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

OA/ID Number: 90738
Folder ID Number: 90738-007

Folder Title:
Monday, November 30, 1992 [5]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	35	2	7	0



THE PRESIDENT

November 30, 1992

Daily

Dear Bertie,

Thanks for your wonderful, thoughtful note. Now Mum and "George" are in the same Heaven. Isn't that a nice thought. I loved my mother a lot, but you know that, thus, your note meant a lot to me. I was so glad that I was able to see her for an hour or so on the day she died.

It's been a tough November in a lot of ways, but now we're setting our sights on the future. We hope to see you more in that future.

Love,

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mrs. George De B. Bell
1226 Rock Creek Road
Gladwyne, Pennsylvania 19035

CC: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (2cc)



Thank you so much for your warm expression of sympathy. Your thoughts and prayers mean a lot to the entire Bush family. Dorothy Walker Bush was a caring and kind person and a loving mother, and we will miss her.

Ay Bush

Barbara Bush



Nov. 25th

Dearest George,

Tomorrow is Thanksgiving and it will be a time when your family and mine, share a sadness of losing a loved one. Your mother was such a presence in your life and your childrens and how very much she helped you grow and nurture the values and principles that have made you such a great President, father, and husband. I feel so strongly, as I do about my George, that her love continues on and on as she lives in the hearts of all your family. George and I were so privileged to know your

mother and father and my memories go back to Picots
neck in the early fifties, when the Bells would tell me
that Pres and Dottie were coming for lunch and golf
from Kennebunkport. They were so charming and interested
in what the young married George Bells were up to, and
I dare say that your mother, even visiting her for a few
days in Maine with Baw last July, was the most gracious
lady in her reading days and in declining health. What a
role model she was to family and friends and she taught
so many people throughout her life - surely, that is the
measure of success in this world.

Your mother was so proud of her son, the President
of the United States, and so were the George Bells.
A few days before George died, he still had your farewell
letter to him on his bedside table, and your love and friendship
meant so much to him and always will to me. Affectionately,
Bertie



THE PRESIDENT

Daily
November 30, 1992

Dear Ellie and George,

Thanks so much for your note about my mother and about the election. It's been a tough November in a lot of ways, but now we're setting our sights on the future. Mother lead a full life. She was my leader and mentor in every possible way, and oh how I loved her.

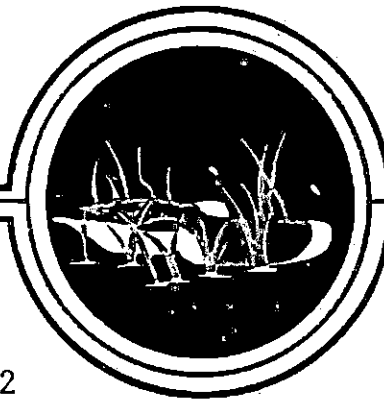
Thanks for checking in. I hope that in our private life that's about to ensue that we will get to see you again.

Warmest regards,

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. and Mrs. George Matchneer
7073 Havens Corners
Blacklick, Ohio 43004

cc: R.Zamaria
2 copies



November 20, 1992

President George Bush
Whitehouse
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington DC, 20500

Dear President Bush,

Ellie and I were very sorry to hear of the death of your mother yesterday. We know she has been in poor health for some time, but when a loved one finally leaves us it is always very painful. Our hearts go out to you, and you and your family are in our prayers. My mother felt quite close to her and kept abreast of all that was going on in her family. She was a wonderful woman, though I hardly knew her myself.

Also, I want to offer our condolences on the loss of the election. It was a great disappointment to us and brings a feeling of apprehension about the future, but we have to believe that the system does work and many of the problems facing us will be worked out. There is life after the presidency, and we know you and Barbara will fulfill challenges to direct your energies. You have a splendid record on which to look back. You should be proud of it. I know we are.

Most sincerely yours

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Ellie & George". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed names.

Ellie and George Matchmeer



THE PRESIDENT

November 30, 1992

Dear Henry,

Mum was a very special person. She was our leader and our mentor in every way, and already I miss her an awful lot. Your note helped though. You care. You are my friend and that matters.

Warmest regards,

THE WHITE HOUSE

The Honorable Henry E. Catto, Jr.
Director
U.S. Information Agency
301 Fourth Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20547

CC: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (2cc)

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
DIRECTOR

Mar 20 1992



Dear George,

When my dad died in 1981, the most moving and precious his note I got was your letter for me that I feel. Also, it is moving and I do much to identify the deep affection and respect for you that I don't seem able to express all - then and I don't seem able to express all - quality. Suffice it to say that you put all the best family are very proud in

CON UN FUERTE AGRAZO,

Wu

The thoughts and prayers of James and
me.



THE PRESIDENT

November 30, 1992

Dear Carla and Hector,

Thanks for your wonderful note about my mother. You know how much I loved her, and thus your letter means an awful lot to us. On January 20th I'll return, so save a little time for my return to court one. Spread the word El Rey is returning and ready for action.

Warmest regards, *Love*

Er B /

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. and Mrs. Hector Salazar
5833 Sugar Hill
Houston, Texas 77057

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (2cc)

November 20, 1992

Dear Ed Rey,

Our mother is our most sincere friend,
best advisor, wisest critic and one
who loves us, above all.

We wish to express our deepest
sympathy for your loss.

Our prayers are with you.

Con afecto
Hector and Carla



THE PRESIDENT

November 30, 1992

Daily

Dear Barry,

Thanks for that thoughtful note about my mother. I am very grateful to you for checking in. Let me take this opportunity to congratulate you on your victory. It was a bright spot in a sometimes not so bright day. I know you will do a great job for our state, and soon we will be back there to watch you close up.

With warmest regards to you and Holly,

Sincerely,

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. Barry A. Williamson
9523 Hillview
Dallas, Texas 75231

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (2cc)

Barry Williamson

Dear Mr. President,

Holly and I were deeply
saddened to learn of the death of
your mother. Our thoughts and
prayers are with you and your
family.

Our warmest personal regards,

Barry

11-20-92



THE PRESIDENT

November 30, 1992

Daily

Dear Sally,

You were sweet to check in about mother. She was my inspirational leader and mentor in every possible way. I am so pleased I got to see her on the day she went to Heaven.

Thanks for caring. Barbara joins me in sending our love to you and Dick.

Sincerely, *Love*

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mrs. Sally LeBlond
Post Office Box 1933
Ponte Vedra Beach, Florida 32004

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (2cc)

Friday

Dear George -

God bless your
darling mother - She was
truly the prettiest woman
I knew but more
importantly the dearest
soul ever. Fabulous
example for one and
all.

Dick joins me in
sending our love and we
pray all the time for
you and Bar.

Fondly Sally Lef.

Nov. 20, 1992



THE PRESIDENT

November 30, 1992

File

Dear Alex,

Thanks for your note about my mother. She was a very special person. The leader of our family in every way. I am very pleased that I got the chance to see her on the very day she went to Heaven.

We missed you at Camp David, but I certainly understand. After all, you were writing to this sport's fan who will be following these games a lot more closely after January 20. My warmest regards to Faye and, once again, thank you for your thoughtful note.

Sincerely,

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. Alex G. Spanos
1341 W. Robinhood Drive
Stockton, CA 95207

cc: R. Zamaria
2 copies

Alex G. Spanos

Nov. 20/92

Dear Mr. President & Barbara:

Faye and I extend our deepest and most sincere sympathy for the loss of your mother. You have been ~~one~~ our thoughts and prayers because we think the world ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{of} ~~you~~ ^{of} you.

May God bless you for all you have done for this country and the world.

We were really honored to receive your invitation to visit you at Camp David, but the timing was not right because of my 6 ant ball games. The weekend of Nov. 21 and 22 we have home games which I attend unfailingly.

Unfortunately, we could

not make the trip in
time to be in San Diego
for the game. However,
should there be another
date, Faye and I would
love to come.

Thank you so much
and God bless you.

Alex



THE PRESIDENT

November 30, 1992

Dear Pete,

Thanks for that lovely, caring note about Mum. You know better than most that she was not only my beloved mother, but our leader and our mentor in every way. I went up to see her in Greenwich the very day she died, and I'll treasure that memory for a long, long time. Although it was clear then that she was ready to go to Heaven.

Thanks, Pete, for checking in. On January 20th we'll be back in Houston, and I look forward to seeing a lot more of you. Good luck and warmest best wishes.

Sincerely,

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. Peter H. Roussel
6515 Brompton Road
Houston, Texas 77005

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (2cc)

Peter H. Roussel

6515 Brompton Road
Houston, Texas
77005

November 20

Dear Mr. President,

Please know how deeply sorry I was to learn of your mother's passing. I will realize that words on a piece of paper seem like such small comfort at times like these, but this is to say that you, your mother and all the Bush family are in my thoughts and prayers.

Your mom was an incredible lady, and often when in her presence, I was reminded of my mom, and that always means a lot. I feel so fortunate to have known both your parents. They surely touched and helped inspire my life in ways that will forever endure.

Indelible in my memory is the first time I
ever met your dad -- my first day on the
job in D.C., 1969. The three of us had
breakfast at Palisade Cafe. It was such
a special occasion for me and the memory
is so vivid.

A particularly fond memory of your mom
occurred in Hobbs Sound, 1974, when she spent
the night there in the midst of lengthy travels.
As before, it was such a special occasion
and she was so terrific -- a memory I will
forever cherish.

God bless her. And may the days
ahead bring to you and all the family
an inner peace in the knowledge and
memory that the world was so truly
blessed by the presence of a great, great lady.
With deepest sympathy,

Phyllis



THE PRESIDENT

November 30, 1992

Daily

Dear Marion,

Thanks for your note. Now Mum and "Ralph" are in the same Heaven. Isn't that a nice thought. I loved my mother a lot, but you know that, thus, your note meant a lot to me.

We send our love and look forward to being your neighbor.

Most sincerely, *Love*

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mrs. C. Fred Chambers
421 Circle Drive
Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (2cc)

There

Dearest George,

My heart goes out to you tonight. Your friends have called to tell me about your mother. I've always thought of her as being the role model in this business of being a woman and mother. Through the years I cared so much for her - as did Fred even though she always called him Ralph.

My love & prayers go to you and all your fine wonderful family,
and her

Mary



THE PRESIDENT

Daily
November 30, 1992

Dear Diana,

That was a sweet note you sent me about my mother. I think you know how much I loved her. I'm pleased I saw her the very day she went to Heaven. I miss her already, but I guess that's the way life is. Nan Ellis is in Egypt, but I am sure your note will meet up with her, too.

My warmest regards and my most sincere thanks to you.

Sincerely,

THE WHITE HOUSE

Ms. Diana H. Walker
3414 Lowell Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20016

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (2cc)

DIANA H. WALKER
3414 LOWELL STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20016

NW. 24

Dear Mr. President,

I wanted to write you a note to express my sympathy, as I will to you, for the death of your mother. I realize how ill she was; I realize what a long and wonderful life she lived. I don't believe that makes her passing any easier. To lose one's last parent must be a lonely feeling indeed - like being left alone when one is a child. I don't want to put that upon you, as inevitable as it is.

But thinking of you, I hope you will take enormous comfort in the gifts you gave your mother. As one myself

can
I hardly imagine the joy and pride she must
have taken in your wonderful life of
achievement. I just can't imagine such
gifts as you gave her, by your extraordinary
life of public service. I remember well
photographing you with Mrs. Bush in the
 Oval Office on January 21, 1989 - a joy
just to watch.

Perhaps the greatest gift you gave
her and the gift that should help ^{you} get
through these low times is your own
family - your children - their children.
It all keeps going, in a wonderful, warming
way. Pieces of your mother and father
keep gracing one generation after
another. - I hope you can take some
comfort in that.

My kindest warmest regards
and sympathy. Diana Walsh



THE PRESIDENT

November 30, 1992

Daily

Dear Taylor,

Thanks for that thoughtful letter of November 20. You wrote it because you know how much I loved my mother. She was the guiding light in our family. I am glad that I saw her on the day she went to Heaven.

Thanks for caring.

Sincerely,

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. J. Taylor Blanton
c/o Mrs. Mary Allen
112 Garden Lane
Monroe, LA 71203

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (2cc)



Thank you so much for your warm expression of sympathy. Your thoughts and prayers mean a lot to the entire Bush family. Dorothy Walker Bush was a caring and kind person and a loving mother, and we will miss her.

Ay Bush

Barbara Bush

November 20
Dear Mr. President,
I was so sorry to hear about the
death of your mother. She was such a
lovely, generous lady and I know how
much you loved her and will miss her.
It was always obvious how much
Barbara loved and admired her. The

Love makes me sad for both of you.
Thank goodness all got to see you
be President. How proud we must
have been!

Sincerely,
Taylor



THE PRESIDENT

Daily
November 30, 1992

Dear Dan,

Thanks ever so much for that thoughtful letter about mother. When it rains, it pours. I was very close to my mom. She was our family leader in every possible way. I saw her for an hour or so on the very day she went to Heaven, and I will treasure that for the rest of my life.

Thanks, my dear friend, for checking in with me and thanks for caring. Soon I'll be back in Texas, and I hope our paths cross more often in the future than they have in the last few years.

Warmest regards,

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. Dan Gillcrist
Gillcrist Municipals Management
236 Montezuma Avenue
Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (2cc)

GILLCRIST MUNICIPALS MANAGEMENT

236 MONTEZUMA AVENUE

SANTA FE, NM 87501

505/988-1325 FAX 505/988-1794

Dear George

11-20-92

I was saddened at the news that your mother had died. I met her only once at your homestead when you + I did some event for Nixon in 1968. Even though she was quite elderly and infirm it is as though someone took away a big chunk from your foundation. When my mother died I felt a little more alone somehow even though I have a family of my own. It doesn't seem to matter how old you are either.

In going through some things today I came across a picture of you and my mother and it touched me and caused a flood of memories. Thanks for being so generous with your time and hospitality when she visited your UN offices.

I do not know of an American who has worked harder or longer and with so much heart for my country. I want to thank you for all the years and emotion you have given

GILLCRIST MUNICIPALS MANAGEMENT

236 MONTEZUMA AVENUE
SANTA FE, NM 87501
505/988-1325 FAX 505/988-1794

2

for our country - I feel a tremendous sense of gratitude. Thanks.

The election was a lousy deal. I have talked myself hoarse about the subject and the fact is, it's over - done - irreversible. The good news is that you finally get a break to do exactly what you want - no more putting up with things + people. Do + say what you wish - have fun with your wonderful grandchildren - write your book - build your library - be available to help out the government when they need you which they will. Everything on your terms. History, I am confident, will treat you well indeed sir.

Ironically, I also came across the letter you wrote me after we got beat in 1970 (enclosed) your only other defeat in your life! Not bad. You were pretty down then and look what happened to you!

Finally please put me on the list of people with stuff for your library.

I kept lots of memos + correspondence
and bumper stickers and the like related
to the 1970 campaign. Its all yours when
you want it.

Your Barbara made my Barbara a
'Bush Bag' when our daughter Marion was
deathly sick at Texas Childrens Hosp.
(Remember those bags?) Anyway, Barbara
wants to donate her bag. That bag really
says something about your Bar and
damn sure ought to be in the library.

Both you and Bar are handling
this transition in a first class fashion
all the way ... why am I not surprised?

With deep gratitude + love,

Alan



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

GEORGE BUSH
TEXAS-7TH DISTRICT

Dear Dan,

I enjoyed our
brief phone chat - let me
try to set down here what
I tried inelegantly to say.

You worked your ass
off - you had perhaps the
toughest job of all, but
you did it with guts
and firmness; and
you did it so that

even though they held
came away respecting you

I had hoped we
would be going on together
but getting home in
on Tuesday ended that
at least for now.

Thanks for all you
did for me. I just
wish it had ended
differently -

Needless to say I
want to be in your
future as a friend and
as a guy wanting to see
life sing for you - Thanks my
friend - Ag



1231 h70T

Daily



THE PRESIDENT

November 30, 1992

Dear Cameron,

Thanks for that wonderful letter about the election and note about my mother. They mean a lot to me. It's been a tough November in a lot of ways, but now we're setting our sights on the future. Mum was my leader and mentor in every way, and I was glad I got to see her the day she went to Heaven.

Back to Houston on January 20th, and life looks bright. We'll always be grateful for your support through the years and send our warmest best wishes to all Clarks.

Sincerely,

P.S. Give our love to Betsy the next time you see her.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. Cameron Clark, Jr.
Post Office Box 39
Southport, CT 06490

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (2cc)

CAMERON CLARK, JR.

November 20, 1992

Dear George:

With great sadness I learned
this morning of your mother's passing.
I had the personal honor of meeting
through the years on numerous occasions.
She was a great and honorable lady.

Lucette joins me in sending our
love and deepest sympathies.

With respect

Cameron Clark.

CAMERON CLARK, JR.
P. O. Box 39
SOUTHPORT, CONNECTICUT 06490
(203) 259-0400

November 19, 1992

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear George:

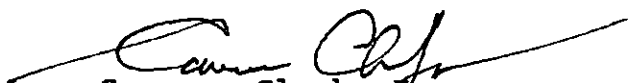
I am deeply saddened that this election didn't go our way. However, we have much for which to be thankful under your leadership. The principles in which we believe have been building to reality for 12 years. We now need to seek new approaches to sustain this momentum. Too much has been gained to be lost. Through your service as Vice President and President, you brought integrity and credibility to the leadership roles of those offices, and in your role as principal leader of Desert Storm, you reignited world respect for the United States. I am very proud to have been a small player on your great team.

With the election over, it is a time to look back before looking forward again. I find it hard to believe that my involvement with your candidacies began in 1979 when I played a small part in a Bush fundraiser at the Stamford Marriott, and Lucetta first met Barbara at a coffee klatch at Gene and Edie Moore's. From those two events, we both became committed to your candidacy. The experience certainly has been both exhilarating and rewarding.

In looking through my files I am reminded of our involvement with your office on the Central American peace process, your support for my role as an advisor to the Kissinger Commission in 1985, the Guatemalan Election Commission, my tour as Finance Chairman for brother Prescott's senatorial attempt in Connecticut, and finally the big one, your successful run for the Presidency in 1988. These were exciting and heady times, and thanks to you I have made many new and wonderful friends, the most special being Betsy Heminway.

I want to express to you my sincerest thanks for your very important contribution to the world at large, to our country, and to the Clark family. You have earned our complete devotion and respect, and we wish you well as you and Barbara move on in your lives.

Sincerely,


Cameron Clark, Jr.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

NOVEMBER 30th

, 19⁹²

PRESIDENT BUSH

	TIME		NAME	ACTION
	PLACED	DISC		
OUT	7:53 AM	9:19	CONGRESSMAN G.V. MONTGOMERY OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. 202-225-5031	TLKD-OK 9:18 A.M.
INC	PM			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	8:05 AM	8:08	MR. ROBERT B. HOLT RES: MIDLAND, TX. 915-682-3086	TLKD-OK 8:06 A.M.
INC	PM			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	8:05 AM	8:38	MS. TERRI LACY RES: HOUSTON, TX. 713-789-5224	TLKD-OK 8:37 A.M.
INC	PM			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT			MR. RICHARD N. BOND OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. 202-863-8700	TLKD-OK 1:41 P.M.
INC	1:40 PM	1:54		
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT			MR. GEORGE STRAIT OFC: NASHVILLE, TN. 615-329-2402	LW 4:36 P.M. PER MR. WOOLSEY, HE WILL TRY TO GET MESSAGE TO MR. STRAIT
INC	3:02 PM			5:10 P.M.
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT			MR. DANA CARVEY RES: SAN FERNANDO, CA. 818-986-4391	TLKD-OK 6:34 P.M.
INC	3:14 PM	6:37		

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

NOVEMBER 30th

, 19⁹²

PRESIDENT BUSH

	TIME		DISC	NAME	ACTION
	PLACED				
OUT	XX	AM		MR. ANTHONY COEHLO OFC: NEW YORK, N.Y. 212-492-6423	CLEARED BY MRS. ROSE M. ZAMARIA 5:02 P.M. TLKS-OK 5:03 P.M.
INC	5:01	PM	5:03		
OUT		AM			
INC		PM			
OUT	XX	AM		MRS. MARY MATALIN WASHINGTON, D.C. 202-966-0236	TLKD-OK 7:23 P.M.
INC	7:08	PM	7:27		
OUT		AM			
INC		PM			
OUT		AM		MRS. KATHERINE SUPER GREAT FALLS, VA. 703-757-7531	TLKD-OK 7:32 P.M.
INC	7:15	PM	7:35		
OUT		AM			
INC		PM			
OUT	XX	AM		MRS. MARGARET BUSH RES: ALEXANDRIA, VA. 703-329-8497	TLKD-OK WITH MR. MARVIN BUSH 8:03 P.M.
INC	7:55	PM	8:05		
OUT		AM			
INC		PM			
OUT	XX	AM		MRS. DOROTHY KOCH RES: BETHESDA, MD. 301-229-4594	TLKD-OK 7:58 P.M.
INC	7:55	PM	7:59		
OUT		AM			
INC		PM			
OUT	XX	AM		MRS. DOROTHY KOCH RES: BETHESDA, MD. 301-229-4594	TLKD-OK 8:00 P.M.
INC	8:00	PM	8:01		

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

NOVEMBER 30th

, 19⁹²_____

[illegible]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM
SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD

November 30, 1992

	TIME		NAME	ACTION
	PLACED	DISC		
OUT XXX	10:05 AM PM	11:33	Conference Call: President Boris N. Yeltsin Residence, Moscow, Russia	Tlkd-ok 11:19 AM via DVL
OUT INC	AM PM		Mrs. Jennefer E. Shelt White House Situation Room White House Signal 7-2264	
OUT INC	AM PM		Mr. R. Nicholas Burns White House Situation Room White House Signal 7-2264	
OUT INC	AM PM		Mr. Dimitry Zarechnak White House Situation Room White House Signal 7-2262	
OUT XXX	AM 4:48 PM	5:45	Ms. Elizabeth Wise Residence, Brussels, Belgium 648-1210	Busy-keep trying 4:50 PM Tlkd-ok 5:41 PM
OUT INC	AM PM			
OUT INC	AM PM			
OUT INC	AM PM			
OUT INC	AM PM			

4. 1. 2

LOCATION Washington, D.C.

DATE 30 November 1992

TIME

MOVEMENTS

[illegible]

daily 11-30

John Bush



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Nov.30, 1992

Dear John,

I have read and re-read your letter to me.

Since that letter came in, Mum left us. It's kind of like our compass is spinning a little. Even when she was tired and failing she was our guide. I walked by the Bungalow a lot this long Thanksgiving weekend. I found myself choking up. Then I found myself smiling. The agents probably said to each other "The old guy's finally lost it". But I couldn't help think of the happy things and the sad things, but always at the center was Mum, stable, loving, kind, generous, thinking of the other guy, interested, unfailingly kind, always kind. What an example she set for us all. What you wrote about her for her service was very special, and in a sense, said it all. Now we'll spread out. We'll go our ways more, but we should not fly apart like a centrifuge. I don't think we will.

You and Jody did a lot of the loving care side of things for Mum. You were unfailing in seeing her, in calling her, in loving her. We never failed in that last category; but now I think I was pretty selfish in the "seeing" and even in the "calling" department. Bottom line --- you both were terrific.

Now back to your letter. I loved it. I will always be grateful for your loyal advocacy. I am adjusting to the realities. We are building a little house. We are planning for the future. I am beginning to see the bright side of things. I will always regret not finishing the course. Recall the Kenyan runner in the Olympics, who limped across the finish line 45 minutes behind the leaders. He was hurting bad. "My country didn't send me all this way to start the race, they sent me here to finish it". I didn't finish the course, and I will always regret that.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Today, though, I was having lunch with Speaker Foley, a decent man, and with my pal Sonny Montgomery and a couple of other Congressmen. In walks Tip O'Neil, a respected friend- a guy I really like. After saying "You ran a lousy campaign" (for which I thanked him) he said "Don't worry, you'll leave this place with a lot of people loving you. You're a good man. You've been a good President". I'm used to political BS after all these years, but Tip meant it and that gave me some better perspective. I don't know how history will treat us. Your letter carried a very generous assessment of that; but I do know I tried my hardest (Mum, are you listening). I also know I had more loyal support than anyone could ever dream about- and John you're up there at the top of the list on that category. I also know the press were more hateful than I can ever recall in modern political times. I have to get over my "hating". I also know it's been worth the effort. We've done some things that will last and that are good for our great Country. I am rambling here, but I am, as I write, still trying to sort things out. I guess what I hate the most is the charge by the liberals in the media that I never stood for anything, that I didn't care about people, that I was out of touch. I stood for a lot of things on issues (education, home ownership, points of light, less regulation, less taxes etc.-you generously cited many such things), but what I want to have people know I stood for were "Duty, Honor, Country" and yes, as Dad taught us, "service". That's not all bad.

Thanks my brother for lifting the spirits of this bowed but not beaten brother-president. I will always, evermore, be grateful for your loyalty and love.

Devotedly

From the desk of
George Bush

Robin

I wrote Jon Bush

last nite -

*Put copy of outgoing
with this letter - Thanks*

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

November 19, 1992

Dear Mr. President,

Almost three weeks since the election, and still I can't get it out of my mind.

Why has come up with a grand action, don't watch television or read the newspaper. It is a great action, but a

part in the application, the New York Times came in the morning, and I find myself guilty of a kind of mental fascination.

I can't keep looking through looking in

the names of those hated little people

who attacked you, vilified you, and

along with non sense, ultimately brought you down.

I can't keep down the tide of

hate that well up within me as I think

of those people now rejoicing in a

factory that must ultimately mark

the beginning of a long period of decline

in the United States.

Saturday at the Yale Princeton

game I started to sing the star

spangled banner but only sang a few

bars before I thought of you leading

our country and the tears choked my voice.

People will say, "well he's been in office for a long time" or "now he can get a much needed rest," and I feel the anger starting up again. To such people think I want to hear such inappropriate comments. What has been lost is a leader of heroic proportions. Because people are so influenced by television they actually believed that a smooth talking reptile, with a well rehearsed line who caught them when they were restless and sold them a bill of goods, might provide some magic cure.

Coward people will ask what I thought of Ross Perot, and I feel the veins in my neck stand out with anger that this horrid little man could have wrecked such havoc with our political system.

The F.C.C. is in existence, among other things, to protect people from

faulty advertising. Yet here was this little megalomaniac spending sixty million dollars of his own money to lead people down a primrose path away from an appropriate choice. And those millions that were waylaid by him upheld his message of fiscal conservatism even though it would have been impossible to enact a program based on such a message. They liked the message and the fools voted for him instead of for you, because overwhelmingly they would have been your voters.

The only conceivable solace is that H. Ross, a graduate of the Naval Academy, can take pride in witnessing the admission of homosexuals to the military, and he can watch as the new president fails to deal with the growth in the entitlement programs preferring to watch the deficit begin an ever ^{steeper climb} ~~climb~~ to taking a position at odds with his Democratic Congress.

I still see him dancing around

4

the stage with his wife and singing,
"Crazy" as the returns, which took from
the world the greatest force for stability since
the Roman Empire, rolled in.

In Julius Caesar one of the Conspirators
said of Caesar, "Why man he doth
restride this narrow world like a Colossus."

And today you restride the world but not
as a Colossus, rather as an angel of hope
for all leaders of nations struggling to
establish Democracies and placing their
faith and their hopes in the hands of
the strong yet benevolent President of
the United States of America.

Thank God, thank God that you
were able to accomplish the astonishing,
world shattering events of the past four
years before this morally destitute, craven
~~boy~~ takes the reins of government. Had
Grant not taken Richmond and Sherman
broken through to Atlanta only two months
before the election in 1864 the dreaded
McClellan might have defeated Lincoln.

5

What a tragedy that might have been.

But now we see the rotten Admiral William Crowe, openly critical of the gulf War prior to Desert Storm, ~~was~~ prancing in the front ranks of Clinton's military advisors. Perhaps he will become Secretary of State. And we quake at the thought that the fragile world which you guided so expertly in the last four years, might not survive the moral bankruptcies of such men as he.

The night before the inauguration four years ago I received a phone call from Wendy Robins my girl friend of forty years ago. I had not seen her since we were teenagers, and I was astonished that she would have found me

6
at a hotel in Washington. John

"Jimmy" "oh said. I just wanted
to call you because fifty years ago you
promised me that your brother would be
president."

How I loved that call, and how
I have loved being the brother of the
President of the United States.

Already the hostility of public
opinion has begun to turn as to

the question of your presidency. Last
week two columns appeared in

New York papers praising your contribution
to world stability and world peace.

Historians will be far more generous
as they evaluate the outstanding success of
your administration in frustrating the

offending practices of the liberal majority
in both houses. Your thirty-four votes
(perhaps it was thirty-five) against one

override until the final, politically motivated
Cable T.V. hit will stand out as examples
of principle vs expediency.

The success of your Bank of deposit program
will withstand the most severe scrutiny

This program reached every single person involved in voluntary work in this country. More than any initiative in history it served to jog the conscience of Americans, to make giving and charitable work recognized, appreciated, and stimulated.

It seemed to illustrate that on their own without expensive government programs Americans can care in their own. It enhanced the joy of giving freely of one's time, energy, and personal resources to make life better for others.

Not the faintest breath of scandal troubled your administration because of the principles and personal qualities of the President.

There were no major achievements, little personal achievement thought about by your remarkable intuition as to the feelings of others, by your regarding wit, and by the zeal and energy you applied to every endeavor from home chores to visiting in the golf. I can not get over the warm smiles

and happy greetings because on the
other these days.

People come up to me and ask about
you, concern in their voices, anxious
looks on their faces.

What they seem to be saying is this:
We love the President. We were neither,
demonstrated neither, and we thought a
change would be good, but we deeply
appreciate the husband got our medals
died in the twelve years past.

"Tell him," they say, "warned you tell
him we're concerned about him."

So I am telling you, Mr President.
I'm telling you in all these various
heartaches at the outcome, in all these
risks voted against you but

achieve and never you nevertheless, in
body, brother, Bill, and I. Scarcely a
day went by in the first three years of your
Presidency that we didn't pick up the
paper and read something to make us
proud.

The last year we need little we
did like but nothing, even, that
made us less proud.

9

And, of course, matching the splendor of your achievements was the contribution of the First Lady.

No first lady for years and years to come will approach her in her accomplishments, her support for the man who holds the reins of responsibility, her example to America of concern for others, the importance of a loving family, and standing for basic values.

at Camp David I said, "Bar you must be hurting alot," and she replied with absolute sincerity, "No, I only hurt for George."

For me you both have been more than brother and sister. During those long years before Jody the Christmases in Houston, my start in Midland, the summers in Maine were what held me together.

And when I was a boy I can still vividly remember the excitement as I waited for you to come home from Andover for summer vacation, or when you flew into Sanford in your Navy plane, or when you came home from the war that

snowy Christmas of 1944.

My life is full of memories of the
pride and affection and joy of being
with you.

Now as you show the world ^{yet again} your great
stature in the magnificent manner
in which you have handled your defeat
I am more thankful than ever at
my extraordinary fortune in having,
through life, such a brother.

With love and gratitude and pride
John

From the desk of
George Bush

bcc to

P.S. B. Tr

**Document Originally
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Following Page**

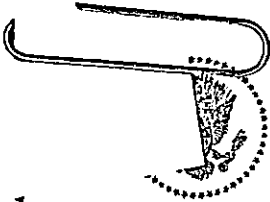
FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Daily

PERSONAL

The Honorable Christopher J. Dodd
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

VIA COURIER



THE PRESIDENT

11-30-92

Dear Chris,

You were very nice to
call Pres about Mother.
She was so special for all
of us. Thanks for caring —
Sincerely, G. B.

Mr. Prescott S. Bush, Jr.
624 West Lyon Farm Drive
Greenwich, Connecticut 06831

From the desk of
George Bush

bcc to
P.S.B. Tr

PRESCOTT SHELDON BUSH, JR.

110 EAST 42ND STREET, SUITE 1300

NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

FAX: 212-599-2235

TEL: 212-599-1409

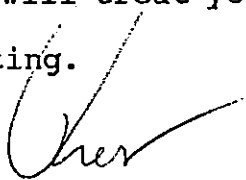
November 24, 1992

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

Dear George:

I thought you would be interested to know that Chris Dodd (U.S. Senate) called to offer his condolences over Mother's death. He said that you have done a fabulous job as President and that he is sure that history will treat you very kindly.

Interesting.



112492ge.bsh

Daly

Mr. David S. Broder
4024 North 27th Street
Arlington, Virginia 22207

PERSONAL

THE PRESIDENT

11-30-92

Dear David,

Thanks so very much
for your letter about Mother.
She was our guiding star.
Decency, honor, loyalty, kindness,
sportsmanship, humility - these
and many more were attributes.

I loved her very much. I
always will.

Thanks for caring.

Sincerely, *Lyndon B. Johnson*

cc: R. Zamaria
2 copies
in/out

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 11/30

David S. Broder

4024 N. 27th Street, Arlington, VA 22207

November 22, 1992

Dear Mr. President,

Dan & I want to express our sympathy at the loss of your mother. I have fond memories of her hospitality when I visited Walker's Point - and I know how much she meant to all the Barkers.

You have always known - and acted on - the belief - that family & friendship come before anything else. The older I get, the more I am convinced of that as well.

The difference & disagreements I've expressed with some of your decisions as President in no way diminish the respect & affection in which I hold you.

Dan joins in all these feelings.
Yours, Dave

From the desk of
George Bush

File

**Document Originally
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Following Page**



11/30/92

Mr. President:

Requests for appointments with you --

- 1) Joseph Reed and his brother, Adrian want to come by to pay their respects on early Thursday morning. I discouraged him but do you want to see them. (212) 963-5588

GUIDANCE: YES ☐ NO ☐

- 2) Do you want your lunch with Dana Carvey to show on your schedule? Any more thought on what you are going to do with Carvey

YES ☐ NO ☐

Lunch for lunch

- 3) Lt. Gov. Walter Dale Miller of South Dakota will be in town for the Export-Import Bank meeting. He would like to visit with you either the afternoon of December 7 or the 8th, per Deb Andersen

YES ☐ NO ☐

*call Deb Andersen
Lt. Gov.
cancelled trip*

- 4) I have given Jack Stein ten minutes tomorrow at 11:40 A. M. He is leaving for Israel on Wednesday and wanted to know if you want to send message to Rabin, et al. Maybe you could handle this by phone, but he is pushing for a one-on-one.

11:40 AM YES ☐ NO ☐

- 5) *defund* Max Fisher wants to come in Thursday. He is having lunch at noon with Ceci Kramer. Want to see him at 11:50 for ten minutes

FROM THE PRESIDENT

yes
no

R



THE PRESIDENT

November 30, 1992

encloses LWB card

Dear Bertie,

Thanks for your wonderful, thoughtful note. Now Mum and "George" are in the same Heaven. Isn't that a nice thought. I loved my mother a lot, but you know that, thus, your note meant a lot to me. I was so glad that I was able to see her for an hour or so on the day she died.

It's been a tough November in a lot of ways, but now we're setting our sights on the future. We hope to see you more in that future.

Love,

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mrs. George De B. Bell
1226 Rock Creek Road
Gladwyne, Pennsylvania 19035

CC: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (2cc)



THE PRESIDENT

11-30-92

Dear Betsy,

Thanks so very much
for your telegram.

Mother was indeed
special. Thanks for caring.

Love - EJ

THE WHITE HOUSE

Children of L. L. Biddle Jr.

Cordelia Biddle
17219
Pacific Palisade

Zettler - LA
Avenida De Herradura
90272

Mrs. L. L. Biddle III

P.O. Box 643

Ligonier, Pennsylvania 15658

son of
L. L. Biddle

L. L. Biddle IV in Flowertown, PA
Knoll Henry Lane
19031

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (2cc)



THE PRESIDENT

11-30-92

Dear Marion & Elliott -

I am a "lucky boy"
to have had such a loving
mother and to have
friends like you who care.

Thanks so much.
Sincerely,

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. and Mrs. Elliott Cage, Jr.
1003 Sul Ross
Houston, Texas 77006

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (2cc)



THE PRESIDENT

11-30-92

Dear Bill + Billie

Thanks dear friends
for your note about
Mother. How kind you
are to us always.

Love Amy

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. and Mrs. William E. Carl
223 Circle Drive
Corpus Christi, Texas 78411

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 30, 1992

Dear Bill:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter about the election. It was a tough campaign, but we are thankful for so many blessings -- among them our family and loyal, wonderful friends like you.

Barbara and I will always be grateful for the privilege that we have had serving the American people.

Sincerely,

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

The Honorable William F. Clinger, Jr.
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515





11-30-92

Dear Michael,

Your caring letter
about my Mom is so
welcome. Thanks my friend

Az/

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dr. Michael E. DeBakey
Baylor College of Medicine
One Baylor Plaza
Houston, Texas 77030

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (2cc)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 30, 1992

Dear Dave:

I just received your kind letter about the election. It was a tough campaign, but now that all is said and done, we are thankful for so many blessings -- among them our family and loyal, wonderful friends like you who never gave up the battle.

Barbara and I will always be grateful for the privilege that we have had serving the American people.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Durenberger', with a long, sweeping underline.

The Honorable David Durenberger
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

A small, stylized handwritten mark or signature in the bottom right corner of the page.



THE PRESIDENT

11-30-92

Dear Don Luis, my friend

Your letter about
my Mother really lifted
me up.

So many thanks -

[Signature]

THE WHITE HOUSE

The Honorable Don Luis A. Ferre
Post Office Box 366108
San Juan, Puerto Rico 00936-6108

[Handwritten mark]

post
election

THE PRESIDENT

11-30-92

Dear Inv,

It's been some month -
this November; but
life goes on and what matters
is family & friends

I was close to Mum.
You know that; so your

wonderful letter lifted me
up. Pres will feel the same
way.

Inv our friendship is
still strong - it doesn't
need to be refurbished by
day to day contact. Your
warm & loving letter
says it all. Thanks pal



Mr. Irving D. Fish, Jr.
78 Meacham Street
Williamstown, Massachusetts 01267



THE PRESIDENT

11-30-92

Dear Tach -

Thanks, my friend,
for that wonderful letter
about my Mom. Oh how
I loved her.

Sincerely

THE WHITE HOUSE

The Honorable John A. Gavin
Suite 2050
1999 Avenue of the Stars
Los Angeles, California 90067

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 30, 1992

Dear Ben:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter about the election. It was a tough campaign, but we are thankful for so many blessings -- among them our family and loyal, wonderful friends like you.

Barbara and I will always be grateful for the privilege that we have had serving the American people.

Sincerely,



The Honorable Benjamin A. Gilman
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515





11-30-92

Dear Bob,

You knew Mother well
and you loved her, thus
your caring note is extra special.
Many thanks,

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable Robert K. Gray
4288 Lennox Drive
Miami, Florida 33133

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (2cc)
Jan Burmeister
(for PRIV)



THE PRESIDENT

11-30-92

Dear I+amp.

Thanks for your wire
about my beloved mother.

What a dear friend
you are to us!!

See you Sunday

Sincerely Cup TB

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. Lionel Hampton

2 Lincoln Square

10 West 64th Street

New York, New York

10019

incorrect

JB

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 30, 1992

Dear Orrin:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter about the election. As you know, it was a tough campaign, but we are thankful for so many blessings -- among them our family and loyal, wonderful friends like you and Elaine who never gave up the battle.

Barbara and I are grateful for the opportunity of working with leaders like you in serving the American people.

Sincerely,



The Honorable Orrin G. Hatch
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510





THE PRESIDENT

11-30-92

Dear Dene -

Thanks, my friend,
for your loving note
about Mother

It helped. It helped
a lot. Sincerely,

Bob

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mrs. Dene Hofheinz (Anton)
22 Compton Trace
Nashville, Tennessee 37215

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (2cc)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 30, 1992

Dear Amo:

I just received your thoughtful note about the election. It was a tough campaign, but we are thankful for so many blessings -- among them our family and our friends who never gave up the battle. Thanks for being one of them.

Barbara joins in sending you best wishes.

Sincerely,



The Honorable Amory Houghton, Jr.
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515





THE PRESIDENT

11-30-92

Dear Sharon,

Your thoughtful note
about my beloved mother
is so appreciated. I loved her so
much. Thanks for caring -

Bo Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE

The Honorable Sharon Pratt Kelly
Mayor
District of Columbia
1350 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (2cc)



THE PRESIDENT

11-30-42

Dear Bill,

Thank for that wonderful
note about Mother - thanks
for caring.

Most Sincerely,

Cap But

THE WHITE HOUSE

Admiral J. William Kime, USCG
Commandant
U.S. Coast Guard
2100 Second Street, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20593

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (2cc)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 30, 1992

Dear Bob:

Thank you for your ~~thoughtful letter about the election.~~ it was a tough campaign, but we are thankful for so many blessings -- among them our family and loyal, wonderful friends like you and Bonnie.

Barbara and I will always be grateful for the privilege that we have had serving the American people.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "G. H. W. Bush", with a long diagonal stroke extending from the bottom right of the signature.

The Honorable Bob Livingston
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

A handwritten mark or signature in the bottom right corner of the page, consisting of a stylized, cursive letter 'B' or similar symbol.

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

November 30, 1992

Dear Fred:

Thank you so much for all that you have done in my behalf. Barbara and I especially appreciate our true friends who never gave up the battle. I have no rancor in my heart at all.

It was a tough campaign, but we are thankful for so many blessings -- among them our family and loyal, wonderful friends like you.

Barbara joins me in sending warm best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "G. Bush", enclosed within a hand-drawn oval.

Fred - with lasting thanks.

The Honorable Frederic V. Malek
1259 Crest Lane
McLean, Virginia 22101



11-30-92

Dear Bob -

Thanks for your note
about Mother.

She was something
special and oh how I loved
her. Gratefully

Bob

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable Robert Martinez
5109 Dalecarlia Drive
Bethesda, Maryland 20816

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (2cc)



THE PRESIDENT

11-30-92

Dear Tom,

You know Mother, thus
your kind note means an
awful lot. May my thanks.

Ly B

Love to Margaret

THE WHITE HOUSE

The Honorable Thomas P. Melady
American Ambassador to The Holy See
Vatican City
APO AE 09624

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (2cc)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 30, 1992

Dear Clarence:

I just received your kind letter about the election. It was a tough campaign, but now that all is said and done, we are thankful for so many blessings -- among them our family and loyal, wonderful friends like you who never gave up the battle.

Barbara and I will always be grateful for the privilege that we have had serving the American people.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,



The Honorable Clarence E. Miller
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515



(self-typed)



THE PRESIDENT

post elect

November 30, 1992

Dear Guy,

Rose passed along to me your wonderful offer of a get together at the Capitol Hill Club. I hate to be negative on anything you suggest, but I better beg off on this one only because the January schedule is already frantic and overdone. Getting out of town ain't easy, man.

I do hope we'll see you before we leave for Texas on Jan. 20th. You are my pal, and I'll never ever forget that.

My thanks and my warmest best wishes.

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable Guy V. Molinari
President of the Borough of
Staten Island
City of New York
Borough Hall
Staten Island, New York 10301



THE PRESIDENT

November 30, 1992

Dear Stu,

Thanks for those wonderful letters about the election and my mother. It's been a tough November in a lot of ways, but now we're setting our sights on the future. Mother lead a full life. She was my leader and mentor in every possible way. I am glad I was able to see her on the day she went to Heaven.

My winning the election was just not meant to be, but Barbara and I will depart the White House knowing that we gave it our best shot. I have decided not to consider any future opportunities until I am actually out of office and have moved back to Texas, but I'll keep you posted on what I decide. With warmest best wishes to you and Cynthia,

Sincerely,

your friend

enclosed DWB card

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. Stuart J. Northrop
Chairman, Executive Committee
Huffy Corporation
Post Office Box 1204
Dayton, Ohio 45401

CC: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (2cc)

JB



THE PRESIDENT

11-30-92

Dear Susan,

Your caring letter
of faith means a great
deal to me. My most
sincere thanks. Love to John.

Ly B

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mrs. Mary Susan Overbey
3413 South Hill Circle
Austin, Texas 78703

JB



THE PRESIDENT

11-30-92

Dear Ed,

Thanks for your
letter about my Mother.

Thanks for your
thoughtfulness. Sincerely,

Ly B

THE WHITE HOUSE

The Honorable Edward J. Perkins
Representative of the United States
of America to the United Nations
799 United Nations Plaza
New York, New York 10017

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (2cc)

JB



THE PRESIDENT

November 30, 1992

Dear Corinne and Jim,

Thanks so much for your caring note about my beloved mother. We loved her so much and were lucky to have her for so long. Now she is in heaven and at peace; but it still hurts.

Your letter really helps. Thanks dear friends.

Sincerely,

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. and Mrs. James C. Quayle
2251 East 600 North
Huntington, Indiana 46750

The VP's mom & dad

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (2cc)
VP (FYI)



11-30-92

Dear John,

Thanks for your
note about Mother.

She was our leader
in every way. Thanks for caring,

[Signature]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable John E. Robson
Deputy Secretary, U.S. Department of Treasury
15th & Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20220

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (2cc)



THE PRESIDENT

11-30-92

Dear Norm -

Our family is like yours -
close and loving. My Mom
was our guiding light for
kindness, caring & decency.

Thanks for that lovely
note about Mr. Love & Brenda

Ly. Bond

THE WHITE HOUSE

General H. Norman Schwarzkopf,
U.S. Army, Retired
600 North Westshore Boulevard
Suite 1202
Tampa, Florida 33609

B2
His office off base.

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (2cc)



THE PRESIDENT

November 30, 1992

Dear Al,

Thanks so much for the beautiful Azalea plant and the very kind words about my mother. She was the inspiration and mentor for the entire Bush-Walker clan, and I miss her already. I am grateful to have been able to see her the day she went to Heaven.

Thanks for caring. The entire Bush family sends their love.

Sincerely,

THE WHITE HOUSE

The Honorable Alan K. Simpson
Assistant Republican Leader
United States Senate
261 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

(By Courier)

(in & out)
Rose Zamaria (2cc)
Charles Free

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 30, 1992

Dear Cliff:

I just received your thoughtful note about the election. It was a tough campaign, but we are thankful for so many blessings -- among them our family and our friends who never gave up the battle. Thanks for being one of them.

Barbara joins in sending you best wishes.

Sincerely,

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

The Honorable Clifford B. Stearns
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

A handwritten mark in the bottom right corner, resembling a stylized letter 'B' or the number '3'.



THE PRESIDENT

11-30-92

Dear Tim -

You know Mother and
your note about her
really did lift me up.
Oh how I loved her.

Thanks for caring
Love to Sylvia - *Ag*

THE WHITE HOUSE

The Honorable James W. Symington
3900 Watson Place, N.W.
Apartment 6FG
Washington, D.C. 20016

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (2cc)
Jan Burmeister
(for PRIV)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 30, 1992

Dear Strom:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter about the election. As you know, it was a tough campaign, but we are thankful for so many blessings -- among them our family and loyal, wonderful friends like you who never gave up the battle.

Barbara and I are grateful for the opportunity of working with leaders like you in serving the American people.

Sincerely,



The Honorable Strom Thurmond
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510





THE PRESIDENT

November 30, 1992

Dear Fred,

Just a quick thanks for the beautiful basket of flowers and for caring about my mother. I loved my mother very, very much. She was my inspiration and mentor in every way, and I'm sure she's in Heaven.

All my best to all Travalena's.

Sincerely,

[How kind of you.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. Fred Travalena
Travlo Productions
4515 White Oak Place
Encino, California 91316

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (2cc)
Charles Free



THE PRESIDENT

11-30-92

Dear Lowell,

Thanks for your
kind words about Mother

I really appreciate that
letter. Mother was so special

for all of us. Sincerely, 

THE WHITE HOUSE

The Honorable Lowell P. Weicker, Jr.
Governor
State of Connecticut
State Capitol
Hartford, Connecticut 06106

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (2cc)

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

November 30, 1992

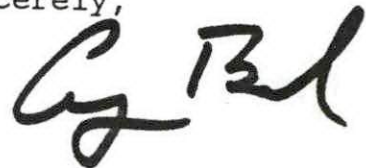
Dear Clayton:

Thank you so much for all that you have done in my behalf. Barbara and I especially appreciate our true friends who never gave up the battle. I have no rancor in my heart at all.

It was a tough campaign, but we are thankful for so many blessings -- among them our family and loyal, wonderful friends like you.

Barbara joins me in sending warm best wishes.

Sincerely,



The Honorable Clayton K. Yeutter
1325 Merrie Ridge Road
McLean, Virginia 22101

Clayt - You did it
all so well. With
lasting gratitude - 

DATE: NOVEMBER 30, 1992

CONTACT: KEITH WRIGHT

PRESS: 863-8550

THE DAILY NEWS



SUMMARY



Republicans see events working in Clinton's favor

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Republicans who initially saw large holes in Bill Clinton's election victory this month are now fearful that the savvy politician will be aided by a recovering economy and calm world situation to become unbeatable in 1996.

The caveat, of course, is that this is the kind of speculation that only Washington finds interesting, because it's essentially meaningless. Optimists and pessimists are virtually interchangeable four years before any election. Only a year ago the Democratic field was a lonely place, because everyone knew that George Bush was unbeatable.

Nevertheless, the U-turns that Republican analysts, politicians and groupies are making two months before the president-elect takes over the Oval Office suggests that the divisions over the direction of post-Bush Republican politics are deep. For the moment, anyway.

"A starting assumption for the Republicans is, more likely than not, this is an eight-year administration," said former Reagan political strategist Mitchell Daniels.

"Clinton could become a very strong president. ... Politically, I think he has a good shot," said Burton Yale Pines, president of the conservative National Center for Public Policy Research.

"Always assume that your opposition is going to be strong. ... You fear the worst," said former Bush and Reagan aide William Bennett. The GOP should continue its revitalization regardless, he said.

Just two weeks ago several potential Republican 1996 candidates indicated that they would try to snare high-profile positions to boost their candidacies against what they viewed as a likely weak Democratic incumbent.

Associates of Vice President Dan Quayle, for example, said he would try to take control of the party and

champion his cause in a visible post, such as from the prestigious Hudson Institute.

But now Mr. Quayle's associates and those of other potential candidates are backing off. "He won't say anything for two years," predicted one Quayle associate. "The economy is getting better, there are no world crises and Clinton is liked. It is certainly possible he will be a major success."

Mr. Clinton should be aided by the dismantling of the East Bloc and the Soviet Union, which left few U.S. enemies. "The Cold War is over, and therefore we are not likely to be hurt by his lack of foreign policy experience," said Mr. Pines.

Several senior administration officials planning to work in a 1996 election said the recovering economy should help Mr. Clinton and allow him to take credit for ending the recession without doing much. "The economy seems to be recovering and it might be in his interest to do nothing," said one senior Bush adviser.

Mr. Pines said Mr. Clinton could assure long Democratic control of the White House if he is able to "convince Americans that the Democrats can responsibly run the White House."

He suggested that like President Eisenhower, who showed Republicans could control the White House as well as President Roosevelt, Mr. Clinton has a chance to reinvent the image of the Democratic Party.

Mr. Daniels said that "Clinton is a virtual error-free politician who will use incumbency wisely."

"The Republican Party could be lucky, but don't bet on it," he said.

"Look at Clinton. He concluded he couldn't lose," said Mr. Pines.

Meanwhile, candidates who want a shot at the GOP nomination in 1996 or the year 2000 should begin to position themselves, Mr. Pines said.

He noted that after President Bush won the Persian Gulf war, Democratic heavy-hitters dismissed a run for the White House, considering Mr. Bush too strong.

DATE: 11.27
PAGE: 2

Cheney says he's considering a run for the White House in 1996. But what he'll do after January is uncertain. For now, he says it feels "liberating" to be leaving office.

Cheney: World is still unstable

By Laurence Jolidon
USA TODAY

Departing Defense secretary Dick Cheney predicts "a very full platter" of foreign and defense-related crises for the next administration.

"The election has ended with this idea that foreign stuff doesn't matter, that we have to focus on domestic issues," says Cheney. "I think that's absolutely dead wrong."

While Russian reformers try to shake communism's legacy, "the revolution... under way in what used to be the Soviet Union has just begun," he says.

The potential "for violence, for continued collapse of their economy, for ethnic unrest, is very great," says Cheney. "And all of this is going to take place on top of stockpiles of 30,000 nuclear weapons."

Making the challenge tougher, Cheney adds, will be a declining military budget and Europe's preoccupation with internal matters.

In an interview in his Pentagon office, Cheney also attacked the "Monday-morning quarterbacking" he believes is behind the Iraqgate issue.

He defends U.S. handling of Iraq — the most visible action during his four years running the Pentagon — and says charges that the administration coddled Saddam Hussein by advancing grain credits to his

New concern over nukes

Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman Sam Nunn, echoing Defense Secretary Dick Cheney's concerns, is warning that uranium may have been smuggled from one of the former Soviet republics.

Nunn, D-Ga., back this week from a trip to five former Soviet republics, says a recent failed attempt raises new alarms about the spread of nuclear weapons.

Nunn says senior officials in Belarus told of "several cases" of intercepting uranium as smugglers sought to take it across the border into Poland. Four former republics still have nuclear weapons on their soil.

government are "hogwash."

"That's revisionism, generated and promoted especially by people who were wrong on the war, who voted against us when it was time to back the president and support the use of force to liberate Kuwait."

"I think there's an enormous amount of Monday-morning quarterbacking. We sold scrap metal to the Japanese before

Pearl Harbor, too."

Cheney recalled "the same sort of drumfire criticism" of the military that followed the war in Vietnam.

For 20 years, says Cheney, while the media portrayed the U.S. military as having "equipment that didn't work, generals who were incompetent and troops that were too stupid to know how to use the equipment," the facts were different.

"What the country saw in Desert Storm — because they got to see it direct with their own eyes instead of having it interpreted for them — was that we had the finest military in the world, that the equipment was phenomenal and the troops were even better."

"After the fact," Cheney says, "the revisionism starts. I expect to pick up the newspaper any day now and be told we lost."

Acknowledging "differences" among military commanders and White House officials during buildup of the U.S.-led drive to expel Iraq from Kuwait, Cheney says there were "strong feelings and a lot of give-and-take back and forth. In the end we always reached agreement."

But he appeared to confirm complaints by Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, Desert Storm commander. In his recently published book, *It Doesn't Take a Hero*, Schwarzkopf says

high-ranking, unnamed administration officials tried to rush him into beginning the desert campaign before he was ready. He says Cheney was one of those officials.

"Sometimes," says Cheney, "you have to lean hard on the system and the people in it to get it to work the way you want it to work, and in a timely fashion. It may be that some saw that as pressure. I saw it as getting the job done."

A former member of Congress from Wyoming, Cheney is frequently mentioned with

HUD Secretary Jack Kemp and Vice President Dan Quayle as one of the people the Republican Party is counting on for a political revival.

He says he's considering a run for the White House in 1996.

But what he'll do after January is uncertain. For now, he says, it feels "liberating" to be leaving office.

"I expect I'll spend a lot more time in Wyoming, probably dust off my fly rod, get my skis out and spend more time with my family."

Dole wants a look at Walsh staff list

By Jerry Seper
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole, keeping up pressure on independent counsel Lawrence Walsh, yesterday asked Attorney General William P. Barr for help in getting a list of Mr. Walsh's employees to see if they have been involved in any partisan "hanky-panky."

The Kansas Republican, in a letter to Mr. Barr, said efforts by his office last week to obtain the names were refused by the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, which maintains Mr. Walsh's personnel records.

The Dole request came after he sought an independent counsel to look into charges that Mr. Walsh and his chief prosecutor, James Brosnahan, timed the release of an indictment against former Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger to hurt the re-election chances of President Bush.

The Oct. 30 indictment — four days before the election — questioned claims by Mr. Bush that he was "out of the loop" in the Iran-Contra arms-for-hostages deal. Mr. Dole and other Republicans believe the indictment was intended to stem a late surge by Mr. Bush and help the Clinton-Gore campaign.

"This information belongs to the public, the taxpayers who have been footing the bill for Mr. Walsh's lavish, first-class partisan inquisition," Mr. Dole said. "We already know that the man handling the Cap Weinberger case, James Brosnahan, is a longtime liberal activist who, along with his law firm, has contributed \$22,000 to the Clinton campaign."

"Now, what about all the others who have been helping Mr. Walsh during his six-year, taxpayer-funded crusade to nail Republicans?" Mr. Dole asked. "We'll get these names one way or the other, because the American people deserve to know what's going on."

Mr. Dole said he hoped to check the employee list against Federal Election Commission records and party affiliations to determine if those employed by Mr. Walsh were engaged in partisan politics.

"Let's see if there is any hanky-panky going on," he said.

Mr. Barr is considering the request for an independent counsel to investigate Mr. Walsh, and a decision is due by Dec. 11, as required by law. The two factors under consideration under Justice Department guidelines are whether there are specific allegations to investigate and whether the source of the request is "credible."

Justice Department spokesman Frank Shults said yesterday that the Dole request for help in obtaining the names of Walsh personnel also is under review. He declined to elaborate.

Mr. Dole, the outspoken leader of a GOP effort to investigate Mr. Walsh's office, said that when he raised concerns in a recent letter to the independent counsel that Mr. Brosnahan's employment "impairs the ability of the office to remain free of political influence," Mr. Walsh expressed no concern about Mr. Brosnahan's political activities.

"Mr. Walsh seemed both unaware of and unconcerned with Mr. Brosnahan's political endeavors — even to the extent such activities clearly compromise the ability of the office to appear nonpartisan in the fulfillment of its responsibilities," Mr. Dole said in the Barr letter.

Mr. Dole also challenged recent claims by Mr. Brosnahan that the timing of the Weinberger indictment was dictated by the federal court.

"Despite Mr. Brosnahan's claim that he called for an extension that would have put the indictment past Election Day, a careful read of the court's transcript makes it clear that Mr. Brosnahan's statements about the same to the press on Nov. 21, 1992, are false," Mr. Dole said.

Officials at the independent counsel's office did not respond yesterday to telephone calls for comment. Mary Belcher, a spokeswoman for Mr. Walsh, has said that allegations the Weinberger indictment was timed for political effect are false.

Mr. Brosnahan has declined to be interviewed by The Washington Times.

Mr. Dole and four Republican members of the Senate Judiciary Committee have asked Mr. Barr to appoint an independent counsel to investigate whether Mr. Walsh and his office were involved in "political, unethical or illegal activities" in their Iran-Contra probe.

The request followed a report by The Washington Times that a Clinton-Gore news release outlining the Weinberger indictment was dated Oct. 29 — a day before the

indictment was released.

"I do plead guilty to a typographical error in the press release," George Stephanopoulos, the Clinton campaign's communications director, said at the time. "But anybody is welcome to go up and check our computers and see when it was produced. . . . There is no basis for this charge."

When The Washington Times asked to check the computer, however, campaign officials said it could not be located because the campaign was closing its offices and moving to a new location for the transition.

A spokesman for Mr. Walsh suggested at the time that the Clinton-Gore staff may have used "voodoo" in divining the timing of the indictment a day early. He denied any leak from the independent counsel's office.

Critics of the independent counsel have questioned why Mr. Walsh recently added Mr. Brosnahan, a longtime liberal activist and Democrat, to the investigation 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 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.

Weinberger Enters Not-Guilty Plea on One Count in Iran-Contra Case

■ Iran-Contra: He assails prosecutors, charging he's 'a pawn in a clearly political agenda.'

By ROBERT L. JACKSON
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Former Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger pleaded not guilty Tuesday to the latest charge stemming from the Iran-Contra scandal, claiming he had become "a pawn in a clearly political agenda."

The former Californian, who faces trial Jan. 5 on five Iran-Contra charges, entered his plea in federal court and afterward assailed prosecutors for producing the pre-election indictment that also cast President Bush in an unfavorable light.

Prosecutor James J. Brosnahan disputed Weinberger's claim that the charge was politically motivated, telling reporters the decision to file it four days before the election was dictated by a court-imposed schedule, not by politics.

"This case has nothing to do with politics. It has everything to do with government," said Brosnahan, a San Francisco lawyer whom independent counsel

Lawrence E. Walsh appointed last month to prosecute the case.

The additional single count was added on Oct. 30 to replace an obstruction charge that U.S. District Judge Thomas F. Hogan dismissed last month because of an appellate court ruling in another Iran-Contra case.

On all five counts, Weinberger is charged with lying and misleading Congress in its investigation of the arms-for-hostages deal that became known as Iran-Contra.

The original indictment was returned last June. The new count accuses Weinberger, 75, of making a false statement to congressional investigators in June, 1987, when he denied taking notes of key meetings on the arms-for-hostages deals with Iran.

Extensive notes taken by Weinberger have been discovered by the prosecution among papers he turned over to the Library of Congress and form the basis for most of the charges against him.

Among these notes were jottings taken at a Jan. 7, 1986, meeting at which President Ronald Reagan and his aides discussed trading arms to Iran in exchange for the release of U.S. hostages. The notes indicate that then-Vice President Bush attended the meeting and favored the exchange of arms for hostages.

The indictment implies that Bush lied about his role in the Iranian arms sales. He has long denied taking any position on the deal, saying he was "out of the loop" on the discussions.

Weinberger's attorneys are attempting to have the latest count thrown out, contending the statute of limitations ran out. But federal law often allows prosecutors to replace one charge with another. Hogan has scheduled a Dec. 7 hearing to consider the issue.

Meanwhile, in another Iran-Contra case, a jury completed its third day of deliberations Tuesday without reaching a verdict in the perjury case against former CIA official Clair E. George.

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Christian Right Maps Route to Power in Efforts At the Local Level to Oppose Homosexual Rights

By JAMES M. PERRY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Political activists from the Christian right think they finally have found the right way to win power.

They have turned to a new strategy, building a powerful organization at the grass-roots level, and sounded a new call to arms, battling what they perceive to be the spread of homosexuality in the U.S.

"That's the new issue," says Arthur Kropp, president of People for the American Way, a liberal organization that monitors the political activities of evangelical Christians. "It's all you're going to hear about the next few years."

President-elect Clinton is unintentionally filling the Christian right's direct-mail coffers by vowing to remove the ban on homosexual men and women in the armed forces. "In the pews in these evangelical churches, the talk is all about gays in the military, and it sends a chilling message," says John Green, director of the Ray Bliss Center of Applied Politics at the University of Akron.

Work Pays Off

The grass-roots organizational work is already paying off. On Nov. 3, according to People for the American Way, candidates backed by Christian right organizations won 40% of the 500 races they entered. The Christian right was active in yesterday's special election in Georgia, a Senate runoff between incumbent Democrat Wyche Fowler and Republican Paul Coverdell. The state's Christian Coalition, part of a national network headed by television evangelist Pat Robertson, vowed to distribute a million pamphlets that favored Mr. Coverdell. The pamphlets said that Sen. Fowler supports "homosexual rights" and Mr. Coverdell opposes them.

Homosexuality is becoming the major issue that drives the concerns of white evangelical Christians, who represent by most accounts as much as 20% of the voting population. In the recent election, these were Mr. Bush's most loyal supporters; he won about 61% of their votes. But that was a big drop from 1988, when exit polls, which are never completely reliable in screening the evangelical vote, suggested Mr. Bush won 80% of this constituency. The Christian Coalition's Mr. Robertson conceded the worrisome state of the nation's economy diverted many of his followers and led them to vote for Mr. Clinton or independent Ross Perot.

But, in a number of significant votes around the country, the power of homosex-

uality as a campaign issue was vividly on display.

In Colorado, voters approved, by a margin of 54% to 46%, an amendment to the state constitution that prohibits legal claims of discrimination by homosexuals and rescinds anti-discrimination laws in three cities. Opponents of the measure said they would challenge the result in court. In Tampa, Fla., voters repealed an ordinance that prohibited discrimination against gays and lesbians.

Evangelical Christians, led by the Christian Coalition, played a key part, too, in the defeat of an Iowa initiative that would have created a state version of the Equal Rights Amendment. The margin there was 52% to 48%.

Defeat in Oregon

In Oregon, voters rejected an amendment to the state constitution that would have required public schools to teach that homosexuality is "abnormal, wrong, unnatural and perverse." The vote against the measure was 57% to 43%. Supporters of the measure said they would seek to place a less-sweeping version similar to the one passed in Colorado on the ballot in a future election.

"We're likely to see the Colorado and Tampa battles replicated across the country," says Mr. Kropp of People for the American Way. The organization says 19 states and more than 100 cities or counties now have laws or executive orders on the books protecting gays and lesbians.

Roman Catholic conservatives also are preparing for battle on the issue. "The fem/gay alliance sees the Church [and rightly so!] as The Enemy," says the Nov. 20 issue of Catholic Eye, a newsletter published by the National Committee of Catholic Laymen. "There is no way to avoid the coming confrontations. . . . Fasten your seat belts, it's going to be a rough ride."

Ralph Reed Jr., the Christian Coalition's tough-talking, 31-year-old executive director, says the group's first major victory, defeating a gay-rights ordinance in Broward County, Fla., in 1990, couldn't have been achieved without the help of Catholic parishes.

Any revival in the fortunes of the Republican Party needs to recognize the important role of Catholic conservatives and evangelical Christians. They are the party's foot soldiers. GOP leaders seeking a unified party will be required in the months and years ahead to walk a tight-rope, trying to soothe the increasingly militant and well-organized evangelicals

on the one hand and reaching out to more moderate voters on the other.

Most party leaders dismiss the notion that the Christian right could take over the party. Retiring Congressman Vin Weber says the GOP's lack of a central economic message during Mr. Bush's four years in office meant that the cultural issues raised by the Christian right were "the only reasons to get involved in the party." He urges that the party get back to its basic economic message and watch the voters flock to its colors. Anyway, Mr. Weber argues, when evangelical Christians do become involved in party and governmental affairs, "they become good, solid Republican activists. They become deal-cutters themselves."

Maybe, but they aren't cutting deals yet. They've already taken over some local and state parties, and they could take over more. In a party in disarray, these are the people who still are willing to come out on cold winter nights to attend meetings and elections. They can cause pragmatic GOP leaders immense aggravation.

Unlike Jerry Falwell's now-defunct Moral Majority, which specialized in raising money and getting media attention, the Christian Coalition and its allies are willing to perform the tedious work that actually elects people to office.

"The pro-family movement focused on the Oval Office for a decade," says the Christian Coalition's Mr. Reed. "We achieved mixed policy results and we became a target of the national media. Now we're working at the local and state level, where fewer people are watching."

Mr. Reed estimates that 5,000 Christian Coalition members have received political

training at the group's headquarters in Virginia Beach, Va. He hopes to train 5,000 to 10,000 more this year there and at new training centers to be opened around the country. The whole idea, he says, is to elect evangelical Christians to school boards and state legislatures. "That's where the future is," he says. "That's where the decisions on gay rights, on abortion, on drugs and street crime will be made."

Mr. Reed "is very smart," says the University of Akron's Mr. Green. "He really understands coalitional politics. This is a sophisticated bunch of operatives."

A decade ago, Mr. Reed was the executive director of the College Republican National Committee. One evening, he says, drinking with friends at a Capitol Hill bar called Bullfeathers, he had a religious experience in which he saw death awaiting him and his beer-swilling friends if he didn't quickly mend his ways. He rushed to a telephone and called the first church he ran across in the Yellow Pages. "My conversion was pretty dramatic," he says. "Now I'm where I think God wants me to be."

The Outlook

Clinton's Friend: The Business Cycle

DATE: 11/30
PAGE: 1

NEW YORK

Concern over the economy's lackluster growth is widely viewed as a major factor in President-elect Clinton's election victory. And, it follows, the early success of his presidency will surely hinge on how well he manages to keep the economy moving ahead.

A more cooperative Congress, dominated by his own political party, will no doubt help to ease this challenge for the new president. But still more helpful is the near-certainty that a bona fide recovery is finally in progress. As a result, the economy is apt to keep strengthening in coming months, whatever happens in Washington.

Most economists agree that business in general entered a recession in mid-1990. But until recently there was considerable disagreement over whether the recession had ended. Some economists claimed that a recovery, albeit feeble, began in the spring of 1991, while others argued that the recession was persisting.

Now, however, there's broad agreement that a new expansion phase of the business cycle is under way. Signs cited range from rising industrial production to a jump in consumer confidence to last week's report that the economy grew at a 3.9% annual rate in the third quarter. The nonprofit National Bureau of Economic Research, the official arbiter in such matters, is widely expected to rule soon that the 1990-91 recession ended over a year ago.

The good news in this for President-elect Clinton is that once an expansion phase of the business cycle takes hold, it nearly always continues for a long time. And, almost inevitably in the process, all sorts of welcome economic developments occur.

In the past 60 years, the economy has completed 11 business-cycle expansions, according to the National Bureau. The longest, from early 1961 to late 1969, endured 106 months. The average length of the 11 was about 53 months. Only two lasted fewer than three years and only one, the upturn of 1980-81, lasted fewer than two years.

So, if business-cycle history is a guide, the economy is likely to keep expanding through the year ahead and well beyond. The record suggests, moreover, that party lines don't much matter. Some expansions ran the course under Republican presidents and some under Democratic presidents. Some took place partly under a Republican and partly under a Democrat. Republican as well as Democratic presidents presided over particularly long expansions and also over relatively short ones.

One welcome development that the new president may look for if the latest expansion does in fact endure is a reduction in the record federal budget deficit. Over the decades, fiscal policies and the vigor of economic upswings have varied all over the lot. But whatever the case has been, the condition of the budget has tended to strengthen, with deficits shrinking or even disappearing altogether.

The reason is that, as the economy expands, incomes rise, generating more tax revenue, and unemployment drops, reducing government outlays for the jobless. Largely reflecting this, the budget deficit narrowed during the 1982-90 expansion, for example, to an annual rate of nearly \$100 billion from more than \$160 billion.

A source of much concern in assessments about the outlook is that the new administration's efforts to spur the economy may cause inflation, and with it long-term interest rates, to rise. But business-cycle history shows this worry to be premature. Inflation and long-term rates usually do increase in the latter months of an expansion, but both tend to decline in the early stages. In the long expansions of 1975-80 and 1982-90, for example, both were lower two years after the upturns began than during the previous recessions.

The early part of an expansion, the record also shows, is when the sharpest increases in productivity occur. This, in turn, helps hold down labor costs, which can be a major source of inflationary pressure. Labor costs per unit of output, for instance, were lower on average in the middle years of the 1982-90 expansion than in the early months of recovery or during the 1981-82 recession.

When expansions are taking hold, businesses often are slow to rehire even though demand is rising, and this has been especially so in the current upswing. The National Bureau, in fact, classifies the unemployment rate as a lagging indicator of the business cycle when the economy is emerging from a recession. This pattern is hardly welcome news for Mr. Clinton, but there's a silver lining: the prospect of substantial productivity gains.

As expansions progress, of course, jobs do eventually proliferate and unemployment does drop, and in a long expansion this decline can be substantial. When the 1982-90 expansion finally ended, the jobless rate was close to 5%, less than half its level at the expansion's start.

It's anyone's guess as to how long the present expansion will endure. Business-cycle upswings normally persist until the economy comes up against constraints to further growth; these vary from expansion to expansion and range from severe inflation and shortages to excessive debt.

How rapidly such constraints develop now may depend in large measure on how fast an economic pace the Clinton team will seek to achieve. Too swift a pace early on could work to shorten the expansion. For now, the business cycle is Mr. Clinton's friend, but every friendship has its limits.

—ALFRED L. MALABRE JR.

Clinton Meets With Bentsen in Search For Treasury Chief, Economic Staff

DATE: 11-25
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By JEFFREY H. BIRNBAUM

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. — Bill Clinton met with Sen. Lloyd Bentsen of Texas in what may have been the first serious interview the president-elect has conducted in his search for a Treasury secretary.

The 71-year-old Mr. Bentsen, who heads the Senate Finance Committee, was summoned here to the governor's mansion as part of an expected series of meetings between Mr. Clinton and people he is considering for cabinet posts.

Mr. Clinton is focusing first on filling his administration's top economic jobs, including Treasury secretary, budget director and economic-security adviser. Sen. Bentsen, the Democrats' nominee for vice president in 1988, is known to be on Mr. Clinton's short list for Treasury secretary, the most senior of the economic posts.

Yesterday's private meeting wasn't the first time Sen. Bentsen was queried about the Treasury post. He met last week in Washington with Warren Christopher, who as director of Mr. Clinton's transition team is charged with briefing the president-elect about potential cabinet appointees.

After that meeting, Sen. Bentsen said he was happy as head of the Finance Committee, which has jurisdiction over tax, trade and health legislation, and he asserted that he didn't expect to get the Treasury job himself. The senator said he had provided Mr. Christopher with the names of other people he would recommend for the position.

People close to Mr. Clinton say he probably asked Sen. Bentsen to tell him more about the other people he thinks should be Treasury secretary. In addition, the two had tax-policy questions to discuss as Mr. Clinton decides the shape of his economic program.

Naming the experienced, moderate Sen. Bentsen to the Treasury post could reassure financial markets about the Clinton economic program. And Mr. Clinton is known to have a high regard for the lawmaker, who was a successful business executive before being elected to the Senate in 1970, defeating Republican George Bush. Sen. Bentsen also is widely thought to have done a good job as Michael Dukakis's running mate during the 1988 presidential campaign. In recent months, the senator has worked closely with Mr. Clinton as a surrogate and an adviser, especially on economic matters.

Others on the short list for Treasury secretary are Robert Rubin, co-chairman of Goldman, Sachs & Co., and Paul Volcker, former chairman of the Federal Reserve.

Mr. Volcker has been viewed as the top candidate, but in recent days he has been the subject of criticism, especially on Capitol Hill, from people who fear he might not be enough of a team player.

At the same time, others have expressed concerns about how well the Finance Committee might operate without Sen. Bentsen at its helm. The scholarly Sen. Daniel Moynihan (D., N.Y.) is next in line to head the panel.

Separately, the Clinton transition is expected to announce, perhaps as early as today, the leaders of 10 "clusters" of transition officials who will be delving into the work of various government agencies.

Among more than a dozen aides who are exploring options and soliciting advice from Clinton allies are economist Robert Shapiro of the Progressive Policy Institute, a Democratic think tank, who is looking into defense conversion and infrastructure expenditures; investment banker Roger Altman, who is reviewing short-term economic stimulus ideas; Harvard law professor Christopher Edley Jr., who is looking at small-scale banks; and Laura D'Andrea Tyson, an international economist at the University of California at Berkeley, who is considering technology, manufacturing and small businesses.

Mr. Clinton will hold his economic conference Dec. 14 and 15 here in Little Rock. The purpose of the conference is to assess the state of the economy and to consider ways to improve it. Mr. Clinton already has his own general prescriptions, but Mickey Kantor, the Clinton aide who is in charge of the conference, said, "There's still a lot of meat to put on those bones."

The guest list hasn't yet been decided, but it is expected to exceed 100 people and to include economists, labor leaders and representatives of big and small business. Mr. Clinton and Vice President-elect Al Gore are expected to sit in on a series of informal discussions during the conference, Mr. Kantor said.

Meanwhile, Mr. Clinton is scheduled to visit former President Ronald Reagan Friday in Mr. Reagan's Los Angeles office. His only other public appearance during a four-day vacation in California will be a tour of a local shopping area Friday.

Among other things, the Clinton camp, searching for ways to provide an economic jolt with little public spending, is studying banking regulations — including the Community Reinvestment Act. The 1977 law requires banks and savings and loans to make loans available in all areas where they take deposits.

Bankers consider the act one of many "regulatory burdens," which they contend put a chill on lending and a crimp in the economy. Required to demonstrate their efforts to provide loans to all sorts of borrowers, they say they spend too much time drawing maps and writing up reports on such things as meetings with community groups and advertising efforts.

Bankers care about a poor rating, because it can lead regulators to put the brakes on a merger or to deny a branch opening. "It creates a climate of fear which mitigates against the type of lending that has to be done," says Kenneth Guenther, executive vice president of the Independent Bankers Association of America.

Mr. Clinton's advisers say government examiners instead should look at where loans are actually made when evaluating bank compliance with the act. Banks might get credit for lending to community development agencies or for providing loans to small businesses in inner cities, or for mortgages in poor neighborhoods, for example.

"We want to focus on performance, not paperwork," says Clinton adviser Marc Weiss, director of the Real Estate Development Research Center at Columbia University.

—Paulette Thomas in Washington contributed to this article.

Clinton Is Fervent About Tying College Loans To National Service, but Cold Realities Set In

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By GERALD F. SEIB
And CATHY TROST

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — Amid a jumble of issues President-elect Clinton discussed with top congressional Democrats over dinner in Little Rock recently, one topic stood out.

The issue was Mr. Clinton's plan to establish a National Service program to make college loans to students who would pay them back by doing community service as teachers, police officers, nurses or counselors. Participants recall that Mr. Clinton himself raised the idea at the dinner and proceeded to discuss it with special passion.

As that episode illustrates, President-elect Clinton hasn't lost any of the fervor that Candidate Clinton displayed for eliminating existing student loan programs and replacing them with a kind of hybrid of the Peace Corps and the G.I. Bill.

Grappling With Tough Questions

But behind this idealistic vision, colder realities are beginning to set in. Mr. Clinton's aides are privately grappling with tough questions about how grand the program should be and how the new administration will foot a bill that could rapidly run into billions of dollars. The Clinton team must make a fundamental decision about how much of the program to run from Washington and how much to turn over to states and cities. And politically, Mr. Clinton must cope with the opposition that the idea arouses among unions and the military.

"Clinton has a shot at mobilizing the idealism and energy of a very significant number of young people, as Roosevelt did with the Civilian Conservation Corps and John F. Kennedy did with the Peace Corps," says Roger Landrum of Youth Service America, an advocacy group that has been talking with the Clinton transition team on the issue. But, Mr. Landrum adds, "he hasn't made decisions about size

or money or process. . . . The test for Clinton is how he combines the Platonic idea with the grass-roots side of it."

The idea of a voluntary National Service program has been germinating for several years among both Democratic and Republican policy thinkers. But it has been a special favorite of the Democratic Leadership Council, an organization of moderate to conservative Democrats. Mr. Clinton once was chairman of the DLC, and has made DLC President Al From head of domestic policy for his transition.

The National Service idea was prominently discussed at a 1987 DLC conference that Mr. Clinton attended, an event that may mark the conception of the Clinton plan. "It was there that we talked about National Service, and he sort of caught the fever," says Will Marshall, president of the Progressive Policy Institute, a think tank associated with the DLC.

Handful of Top Priorities

There is no doubt that he still has the fever. He has listed the National Service plan as one of a handful of top legislative priorities. The idea, in fact, has emerged as a main vehicle for translating Mr. Clinton's campaign theme that citizens have responsibilities, not just rights.

The concept has been tested on a small scale through the federal Commission on National and Community Service, which was created in 1990 by legislation sponsored by Democratic Sens. Sam Nunn of Georgia and Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts. That legislation authorized \$75 million to fund experimental service programs.

But the vagueness with which Mr. Clinton described his grander vision during the campaign has left open a host of tricky questions that will only now be addressed. The Clinton formulation has been simple and straightforward: Existing student loan programs would be scrapped and replaced by a National Service Trust Fund. Those who borrow from

the fund could repay their loans by committing a small percentage of their post-graduation earnings over time — or they could agree to do "work their country needs" through community service.

In a candid passage at a recent press conference, Mr. Clinton himself acknowledged how many questions that formulation leaves unanswered. He called National Service an idea "I feel very passionate about, but there are a lot of factual questions that have to be asked. How much money should everybody be able to borrow a year? What contributions should people's families be expected to make, if any? If you put this into effect, how are you going to keep the colleges and the universities of this country from using it as an excuse to explode tuition even more?"

The question most pressing to Clinton aides at the moment is cost. Because there's no clear definition about how big or broad the program would be, there's no way to calculate its cost precisely.

But a look at some smaller programs gives an idea of how expensive the proposal could become. City Year, a Boston program Mr. Clinton visited during his election campaign, puts young city residents to work on community projects in return for a salary of \$100 a week and \$5,000 to apply to college after nine months of work. It estimates that the cost of each participant is about \$20,000 a year. Based on that figure, Alan Khazei, City Year's 31-year-old president, envisions a national program with 500,000 youths by the end of the decade at a cost of \$10 billion a year.

Student Loan Costs

The federal government currently spends about \$5 billion a year to cover default costs and administrative costs of the guaranteed student loan program.

FISCAL 1992	COST (billions)
Default Costs	\$2.9
Interest Subsidy	\$2.2
Total Costs	\$5.1
	LOANS (billions)
Loan volume	\$14.6
Number of guaranteed student loans	5.1 million
Number of borrowers	3.7 million

Source: Department of Education

Of course, the overall cost of any Clinton program will depend on how much in offsetting savings is achieved by eliminating existing student loan programs; they cost the federal government about \$5 billion a year in defaults and administrative costs. And Clinton advisers are toying with variations on the basic plan that could have a different impact on the budget. For instance, Mr. From said in

a recent television interview that the Clinton team is considering the option of allowing students who have graduated from high school to do community service work to earn vouchers, which they then could apply for college education later.

Whatever the cost, the idea is sure to arouse opposition in some quarters. Some labor activists have always opposed the National Service concept, fearing it would produce low-cost workers who would steal jobs from union members.

Others object on more philosophical grounds. "The main problem with National Service is that it suggests that young people, mainly, have these incredible duties to the state," complains Doug Bandow, an analyst at the Cato Institute, a libertarian think tank. "That runs counter to the principles of this country. Power rises from the citizens to the state."

And military leaders have been leery of a National Service program, fearing it could siphon away intelligent and ambitious young people whom the armed services hope to recruit. "If you went to National Service, the military might not get as high a quality a person, because some of the people who would go into the military might do this instead," says Lawrence Korb, a former assistant secretary of defense for manpower affairs.

But Mr. Korb also notes that such a problem will diminish as the shrinking of the U.S. military reduces the number of new military recruits to 200,000 a year from 330,000 in Cold War days. He and others think a National Service program is needed, in part to give another avenue in society to poor and minority youths who could no longer find a path for advancement in the shrunken armed forces.

In fact, the principal challenge the Clinton administration faces may be to create a program joined by all kinds of youth, not simply middle-class students, and to send them into meaningful rather than make-work jobs. "You don't want to wake up one day and find rich kids working off benefits by being lifeguards at the community pool," says Frank Newman, president of the Education Commission of the States.

Clinton Sets Conference on the Economy

By PAUL RICHTER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—President-elect Bill Clinton will invite more than 100 experts and average American "stakeholders" to an economic brainstorming session Dec. 14 and 15 in Little Rock to "put meat on the bones" of his economic plans, aides said Tuesday.

Offering new details of the much-discussed conference, aides said it would be loosely structured and intended to draw comment on all the particulars of Clinton's economic platform, from investment tax credits to job-creation to worker retraining programs. Aides emphasized that the gathering would not alter the broad outline of Clinton's program but could shape some details of the plans he will submit to Congress next year.

"This is assessment, it's input," said Mickey Kantor, the former Clinton campaign chairman who is organizing the conference. "It's part of a continuing process of learning and analyzing what's going in the economy."

Aides plan to present Clinton with a master list of thousands of possible participants by the Thanksgiving holiday and said that he may make his selections over the weekend.

While aides declined publicly to identify any expected participant, one aide said that civil rights leader Jesse Jackson is likely to get his publicly stated wish to take part. Still unclear was whether an invitation would go to independent presidential candidate Ross Perot, whom Clinton once identified as someone he would like to have working with his Administration.

Clinton aides attempted Tuesday to further lower expectations about the event. Those expectations initially soared when one transition

aide referred to the gathering as a "summit." Since then, aides have insisted on calling it a "retreat," "conference" or "audit."

Kantor compared the meetings to opinion-gathering sessions that Clinton used during his 12 years as governor to float major proposals.

He said the conference would begin with four or five roundtable sessions in which participants would engage in discussions without prepared papers with Clinton and Vice President-elect Al Gore. The general meetings will take place at the Arkansas Statehouse and smaller ones are planned for Little Rock hotels, Kantor said.

He said sponsors would invite live TV pool coverage of the event. He said he expects participants to include economists, representatives of large and small business and "real" people. Kantor was unspecific about who those people might be but he said the conference would draw "a wide diversity of folks," including those who struggle with the economy every day.

Republicans, he predicted, will participate.

Kantor cited as a possible discussion topic Clinton's proposal for an investment tax credit. This proposal should be talked about "by people who have to deal with that kind of situation every day in business, whether it's small business or big business, small banks, big banks, consumers," Kantor said.

Aides were asked about the need for such a conference, considering that Clinton has discussed his proposals—and gathered public comment—over a yearlong campaign. Asked if these economic plans had not been "discussed to death," Kantor replied: "We're going to discuss them to life."

Clinton's aides attempted to dampen speculation that an unannounced trip to Little Rock on Tuesday by Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.) and a visit by Colorado Sen. Tim Wirth signaled that they are closer to being named Cabinet secretaries.

Bentsen, the 71-year-old chairman of the Senate Finance Committee and one of the most powerful congressional leaders on economic affairs, has been widely rumored to be in line for the key job at Treasury.

Wirth, who heads a Senate subcommittee on energy regulation and conservation, has been mentioned frequently as a possible secretary of energy or Interior.

Spokeswoman Dee Dee Myers said that Wirth, a Colorado Democrat who did not seek reelection this year, met with Clinton "to discuss a broad range of issues relating to the transition and the new Administration."

As for Bentsen, transition communications director George Stephanopoulos, said, "I think he's just going to have a general discussion about a number of issues with the governor today."

Bentsen, a Democrat from Texas, is highly regarded by the business community and was a leader in the

congressional fight to expand individual retirement accounts. He also was a major opponent of the Bush Administration's attempts to lower capital gains taxes without a corresponding increase in taxes for the wealthy.

Last week, Bentsen met in Washington with Clinton transition director Warren Christopher. Bentsen has said in recent days that he is "happy where I am," and many who know him well say he prizes the independence he has as a Senate leader—something he would sacrifice if he became a Cabinet member.

Others close to Bentsen said privately that he has clearly left the door open to be considered for Treasury. Myers said that Tuesday's meeting did not "rule [Bentsen] in or out."

The transition aides were asked whether new signs of life in the economy—including a rise in durable goods orders—might make it unnecessary for the new President to propose a multibillion-dollar economic stimulus program.

"I don't think we've reached that point yet," said Stephanopoulos. He said he saw hopeful signs in a rise in the consumer confidence index and news of improving durable goods orders. But he noted that housing starts are down and unemployment claims "are still up."

"Even the most hopeful signs we see right now are still mixed. . . . We still need a significant economic package next year."

Stephanopoulos said Clinton would not use his Thanksgiving weekend trip to Southern California to tour South Central Los Angeles neighborhoods.

He said Clinton had been to South Central "several times" during the campaign. "I don't [think] that he'll necessarily go back on this trip, but you can count on him being back there as President," he said.

Transition aides said they will announce today the names of leaders of the transition teams, called "clusters," that will study the workings of various federal departments and recommend any changes to Clinton.

On Tuesday, Christopher announced the appointment of four attorneys who will serve as the transition's legal counsel.

They are: James Hamilton, a partner in the Washington, D.C., law firm of Swidler & Berlin, who specializes in litigation, white collar criminal defense and ethics; James M. Lyons, a senior partner in the Denver firm of Rothgerber, Appel, Power & Johnson, who specializes in corporate litigation; John M. Quinn, a partner in the Washington firm of Arnold & Porter, who is past editor of the Georgetown Law Review, and Mary Anne Sullivan, a partner in the Washington firm of Hogan & Hattsen, who specializes in energy and natural resources law.

Times staff writers James Risen in Washington and Ronald Brownstein in Little Rock contributed to this story.

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Clinton May Get Line-Item Veto Authority in '93

Onus it puts on president is said to outweigh the measure's impact in reducing the deficit

By Marshall Ingwerson

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

THE bad news for President-elect Clinton: It is just possible Congress may give him a form of the line-item veto that he says he wants.

This is a power shift over the federal purse that presidents have sought for years. But the political

responsibility for deficit spending that it lays at the president's feet could outweigh the leverage that it puts in his hands.

"It puts the onus on the president," says Eugene Steuerle, a senior fellow at the Urban Institute and a Treasury official in the Reagan administration. "It symbolically gives him responsibility for controlling the deficit."

Yet the president can probably only successfully use it to delete a few billion dollars a year from a budget, Mr. Steuerle adds.

"It puts a lot of political pressure" on the president, says Mark Peterson, a Harvard political scientist, "and that's why Bill Clinton probably doesn't really want it."

"I think that's why Bush didn't really want it," says Gregory Sidak, a Washington lawyer and scholar at the conservative American Enterprise Institute.

Ronald Reagan, George Bush, and now Mr. Clinton have all asked Congress for some form of line-item veto, which would allow the president to sign a spending bill but veto items within it. To put them back, Congress would have to pass them again with two-thirds majorities.

Congress has never offered up this share of budget power. But the political equations are changing. With a Democrat coming to the White House, Congress no longer fears that the president will use budget items for partisan one-upmanship. And some members see a limited line-item veto as a valuable tool for Clinton to redirect federal spending toward strategic investment.

But such a measure would also change the balance of power within Congress "enormously," says one congressional staff member. In a House with more than 25 percent new members utterly without seniority and eager to change Congress's ways — or at least its image — that shift may be attractive.

"It changes the whole dynamic, the ability to wheel and deal and horse-trade," says the aide. The losers in the deal would be the senior members of the Appropriations Committees, the overlords of federal spending who cut most of the deals and dole out dollars in exchange for approval of the whole package.

Led by Senate Appropriations chairman Robert Byrd (D) of West Virginia, they have been the most vehement opponents of any version of line-item veto power for the president.

Under a line-item veto, "everything gets more scrutiny," says Julian Epstein, staff director of the House Government Operations Committee. "Things will be measured in terms of the public merit of the particular item."

In the new year and alongside a new administration, says Mr. Epstein, some version of the measure is "one of the first items we're looking at on our agenda."

Last fall, the House passed a much milder version of a line-item veto. Called "enhanced rescission authority," it would allow the president to sign a bill, then rescind items of spending and force Congress to vote on them. His rescissions would fail unless both chambers backed them by simple majorities. The bill never reached the Senate floor, where opposition is more intense.

HOUSE Speaker Thomas Foley (D) of Washington proposed enhanced rescission at a Monitor breakfast a few weeks ago as a compromise offer to Clinton, who has supported a line-item veto. Clinton expressed general support in return.

Senator Byrd's last public comment was unalterable opposition, but that comment was made well before the election.

In theory, the power to pull items out of the sweeping spending bills passed by Congress, sending the items back for a sepa-

rate vote, is the power to embarrass Congress into cutting pork-barrel projects out of the budget.

In practice, the Clinton campaign's own forecast of how much alleged pork the president could cut is less than \$10 billion — a thin slice of the federal deficit.

Even Clinton's estimate is ambitious. Stanley Collender, a federal-budget expert in the Washington office of the Price Waterhouse accounting firm, puts the Clinton figure at the very outside edge of plausibility.

The White House Office of Management and Budget found that the spending items that the Reagan administration opposed in 1988 added up to slightly more than \$1 billion.

A forthcoming study by the libertarian Cato Institute surveyed 115 United States governors and former governors, many with line-item veto power, and found that 92 percent believed it would help restrain federal spending.

States with the line-item veto have had slightly lower spending growth than those without, says Stephen Moore, director of Fiscal Policy Studies at Cato. "It's not going to kill the deficit," he says, "but it's still a good thing."

TRANSITION

AN UPDATE ON THE INCOMING ADMINISTRATION

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McGovern hopes for spot on roster

After 20 years in national political exile, former liberal presidential candidate George McGovern is hoping that his "Come Home America" call will be answered by President-elect Bill Clinton.

McGovern, 70, said Tuesday that a "top-level" Clinton transition aide told him he was placing McGovern's name under consideration for appointment as either U.N. ambassador or Agriculture secretary.

"I'd be pleased with either," says McGovern, whose post-Senate jobs ranged from running a failed Connecticut inn to now heading a Middle East think tank in Washington. But "to be honest with you, I don't expect either one to be offered."

McGovern gave Clinton his first big political job, as his Texas campaign co-chairman. Also:

Transition coverage

- Consumers pleased, 1A
- Georgia runoff, 2A
- Bush holiday, 10A
- Reich Q&A, 13A

World news: 8A

► Clinton met with Sen. Timothy Wirth, D-Colo., who's been widely viewed as a prospect to head either the Energy or Interior department.

► Former Arizona governor Bruce Babbitt, another prospect for a Cabinet-level environmental post, was in Little Rock and is expected to meet with Clinton today.

► Houston's Rice University confirmed that White House chief of staff James Baker has talked to officials there about joining the school after President Bush leaves office. Baker has not announced what he will do after Clinton takes office.

► U.S. Rep. John Tanner, D-Tenn., said that because of congressional obligations, he doesn't want to replace Vice President-elect Gore in the Senate. Tennessee Gov. Ned McWherter must appoint someone to replace Gore, expected to resign from his seat sometime in December.



By Betsy Herzog, AP

HAIRCUT: Roger Clinton prepares for 'Maury Povich Show'

his mother, Virginia, married the younger Clinton's father, who was an alcoholic. The father, also named Roger Clinton, died in 1968.

Roger Clinton, 36, also talked about his past cocaine addiction and the year he spent in prison in 1984 on drug charges. He said he was first abused by his father when he was 4. Clinton is a television production assistant in Burbank, Calif., and the lead singer in the rock band "Politics," which, he said, will perform at one of the inaugural balls. The show is scheduled to air Monday.

BROTHERLY LOVE:

Roger Clinton wept on a taping of the Maury Povich Show Tuesday as he spoke about being abused by his father and visiting his grave with his half-brother, the president-elect.

Clinton spoke with love and respect about his older brother, Bill, who he said assumed the role of "his father, best friend, guardian and protector." The president-elect was 4 when

CHANGING GUARD: Marilyn Quayle on Tuesday gave Tipper Gore a "top-to-bottom" tour of the vice president's three-story, 100-year-old Victorian residence on the grounds of the U.S. Naval Observatory, her office said.

"I hope the Gore family has as joyous a time in this lovely home as the Quayle family has had," Quayle said.



By J. David Ake, Agence France-Presse

PRESIDENTIAL PAT: In a White House Rose Garden ceremony, President Bush gives "Bill" a special pardon from the dinner table to a Virginia children's farm.

GOBBLE, GOBBLE: President Bush appeared briefly in the White House Rose Garden Tuesday for the annual presentation of a Thanksgiving turkey, smiling only slightly as he quipped to the bird, "We're here to serve you."

The 55-pound, 1-year-old bird was presented to Bush by the National Turkey Federation. But the bird won't wind up on anyone's dinner table Thursday.

"We're going to grant him a special presidential pardon. He will be going into early retirement, I'm told, living out his years on a Virginia children's farm," Bush told an audience of schoolchildren. The turkey growers have been giving presidents turkeys to mark Thanksgiving since the Truman administration 45 years ago.

THE LATEST BUZZ: Beekeepers wearing "Honey, I Love You" buttons are pleading with their congressional patrons to retain the honeybee subsidy — the only federal program Bill Clinton has mentioned that he wants to eliminate.

Bee people are arguing that without the subsidy, their industry will fall to foreign competitors. The program, which cost \$18.6 million last year, was founded in 1952 to ensure that there will be enough bees to pollinate the nation's fruit and nut crops.

Trucks loaded with beehives still roll out of the Dakotas and Minnesota every fall, headed for California's almond groves. The subsidy helps 3,000 to 5,000 beekeepers, mostly in those three states as well as California and Florida.

Clinton ridiculed the program during his campaign. The General Accounting Office, the investigative arm of Congress, recommended abolishing the program two years ago, saying that growers who need bees for pollination can rent or buy them. Nationwide, bees pollinate an estimated \$9.7 billion worth of crops a year.

WHERE THEY ARE TODAY

Bill Clinton - Today-Thursday, Little Rock. Al Gore - Today-Thursday, undisclosed getaway spot

George Bush - Today-Thursday, Kennebunkport. Dan Quayle - Today-Thursday, Washington.

Compiled by Carolyn Pesce. Contributing: Lee Michael Katz.

Is the Clinton Expansion Here? Rebound Seen, but a Slow One

Executives Say Economy Is Finally Turning Up

By SYLVIA NASAR

A number of business executives say the Clinton expansion may have arrived even before the President-elect moves into the White House. But they are quick to add that the pace of the economic rebound will continue to be far slower than in past recoveries and that too few jobs will be created to bring unemployment down quickly.

In interviews over the Thanksgiving weekend, business owners and executives said they were seeing signs of a recovery — from more classified advertising to more business travel — in their own businesses and communities. Taken together, the variety of indicators suggest that the American economy is at last turning a corner.

"It seems that this recovery is finally under way," said George N. Hatsopoulos, chief executive of the Thermo Electron Corporation, a maker of industrial instruments in Waltham, Mass. "I believe it's going to catch on this time."

Heartened by New Activity

Business people say they are heartened by a surge in consumer confidence since the Presidential election, by last week's surprisingly strong economic reports and by the crowds on the first days of the holiday shopping season. A consensus appeared to be emerging that holiday sales so far were up 5 to 8 percent from a year earlier. [Page D1.]

That is not to say that most businesses are not still struggling; that gains — particularly on the job front — will be anything but slow, or that good times are imminent. Indeed, business people stress that competition will remain as brutal as at any time in memory.

"It's tougher to make money whether you're a cab driver or an entrepreneur," said Jerry Della Femina, the New York advertising executive who created the Joe Isuzu ads in the 1980's and who started a restaurant, a real estate company and an ad agency this year. "Everybody's coming off the memories of the 1980's, when people made fortunes by just showing up. Now that's past."

Several executives said the election of Gov. Bill Clinton had done the most to raise their confidence in the economy. "A lot of this is psychological," Mr. Della Femina said. "Almost all of it, in fact. We talk ourselves into recessions. This is Clinton's chance to allow us to talk ourselves into a recovery."

Consumers Are Spending

In San Francisco, Ruth Owades, chief executive of Calyx & Corolla, a fresh flower catalogue company, reported a jump in sales immediately after the election. "We did more than twice as much business this year as we did last Thanksgiving Day," she said.

But business is also clearly responding to stronger sales and rebounding profits.

Economic growth more than doubled from the glacial 1.2 percent pace of the first nine months of the recovery, which most economists reckon began in the spring of 1991, to a moderate 2.8 percent in the last three quarters. Apart from the effect of Hurricanes Andrew and Iniki, after-tax corporate profits are back to a record high.

One reason is that consumers, who account for roughly two-thirds of the gross domestic product, are making purchases again. Consumer spending

rose at a strong 3.7 percent annual rate last summer and surged at an 8.4 percent annual rate in October.

Business confidence in the economy — reflected in start-ups of businesses and in loan demand as well as in surveys — has been making a quiet comeback for months. At least some executives talk about adding employees, restocking inventories and spending money on equipment that would raise productivity.

Paul West, the proprietor of Paul West Heating Inc., a heating, ventilation and air-conditioning contractor in San Francisco, said business had been building since August and that he had hired two workers since then. "My telephone is ringing off the hook now," he said. "I've got too much work. There's some old customers I can't take care of."

He added: "If the phone keeps ringing after the first of the year, I'll know we are on to something. What we are seeing now could be seasonal. I've had false starts before."

In Cleveland, Sandra Pianalto, the chief operating officer of the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland, said that bankers in the area were seeing more demand for loans in recent weeks. "Bankers around here seem to be a little more optimistic," she said.

Better Sales at Ford

At the Ford Motor Company, car sales are turning up. "Sales of cars to individuals were up 8 percent in August, 15 percent in September and 30 percent in October," said Joel Pitcoff, the manager of research and analysis.

Ford has been increasing its production schedules. Its North American assembly plants have been running 94 percent of straight time, compared with 78 percent of straight time last year. Straight time means two eight-hour shifts, five days a week.

Housing has been a bright spot, too. The eagerness of first-time home buyers to put deeds in their pockets, and fears that mortgage rates are likely to go up, helped push sales of existing houses in October to their highest level in four years. And building permits for new single-family houses recently picked up as well.

"We really don't have a whole lot to complain about," said Ginny Constable, a real estate agent at Coldwell Banker Horsley & Constable, in Harrisonburg, Va. "We had almost record months for our company four months through October. Our inventory is really down now, and we're struggling to find people properties in the first-time-buyer range."

Business is spending more money to make money. Rodger Ballou, president of the travel services group of the American Express Company, said that business travel was up.

So is advertising. Heinz Prechter, chairman of ASC Inc., an automotive supplier and owner of several small newspapers southwest of Detroit, said the regional newspaper business "has been incredibly strong, reflecting local optimism." He added: "All the advertisers are coming back, and linage is up."

Thanks to its drive to lift productivity and cut costs, businesses have been on a capital-spending spree. Outlays on computers, telephone systems and other high-technology equipment has climbed at an 8.5 percent rate after inflation during the last three quarters. In September and October, orders for capital equipment jumped 11 percent to a record high.

Strong economic data. Crowds of shoppers. Pickup in ads and travel.

In Waltham, Mr. Hatsopoulos of Thermo Electron said business has been improving for several months. The equipment division, which was losing money, is again profitable. "We are going into another round of planning for next year in early January," he said. "It looks as if we're going to revise our investment plans up."

Peter Wayne, a computer consultant and physician in Yonkers, decided that the recovery had arrived when he suddenly started having trouble reordering computer equipment and parts from his usual suppliers. "They didn't answer their '800' number," he said. "They were out of parts. They had to back-order. A few weeks ago, they were shipping orders the following day."

What really clinched it was that two of the half dozen suppliers he called said that they were hiring more help to handle the flood of orders.

For all these signs of strength, few executives or economists expect the economy to keep growing at the summer's perky 3.9 percent pace, much less the 5 or 6 percent pace typical of the early phase of previous recoveries. Most economists expect the economy to settle down at a growth rate of 2.5 percent or so.

Exports Could Fade

Among the forces that are restraining spending: Consumers are still nervous about their debt loads and their low saving rates. State and local governments are cutting budgets. And military contractors will be slimming down for years to come.

At the same time, exports, which have been one of the economy's sources of growth in the last year and a half, may fade unless the recessions in Europe and Japan ease before too long. Machine tool orders fell 24.9 percent in October as exports dropped by half.

The key to the recovery, virtually everyone agrees, is jobs.

"The public is only going to declare the recession over when there's sustained and convincing job growth," said Roger E. Brinner, chief economist at DRI/McGraw-Hill, an economic forecasting firm in Lexington, Mass.

Although private companies have added just 300,000 jobs since last winter there are signs that the worst of the layoffs are behind and that companies are adding workers by the ones and twos.

The unemployment rate has edged down to 7.4 percent, from 7.8 percent. Initial unemployment claims have fallen in six of the last eight weeks and are now below 400,000, the dividing line between a labor market that is stagnating or contracting and one that is gradually expanding.

Hiring Plans Improve

What is more, hiring plans continue to improve modestly. A survey released yesterday by Manpower Inc., a Minneapolis-based temporary-help company, shows that more companies are planning to add employees in the first quarter and fewer are anticipating staff cuts.

Despite the upbeat mood and the hopeful signs, business is not going to let President-elect Clinton off the hook.

"Clinton promised to focus on the economy like a laser beam," said Ms. Owades of Calyx & Corolla. "That's what the country's looking for."

Gramm denies house deal was improper

Ethics Committee found it was OK

By Carleton R. Bryant
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Sen. Phil Gramm denounced a New York Times report yesterday that said he helped a Texas savings and loan owner deal with federal regulators after the owner undercharged him for work on his Maryland vacation home in 1987.

"I did not believe then, and I do not believe now, that I received more value than I paid for in [that building] contract," he said in a statement.

Retiring Sen. Warren Rudman, vice chairman of the Senate Ethics Committee, supported Mr. Gramm yesterday, noting that the committee cleared the Texas Republican in 1990 of any wrongdoing in the matter.

"If the New York Times wants to draw other inferences from that, that's their privilege," Mr. Rudman said on CBS-TV's "Face the Nation." "I think the committee did what it should have done."

In yesterday's editions, the newspaper reported that Jerry D. Stiles, a leading Dallas home builder and developer, charged Mr. Gramm

\$63,000 for \$117,000 worth of building costs on his Eastern Shore home in 1987. Both men told the Times that the difference was attributable to cost overruns willingly absorbed by the builder.

Mr. Stiles operated three Texas savings and loans at the time. They later failed, which regulators estimate will cost taxpayers more than \$200 million.

Mr. Gramm, a senior member of the Senate Banking Committee, which oversees the S&L industry, advised Mr. Stiles in early 1989 "how to navigate" the complex rules the regulators used to determine which

thrifts could remain open, the Times reported.

"I did nothing to assist Mr. Stiles nor any other S&L operator in Texas other than to assure that their requests were communicated to" the state regulatory board, Mr. Gramm said.

In an interview with the Times, Mr. Gramm said he hired the Texas developer to work on his Maryland home to provide work for Texas laborers during a sluggish economic period.

He said that in late 1989, when questions arose over his contract

with Mr. Stiles — in which both parties agreed that Mr. Gramm would pay no more than \$63,000 for the work — he asked the Ethics Committee to investigate and rule on the matter.

Moreover, he said, he hired a Maryland builder that year to examine the blueprint and estimate the cost of finishing the work on the house. The builder estimated the cost at \$57,000, "\$6,000 less than I paid Mr. Stiles," Mr. Gramm said.

"The committee concluded in 1990 that I owed nothing more, that I had done nothing wrong and that I was not in violation of Senate rules," he said.

In 1987, those rules barred members from receiving anything of value from people with direct interest in legislation. The rules now prohibit members from accepting any gifts over \$300, except from relatives.

Mr. Rudman, New Hampshire Republican, corroborated Mr. Gramm's account yesterday. He said the Ethics Committee's professional staff looked into the issue and determined that the contract was valid and that Mr. Gramm need pay only the contract price. "It's as simple as that," he said.

According to the Times, the FBI and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. halted their investigations into the relationship between the Texas senator and Mr. Stiles because the Ethics Committee exonerated Mr. Gramm.

After the FBI began its investigation, Mr. Gramm wrote a check for the balance of the money, with interest. But he kept the money after the Ethics Committee cleared him, the newspaper said.

"Let me simply say that the FBI, the FDIC, to my knowledge, have never stopped investigating anything because of the Ethics Committee," Mr. Rudman said. "It's the other way around, normally."

Mr. Gramm, who is regarded as a

contender for the GOP's 1996 presidential nomination, said the extent of his involvement with Texas S&Ls consisted of forwarding letters to the state regulatory agency.

A fiscal conservative who helped craft the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit-reduction law, Mr. Gramm noted that in 1987 he endorsed the Reagan administration's \$15 billion S&L bailout plan that would have allowed regulators to close many weak thrifts in Texas.

A former economics professor at Texas A&M University, Mr. Gramm told the Times that he advised Mr. Stiles as an economist rather than a senator. He said he warned him that more bad economic times were approaching and suggested he get out of the banking business.

Federal regulators closed down Mr. Stiles' three S&Ls in July 1989, the newspaper reported, adding that the government has portrayed the thrifts as being "saddled with large losses resulting from insider deals." It did not elaborate.

Mitchell, Dole divide on special counsel law

FROM COMBINED DISPATCHES

Senate Minority Leader George Mitchell predicted yesterday that the independent counsel law will be passed again next year but does not need to be extended to members of Congress.

Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole, noting the "disgrace" of special prosecutor Lawrence Walsh's Iran-Contra investigation, disagreed. He also said an ethics probe of Sen. Bob Packwood, Oregon Republican, should begin quickly.

"My view is the quicker the better. Let's get it behind us maybe before the next Congress convenes," the Kansas Republican said on ABC's "This Week."

On the same program, Mr. Mitchell said, "I think the skeptics are wrong, and I think there will be another independent counsel law." The current law is scheduled to expire Dec. 15.

As for extending the law to Congress, the Maine Democrat said: "It's not necessary. . . . There is no shortage of availability for the investigation of members of Congress."

Mr. Dole countered: "I think unless Congress is included in the special prosecutor law and unless there's some provision made for the minority — and the Republicans are the minority in Congress, and I can envision the Democrats spending a great deal of their time investigating everything in the Bush administration that's happened in the last four years since they have a majority — we'd want some protection so that we could have hearings."

"Let's take the case of Caspar Weinberger,

which I think is a disgrace. I think the special prosecutor's office has been a disgrace. There ought to be a special prosecutor appointed to investigate Lawrence Walsh and Mr. [James] Brosnahan, whose firm contributed \$22,000 to Clinton's campaign."

Mr. Brosnahan is the prosecutor in Mr. Walsh's office who released a second indictment of Mr. Weinberger four days before the election, a move Republicans charge halted President Bush's comeback in the polls.

Sen. Warren Rudman, New Hampshire Republican and a member of the Senate Ethics Committee, would not rule out a Packwood investigation before the next Congress meets.

The Packwood matter "could be heard this month," Mr. Rudman, who is retiring from the Senate, said on CBS' "Face the Nation." "I'm not volunteering to do that," he added.

Mr. Packwood, who won re-election Nov. 3, was entering a clinic for treatment of alcohol-related problems, according to two of the senator's friends quoted by the Sunday Oregonian newspaper.

"He knows he has to answer questions publicly, but he just doesn't feel strong enough to do it now," the Oregonian in Portland quoted one of the unnamed friends as saying.

Ten women — former Packwood staff members or lobbyists — have accused the four-term senator of uninvited and unwanted sexual advances over the years.

Mr. Packwood on Friday requested an ethics probe and said he will seek advice about his use of alcohol.

Congress' big turnover has 'Hill rats' prowling for jobs

By Todd Richissin
SCRIPPS HOWARD NEWS SERVICE

Members of Congress are elected, of course, but many of the people who help shape policy and write legislation are career Capitol Hill employees who float from one Congress member or committee to the next.

They are sometimes disparagingly referred to as "Hill rats," and, counting receptionists, clerks, legislative aides and secretaries, there are about 13,000 of them working for members of Congress and their committees.

With the 103rd Congress welcoming the highest turnover since 1948, many of them are scurrying for jobs.

"The government has grown so big and these people have stayed so long that they've formed kind of a shadow government," said Norman Leahy, research director for U.S. Term Limits. "Nobody should stay in government for as long as some of these people do. It's corrupting."

Mr. Leahy does not buy the argument that long-term staffers are important because of their institutional memory and navigational skills at steering legislation through complicated bureaucratic channels.

The sooner term limits go into effect for a number of states, the sooner congressional staffers will stop wielding so much power, he said. His reasoning: Staffers gain power because of longevity, which they get by attaching themselves to entrenched members of Congress.

"It's not like we're lobotomizing Congress by bringing new people in," Mr. Leahy said. "People in the real world have a sense of what government should do. If they bring that sense to Washington with them, I think the process can only gain."

Others aren't so sure.

Rep. Dennis Eckert, the Ohio Democrat who surprised his colleagues by announcing his retirement after six terms, said newcom-

ers to Congress best serve their constituents when a balance is struck between Washington professionals and staffers who know the home district.

"For a chief of staff I wanted an experienced Washington insider who had a great Rolodex and knew how to make me a success in D.C.," Mr. Eckert said. "The people who have a little more difficulty are those people who just bring their campaign manager to Washington with them."

Members of the House are permitted to hire 18 full-time staffers and four part-timers to work in Washington and in home offices. The total budget cannot exceed \$537,480.

Typically, the office comprises an administrative assistant, executive secretary, office manager, legislative aides, computer operators, a press secretary, receptionists and clerks who do everything from answering telephones to mailing flags to constituents.

"From a policy standpoint, not very many of them are terribly determinative," said Christopher Deering, a political scientist at George Washington University.

"I think the members come in with an agenda that they carry over from their campaign," he said. "Even the legislative staff's main purpose is really to grease the skids."

Finding experienced top aides is not difficult. While 110 new members may be looking for employees, the staff of 110 outgoing members are looking for jobs. Their average stay on Capitol Hill is 9½ years.

Charlie Murphy, 52, who has worked on Capitol Hill for 28 years, said experienced staffers can help new members make the best of committee assignments. His boss, retiring Rep. Andy Ireland, Florida Democrat, used Mr. Murphy's defense expertise to become a powerful member of the Armed Services Committee.

He acknowledged, however, that many congressional staffers do abuse their positions, often by working too closely with lobbyists and then joining their firms.

Coverdell victory a blow to Clinton

By Major Garrett
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Republican Paul Coverdell's upset victory over Sen. Wyche Fowler Jr. in Georgia's runoff highlights a GOP boomlet in the Peach State and suggests a certain fragility to President-elect Bill Clinton's Southern appeal.

"The voters were driven by change," said Mr. Coverdell, a Georgia legislator for 19 years and Peace Corps director from 1989 to 1991.

Mr. Coverdell's victory Tuesday continued a Republican trend of penetrating Democratic strongholds in south Georgia. He ran com-

petitively with Mr. Fowler in many southern counties and held his own in Atlanta. That allowed him to use his Republican strength in the Atlanta suburbs and north Georgia hills to prevail.

"He ran a lot better in rural and south Georgia," said Merle Black, an expert in Southern politics with Emory University in Atlanta. "The vote in the Atlanta metro area was pretty close."

The race seesawed through the night, and Mr. Coverdell held a slim lead with only the Atlanta and neighboring De Kalb counties outstanding. The challenger did well enough

there to compensate for Mr. Fowler's strong Democratic support.

Mr. Coverdell, 53, becomes only the second Republican elected to the Senate from Georgia since Recon-

struction. Mack Mattingly defeated Democratic Sen. Herman E. Talmadge in 1980 on the strength of Ronald Reagan's landslide and widespread displeasure with the incumbent. Mr. Mattingly lost to Mr. Fowler in 1986.

The runoff occurred after Mr. Fowler, 52, failed to win more than 50 percent in the general election. He won 49 percent to 48 for Mr. Coverdell. Libertarian candidate Jim Hudson won 3 percent and endorsed the Republican in the runoff.

The Coverdell victory came despite Mr. Clinton's narrow victory in Georgia on Nov. 3. Mr. Coverdell built a coalition of fundamentalist Christians, suburban whites and elderly Perot supporters to surmount Mr. Fowler's fund-raising advantage and strong support among blacks and union members.

On the whole, 1992 has been a stellar year for Georgia Republicans. They picked up 22 seats in the state Legislature, though they remain the minority in both chambers, and elected three new congressmen. They also won the runoff on Tuesday for state public service commissioner.

Mr. Coverdell is an unassuming moderate Republican and an unlikely figure to deliver the first political jab to Mr. Clinton's chin. The president-elect campaigned for Mr. Fowler the day before the election and said he needed him to ensure passage of his legislative agenda.

Republicans hailed the victory as a sign that Georgia, one of two states in the Deep South that Mr. Clinton carried, was reluctant to give Mr. Clinton's agenda another boost. Louisiana also voted for Mr. Clinton.

"I think this is an indication that there is a signal being sent out there by the people of Georgia to President-elect Clinton and everybody else, all of us, you know ... don't go too far and don't go too fast," said Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole of Kansas.

But those close to Mr. Clinton said Georgians were unhappy with the 52-year-old incumbent senator — not the new president.

"What does it say about his coat-tails?" asked Sen. Sam Nunn, Georgia Democrat, referring to the president-elect. "I don't think that anybody coming in from the outside had much to do with it one way or the other."

"We knew it would be a close race and an uphill fight. I don't think that this is any type of message about Bill Clinton," Clinton spokeswoman Max Parker told the Associated Press.

Former President Jimmy Carter campaigned for Mr. Fowler, and Mr. Dole and Texas Sen. Phil Gramm, chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, made several visits, as did first lady Barbara Bush.

Mr. Coverdell faulted Mr. Fowler's penchant for talking like a conservative back home and voting like a liberal in Washington.

From 1987 to 1990, Mr. Fowler compiled an average 74 percent rating with the liberal Americans for Democratic Action. That was higher than any other Dixie Democrat in the Senate, including Mr. Nunn.

"I think this was a referendum on Fowler," Emory's Mr. Black said. "The unifying factor here was not so much Coverdell as Fowler."

In complete but unofficial returns, Mr. Coverdell had 633,182 votes, or 51 percent, to Mr. Fowler's

318,190, or 49 percent. The margin was sufficient to prevent a recount.

Despite Mr. Fowler's generally liberal voting record, he lost crucial support among women and homosexuals, especially in and around Atlanta. Women held back because he voted for Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas and homosexuals sat out because he was not forceful enough on their agenda.

Interest groups loyal to both parties contributed heavily, allowing both candidates to spend more than \$1 million on their runoff campaigns. Mr. Fowler spent more than \$2.6 million in the general election. Mr. Coverdell spent more than \$1.4 million.

Mr. Gramm said the new president took a risk in the runoff by campaigning personally.

"It was Bill Clinton who decided to make this a test," the senator said. "If you look at everything [they] said ... their whole pitch was to give them a Republican-proof Congress, to give them a blank check. Clearly, the people of Georgia weren't in a mind to sign any blank checks."

Mr. Nunn and other party loyalists said Mr. Clinton would have sent a discouraging signal to his party by

skipping the race for safety's sake.

"If [he] had not gone and campaigned for Senator Fowler and the results had been that [he] lost, then he would have been criticized all over for not being willing to put his personality on the line and his prestige on the line," Mr. Nunn said.

Democrats were certainly disappointed with the outcome, which dashed all hope of gaining seats in the Senate this year. Had Mr. Fowler prevailed, the Democrats would have picked up one seat in the 1992 elections, increasing their majority to 58-42.

Sen. Kent Conrad, who decided not to seek re-election to his own seat, is expected to win a Dec. 4 special election in North Dakota to fill the two remaining years of the term of Sen. Quentin N. Burdick, who died Sept. 8.

Democrats are now forced to settle with the pre-election status quo of 57-43, which leaves open potential troubles should Republicans seek to stall or derail a Clinton program with a filibuster. Senate rules require 60 votes to end a filibuster, which blocks all Senate action.

GOP's Coverdell ousts Sen. Fowler in Georgia

Clinton staked prestige on vote

By Major Garrett
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Republican challenger Paul Coverdell ousted freshman Sen. Wyche Fowler Jr. in Georgia's runoff election yesterday, dealing an early blow to President-elect Bill Clinton and providing a tonic to his dispirited party.

The photo finish was a significant victory for the Republicans, who stumped the state hard in the closing days of the race. The startling outcome ended Democratic hopes of widening their margin in the new

Senate, leaving them with a 57-43 margin at best.

Mr. Coverdell, 53, attributed his victory to voters "who stepped forward in this election season and said, 'We want change, we want common sense, we want someone in Washington who came from the workplace.'"

Mr. Coverdell, a moderate Republican, built a sizable lead on the strength of support in suburban Atlanta and north Georgia and withstood a late surge by Mr. Fowler in Democratic strongholds of Atlanta and nearby De Kalb County.

It was the first test of Mr. Clinton's political clout, and he came up short. The president-elect made politically risky election-eve stops in Albany and Macon and told voters he needed Mr. Fowler to win passage of his programs in Congress.

GEORGIA SENATE

Results from yesterday's runoff for Georgia's U.S. Senate seat.

99% of precincts reporting

Paul Coverdell, GOP	51%
Wyche Fowler, Democrat	49%

The Washington Times

Vice President-elect Al Gore made two appearances, and former President Jimmy Carter, a former Georgia governor, also campaigned on the senator's behalf.

Mr. Coverdell, the director of the Peace Corps from 1989 to 1991,

countered that he was the true candidate of change since Mr. Fowler had been in the House for 10 years and in the Senate for six. He accused the senator of talking like a moderate and voting like a liberal in Washington and appeared to benefit from the backing of former supporters of independent presidential candidate Ross Perot.

The race seesawed all night and Mr. Coverdell, a Georgia state senator for 19 years, was declared the winner by the Associated Press only after 99 percent of the precinct results had been tabulated. Mr. Coverdell had 620,779 votes, or 51 percent, and Mr. Fowler had 607,757 votes, or 49 percent.

The victory marks an amazing turnabout for a candidate who trailed 56 percent to 32 percent in one statewide poll published less than a month before the Nov. 3 general election. But the challenger staged a stunning comeback and raised well over \$1 million to wage his runoff campaign, which became the first test of Mr. Clinton's political strength in the South.

As the lead switched back and forth all evening, votes piled up from each candidate's base of support: Mr. Coverdell's in north Georgia and the Atlanta suburbs, Mr. Fowler's in south Georgia and Atlanta.

Earlier, Mr. Coverdell was cheered early by victories in four southeastern counties he lost to Mr. Fowler in the general election, and it signaled a long evening for the 52-year-old Mr. Fowler.

"I'm tired of campaigning," Mr. Fowler said as the votes were still being tallied. "I just want to get back to work."

Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole of Kansas and Texas Republican Sen. Phil Gramm stumped yesterday for Mr. Coverdell. Earlier, first lady Barbara Bush campaigned for Mr. Coverdell.

Mr. Clinton won Georgia by 16,085 votes, or 1 percentage point, over President Bush.

The defeat, which at least partially touched Mr. Clinton, may be seen as a rejection of his appeal for

more Democrats in Congress. Republicans may also view it as a signal that their problems on Election Day may have been an unpopular president, not an unpopular message.

Mr. Clinton said Monday that he needed Mr. Fowler to "break this gridlock in Washington." Only last week the new president and the

Democratic leaders in Congress announced that gridlock already had been conquered.

Therefore, the race appeared to have more to do with the amount of leverage Mr. Clinton will have in the Senate. The Democrats hold a 56-43 majority in elections decided this year.

The Democrats are expected to win a Dec. 4 special election in North Dakota, where retired Sen. Kent Conrad holds a formidable lead over state Rep. Jack Dalrymple. The victor will fulfill the last two years of the term of Sen. Quentin N. Burdick, who died Sept. 8.

That means the 57-43 majority the Democrats had going into the election, a poor showing considering they won the White House, will leave them with slightly less power now to fend off Republican attempts to stall or derail Mr. Clinton's initiatives with a filibuster.

Senate rules require 60 votes to end a filibuster. Republicans would have had a slightly more difficult time defending a filibuster with only 42 senators than if they had 43.

Reports from precincts across Georgia showed a very low turnout, a potentially dangerous sign for Mr. Fowler, a liberal who relies heavily on black turnout to offset opposition from the whites in Atlanta suburbs and north Georgia hills.

Republicans have rushed to aid Mr. Coverdell, whose campaign came to life in the final weeks of the general campaign to deny Mr. Fowler victory. Less than a month before the general election, Mr. Fowler held a lead of 56 percent to 32 percent in the polls.

But Mr. Coverdell closed quickly by charging that the senator bounced checks at the House bank while a member of the House. Mr. Fowler, who served in the House from 1976 to 1986, denied the allegations.

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Gramm Faces Questions About Payment To Thrift Owner for Home Construction

By DAVID ROGERS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — A Dallas builder and savings-and-loan owner absorbed more than \$53,000 in costs related to construction work on a Maryland vacation home owned by Texas Sen. Phil Gramm, a member of the Senate Banking Committee.

Mr. Gramm yesterday released a statement portraying the excess expenses as cost overruns beyond the \$63,433 that he paid in early 1988 for the work. But the timing of the transaction raises questions as to whether the Republican benefited from his dealings with the S&L operator in a period when he was instrumental in writing legislation affecting the thrift industry.

The construction work was initiated in 1987 within months of enactment of a federal banking law giving regulators new borrowing authority to reimburse depositors as the government shut down failed thrifts. And though Mr. Gramm was outspoken in urging more aggressive action to deal with the burgeoning S&L crisis, he also was central in crafting compromise provisions that allowed sick thrifts in states such as Texas to continue operating if it could be shown that their weakened condition was caused primarily by the depressed regional economy.

System Called Political

Mr. Gramm's dealings with the S&L owner, Jerry Stiles, were first disclosed yesterday by the New York Times, which reported that the senator met with Mr. Stiles in 1989 and advised him at a time when government regulators were moving toward closing down his three thrifts. "The purpose of meeting with Phil was [that] the system is nothing but political," Mr. Stiles told investigators from the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp., according to an FDIC transcript cited by the Times. But neither FDIC officials nor the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which has its own inquiry into Mr. Stiles's dealings, have alleged any wrongdoing by the senator.

"At no time have I sought to exert undue influence with regulators on behalf of anyone in the savings-and-loan business," said Mr. Gramm in his statement yesterday. "I did nothing to assist Mr. Stiles nor any other S&L operator in Texas other than to assure that their requests were communicated to the FHLBB [Federal Home Loan Bank Board]."

Reached at his home last night, George Barclay, president of the Federal Home Loan Bank of Dallas, said he recalled Mr. Stiles's thrifts but "would categorically deny" that Mr. Gramm or any other congressman had put pressure on him to do anything wrong related to his work with failing S&Ls in the late 1980s.

According to the senator's account and interviews by this newspaper, Mr. Gramm entered into an agreement with Mr. Stiles in 1987 to complete the interior of the vacation home on Maryland's Eastern

Shore for \$60,000. The work, in fact, was done by a Dallas contractor, Ronnie Hawthorne, who received a \$25,000 cash payment himself and billed Mr. Stiles not only for the work but also for the expense of bringing in workers from Texas.

The final costs totaled \$117,000, but Mr. Gramm said he never knew of the discrepancy until nearly two years after he had paid what he said he thought was his full share. Dallas FBI agents had by this point questioned Mr. Hawthorne regarding the case, and the issue was plainly of concern going into the senator's re-election campaign in 1990.

Only months before, the Senate Ethics Committee had appointed a special counsel to investigate the so-called Keating Five case involving five senators, which grew out of the S&L crisis. And Mr. Gramm, who has presidential ambitions, moved quickly to get a ruling from the panel as to whether the cost overruns amounted to a gift from Mr. Stiles.

The case appears to have been confined to the top members of the ethics panel and professional staff. In a letter two weeks later on Jan. 31, 1990, Chairman Howell Heflin (D., Ala.) and Sen. Warren Rudman (R., N.H.), the vice chairman, told Mr. Gramm that they had concluded the contract had been legitimate and the costs absorbed by the builder didn't represent a gift under Senate rules. An attorney representing Mr. Gramm subsequently informed the Dallas FBI office of the ruling, according to the Times account, which suggests that the committee's opinion served to discourage further federal investigation of the vacation house's construction.

Influence Discounted

Attorneys familiar with the ethics process, however, yesterday dismissed the notion that the FBI would be so influenced by a committee ruling. And Sen. Rudman, who sits with Sen. Gramm on an Appropriations subcommittee that oversees the FBI's budget, said he saw no evidence that any of the deliberations within Congress had influenced the agency.

"The FBI wouldn't drop an investigation because of an ethics ruling," said the New Hampshire Republican, who described the Times account as "very thin." Though the committee's letter describes Mr. Stiles only as a "prominent Dallas home builder," Mr. Rudman said Mr. Gramm had informed him of the builder's involvement with thrifts and that the Texan's office had forwarded letters from him to regulators as he did with other inquiries from thrifts. Before going to the ethics panel, the senator sent a \$61,345 check to Mr. Stiles to cover the excess costs plus interest, and, Mr. Rudman recalled, "Gramm said to me very clearly if there is any question about this, I'm going to tell the guy to keep the money." Mr. Stiles, however, didn't keep the money.

Sen. Gramm Defends His Dealings With Texas S&L Operator

By Stephen Barr
Washington Post Staff Writer

Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.) said yesterday that his dealings with a troubled Texas savings and loan operator were proper and denied a published report that he had intervened with federal regulators after the S&L executive absorbed some of the construction costs on the senator's Maryland vacation home.

"At no time have I sought to exert undue influence with regulators on behalf of anyone in the savings and loan business," Gramm, a member of the Senate Banking Committee, said in a statement.

The New York Times, in a report published yesterday, said Jerry D. Stiles, a savings and loan operator and Dallas homebuilder, had picked up nearly half of \$117,000 in construction expenses on Gramm's 2,815-square-foot home on the Honga River near the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay. Gramm hired Stiles to put together a construction crew from Texas, he told the Times, in part to stimulate the Texas economy and in part because he had heard Eastern Shore contractors were unreliable.

In his statement, Gramm said that when he became aware of "a dispute" that "raised the question of whether I had paid the full construction costs," he sought "at my own initiative" an investigation and ruling by the Senate ethics committee.

"The committee concluded in 1990 that I owed nothing more, that I had done nothing wrong and that I was not in violation of Senate rules," Gramm said. "I did not believe then, and I do not believe now, that I received more value than I paid for in this contract."

The work on Gramm's home, primarily finishing construction on the shell of the two-story house, was performed in 1987. The Times said Stiles hired the Texas work crew and advanced the money needed for labor, materials and travel expenses. When Stiles billed the senator after the work was finished, he charged about half of the \$117,000 it cost him, the newspaper said.

Two years later, with the three savings and loans that he owned facing insolvency because of bad loans, Stiles wrote to Gramm and other senators asking for help. Stiles told federal investigators that while Gramm met with him, the senator warned that federal officials would not pump money into one of his failing S&Ls, according to the newspaper account.



SEN. PHIL GRAMM
... cites ethics committee findings

In 1989, the government shut down Stiles's three savings and loans at a cost to taxpayers of \$200 million, the newspaper said.

Gramm said yesterday the help he provided Stiles was not outside the routine followed by his office. "I did nothing to assist Mr. Stiles nor any other S&L operator in Texas other than to assure that their requests were communicated," the senator said.

Dallas FBI agents and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. (FDIC) began looking into the relationship between Gramm and

Stiles when the FBI subpoenaed records of Ronnie J. Hawthorne, the carpenter Stiles hired to work on the Gramm home. The agents noticed that Stiles had run up a construction cost of \$117,000 but had been paid \$63,433 by the senator, the newspaper said. The FDIC was seeking to determine whether the work had been paid for with Stiles's money or deposits from his S&Ls.

The FBI and FDIC inquiries apparently ended after Gramm took the matter to the Senate ethics committee in December 1989. The committee found that Stiles had no intention of giving Gramm a gift and that the senator had no intention of taking favors from the "prominent Dallas homebuilder," according to a committee letter released by Gramm's office yesterday. The panel concluded that Gramm did not have to pay Stiles the full amount—which included not only construction costs but transportation, food and lodging for the workers.

Sen. Warren B. Rudman (R-N.H.), who as vice chairman of the panel signed the letter to Gramm, disputed a suggestion yesterday that the ethics committee action had put a damper on any FBI or FDIC investigation.

"Let me say simply that the FBI and FDIC, to my knowledge, have never stopped investigating anything because of the ethics committee. It's the other way around normally," Rudman said on CBS's "Face the Nation."

"That particular case Senator Gramm brought to the committee and said, did I have a contract or didn't I have a contract? The professional staff of the ethics committee determined he did have a contract and therefore was liable only for the contract price, and it's as simple as that."

Stiles has an unlisted home telephone number and could not be reached for comment. Hawthorne and spokesmen for the FBI and FDIC were unavailable for comment.

Senators Back Fast Inquiry For Packwood

*Rudman: Ethics Probe
Could Be Started Soon*

By Stephen Barr
Washington Post Staff Writer

Senate leaders yesterday indicated that they would welcome a quick ethics investigation of Sen. Bob Packwood (R-Ore.), perhaps before the new Congress convenes in January.

In a statement Friday, Packwood said he will request and cooperate in a Senate ethics committee investigation of his treatment of female staff members and lobbyists who said he made unwanted sexual advances toward them. Packwood also said he will seek counseling for alcohol "problems."

Yesterday, Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine) and Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.), appearing on ABC's "This Week With David Brinkley," said they favor timely action by the ethics panel.

"The allegations are serious and should be taken seriously," Mitchell said. "I expect there will be a prompt and thorough investigation."

Dole said, "In my view, the quicker the better. Let's get it behind us, maybe before the next Congress convenes."

The vice chairman of the ethics committee, Sen. Warren B. Rudman (R-N.H.), said the Packwood investigation could begin "this month if anybody wanted to do that." On CBS's "Face the Nation," Rudman added, "I'm not volunteering to do that, but I'm simply saying

that I believe that it ought to be dealt with under our code of conduct, and if the charges are proven, then there ought to be some sort of disciplinary action raised by the committee or by the Senate."

The senators' remarks came as the Oregonian newspaper reported that Packwood had told two friends he would enter a clinic that evaluates and treats alcohol-related problems, perhaps as soon as this week. The Portland newspaper said the friends did not know the name or location of the treatment center. Matt Evans, a spokesman for Packwood, declined to comment on the report.

The Washington Post first reported on Nov. 22 that Packwood had "made uninvited sexual advances to women who have worked for him or with him," citing former staff members and lobbyists, including 10 women who gave specific accounts.

Yesterday, one of those women, Julie Williamson, said she regarded Packwood's intention to seek alcohol counseling as a "ploy," because in her 1969 encounter with the senator, "I don't think that alcohol was involved."

In 1969, Williamson was a 29-year-old legal secretary in Packwood's Oregon office. One day, she told The Post, Packwood kissed her on the back of the neck. When she protested, he followed her into an adjoining room, tried to pull off her clothes, pulled on her ponytail and, at one point, stood on her toes, Williamson said.

In his Friday statement, Packwood said: "Whether alcohol was a factor in these incidents, I do not know. In any event, alcohol at best can only be a partial explanation, not an excuse." The senator offered his "deepest apologies to all those involved."

Mitchell also was asked about the case of Sen. Daniel K. Inouye (D-Hawaii), who has been accused of sexual assault by the woman who cuts his hair and of sexual misconduct by several other women. Inouye has denied the accounts.

"I do not know that either Senator Inouye has requested an investigation or that a complaint has been filed," Mitchell said.

North Dakotans to decide nation's final Senate race

By Jeffrey L. Katz
CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY

The year's final Senate race will end Dec. 4 in North Dakota, an election date no more unusual than the circumstances of the race itself.

The central oddity is that Democratic incumbent Kent Conrad is favored to win a second stint in the Senate even though he is not technically running for re-election.

Mr. Conrad announced in April that he was retiring. He said he would honor a 1986 campaign pledge not to seek re-election unless the federal budget deficit had been dramatically reduced.

With Mr. Conrad stepping down, Democratic Rep. Byron Dorgan declared that he would run for the Senate, and on Nov. 3, Mr. Dorgan defeated Republican Steve Sydness.

Meanwhile, North Dakota's other senator, Democrat Quentin Burdick, died Sept. 8 at age 84. Mr. Conrad said that the loss of Mr. Burdick, who had served 32 years in the Senate and was chairman of the Environment and Public Works Committee, prompted hundreds of North Dakota individuals and organizations to ask him to re-evaluate his decision to retire.

Once Mr. Conrad, 44, did so and shelved his plan to retire, the Democratic nomination was practically his for the asking. The GOP nomination was captured by state Rep. Jack Dalrymple, also 44.

Because of deadlines set forth in state law, the election could not be held on Nov. 3, when voters went to the polls for the 1992 general elections. Instead, it was set for Tuesday.

The winner of the special election will fill the remaining two years of Mr. Burdick's term. He would then have to face the voters again in 1994 to win a full six-year term.

Mr. Dalrymple, a farmer from Casselton, wasted little time in making an issue of Mr. Conrad's original pledge not to seek re-election.

"We don't need a senator who lies to us," he said.

But polls indicate that Mr. Dalrymple's attacks on the issue have yet to sway North Dakotans, who continue to favor Mr. Conrad by a



Kent Conrad

ratio of more than 2-to-1. "That initial salvo did not move the numbers as much as Jack had hoped," said Phil Harmeson, director of the Bureau of Governmental Affairs at the University of North Dakota.

Mr. Dalrymple, chairman of Dakota Growers Pasta Co., a farmer-owned cooperative, also tried to score with his farm proposals.

He says the federal government ought to supply more generous loans to enable farmers to market their wheat. The current system is rigged against the farmer and favors grain companies and food processors, he says.

In a Nov. 16 debate, Mr. Conrad branded Mr. Dalrymple's \$5-per-bushel marketing loan proposal as unrealistic. He claimed that it would triple the cost of the wheat program, a commitment he said that the federal government could not make in light of the budget deficit.

As has been his habit, Mr. Conrad responded quickly to Mr. Dalrymple's attacks. When Mr. Dalrymple accused him of being ineffective on agricultural issues, Mr. Conrad came out with an ad that claimed successes in fighting for such matters as drought aid, the sugar program and crop insurance.

The two candidates also tussled over campaign financing.

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Senate freshmen set own agendas

By Major Garrett
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Not only will this year's class of Senate freshmen be the most diverse in terms of race and sex, the new lawmakers are likely to pursue economic policies and internal reforms that may make some colleagues and party leaders a bit uncomfortable.

For instance, Democrat Ben Nighthorse Campbell of Colorado said he is in favor of abolishing the capital gains tax and will join Republicans in any attempts they make to cut them to 15 percent. He promised to vote for a balanced budget amendment and will push for means-testing Social Security benefits.

"I know it's not popular with seniors," Mr. Campbell said of tying Social Security benefits to financial need, which lobbyists for the elderly strongly oppose. "But do you want to balance the budget or not? I'll take the heat."

Asked what he would tell Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell if the leader asked what he was doing voting for so many Republican programs, Mr. Campbell said he would shrug and remind him he was a moderate who liked to operate outside party pressure.

"I'm going to have to disappoint them," Mr. Campbell said.

Republican Judd Gregg of New Hampshire has signed a pledge to cut the deficit in half by the end of his term or quit. Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole has said he and other Republicans will take the pledge only when they gain control of the White House and Congress.

Few other Republicans are willing to take the pledge.

And since he opposes deeper defense cuts and higher taxes, it appears Mr. Gregg will have to support massive cuts in discretionary and entitlement programs that colleagues who did not take the pledge could easily sidestep. That could backfire or increase the pressure on others to take the same pledge.

Democrat Patty Murray, who wrote the first guidelines and penalties for sexual harassment while a member of the Washington state Senate, is already taking on one of the chamber's most powerful figures, Republican Sen. Bob Packwood, ranking member of the Finance Committee.

Mrs. Murray has joined three other new women senators in calling for an Ethics Committee investigation into allegations from several former Packwood staffers that the senator made unwanted sexual advances.

"Many people don't understand what sexual harassment is," she said. "They [the guidelines] are something to lean on."

She plans to submit new guidelines and complaint procedures for sexual harassment in the Senate.

So far, Senate leaders have declined to endorse or reject an Ethics Committee investigation into Mr. Packwood's conduct. Even so, Mrs. Murray believes momentum is on her side.

"We're in a really unique time," Mrs. Murray said of the four new women members of the Senate — the largest one-year increase in history. "I think the sitting senators are aware of that. We will be listened to."

Utah Republican Robert F. Bennett remembers when his father, Wallace F. Bennett, was a senator

from 1951 to 1974 only committee chairmen and ranking members could hire staff help. Now almost all senators can hire subcommittee staffers, and he blames this for the explosion in the cost of running Capitol Hill.

"I'm a little bit stunned," he said.

Mr. Bennett said he intends to seek legislation to reduce congressional staffs and has vowed to forgo overseas junkets financed by lobbyists and limit his use of taxpayer-funded congressional mail.

"I am less anxious to concentrate on building a long-term monument to my ego," he said.

In a chamber where rules of conduct are aggressively maintained and bucking the system can be self-defeating, one of the first tests of these new members' mettle will be their ability to agitate without aggravating their colleagues.

The new Senate class will also be known for its diversity. Illinois Democrat Carol Moseley Braun will be the first black woman and first black Democrat in the Senate. Mr. Campbell, of Colorado, will be the first American Indian in the Senate. And Republican Paul Coverdell will be the second Republican senator from Georgia since Reconstruction.

Mrs. Braun is expected to be a key player in the liberal wing's attempts to raise taxes on the wealthy, create a nationalized health care system, reduce defense spending and increase government spending on retraining workers.

She will be joined by fellow fresh-

men liberals Barbara Boxer of California, Byron L. Dorgan of North Dakota, Russell D. Feingold of Wisconsin and Mrs. Murray.

Republicans are expected to form a coalition around deficit reduction, especially in attempts to force floor votes on a balanced-budget amendment, a line-item veto and possibly some form of cap on spending for Social Security and Medicare.

"If we don't get the entitlements under control, we'll never get the deficit under control," Mr. Bennett said.

The Utah freshman senator intends to propose a cap on entitlement spending equal to one-half of the rate of inflation-adjusted economic growth. In times of recession, his proposal would allow for no growth in entitlement spending.

Republican freshmen will join their senior GOP colleagues in opposing most of President-elect Bill Clinton's social agenda: family medical leave, reproductive rights, campaign finance reform and the so-called motor-voter legislation.

But the new president clearly has the votes to pass most, if not all, of his social agenda in the Senate. But Republicans appear capable of playing a key role in economic policy.

Sens. Campbell, Feingold and Murray all said reducing the deficit was a high priority, though they have different approaches.

Mr. Campbell wants to cap the growth of entitlement spending regardless of the political costs.

"It's time to do some reprioritizing," he said, referring to reducing Social Security benefits for wealthy recipients. "The elderly believe they have a constitutional right to the income. We can't do it anymore."

Mr. Feingold said reducing the deficit "is the most important long-term issue for this country." He said he will try to "sophisticate" the much-despised "Golden Fleece" awards that former Wisconsin Sen. William Proxmire used to highlight wasteful government spending.

While popular at home, Mr. Proxmire's attacks infuriated his colleagues and severely limited his ability to influence legislation.

The Wisconsin senator said he favors deep cuts in discretionary programs such as the space station, the superconducting super collider, defense, welfare, education and the war on drugs. He also vowed to absorb spending cuts at home in pursuit of a lower deficit.

"I think it's important to show some consistency and take some pain in the home state," Mr. Feingold said.

Political right warned to look to grass roots

By George Archibald
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

As Republicans lose power in Washington, the conservative Heritage Foundation has abandoned a decade-long tradition of providing transition policy advice to incoming administrations and is restructuring to become an opposition counterweight to the Clinton presidency.

But conservative leader Paul Weyrich warned Reagan-Bush era politicians at Heritage yesterday that the political right will never regain national power unless it focuses on real problems of families and communities that threaten to make America "a dysfunctional society."

"We have been far too presidentially focused and far less focused on state and local conservatism, which is where it ought to begin," Mr. Weyrich, Heritage's founder and president of the Free Congress Foundation, told an audience of conservative activists and Bush administration political appointees in a noontime lecture.

"We always say that unit which is closest to the people is the most important unit of government, yet we don't believe that. We are good monarchists at heart," Mr. Weyrich said. "We often don't really identify with the struggles of people out in the countryside."

With great fanfare in 1980 and 1988, Heritage organized scores of conservative policy analysts and congressional staffers to prepare voluminous recommendations for administering or cutting back almost every agency of the federal government. The recommendations, published under the title "Mandate for Leadership," were presented to Presidents Reagan and Bush.

Even though many of the foundation's deficit-reduction proposals — such as elimination of the departments of Energy and Education —



Paul Weyrich

were never enacted, Heritage trumpeted its White House influence and parlayed the "Mandate" project into huge fund-raising success.

But this year the Washington think tank decided to forgo the transition ritual because "it's such a tremendous investment of staff time and others," said Heritage Vice President Charles L. Heatherly, who headed the previous "Mandate" effort.

"It only makes sense to do it when you're going to have some influence," he said.

"Capitol Hill has always been our focus," said Heritage spokeswoman Cheryl Rubin.

The foundation will publish a book on congressional reform in early January, she said, and has a series of papers "in the works" on Mr. Clinton's campaign proposals for national health care reform and economic revitalization.

"They'll start coming out in a week or so — here's what he said,

here's what we think of what he said, and here's what we think he should do," Miss Rubin said.

But Mr. Weyrich told the foundation yesterday: "Liberal Democrats, the Republican Party and many conservatives in Washington have an inside-the-Beltway mentality. We have become part of that problem and we better evaluate where we are."

The November election — particularly the almost unprecedented 20 percent vote for independent presidential candidate Ross Perot — showed that people throughout the country are fed up with politics-as-usual, the conservative leader said.

Voters are "waiting for someone with moral authority to come along" to lead the country away from declining family, educational and community values that threaten to make us a nonfunctioning society, he said.

The conservative movement has placed undue emphasis on economic issues and has "utterly failed" to provide adequate leadership in the cultural and moral area, he said.

"Economic issues alone are insufficient," he said, adding: "I think we make a mistake when we pretend to be reverse Marxists."

Mr. Weyrich said the conservative movement "needs to be anti-establishment, a little bit populist" to be successful again politically.

"We are faced in this country with a whole panoply of elites" — ranging from failed business executives looking for "golden parachutes" to political leaders and bureaucrats who have forgotten they are supposed to serve the public, he said.

"I don't think we can put together a new movement until we address this question of defective elites, not by setting up new elites," he said. "We cannot pretend to do all this stuff in Washington and say we are against Washington."

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Ex-Congress Aide Indicted in House Post Office Probe

■ **Investigation:** Gerald W. Weaver II is accused of obstructing justice and tampering with a witness in the case. He also faces drug and insurance fraud charges.

By RONALD J. OSTROW
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—A former administrative assistant to Rep. Joe Kolter (D-Pa.) was indicted Tuesday on charges of obstructing justice and tampering with a witness in the criminal investigation of the House post office.

In a 14-count indictment, a federal grand jury also charged Gerald W. Weaver II with narcotics offenses and insurance fraud.

Last July, a grand jury subpoenaed Kolter, along with House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.) and Rep. Austin J. Murphy (D-Pa.), but the congressmen declined to testify, citing the Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination and denouncing the inquiry as a "political witch hunt."

A source familiar with the investigation said the Weaver indictment does not suggest wrongdoing on the part of Kolter, a five-term congressman who lost his bid for reelection in the Democratic primary. The exact dates of Weaver's employment by Kolter could not be determined.

Telephone calls to Kolter's offices here and in Pennsylvania went unanswered Tuesday.

Jay B. Stephens, U.S. attorney for the District of Columbia, said the Weaver indictment "demonstrates that we will hold accountable those who seek to impede the ongoing criminal investigation into the operation of the House post office."

So far, the investigation has led to the conviction of six former employees of the House post office on drug and embezzlement charges. But no House members have been accused.

The grand jury charged that Weaver tried to obstruct its investigation in two ways. He allegedly asked a former business associate to write a letter to him stating—falsely—that Weaver had purchased \$2,900 in postage for their company and that the associate reimbursed him over a three-year period.

Weaver actually cashed checks at the post office in roughly that amount to buy cocaine, the indictment said. He then testified on Nov. 17 that the letter was true and accurate.

Weaver also "demanded" that his former associate alter records subpoenaed by the grand jury to support his postage-reimbursement alibi, the grand jury said.

So far, the investigation has led to the conviction of six former employees of the House post office on drug and embezzlement charges. But no House members have been accused.

The indictment also accused Weaver of tampering with a witness to thwart the investigation. The witness, Wendell Magruder, a former House post office clerk, has pleaded guilty to conspiring to cover up the embezzlement of cash and stamps from the facility. A cocaine charge was dropped when Magruder agreed to cooperate with investigators.

Weaver suggested to Magruder that he could have a job at Weaver's lobbying firm if he refused to tell investigators about checks Weaver cashed to pay Magruder for cocaine, according to the indictment. Weaver also allegedly promised to loan money to Magruder for expenses and legal fees and to help him find a lawyer if Magruder did not disclose to investigators that Weaver was cashing checks at the House post office to pay for cocaine.

The grand jury also charged Weaver with distribution of cocaine, conspiracy to possess the drug and nine counts of possession of the drug.

He also was charged with conspiring with Magruder to commit wire fraud by paying Magruder to have a third party dispose of a 1987 Toyota owned by Weaver's wife so he could report the car stolen and collect insurance proceeds.

That scheme was thwarted when police recovered the car on Nov. 14, 1991, the day after Weaver reported to his insurance company that it had been stolen.

If convicted on all counts, Weaver would face a maximum penalty of 50 years in prison and \$500,000 in fines.

In refusing to appear before the grand jury, Kolter, Rostenkowski and Murphy—whose records were subpoenaed separately by the panel—cited a House task force investigation of the post office operation, which cleared them of misconduct.

The task force agreed that the post office was rife with favoritism, plagued by incompetent workers and careless about handling cash under its prior management.

Washington Wire

A Special Weekly Report From
The Wall Street Journal's
Capital Bureau

SIGNS OF STRENGTH ease pressure on Clinton for an economic-stimulus program.

He still plans an early pro-growth package, but recent improvements bolster advisers lobbying to keep it modest and avoid widening the deficit. Citing recent growth figures and improved consumer confidence, these Clinton aides argue for a program with a long-term focus.

Recent news weakens the case for costly measures such as a special break within the investment-tax credit to boost 1993 investment. Holiday sales could be crucial. Economist Sandra Shaber of WEFA Group predicts the best Christmas since 1988; if that pans out, the mood could be bullish as Clinton polishes up his plan.

Nevertheless, some aides, recalling Bush's excessively rosy appraisals, point to weak spots—negligible job growth and the shaky housing market.

TALK OF REMAKING Washington fades as Clinton advisers focus on specific plans.

Asked about eliminating entire agencies, a Clinton aide asks rhetorically, "What does that get you?" The aide adds, though, that "a few commissions" may vanish. The transition team concentrates on reshaping agencies that grew out of the Cold War, such as the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and the Agency for International Development. The Commerce and Energy departments also may get an overhaul.

Clinton intends to make good on pledges to cut 100,000 jobs through attrition and to chop costs at all agencies by 3%. The White House can expect some upheaval, with the new Economic Security Council and the pledge to cut staff 25%. The National Security Council may focus more sharply on global economic issues.

VIETNAM MAY HAUNT Clinton if Bush leaves without making key decisions.

U.S. officials say Bush could—but won't necessarily—help his successor by loosening economic sanctions before he goes. But Bush is likely to wait until seeing a January Senate report on missing U.S. soldiers. Pentagon officials demand more on MIAs.

Clinton, who avoided Vietnam service, can't take big steps toward normalizing ties without sparking bitter attacks from veterans' groups and some highly vocal MIA activists. Economic pressure for a rapprochement would rise if the IMF clears up Vietnam's loan arrears, opening the spigots for IMF and World Bank lending.

Sen. Kerry told the Vietnamese on his recent visit that Clinton, like Bush, wants answers for the families of MIAs.

BUSH SHAKES OFF post-election dol-drum and plans a few speeches on topics such as the Middle East and Europe in a post-Cold War world. However, aides chafe over the too-late arrival of the breakthrough in global trade talks and of the jump in the economic growth rate.

CONGRESSIONAL REFORM ideas proliferate. Foley is committed to campaign finance changes but wants to hear Clinton's plan before moving. Term limits for committee chairmen will be studied. Common Cause President Fred Wertheimer wants "basic reforms and prohibitions" on lobbyists' gifts. The wave of newly elected lawmakers, together with the rash of Senate sex charges, make it harder to bury proposals advanced under the reform banner.

PICK A NUMBER, ANY NUMBER: To deflect accusations that Bush cooked the books on his way out, the White House plans to publish deficit projections based on both its own economic forecast and that of a consensus of private forecasters. One tricky item: how to treat new funds, not yet approved by Congress, for the S&L mess.

ABORTION ISSUES may demand early attention from the Clinton administration. The Supreme Court could rule soon on whether abortion-rights supporters may use a Reconstruction-era civil-rights law to stop Operation Rescue blockades of clinics. Another worry: At least a dozen states are expected to stiffen their abortion restrictions in legislative sessions next year.

LOBBYISTS BESEECH BUSH for last-minute regulatory help.

Food processors and meatpackers, among the most active, want Bush to kill a food-label plan being pushed by Health and Human Services Secretary Sullivan; it would highlight meat's relatively high fat content. Fearful of rejection under Clinton, the biotechnology industry is hoping the Bush administration will approve commercial use of the bovine growth hormone.

Manufacturers push for softer standards for determining what kind of air-pollution controls must be installed by new facilities in unpolluted areas like parks. Auto makers urge Bush to deny a waiver to California's plan for tailpipe-emissions standards that exceed those of the federal government. They fear other states will follow suit.

Farmers want the White House to block a proposed EPA rule phasing out the use of methyl bromide, an ozone-depleting chemical used to fumigate crops.

MINOR MEMOS: The all-male Alfalfa Club frets over whether to invite women to its annual dinner to preserve a tradition of presidential attendance; Clinton would "surely hesitate" to attend a men-only affair, an aide says. . . . A new law makes departing trade representatives wait three years before representing a foreign country, but it "grandmothers" current USTR Carla Hills, who will have to wait only a year. . . . Call a doctor: Deputy Treasury Secretary Robson warns that "the cancer of overregulation is gnawing at America's economic entrails."

—TIM CARRINGTON

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Tsongas' growth called cancerous

BOSTON (AP)—Doctors have determined that a growth in former Sen. Paul Tsongas' abdomen is cancerous, but they said it is treatable, the Boston Globe reported yesterday.

Physicians will probably fight the cancer with radiation, the newspaper said, citing an unidentified source close to the former Democratic presidential candidate.

Mr. Tsongas, who ended his Senate career in 1984 after learning he had cancer, said in a telephone interview from his home yesterday that he was still getting the test results back and would address the subject in a news conference next week. He called the Globe report speculation.

"I'm not going to confirm anything," he said. "We're going to do the press conference Monday. At that point, we'll have some pretty definitive results and be able to speak with some authority."

Mr. Tsongas underwent a biopsy of the growth late last week at Brigham

and Women's Hospital in Boston.

"It's not the kind of thing you want to ignore," Mr. Tsongas said shortly before he was discharged Monday. "But apparently it's quite contained, and if it's lymphoma, they think they can irradiate it."

Mr. Tsongas did not seek reelection to the Senate after he was diagnosed with non-Hodgkins lymphoma in 1983. He had conventional treatment for the cancer in 1984 and 1985, but his condition worsened. Besides radiation, he also underwent what was then an experimental operation in July 1986 in which bone marrow was removed, treated to kill the cancer cells and then returned to his body.

About a month after Mr. Tsongas dropped out of this year's presidential race, the New York Times reported that doctors had found a lump in Mr. Tsongas' armpit in 1987, something his doctors had not disclosed during the campaign.

Mr. Tsongas said at the time that he had discussed the lump in interviews before the campaign, and he pledged to make his medical records public if he decided to run for public office again.

Since he dropped out of the presidential race in the spring, Mr. Tsongas and Sen. Warren Rudman, New Hampshire Republican, formed the Concord Coalition, a group that hopes to focus attention on the nation's fiscal and economic problems.

Silber's finances investigated

Possible '94 foe probing BU chief

By Jerry Seper
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Massachusetts Attorney General L. Scott Harshbarger, who has been mentioned as a possible 1994 gubernatorial candidate, is investigating the personal finances of Boston University President John R. Silber, an expected primary opponent in the 1994 race, law enforcement authorities confirmed yesterday.

The investigation, first described in yesterday's Boston Herald, is centered on whether Mr. Silber personally benefited from the sale by Boston University of a biotechnology research company.

The research firm, Seradyn Inc., was purchased by the university in 1985 and later resold in 1989 to Japan's Mitsubishi Inc. for a profit of about \$13 million.

The investigation, according to law enforcement sources, has focused on allegations that as a stockholder in Seradyn's sister company, Seragen Inc., Mr. Silber stood to earn profits from the Boston University sale.

Mr. Harshbarger, a Democrat, declined to comment yesterday on the report or the investigation. A spokeswoman, Elizabeth Hyman, said it was the policy of the office to neither confirm nor deny that any investigation was under way.

Mr. Silber, also a Democrat, was not available for comment yesterday. A spokesman said the university president asked yesterday to meet with Mr. Harshbarger to discuss the matter. No meeting date was announced.

During the 1990 gubernatorial race, which he lost, Mr. Silber repeatedly denied owning any stock in Seradyn Inc. While he said he was offered stock options, he also said he did not exercise them.

R. Robert Popeo, Mr. Silber's attorney, did not return telephone calls yesterday to his office for comment. He told reporters in Boston on Tuesday that he was not aware of any investigation involving his client or of the university, which he also represents.

"The Attorney General's Office regulates BU, and as far as I know the attorney general is not interested in John Silber's personal finances,"

Mr. Popeo told the Boston Herald. "If they are involved in any investigation, I'm sure they would have brought it to our attention."

The Boston Herald reported that subpoenas had been issued in the case by criminal division prosecutors in the Attorney General's Office. The subpoenas, according to the newspaper, went to Kidder Peabody & Co., a brokerage firm that handles Mr. Silber's finances, and to Coopers & Lybrand, a brokerage firm that has Boston University as a client.

David Nestor, a spokesman for Coopers & Lybrand in New York, confirmed yesterday that the company had received subpoenas from the Attorney General's Office in Massachusetts but declined to discuss them or to identify the targets.

Helen Platt, a spokeswoman for Kidder Peabody, yesterday declined to confirm or deny that any subpoenas had been received by that company. She also refused to say whether Mr. Silber was a client.

Kevin Carleton, a spokesman for Boston University, said yesterday that he had no information about an investigation of Mr. Silber or the university.

"We've received no word or notification from anyone that there is any such investigation," he said.

The Boston Herald said a separate investigation by Coopers & Lybrand into the sale of Seradyn — commissioned by the university — found that Mr. Silber neither owned stock in the research firm nor benefited from its sale.

Mr. Silber's personal finances became a campaign issue during the 1990 gubernatorial race, which he lost by a 51-49 percent margin to Republican challenger William Weld, a former Justice Department official. Mr. Weld was the first Republican in 20 years to win the governor's office.

Mr. Harshbarger was a surprise winner in 1990 as state attorney general, defeating incumbent James Shannon in the primary. It was the first time in the state's history a sitting attorney general lost a primary election.

He has been mentioned as a possible Democratic challenger in 1994, although staff officials said yesterday they had "no information about that."

Federal Unions Have High Expectations

In Reagan-Bush Wake, Officials Hope for Activist Government, Hatch Act Revision

By Stephen Barr
Washington Post Staff Writer

Leaders of the major federal employee unions have nothing but high expectations for Bill Clinton. They hope for an activist government, a boss who listens and, for the first time in years, a president who will sign legislation to ease the Hatch Act.

"We expect to be heard. We expect to have a voice," said John N. Sturdivant, president of the 200,000-member American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE). "Our expectations center around the relationship we will have with the new administration, rather than a checklist of things that we want."

Robert S. Keener, president of the 150,000-member National Federation of Federal Employees, said, "I think there is an entire bureaucracy that's excited about having an opportunity to participate in re-inventing America, reinventing the workplace."

AFGE and the National Treasury Employees Union, which has 150,000 members, led by Robert M. Tobias, endorsed the Clinton-Gore ticket and, like most of Washington, have an agenda for Clinton to consider.

At the top is an overhaul of the Hatch Act, which Clinton has promised to support. The unions have waited more than 20 years for revisions to the 1939 law, which limits federal workers' rights to engage in partisan politics. The last battle over liberalizing the law came two years ago, when President Bush won a veto override by two votes in the Senate.

In addition to the Hatch Act, the unions next year will back family and medical leave legislation, improved health care plans for federal workers and efforts to close the gap between public and private sector salaries.

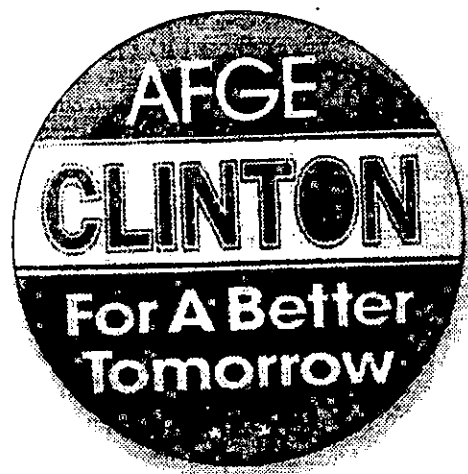
But the people selected to speak for federal workers show an enthusiasm for Clinton that appears to go beyond the usual special-interest pleading. They welcome Clinton as a president who will change government's ways and let them have a bigger voice in how it operates, something they contend was lost during 12 years of Reagan-Bush rule.

"I think rank-and-file people have felt somewhat misrepresented or unrepresented in the administration, and there is a tremendous potential for change," said Lynn Eppard, legislative director for Federally Employed Women. "There's just a complete difference in style. That's very obvious."

The federal unions' current embrace of Clinton contrasts with labor's initial chill.

During the 1992 primaries, the Arkansas governor was not their first choice, partly because he comes from a right-to-work state and from a region where industry has enjoyed political clout.

In June, with big labor closing behind Clinton, the public employee unions were



baffled when Clinton spoke before the convention of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. He said he would reduce the government work force by 100,000 over eight years and would cut the administrative cost of every agency by 3 percent a year over five years—saving up to \$30 billion, he said.

But Clinton balanced the "lean government" speech with the promise: "I will never bash public employees."

He said, "I never met a problem in government that a good state employee didn't have a pretty good idea about how to solve," and he called for a more efficient, effective federal government. "We should be saying that any large organization has to be restructured and there should be less middle management and more empowerment for people on the front lines who provide government services. We ought to be out there promoting that."

Since the speech, experts such as James A. Thurber, director of the Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies at American University, have pointed out that Clinton's employee cutback proposal is modest at best, as the ongoing, five-year "downsizing" of the Defense Department will easily accommodate that goal.

Official Washington, Thurber said, sees Clinton as a president who believes in government as "a force for doing good things in society" and as a counterweight to "several years of political appointees who thought that less government is better."

"That philosophical umbrella over Clinton protects him for a while," Thurber said, before he has to make decisions on federal pay, the Senior Executive Service or budget cuts.

As Arkansas governor, Clinton showed interest in economic development programs, quality management ideas and how government could set an example for the private sector, said R. Scott Fosler, president of the National Academy of Public Administration. "I think Clinton clearly looks at government as an extremely important tool," Clinton, he said, views government "much more as a catalyst, as a broker, leading the way to do things, rather than actually providing government programs per se."

That approach helps account, in part, for why the leaders of the federal unions are so receptive to Clinton.

"I believe that Mr. Clinton might be the first president in many, many years who sees himself as responsible for managing the executive branch," Tobias said.

"Most presidents believe that the executive branch operates sort of by rote. Mr. Clinton believes he is going to have to manage that group of people," Tobias said.

Like Tobias, AFGE's Sturdivant has talked with Clinton and found the president-elect eager to take advantage of experimental programs such as the Pacer Share Demonstration Project in California, which put federal employees into teams and let them decide how to organize the work.

The Pacer project began in 1988 at the Air Force's Sacramento Air Logistics Center with AFGE and management developing improved personnel and pay systems. In the Pacer project, jobs were reduced from 2,000 to 1,300 with payroll savings of \$12.1 million. The workers, like the Air Force, benefited, receiving bonuses of more than \$2,000 each.

Sturdivant said Clinton can cut government waste "if he uses the ideas, experience and information from the people who do the work."

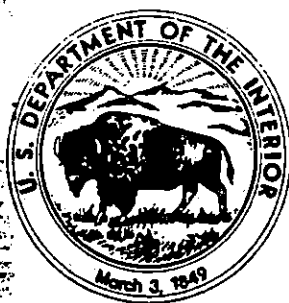
Tobias also said his union is ready to work with Clinton. "By empowering federal employees, by recognizing their decision-making ability and professionalism," he said, "there will be substantial benefits to the federal government."

Keener noted that, in time, the unions and Clinton are bound to disagree. "There are some points to debate, the amount of cuts and where the cuts will come from." But he predicted, "Even the bad days will be great."

'Tis the Season for Tales of 'Burrowing In'

For a number of political types, this holiday season is also a job-hunting season. And for a few of them, the rumors and allegations about "burrowing in" have made the season less than pleasant.

Take Jeffrey D. Arnold and Stephen Hodapp. They both currently work on Capitol Hill and both have been held forth as examples of "Ramspecking," a variation on burrowing in, where political appointees supposedly receive unfair advantage in the hiring process.



The term refers to a special hiring procedure set up under the 1940 Ramspeck Act, named after one of its sponsors. In essence, it permits congressional employees to move into an executive branch job without going through the Office of Personnel Management's regular competitive procedures. Individuals hired under Ramspeck authority immediately gain career status and do not have to serve a probation period.

Now, about Arnold. He worked for six years at the Interior Department before resigning last week and joining the staff of Sen. Frank H. Murkowski (R-Alaska) on a temporary project involving national park issues. Before joining Interior, Arnold had worked six years on the Hill, including a stint on the staff of Sen. Mark O. Hatfield (R-Ore.).

When he resigned as Interior's deputy director for congressional affairs and Senate liaison, a non-career Senior Executive Service posting, the word swept through the department that the political appointee soon would be back in a civil service job.

All Washington knows that political appointees are looking for jobs, Arnold said, "and people asked me what I was going to do. People were curious about what I was going to do, and I said there was a whole range of things I might do, including looking at the Ramspeck possibility."

But he doesn't think that being a political appointee gives him an edge inside the administration. "I was interviewed for some regular career positions recently and did not get them."

In fact, Arnold said, "I would like to go to work anywhere."

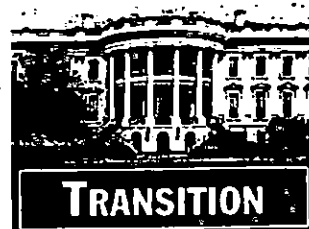
"I need a job like anyone else," he commented. "And if a government opportunity presents itself, I would have to look at it like any other job offer."

Now, about Hodapp. He works on national parks for the Republican staff of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, and his chief sponsor, Rep. Robert J. Lagomarsino (R-Calif.), lost his reelection bid.

Hodapp's on the grapevine as a candidate for assistant superintendent of the Shenandoah National Park. He's been applying for jobs, but disputes any suggestion that he's looking for an inside track to burrow in.

"I was with the Park Service for 17 years, and worked in Yellowstone, the Everglades, the Grand Canyon. I worked in the Denver service center. . . . I have had a broad spectrum of service within the Park Service," Hodapp said. "I would not seek any position in the Park Service for which I'm not extremely well qualified," he added.

As for his time on congressional staff, Hodapp said, "More people from the agencies should spend time on Capitol Hill and learn how decisions are made."



Politics Can Be Hard to Prove

■ While the burrowing-in phenomenon has fueled the rumor circuit at some government departments in town, it is not easy to prove that politics is in play.

In a February 1990 report, the General Accounting Office reviewed 46 shifts by political appointees into civil service jobs during the period February 1988 through December 1989—in other words, during the Bush-Dukakis campaign and the first year of the Bush administration.

"The question of whether open and fair competition actually occurs or whether a candidate has been pre-selected for appointment or given some other advantage rests with the intent and motivation of the agency officials involved—factors that cannot be controlled by regulation or easily discerned from review of files or discussions with agency officials," the GAO report said.

The GAO, which is Congress's investigative agency, found that 37 of the conversions appeared proper, seven gave the appearance that the appointee received an improper advantage or preference, and two did not fully comply with merit requirements.

"Political appointees, fortunately or unfortunately, have the right to apply for and compete for a career position," said Carol Bonosaro, president of the Senior Executives Association.

"Assuming that they're qualified, the trick is how do you assess to what degree politics may have played a part in their selection. . . . If someone is qualified for a career position but has been a political appointee, the suspicion will linger that they were selected for their politics rather than their merit."

—Stephen Barr

Inside Politics



Say it isn't so!

The Office of Management and Budget has become "highly politicized" and has "lost some credibility at the top," Robert Reich, the Clinton transition team's economic director, confided on CNN's "Newsmaker Saturday."

"It seems to me that if you're looking at OMB... since the time of David Stockman at least, if not before, that office has become highly politicized at the top," he said. "You have people who are negotiating directly with the Hill, who are making political decisions, who are making a lot of policy decisions."

Because of this, the office has lost "some credibility at the top," Mr. Reich said.

He stressed that his negative comments about the OMB did not concern the office's professional staff. "They're good, they continue to be great," he said. "I'm talking about the people at the top who have politicized it."

As for the role Bill Clinton will play on economic policy when he becomes president, Mr. Reich replied: "There's no question about it... He is going to be the chief economic policy-maker."

Dressy Munchkins

What a week it was for Ross Perot. Hard on the heels of news that he had thrashed George Bush in the president's summer home state of Maine by 316 votes to come in second came this word from Cleveland, of all places: The 5-foot-7-inch Texas businessman has made the list of 1992's "10 Best-Dressed Shorter Men in America."

The list of dapper dudes was prepared by a guy named Bob Stern (5'2"), who by no coincidence sells clothes for men 5-foot-8 or shorter. Explaining his choice of Mr. Perot, he said the little fellow dresses "like your practical, everyday billionaire, but with an independent twang." He didn't say what article of clothing produces a twang, but Mr. Perot might want to check the elastic in his jockey shorts.

Among Mr. Perot's diminutive fellow honorees are NBC sports anchor Bob Costas (5'6½"), Washington Redskins halfback Ricky Ervins (5'7"), director Martin Scorsese (5'5½"), comedian Billy Crystal (5'5") and columnist Mike Lupica (5'6"), "about the only sportswriter we know who doesn't wear day-glo clothes."

Oh, THAT Jack Kennedy

"How does it feel to be compared to President Kennedy?" a man in Georgia shouted to President-elect Bill Clinton. Mr. Clinton stopped and looked at the questioner, possibly to see if he was waving a copy of the latest biography of JFK, which details the young Kennedy's escapades in Rabelaisian detail.

Deciding it was a friendly inquiry, Mr. Clinton said he likes the comparison "in the sense of raising people's hopes and vision and making people think we can move forward again."

Charisma at work

Kay Higdon of Cairo, Ga., was evidently judged harmless by Mr. Clinton's Secret Service contingent last Monday and gave the president-elect a big hug. Then, like some 1940s bobby-soxer, she shrieked: "I hugged him! Oh, my Lord! He's so handsome!"

Signing on

Not everyone in the crowd in Albany, Ga., was satisfied with an autograph or even a hug from the man who will be in charge of an entire branch of the federal job market.

"I've been handed more resumes today!" exclaimed Wendy Smith, who collects papers, books and other things from Clinton fans and hands them back after he has scribbled his autograph. She hadn't counted up the resumes, but she had at least a dozen sheets of paper that the authors hoped would get fur-

ther attention. No blank checks, though. Yet.

Perspective

Mr. Clinton obviously intended to pay his wife, Hillary, a lighthearted compliment when he disclosed that she had sat in on his meeting with the Democratic congressional leadership and added that her expertise on certain (unspecified) matters of state was superior to the men's.

Political consultant Roger Ailes was not impressed. "The president-elect announced that she knew more than the Democratic congressional leaders," he said on NBC's "Today" show. "That's not hard to do."

Importance of being

Bill Clinton has been touted by friend and foe alike as an immensely skillful politician — one of the best, some say. And he has the pol's uncanny gift for remembering names. Just ask Ernest.

In Little Rock, Ark., the other day Mr. Clinton and Vice President-elect Al Gore were cooling down after a morning jog when an autograph seeker approached with a Clinton biography and a pen.

"Ernest, how are you?" Mr. Clinton said, shaking the man's hand warmly. He signed the book and thanked the man for helping in the campaign.

"You did a good job," Mr. Clinton said. "Bye, Ernest."

After Mr. Clinton walked away, the man confided that he is a Little Rock contractor who has known Mr. Clinton for years. Only his name is Gregory Jackson.

"He just got mixed up," Mr. Jackson said. "I'm sure he knows me. I've gotten a lot of state appointments from him."

Name in lights

Joe Burkett surely made an impression on President-elect Bill Clinton in Georgia last week — though exactly what kind isn't clear.

A large yellow banner strung between the propellers of two engines on a plane parked where Mr. Clinton stepped into his limo at the Macon airport said: "Congrats Bill, You need Joe Burkett on your team."

On the drive into town, Joe Burkett's name flashed at Mr. Clinton from a large electric billboard. And there were identical banners at a beer warehouse and on a car at the gate to the airport when he returned.

The singleminded promotion was the handiwork of beer distributor Winburn "Brother" Stewart Jr., who was plugging his longtime associate and beer lobbyist for a role in the Clinton administration. Mr. Stewart said he has no particular job in mind for his friend, who also has represented the Arkansas Beer Wholesalers in Washington, but praised Mr. Burkett's Harvard education.

Insider speaks out

Julie Nixon Eisenhower, daughter of one president and granddaughter-in-law of another, says she doubts that Hillary Clinton, the first first lady with a career outside the home, will change the role assigned to presidents' wives.

"I think she'll be busy in the White House using her career in different ways," Mrs. Eisenhower said.

She said being first lady "is like being a minister," and explained: "You give and give and give, and it takes great faith and courage to continue in that role." She added that the first lady's role is such that "you can never please anyone."

Pundit Leno

"There's a whole new cast of characters," exulted "Tonight Show" host Jay Leno in an interview. "When Republicans are in office, it's all greed. With Democrats, the vices are sex and alcohol. It'll be fun."

While commenting on the sexual harassment allegations against GOP Sen. Bob Packwood of Oregon, Mr. Leno managed to wield a double-edged, bipartisan stiletto: "Here's an ugly story, Senator Packwood has been accused of sexually harassing 10 women. They're investigating Packwood for allegedly making unwarranted advances to women while under the influence of alcohol. Imagine that, 10 women. So it looks like former Senator Brock Adams may have to come out of retirement to defend his title." Mr. Adams, Washington Democrat, called it quits after similar accusations.

The same bipartisan spirit flavored the comedian's comment on the possibility of a Senate inquiry into the Packwood case: "Do you get the feeling that this is going to be one of those Senate hearings where Ted Kennedy is going to sit pretty quietly through the whole thing?"

The Christian right and the GOP

WILLIAM BUCKLEY JR.

A very bright and street-smart political operator writes to me (and to other August Conservatives) that the Republican Party is going straight to hell unless we de-Christianize it.

Well, that isn't quite how he put it, but he writes that "only by stressing the economic and foreign policy issues that unite us, and de-emphasizing some of the Religious Right's issues, can we hold the Reagan coalition together."

He encloses several clippings, the most extensive of them published in late August by the San Francisco Examiner with the headline, "Christians on mission to convert state GOP."

The headline is itself rather fragrant. Mischievous Democrats surely read it as suggesting that an effort to depaganize the GOP has finally been mobilized.

But concretely, what does it come down to?

Primarily, these days, abortion and homosexuality.

Now in respect of these two vices, the political point surely is that there has got to be some fine-tuning done in the months and years ahead.

William F. Buckley Jr. is president and editor at large of National Review and a nationally syndicated columnist.

Exactly 11 percent of the American people believe that abortion should be exclusively the decision of the mother, even if she decides to abort one day before normal childbirth because she discovers it's going to be a girl, and she wants only boys.

In respect of homosexual rights, most voters, the polls establish, do not wish to persecute homosexuals, but neither do they wish to find themselves associated with the philosophical, biological and theological derangements that say that homosexuality is of no more moral interest than having dimples or red hair. The consolidation of a humane position on homosexuals is going to require political fine-tuning, and the principal source of Christian enlightenment on the subject is, pace the Supreme Court, Christianity.

The San Francisco Examiner goes on: "The Christian right has a list of goals that includes breaking down what it sees as an artificial separation of church and state." Correct. But is this a position limited to the Christian right? What about the rabbi whose benediction at commencement last year has been retro-

Most voters do not wish to persecute homosexuals, but neither do they wish be associated with the derangements that say that it is of no more moral interest than having dimples or red hair.

actively forbidden by action of the Supreme Court?

And since when did Irving Kristol and Michael Kinsley, to name only two illustrious Jewish movers and shakers, need to become Christian rightists to deplore the fanatical interpretations of the First Amendment by the Supreme Court?

The paper goes on: "It [the Christian right] wants to restore school

prayer." Right, "it" does. And why is this not a legitimate fighting issue? There are any number of factors that contribute to libertine sex among teen-agers and the population explosion of single-parent children. Is it possible that the Christian right has something interesting to say about this phenomenon, or are we to wait for findings from the Kinsey Institute?

"[It wants to] present biblical accounts about creation in science classes." That is a drastic truncation. Yes, there are fundamentalists out there who would forbid the teaching of evolution, but they are not important. What the Christian right wants is a curriculum whose science department does not in effect exclude religious interpretations of history. It is one thing to come up with naturalistic explanations for Noah and the Flood, something else to dispose of biblical history as sheer myth.

And the Christian right wants to "allow public funds for church-related schools through a voucher system." Indeed it does, and so do a lot of people unrelated to the Christian right — for instance Polly Williams of Milwaukee, Wis., an articu-

late black Jesse Jackson disciple who leads the movement in that part of the world to do something about the undereducation of America and sees no greater problem in giving students vouchers to religious schools than anybody saw in giving students vouchers to religious colleges under the G.I. Bill.

Occasionally a spokesman for the Christian right goes off the deep end (less often, probably, than the typical politician). Pat Robertson did that early this year, and he will be quoted every five minutes for the rest of time about how the Equal Rights Amendment will encourage women to "kill their children, practice witchcraft, destroy capitalism and become lesbians."

When Christian rightists say things like that, they should be sent a Valium and a stern note. But we have hardly reached an age in which enormities spoken, or for that matter practiced, by Christian leaders invalidate Christianity. And in America that which is virtuous is an irradiation of Judeo-Christianity, and here is one voter who declines to associate with a movement that wishes to encourage a different impression of moral and political reality.

DONALD LAMBRO

DATE: 11/30
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Macro economic agonies

President-elect Bill Clinton will inherit a budget crisis like no other budget crisis in the history of this or any other country:

A yearly federal budget that has ballooned to \$1.5 trillion, a \$300 billion deficit that is likely to be closer to \$400 billion next year, and a national debt nearing \$4 trillion.

These numbers are staggering and incomprehensible to most people, and to many so-called "budget experts" as well. How much is a trillion dollars? Or even a billion dollars?

Well, here's one way to put its size into perspective: If a business had \$1 billion in capital in the year 1 A.D. and proceeded to lose \$1,000 a day, not only would it still be in business

Donald Lambro, chief political correspondent of The Washington Times, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

today, it wouldn't close down for another 800 years.

Actually, billions have become sort of obsolete when talking about the budget's macro-numbers. Total spending, tax revenues and debt are all measured in trillions of dollars now.

Yet here's the really shocking news. President-elect Bill Clinton and the old leaders of the new Congress that will open for business in January say the \$1.2 trillion we're giving them now (plus the \$300 billion they borrow) isn't enough and they want more — from you.

Mr. Clinton wants to impose a new top income tax rate of from 36 percent to 38 percent and a number of other unspecified taxes as well.

House Speaker Foley wants to raise gasoline taxes substantially. Senate Democratic Leader George Mitchell and House Democratic Leader Richard Gephardt have introduced a soak-the-middle class bill to lower the estate tax threshold when inheritance taxes kick in, from \$600,000 to \$200,000.

And that's only the beginning.

Other tax schemes are being prepared in the tax-writing committees of Congress to relieve businesses and people of what remains of their hard-earned income.

Now that Democrats control both Congress and the White House, they say they will need more money to pay for the big spending plans they'll be enacting next year, this time without fear of a presidential veto.

But the truth is that we don't need to raise taxes to deal with any of the pressing problems facing this country — from caring for the truly needy to researching the cure for cancer. We need to re-examine where that \$1.5 trillion goes and find ways to spend it better than we're spending it now.

The truth is that the budget is loaded with billions of dollars in wasteful expenditures, programs and agencies whose elimination would harm no one.

There are tens of billions of dollars in potential budget savings that could be used to reduce the deficit, strengthen neglected programs and give taxpayers, and the economy, some long overdue tax relief. Among them:

- The Rural Electrification Administration: This New Deal agency lives on, long after electric service has been provided to rural America. REA dishes out \$2 billion a year in

subsidized loans to rich utilities. Abolish it. Savings: \$590 million over five years.

- The Super-Conducting Super-collider: This \$12 billion project may lead to some big scientific breakthroughs, but the world will not end if we postpone it for a while. Savings: \$2.2 billion over five years.

- The Space Station: It is our destiny to explore outer space, but not at the cost of impoverishing our country. Putting this program on hold would save \$1 billion next year and \$10 billion over five years.

- Obsolete military bases: We need to keep our defenses strong, but there are dozens of Cold War-era bases that could be consolidated. Savings: \$10 billion.

- Eliminate outdated agencies like the National Helium Reserves, created in 1929 to supply helium for blimps; the National Fertilizer Development Center; the Interstate Commerce Commission; consolidate USDA's 11,000 field offices; and merge and prune Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America.

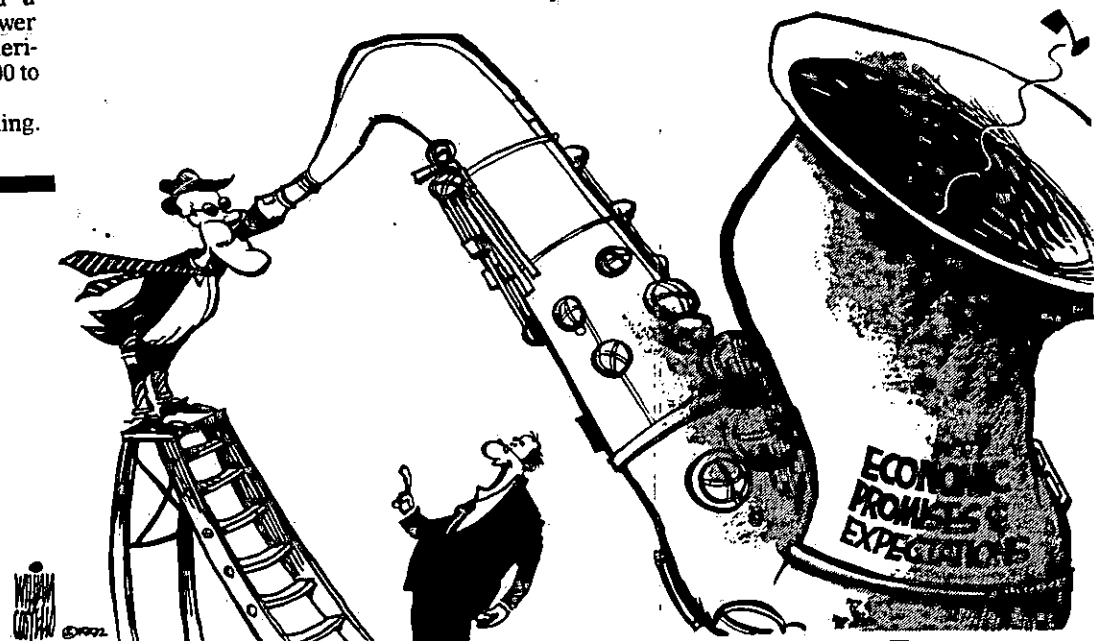
- Privatize inefficient government businesses like Amtrak, which has lost \$15 billion since 1971, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and National Public Radio.

- Eliminate subsidies for the Export-Import Bank; the honey, wool and mohair industries; and the Market Promotion Program that subsidizes foreign advertising for rich companies like McDonald's.

- Close down scandal-ridden agencies like the Economic Development Administration and the Small Business Administration that have had little impact on new business formation.

Hundreds of other programs beg to be cut. The General Accounting Office has identified more than \$150 billion in waste, the equivalent of roughly half the deficit. The Congressional Budget Office's annual report shows where billions more in savings could be achieved. Congress has ignored both their reports.

Our lawmakers have over many decades created a costly labyrinth of archaic, inefficient, overlapping and nonessential agencies and programs that continue to squander our tax dollars. Let Mr. Foley, Mitchell and Gephardt first clean house before even thinking about asking the taxpayers for more money to waste.



"OKAY, BOSS—NOW IT'S TIME TO CONVINCE THE PUBLIC THAT PRESIDENTS AREN'T RESPONSIBLE FOR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS!"

Pruden on
Politics

By Wesley Pruden

A fine old tradition
of selling eyewash

Selling somebody else's water to gullible outlanders has always been a booming business in Arkansas. You could ask Bill Clinton.

Eureka Springs, a quaint little village nestled in the Ozarks, was just a little mountain spring when an Osage Indian brave discovered it and decided the water was great stuff for sore eyes. The Osage peddled it to the Quapaws and later to the Cherokees before they learned it was a lot easier to sell it to palefaces lost in the hills.

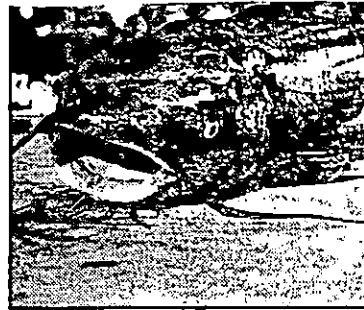
Someone discovered a bigger spring down in the Ouachita Mountains, decided it was good for neuralgia — the euphemism for syphilis a century ago — and soon the yankees began arriving by the train load to convince themselves that the water had cured them of "the old Ral."

Hot Springs, one of Bill Clinton's hometowns, grew up around these springs, which were eventually taken over by the federal government. The locals could still sell the water, and a private company (once owned by the family of Phyllis Schlafly) has been selling Mountain Valley Water since. It's the largest selling domestic water, and the Willard Hotel, just two blocks from the White House and eager to cash in on whatever Clintoniamania may develop here, has thrown out the Quibell and ordered up the Mountain Valley.

Dominique's restaurant on Pennsylvania Avenue has added catfish and chicken-fried steak (which is not, strictly speaking, a native Arkansas dish) to its menu under the message, "Bon Appetit. Y'all!"

One Washington banker, unaccountably humane for a banker, is trying to find someone to find an Arkansas barbecue man to bring to Washington, convinced as she is that the nation's capital, having been teased by pretty good substitutes, is ready for the real stuff from the old country.

"We want to make everyone from Arkansas feel at home," says Herb Ezrin, one of the proprietors of Dominique's, where you can already order rattlesnake, alligator and several varieties of other



Catfish

fish. Fish, as everybody knows, is edible only if you drown it under enough sauce and eat it with someone else so you can keep reassuring each other that it's really good when both of you know it's

not. Catfish, which is deep fried, is a little better, since the cornmeal batter effectively covers up the authentic fish taste of soggy cardboard.

Nothing could better symbolize the coming Clinton era than fried catfish, and we can imagine the president-elect (his appetite for honest red meat and potatoes is the most reassuring known fact to follow him out of Arkansas) having a little chuckle this morning in Little Rock. He has weeks to decide what to put in the cornmeal batter before he has to deep-fry an administration.

If it's true that a man is what he eats, you can understand why so much attention is being paid to Arkansas cuisine. (The Washington Times dispatched its food editor to Little Rock.) Just after the election, one Capitol Hill caterer laid on what it imagined to be an Arkansas spread for a luncheon hosted by Frank Mankiewicz, the flack to the Politically Correct. Naturally, fried green tomatoes, rarely seen in Arkansas except at the occasional Junior League covered-dish luncheon, were on the menu.

"We did some research in a general sort of a way, in case Clinton got elected," says caterer Mark Michaels. Research from watching the movie "Fried Green Tomatoes," no doubt.

The proprietors of Doe's Eat Place in Little Rock, a knockoff of the original in Greenville, Miss., perhaps the best steak house and hot-tamale joint in America, is coming to Washington, too. The original Doe's was first a restaurant for blacks at a time when black and white could not eat together in the South, and so great were Doe's steaks that the white planters persuaded Doe to let them sup at a big porcelain-topped table in the kitchen. This is still the boss table, even when the ladies are mixing the salads at the other end of it. We must wait to see how the Doe's tradition is trivialized in Washington.

But why not? Mr. Clinton promised us prosperity, and Arkansans have always been fond of the proposition that a yankee is worth more than a bale of cotton because he's twice as easy to pick. They're suckers for the eyewater

Pruden on Politics

By Wesley Pruden



A 12-step program to Oblivion, Ore.

Bob Packwood, who is being fitted for a chastity belt, has embarked on the 12-step program that leads to oblivion.

He says that demon rum drove him to make what the newspapers call "alleged unwanted sexual advances" against 10 women and he promises to join "the therapy society" to "find himself," or at least to find someone with whom to "share" his "sickness."

"I realize I have problems and will seek professional advice in connection with my use of alcohol," says the Oregon senator, once practically an honorary woman so profound was his sensitivity to feminist causes. "If I take the proper steps I hope my past conduct is not unforgivable."

Suddenly everyone wants to be the man from a place called hope.

There's a 12-step program now for nearly everybody, based on the original program to reform drunks. There's even a 12-step program for people who have overdosed on 12-step programs.

Old John Barleycorn has done a lot of bad things to a lot of people, and if it's true that accidents cause people, then it's true that people who drink ought to designate the studliest man to stay sober.

Nevertheless, blaming booze for whatever goes wrong, like the Rev. Jesse Jackson blaming racism when he stubs his toe on the bedstead in the middle of the night, is getting a little tedious to the rest of us. And if Mr. Packwood thinks taking the pledge will get the feminists off his back, he's wrong. It's that first step that leads to the real trouble.

Two of the women, who were young when, by their accounts, the senator pitched the unwanted woo, are not at all satisfied. They want him to resign the Senate seat he won only three weeks ago. His alibi, says Julie Williamson of Portland, "appears to be an attempt to blame his behavior on alcohol, but in the situation I was in, there was no alcohol involved."



Bob Packwood

Miss Williamson worked for the senator when, during an interview a quarter of a century ago, she says he pulled on her ponytail and stood on her toes and tried to pull down her girdle. Maura Roche concedes that booze "may have been a factor" when the senator read several dirty jokes to her while they were working at the office one evening in 1989.

"I do not think that

somebody who behaves this way deserves to hold the office that he has. I would like to see Bob Packwood removed from a position where he can harm women." (The next time he may turn on the A&E comedy channel.)

Marcia Greenberger of the National Women's Law Center wishes the senator's randy high jinks had never happened, but she hopes "both the nation and Congress learn from it."

We can all hope that, because rude behavior is never excusable. Senators have no more immunity than preachers or plumbers or postmen, and look what happens to some of them.

Mr. Packwood has rendered himself a fool, first to make like a jackrabbit with women who were incapable of telling him to quit or to slap his face or put a knee in his groin or whatever the proper punishment may be for a boss pulling his secretary's ponytail, and a bigger fool now for trying to get himself certified as a drunk when what he was was a girdle, shoe-top and ponytail addict.

He sent an aide out yesterday to say that he's not admitting that he did any of that stuff, but he's sorry, anyway. If he did it, he probably didn't really do it.

This is the kind of doublespeak that impresses only other senators. Mr. Packwood is willing to make a fool of himself because he wants to continue to be an advocate of something called "women's rights," and one of his accusers is the Oregon leader of the abortion lobby. She says the senator once kissed her.

Mr. Packwood would have been far better off to adapt the Earl Long defense: "Here's to the ladies — at least the ones I recall. But I can't remember everything that happened before World War II."

Of course, unless you're a Democrat, the ladies would kill you for a remark like that. The 12-step therapy defense will get lesser men killed, anyway, and it's not a dignified death.

Black legislators vow Alabama flag boycott

MONTGOMERY, Ala. (AP) — Black legislators said yesterday they will boycott the rededication of Alabama's Capitol to protest Gov. Guy Hunt's decision to fly the Confederate battle flag over the newly renovated building.

State Rep. George Perdue, chairman of the Legislature's black caucus, said the five black senators and 19 representatives in the 135-member Legislature will skip the Dec. 12 ceremony. "We will attempt to have other members of the Legislature join us," he said.

Hunt spokesman Terry Abbott expressed regret at the decision. "That is unfortunate since the rededication is for all Alabamians," he said. "But it is their decision to make."

Alabama's black leaders have for years sought the removal of the rebel battle flag, which they contend represents racial oppression and bigotry. They have cited its frequent use by the Ku Klux Klan and other white supremacist groups.

At least a half-dozen chambers of commerce, the Alabama State Employees Association, the Montgomery Hotel-Motel Association, Mayor Emory Folmar and prominent state historians have joined in opposition.

Names & Faces

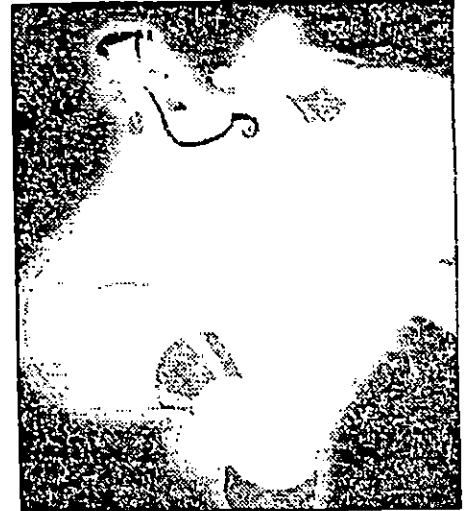
Let's Talk Tickets!

■ Two kiddie flicks—Macaulay Culkin's "Home Alone 2: Lost in New York" and the animated "Aladdin"—have teamed up to hand the movie industry its most bountiful Thanksgiving weekend ever.

Theaters nationwide were packed during the five-day holiday period, and analysts predicted the total take will be \$135 million. The previous Thanksgiving high was \$114 million in 1989.

"Home Alone 2" took in an estimated \$40 million Wednesday through yesterday, and "Aladdin" raked in \$26 million, a record for an animated film.

The Kevin Costner-Whitney Houston movie "The Bodyguard" nabbed third place (\$24 million), "Bram Stoker's Dracula" took fourth (\$14 million), and "Malcolm X" held on for fifth (\$12 million).



Thanksgiving feast: "Home Alone 2," with Macaulay Culkin, left, and Disney's "Aladdin."

Castle Sweet Castle

■ Queen Elizabeth II moved back into Windsor Castle yesterday afternoon, just a little more than a week after a raging fire devastated parts of one of her favorite residences. The royal standard was flying over the castle in southern England, signifying that the queen, who had helped remove art treasures from the burning castle, was back.

The queen had vacated her quarters, and furniture and art treasures were removed, as a precaution after the accident.

Fire damage had been put at as much as \$90 million but this estimate may be revised downward, some experts said. Results of an official investigation into the fire have not yet been made public, but a front-page story in yesterday's Observer newspaper said a powerful spotlight in the queen's private chapel sparked the blaze.

Thanks a Lot, Marty

■ Country singer Marty Stuart has an unusual way of showing his appreciation. At the Grand Ole Opry Saturday night, the 34-year-old Stuart said that young stars like himself have their elders to thank for their success—and then he proceeded to call some of them "old farts."

As he introduced his final song, he said, "If you don't mind, I'd like to sing you not-so-new country fans an old favorite. That's just a polite way of saying I'd like to sing you old farts a song."

An Opry spokesman said the singer told him he was nervous during his first performance as an official member of the

Opry and added that Stuart later apologized.

End Notes

■ World champion Gary Kasparov led the formidable Russian team to victory in the European men's team-chess championships in Hungary yesterday. Ukraine took second place, qualifying it for the world team championships next year. . . . Wayne Newton may be in financial hot water, but his 3,000-seat theater in Branson, Mo.—the Ozarks' country music heaven—is selling out already. The first show isn't until May 1, but more than 50,000 advance tickets have been sold, says the theater manager.

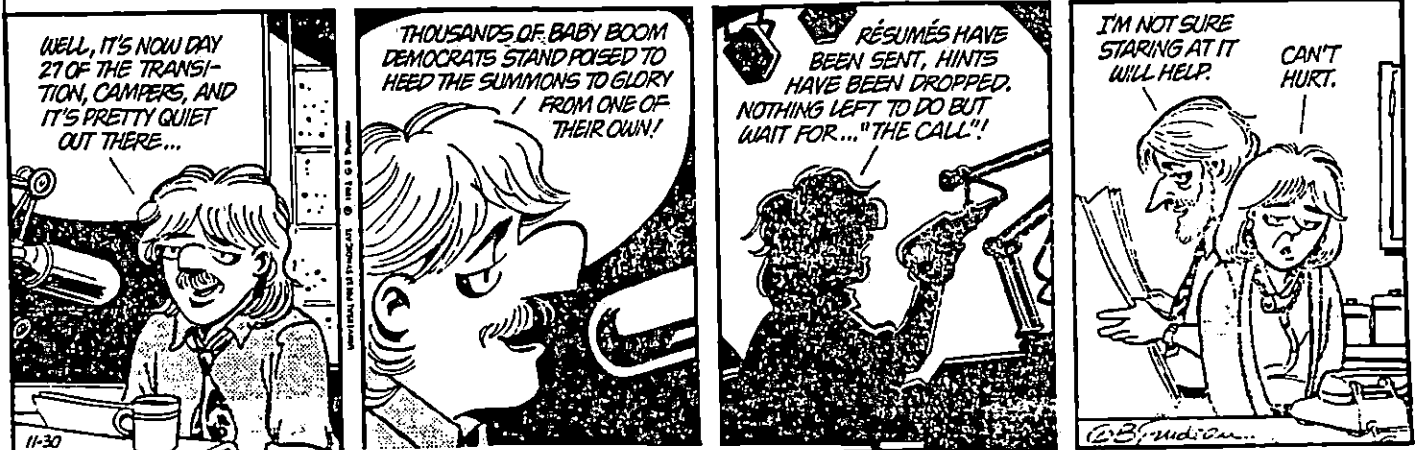
—Compiled from staff and wire reports by Mary Alma Welch

THE RELIABLE SOURCE

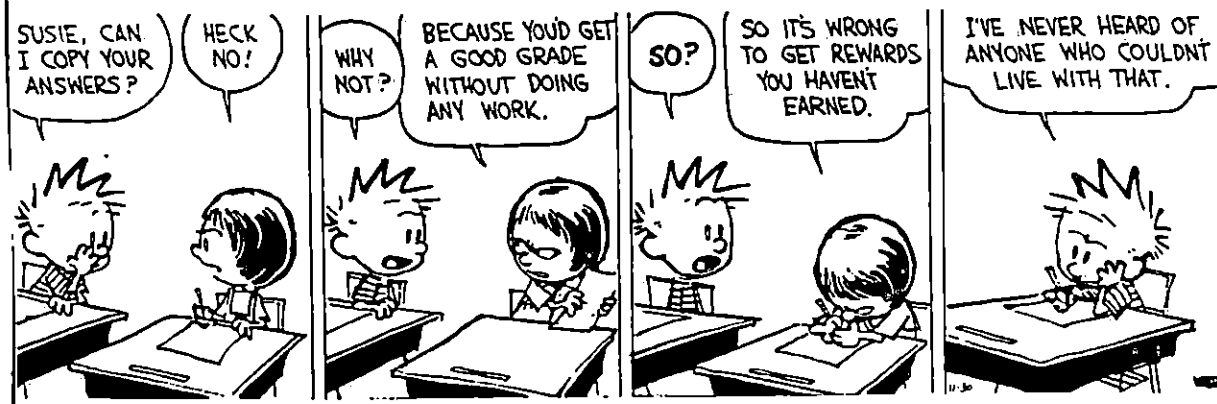
Lois Romano's column will return—soon.

DOONESBURY

By G.B. Trudeau



CALVIN AND HOBBS BILL WATTERSON



INSIDE THE BELTWAY

Correct way to talk

The Washington, D.C., Convention and Visitors Association says there's a myth that floats around the country this time every four years that the presidential Inauguration is a "sell-out" for Washington's hotel industry. "At this point don't even try ... there are simply 'no rooms' in D.C."

Actually, hotel people tell us, the Inauguration does not sell out the city, and visitors coming to see Bill Clinton raise his right hand have a choice of 24,000 hotel rooms in the District itself, and 64,000 in the immediate area.

Don't expect the presidential transition office to fill any of those rooms; they're still busy cutting the deficit. So much so that they've appealed to the Arkansas State Society of Washington, Democrats and Republicans alike, that "fellow Arkansans and campaign workers will be coming to Washington during the coming weeks to work in the presidential transition office and will be looking for temporary housing. They are seeking rooms available in private homes."

You don't need to be an Arkansan to take in one of these strays. Figuring the new list of "What's In and What's Out" has Southern accents as being in, here's your chance to bring a tutor direct to your family dinner table.

No bias here

Michael Kinsley, senior editor of the New Republic, among other things, is the latest to opine whether newspaper stories and/or television reports during the presidential election were pro- or anti-one candidate or another.

Yes, the liberal commentator tells us, the majority of stories were anti-Bush, and for good reason.

"At a time when Bush was presiding over a stagnant economy, running an inept campaign and being bashed from inside and outside his own party, a perfectly 'balanced' press coverage would itself be evidence of bias," he wrote in his newspaper column.

Then, Mr. Kinsley added: "Perhaps I am not the best person to try to solve the mystery of why. My own political views are more or less liberal. ... Since most journalists I meet are reasonable, intel-



Michael Kinsley can't understand why so many "reasonable, intelligent people" are not liberal.

ligent people, the mystery to me is not why journalists tend to be liberals but why so many other reasonable, intelligent people are not."

Greener pastures

The 23rd annual Audubon Naturalist Society Holiday Fair, this coming weekend at a 40-acre nature sanctuary in the heart of Chevy Chase, offers earth-friendly products for the most dedicated environmentalist on your Christmas list.

"Feast your eyes on a nature photo exhibit by the North Bethesda Camera Club ... swing by the Audubon Naturalist Store ... observe and hold live animals ... win 1,000 pounds of Audubon birdseed," reads a news release about the event.

And if that doesn't get you there, "Send environmental holiday greetings on a giant eight-foot-tall card to our new president and vice president, Clinton and Gore."

Don't look for a similar card to President Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle. The Audubon's Eileen Parker says the point is to "send a message from the environmental community to the new administration." She said three quotes are contained in the giant card to Mr. Clinton and Mr. Gore, reminders of their pledge of stewardship of the ecosystem. One comes from a Rolling Stone interview with the

president-elect and one from the vice president-elect's book, "Earth in the Balance."

Best seller

It's not clear whether it's for surveillance or for fund raising, but David Duke's financial report from his 1991 bid for governor is a hot item at Louisiana's campaign disclosure office. After all, Mr. Duke received nearly \$2.2 million from contributors nationwide for his Republican gubernatorial bid, while under constant attack by the media, various so-called interest groups and his own party.

Orders for the 3,300-page list of contributors, costing \$921 for a complete copy, brought in almost \$50,000 more than was expected for the fiscal year that ended June 30, and orders are still coming in, staff attorney Maris McCrory told Reuters news agency.

The demand has come from white supremacist groups, conservative political candidates, news organizations and researchers coast to coast, Miss McCrory said. Some want names only from a particular state; others want the entire list.

Flat sales pitch

Finally the U.S. government has taken a major step forward on behalf of consumers to put a stop to misleading and false advertising concerning government sales of surplus property, confiscated vehicles and seized real estate. You know the ones — "Jeeps for \$44! Government homes for only \$1!"

The General Services Administration has published a guide to federal government sales that contains accurate, understandable information on items from office furniture and computers to vehicles, jewelry and real estate.

And, the GSA says, "though you may not find the fantastic bargains and extraordinary deals promised by some ads, there are plenty of fully usable items for sale at reasonable prices. But expect to get what you pay for."

Like Jeeps with bald tires and no radio?

"When you see ads claiming you can take a Jeep home for less than fifty dollars, this may be true. But what you'll be getting is a flattened mass of steel good only for scrap."

— John McCaslin

GOPers show gift for griping

Talk about gloating. The New Republic just hasn't been able to get over the wonder of the Clinton victory.

This week it's "The Republican Mudbath," with articles by such bright, younger GOP folks as James ("Life in Bush Hell") Pinkerton, Tony ("Rethinking Race") Snow and Michael ("Exorcising the Religious Right") Lind, plus a contribution from Senior Editor Fred

Barnes on "The Kemp Party vs. the Dole Party."

Actually, all are pretty worthy articles, even if informed by a kind of anger generated by a what-might-have-been-if-only-they'd-listened-to-me attitude. The cover art: Two elephants tussling in a river.

And yes, lest we lose sight of who won, there is a Roger Rosen-

blatt interview with Hillary Rodham Clinton, presidential partner, in the form of another unconversation about her thoughts on children's rights. Methinks the lady doth protest too much when she keeps reiterating her concern for the family.

Even Mr. Rosenblatt does not seem totally convinced.

White House turkey

For 45 years, the National Turkey Federation has presented the White House with a Thanksgiving turkey. They did so again yesterday. It used to be that the White House would cook the birds and serve them up with all the trimmings, just the way people like them. But along came Jimmy Carter, the peanut farmer-turned-politician who, like Bill Clinton 16 years later, took the nation by storm with a promise to increase economy and efficiency. The man from Plains sided with "animal rights" activists and decreed that birds selected for White House palates should instead be sent to petting farms. This Thanksgiving tradition lives on.

"The turkey will be given to a child petting farm," a Bush spokesman happily confirmed yesterday. President Bush quipped to the bird, "We're here to serve you."

Which takes us to our next stop up Connecticut Avenue to the offices of Putting People First, a group that struggles against the animal-rights crowd and eco-extremists. They reminded us that agriculture and related jobs — e.g., turkey farming — are the nation's largest industry.

"What kind of message does this send to the American people about the attitude of the White House toward the responsible use of animals for food?" asked Kathleen Marquardt of Putting People First. "If you ask me, it really reflects poorly on farmers, ranchers, hunters and the rest of us who reject the slogan 'Meat is Murder.'"

Mayberry knows best

You might know James Carville as the campaign strategist who helped mastermind Bill Clinton's presidential victory. You might know Mr. Carville as a superstitious man who eats cheeseburgers for lunch every Election Day, or

INSIDE THE BELTWAY



Even if James Carville doesn't change his underwear every day, Aunt Bee would have loved him.

who curls up in the fetal position wearing brown gardening gloves for good luck, or wears the same underwear for 10 stinking days in a row. Now we learn that Mr. Carville is also an "Andy Griffith Show" freak.

"One of the things I missed most during the campaign was watching the popular 1960s sitcom on WTTG," says Mr. Carville, who is proud to be Washington chapter president of the Andy Griffith Show Fan Club. On Monday night, Mr. Carville will host a special one-hour Andy Griffith program on Channel 5, and the station let him choose two of his favorite episodes.

"Ellie and the Council" features a rare venture into women's rights,

as Andy's girlfriend (doesn't she have a name, Mr. Carville?) runs for office. Mr. Carville said it's fitting "given the city and the time we're in."

In "Barney and the Governor's Ticket," Barney stands by his decision to ticket the governor's car. In case you don't gather from it, Mr. Carville said this episode "has a strong political and social message ... and Washington would be better off if we didn't cave in to special interests and power people and if there were equality under the law."

Inaugural gig

Bill Clinton's brother, Roger, told Maury Povich in an interview scheduled for airing Monday that his band, Politics, will be playing at one of the inaugural balls. Roger Clinton, 10 years younger than his half brother, is a television production assistant in Burbank, Calif., and lead singer of the band.

Roger also recalled that he gave his older brother his nickname. "I called him 'Bubba.' He was my 'Bubba,'" he said. Bill Clinton was 4 years old when his mother, Virginia, married Roger Clinton's father. His brother, he said, became "his father, best friend, guardian and protector" after Roger Sr. died in 1968.

His relationship with sister-in-law Hillary was tough at first because of their different backgrounds. "She had this hard exterior, and you just don't have a hard exterior in Arkansas," Roger said. Now, however, he explained, Hillary has mellowed with "that doggone Arkansas down-home Southern-hospitality manner."

Forgetting Terrel

First the National Education Association asked President-elect Bill Clinton to consider a classroom teacher as the next secretary of education. Now the National Association of Secondary School Principals wants him to pick somebody from their ranks.

It's time for a secretary of education "who has been baptized in the trenches," Timothy J. Dyer, executive director of NASSP, says in a letter mailed to the president-elect.

"We need a secretary of education who has not forgotten the agony and the ecstasy of administering a school or a school system through good and difficult times," he writes.

Not one of the five secretaries since 1979 has had practical knowledge about classroom instruction, school administration and the day-to-day challenges that confront local educators, Mr. Dyer claims — incorrectly, it turns out.

Terrel Bell, President Reagan's first secretary of education, was a former school superintendent in Idaho, Wyoming and Utah.

Two-newspaper town

Listed as this week's No. 1 nonfiction best seller in The Washington Post: "Sex," by Madonna.

This week's No. 1 nonfiction best seller as listed in The Washington Times: "The Way Things Ought To Be," by Rush Limbaugh.

More puzzling is that nowhere in the OP's list of the 16 hottest-selling books is the conservative broadcaster's best seller. Which might strike readers odd figuring that The Times gets its list from Publisher's Weekly, an authority that compiles its data from large-city bookstores, bookstore chains and local best-seller lists across the United States.

The Post compiles its own figures from bookstores and bookstore chains.

— John McCaslin

DATE: 11-25
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"...THEN THE ENSUING RISE IN CORPORATE EARNINGS GENERATES AN ACROSS-BOARD REVENUE WINDFALL, THEREBY CLOSING THE PROJECTED BUDGET DEFICIT. NOW IF YOU'LL EXCUSE ME, MY COOKIES ARE BURNING."
Jim Borgman, The Cincinnati Enquirer

...free health care... free Super
BOWL tickets... tax cut... a
free Haitian for every family...
and.....



Ed Gamble, The Florida Times-Union, King Features Syndicate

IN QUOTES

"Try again."

— Carol Moseley Braun, the first black woman elected to the U.S. Senate, after a clerk handed her a new congressional photo ID with the word "spouse" emblazoned on it

"It just whisked through here like slicing hot butter."

— Constable Martin Mann on the impact of the Mississippi tornado

"1992 is not a year on which I shall look back with undiluted pleasure."

— Queen Elizabeth II at a banquet in honor of her 40th year on the throne

"Hit the road, Jack, and don't you come back no more."

— State Rep. Joseph Palamara referring to Dr. Jack Kevorkian after the Michigan House voted to make it a felony to help people kill themselves

"Everybody's used the word once in their lifetime."

— Marge Schott, owner of the Cincinnati Reds, acknowledging that she's occasionally used the word "nigger"

"We had a very good visit in my office and we talked about relating, and I said, 'You can expect a lot of help from Republicans.' Then he goes to Macon and he stiff us."

— Sen. Bob Dole on Bill Clinton campaigning in Georgia for Sen. Wyche Fowler

"Being first lady is like being a minister. You give and give and give, and it takes great faith and courage to continue in that role."

— Julie Nixon Eisenhower

"First you go outside and say, 'Honey, is the turkey ready yet? Will you please take all the feathers and the head off?'"

— Jenessa Sloan, second-grader at Martin Luther King School in Des Moines, Iowa, on preparing the Thanksgiving turkey

What's News—

World-Wide

A POLICE CRACKDOWN FAILED to halt attacks against refugees in Germany.

A refugee center in western Germany was firebombed and weekend violence against foreigners erupted elsewhere despite newly announced government measures for curbing right-wing extremism. On Friday, the government banned a neo-Nazi group, the Nationalist Front, and police seized explosives and firearms from the group's members. Yesterday, Chancellor Kohl vowed in a radio interview that Germany would use the full force of the law against "the radical right mob." The Israeli cabinet condemned "neo-Nazi, racist and anti-Semitic phenomena" in Germany.

In Turkey, German flags were burned at a funeral for three Turkish victims of a firebombing attack one week ago in a northern German town.

A savings-and-loan owner absorbed more than \$53,000 in costs related to construction work on a Maryland vacation home owned by Sen. Gramm, a Texas Republican and member of the Senate Banking Committee, which is overseeing the cleanup of the S&L industry. The construction work was initiated in 1987. (Article on Page A14)

Aid organizations in Somalia prepared evacuation plans, fearing that a proposed large-scale U.S. military intervention there could make foreign relief workers targets of Somali gunmen. Somalia's two main warlords have cautiously welcomed the U.S. offer to send thousands of troops to help the U.N. protect food convoys.

At least 170 people were killed in Venezuela's second coup attempt in 10 months, the Defense Ministry said. The government said more than 1,200 soldiers and officers were under arrest following the violence that began Friday and ended Saturday. President Perez denounced the rebels and pledged that he wouldn't step down.

Senate leaders said they expect a prompt investigation into sexual harassment charges against Sen. Packwood. On Friday, the Oregon Republican apologized for his conduct but didn't admit allegations that he made unwanted sexual advances to 10 women. He said he would seek help for drinking problems. (Article on Page C9)

Five South African blacks killed four whites and wounded 17 in a gun and grenade attack at a country club, officials said. Saturday's assault in King William's Town, 625 miles southeast of Johannesburg, was a rare mass attack on whites.

Officials from U.S. cities presented a \$10 billion economic recovery plan to members of President-elect Clinton's transition team Saturday. The proposals, discussed in New Orleans during a meeting of the National League of Cities, focus on transportation, community development and an aid package for troubled urban areas.

Russia's President Yeltsin addressed a reformist alliance of 29 parties and groups in Moscow, urging the formation of a pro-reform party and saying he would be a member. A Parliament session begins tomorrow, with hard-liners vowing to curb Yeltsin's power. Meanwhile, air traffic controllers said they would launch a strike tomorrow.

Battles raged throughout Bosnia, endangering a truce scheduled to take effect last night between Serb and Croat forces. Nobel Peace Prize winner Elie Wiesel visited Sarajevo and appealed for a summit of world leaders to try to halt the fighting.

Two Japanese politicians sparked further public outrage over a mobster-linked scandal last week by giving testimony widely criticized as vague. Even members of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party blasted former Prime Minister Takeshita and ex-kingmaker Kanemaru for their evasive statements. (Article on Page A10)

The State Department is pressing ahead with its investigation of White House involvement in a search of Clinton's passport files. Eagleburger, acting secretary of state, said many questions remain unanswered.

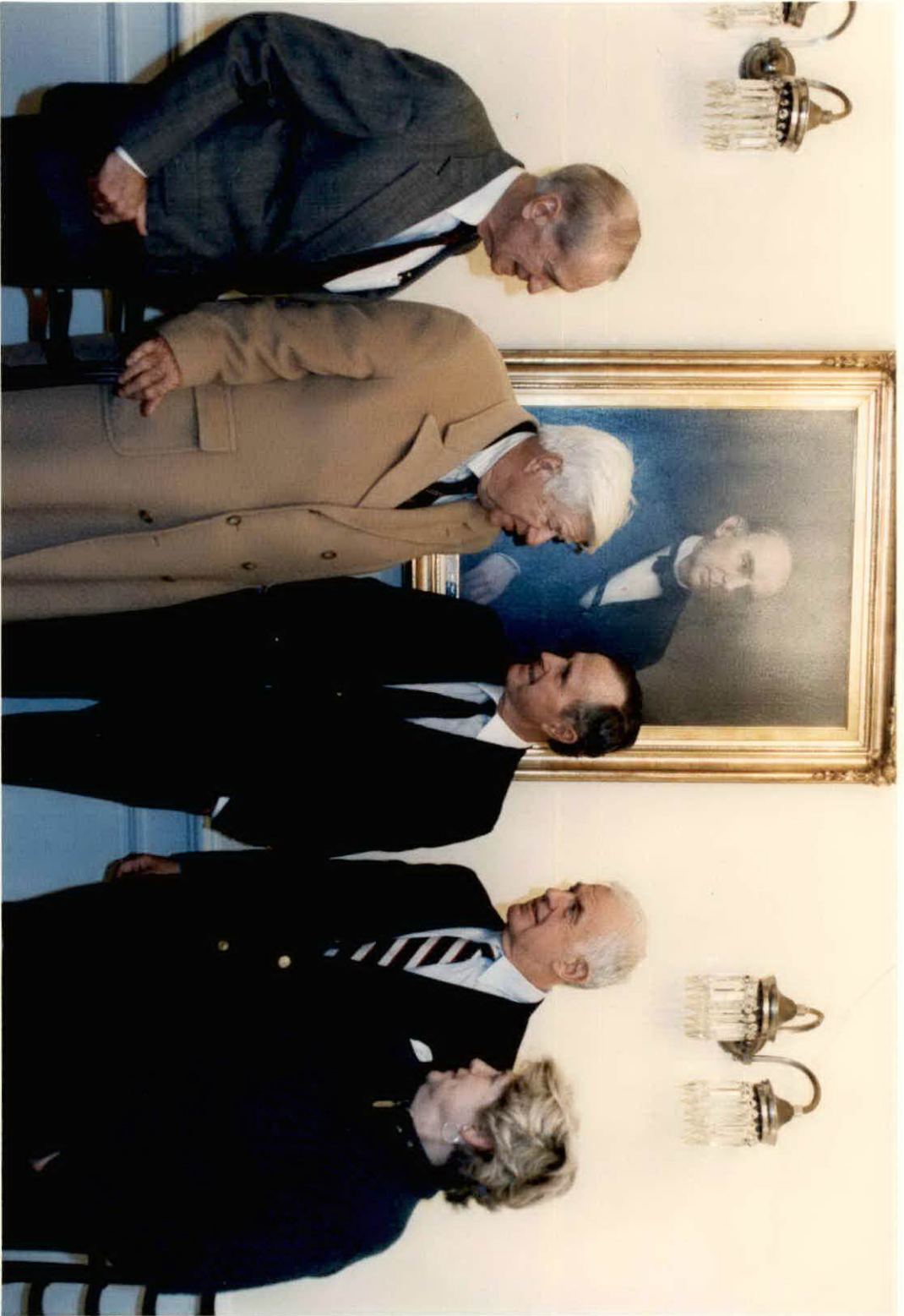
The Security Council intends today to impose trade prohibitions on Cambodian regions controlled by the Khmer Rouge in what amounts to a last call for the guerrillas to join a U.N.-supervised peace process.

The Algerian government declared a stepped-up offensive against Islamic fundamentalists and ordered the dissolution of cultural groups and companies that support the outlawed Islamic Salvation Front.



Tip O'Neil / Sonny Montgomery

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