols. It's bound to be interesting.

The Washington Times

DATE:
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INSIDE THE BELTWAY

Anti-everybody

The final report on the 1992 general election is in from the Washington-based Center for Media and Public Affairs, a nonpartisan, nonprofit research organization. And by the look of things, Americans are still seeking an ideal leader.

Almost all on-air sources — from voters to political experts — who evaluated the election process for television news programs were critical. Among these sources, 93 percent rated the quality of the campaign as poor and 94 percent criticized the role of campaign ads. But most incredible is that 100 percent (not a typo) expressed dissatisfaction with the choice of presidential candidates available to voters this year.

Which brings us to this question: Should we Americans expect potential candidates waiting in the wings to be faultless, flawless, unblemished and untainted?

That question, it turns out, was possibly answered in the 19th century, long before George Bush, Bill Clinton and Ross Perot were even considered:

"Those who would treat politics and morality apart will never understand the one or the other" — John Morley (1876).

Man of hats

Ambassador Vernon Walters can add yet another credential to his already lengthy Who's Who biography. The one-time interpreter to four presidents, decorated World War II vet, military attache, participant in the 9th Pan American Conference, NATO standing group member, Eisenhower staff assistant, decorated Vietnam vet, Nixon aide, embassy defense attache, CIA deputy director, State Department adviser, U.S. permanent representative to the U.N., ambassador to Germany, author and lecturer could be found overseas last week being inducted into the Al-Mamlaka al-Maghribiya's Royal Academy. That's Kingdom of Morocco, for short.

Ambassador Vernon Walters has another item to add to his resume.

Gen. Walters, a resident of Virginia, was sponsored for the honor by Alexandre de Marenches, former director of the French Service de Documentation Exterieure et de Contre-Espionnage. That's French Foreign Intelligence Service, for short.

Gen. Walters is a personal friend of Morocco's King Hassan II.

Deserving of same

One Washington reader has beaten some journalists to the task of evaluating how the congressional "bad check writers" fared in the elections.

Phyllis I. McClellan of Southwest told us in a letter that she typed the "bad check" list and "no bad check" list of congressmen into her computer, then ran them up against the recent election returns. Here's what she found:

"Despite this headlined expose [that 325 members of Congress wrote bad checks at the House bank], a short six months after the congressional Hill Bank, Post Office and other abuse scandals were made public, voters reelected 172 (55 percent) of these same public officials. Of the remaining check bouncers, 28 lost their seats (but not necessarily due to the bank scandal), 30 retired while they could keep their campaign funds and 65 decided to take their recently increased retirement pay and not run for office again. Fifteen more overdrawn members either ran for higher office or had been appointed to Cabinet positions."

Concluded Miss McClellan in her independent study: "If we voters are this dumb, we deserve what we get."

Ski lift

Ski Industries America, a McLean trade association, and 39 affiliated companies have collectively pledged nearly 10 tons of new ski clothing worth $1.2 million to help victims of Sarajevo's continuing turmoil. Sarajevo was the site of the 1984 Winter Olympics.

The first shipment of jackets, pants, shirts, gloves, mittens, hats, shoes and socks has already arrived in Bosnia, and more are on the way. Volunteers who accompanied the first shipment said the refugees were overcome with emotion at the gesture.

"The city is cut off from the rest of the world, and its people are facing the real possibility of freezing to death this winter," said Bob Rief, a distributor of cross-country ski equipment. "We want to give back to the people of the Olympic city as much as we can."

No more gesturing

If foreign languages confuse you, imagine what federal immigration officials face when communicating with those melting into the great pot these days. The Justice Department tells us its Office of Special Counsel for Immigration Related Unfair Employment Practices, more easily identified as OSC, can now communicate with victims of discrimination in more than 140 languages.

In other words, if you have an employee who understands only Haitian Creole and you've enjoyed paying that employee only a dollar an hour for three years, you better watch out.

"Removal of the language barrier is a significant development that will enhance OSC's enforcement efforts," says Special Counsel William Ho-Gonzalez. "We expect that many people who were deterred from contacting OSC because they did not speak English will now feel free to inform us when they have been subjected to discriminatory employment practices."

When a person calls who does not speak English, he or she will be transferred to an interpreter who will take information on the complaint. Interpreters are available 24 hours a day, seven days a week, and yes, they speak Haitian Creole, Laotian, even Slovak.

— John McCaslin

41-47

The Washington Post

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The Reliable Source

By Lois Romano

The Monday Interview

Caine, Writing His Own Role

Michael Caine just couldn't stand it anymore. "There were quite a lot of biographies written and they made me look rather shallow and disgusting," the actor gripes. "Before I forgot how it was, I just decided to set the record straight on my own record player."

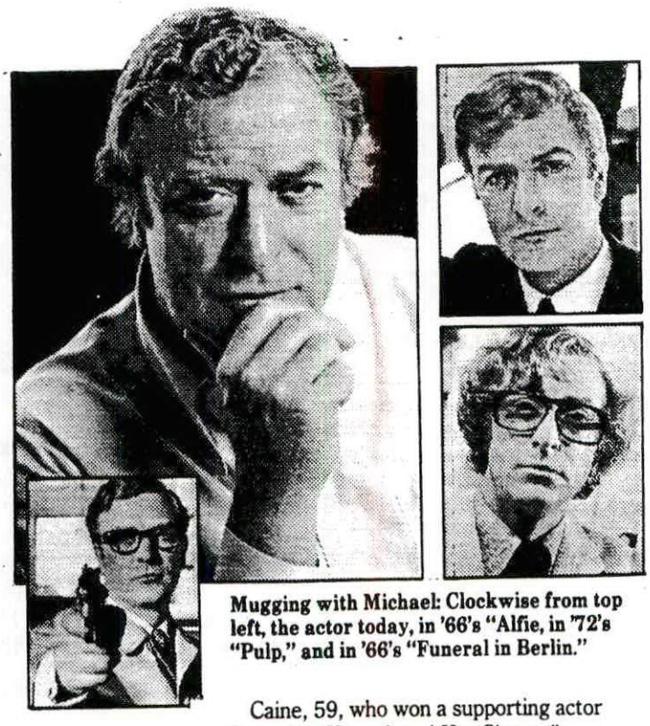
And so he did. Out this month is a 500-page rags-to-riches tale—which he insists he wrote himself ("with two fingers on a word processor")—dropping big names all the way. The title, "What's It All About?" was borrowed from 1966's "Alfie," arguably his most famous role. On Friday, the British actor, wearing jeans and a blue button-down, was mobbed at a Sidney Kramer Books autographing session here, where he sold several hundred copies of the painfully personal saga.

Before finishing the book last year, Caine was handed his dramatic finale when he received a shocking call from a British tabloid informing him that he had an epileptic half brother who had been institutionalized for 50 years. "As I stood there on the phone, they faxed me all the birth certificates and I recognized my mother's handwriting. I was stunned."

He says there's no bitterness toward his late mother, to whom he was very close. "I got to see him before he died. . . . Finally last Christmas, when both my younger brother and I showed up, he knew he was a part of family and he finally cried."

Though he still acts regularly, owns five London restaurants and hopes to write fiction next, Caine puts family first. Of second wife Shakira (whom he pursued relentlessly after spotting her in a TV commercial) and his two daughters, he tells The Post's Mary Alma Welch, "We're so close you can't get a bus ticket between the four of us. We go sailing through the storms and there're no leaks."

His movie credits hover around a whopping 70 (only one of which he says he did for the money) and the actor doesn't mask his contempt for those who dare carp that he isn't discriminating enough. "You may see a poor actor, but he may have a whole family that's well off. I had responsibilities. I live my life my way," says the actor in his familiar clipped Cockney. "I'm not a star performer, I'm an actor, so I go out on a limb doing things. Sean [Connery] and Roger [Moore] made it on the Bonds. Me, I've been out in the wilderness for 30 years doing the best that I can."



Mugging with Michael: Clockwise from top left, the actor today, in '66's "Alfie, in '72's "Pulp," and in '66's "Funeral in Berlin."

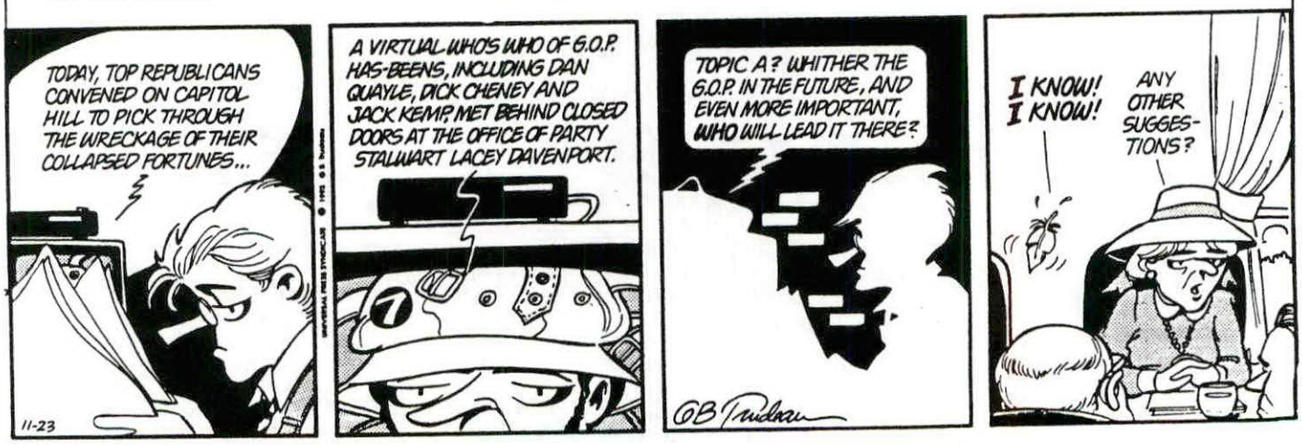
Caine, 59, who won a supporting actor Oscar for "Hannah and Her Sisters," appears next month as Scrooge in the TV movie "A Muppet Family Christmas."

Success aside, Caine seems not to have forgotten his dreary working-class roots. "You know despair can freeze one . . . and really this book is aimed at those who can't afford a hardback, but it'll be out in paperback and maybe they'll find it in a trash can after someone's discarded it and pick it up and read it and be helped by it."

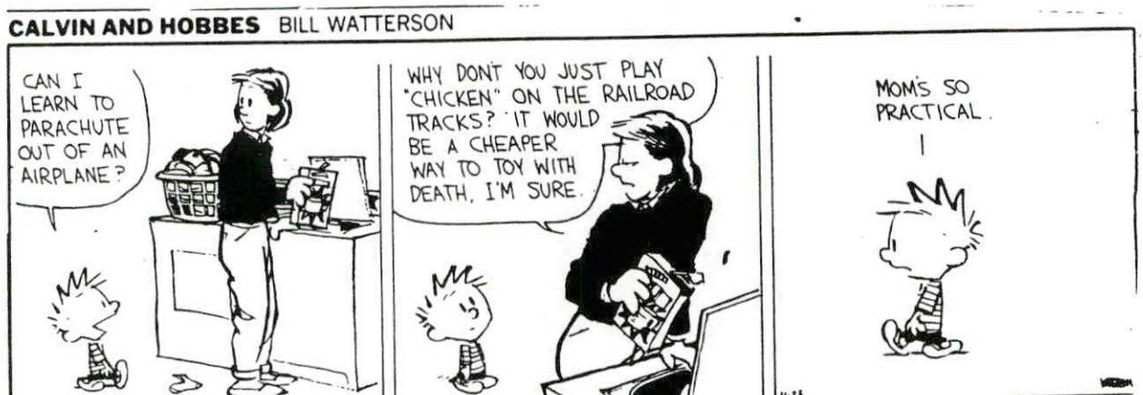
Even he found it therapeutic. "It's like 20 years of going to a psychiatrist writing this book—now I know what they do. I'm a happier, more relaxed man and I've come to terms with myself."

DOONESBURY

By G.B. Trudeau



CALVIN AND HOBBES BILL WATTERSON



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WE'VE HEARD THAT. . .

■ When **John Hechinger Sr.** saw a photo of **Tipper Gore** and **Hillary Clinton** wearing a competitor's nail aprons in Atlanta, he sent them Hechinger aprons. "Tipper's wearing it in the kitchen now," he said the other day.

■ Staffers for **Dan Quayle** were surprised when Senate Finance Committee Chairman **Lloyd Bentsen** walked into the veep's Dirksen-building digs recently, appearing to check out the real estate. Quayle staffers wondered if he was sizing up the space, which adjoins the Finance offices, for himself. A Bentsen aide assures us there are no such plans in the works. Besides, what would he tell Al?

Bentsen: Office shopping?

■ **John Brummett,** Arkansas Times political editor and Arkansas Democrat-Gazette columnist, will be moving here to write a book for Hyperion about **Bill Clinton's** first year in office. Brummett, a onetime Clinton ally who has been critical of Clinton in recent years, eventually endorsed him for president. "I always do the yellow-dog thing," he quipped the other day.

Hechinger, flacking his business; Iman, setting the record straight.

■ Super model **Iman,** newly married to musician **David Bowie,** doesn't buy into the I'll-follow-him-anywhere approach. "David and I are not the kind of couple that have to drag each other into everything we're involved in," she said the other day. "We're not like a People magazine photo."

■ First Daughter-to-be **Chelsea Clinton,** 12, has sought advice and emotional support from former First Daughter **Amy Carter,** 25, who was 9 when her father, **Jimmy,** was elected. Time magazine reports that one of Chelsea's biggest concerns is that Secret Service agents will follow her everywhere.

■ Musician and incoming presidential brother **Roger Clinton** can be seen performing a new composition, "Brother Brother," on **Maury Povich's** show this week.

THE FAR SIDE GARY LARSON

"One good thing about living in this age—all the caves are brand new."

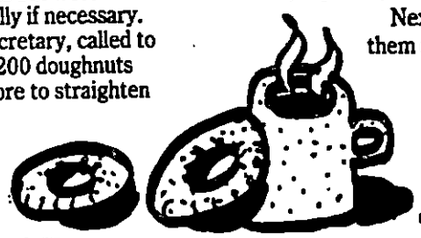
Pastry-Gate: The Democrats' Missing Dough

■ Tipped off by a concerned California trucker the other day that the **RFK Democratic Club** in Simi Valley still hadn't paid a bakery for 800 doughnuts consumed at a campaign event, we got right on the case.

And . . . the results were swift. **Jim Dantona,** club president, said he had no knowledge of any doughnuts, hadn't ordered any doughnuts, hadn't approved payment for any doughnuts but would gladly pay the bill personally if necessary. Then **Paula Allen,** club secretary, called to say she had only ordered 200 doughnuts and was heading to the store to straighten out the confusion and pay—belatedly—for her batch.

Which leaves **Patrick "Sam" Chour** of Daily Donuts still holding the bag. Chour says the order was definitely for 800 plain and sprinkled doughnuts, that Allen made two pick-ups herself and that he's been trying for two weeks to get satisfaction. Chour's not a Democrat, but "it doesn't make a difference what party you are, if somebody promises to pay me, what difference does that make, especially in this economy."

Next time, just let them eat cake.



BY MARTY PATRICK

TODAY'S TV-RADIO

NFL

9 p.m. – Washington at New Orleans. Chs. 7, 13, AM-570, AM-1090, FM-103.5.

NBA

7:35 p.m. – Atlanta vs. Boston at Hartford. TBS.

TODAY'S LINE

NFL
Washington (+4) at New Orleans

NBA
Atlanta (+5½) vs. Boston*
Seattle (–2½) at Sacramento
* at Hartford, Conn.

NHL
Washington (+1½-2) at Montreal
Pittsburgh (even-+½) at N.Y. Rangers
Boston (–½-1) at Ottawa
Tampa Bay (+½-1) at Detroit
Chicago (+1-1½) at Vancouver

TODAY IN SPORTS

■ **1947** — Sammy Baugh throws six touchdown passes as the Washington Redskins beat the St. Louis Cardinals, 45-21.
■ **1958** — Bobby Mitchell of the Cleveland Browns returns a punt and a kickoff for touchdowns in a 28-14 victory over the Philadelphia Eagles.
■ **1968** — Houston scored 49 points in the fourth quarter to rout an injury-riddled, flu-stricken Tulsa, 100-6.
■ **1984** — Doug Flutie passes for 472 yards and leads Boston College to a 47-45 upset victory over Miami, Fla. with a last second touchdown throw to Gerald Phelan.

NFL WEEK 12

Buffalo 41, Atlanta 14
Minnesota 17, Cleveland 13
Detroit 19, Cincinnati 13
Green Bay 17, Chicago 3
Miami 19, Houston 16
Pittsburgh 30, Indianapolis 14
Philadelphia 47, New York Giants 34
New England 24, New York Jets 3
Dallas 16, Phoenix 10
Los Angeles Raiders 24, Denver 0
San Francisco 27, L.A. Rams 10
San Diego 29, Tampa Bay 14
Kansas City 24, Seattle 14

■ Details, C4-7.

NHL 3

Washington 6, Quebec 4
Buffalo 4, Philadelphia 4 (OT)
New York Islanders 5, Edmonton 5 (OT)

NBA 2

Golden State 114, New Jersey 101
Chicago 128, Phoenix 111
Portland 115, Detroit 90
Denver at Los Angeles Lakers, late

INSIDE

Caps cool off Nordiques
Dale Hunter returned to Quebec and haunted his former teammates with two goals and two assists as the Caps topped the Nordiques 6-4. Quebec had its seven-game unbeaten streak stopped. **Story, C3.**

Becker, Seles win finales
Germany's Boris Becker has been the hottest player on the men's tennis tour for the past two months. Monica Seles, meanwhile, has been the dominant force in the women's game for quite some time. Yesterday, both players put the finishing touches on the 1992 season with straight-set victories in the season-ending championships. **Story, C10.**

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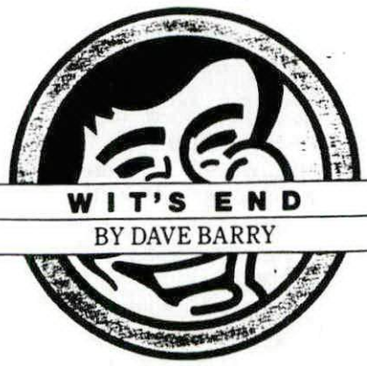

WIT'S END
BY DAVE BARRY

Home Alone

TODAY'S SCARY TOPIC FOR PARents is: What Your Children Do When You're Not Home.

I have here a letter from Buffalo working mom Judy Price concerning her 14-year-old son, David, "who should certainly know better, because the school keeps telling me he is a genius, but I have not seen signs of this in our normal, everyday life."

Judy states that one day when she came home from work, David met her outside and said: "Hi, Mom. Are you going in?"

(This is a bad sign, parents.)

Judy says she considered replying, "No, I thought I'd just stay here in the car all night and pull away for work in the morning."

That actually would have been a wise idea. Instead, she went inside, where she found a large black circle burned into the middle of her kitchen counter.

"DAVID!" she screamed. "WHAT WERE YOU COOKING?"

The soft, timid reply came back: "A baseball."

"A baseball," Judy writes. "Of course. What else could it be? How could I forget to tell my children never to cook a baseball? It's my fault, really."

It turns out that according to David's best friend's cousin—and if you can't believe HIM, who CAN you believe?—you can hit a baseball three times as far if you really heat it up first. So David did this, and naturally he put the red-hot pan down directly onto the counter top, probably because there was no rare antique furniture available.

For the record: David claims that the heated baseball did, in fact, go farther. But this does NOT mean that you young readers should try this foolish and dangerous experiment at home. Use a friend's home.

No, seriously, you young people should never heat a baseball without proper adult supervision, just as you should never—and I say this from personal experience—attempt to make a rumba box.

A rumba box is an obscure musical instrument that consists of a wooden box with metal strips attached to it in such a way that when you plunk them, the box resonates with a pleasant rhythmic sound. The only time I ever saw a rumba box was in 1964, when a friend of my parents named Walter Karl played one at a gathering at our house, and it sounded great. Mr. Karl explained that the metal strips were actually pieces of the spring from an old-fashioned wind-up phonograph. This gave my best friend, Lanny Watts, an idea. He realized two things:

1. His parents had an old-fashioned wind-up phonograph they hardly ever used.

2. They both worked out of the home.

So Lanny and I decided to make our own rumba box. Our plan, as I recall it, was to take the phonograph apart, snip off a bit of the spring, then put the phonograph back together, and nobody would be the wiser. This plan worked perfectly until we removed the metal box that held the phonograph spring; this box turned out to be very hard to open.

"Why would they make it so strong?" we asked ourselves.

Finally, recalling the lessons we had learned about mechanical advantage in high school physics class, we decided to hit the box with a sledge hammer.

Do you remember the climactic scene in the movie "Raiders of the Lost Ark," when the Nazis open up the Ark of the Covenant, and out surges a terrifying horde of fury and the Nazis' heads melt like chocolate bunnies in a microwave? Well, that's similar to what happened when Lanny sledge-hammered the spring box. It turns out that the reason the box is so strong is that there is a really powerful, tightly wound, extremely irritable spring in there, and when you let it out, it just goes berserk, writhing and snarling and thrashing violently all over the room, seeking to gain revenge on all the people who have cranked it over the years.

Lanny and I fled the room until the spring calmed down. When we returned, we found phonograph parts spread all over the room, mixed in with approximately 2.4 miles of spring. We realized we'd have to modify our Project Goal slightly, from making a rumba box to being on an entirely new continent when Lanny's mom got home.

Actually, Mrs. Watts went fairly easy on us, just as Judy Price seems to have been good-humored about her son's heating the baseball. Moms are usually pretty good that way.

But sometimes I wonder. You know how guys are always complaining that they used to have a baseball-card collection that would be worth a fortune today if they still had it, but their moms threw it out? And the guys always say, "Mom just didn't know any better."

Well, I wonder if the moms knew exactly what they were doing.

Getting even. ■

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ILLUSTRATION BY HAL MAYFORTH

FORUM

The Washington Times

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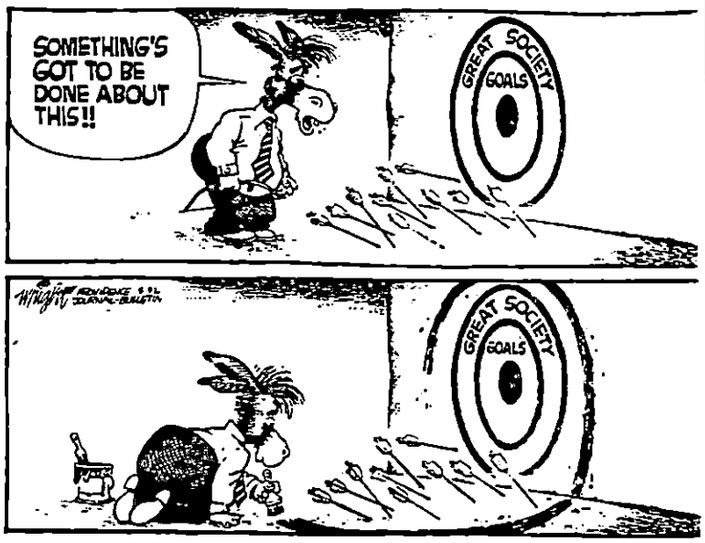
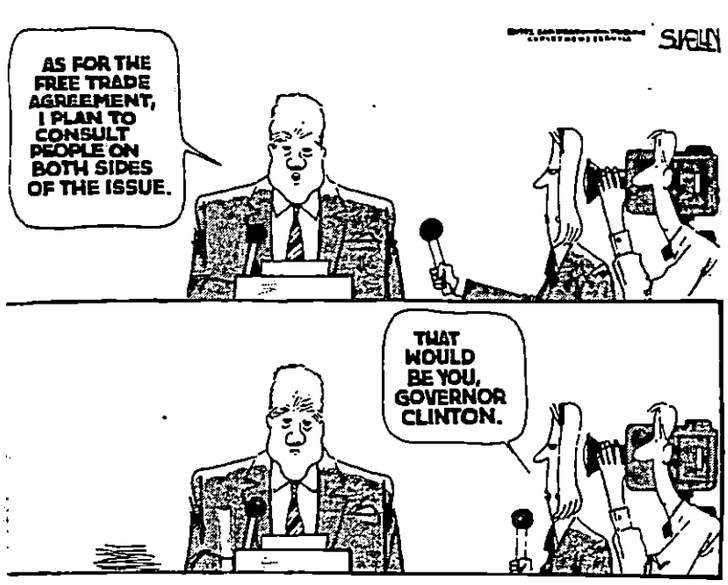


"AND AFTER A TAP OF MY CANE," SAID THE SENSATIONAL SLICK, "I SHALL PULL $45 BILLION OUT OF MY HAT!"



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WASHINGTOON®

Mark Alan Stamaty

The cartoonist is a contributor to the Village Voice.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

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What's News—

World-Wide

NATO BEGAN a blockade of the former Yugoslavia as artillery pounded Sarajevo.

Warships of the Western allies began stopping and searching ships in the Adriatic Sea under a U.N. embargo aimed at ending the fighting in Bosnia. Meanwhile, the capital of the former Yugoslav republic suffered its worst bombardment in 10 days as shells rained near the president's offices and a cease-fire appeared near collapse. The government accused Serb forces of deploying Scud missiles to threaten two towns.

U.N. troops moved to protect relief warehouses in Travnik, a town northwest of Sarajevo clogged with refugees fleeing approaching Serb forces.

* * *

TORNADOES KILLED 20 people and caused heavy damage across the South.

Fifteen of the deaths were in Mississippi, where 150 people were injured after nine twisters touched down late Saturday. The town of Brandon, 15 miles east of Jackson, was hit hardest. Four other people were killed yesterday in Georgia, Tennessee and Kentucky, and a tornado watch was in effect in the South and Midwest. The death toll exceeded that of Hurricane Andrew.

Thousands of residents from Texas to Indiana were without power, and officials in some states said they were preparing to seek federal disaster aid.

* * *

Peruvians voted in legislative elections, defying a bombing campaign by Shining Path guerrillas. At least six bombs went off in Lima yesterday, injuring two. Exit polls showed candidates aligned with President Fujimori, who dissolved Congress in April, were leading. The two main opposition parties, however, weren't participating.

* * *

British Labor lawmakers questioned whether public funds should be used to rebuild Windsor Castle, which was badly damaged by a fire Friday. Losses are still being calculated. The castle, which contained many historic paintings and furnishings, was begun in 1070 and most recently served as the queen's weekend residence.

* * *

Syria benefits from its links with drug traffickers in Lebanon and President Assad's brother is involved in the trade, according to a congressional report. The disclosures by Rep. Schumer, head of a House crime panel, could affect Mideast peace efforts if Clinton decides to make an issue of them.

* * *

Federal mining inspectors said the head of the Interior Department agency that monitors coal mining repeatedly intervened to help coal companies accused of violating regulations, the New York Times reported. Interior Secretary Lujan, who was accused by the inspectors of ignoring the interference, declined to comment on the report.

* * *

An aide to former Sen. Brooke pleaded guilty to a misdemeanor charge in an inquiry into influence peddling at HUD during the Reagan administration. In a plea agreement, the aide said Brooke, who hasn't been charged, lied to investigators in 1988 about using influence to obtain HUD funds for a client. (Article on Page A16)

* * *

Sen. Packwood issued an apology but refused to discuss a report that 10 women, most of them former members of his staff, have said he sexually harassed them over the years. The allegations were reported in an article in the Washington Post, which said the Oregon Republican denied them shortly before his Nov. 3 re-election.

* * *

Violence in Germany surged over the weekend as radical leftist and rightist gangs fought battles in five towns that left at least one person dead and 25 seriously injured. Meanwhile, a radio report in Israel said a Jewish man had been beaten and burned to death in Germany nine days ago. German police wouldn't comment on the report.

* * *

Angolan political parties agreed to form a new Parliament by the end of the week with or without the Unita opposition, which has threatened to renew military action. Unita leader Savimbi initially rejected the results of the September legislative elections, which were won by a rival party, but said last week he would abide by them.

* * *

The Bush administration decided to abandon its effort to redefine wetlands to reduce the acreage protected by federal regulations. The effort, led by Quayle, prompted a contentious debate between environmentalists and business interests.

* * *

Died: Kaysone Phomvihane, 72, leader of Laos since the Communist takeover in 1975, Saturday, of an unspecified illness.