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OA/ID Number: 90739
Folder ID Number: 90739-002

Folder Title:
Tuesday, December 1, 1992 [2]

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

Darlin 12/1,



Thanks so very
much for
your note and
prayers

Ag Bush

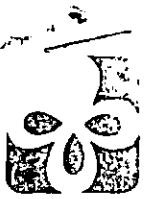
Thank you so much for your warm expression of sympathy. Your thoughts and prayers mean a lot to the entire Bush family. Dorothy Walker Bush was a caring and kind person and a loving mother, and we will miss her.

Ag Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Most Reverend Joseph Hart, D.D.
Bishop of the Diocese of Cheyenne
Post Office Box 468
Cheyenne, Wyoming 82003



The Diocese of Cheyenne

Office of the Bishop
Post Office Box 468
Cheyenne, Wyoming 82003
(307) 638-1530

D108

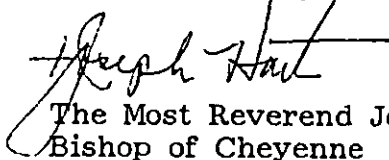
November 24, 1992

Dear Mr. President,

I was sorry to hear of the death of your mother. Please be assured of my prayers for you and your family at this difficult time.

You were blessed to have your mother for a long time, but I am certain that that does not lessen your pain of loss right now. You are in my prayers.

Sincerely yours,



The Most Reverend Joseph Hart, D.D.
Bishop of Cheyenne

JH/cd

Daily 10/1



Thanks, Walter,
so very much
Ag Bush

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.

Ag Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. Walter L. Oswald
Commissioner
City of Cleveland Heights
40 Severance Circle
Cleveland Heights, Ohio 44118

2-7
DWB

CLEVELAND HEIGHTS

20 November 1992

President George Bush
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

May it comfort you somehow to know that others,
too, understand your loss and grieve and sympathize
with you.

Just this past June, I also lost my Mother, and, at
the age of 90, lived a full and rich life. My Dad
died but a year prior, and both left the family with
a void, and without the name of Mother or Father.

They leave behind seven grandchildren and seven
great-grandchildren, a legacy from the sustaining
Oswald clan.

May all of the beautiful things your Mother meant to
you bring you comfort now and through the days ahead.
May the love of friends and family give you comfort
and may the love of God give you peace.

Most Sincerely,

Walter L. Oswald

Walter L. Oswald
Commissioner

Daily 12/1



Charles; Bill
for caring

Cy 13/

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.

Cy Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable William S. Broomfield
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515



House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

William S. Broomfield
18th District, Michigan

Foreign Affairs
Vice Chairman

November 20, 1992

Dear Mr. President:

Jane and I were saddened to hear about your mother. We know how close you both were, and what a good and lasting influence she had on the lives of those around her.

I can imagine she must have passed away with the happy conviction that her son had been chosen to take on the responsibility of the most important office in the world and served with honor and distinction.

Please accept our sympathies. Best wishes to you and Barbara and all of your family.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Bill Broomfield".

William S. Broomfield
Member of Congress

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

Darling 12/1



Charles, Marty
I loved her a lot

Cy

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.

Cy Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable Marty Russo
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

MARTY RUSSO

November 20, 1992

Dear Mr. President,

I am so very sorry to hear of the loss of your mother, and I send my heartfelt condolence. At times like this, I hope the knowledge that your friends are thinking about you and praying for you will be a comfort.

With deepest sympathy, I am

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Marty".

Marty Russo
Member of Congress

President George Bush
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Daily 12/1,



Bill -
Thanks, my friend
for that great letter

Cy B

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.

Cy Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable Bill McCollum
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

BILL MCCOLLUM
FIFTH DISTRICT
FLORIDA

November 20, 1992

The Honorable George Bush
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Please accept my heartfelt condolences on your mother's death.

She was a fine lady whom I only had the good fortune to meet on one occasion, but I sincerely enjoyed the opportunity and my exchange with her.

No expression of sympathy or words of assurance can alleviate your grief, but I trust that the many years of warm memories you and your family have stored will help you all through this difficult time.

Please know you are in Ingrid's and my thoughts and prayers.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Bill".

Bill McCollum
Member of Congress

BMCC/sel

Daily B/1



Tim -
so many thanks
Ag Bush

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.

Ag Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable James T. Walsh
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

JAMES T. WALSH
27TH DISTRICT, NEW YORK

November 20, 1992

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

Dear President Bush,

I was deeply saddened to learn of your Mother's passing.

I know what a difficult time this is for you and your family and you are all in my thoughts and prayers.

Please feel free to contact me if there is anything I can do to be of assistance.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jim Walsh".

James T. Walsh
Member of Congress

JTW/mgf

Darling 12/1



Charles, Bob, so

very much -

Ag Bush

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.

Ag Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

BOB LIVINGSTON
1ST DISTRICT
LOUISIANA

November 20, 1992

Dear Mr. President:

Bonnie joins me in extending our deepest sympathies to you for the loss of your mother. This certainly has not been a pleasant fall for you, but you are in our thoughts and our prayers.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "RL", written over the word "Sincerely,".

ROBERT L. LIVINGSTON
Member of Congress

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20515

July 10,



Floyd -
How kind of you.
Thanks
G. B.

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.

G. Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable Floyd H. Flake
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

FLOYD H. FLAKE
SIXTH DISTRICT
NEW YORK

November 20, 1992

President George Bush
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I would like to express my deep sorrow upon learning of the loss of your mother. If there is anything that I can do in your time of need, please do not hesitate to ask. With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Floyd H. Flake".

FLOYD H. FLAKE
Member of Congress

FHF/kg

Daily 12/1



Charles Solomon
so very much.

Ag Bush

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.

Ag Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable Solomon P. Ortiz
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515



CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

SOLOMON P. ORTIZ
27TH DISTRICT
TEXAS

November 20, 1992

President George Bush
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I want to express my sincere sympathy to you and the members of your family at the loss of your mother. I know words cannot heal the hurt you feel, but I do want you to know my thoughts and prayers are with you.

Please do not hesitate to let me know if I can be of any assistance during this difficult time.

With warmest wishes and personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Solomon P. Ortiz', written over a large, stylized, handwritten 'S'.

Solomon P. Ortiz
Member of Congress

Daily
12/1



Cliff - I
loved you
were better

Ag Bush

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.

Ag Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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



CLIFF STEARNS
FLORIDA

November 20, 1992

The Honorable George Bush
President of the United States
The White House

Dear Mr. President,

Joan and I were so saddened to hear about the loss of your mother. We wanted to let you know that our thoughts and prayers are with you and your family at this difficult time.

Your kind words when my mother passed away last month meant so much to me. Gestures like yours, and God's steady presence in my life, helped me get through the difficult days of acceptance.

I'd like to share with you a verse that helped me bear the loss of my mother: "...the Father of mercies and the God of all comfort; who comforts us in all our affliction so that we may be able to comfort those who are in any affliction with the comfort with which we ourselves are comforted by God." II Cor. 1:3-4.

May God bless you and your family.

With deepest sympathy,

Cliff Stearns
Member of Congress

CS:dg

Daily 12/1 31



Charles, Frank -
Charles for caring
Ag Bush

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.

Ag Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable Frank R. Wolf
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

FRANK R. WOLF
TENTH DISTRICT, VIRGINIA

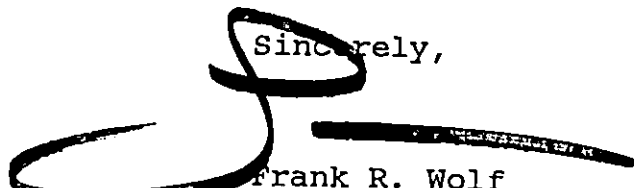
November 20, 1992

Dear Mr. President:

I was so sorry to learn of your mother's passing. Our prayers go out to you and your family.

God bless.

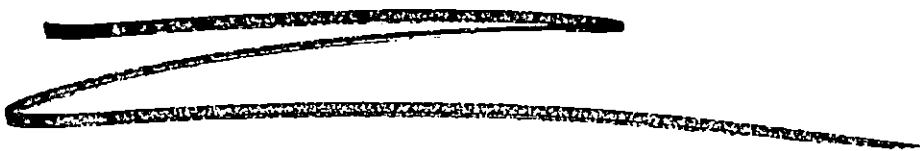
Sincerely,



Frank R. Wolf
Member of Congress

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

God Bless



Daily 10/1



Tracy -

Thanks for that
very kind note
Love to Charlotte

Cy

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.

Cy Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable Jack Brooks
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

JACK BROOKS
9TH DISTRICT, TEXAS

November 20, 1992

Dear Mr. President:

Was deeply saddened to learn of the death of your beloved mother and want you to know that you have my deepest sympathy.

Know how proud your mother was of your many accomplishments and while I realize nothing can lessen the pain of your loss, I hope that you and your family will be comforted by the many tender memories you have of the times you all spent together.

Please know that Charlotte and I are thinking of you and your family during this most difficult time in your lives.

With kindest personal wishes, I am

Sincerely,

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

Postage Paid

Daily 10/12



Ron -

Thanks for
that kind note.
Thanks a lot

Ay 13

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable Romano L. Mazzoli
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

ROMANO L. MAZZOLI
THIRD DISTRICT
KENTUCKY

November 20, 1992

Dear Mr President -

I am saddened to
learn of your dear mother's
death.

She was a great lady who
admired your work in public
life but never hesitated to offer
candid advice as has your wife
handling things. In these
regrets, she was just like my
own mother is today. That's why
I feel your loss in a personal way.
You and the family have my
condolences. Ron

Daily 1271

Ollie —  Thanks for
that caring kind letter
I really appreciate it — GB

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North
Narnia
Route 1, Box 560
Bluemont, Virginia

OLIVER L. NORTH

28 Nov 92

Dear Mr. President,

Please know how saddened Betsy and I were to learn of your mother's death. You and your family are in our prayers.

While you and I share the belief that we shall one day be reunited with those we have loved and lost, it is still difficult to part with a parent.

I well remember when my father died in 1984, you were one of a small handful in the White House to express condolences. For that, and so many other things that have made this world a better place for my children, you have my gratitude and my sympathy in your loss.

Semper Fidelis.

Oliver L. North

Dating 12/1



Charles, Arlen -
Your note means
a lot to me

Ag

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.

Ag Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable Arlen Specter
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510



PRESIDENT BUSH

ARLEN SPECTER
U. S. SENATOR, PENNSYLVANIA

NOVEMBER 29, 1992

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

I WAS VERY SORRY TO LEARN THAT YOUR MOTHER
HAD PASSED AWAY. EVEN AT 81, IT IS NEVER TIMELY.

JUAN & I WERE GLAD TO HAVE A CHANCE TO VISIT
BRIEFLY WITH YOU & BARBARA AT THE REPUBLICAN
SENATORS DINNER RECENTLY.

MR. PRESIDENT, YOU HAVE MADE A GREAT CONTRIBUTION
TO AMERICA & THE WORLD. THE 1992 ELECTION CANNOT
ALTER THAT.

MY BEST
ARLEN

Daily 12/1



Bob -
I am kind of
you - Sincerely
Ag Bush

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.

Ag Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

BOB CLEMENT
FIFTH DISTRICT
TENNESSEE

November 20, 1992

President George Bush
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Mary and I extend our heartfelt condolences
on the passing of your mother.

Early last month, I lost my youngest brother
and I know the heartache that you and the other
members of your family are feeling.

Our prayers are with you.

Sincerely,

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

Daily 12/1/92

Dear Scott & Margaret - Thanks
so very much
wonderful
a lot love -



for your
letter. It means
Sincerely.

P.S. Kathy continues to star !!

Ag B
12-1-92

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.

Ag Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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

Mr. and Mrs. Scott Wiedeman
136 Manor Avenue
Lancaster Manor, Pennsylvania 19047

Dear Mr. President,

We were very sorry to hear of
the death of your mother. Life is
precious, and especially that of
those so close. It should be some
consolation to you to know that
the decisions you made during
your presidency, particularly during
the Desert Storm conflict, spared
countless Americans the loss of
their loved ones. God Bless You.

Your loss is shared by so many
who care about you so much.

With Deepest Sympathy

K S 's 5/15/92

Sincerely,

Scott Wiedeman and Margaret Blumwiler

Salazar

Daily 12-1-92

So my thanks Ardeshir



All Best

Ag B

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.

Ag Bush

Barbara Bush

cc: (in & out)

Rose Zamaria (2cc)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable Ardeshir Zahedi
Villa Les Roses
1820 Veytaux Montreux
SWITZERLAND

FF

20 Nov 1992

Dear Mr President
I am terribly sad and shocked
this morning to hear the very sad news the
loss of your beloved mother.
I know very much how sad you are
knowing your feelings toward your beloved
one with love and pride. Specially such
a great wonderful mother. As 'Most
Important Person in your life'
I have lost a mother and I do understand
your feelings with, at the same time
we have to accept the will of God.
You are lucky to have such a great
body as your mother, and she

His

2

was lucky and proud to have such
unique human being and great statesman
like you as her son.

May I Mr President be permitted
to send you and your noble family
my deep sincere condolences and sympathy
and to tell you that I share your grief
May God Bless you and your noble
family
with affection admiration High regards
and Best wishes

Very Sincerely Yours

W E B DuBois

Washington D.C.

Daily 12192

Dear Esther - How kind
of you -



Love

By

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.

By Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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

Mrs. Richard A. Moore
The Watergate Hotel
Suite 617
2650 Virginia Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20037



THE WATERGATE HOTEL

November 23, 1992

Dear Mr. President,

My heart goes out to you on the loss of your darling Mother. I was fortunate to meet her several times and she was always so sweet and interested in what we were doing. I remember one time in particular when we were all in Kennebunkport and going by boat to visit the "YORKTOWN". She came with her nurse to wave goodbye wishing that she was going too. We hated to leave her.

How you all will miss her.

Affectionately,

Esther Moore

2650 Virginia Avenue, Northwest, Washington, D.C. 20037
Telephone (202) 965-2300 Fax (202) 337-7915 Telex 197691WAHO

A Forte Exclusive Hotel



Daily 12-1-97

Dear Hugh - Thanks so very
much. As you know
I was very close to
her so you better helped a lot
C



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.

Cy Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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

921201

Mr. J. Hugh Liedtke
Chairman of the Board
Pennzoil Company
Post Office Box 2967
Houston, Texas 77252-2967

J. HUGH LIEDTKE
POST OFFICE BOX 2967
HOUSTON, TEXAS 77252-2967

23 November 1992

Dear George,

I was deeply saddened to learn of your mother's death. While we all know that these events must eventually occur, we are never fully prepared. I am sure that you will find comfort in knowing that your mother's criticism of what is important in life will always be with you, your brothers and sister, your children and their children. She was a truly lovely woman who will be sorely missed by her many friends and admirers -

With warm regards,

Hugh

Daily 12-1-92

Dear Evie - Thanks for that
kind note.  It helped a lot.
I'll be back to Gene soon
on "Nilo" shooting Love *Ag*

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.

Ag Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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

Mr. and Mrs. Eugene F. Williams, Jr.
Nilo Plantation
Newton Road
Albany, Georgia 31707

DEAR GREGG,
Gent and I send
you our love and deepest
sympathy at this time of
your caring mother's death.
It must be a very sad time
for you and we wanted
you to know that you are
in our thoughts. She must
have been so very proud

Nilo Plantation
Newton Road
Albany, Georgia 31707

of you and I know she adored
you.

We have also been thinking
of you constantly since the
election - I cannot muster
enough words to tell you
how upset I am that you
are not going to be our
President for the next 4 years!
You are the best President
our country has ever had
or ever could have!

me

- please let to you + me -

- stay here -

dates - I think you would

given you some possible

to visit us - Gene has

will want to come here

We hope you and Gene

Nilo Plantation
Newton Road
Albany, Georgia 31707

COPIED & OUT)

Rose Zamaria (2cc)

Bonnie - Thanks, dear friend! Daily 12-1-92



Love

Gay

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.

Gay Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mrs. William C. Liedtke, Jr.
3 Longbow
Houston, Texas 77024

11/12
D.W.
Caul

Mrs. William C. Liedtke Jr.

Dearest Bob and George -

Not every one is
blessed with a mom
like Mrs. Bush - she
made a lasting, strong
impression on me -
and I was around
her only a short while.
We would all like to
be like her -

Much much love -

Bessie

Daily 12-1-92

Stuart - Thanks so very much
for your very
kind words,



Ag Bush

12-1-92

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.

Ag Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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

The Honorable and Mrs. Stuart Gerson
3 East Irving Street
Chevey Chase, Maryland 20815

3 East Irving Street
Chevy Chase, Maryland 20815
November 28, 1992

Dear Mr. President,

In the wake of the election, one spends a bit more time looking ahead than looking around. As Pam and I are away with the family for Thanksgiving, we can put aside for awhile things like looking for new jobs and planning an economic future, and think about the important people around us. One of those people is you, and to you we are most grateful for the opportunity that you have given both of us to serve in your administration. We also admire the strength and dignity you have shown in these difficult times, most recently with the death of your mother. You have our sincere condolences at this loss and, always our respect and friendship.

Sincerely,


Stuart Gerson

Daily 12-1-92

Larry - Thanks for that very
kind and thoughtful letter.
I know you know how
much I loved her



Sincerely, *Ay Bush*

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~cc. (in & out)~~
Rose Zamaria (2cc)

Mr. Laurence J. McQuillan
13726 Middlevale Lane
Silver Spring, Maryland 20906

13726 Middlevale Lane
Silver Spring, Maryland 20906
November 29, 1992

Dear Mr. President,

I just wanted you to know how sorry we all were that your mother died. This is one of those times when words fall far too short in offering any real comfort but I wanted you to know that she and you are in our prayers.

Although I had a chance to see her briefly at various times over the past few years, the one moment that is a vivid memory for me was when you went to visit her in Greenwich after first returning to Andover for remarks and a tree planting in 1989.

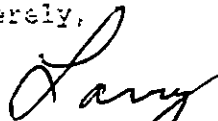
As you stood out in front of her house, I kept looking at your mother's face. She was beaming. I know she warned her children about false "pride," but her smile told how deeply proud she was of you. Sometimes an expression can say so much more than mere words.

So when you have a chance to sit back and think about the long list of accomplishments you've achieved over the years, don't forget to include the genuine pride you let your mother feel.

As one son to another, giving your mother a chance to feel that good has to be one of the best ways of thanking her for all the things she did for you.

Again, both you and she will remain in our prayers.

Sincerely,



Laurence J. McQuillan
Reuters

daily 12/1



Michael -
May thank
Ay Bush

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable Michael J. Bouchard
Senator of the State of Michigan
State Capitol Building
Lansing, Michigan 48913

8



OWB

The President

Senator Michael J. Bouchard
Michigan State Senate

11-20-92

Dear Mr. President,
I wanted to drop you a note with my
deep sympathy in the loss of your mother.
I know well how you feel and want you
to know you are in our thoughts and
prayers. Also Mr. President, while the
election was not as we worked for or
hoped - you still are very much a
winning American hero. God bless you
and Barbara. Warmly, Michael Bouchard



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Daily 12/1

The Honorable John R. Block
National-American Wholesale Grocers' Assn.
201 Park Washington Court
Falls Church, Virginia 22046



*Jack -
Thanks, my
friend -*

Ag

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.

Ag Bush

Barbara Bush

8 005

DWS

The Honorable - former Sec. of Agric

11-21-92

Mr. President -

JOHN R. BLOCK

I was sorry to read about the death of your mother. I lost my mother 3 years ago and it is always sad. You met my mother when you were on my farm and in fact on more than one occasion. You have given great service to the Country.
Best Wishes - Jack

daily 12/11



Bus -

Thanks a lot
my friend

Ag

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.

Ag Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable Emil Mosbacher, Jr.
170 Mason Street
Greenwich, Connecticut 06830

in true power in an extraordinary
and deep sympathy to you and
the family at this sad time.

Very truly,
Yours,
Wm. H. Mosbacher, Jr.

D.C.

Nov. 23, 1992

EMIL MOSBACHER, JR.

1992

Your mother was a great lady
and it was a privilege to have
known her.

Our very best to Bar, too —
with hope that we'll see you
both soon.

All the best,

Bar

daily
12/11



Lenore -
How kind
of you Love
AJ Bush

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.

AJ Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable and Mrs. Herbert Eugene Horowitz
3365 Rittenhouse Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20015

6

cc 5

The Honorable -

(12-10)

DWC

3365 Rittenhouse Street, N.W.
November 23, 1992

Dear Mr. President,

Let join me in sending Condolences
upon the loss of your Mother. Both of
us recall with pleasure her visit to
you in Peking during, I believe, the
holiday season of 1974. It was
my pleasure back to take Mrs.
Bach (along with your Aunt) to
see the old diplomatic quarter of
Peking and other quaint corners of the city.
(P.T.O.)

Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Eugene Morawitz

The three of us enjoyed the day
immensely, and it remains a fond
memory.

Mrs. Bush was a lovely lady.
Herb and I want you to know that
you have our deepest sympathy
at her passing.

Yours sincerely,
Gene Morawitz

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

daily 12/1

Mr. Henry G. Canada, Jr.
1631 Pomelo Drive
Venice, Florida 34293



Thank -
How kind of you
Ag Bush

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.

Ag Bush

Barbara Bush

Dear Mr. President

cc5

⁸
DWB I was sorry to hear of your mother's death. She and my Mom
were such good pals and bridge partners for over 50 years.

It was nice of you to call Reg Roome, and all of
the old guys of 1935 GCDs joins me in sending you,
Barbra and your family our deepest sympathy.

Good luck next year and especially good health

F.S. Ever

Hank

Henry G. Canda, Jr.
1631 Pomelo Dr.
Venice, FL 34293

date 12/1

Charles -



Thank so very
much. Sincerely,

Ay Bush

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. and Mrs. Charles Bierbauer
9408 Duxford
Potomac, Maryland 20854

November 23,

DWB

Dear President Bush,

Susanne and I send our
sincere condolences on the
passing of your mother.

We hope you and your
family find solace in the
warmth of the Thanksgiving
Season together.

cntr
CNW Correspondent

Sincerely,

Mr./Mrs Charles
Bierbauer

Charles -
Bierbauer

daily 12/1



Thanks so very
much, Joe —
Ag Bush

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.

Ag Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable Joseph M. Hood
Judge
United States District Court for
the Eastern District of Kentucky
Post Office Box 278
Pikeville, Kentucky 41502

Dear Mr. President,

Please accept my deepest
 sympathies on the death of
 your mother. I lost mine
 sixteen months ago, as I
 have some idea as to how
 deep of your sorrow.
 I will remember you
 mother in my prayers.

Very Truly yours,
 Joseph K. Hood

J. O. Box 278
 Pikeville, Kentucky 41502
 (606) 437-7338

The Honorable
 United States District Court
 Eastern District of Kentucky

11/24/92

Chambers of
 Joseph M. Hood
 Judge

11/24/92

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

daily 12/11

Ms. Barbara H. Colby
Apartment 1118
Prospect House
1200 North Nash Street
Arlington, Virginia 22209

Dear Barbara —



Your comforting
words about Mother
and the election
mean a lot to us
Love, *Gay* B

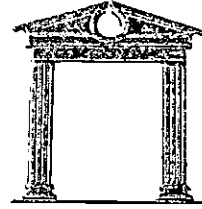
Thank you so much for your warm expression of sympathy. Your thoughts and prayers mean a lot to the entire Bush family. Dorothy Walker Bush was a caring and kind person and a loving mother, and we will miss her.

Gay Bush

Barbara Bush

5/
D.W.E.

20 November 1992



Dear President and Mrs. Bush,

This letter comes to offer
you my feelings of deep
sympathy in the death
of Mrs. Prescott Bush.

She lived nearly as long
a life as did my mother.

It is wonderful to reflect
on those two ladies carrying
on their very active lives
during nearly all of this
century, so markedly influencing

2/ Three generations - so far!

Yet it is especially poignant
that the President's mother
was stricken at this very
time when there was more
than enough disappointment
and sadness to bear.

? What to make of the
recent national events?

I say you both have fought
the good fight (quote!)...
You both are a CLASS ACT -
and millions of us respect
and love you for those qualities
which will be sorely missed
through the tough challenges

looming ahead.

(3)
With Thanksgiving coming
I just want to assure you
there are many of us who
are very thankful for the
President's guidance of our
country and the First Lady's
inspiration during these
past years. On short-term
thinking, it appears that the
Republican programs have been
jettisoned in order to take
a chance on change. Time
will tell, sooner or later!
But meantime, the President
is continuing to accomplish

4/ Long-standing objectives such
as resolution of the Vietnam issue.

Please accept my own
ferveat Thanks for the
consistently kind and warm
friendships you have
shown to me during
all these years.

With much affection
and admiration,

Barbara Colby

Please, no answer — The amount
of fan mail must be tremendous!

daily 12/1



*Thanks Clarence
Love to all*

Ag

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.

Ag Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

CLARENCE E. MILLER
OHIO

Dear Mr. President:

It is with deep regret that I
learned of your Mother's passing.

My prayers and thoughts are with
you. May God grant you the strength
and courage during this very difficult
time in your life.

I wish to extend my heartfelt
sympathy to you, Barb, and your
family. Take good care of each other.

Sincerely
Clarence

20 Nov. '92

daily 12/11

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable Meir Rosenne
President and Chief Executive Officer
State of Israel Bonds
Development Corporation for Israel
Suite 700
730 Broadway
New York, New York 10003



Dear Meir -
Thanks so very
much. Sincerely,
Ay Bush

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

The Honorable



DWB

AMBASSADOR MEIR ROSENNE
President &
Chief Executive Officer

20 November 1992

President George Bush
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Bush:

May I extend my sincere and heartfelt condolences upon the death of your beloved mother.

Your profound affection for her and your strong attachment to her are well known to me, and I can share your grief with much empathy, as one who has himself suffered the loss of parents.

Consolation for you may flow from an awareness of a long life well spent, and from beautiful memories of close and loving family ties.

I wish you well.

Most sincerely,

Meir Rosenne
Meir Rosenne

daily 12/11



*Thanks, Roy,
Thanks a lot*

67

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.

Gay Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable Roy M. Goodman
State Senator
Suite 2400
270 Broadway
New York, New York 10007

8

The Honorable

ROY M. GOODMAN
26TH DISTRICT

SUITE 2400 ☒
270 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10007
212-417-5563
FAX 212-417-5566

SUITE 708 ☐
LEGISLATIVE OFFICE BUILDING
ALBANY, N.Y. 12247
518-455-2211
FAX 518-455-2960



THE SENATE
STATE OF NEW YORK

SENIOR ASSISTANT MAJORITY LEADER

CHAIRMAN
COMMITTEE ON INVESTIGATIONS,
TAXATION, AND GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

CHAIRMAN
SENATE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON
THE ARTS AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS

Personal and Confidential

November 25, 1992

DWB

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

Determined NOT to be
National Security Classified Marking
By en (NLGB) on 01/30/25

Dear Mr. President:

I have just returned from a ten day trip to the
Middle East and have learned of your mother's death.
Please accept my deepest sympathy.

I have the most pleasant recollection of meeting
your mother at Kennebunkport in 1988. She was a gracious
and delightful lady whose strength of character and decency
are certainly reflected in her offspring.

My thoughts and prayers are with you in your
bereavement.

Sincerely,

Roy



Bart -

Thanks so
very much -

AJ B

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.

AJ Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. and Mrs. Bart Starr
Starr Sanders Properties
Suite 450
One Chase Corporate Drive
Birmingham, Alabama 35244



November 20, 1992

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

Dear Mr. President:

Regardless of age, the death of a parent is a big loss.

Cherry joins me in expressing our condolences over the death of your mother.

May the knowledge that millions more also have you in their thoughts and prayers serve as a source of strength during your bereavement.

Our best to Barbara.

Sincerely,


Bart Starr

BS/km

Daily 12/1



Dear Joe -
Thanks for
that comforting
letter -
C. Bush

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.

C. Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. Joe Hyams
540 North Beverly Glen Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90077

16 DWB — CC5

November 20, 1992

Dear President Bush,

One of the clear images in our book was of your mother reading aloud to her children passages from John Bailey's "A Book of Private Prayers."

That image was with me when I heard of her death. I know how devastated you must be, and I want to send you my heart felt condolence.

Sincerely,
Joe Hyams

comments
P-111
CC5

— name
on envelope

daily 12/1



Dear Carl + Susan

Thanks for yr letter, Carl. You know I loved her an awful lot

Sincerely, *Barbara Bush*

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.

Gay Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. Carl P. Leubsdorf
1501 33rd Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

§ —
DWB

CARL P. LEUBSDORF
1501 THIRTY-THIRD STREET N. W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20007

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

November 25, 1992

Dear Mr. President:

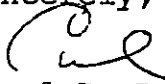
Susan joins me in extending our sincere sympathies to you on the death of your mother.

Knowing how close you felt to her, we recognize this would be a sad event under any circumstance. We can imagine it is even greater, coming so soon after the election.

Among the things we will always remember about the past few years are the personal kindnesses extended by you and Mrs. Bush, including the invitations each summer to the press picnics at your home in Kennebunkport. I was especially touched when you called me in the hospital last June after my heart attack.

So we wanted to extend both our sympathies and our best wishes for the future.

Sincerely,


Carl P. Leubsdorf

encl
Washington Bureau
Chief
The Dallas Morning
News

daily 12/1



Mickey -

Thanks to you +
Joyce for caring

Ag Bush

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.

Ag Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dr. and Mrs. Charles A. LeMaistre
1515 Holcombe Boulevard
Houston, Texas 77030

8 005

CHARLES A. LEMAISTRE, M.D.

November 20, 1992

DWB

Dear George and Barbara,

Joyce joins me in sending deepest condolences to you both and to the entire Bush family. We have known like sorrow and while your mother--like ours--lived a long and fruitful life, our days are still diminished by their deaths. Please know that you are in our thoughts and prayers.

Sincerely,

Mickey

The President and Mrs. Bush
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dr and Mrs

daily 12/11

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. and Mrs. James Blakeley
517 North Rodeo Drive
Beverly Hills, California 90210



To /
Margaret Tamm
Thanks so very
much -
Ag Bush

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.

Ag Bush

Barbara Bush

4

ONE

JAMES BLAKELEY
517 NORTH RODEO DRIVE
BEVERLY HILLS, CALIFORNIA 90210

Dear Mr. President:

What a terrible loss for you with the
passing of your wonderful mother.
We all share that of your whole family
father & have great memories when
I was invited to give the eulogies
family at their home on June 1st
and play tennis football with the boys
you kindly invited me to play we always
and intimate spirit and
sometimes a player.

We know how good you mother
must have been & after success
and we pray that the memories
of your happy years together will
bring you comfort in this very
difficult time.

Sincerely

May and James
Blakeley

November 13-1992

daily 12/1



Thanks, Ed,
thanks an awful
lot - Gay

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.

Gay Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. Edward O. Vetter
5333 Walnut Hill Lane
Dallas, Texas 75229

28
C. 5

EDWARD O. VETTER

5333 WALNUT HILL LANE

DALLAS, TEXAS 75229

DWIB

November 23, 1992

Dear George,

I was sorry to hear about your mother and my thoughts and prayers go with you and your family. You should take some comfort in the fact that at 91 she had led a full life. But I know, as in Mary's death, one always hopes that it just will never happen.

Now that we will be neighbors in Texas once more, I hope that we will keep in touch. I can easily get to Houston, but equally pleasant would be for you and Bar to come to Dallas for dinner at my house including old friends like the McKenzies.

All the best,

Ed

daily 12/11



Dear Susan
Thanks so very
much -
Ay Bush

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable Susan S. Weiner
Mayor of Savannah
Savannah, Georgia 31402

8



DWB

The Honorable

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR - CITY OF SAVANNAH

SUSAN S. WEINER, MAYOR

Nov. 21, 1992

Mr. President:

Having understood your commitment to the American Family and having seen the joys and blessings you enjoy from Barbara and your children, I can begin to appreciate the lessons you learned from your mother.

Please accept my sincere sympathy at your loss.

Susan S. Weiner

daily 12/1

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mrs. John L. Merrill
High Seas No. 1
Kennebunk, Maine 04043



Thanks, Tosie -
I enjoyed our
chance encounter
at Cape Breton

Ag

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.

Ag Bush

Barbara Bush

DIUB

JML

Dear Barbara and George,

I was so sad when I
heard about your Mother but
I was so pleased to have seen
her in church last summer.

I want to tell you about
a lovely memory I have of her.
Back in 1927 I had just won

The River Club tactics simple
and was playing with
Louis Walker in the mixed
doubles. We got to the
finals and met Dottie
and Press. Needless to say
they beat us but they
both were so nice to us
that I will never forget
it.

My heart goes out
to both of you and I
send my deepest sympathy
and I have a memory I
have never forgotten.

With much love,
Josie

November 23rd

daily 12/1



Thanks, Claude.
See you soon

By

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.

By Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Reverend Claude E. Payne, D.D.
Rector
Saint Martin's Episcopal Church
717 Sage Road
Houston, Texas 77056

DWB



717 SAGE ROAD HOUSTON, TEXAS 77056
THE REVEREND CLAUDE E. PAYNE, RECTOR
(713) 621-3040

Nov. 23, 1992

Dear Mr. President,

I was so sorry to hear about the loss of your mother. She lived a long and full life. Yet it is always difficult when the final time comes.

Please be assured of my prayers and concern for you and all of your family. And I know you will be strengthened in the knowledge that your mother is now in God's nearer and fuller presence.

Faithfully,

Claude Payne

THE REVEREND CLAUDE E. PAYNE, D.D.
RECTOR

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

daily 12/11

The Honorable Barry Goldwater
Post Office Box 1601
Scottsdale, Arizona 85252



Dear Barry - Thanks
for that very kind
note - I loved my
mother very much -

Barry known her, you know why.

Thanks for that kind letter. All's well

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

Barry Goldwater

P. O. BOX 1601
SCOTTSDALE, ARIZONA 85252

November 23, 1992

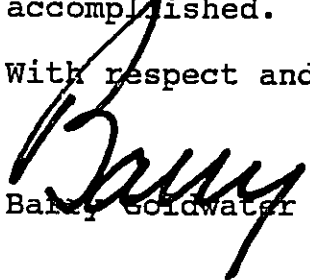
The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Two of the greatest enjoyments, and pleasures of my life, has been knowing your wonderful father, and your fabulous mother. To have lost her leaves a large gap in ones life.

My heartfelt sympathy goes out to you, and your family. You have a marvelous family. Everything you've done, the family has been to perfection. While you and I have had our little differences, never great, I'm extremely proud of you, your mother, father, and the things that all of you have accomplished.

With respect and admiration,


Barry Goldwater

Mrs. Ruth Mallek
1796 Valhalla Arch
Virginia Beach, Virginia 23454



THE PRESIDENT

12-1-92

Dear Ruth,

I loved your letter
faithfully passed on by
Kathy. Thanks for those
kind words and for the
terrific loyal support.

Barbara & I are now
looking forward to a new
quieter life, but will never
forget those like you who
have given us so much

Sincerely,

Ly B

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (2cc) ✓

Grand K.S.
wonder how
husband 4 yrs past
November 4, 1992

Dear Mr. President,

Thank you. Thank you for
the dignity with which you
conducted your Presidency.
We are certain that history
will honor you for your
administrations accomplishments.

My husband, George, and I
supported you and find it
difficult to rally behind
Bill Clinton and to support a
man whose moral fiber is
extremely questionable. The carved
statement on the mantel of State
Living Room (I believe that's where it is)
states it all.

Bill & Hillary do not represent

the ideals of the majority.
Character, trust and honor
are still the issues.

Thank you for your dedication
to these principles.

May God bless you and
your wonderful First Lady.

You have certainly allowed
your light to shine before men
throughout the world.

Many blessings to you
and the ones you hold
dear,

Most sincerely,

Ruth Mallett

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. William F. Buckley, Jr.
Editor-In-Chief
National Review
150 East 35th Street
New York, New York 10016



THE PRESIDENT

December 1, 1992

Dear Bill,

Many thanks for your kind note about the election. It was a tough campaign, but we are thankful for so many blessings -- among them our family and wonderful friends like you. Now, it's on to Houston and to spending time with the grandkids.

Barbara joins me in sending warm best wishes to you and Pat.

Sincerely, J

*Maybe I can go, by
back to Bohemia now!
I know High Street is out.*

RZ
IN+OUT

Wm. F. Buckley Jr. * 150 E. 35th St. * New York 10016

Nov 17 96

Hon George Bush
The White House

Dear Mr. President:

I know that your basket is overflowing, so please don't even think to acknowledge this note. Its purpose is to say that I voted for your reelection, but the tides ran strong against us, and the country is the loser^s. However much I and my colleagues disagreed with this & that aspect of you our administration, I never doubted the strength of your determination to do everything you could do for the republic. There were some very great moments, and these will stand in the memory of history, and of your friends, in whose company I am proud to list myself. Pat joins in affectionate greetings to you and Barbara.

As ever,

W.F.
Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

William F. Buckley Jr.
150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016

Linda Casey

November 20

Jan, I know our President will
want to see Bill Buckley's letter.
Thought you'd want to write a
short response to accompany.

Thanks.

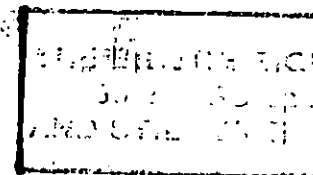
Linda Casey

FWJ-To

DOT

Wash DC. 20590

5-1
10200



SEE AT THIS

5

FROM MAILING LIST

NOT AT WHITE HOUSE



Mr. Preston C. Caruthers
Carfam II Associates, L.P.
Suite 225
333 South Glebe Road
Arlington, Virginia 22204

daily



THE PRESIDENT

12-1-92

Dear Preston,

Through David Bates
via Steve I saw your
letter to your fine son and
the poem.

I'm afraid I didn't
do a very good job
spelling out the differences

between me & the Governor.

You are right -
character really does
count.

It was nice seeing
you the other day. I
love your son as my own

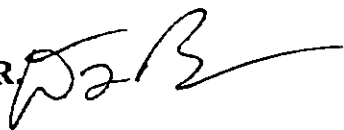
By B

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (2cc)
David Bates (FYI)

November 30, 1992

(703) 979-1331
FAX (703) 271-9294

TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DAVID Q. BATES, JR. 

RE: Attached Letter

Steve Caruthers thought you might want to see the attached letter from his father, which although maybe a bit pessimistic, is nevertheless very thoughtful.

your friend,

tature of our

esident Bush,
ently ignored

Mr. Clinton's
down turn in
e our country

I suspect it
sibility and

high standard

Carfam II Associates, L.P.

Suite 225, 333 South Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22204

(703) 979-1331
FAX (703) 271-9294

November 16, 1992

Dear Stephen:

I know how badly you feel about the defeat of your friend, President Bush. We all do. And we should.

America has taken a quantum step backward in the stature of our leaders.

The media, in its doctrinaire zeal to displace President Bush, grossly overstated our economic problems and conveniently ignored Clinton's character flaws.

As ever before the country will probably survive Mr. Clinton's economics but I fear we have taken a permanent down turn in acceptable moral and ethical behavior that will make our country forever poorer in spirit.

Democracies seem to have a way of committing suicide. I suspect it is because rights are pursued rather than responsibility and character.

I see President Bush as having tried to hold a high standard against a tide of greed and indifference.

Consider the following:

fact

When Character Ceases to Count

When honor and ethics count for naught,
And morals, ignored as frivolous rot;
Then strike the colors and mute the band,
Decay soon will level our once fair land.
When character doesn't count.

What do you teach;
What can you say;
To formative youth;
Who seek their way,
When character doesn't count?

When lies are condoned,
And morals decline,
Who sets the standard;
Who draws the line;
When character doesn't count?

Who grabs the flag;
And waves it high;
To rally the troops;
To do or die;
When character doesn't count?

Best with world strife,
To run asunder within,
Whose resolve saves the day;
When decline has set in,
If character doesn't count?

Frederic C. Garthwaite
November 1992

Daily 12-1-92



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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

His Excellency
Friedrich Hoess
Ambassador of Austria
3524 International Court, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008-3035

DWJ

*Embassy of Austria
Washington, D. C.*

The Ambassador

The President of
the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

November 23, 1992

Dear Mr. President,

It was with great sorrow that I learned about the passing away of you beloved mother.

Mrs. Bush led an exemplary life and served as a guiding spirit for many Americans. Her death leaves a big void both within the Bush family and throughout the country.

We share in your grief and offer our sincere condolences.

Yours truly,



Daily 12/1



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.

Gay Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable B. T. Collins
Member of the Assembly of the
State of California
Post Office Box 942849
Sacramento, California 94249-0001

8
CAPITOL OFFICE ADDRESS
STATE CAPITOL
P.O. BOX 942849
SACRAMENTO, CA 94249-0001
(916) 445-4445

The Honorable

Assembly
California Legislature

B.T. COLLINS
ASSEMBLYMAN, FIFTH DISTRICT

DISTRICT OFFICE ADDRESS
315 MAIN STREET
ROSEVILLE, CA 95678
(916) 969-3660



DWIS

19 Nov

Dear Mr President

I just heard about your Mom's
passing - You are never ready for this
moment. Even if she was 91 and even if
you are President.

She probably never forgave you for
being missing in action 50 years ago
But I think you probably made up for it
when you became President. Mine lived for
22 more years after she got my dummy
telegram.

Issue you made her deny when you married
Barbara - She sure has ~~the~~ her hand
sworn on right -

That doesn't put Rio de Janeiro into

perspective I'm think about all you

concepts who never got to do the thing

you did, have these great kids and these

grand kids - and who never got to make

the mother grand ... on and on again.

You got the rest of that count - the

one who love "Benny" through this

and Kim -

Just around, from the 52 yr old

back in the woods ... you made her very proud.

The biggest surprise -

Billie Jean, a fan -

Daily 12/1

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. Parker G. Montgomery
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer
Cooper Development Company
Suite 1300
55 East 59th Street
New York, New York 10022



THE PRESIDENT

December 1, 1992

Dear Parker,

As soon as I got your letter I checked with our personnel office only to find that there are no recess appointments I can make along the lines you suggest. Darn it all! I'm sorry.

It was great seeing you down here at the Blair House event. Thanks for your very kind words. We are winding down a lot of things right now, determined to get out of town with heads high, facilitating the transition and then focusing on an exciting future. Warm best wishes.

Sincerely,

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

PARKER G. MONTGOMERY

55 EAST 59TH STREET

SUITE 1300

NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022

TELEPHONE: 212 • 644 • 0404

Mr. President:

I've checked with Jan Naylor and she said neither of the appointments he suggests are available.

November 19, 1992

Personal and ~~Confidential~~

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

Determined NOT to be
National Security Classified Marking
By RM (NLGB) on 01/30/25

Dear Mr. President,

It was a great pleasure and honor to be present Monday night as you received the Benjamin Franklin Award for Outstanding Diplomatic Service. It was an even greater pleasure to see you looking so fit after a l o n g campaign and a short vacation.

At the end of the reception, it occurred to me that it might not be too late to join the ranks of The Council of American Ambassadors if there was an appropriate post at the U.S. Mission to the UN carrying the rank of ambassador open for a recess appointment. Perhaps your proposed appointment of Mrs. Evans as U.S. Representative to ECOSOC should she decline, etc., or Deputy U.S. Representative to ECOSOC might be available.

Although I am prepared to hang up my gloves, a few friends here in New York have suggested that I take a look at Moynihan's seat in the Senate in '94. Obviously, a rank of ambassador not only would give me recognition for many years of non-career service in the State Department, at the U.S. Mission to the UN, USTR, and on the Presidential Task Force on International Private Investment, but also provide the appropriate rank to oppose a former U.S. Representative to the United Nations.

Since, as you know, I currently serve as one of your Alternate Representatives of the United States of America to the Forty-Seventh Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations (gulp!), I have my FBI and other clearances fresh in hand.

Whatever the outcome, it has been a special honor to have been your supporter and friend since George Pfau recruited me in 1979 to place your name on the ballot for the Presidential Primary in California in 1980. God bless the United States of America and George Bush!

Warmest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,



THE WHITE HOUSE

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

Mr. Robert C. Macauley
President
AmeriCares Foundation
161 Cherry Street
New Canaan, Connecticut 06840



THE PRESIDENT

December 1, 1992

Dear Bob,

Thank so much for your caring words about my beloved mother. She was indeed a gracious lady and we all loved her so much. One thing's for sure, Mum is at peace in God's loving arms.

Bob, please understand how much I do appreciate your generous offer to work with AmeriCares. However, it is just too early to figure out what to do on so many wonderful requests like yours. You know I have a lot of respect for the great work AmeriCares has done, but I have decided not to make any commitments until I am officially out of office and have moved back to Houston. Again, my sincere thanks.

Warm regards,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "Bill Clinton", written over the words "Warm regards,".

cc-5

Case 3.

AmeriCares



161 Cherry Street New Canaan CT 06840

203-966-5195

1-800-486-HELP

Fax: 203-972-0116

Fax: 203-966-7945

Telex: 6974609 AMCARES

November 22, 1992

Honorary Chairman

Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski

Founder and Chairman

Robert C. Macauley

President

Stephen M. Johnson

Executive Vice Presidents

Charles R. Chandler

Financial Supervision

Andrew L. Hannah

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Secretary

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Louis F. Bantle

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Thomas J. Flatley

President, The Flatley Company

Robert W. Galvin

Chairman, Executive Committee, Motorola

Gordon J. Humphrey

United States Senate (1979-1990)

Sol M. Linowitz

Senior Partner, Coudert Brothers

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Former Secretary of the Treasury

Medical Advisory Board

Burton J. Lee III, M.D.

Physician to the President

The White House

William Pyka, M.D.

Alfred Jurzykowski Foundation, Inc.

Stuart H. Q. Quan, M.D.

Memorial Sloan Kettering Cancer Center

David M. Reed, M.D.

Assistant Clinical Professor of Surgery

New York Medical College

Stamford, Connecticut

The Honorable George H.W. Bush

The White House

1600 Pennsylvania Avenue

Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Many sad thoughts on a rainy afternoon in Connecticut --

The first being a great degree of sadness at your Mother's passing. I have such fond memories of her, going all the way back to our G.C.D.S. days during the thirties; and then, the many pleasant hours that I spent with her during our mutual incarcerations at the Greenwich Hospital during the autumn of 1985. I was confined there for a couple of months following our trip to Africa, and your Mom was suffering from her back ailment which seemed to plague her for so many years. I will always recall her as probably the most gracious Lady I have ever met in my life. So please know that we share in your sadness.

One more thought, if I may: I am sure that you have not yet decided which of the many opportunities that are open to you you will accept. I am told that the presidency of Yale is one amongst the many -- but somehow, I can't see you as a glorified fund-raiser at this point in your life.

I just wanted to mention the thought of some participation in AmeriCares for your consideration:
doubtless you will recall that when I came to you,
way back in 1982, with the idea of starting AmeriCares, and trying to ship medicines to Poland, you were very instrumental in making this possible. At that time, our goal was \$50,000 worth of medicines for Warsaw.

The Honorable George H.W. Bush
November 22, 1992
Page 2

But that \$50,000 to one country has now expanded to 73 countries, and a week or so ago we passed the \$600,000,000 mark. Obviously, a truly private voluntary humanitarian organization is an idea whose time has come.

Our budget for this year alone is \$254,000,000, and I believe that we will make it. But my financial people have stated, unequivocally, that they can see the possibility of increasing this to a figure of \$1,000,000,000 per year; a force for good, all over the world.

I am exactly the same age as you are, but somehow, my health is not as robust as that which you continue to manifest. For that reason, any position at AmeriCares, including that of Chairman, and Chief Executive Officer would be yours for the asking. The requisite amount of time to be spent here in Connecticut would be minimal, on your part, and were you to reside in Houston, that would not be a problem, either. Were there to be any interest on your part in an association with AmeriCares, I would be happy to come to Washington and brief you further, or to send you any additional data which could be of interest. //

Mr. President, please know that our thoughts and prayers are with you and Bar now, as always.

Yours,

Bob

RCM/aml

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

PRESIDENT BUSH

DECEMBER 1st, 1992

	TIME		NAME	ACTION
	PLACED	DISC		
~~OUT~~ XXX	11:20 AM	11:22	MRS. PATRICIA A. PRESOCK OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN EXT. 845	TLKD-OK 11:21 A.M.
INC	PM			
~~OUT~~ OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
~~OUT~~ XXX	11:40 AM	11:43	MR. HOWARD H. BAKER, JR. OFC: HUNTSVILLE, TN. 615-663-2321	CLEARED BY MRS. ROBIN A. MAC LEAN 11:40 A.M. TLKD-OK 11:40 A.M.
INC	PM			
~~OUT~~ OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
~~OUT~~ XXX	2:10 PM	2:12	MRS. DOROTHY KOCH RES: BETHESDA, MD. 301-229-4594	TLKD-OK 2:10 P.M.
INC	PM			
~~OUT~~ OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
~~OUT~~ XXX	2:47 PM	2:48	MR. DAVID Q. BATES, JR. OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN EXT. 626	TLKD-OK 2:48 P.M.
INC	PM			
~~OUT~~ OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
~~OUT~~ XXX	5:26 PM	5:31	REVEREND BILLY GRAHAM FT. LAUDERDALE, FL. 305-525-4000	TLKD-OK 5:26 P.M.
INC	PM			
~~OUT~~ OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
~~OUT~~ XXX	8:23 PM	8:33	MR. GEORGE W. BUSH RES: DALLAS, TX. 214-692-6604	TLKD-OK 8:23 P.M.
INC	PM			

WASHINGTON

DECEMBER 1st, 1992

[illegible]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM
SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD

December 1, 1992

	TIME		NAME	ACTION
	PLACED	DISC		
XXX	AM		Conference Call: President Carlos Saul Menem Buenos Aires, Argentina 806-9477	Tlkd-ok 1:17 PM
INC	12:50 PM	1:31		
OUT	AM		Mr. Ralph H. Sigler White House Situation Room White House Signal 7-2264	
INC	PM			
OUT	AM		Mr. Robert B. Morley White House Situation Room White House Signal 7-2262	
INC	PM			
OUT	AM		Ms. Roseanne M. Hill White House Situation Room White House Signal 7-2262	
INC	PM			
OUT	AM		Ambassador Charles A. Gillespie White House Situation Room White House Signal 7-2262	
INC	PM			
OUT	AM		Ms. Patsy Arizu White House Situation Room White House Signal 7-2262	
INC	PM			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			

PRESIDENTIAL MOVEMENTS

LOCATION Washington, D.C.

DATE 1 December 1992

TIME

MOVEMENTS

[illegible]

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



PRESIDENT

December 1, 1992

Dear Mr. Swanberg,

Thanks so much for your kind words and most gracious offer to stay at your bay house in Port Mansfield and to go fishing. You hit a soft spot with me when you speak of the best red fishing and speckled trout fishing.

Barbara and I will be heading back to Houston on January 20th and don't know what our plans will be thereafter, but we will certainly keep your wonderful invitation in mind. Again, thanks for thinking of us. With warmest best wishes, — *your letter made my day!!*

Virgil —
we are taking your advice
"Looking to the future"

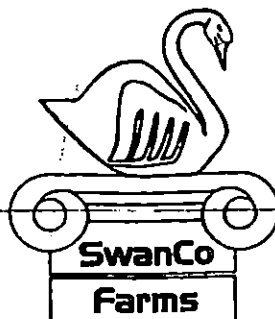
Sincerely,

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. Virgil Swanberg
SwanCo Farms
Route 2, Box 301-B
Lyford, Texas 78569

16
S Green

SwanCo



Farms

Rt. 2 Box 301-B

Lyford, TX 78569

512/743-5694

*Any
interest
Rose Zamora*

November 14, 1992

The Honorable George Bush
President United States of America
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Bush,

I am a 59 year old cotton and grain farmer. I live and farm about 50 miles north of Brownsville, Texas in the Rio Grande Valley of Texas at Raymondville.

You have done much for me and the American farmer and it was a sad day when "Slick Willey" and "Ozone" beat us out for the Presidency. I say us because I too feel a part of your American Dream. A dream that we may never see the likes of again. Mr. Bush, let "by gones" be "by gones" and let us look to the future.

Occasionally, I know that you come to south Texas to hunt. I also know that you like to fish. Mr. Bush, I have a real nice house at Port Mansfield which is about 24 miles East of Raymondville, Texas on the Gulf of Mexico. The red fishing and speckled trout fishing is the best on the whole Texas gulf coast. You need a chance to relax, and I am offering you my bay house to use any time at your discretion, free of charge. I will even take you out fishing myself and show you what fishing is all about. It is a real thrill to hook on to 28" red fish.

Mr. President, thank you from the bottom of my heart for a job well done and for all of the years devoted to the betterment of America. I am not kidding, when you get moved back to Houston, give me a call and lets set up a fishing trip.

Sincerely,

Virgil
Virgil Swanberg

SWANCO



Farms

Rt. 2 Box 301-B

Lyford, TX 78569

512 743-5694

VIRGIL E. SWANBERG

THE WHITE HOUSE
MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE

DAILY PRESS CLIPPINGS

TUESDAY, December 1, 1992

Mrs. Bush	(in folder)
Susan Porter Rose	
Julie Cooke	
Anna Perez	
Joan DeCain	
Laurie Firestone	
Ann Brock	
Sondra Haley	
Jean Becker	
Sally Runion	
Jane Moore	
Peggy Swift	
Anne Griffith	Room 98 OEOB
Diana Kellogg	Room 157 OEOB
Secretary Baker	West Wing
Marlin Fitzwater	West Wing
Constance Horner	West Wing
Dennis Ross	West Wing
Margaret Tutweiler	West Wing
Steve Provost	Room 118 OEOB
Patty Presock	Residence
Gregg Petersmeyer	Room 100 OEOB
Shirley Green	Room 94 OEOB
Karen Connell	Room 58 OEOB
Carol Powers	West Wing
Marguerite Sullivan	Room 268 OEOB
Carolyn Washington	Room 268 OEOB
Benita Somerfield	hold one copy
First Lady Detail	Staircase
Chronological Files	
Event Files	(originals)

Mon 30-Nov-92 16:52 EST

Capitol Christmas Tree Arrives

WASHINGTON (AP) - Talk about gridlock in Washington.

Several streets here were shut Monday morning as the Capitol Christmas tree, protected by a seven-car police motorcade, made its way across town.

Its status as the most celebrated tree in the nation's capital will be short-lived. The White House Christmas tree always gets more attention, and first lady **Barbara Bush** will put the top ornament on it Tuesday.

The 62-foot, white spruce bound for the Capitol and 60 smaller trees distributed at federal buildings around town were cut in Minnesota's Chippewa National Forest and packed onto a flatbed. Their three-day trip east included an appearance in Chicago's Thanksgiving parade.

"The trip was fine except for those dirty rats in Pennsylvania that got us for \$266 to use their tollway," complained driver Dick Wille.



By Brian Kratzer, The Register-Guard via AP
WHITE HOUSE TREE: Grower Bob Kintigh presents a grand fir to Barbara Bush today.

'Official' Christmas trees hit D.C.

Barbara Bush today welcomes the White House Christmas Tree, an 18½-foot grand fir to be displayed in the Blue Room. The tree will be lighted Monday. Other trees:

► The National Christmas Tree — a live, 38-foot Colorado blue spruce transplanted to the Ellipse facing the White House. President Bush will light it Dec. 10.

► The Capitol Christmas Tree — a 62-foot white spruce to be lighted Dec. 9 on the Capitol's west lawn — arrived Monday from Minnesota's Chippewa National Forest.

— *Betsy Miner*

Written by Paul Leavitt. Contributing: Sandra Sanchez

VIP treatment in D.C.

By CHRIS BARNETT

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Stan Bromley treats dogs and kids better than many hoteliers treat their grown-up guests.

Check into the Four Seasons in Washington with your pooch, and Fido gets a VIP (Very Important Pet) gift — a bowl filled with dog biscuits — and a welcome note from Stan.

When first lady Barbara Bush came for tea, first pooch Millie got a string of faux pearls to match the strands favored by her mistress.

"Mr. Bromley's very kid-conscious," says head concierge Javier Loureird. "He likes to send them 'the works' — balloons, stuffed animals, candy. He's not very health conscious."

Adults who bunk at the 202-room garden-style hotel in the chic Georgetown neighborhood get the royal carpet greeting — even when they're sweating. Shortly after Bromley took the helm, he installed a true-state-of-the-art health club fit for a sultan or a senator. And both breeds work out here.

All Stairmasters, stationary bikes, even the treadmills have their own personalized color TV, VCR and stereo tape player with remote control and headphones. You burn calories and watch a video, a ball game or the news and never disturb anyone else.

And while some hotel health clubs have ice water or maybe juice for sale, Bromley has pitchers of fresh-squeezed orange juice, Crystal Light, Gatorade, coffee, tea, Evian — yours free for the pouring.

What more? Local telephone

calls, a comfy couch, smart staffers, a lap pool, weight room — all gratis. Some hotels actually charge guests to use their health club. Not here. It's all part of Bromley's vow that "Every traveler should feel like they're the only guest in my big home."

Rarely does a hotel general manager talk that folksy, but then Bromley doesn't fancy himself a GM. "I'm a butler," he says. "Most hoteliers would be ashamed to

"In this business, we're going to make mistakes, but it is how you handle them that saves you."

STAN BROMLEY

say that — it sounds a little demeaning — but I'm proud of it. I'm here to serve you."

Bromley says he learned his trade from three mentors: Pat Foley, former chairman of Hyatt Hotels, now chairman of DHL Express; San Francisco restaurateur Dennis Berkowitz; and the legendary Jim Nassikas, who once owned and managed the Stanford Court Hotel in San Francisco, where Bromley worked 22 years ago.

Remembers Nassikas: "Stan is highly sensitive to the monumentally magnificent trivialities — the details — and that makes him a great hotelier."

So what does Bromley do for a dog-tired executive who crashes at

the Four Seasons during a grueling trip?

Forget the room-service club sandwich. He orders a pizza from Gepetto's in Georgetown and sends it up to the room with a plate of gigantic chocolate-chip cookies and a glass of milk. Now that's a home away from home.

What's more, Bromley's like a CIA agent who seems to know his guest's every move, every personal preference.

"Who else," asks Vanity Fair publisher Ron Galotti, "would send you a note that says he was offended to learn you stayed in another Washington hotel? How did he even know I was in town?"

Galotti, who roams the world, considers Bromley a "first-class hotelier because he makes you feel special. He cares that you're comfortable. He cares that you come back and stay with him."

And he protects the one thing his high-profile guests treasure most — their privacy.

When Donald Trump and Marla Maples had a spat near the lobby and she threw her engagement ring at him, the tiff was recorded by the security cameras. Yet despite heavy pressure from the press — and payoff promises by the "reality TV" shows, Bromley destroyed the videotape.

He also spent an extra \$10,000 of Four Seasons money on security to shield husband/wife actors Bruce Willis and Demi Moore from fans and groupies after a Washington radio station held a "Bruce and Demi" search and revealed their whereabouts.

Bromley is the first to admit that even the most carefully managed hotels can have foul-ups. And he's had a few doozies.



Lisa Berg

PERSONAL GREETINGS: Stan Bromley (right) welcomes guests at the Four Seasons Hotel in Washington D.C.

Once two couples checking out of the hotel went to the airport with the wrong suitcases; one went to Atlanta, the other to New York. Realizing the mix-up an hour later and recovering one set of bags, Bromley dispatched bellman Houston Stevens to Manhattan to personally deliver the correct suitcases and make an in-person apology. Stevens flew on the shuttle in uniform and arrived at the guest's midtown office 30 minutes after she did.

Not every glitch has a happy ending. A prototype package was accidentally tossed by an overzealous room maid.

"We had people scavenging the dumpsters looking for it but it was never recovered. The guest was remarkably understanding."

To make amends on his next visit, Bromley personally met the guest at the airport in a limo,

whisked him to Baltimore to catch an Orioles game at the city's new Camden Yard ballpark and had a bag of goodies for him to munch on in the back seat.

"In this business, we're going to make mistakes," he says, "but it is how you handle them that saves you."

Still, he couldn't be making too many mistakes. Since he took command, the hotel has won a five-diamond rating — Washington's only hotel to receive one — from the American Automobile Association, no small feat.

Now he's shooting for Mobil's coveted five stars. Until then, Stan Bromley will be content with burying diamond rings in caviar (helping a guest announce his engagement) and picking the lint balls off terry-cloth robes for Jordan's King Hussein and other visiting royalty.

The Nation Continued

Even for Ordained Women, Church Can Be a Cold Place

By ARI L. GOLDMAN

IN the business world, women often complain about "the glass ceiling," that invisible barrier that impedes their progress up the corporate ladder. In the religious world, women call it "the stained glass ceiling," a barrier that many contend is thicker, more opaque and less permeable.

The stained glass ceiling, they say, has kept them from the top jobs in the church and often from the pulpit itself. Some add that it has also kept churches from recognizing their special needs as women.

In the last few weeks there have been some notable cracks in the stained glass ceiling. The Anglican churches in England and Australia voted to depart from centuries of tradition and accept women as priests. The churches joined 12 of the 28 self-governing Anglican bodies, including the Episcopalians in the United States, that ordain women.

In the United States, a more ambiguous event took place when the American bishops of the Roman Catholic Church decided not to adopt a pastoral letter on women that they had labored on for nearly a decade. Proponents of women's ordination rejoiced because the discarded letter included an affirmation of Vatican teaching that only men can be ordained.

"This is more than just a great time for women," said Ruth McDonough Fitzpatrick, the national coordinator of the Women's Ordination Conference, based in Fairfax, Va. "It is a great time for the church."

But other Catholics, like Helen Hull Hitchcock, said that Ms. Fitzpatrick was seriously misreading the bishops' actions. "She's just trying to coattail on the Anglican project," said Mrs. Hitchcock of the St. Louis-based Women for Faith and Family, which opposes the ordina-

tion of women. "To see this as an opening to women's ordination is a serious misreading."

The debate over the ordination of women has also proven to be an opportunity for a reassessment among the numerous Protestant churches that have ordained women for decades. "The prejudice against women doesn't end with ordination," said the Rev. Joan Brown Campbell, the general secretary of the National Council of Churches, which represents 32 denominations, most of which ordain women.

Secondary Positions

Dr. Campbell noted that many women ordained as Protestant clergy find that they are hired as assistant or associate pastor but are not promoted to senior positions. Many languish in hospital chaplaincies where they feel they are not putting to use much of what they learned in seminary. Some women rabbis report similar obstacles.

As an experienced ecumenist, Dr. Campbell stopped short of telling the Catholics what to do. The Catholics are not members of her council, but nine Orthodox denominations that do not ordain women are part of the ecumenical group.

"I think we are living in a time when the possibilities for women being taken seriously are being expanded," she said. "And we have to recognize that that won't always result in ordination."

When the Anglican bishops in England decided on Nov. 11 that, in their judgment, God wanted women to be priests, the Vatican fired off a critical response, saying that the move posed "a grave obstacle" to the long-sought goal of reconciliation between the denominations.

On Nov. 18, America's 300 Catholic bishops met in Washington to consider the fourth and final draft of the women's pastoral letter. The letter, the bishops' highest



John Robert Young/Gamma-Liaison

form of teaching document, had been buffeted for years by the left and the right.

The liberals were unhappy because, among other reasons, the letter had gone from a first draft that endorsed a study of the role of women as deacons — an ordained position just short of the priesthood — to a final draft that endorsed the teaching of the church that women cannot serve in ordained roles.

The conservatives were unhappy because the letter, even in revision, did not condemn "radical feminists" and endorsed introducing liturgical language that is inclusive of both men and women.

Margaret O'Brien Steinfels, the editor of *Commonweal*, a liberal, lay-edited Catholic magazine, said that she was happy to see the demise of the letter because, over its history, it "turned from the concerns of women to the concerns of the Vatican."

But Sister Sara Butler, an associate professor at Mundelein Seminary in Mundelein, Ill., who was a consultant to the bishops committee that drafted the letter, said that the pressure for change did not come from the Vatican, but from Catholic women, who "wanted a clearer explanation of how the church can proclaim women as fully equal on the one hand and continue to reserve priestly ordination for men."

Those who support church teaching explain that since Jesus had only men as apostles, only men can serve as priests. They also say that since Jesus and the church are described as being in a spousal relationship, with Jesus as the bridegroom and the church as the bride, only a man can represent Jesus in the mass.

Advocates of women's ordination are quick to reply that, employing the same logic, the church should teach that only Jews should be

priests, since all of Jesus' disciples were Jews.

Conservatives, however, believe that the change will never come about. At the bishop's meeting in Washington, Auxiliary Bishop Austin B. Vaughan of New York said: "In the year 2000, 20000 or 2000000000, there will still be a Catholic Church and it will still have an all-male clergy. A woman priest is as impossible as for me to have a baby."

Educator Cites Need to Keep Higher Education Affordable

By KAREN DE WITT

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 30 — A major challenge for higher education in the 1990's is to keep college open, accessible and affordable to students from all economic circumstances and backgrounds, the president of Harvard University said today.

In a speech at the National Press Club, Neil L. Rudenstine, Harvard's president since July 1991, said that stagnating family income, not just rising tuition costs, had made the cost of higher education more difficult today than at any other time in the past two decades.

"What has changed is not so much the relationship between tuition and

inflation," Dr. Rudenstine said. "The real change has been more recent: family incomes have been growing more slowly." From 1980 to 1991, college tuition rose 135 percent, while family income rose 67 percent.

Large amounts of student financial aid, not low tuition and fees, is what brought increasing numbers of middle- and low-income students into private colleges and universities beginning in the 1960's, Mr. Rudenstine said. Federal grants, student loan programs, state grants and aid programs all contributed to an expansion of the pool of students that could afford to go to private colleges and universities, he said.

Disturbed by Borrowing

As those programs have shrunk, he said, students have had to rely more on borrowing large sums for their college education, a trend he termed "disturbing."

At Harvard, he noted, two-thirds of all undergraduates receive financial aid to help them meet the university's \$23,500-a-year fees. Such assistance allows for ethnic and economic diversity, he said, adding that the middle-class groups, though experiencing a slight decline in the 1980's, "remain strongly represented."

A recent survey of 30 private colleges and universities, he said, showed that they collectively awarded scholarships to about 42 percent of their undergraduates in 1991, with an average grant of \$10,700.

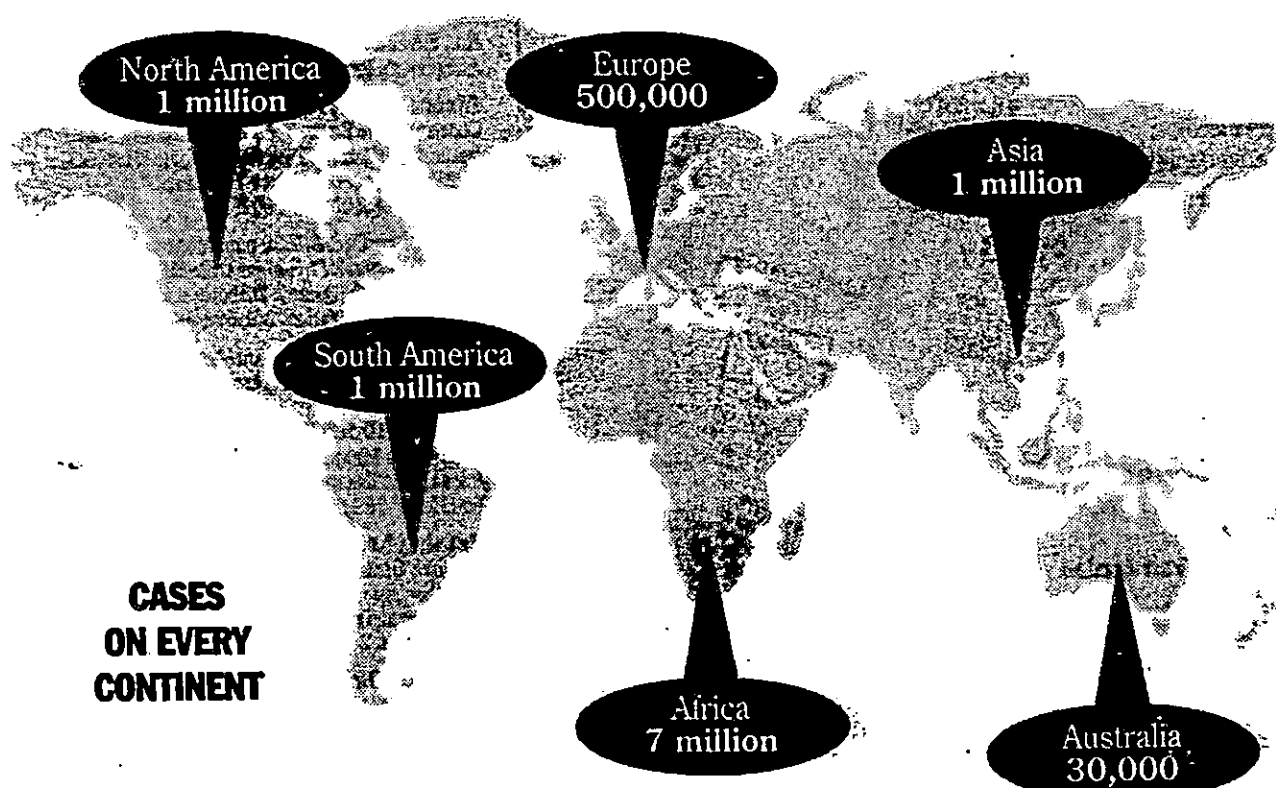
Dr. Rudenstine said that colleges and universities, including Harvard, now provide a larger share of scholarship aid than in the past, but that many are under financial strains themselves.

Hope for Creative Solutions

He said the future economic health of the nation was contingent upon expanding the higher education of citizens. Creative solutions to improving financial access to and the quality of higher education will have to come from public and private sources, he said.

He cited the G.I. Bill as an example of how millions of World War II veterans received a college education they otherwise would not have gotten and said that continued financial aid provided the "most effective way of promoting educational opportunity for students from low-and-middle-income families."

How AIDS Affects the World



—THE WASHINGTON POST

By Catherine O'Neill
Special to The Washington Post

One morning, David noticed a woman riding in his Metro car who wore a small loop of red ribbon pinned to her jacket. "I wonder what that means," he thought. He decided to ask his teacher. David's first class that day was geography. Before class started, David asked the teacher his question.

"That red ribbon you saw is a sign that the woman is concerned about people with AIDS. It is also a symbol of hope that a way to heal people with AIDS will be found," David's teacher explained. "Now let's start our geography lesson." David's teacher put a large map of the world up on the board. "Let's review the names of the continents," he said. But David was still curious about AIDS. He asked his teacher, "Are people in other countries concerned about AIDS, too?"

"Yes," David's teacher said. "People all over the world are concerned." David's teacher is right. And today—Dec. 1, 1992—is a good day to remember that AIDS is a global problem. That's because today is World AIDS Day.

World AIDS Day, supported by the United Nations, the World Health Organization, the Department of Health and Human Services and other international groups, is a day to learn more about AIDS, to show support for people who are sick or infected with HIV, the virus that causes AIDS, and to remember people who have died because of this disease. Today is the fifth annual World AIDS Day.

People in some 180 countries around the

world will observe World AIDS Day. In the District, the White House will dim its lights as a symbol of America's commitment to fighting AIDS and as a tribute to those who have died because of AIDS. The lights will dim for 15 minutes beginning at 7:45 this evening.

According to the American Association for World Health, which is coordinating the U.S. observance, up to 12 million people around the world are infected at this time and about 2 million have developed the disease.

On the world map, after the students had identified the continents, David's teacher wrote some numbers. On North America, he wrote "1 million." On South America, he wrote "1 million." On Africa, he wrote "7 million." On Europe, he wrote "500,000." On Asia, he wrote "1 million." On Australia, he wrote "30,000."

"These numbers are estimates of how many adults on these continents are infected with HIV," he explained. "The numbers show that HIV and AIDS is a worldwide problem."

Here are some of the points he made:

- AIDS is a disease caused by HIV. The disease breaks down the body's immune system. People with AIDS easily develop other very serious illnesses, including pneumonia, tuberculosis and certain cancers.

- People contract the HIV virus from: 1) having unprotected sexual intercourse with someone who has the virus already; 2) sharing needles or other equipment used to inject drugs with people who are infected with the HIV virus. If kids don't have sex, and don't inject drugs, they are not at risk.

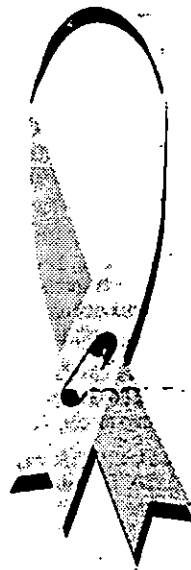
Continued →

- Sadly, babies born to mothers who have HIV may be infected with the virus.
- You can't get AIDS from "casual contact" with people, like hugging, shaking hands or sitting next to someone at a movie.

"Thinking about AIDS is scary," David's teacher said. "Often, the best thing to do when you're scared of something is to learn more about it. That's what we did in class today."

For You to Do

The loop of red ribbon that David saw has become a powerful symbol. The idea came from a project called "Visual AIDS" based in New York City. The ribbons are NOT meant to be sold to raise money. They are given away free, or people can make them themselves. These instructions come from the Visual AIDS project. Cut a 6-inch length of 5/8-inch-wide red ribbon. (The best kind to use is polyester, because the color won't run in the rain and stain your clothing.) Fold the ribbon into an upside-down V-shape with the ends crossed. Pin the ribbon to your clothes with a safety pin.



Tips for Parents

Talking about HIV and AIDS with young children can be a formidable task. What's appropriate? How much detail is too much? The book "Does AIDS Hurt? Educating Young Children About AIDS" by Marcia Quackenbush and Sylvia Villareal, MD, first published in 1985, has just been updated. A valuable tool for teachers and parents, the book includes facts about HIV and AIDS, strategies for home and classroom discussions and a timeline that explains what kids want to know and when. To order, call ETR Associates at 1-800-321-4407. "Does AIDS Hurt?" costs \$14.95. For general information or help, you can call a hotline. The national number is 1-800-342-AIDS; in the District 202-332-AIDS; Maryland 1-800-638-6252; Virginia 1-800-533-4148. For details about worldwide efforts to deal with AIDS, write: The American Association for World Health, 1129 20th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Catherine O'Neill is a children's writer.

New Drug Cleared for AIDS Patients

Associated Press

RESEARCH TRIANGLE PARK, N.C., Nov. 30—The Food and Drug Administration has approved the sale of a drug to treat a type of pneumonia that afflicts 80 percent of all AIDS victims, Burroughs Wellcome Co. announced today.

The drug, atovaquone, with the brand name Mepron, will be recommended for people who cannot take the drug trimethoprim-sulfamethoxazole to treat mild to moderate cases of pneumocystis carinii pneumonia or PCP.

"Early access and rapid approval of atovaquone mean survival for thousands of people living with AIDS who face the life-and-death consequences of PCP," said David Peck, an AIDS activist.

Peck represented ACT-UP-Boston and groups nationwide in negotiations with Burroughs Wellcome to make atovaquone widely available before FDA approval. Since November 1991, more than 900 people have received it free under FDA controls.

Burroughs Wellcome is also the manufacturer of AZT, the most commonly used drug to delay the

onset of and moderate many symptoms of AIDS.

PCP is the most common and often the first infection to develop in people afflicted by the human immunodeficiency virus, and recurrences are common.

Up to 50 percent of AIDS victims cannot take trimethoprim-sulfamethoxazole because of side effects including rashes, lowered white blood cell counts, fever, nausea and vomiting.

Mepron has also received a notice of compliance from Canada's Health Protection Branch. It is the first medication to receive a joint, integrated review by the FDA and the Canadian agency, Burroughs Wellcome said.

In August 1990, Burroughs Wellcome initiated the largest controlled clinical trial of PCP involving 322 patients at 37 sites across the country and in Canada and Europe.

The most common side effects from the drug are headache, nausea, diarrhea, rash, fever and elevated liver enzymes.

Two California researchers involved in the studies called the drug a good alternative.

"This provides an additional op-

tion for people who do not do well on conventional therapies. It's basically for rescue therapy," said Sam Bozzette, assistant natural scientist at the RAND Corp. in Santa Monica and assistant professor of medicine at the University of California at San Diego School of Medicine.

"Certainly I think it's going to be a very useful alternative," said Sharon Safrin, assistant professor of medicine and epidemiology at the University of California at San Francisco. She was the principal investigator in the studies at San Francisco General Hospital.

Burroughs Wellcome said it would place a cap on the annual cost of Mepron for uninsured patients who take more than 411 grams a year. Starting Jan. 1, patients who use more than that amount in a year will be allowed to receive up to 684 additional grams at no cost during the same year.

The company's price to a wholesaler for 411 grams of Mepron is about \$3,500.

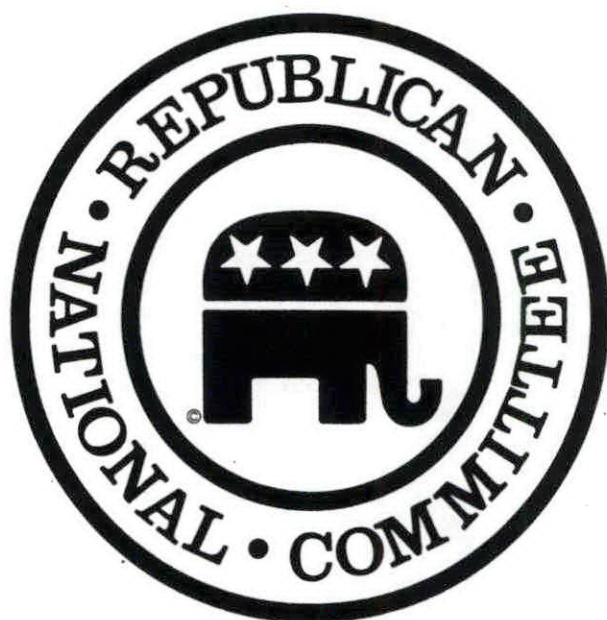
Burroughs Wellcome is a subsidiary of the Wellcome Foundation Ltd., an international pharmaceutical company based in London.

DATE: DECEMBER 1, 1992

CONTACT: KEITH WRIGHT

PRESS: 863-8550

THE DAILY NEWS SUMMARY



Bush to settle food label squabble

ASSOCIATED PRESS

To resolve a dispute between Cabinet secretaries, President Bush will decide how much Americans know about the foods they eat from the package labels.

Mr. Bush met with Agriculture Secretary Edward Madigan and Health and Human Services Secretary Louis Sullivan yesterday to hear why they disagree on key elements of the new labels, which are supposed to appear by May.

"There are about a half-dozen major decisions that are outstanding on the regulations," presidential spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said after the meeting. "The president will decide them."

"What you get down to is a subjective kind of judgment about what is understandable, what is the best kind of information to give people regarding food products," Mr. Fitzwater said.

The Bush administration was supposed to have published the labeling rules by Nov. 8 to meet a legal requirement that the new labels be in place by a May deadline. Officials have indicated they may ask to extend the deadline.

While about 95 percent of the relabeling issues have been resolved, Mr. Madigan and Mr. Sullivan have been unwilling to compromise their differences over whether:

- Package nutrition charts should include a sample daily diet.
- Restaurants should have to comply with any labeling rules.

Mr. Sullivan supports both as well as a definition of the term "light." Mr. Madigan is opposed.

The key to the impasse has been a sample daily diet that the Food and Drug Administration wants to include on the nutrition charts.

The diet would consist of 2,000 calories and 65 grams of fat. The

label would say what percentage of such a diet each nutrient in a particular food supplies.

In other words, a small package of potato chips with 6.5 grams of fat would also say the fat comprised 10 percent of the total fat one should have for the day on a 2,000-calorie diet.

As he left the meeting with Mr. Bush, Mr. Sullivan said the president asked several questions but made no comment about what his decision might be.

Mr. Sullivan defended the FDA rules, including the sample diet, saying, "This is the result of some 2½ years of work by my agency; it is the result of a commitment to informing the American people fully about the content of the foods that they purchase, with the goal that they can then make informed healthy choices about their food intake that would have positive impact on their health."

Barr's swan song is classic battle for conservatives

By Tony Mauro
USA TODAY

Attorney General William Barr is expected to argue a case before the Supreme Court Tuesday in an appearance that's shaping up as a swan song for the Reagan-Bush Justice Department.

By tradition, an attorney general argues at least one government case before the Supreme Court during his tenure. The solicitor general usually presents cases.

Barr, who took office just over a year ago, likely will be out of a job Jan. 20 — when Bill Clinton becomes president — so he chose a case on the December calendar.

The dispute he picked is a classic for conservatives who took over the Justice Department in 1981: a murder conviction that was overturned on appeal because of a flaw during the trial procedures. The case was later reinstated.

Through legislation, policy and judicial appointments, the Justice Department under Presidents Reagan and Bush sought to curtail such appeals.

In *Todd Brecht vs. Gordon Abrahamson*, Brecht is appealing his conviction for the 1985 murder of his brother-in-law Roger Hartman in Alma, Wis.

Abrahamson is named because he's the superintendent of the prison where Brecht is being held.

Brecht fled the scene of the shooting and was captured by Minnesota police, who gave him his *Miranda* warning reminding him of his right to remain silent.

Brecht was silent until his trial, when he testified the shooting was an accident.

Prosecutors made several references to Brecht's silence, wondering aloud why he didn't say at the time of ar-

rest that the shooting was an accident.

A Wisconsin appeals court reversed the conviction, ruling that the prosecutors' comments undermined Brecht's right to remain silent by using his silence against him.

A federal appeals court reinstated Brecht's conviction, setting the stage for his Supreme Court appeal.

If Barr and Wisconsin win, a key avenue of appeal for defendants will have closed, says Georgetown law professor William Greenhalgh.

Greenhalgh sees it as part of a "very naked attempt" by the Justice Department and the conservative majority of the Supreme Court to limit sharply the role of federal courts in reviewing state court convictions.

"Here there was a constitutional violation that was properly presented, and they are saying the federal courts should not consider it," says Brecht's lawyer Allen Shoenberger. "I hope it is the capstone, their final effort."

Kent Scheidegger of the conservative Criminal Justice Legal Foundation says "we're not likely to see" a Clinton attorney general intervening in a Supreme Court case on behalf of state prosecutors, as Barr is doing.

The 12-year Reagan-Bush campaign was successful in stocking the federal courts with judges who agreed that the rights of criminal defendants had expanded too far.

But most of the landmark protections of the liberal Warren Court era remain in place, at least in limited form — preserving the right to remain silent and allowing improperly obtained evidence to be excluded trial.

"There has been progress," said Scheidegger. "But we have not gotten everything we wanted, by any means."

GOP seeks key to regaining winning stride

By Richard Benedetto
USA TODAY

Having lost the White House after 12 years of Reagan-Bush control, Republicans seem on the verge of an identity crisis.

Do they emphasize their limited-government, pro-business, low-taxes tradition?

Or, to placate the religious right, do they focus more on social issues such as abortion, homosexual rights, school prayer and family values?

That conflict obscured the traditional Republican message, and created an "us vs. them" mentality that may have cost the Republicans moderate and independent votes.

"We cannot allow ourselves to be mistakenly portrayed as petty, divisive and mean-spirited," says Missouri Gov. John Ashcroft, a possible candidate for Republican National Committee chairman. "We can and do tolerate divergent views."

Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole of Kansas warns: "If we become some special-interest party, then we're going to continue to lose elections."

Labor Secretary Lynn Martin, also a potential candidate for GOP national leader, says the party can't afford to draw up a "narrow agenda."

"We should be reaching out to young women and men who see a changing world and want confidence in our ability to focus on the future," she says. "We can be elected as Republicans, whether we're pro-life or pro-choice, as long as we're pro-people."

But just as Dole and Martin began preaching a new theme of "inclusion," Mississippi Republican Gov. Kirk Fordice described the United States as a

"Christian nation."

The remark, Fordice later said, was meant to remind people that Christian principles are still valued. But it offended Jewish groups and touched off a new debate on whether the so-called Republican "big tent" is roomy enough.

GOP Committee Chairman Rich Bond hastily issued a curt disavowal, saying Republicans "reject any statement that demeans Americans on the basis of religious beliefs."

But backing and filling is not the image a losing party wants to project as it rebuilds.

"There's a fight going on for the heart and soul of the Republican Party, just as in 1964 after Barry Goldwater lost," Democratic strategist Victor Kamber says. "And it will continue until they win again."

Henry Seignman of the American Jewish Congress rejects any notion the GOP is anti-Semitic. But he sees an ominous tone in the religious-right rhetoric of Pat Buchanan, who described a "religious war ... for the soul of America," at August's GOP convention.

Seignman says such declarations imply that those who agree "are real Americans, and others are not."

But Ralph Reed, Jr. of the Christian Coalition says the religious right doesn't want to "control" the GOP, but to be a major player in reshaping the party.

"You've got to dance with the ones who brung you," he says. "Evangelicals were the only major voting bloc that didn't abandon Bush."

Exit polls show that Bush was supported by more than 2-1 among those who identified themselves as born-again



AP

"
If we become some special-interest party, then we're going to continue to lose elections.
"

— Sen. Robert Dole, minority leader



By Doug Mills, AP

"
We can be elected as Republicans, whether we're pro-life or pro-choice, as long as we're pro-people.
"

— Lynn Martin, secretary of Labor

Christians and won solid majorities among those who said abortion and family values were important in their choice.

But Reed acknowledges that, to play a bigger role in the GOP and not scare people away, the religious right must get "more sophisticated."

"We're beginning to learn that to succeed in the rough-and-tumble of politics requires persuasion, not domination; inclusion, not exclusion."

The Republican Party, Reed says, should be for "anyone of any religious tradition or no religious tradition who believes in limited government, strong national defense and strengthening families."

The religious right took credit for helping conservative candidates win seats in Congress, including Senate seats in North Carolina, Utah and Idaho.

But bitter battles over homosexual-rights initiatives in Colorado and Oregon threaten to seriously split the Republican Party in both states.

Spencer Abraham, co-chairman of the Republican Con-

gressional Committee, is trying to play down the ideological split and "enhance our economic message and show contrast with the Democrats."

Some figure the party should play the role of outsiders and work on problems on the local and state levels.

"Republicans will be pulling together once they get a dose of Bill Clinton, a Democratic Congress and their tax-and-spend policies," Abraham says.

Wisconsin Republican Gov. Tommy Thompson agrees: "We have a better opportunity than the Democrats to pick up the Ross Perot voters and the independent voters out there."

But Ohio Gov. George Voinovich adds that the GOP not only must unite its factions, it also must rebuild itself as a party of problem-solvers.

"The lesson of the last election is that the American people want results, and they expect their government leaders to work together to get results," he says. "They're not going to be tolerant of grand posturing or ideological outbursts."

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Bedeviling the GOP

By Michael D'Antonio

WITH 'STEALTH' CANDIDATES,
TIGHT DISCIPLINE AND CASH, THE
RELIGIOUS RIGHT DOMINATED
THE REPUBLICAN AGENDA.
NOW, THE BATTLE'S ON FOR THE
PARTY'S SOUL — AND ITS FUTURE.

IT WAS MOURNING IN THE REV. PAT ROBERTSON'S AMERICA. On the day after Bill Clinton was elected President, Robertson smiled wanly and consoled the millions who watch his "700 Club" cable TV show. As the pewter-haired televangelist lamented what democracy had wrought, it seemed as though God Himself had lost the election. Plagues and disasters were on the horizon. At the very least, economic collapse and radical abortion laws—baby-killing laws, really—are coming. "The child can be coming out of the birth canal," said the political preacher, "and they'll say it's OK to kill it."

The despairing went on for the better part of an hour. Robertson and his guests described the future as a Christian Right nightmare. "Radical feminists" such as Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein were taking over the Senate. Clinton would allow homosexuals in the military. He would put women in combat and gays in the Cabinet. "Family values" were dead. "I'm anything but happy," Robertson said. "But we'll see what happens."

Robertson and his Christian Right movement—politically conserva-

tive fundamentalists, evangelicals and Catholics—could be forgiven a bit of self-indulgent wallowing. Time had finally run out on their crusade to create a Christian America. It wasn't that they hadn't had their chance. Since 1980, the Christian Right had been developing into a fearsome political force. It was the key to the Reagan/Bush victories. But what had 12 years of incumbency produced? Abortion is still legal and school prayer is not. There is no voucher plan to benefit private religious schools. Homosexuality has not been pushed back into the closet. Hollywood and the rest of the hated "cultural elite" still dominate the media. And the future of the Supreme Court is now in the hands of a Democrat.

On Nov. 4, the Christian Right movement's leaders could not accept that America had rejected their brand of "family values." After all, their agenda is God's agenda, and God cannot be wrong. Robertson and his allies could only conclude that President Bush had not pushed hard enough. He had been too soft on the gays and the lesbians and the feminists. Now they would have to train their sights on the Republican Party itself. Their goal: to turn the GOP into a religious/political organization to promote Robertson's vision of conservative Christian America.

So Democrats gleefully compete for window offices in Washington, and the Republican Party faces a civil war the likes of which it has not seen since the Goldwater and Rockefeller forces self-destructed in 1964. Columnist Patrick J. Buchanan, the snarling pit bull of the 1992 convention, may have declared a holy war with Clinton over the future of America. But now that the war is lost, Buchanan and the Christian Right are turning their fury on their own party. They are already blaming traditional, non-religious Republicans for the defeat, and they are preparing to seize the GOP. For their part, equally angry Republican regulars have begun to compare the Christian Right to neo-Nazis. And it could be a decade or more before the looming war between the two camps can be settled.

IN THE DAYS AFTER THE ELECTION, ROBERTSON'S POLITICAL ORGANIZATION—the Christian Coalition—was already maneuvering. By Friday, coalition director Ralph Reed was on the road to Williamsburg, Va., and a summit meeting with other conservative religious political activists. Boyish to the point of looking like a character from "Happy

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Days." Reed, 31, has already headed a number of organizations for young Republicans. In 1989, *Conservative Digest* hailed him as "a rising young star" in Republican politics. Though he looks like a choirboy, Reed speaks the blunt, warlike language made familiar by the likes of Lee Atwater and Roger Ailes and has a reputation as a slash-and-burn political operator. He was a driving force behind the anti-gay ordinances that were passed in both Colorado and Tampa, Fla., but failed in Maine and Oregon. He also directed a multimillion-dollar campaign that quietly pushed Christian activists into local offices nationwide.

Reed's ultimate goal is to take over the GOP from the bottom up. To do that, he can tap a \$10-million annual budget and call on dues-paying activists in more than 100,000 born-again churches. This fall, more than 1,000 of these people were trained in the ways of taking over precinct-level party committees, foreshadowing a larger effort to dominate every state party organization. The coalition can also count on the support of a host of smaller Religious Right political organizations run by long-time activists, including Paul Weyrich's Free Congress Foundation and

Richard Viguerie's United Conservatives of America, both Washington-based, and Lou Sheldon's Traditional Values Coalition in California. These groups provide financial and tactical support for Christian candidates running for everything from school board to Congress.

Robertson's activists practically perfected the art of the political takeover in South Carolina in 1988. There they used churches to quietly send large numbers of people to precinct caucuses. These newcomers overwhelmed party meetings that normally drew just a handful of political veterans. Then, when it came time to vote on delegates and precinct officers, they swept their own people in. Old-time Republicans, who called themselves the "regulars," eventually organized to win back some power, but the Christians have retained their strength.

This year, they used the same takeover tactics to dominate the GOP in a dozen states from Florida to Michigan and Oregon. These state

delegations, which made up more than a third of the people at the national convention, then used their solidarity to force their religious views onto the party platform. Robertson's political guerrillas plan to follow this prescription in all 50 states and convert the entire party by the year 2000.

Ultimately, the Christian Right hopes to use the same techniques—discipline and block voting—to win general elections in which low voter turnout magnifies its power. At the coalition's "Road to Victory" conference, hosted by Robertson last spring, Reed explained the strategy to his activist corps. It included flooding precinct meetings, targeting low-turnout elections and hiding the Christian Right agenda until after a candidate is elected. "Is this sinking in?" he said, according to *The Nation* magazine. "We don't have to worry about convincing a majority of Americans to agree with us. Most of them are staying home and watching 'Falcon Crest.' They're not involved, they're not voting, so who cares?" While Reed's strategy was spoiled by record turnout in this hotly contested presidential race, it should be effective when typically low interest returns in the off-year elections.

Forty-eight hours after the election, as he drove to the Williamsburg summit of these leaders, Reed worked his car phone, talking to allies, consultants and assorted political journalists. "The liberal media got it all wrong," Reed barked. "The convention wasn't too conservative. The problem was that Bush wasn't far enough to the right. And the party has to realize that the evangelical voting block is enormous. One out of every two people who voted for Bush was a white evangelical. No other vot-

ing block is bigger, better organized or more disciplined. It's bigger and better than organized labor used to be. We will not be ignored."

Indeed, the Christian Right is the 300-pound gorilla in Republican politics. Anyone who doubts the strength of this movement need only consider Pat Buchanan at last summer's nominating convention in Houston. When Buchanan demanded a prime-time convention appearance, the Bush forces resisted at first, recalling how Buchanan had lacerated their man through the primaries and fearing what he might say on the podium. But eventually they felt they had to appease their former enemy. They needed the Christian Right vote in November. Buchanan repaid the favor by giving the kind of speech that drove longtime moderate Republicans, George Bush's kind of folks, right out of the hall.

"There is a religious war going on in this country. It is a cultural war, as critical to the kind of nation we shall be as the Cold War itself," he said, "for this is a war for the soul of America." Buchanan was washed with cheers and applause after he finished. On the floor of the Astrodome, someone waved a placard that read, "Family rights forever, gay rights never." The delegates also gave a warm reception to Pat Robertson, who believes that only Christians and Jews are worthy of holding office in America. Robertson warned the delegates that the nation must return to its "Christian roots" or it will "continue to legalize sodomy, slaughter innocent babies, destroy the minds of her children, squander her resources and sink into oblivion."

The convention's platform noted that laws should reflect a "faith in God," the platform attacked "blasphemy" in art and promoted prayer in schools and at public events. The party faithful stood against the rights of homosexuals to mar-

Michael D'Antonio is a New York-based writer whose last article for this magazine dealt with the crisis in children's health care. His most recent book, "Heaven on Earth," was published earlier this year by Crown.

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ry and adopt children. And though 70% of Republicans support the right of women to choose abortion, the platform called for an all-out ban, even when a pregnancy is the result of rape or incest. These issues got more attention than any others, including the national economy.

But as soon as the convention was over, public opinion polls showed that voters were turned off by the religious overtones and intolerance in the family-values agenda. There was no real "bounce" in the President's approval rating after Houston. Still, Bush, understanding the strength of the evangelical block, went straight from the convention to a meeting of Religious Right leaders—Buchanan, Robertson, Oliver North and Phyllis Schlafly—to seek their approval. From then on, he was tied to the Christian Right leaders and their widely unpopular religious politics like a dog tied to a stake.

Bush was hobbled by the same alliance that Ronald Reagan had used to great benefit. It was Reagan who opened the door and let the Christian Right—mainly in the form of Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority—into the party. Until that point, conservative Christians had been conspicuously absent from national affairs. This could be traced, in part, to a theology that regards politics as unholy and even evil. It could also be a legacy of the Scopes trial in 1925, when journalist H. L. Mencken succeeded in convincing the rest of the country that Southern fundamentalists and evangelicals were laughable rubes. Scopes was so bruising to the egos of many Christian leaders that for generations they admonished their flocks to avoid politics. Conservative Christians began to come out of their isolation in the 1970s, to oppose the liberal social changes of the time. Then, as now, they were appalled by abortion, the banning of school prayer and the rise of feminism. In 1976, they thought they'd found a savior in Jimmy Carter, the first born-again candidate. When he turned out to be more liberal than they expected, the Christian Right felt betrayed. Reagan, promising to be loyal, received the passionate support of millions of alienated white, conservative Protestants, who were widely credited with having given Reagan his margin of victory in 1980.

Reagan kept the religious activists in line with heartfelt speeches about the evils of abortion and the need for school prayer. But he did not pursue their goals with much vigor, and the religious intolerance of the movement was kept out of public view. In contrast, Bush lacked Reagan's political instincts and was unable to keep the Religious Right at arm's length. In supporting the positions of the Christian right, Bush seemed to be stepping out of character. It was hard for anyone to believe that a Connecticut-born, Yale-bred Episcopalian wanted to wage religious war against fellow Americans.

No one felt Bush's ambivalence more than the evangelicals. In the end, millions of white, conservative Christians deserted him for Clinton and Ross Perot because Bush wasn't pure in his devotion. This is why Ralph Reed and the rest of the group that met in Williamsburg will seek even more power in the GOP. They don't want to follow another George Bush into battle. Many would rather lose with a candidate with firm Christian Right convictions than win with someone who doesn't support their cause. There are a host of conservatives in the Christian Right mold, including Dan Quayle, whose right-wing religious credentials are impeccable. Of course, Robertson, who ran for President in 1988, may put himself forward. And the movement could also support former education secretary William J. Bennett, Buchanan, or acerbic Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas.

While these national figures will be important, the real battle for control of the party will take place precinct by precinct. And with "stealth" Christian candi-

dates who do not reveal their views until after they come to power, this brand of politics is like guerrilla warfare. "You don't know it's over," Reed explained last year, "until you're in a body bag."

THE BLOODY-CRUSADER APPROACH TO POLITICS HAS OUTRAGED AN IN-creasingly vocal number of moderate, longtime Republicans. One of the angriest opponents of Reed and the Christian Right is the man who brought him into politics. Marvin Liebman, 69, founder of more than 30 political groups, helped Reed create his United Students for America and won that group's first award as a distinguished conservative. But today, Liebman, a Washington-based political writer, seeks to prevent heated anti-gay sentiments from taking over his beloved GOP. He's come out of the closet as a conservative homosexual.

"I felt like a Jew in Germany just before the war," Liebman said earlier this year. He chose to go public, in an autobiography titled "Coming Out Conservative," because he "started smelling homophobia replacing the anti-communism which used to hold the conservative movement together." Communism's fall has deprived Republicans of an enemy that conveniently brought every wing of the party together in mutual hatred. Minus the Communists, Liebman says, the Christian Right is focusing on lesbians and gays as a replacement enemy. In a country where gays have enjoyed growing acceptance, that could be flawed politics.

"I am very worried that by 1996, we will have a right-wing, religious maniacs' Republican Party," Liebman says. "These people are very well financed, and the rest of the party is terrified of them. I blame Bush for this because he caved in to these people. Bush was a wimp. He didn't have the balls to stand up to them. He did it for expediency, and now the people who have always been in the center of the Republican Party are terrified. The Christian Right turns off too many voters. We cannot win with them, and no one wants to go through losing time and time again because of them."

This prospect of losing one election after another frightens most traditional Republicans, who are increasingly open about their disdain for the Christian activists. The traditionalists also are angry at Bush, who once supported abortion

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rights but didn't put the Christian Right in its place. And a clear majority is disturbed by the religious overtones of the rest of the family-values agenda.

The challenge to the religious activists will come from party regulars who believe that the Religious Right will drive mainstream voters away. Once they get organized, they should be able to raise more money than the Christian Right and call upon experienced political pros to guide their counterattack. But Robertson's forces have a three-year jump on the rest of the party, and the fight is likely to be long and bruising.

"They are already a very strong voting block and a major part of the presidential primary process, like the unions in the Democratic Party," says Sam Popkin, a political scientist at the University of California, San Diego. Popkin says that the primary system has given small, well-organized groups an advantage when it comes to moving one candidate to the top of a field of many.

Massachusetts Gov. William F. Weld, whose "Pro-Bush/Pro-Choice" button at the convention symbolized his status as a fiscal conservative and social moderate, is widely considered to be a potential leader of the moderates, as is Gov. Pete Wilson. These traditional Republicans are practical politicians who know their party cannot win the White House with a Christian Right agenda. Similarly, pragmatic Democrats began to rescue their party in 1984, following Walter F. Mondale's disastrous presidential bid. At that time, moderate Democrats such as Sen. Sam Nunn of Georgia, Sen. Al Gore of Tennessee and Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton formed the Democratic Leadership Coalition to bring the party back to a middle ground. Eight years later, the coalition can be credited with having created a moderate candidate, Clinton, and a moderate party that could win.

In the GOP, people such as Roger Stone are already forming the Republican version of the DLC to fight the Christian Right and win back the party. Several congressmen and GOP consultants are already raising money for a group called the Republican Majority Coalition. California Republican Tom Campbell, who was defeated in a U.S. Senate primary by Christian-backed Bruce Herschensohn, is expected to help lead this group. Campbell, a typical moderate Republican victim of Religious Right organizing, later saw the GOP candidate defeated in a general-election fight with Democrat Barbara Boxer.

"Boxer was probably the most liberal and most vulnerable Democratic Senate candidate in the country, but we couldn't even beat her with a Radical Right agenda," Campbell said days after the election. "That's why Robertson's interpretation of the election is poppycock. We didn't lose because Bush was not far enough to the right. We lost because he didn't disavow the Right. People rejected the message they got from the convention in Houston."

Strict opposition to abortion has become the main problem with the Christian agenda, Campbell adds. Such a position was useful for Republicans when abortion was the law of the land, he notes. Now, however, that stand is a liability, because voters genuinely fear losing the right to choose. Campbell says that some of his colleagues in Congress who privately support abortion rights would like to renounce the opponents of abortion but fear retribution. "Our group would give them a home, a new power base," Campbell explains. "We do not support formal school prayer, anti-gay laws or anti-abortion laws. Our emphasis would be conservative economics."

Campbell, who hopes to raise \$5 million in his first year, plans to challenge Robertson state by state, to back specific candidates for local and national offices and unmask the Christian "stealth" candidates who hide their religious politics. On the presidential level, these traditional Republicans would be more comfortable with someone like Jack Kemp, but only if he is not too closely tied to the Christian agenda. "If Jack Kemp runs talking about abortion, corporal punishment in the schools, and lesbians, we can say goodbye to the White House," Campbell adds. Ideally, these moderates would prefer someone like Weld—or former New Hampshire Sen. Warren B. Rudman, who comes from a state where local Republican regulars are also organizing for the first time to try to thwart the Christian Coalition's attempt to quietly infiltrate and control party organizations.

THE BATTLE FOR THE SOUL OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS ALREADY joined, and its first skirmish is likely to come in January when the GOP picks a new national chairman. Then the theater of war will shift to the 1994 elections and the state party conventions that precede them. The key battlegrounds will be California's Orange County, Iowa, Oregon, Washington state, and many Southern states. The moderates fear that a drawn-out conflict with the Christian Right will pull the GOP so far from the American political mainstream that the party could lose the base it won in five out of the last seven presidential campaigns. They well recall that after the 1968 convention it took the Democrats 20 years of losing every presidential election but one to change the perception that their party was dominated by radical leftists who had disdain for the middle class.

Ironically, the winning voice that emerged from the Democratic Party after two decades in the wilderness used a subtly religious message to gain ground. Time after time, Clinton called on voters to make a religious-style commitment to others, and he spoke repeatedly of healing the spirit of the nation. Indeed, on the night they were elected, Clinton and Vice President-elect Gore both sounded like ministers preaching a message of reconciliation to a nation/congregation torn by economic problems, racial strife and political differences.

Clinton's victory suggests that voters rejected not only George Bush but also the political religion of the Christian Right. Every presidential campaign is imbued with either subtle or overt religious values. So though President Bush tried to portray as heathen the Democrats who left "G-O-D" out of their platform, he was wrong. Clinton and Gore didn't reject God but simply stood for a God different from the one represented by Robertson, Buchanan and, ultimately, Bush himself. Bush was forced to stand for a fearsome Christian God of judgment and punishment. Clinton offered another familiar Christian vision of God: the God of hope, love and healing. This God appealed to Americans for whom religious tolerance has been a bedrock value since the War of Independence.

But while Clinton and Gore presented a traditional liberal political theology, they also expressed spiritual views that resonate with their own generation in a unique way. Clinton, who was open about being the child of an alcoholic, surely appealed to the self-help, 12-Step spirituality widely popular with people under age 50. Similarly, Gore's environmentalism and his many references to psychological concepts struck a chord with millions who have embraced some form of the New Age. In his book on the environment, Gore writes about dysfunction as the cause of pollution, and he cites the popular psychotherapist Alice Miller, whose highly sophisticated books have almost a cult following among baby-boomer intellectuals. Gore also calls for an inherently spiritual solution to the environmental crisis. And while Gore's writings are filled with spiritual reference-

es, Clinton's speeches are frequently filled with biblical allusion. During the campaign, he spoke comfortably from many pulpits, especially those of black churches. Like many baby boomers, Clinton and Gore combine aspects of both traditional Christianity and more-modern spirituality. The appeal of their message is further evidence of a generational shift in political power.

The trend away from the religious political morality of the Christian Right is also apparent in opinion polls, which show that an overwhelming majority believes that abortion and sexual issues are private matters. In both Arizona and Maryland earlier this month, voters supported abortion rights in strong numbers. In other states, many Christian Right-backed candidates lost after their opponents made an issue of the rightists' religious politics. And while many voters, such as those in Colorado and Tampa, may oppose specific protections for gays, sim-

ilarly minded constituents in Oregon and Maine eschewed turning the Christian Right's view of homosexuality as aberrant into law. On the day of the election, fewer than 15% of voters said that issues such as gay rights, abortion or single parenthood were important to their voting decision.

The spiritual mood of the country and the rejection of the family-values platform have led Republicans from Barry Goldwater to abortion rights leader Mary Dent Crisp to speak out against Robertson's army and its allies. These longtime Republicans worry most about what the Religious Right could do to the party of Abraham Lincoln, who believed that God abstains from party politics. They know that if the movement wins the fight for control of the GOP, it will guarantee that, barring a Democratic scandal the size of Watergate, the Republican Party will be out of the White House until the year 2000. "The Democrats are seizing the center," says outgoing Congressman Campbell, "and that's where the voters are."

TRANSITION

AN UPDATE ON THE INCOMING ADMINISTRATION

Key appointments around the corner

SUMMERLAND, Calif. — His four-day Thanksgiving vacation behind him, President-elect Clinton left California on Monday amid signs that his transition effort is about to move into high gear.

Aides say key appointments — almost certainly leading off with a trio of economic policy positions — could be announced at the start of next week, providing there are no problems with background checks.



By Bob Strong
MYERS: 'New class' in Congress

He is likely to first announce his Treasury secretary, director of the Office of Management and Budget, and head of his economic security council. Speculation on a new Treasury secretary has ranged from Texas Sen. Lloyd Bentsen to former Federal Reserve Board chairman Paul Volcker.

Clinton also has tentatively scheduled a second trip to Washington for next Monday and Tuesday. Clinton would fly to Washington, perhaps making a campaign-like stop someplace in Illinois, for meetings with newly elected mem-

bers of Congress.

Asked why Clinton was putting special emphasis on the freshmen, press secretary Dee Dee Myers said: "This is a new class, a maverick class. He wants to work with them. They were all elected on the same mandate for change."

Transition aide Al From added, "A new crowd is coming to town, both in Congress and in the White House."

Clinton also has made tentative plans to attend a Washington dinner of the Democratic Leadership Council. This promises to be nothing short of a victory lap for the organization of moderate Democrats Clinton helped create almost eight years ago.

Clinton's nomination and victory signaled the organization's success in moving the Democratic Party to the center, a course the organization advised as the only way to help the Democrats win the White House again.

— Adam Nagourney

CAMPAIGN ODD COUPLE: Political strategists James Carville and Mary Matalin — the romantic odd couple of politics — appeared together Monday for the first time since Carville helped Bill Clinton defeat Matalin's boss, President Bush.

"He won, I lost. He's for big government, big taxes, big spending, wants to redistribute your wealth," Matalin quipped to 1,000 people at Louisiana State University. "Sorry, just kidding, honey."

"She heard a different drum than I did," Carville said. "But at least, as opposed to most people that work in Washington, at least she hears a drum."

Carville and Matalin, who were dating before the campaign began, said they didn't talk shop while working on opposing campaigns. But now that it's over, they plan to write a book together.

During the campaign, Matalin said, "We had very stilted, weird conversations. 'What are you wearing today? What did you have for lunch? OK. Gotta go.' That's it."

Last summer, Matalin wrote the infamous memo faxed to the media suggesting the Clinton campaign feared more "bimbo eruptions," like Gennifer Flowers' allegations.

"So I pick up the paper the next day," Matalin said, "and there's James saying, 'You can love the sin, but hate the sin.' Wait a minute, I haven't sinned. ... What have I done here?" Carville replied: "I have a slogan ... Don't get mad. Don't get even. Just get elected. Then get even."



By Win McNamee, Reuters
CARVILLE: Don't get mad, get elected

CAPITOL REAL ESTATE: Roll Call, the Capitol Hill newspaper, published a real estate section Monday for new members of Congress and the administration who'll be moving to Washington and adjusting to its house prices. Included are homes up for sale by departing members of Congress. Sen. Alan Dixon, D-Ill., is asking \$399,500 for his three-story, turn-of-the-century Capitol Hill "jewel." Rep. Steve Gunderson, R-Wis., listed a four-bedroom home in suburban McLean, Va., for \$499,000. Rep. Sid Morrison, R-Wash., is selling his Capitol Hill "efficiency condo" for a mere \$70,000. He'll include his furniture for another \$1,000.

INAUGURAL BUZZ: Nothing is official yet, but speculation is rife about the entertainment for Bill Clinton's inauguration festivities — including a possible reunion of Fleetwood Mac, whose music was frequently played at Clinton campaign rallies, including *Don't Stop (Thinking About Tomorrow)*. Clinton has already said in a *Rolling Stone* interview that he would like singer Judy Collins to perform.



Columbia
COLLINS: Inauguration performance?

And gossip columnist Marilyn Beck has reported that saxophonist Kenny G. got a call from Clinton asking him to "keep Jan. 20 free" to perform at an inaugural gala.

"Gov. Clinton has directed us to make it the most accessible, inclusive and diverse inaugural in history," says Richard Mintz, spokesman for the planning committee. "It'll be something between a state fair and an Arkansas state fair." (Clinton party talk, 2D)

MILITARY-GAYS: Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said Monday night he doesn't believe that lifting the ban on homosexuals in the U.S. military would "break the force," nor would it cause mass resignations by those who support the prohibition.

Powell, speaking to students at American University in Washington, D.C., said the military is "struggling how best to handle that, if we have to handle it" when asked about President-elect Clinton's pledge to lift the ban.

Powell said he supports the ban, contending that allowing homosexuals in the military would strain discipline and impinge on privacy.

But Powell added, "I've never been of the view it will break the force ... nor will there be large resignations" should the ban be dropped.

He noted that he has met with Clinton and said he believes the president-elect "will take time to study the issue fully. I hope we can keep some of the emotionalism out of this issue until we have time for a full debate, and I think that will take place early next year," Powell said.

Separately, the Army chief of staff, Gen. Gordon Sullivan, said on CNN's *Larry King Live* program Monday night that he was "encouraged that (Clinton) said he would ask us how we felt about" lifting the ban.

WHERE THEY ARE TODAY

Bill Clinton — Little Rock
Al Gore — Washington
George Bush — White House
Dan Quayle — Washington

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Trade-Post Fight Rates High on Meanness Meter As Faxes Fault a Contender's Support for U.S.

By ASRA Q. NOMANI
And BOB DAVIS

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Without so much as a wink or a nod from President-elect Clinton over whom he wants to name as U.S. trade representative, a nasty battle has broken out for the job.

Enemies of one of the contenders, former International Trade Commission Chairwoman Paula Stern, have even resorted to the trade world's equivalent of red-baiting. An unsigned "White Paper on Paula Stern," faxed by U.S. computer-screen lobbyists to allies in the semiconductor and steel lobbies, alleges Ms. Stern isn't sufficiently pro-American for the top trade position, and has worked for foreign interests. "She has not . . . been a champion of U.S. industries, U.S. workers or of U.S. unfair-trade laws," the paper contends.



Paula Stern

Ms. Stern, who has worked for Japanese flat-panel makers and European brass concerns, dismisses suggestions that her activities were un-American. "Protection was my most important product" at the trade commission, which decides foreign dumping and unfair subsidy cases. She and most everyone else connected with the Clinton team shun the label "free trader" in the same way politicians during the Cold War recoiled from the term "leftist."

The fight illustrates how toxic the atmosphere can become in Washington, as formidable lobbies jockey to get their candidates into the Clinton administration and to keep others out. The steel and semiconductor lobbies realize that by pummeling Ms. Stern, they enhance the prospects for their pick for the job—Alan Wolff, an ex-official with the U.S. trade representative and someone who would be more protectionist. Mr. Wolff or his law firm have represented both industries in key fights.

The trade job is being watched closely, because it may be the clearest signal yet of what Mr. Clinton thinks about trade. During the campaign, Gov. Clinton wavered on his position on trade, particularly with respect to support of the North American Free Trade Agreement.

'Very Sharp Elbows'

"There's a lot of very sharp elbows against Paula Stern right now," says Pat Choate, author of a book about foreign influence in Washington. "It's sort of like a salmon run. The poor salmon get battered in the process, and Paula Stern is the leading salmon."

But the trade battle is a classic inside-Washington tale for another reason too. For all the back-stabbing and strategizing going on in Washington law firms, it's not clear it will have much real-world effect. Mr. Clinton may bypass both candidates and pick someone else for U.S. trade rep:

Democratic Party Chairman Ron Brown reportedly has expressed interest. Mr. Brown registered as a foreign lobbyist in 1982, with such clients as Japan Air Lines and the brutal government of Haiti. But his deft handling of Democratic party affairs would help inoculate him from some of the attacks that have plagued Ms. Stern, although his wheeler-dealer reputation might pose other political problems.

To a great extent, Ms. Stern seems to be paying a price for having rankled powerful interest groups over the years. Last year, she went up against the Washington law firm of Collier, Shannon, Scott & Rill, which was representing U.S. flat-panel display makers that had accused Japanese manufacturers of exporting their products to the U.S. at unfairly low prices. Ms. Stern testified as an economist for the Japanese side.

This year, according to people familiar with the effort, Collier Shannon wrote the 14-page "White Paper on Paula Stern." In early September, the law firm, which also represents the United Steelworkers of America, sent a copy via facsimile to other trade lawyers, with no authorship identified. This newspaper was provided a copy in a blank envelope. The paper claims Ms. Stern qualifies "unabashedly" as a free trader advocating "opening the U.S. market at any cost."

Paul Rosenthal, a trade lawyer at Collier Shannon, says, "I can't confirm or deny anything we may or may not have done for any of our clients. What our clients do with any work we've done is their own business."

Critical Steel Industry

Ms. Stern incurred the wrath of the steel industry in the 1980s, when she voted against extending voluntary restraint agreements that limited foreign producers' exports to the U.S. She defends her record, citing votes for import duties in most steel cases before the commission. Steel-interests have also been lobbying for Mr. Wolff, and against Ms. Stern.

Mr. Wolff insists he has nothing to do with the whispering campaign against Ms. Stern. His says board members of the Semiconductor Industry Association asked him during a recent board meeting whether he was interested in the trade-representative job. He told them he was. Their next question: Would he mind if they pushed his name? He said he didn't mind, and approved their campaign.

"We're working for Alan Wolff," an in-house lawyer for a semiconductor firm acknowledges. The semiconductor industry also views Ms. Stern as being unwilling to back tough actions against Japanese competitors.

Textile Industry Gets Involved

Just days after the election, the textile industry — a stalwart in protectionist battles — got involved. Industry leaders huddled in Washington to plan a campaign to boost Mr. Wolff's name for the trade representative job. In the mid-1980s, Mr. Wolff represented the textile industry in an effort to levy tariffs on textile imports into the U.S. Plus, he wrote a report arguing that the U.S. imported an unfair

share of developing countries' textile and apparel products, compared with European countries and Japan.

Carlos Moore, executive vice president at the American Textile Manufacturers Institute, talked up Mr. Wolff with aides to Senator Ernest Hollings (D., S.C.), a big textile-industry supporter. "We couldn't think of anyone who could do a better job than Alan," says Mr. Moore, who worked with Mr. Wolff in the U.S. trade representative's office in the 1970s. Mr. Moore insists the campaign hasn't been anti-Stern. But industry officials say they feel she wouldn't go far enough in fighting overseas rivals, which they claim have unfair trade advantages.

Critics cite her vote against import relief for U.S. auto companies, in a decision in which she argued that foreign imports weren't the primary cause of the auto industry's financial woes. The "White Paper on Paula Stern" claims Ms. Stern was "paternalistic" in a position she took regarding the U.S. auto industry.

The campaign has left Ms. Stern defending herself by claiming protectionist credentials. While the white paper claimed Ms. Stern voted against relief for U.S. industries in 59% of the final ITC cases before her, she says she voted against import relief in 47% of the cases she heard. She calls the white paper a "caricature" and a "falsehood."

Before the current lobbying drive, Ms. Stern was considered the most likely candidate for the trade job. In addition to her stint heading the ITC, she and her family know the Clintons from Renaissance Weekend, an annual gathering of media, political and business honchos at Hilton Head, S.C. And Ms. Stern was an international economics and trade adviser to the Clinton campaign, along with her husband, economist Paul London.

Another factor weighing in favor of Ms. Stern is that the Clinton team is looking for women with top-level experience for key economic posts. And despite her critics, Ms. Stern meets the criteria.

Ms. Stern, a vocal critic of Reagan

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trade policies during her ITC service, has pushed for years the now-popular industrial policy ideas of federal help for corporate America. Her consulting group has issued reports supporting the North American Free Trade Agreement, which would dismantle trade barriers between the U.S., Mexico and Canada, arguing the pact would mean more jobs in the U.S.

And although Ms. Stern has sparked the animosity of various U.S. interest groups,



Alan Wolff

her positions may have helped others. In particular, her position on the flat-panel displays was in sync with the arguments advanced by U.S. computer-makers such as Apple Computer Inc. Although her opposition to extended restraints on steel imports angered U.S. steelmakers, it was applauded by

U.S. companies that purchase steel for their operations, such as Caterpillar.

Despite the suggestions to the contrary, Ms. Stern hasn't registered as a foreign lobbyist. Her husband, Mr. London, is registered as an adviser to HydroQuebec, a big Canadian utility that sells electricity in the U.S. In 1988, he also registered as a representative of the Japan Society of Industrial Machinery Manufacturers, a trade group that was fighting charges that Japanese domination of the market for plastic injection molding machines represented a security threat.

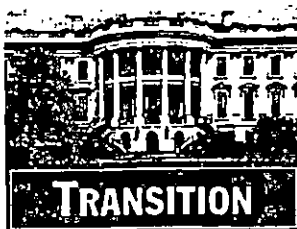
Mr. Wolff, on the other hand, has registered as a foreign lobbyist. In 1988, he represented the West Indies Rum & Spirits Producers Association, a group made up of rum producers from eight Caribbean nations. His firm, Dewey Ballantine, represents the rum group, as well as a Barbados liquor importer called Hanscell Innis Ltd., and Peter Clark, a Canadian involved in the U.S.-Canadian trade dispute over beer.

Ms. Stern has strenuously defended herself against the attacks, but her adversaries mainly remember her past actions. At a restaurant recently, one of her steel-industry critics sidled by her table and said, "Don't you wish you had supported us?"

The Bobby Kennedy Law and Hillary Clinton

There has been persistent speculation that First Lady-to-be Hillary Clinton may get a Cabinet, sub-Cabinet or other high position in the Clinton administration.

Many argue she has the qualifications—although some jobs mentioned, such as solicitor general, might seem a stretch.



But there is a problem: Federal law prohibits President-elect Clinton from appointing his wife or any other family member to any executive

branch job.

The Postal Revenue and Federal Salary Act of 1967 is also called the Bobby Kennedy law because it was passed in response to President John F. Kennedy's appointment of his brother as attorney general.

Using very broad language, the 1967 law says that "a public official may not appoint, employ, promote, [or] advance" a relative in an agency "in which he is serving or over which he exercises jurisdiction or control. . . ."

A "relative" under this law includes not only immediate family but aunts and uncles, cousins, nieces and nephews, in-laws and stepbrothers, step-sisters, half brothers and half sisters.



HILLARY CLINTON

The purpose of the law, according to its legislative history, is "to prevent a public official from appointing a relative to a . . . position . . . in the agency in which the public official serves or over which he exercises supervision."

The law applies to all agencies in the executive, legislative and judicial branches and specifically covers the president and vice president.

"The prohibition appears to extend throughout the executive branch," said Richard McGowan, spokesman for the Office of Personnel Management, not just to the senior-most positions. The law "would appear to rule out boards and commissions and virtually everything else," he said.

"We have never been asked for a written opinion on the subject," McGowan said, but "we were asked about this during the Carter and Bush administrations regarding Rosalynn Carter and Marilyn Quayle serving on commissions and the response was that it couldn't be done."

McGowan said OPM "would review the subject again if asked. However, the law is pretty conclu-

sive in ruling out executive branch positions for relatives."

On the other hand, presidents' wives have served in nonpaying posts. Carter, for example, headed a presidential commission on mental health.

Three Mentioned for Ireland Post

■ Among those mentioned for the coveted ambassadorial job in Dublin is Elizabeth McNelly Shannon, author of three books on the country, including one about her experiences there in 1977-81 as wife of Ambassador William V. Shannon, a former New York Times editorial board member who has since died. Others mentioned include Jean Kennedy Smith, sister of President Kennedy, and former representative Brian J. Donnelly of Massachusetts, a household name in Ireland because he sponsored an immigration bill allowing thousands of Irish immigrants to obtain treasured green cards.

In the Running. . .

■ For the all-important White House post of ambassador to Congress, also known as the congressional liaison position, the oft-mentioned include Howard Paster, the newly appointed head of public relations giant Hill and Knowlton's Washington office. Others include outgoing Arkansas Rep. Beryl Anthony Jr.; Susan Brophy, outgoing Colorado Sen. Timothy E. Wirth's chief of staff who ran the Clinton Washington office during the campaign and is congressional liaison for the transition; Joel Jankowsky, a lawyer in transition chairman Vernon E. Jordan Jr.'s law firm, Akin, Gump, Hauer & Feld; R. Scott Pastrick, now with the public relations firm of Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly; and James H. Rowe, whose father served in that position during the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration.

Labor Chief to Stage Farewell Tour

■ Labor Secretary Lynn Martin apparently plans to take the long way home as she prepares to exit the department. Martin, sources said, is planning a farewell tour of Labor's 10 regional offices.

The tour, which would take her from Boston to San Francisco at taxpayer expense, is tentatively scheduled for next week.

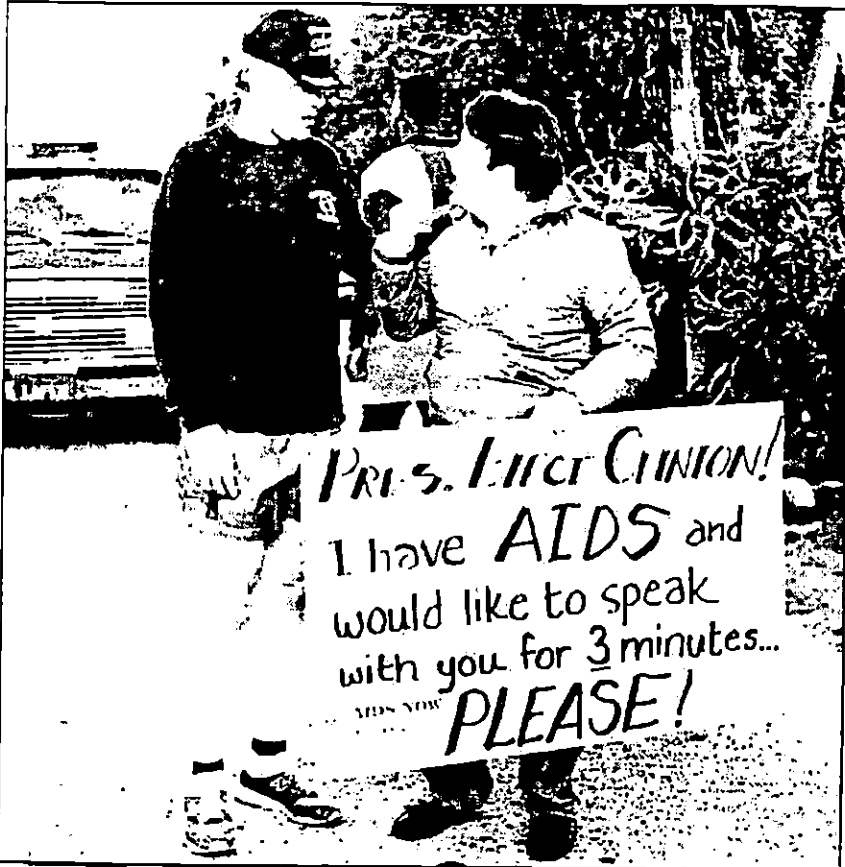
Department spokesman Steve Hofman said it had not yet been decided whether Martin would take such a tour. He said, however, that Martin was "thinking of the value of sharing some thoughts [with the regional staff] and saying thank you." He also said such a tour might help with the transition to the Clinton administration because it would bring her up to date on what is happening in the field.

Labor Department sources said that while Martin may not have decided on the tour, her office has already scheduled visits to regional offices in New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Kansas City. The other regional offices are in Atlanta, Dallas, Chicago, Denver, Seattle and San Francisco.

—Al Kamen

House's frosh ready for 'action'

Time for a one-on-one chat



THREE MINUTES: President-elect Clinton, jogging near his Summerland, Calif., retreat Monday, stops to talk briefly with Jim Nissley. Nissley, of Santa Barbara, Calif., said he told Clinton that the nation needs more AIDS education. Clinton has said he thinks so too and will appoint an AIDS czar to oversee efforts. Nissley, who said he waited three days to see Clinton, also asked for inaugural tickets. Clinton said he would have an aide look into it.

By J. Scott Applewhite, AP

Congressional Politics 101

Orientation week offers glimpse of what's to come

By Judi Hasson
USA TODAY

The newest crop of House members take a crash course in governing this week and next, but even the sessions they'll be attending have taken on political overtones.

This week, the men and women taking office in January will attend Capitol Hill sessions that include: whether to leave their families back home and how to set up offices.

Next week, they can:

► Head to Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government for a traditional orientation session with both Democrats and Republicans.

► Attend seminars set up by three conservative groups in Annapolis, Md.

The conservative groups, led by the Heritage Foundation, want an end to "taxpayer-paid

junks." They offer a program financed by private funds, featuring conservatives William Bennett and Jack Kemp.

Thirty-six new members, all Republicans, will take a bus to Annapolis. Then 80 House members, Republicans and Democrats, shuttle by plane to Harvard at taxpayer expense, says Heritage's Matthew Miller.

"We don't think going to Harvard is any way to begin the revolution needed to change Congress," Miller says.

Charles Royer, director of the Kennedy School's Institute of Politics at Harvard, says the school has a politically balanced program.

"It is a way for them (new members) in a neutral environment to talk about these issues and get a different perspective," says Royer.

Harvard speakers: Robert

Reich, President-elect Clinton's economic adviser, and New York City Mayor David Dinkins, among the Democrats; Education Secretary Lamar Alexander and Trade Representative Carla Hills, among the Republicans.

Some GOP members will try to attend both sessions, even though they overlap.

Says Rep.-elect John Mica, R-Fla.: "The scheduling is lousy. It's sort of the way they do a lot of things up here."

But Rep.-elect Deborah Pryce, R-Ohio, says she doesn't want to get caught in a "liberal-conservative tug of war." She says she will spend a week in Washington and attend another academic seminar in January.

"Two weeks away from home and my 2½ year old right before Christmas was not my idea of what a freshman should be doing."

Diverse new class has a common bond

By Richard Wolf
USA TODAY

The 110 men and women who converge on Capitol Hill today to learn the ropes of the House of Representatives may have more to teach Congress than the other way around.

As the largest incoming freshman class in 44 years, they represent voters' clamor call for change in the glacial pace of divided government.

While they are as diverse a group as has hit Washington in generations — 63 Democrats, 47 Republicans, 24 women, 16 blacks, eight Hispanics and Congress' first Korean-Ameri-

can — they arrive with a common bond to shake things up.

In the words of Rep.-elect Carrie Meek, D-Fla., at 66 the group's elder stateswoman, the mandate is to stop "dragging our feet and complaining and shucking and jiving."

As they compete for committee assignments and office space during the next two weeks, the members of the 103rd Congress' freshman class will act much like their predecessors — only faster:

► Democrats, elected on platforms stressing job creation, health care reform and deficit reduction, will be among President-elect Clinton's most loyal troops.

► Republicans, most of whom campaigned for term limits, a balanced budget amendment, a presidential line-item veto and an end to congressional perks, feel a similar sense of urgency.

"There's a sense that people are not going to be there forever, that they have a great deal of work to do in a finite time," says Rep.-elect Rick Lazio, R-N.Y., who upset nine-term Democrat Thomas Downey.

"I've pledged to come home after 12 years," says Rep.-elect John Linder, R-Ga. "I think term limits are a lousy idea whose time has come."

The first chance to shake things up will come next week, when the House Democratic and Republican caucuses elect

leaders and committee heads, and impose rules for the upcoming Congress. But few expect the newcomers to flex their muscles so soon.

Rather, their effect is likely to be seen as Clinton's economic program and a variety of early proposals make their way to Capitol Hill.

On major issues, look for the freshman class to favor compromise and action over ideological purity and gridlock.

"There is a consensus that we are going to move forward on the economy and health care," says Rep.-elect Bobby Scott, D-Va. "The people of America are not interested

in watching us squabble."

"All of us pretty much got the same message from the voters," says Rep.-elect Lynn Schenk, D-Calif. "They want to see some action."

Their effect could be even greater on long-standing issues that have divided lawmakers, such as abortion, campaign finance reform and gun control. But whether the new breed of House members helps pass the Freedom of Choice Act or the "Brady bill" — a waiting period for handgun purchases — remains to be seen.

Whatever they do, the freshmen are likely to recommend doing it fast.

"There might be some real potential for some riskier policy initiatives," says Burdett Loomis, a University of Kansas political science professor.

In some ways, next year's freshmen defy easy description: Ranging in age from 30 to '66, they include a former Black Panther and a former welfare mother, an impeached federal judge and a sitting governor.

But the overwhelming majority are linked by their status as insiders — coming from state and local governments, rather than outside the system.

"Freshman is a bad word for all these people," says House Democratic Caucus Chairman Steny Hoyer, D-Md. "I haven't met a freshman yet. These are all experienced people."



By Willford Harewood, AP
MEEK: Time to stop 'dragging our feet'



LINDER: Pledged to leave after 12 years

Ads suggest alternative to Foley

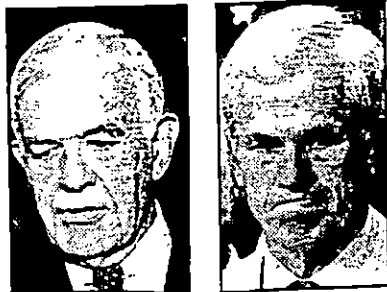
By Paul M. Rodriguez
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A conservative group that wants to replace House Speaker Thomas S. Foley with Rep. Charles Stenholm of Texas chose an unusual forum for its message: the backs of Metrobuses and poster space in Metro stations.

How many House members commute on the Orange or Blue lines to Capitol South or get stuck behind Metrobuses during trips from National Airport and Old Town Alexandria is not clear, but those who do may see an ad that says:

"You owe it to America. Elect Charles Stenholm as Speaker of the House." There are two circles, one saying "Speaker Tom Foley" with a bar through it, the other saying "Stenholm for Speaker."

There is also a "Dump Foley Hotline" telephone number for the benefit of House commuters who want to



Foley

Stenholm

know how to go about it.

The ads, which cost about \$5,000, are the work of Free the Eagle Citizens' Forum, which spokeswoman Tammy Lyles says is a nonprofit, nonpartisan outfit founded in 1980 to advance goals of conservative policies.

"It's time for a change," Miss Lyles explained. "We don't care if it's D's or R's so long as changes occur."

The D, or Democrat, who is the supposed beneficiary of the ads disavowed them. Mr. Stenholm, just re-elected to his eighth term, said yesterday: "We did not authorize these ads, and while I'm very flattered by the support, I've decided that I will support Tom Foley as speaker."

He actually considered running for speaker but decided there wasn't enough support. He has been critical of the House Democratic leadership, including Mr. Foley.

House officials said that as a result of growing dissatisfaction with his speakership, Mr. Foley this summer began an aggressive campaign to court not only incumbent Democrats, but also challengers.

Since the November election, Mr. Foley tried to meet with each of the freshman Democrats. While several told colleagues they were flattered, they said Mr. Foley was rather unimpressive in the get-togethers.

Clinton likely to visit Hill on next trip

By Ronald A. Taylor
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. — Fresh travel plans to meet with incoming Washington lawmakers — the surest sign of a rested and recharged Bill Clinton — surfaced yesterday even before the president-elect returned home from his Thanksgiving vacation.

"Right now, all we can say is that another Washington trip is in the talking stage," said Jeff Eller, a Clinton transition spokesman.

According to transition staff aides, Mr. Clinton is considering a visit to Washington next week to meet with Congress' massive freshman class of senators and members of the House of Representatives.

"Nothing's been set yet," Mr. Eller said of talk of a second trip that could mirror last month's whirlwind two-day visit that included two

events outside Capitol Hill. He said no details of the visit or its components have been set, and it has not been determined whether the visit would include another inner-city Washington neighborhood.

However, aides said a Washington street visit is likely to be a part of any pre-inaugural Clinton trip.

In Washington, meanwhile, there was speculation that Mr. Clinton's promised middle-class tax cut next year could fall victim to the government's record budget deficit, just as President Bush's own proposal did earlier this year.

Mr. Clinton, whose campaign included a pledge to cut the taxes of middle-income Americans by \$60 billion over four years, now adds a condition: "If we can work it out."

"If there are not adequate revenues to deal with it, they may decide to put aside the tax cut for the short term and concentrate on eco-

nomie growth incentives," said Rep. Robert Matsui, California Democrat, a senior member of the House Ways and Means Committee.

"We have to take into account what the status of the economy is when we convene in January," said Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell of Maine, who supports a tax cut.

"They just don't have the money to pay for it," said Michael Ettlinger, tax policy director of the labor-funded Citizens for Tax Justice.

Members of Congress, their advisers, lobbyists and others who closely watch tax legislation disagree on the desirability of a general tax cut when the government is taking in about \$300 billion a year less than it is spending.

On the other hand, there is general agreement — barring dramatic economic developments — that any tax bill passed by Congress and signed by Mr. Clinton early next year will:

- Restore, at least temporarily, the investment-tax credit, under which the government in effect would pay 10 percent of the cost of machinery and equipment bought by businesses.

- Raise taxes on the 2½ percent to 3 percent of couples and individuals with the highest incomes. This probably would be restricted to single people with total income above about \$140,000 and couples over \$170,000.

A new, 36 percent top tax rate would be created for these people, who now pay a maximum 31 percent on part of their earnings. In addition, a surtax of up to 10 percent would apply to taxable incomes over \$1 million.

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

Packwood probe not expected till after first of year

By Paul M. Rodriguez
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A formal probe into allegations that Sen. Bob Packwood sexually harassed some women is not expected until next year, despite calls from Senate leaders in both parties.

"Something in the form of a complaint or a request [for an investigation] will be coming to the ethics panel," said a Senate Ethics Committee official who asked not to be named.

"That said, I don't expect anything to happen before the first of the year," the official said. The panel's Democratic chairman, Sen. Terry Sanford of North Carolina, lost his re-election bid, and the vice chairman, GOP Sen. Warren Rudman of New Hampshire, is retiring.

The current ethics panel would have only a month to conduct a complete review of the allegations before a new committee would be formed in January.

"That's just not enough time to get it done," said another ethics official. He noted that staff lawyers on the six-person committee have begun to compile information on the allegations in anticipation of starting a formal probe in early January.

The allegations, first reported in The Washington Post, involve about 10 women in incidents ranging from unwanted kisses to hugs to inappropriate comments over a period spanning 1969 to '82.

One unnamed woman has also suggested that Mr. Packwood, as recently as 1989, cracked some lewd jokes in the office that she found offensive.

Meanwhile, Mr. Packwood's office announced yesterday that the senator has "voluntarily entered an alcohol treatment facility for an evaluation," but for privacy reasons the name of the facility was not disclosed.

Elaine Franklin, Mr. Packwood's chief of staff, said the program involves a seven-day, in-house treatment schedule that includes an evaluation of the senator, a physical and some therapy-type sessions.

Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell of Maine and Senate Minor-

ity Leader Bob Dole of Kansas said over the weekend that they hoped the ethics panel could move quickly on the allegations.

"I'd like to get it done right away," Mr. Dole said, suggesting that the leadership might try to call the panel together before year's end to probe the allegations. But the final call would be up to the panel, he said.

Mr. Mitchell said the allegations "are serious and should be taken seriously." He also said that he expected "a prompt and thorough investigation by the Ethics Committee."

Mr. Rudman said over the weekend that he believed the allegations should be probed but had no plans to initiate an investigation, an indication that the incoming panel will have to tackle the job.

Ms. Franklin said yesterday that "we would love to get this over with as quickly as possible so that he [Mr. Packwood] can get on with being an effective senator representing Oregon."

Several of the women reportedly have sent a letter to the Ethics Committee requesting a probe. Committee members and staff said they were unsure whether such a letter had been received as of yesterday.

Mr. Packwood, who has hired James F. Fitzpatrick of the Arnold & Porter law firm to represent him, plans to formally ask in the next few days for a probe to determine whether he violated any Senate rules.

Ms. Franklin said that, based on telephone calls to the office, there appears to be a 3-to-1 majority in support of the senator. She said callers say he should "hang in there" and not give in "to a political vendetta."

Asked whether other women have stepped forward to complain about Mr. Packwood's behavior, Ms. Franklin said "No," and pointed out that "the entire staff is very supportive" of the senator.

Ms. Franklin said that of the 850-plus people hired by Mr. Packwood over the past 25 years, the only complaints so far are those reported by the press, possibly for political motives or because of personal gripes.

Packwood Checks In for Alcohol Tests

Mitchell Sees Probe Opening This Month

By Eric Pianin
Washington Post Staff Writer

Sen. Bob Packwood (R-Ore.), under fire for allegedly making unwanted advances to female staffers and lobbyists, checked into an alcoholism diagnostic and treatment program during the weekend and retained a lawyer to represent him before the Senate ethics committee.

An aide to Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine) said yesterday that the ethics committee likely would begin a preliminary, staff-level investigation this month and leave the final disposition of the case to a reconstituted committee that will take over in January when the 103rd Congress convenes.

"It's Senator Mitchell's hope and expectation that a review would begin promptly with the current make-up of the committee," the aide said. "As far as when that could be completed, there's no way of knowing."

Mitchell and Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) said Sunday that they would welcome an immediate ethics investigation of Packwood.

Women's groups and Oregon Democrats have mobilized to pressure the Senate to investigate the incidents and to try to force Packwood—who has been considered a champion of women's rights—from office. The coalition is planning a recall drive and has set up a telephone "hotline" for women who were harassed or victimized by Packwood.

"We appreciate the fact that Packwood may be trying to deal with his problem, whatever that problem may be, but we don't see this as an alcohol problem. We see it as an abuse of power," said Betty Roberts, a former Oregon Supreme Court justice who is heading the coalition. "In many instances, there was no alcohol involved."

Packwood, 60, who narrowly won election to a fifth term Nov. 3, said Friday he would request and cooperate in an ethics committee investigation of the women's accounts of his actions.

Packwood also said he would seek counseling for what he described as his "problems" with alcohol, suggesting that a drinking problem may have affected his judgment and conduct.

The Washington Post reported Nov. 22 that since Packwood's earliest days on Capitol Hill, he has made uninvited sexual advances to women who worked for him or with him, including 10 women who gave specific accounts.

Josie Martin, Packwood's press secretary, said yesterday that the senator "voluntarily" entered a treatment facility on Sunday and that he would undergo tests and evaluation for a week before deciding whether to seek longer-term treatment.

Packwood's office, citing his right to privacy, declined to identify the facility other than to say that it is located somewhere outside the Washington area.

"I ask the media to give Senator Packwood the privacy he needs right now to begin this difficult evaluation process," Elaine Franklin, Packwood's chief of staff, said in a statement.

"It will involve some blood tests, some therapy, some sessions," Franklin told the Associated Press. "The facility is very trained in the use of alcohol. I'm not going to say any more about it."

James F. Fitzpatrick, a lawyer with Arnold & Porter, who was hired to represent Packwood in the ethics committee probe, said yesterday that Packwood has not formally requested an ethics committee review, but that "We're looking at the process now."

"We'll take whatever formal steps are appropriate," Fitzpatrick said. "To be honest, I really don't know what the timing will be. As a general proposition, one wants to move forward as quickly as is realistic."

Franklin said in a statement that Packwood "welcomes and will cooperate fully with the investigation."

The Senate ethics committee is responsible for investigating allega-

tions of improper conduct that may reflect adversely on the Senate or violate its code of conduct.

The committee is in disarray. Its chairman, Sen. Terry Sanford (D-N.C.), who was defeated for reelection, is recovering from heart surgery, and its vice chairman, Sen. Warren B. Rudman (R-N.H.), is retiring from the Senate.

However, Mitchell has pressed the two to launch a preliminary inquiry into the Packwood case. Sanford and Rudman are expected to be back at the Capitol today and will confer with leaders on how to proceed.

Earlier this year, the committee declined to investigate allegations that Sen. Brock Adams (D-Wash.) had made improper sexual advances toward eight women. Adams disputed the charges, which were first reported in the Seattle Times, but then announced that he would not seek another term this year.

In addition to Packwood and Adams, other members of the Senate recently have been accused of sexual wrongdoing. In October, Lenore Kwock, a Hawaiian hair stylist, publicly accused Sen. Daniel K. Inouye (D-Hawaii) of having sexually assaulted her 17 years ago. But she later said she would not cooperate should there be an ethics investigation because she had forgiven Inouye.

In the last several weeks, a Minnesota woman accused Sen. Dave Durenberger (R-Minn.) of raping her and fathering a son 29 years ago, when Durenberger was representing her in a divorce case. Durenberger, in a court response, said that any contact he had with the woman was consensual. She has filed a civil suit seeking at least \$50,000 in damages for physical and emotional pain.

Durenberger has agreed to submit to a blood test to determine paternity.

Gramm didn't tell panel of contacts to aid thrifts

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Sen. Phil Gramm said yesterday he never sought an Ethics Committee ruling on his contact with thrift regulators on behalf of a builder who constructed part of his vacation home.

The Texas Republican, in defending his business dealings with Dallas builder Jerry D. Stiles, has cited an Ethics Committee ruling in 1990 that he acted properly in paying only about half the cost of the 1987 construction work.

But Mr. Gramm, in a telephone interview from Texas, said he did not tell the committee there was another aspect of his relationship with Mr.

Stiles.

Mr. Gramm contacted U.S. thrift regulators on behalf of Mr. Stiles when the builder was seeking help in saving his three failing Texas savings and loans. All eventually were seized by the government at a cost of some \$200 million.

"It wasn't an issue" for the Ethics Committee, Mr. Gramm said, adding: "I never intervened improperly, and everybody that is involved now says that. It wasn't relevant to the question that was asked, which was, did I owe more?"

The senator's relationship with Mr. Stiles was reported Sunday in the New York Times.

During its investigation of five senators who had close relationships with former S&L operator Charles H. Keating Jr., the Ethics Committee warned last year that senators should be careful of intervening with regulators who help them personally — especially when the timing is close.

In this case, Mr. Stiles worked on the Gramms' vacation home, located on the Honga River on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, in 1987 and the senator paid him \$63,433 on Jan. 21, 1988, as they had agreed.

Two years after the work, Mr. Gramm said he learned the job cost much more. On Dec. 7, 1989, the sen-

ator paid Mr. Stiles an additional \$61,945 to cover the actual cost.

On Jan. 18, 1990, Mr. Gramm asked the Ethics Committee to rule on whether the initial underpayment amounted to a gift that could have violated Senate rules. The committee ruled on Jan. 31 that it did not. The extra payment eventually was given back to Mr. Gramm.

Mr. Stiles wrote the senator asking for help with his S&Ls on Dec. 12, 1988, nearly 11 months after Mr. Gramm made the initial payment to him.

In making the request, he wrote, "As I am sure you realize, time is of the essence."

Mr. Gramm's office wrote on Dec. 14 to George M. Barclay, president of the Federal Home Loan Bank of Dallas: "Please investigate and forward me the necessary information for reply." The letter also said, "We would very much appreciate it if we could receive a response on this as soon as possible."

Mr. Barclay wrote Mr. Stiles on Dec. 28 that he should submit his applications for recapitalizing the thrifts and they would be reviewed in a "timely manner."

Mr. Barclay also wrote the senator, saying his staff was "sympathetic" to Mr. Stiles' situation but, again, made no promises.

Gramm spokesman Larry Neal said "no intervention occurred and the sum of our communications involved the use of form letters to transmit requests." All similar constituent requests were handled in the same manner, he said.

Mr. Gramm said in a written statement, "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 regulators.

Mr. Barclay, in an interview, said, "What he did, which was routine for members of Congress, was pass on a constituent inquiry and ask that I provide a response or update."

House Divided Over Late-Night Speeches on TV

 DATE: 11/30
 PAGE: 4

■ **Congress: Republicans charge Democrats' plan to limit the practice is an attempt to suppress their voice.**

By ROBERT W. STEWART
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—House Republicans are bitterly contesting a plan by Democrats to cut short the lengthy, late-night floor speeches, televised on C-SPAN, that have become popular as tools to savage political opponents.

The dispute over "special order" speeches is a clash between the House's Democratic leaders, flush with their party's presidential victory, and minority Republicans who can no longer count on White House support in their battles.

In a recent letter, House Minority Leader Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.) said the plan to limit the after-hours speeches "represents an outrageous attempt to suppress the voice of the minority party." Democrats outnumber Republicans in the House 268-166.

House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.), to whom Michel addressed the letter, has not yet responded. But in an interview, Foley said that the special order speeches should be continued. "But there needs to be some limits," he said.

The popularity of special-order speech-making has grown steadily since 1979, when the Cable Satellite Public Affairs Network, known more commonly as C-SPAN, began broadcasting House proceedings to cable-TV viewers. Nearly 60 million households now have access to it.

As long as there is a member standing on the floor, C-SPAN will carry his or her remarks, said network senior vice president Susan Swain. "We made a commitment way back when that we would just carry the House without making any decision about what [proceedings] are more newsworthy than others," she said.

According to a study conducted by Stephen E. Frantzich, a professor of political science at the U.S. Naval Academy, the special orders in the House more than doubled after the introduction of the television cameras. Members have learned that a late-night speech to an empty chamber can catapult them into the news. A prime example was the lengthy, late-night attacks on Bill Clinton during the presidential campaign by Reps. Robert K. Dornan (R-Garden Grove), Randy (Duke) Cunningham (R-San Diego), Duncan Hunter (R-Coronado) and Sam Johnson (R-Tex.).

Their speeches prompted C-SPAN viewers to deluge news organizations with calls and ultimately resulted in a White House meeting between the congressmen and President Bush, whose campaign for a time appropriated the attack strategy.

House Democrats contend that Dornan and other Republicans abused the privilege by making wild charges in the early hours of the morning when few members were present to challenge the accusations.

"There is clearly a . . . demagogic quality to this," said one senior Democratic aide, who asked not to be named. "Members are protected in what they say in debate on the House floor. It can lead to pretty intemperate, if not irresponsible language. . . .

"If you limited the time," the aide added, "then you might get people from both sides of the aisle who are prepared to stick around" and answer whatever charges are made.

The restrictions would apply equally to Democrats, the aide noted, including Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez of Texas, who often makes use of the special order format.

But another Democratic aide, who also demanded anonymity, said Republicans see the late-night speeches as their forum. "They have captured the C-SPAN crowd," the aide said. "They see this as their way to communicate."

Several Democrats said the all-night sessions are costly for taxpayers, not because they involve overtime pay for salaried House staff members but because of the approximately \$500-a-page expense to record the speeches in the next day's Congressional Record.

Special orders are a tradition in the House. Under rules, a member of either party can request up to an hour to speak on any subject at the close of legislative business.

For instance, if five members of each party request special order time on a given day, the House could stay in session for as long as 10 additional hours, until all have completed their remarks. The only limit is the time set for the House to convene the next day.

According to top congressional aides, Democrats are looking at several plans to restrict late-night speeches. Under one being considered by a Democratic Caucus study committee, special orders would be limited to three hours each day—1½ hours for each party.

The Democratic Caucus is to meet next month to consider the rules that will govern the 103rd Congress. Officially, they must be adopted by the entire House after it convenes on Jan. 3. But the Democrats' lopsided majority ensures that rules they endorse will govern the House.

Special orders were also an issue in 1984, when then-Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill Jr. (D-Mass.) was incensed by GOP special orders that attacked the Democratic leadership. So he ordered the House staffers who remotely operate the House cameras to periodically pan the empty chamber during the addresses, showing viewers that few were present.

That practice continues today.

Tsongas Confirms His Abdominal Cancer, Says He Still Aspires to Presidency

By Christopher B. Daly
Special to The Washington Post

BOSTON, Nov. 30—Paul E. Tsongas, the former Massachusetts Democratic senator who was the first known cancer survivor to campaign for the presidency, confirmed today that he has a cancerous growth in his abdomen requiring further radiation and chemotherapy.

Tsongas, 51, had described himself as "cured" from a bout with lymphoma first diagnosed in 1983, but his health remained a nagging issue in the campaign. Tsongas said President-elect Clinton should create a commission that would establish guidelines for presidential candidates to release medical information. Tsongas said he now believes there is no alternative to full disclosure of actual medical records, and said he would release his entire medical history as an example.

The cancerous growth in his abdomen, which he described as a "large-cell lymphoma," has not spread to other parts of his body, Tsongas said. His doctors at the Dana-Farber

Cancer Institute here believe that the cancerous mass can be treated.

The growth was discovered in August as part of Tsongas's regular follow-up health care. Further tests indicated the need for a biopsy, which was performed Nov. 19.

At a news conference in the offices of his Boston law firm attended by his wife, Niki, and several aides, Tsongas confirmed recent press reports that the biopsied material was cancerous. He plans to begin chemotherapy this week.

"I intend to swim in the Nationals this year. There is no reason why not," Tsongas said, referring to the national swim tournament he has competed in before. "This is my 10th year of having this adversary. So I'm very comfortable with it."

In September 1983, while serving as a freshman senator, Tsongas was diagnosed with lymphoma, a form of cancer that affects the lymph system. Citing his desire to be with his family, he chose not to seek reelection to a second term in 1984.

Instead, he returned to Boston and underwent a then-experimental form of treatment known as "autologous bone marrow transplant." Under the care of George Canellos and Tak Takvorian, Tsongas had marrow removed from his hip and purified. With his marrow out, he was treated with whole-body radiation in an effort to kill all the cancerous cells in his body.

Later, the marrow was reinjected, and Tsongas made an impressive recovery. As a presidential candidate, he made a point of demonstrating his

good health by walking and swimming. He also spoke at length about his illness and treatment and asked his doctors to do the same.

In an interview with The Washington Post in November 1991, Tsongas said he considered himself "cured," because he had been cancer-free for more than five years. In separate interviews, his doctors declined to use the term "cured," but they said Tsongas had been disease-free since he was discharged in October 1986 and that they could find no medical problems.

In the 1991 Post interview, Tsongas noted that in 1987 "they found a node in my armpit, and to this day they disagree on what it was, but they pulled me in for a mass of radiation." Some Boston news media de-

scribed the node as a recurrence of cancer.

In April, 12 days after Tsongas suspended his Democratic presidential campaign, the New York Times depicted the 1987 node as a "recurrence" of Tsongas's cancer and suggested that the candidate and his doctors had been less than fully candid.

Tsongas's doctors said in April that it was unclear whether the node, which was treated with radiation, was a recurrence or a batch of residual malignant cells from the original case that had escaped treatment. In any case, they said he remained healthy.

At his news conference today, Tsongas said it remained "a little unclear" whether the newly detected malignant growth in his abdomen is a fresh case of cancer, a recurrence, or

something else. His doctors were not available for further questioning.

Tsongas spoke angrily today about news reports that have suggested that he or his doctors hid any important medical information from the American people during his campaign.

The former senator said he still suffered from another affliction—presidential ambition.

"The last living cell that will die in my body is the desire to be president of the United States. And there is no treatment for it," he said. Tsongas said the newly detected growth would not prevent him from running for president again, but he said the whole subject was speculative. He said he expects Clinton to have a long run in the White House.

Probe of Thomas-Hill Leak Is Said to Cost \$550,000

Reuter

An investigation to determine who leaked allegations of sexual harassment against Clarence Thomas during confirmation hearings on his Supreme Court nomination last year cost taxpayers more than \$550,000, the Senate said yesterday.

Anita F. Hill, who testified after the allegations were made public in October 1991, accused Thomas of badgering her for dates and offending her with obscene language when she was his aide at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission from 1981 to 1983. Thomas adamantly denied the charges and was confirmed.

Hill, a professor at the University of Oklahoma law school, had made the allegations in mid-September 1991 to the Senate Judiciary Committee by telephone and faxed statements after being contacted by committee staff members.

The committee had not made the charges public prior to the leaks because Hill did not want her name disclosed.

The Senate, in a semiannual report released yesterday, said \$499,983.50 in legal fees was paid to Curtis Mallet-Prevost Colt and Mosle, the New

York law firm of Peter Fleming. Fleming was hired by Senate leaders to head the four-month investigation to determine who had leaked the allegations to the media.

Payments for travel, staff salaries and other expenses for the investigation amounted to another \$50,000, the report said.

Fleming reported May 4 that he had been unable to find out who leaked Hill's allegations to Timothy Phelps of Newsday and Nina Totenberg of National Public Radio in October 1991 just before the Senate was to vote on Thomas's confirmation. Newsday and NPR were the first to report the allegations.

Phelps and Totenberg would not reveal their sources to Fleming, and the Senate did not force them to testify.

Fleming said that before the information was leaked, Hill's allegations were widely known among those following Thomas's confirmation.

Fleming also failed to find the source of leaks to Paul M. Rodriguez of the Washington Times about the Senate ethics committee's investigation of five senators' dealings with savings and loan owner Charles H. Keating Jr.

Powell: Military 'Struggling' Over Gays

General Says He Foresees No Mass Resignations If Ban Is Lifted

Associated Press

Gen. Colin L. Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said last night he doesn't believe that lifting the ban on homosexuals in the U.S. military would "break the force," nor would it cause mass resignations by those who support the prohibition.

Powell, speaking at American University, said the military is "struggling how best to handle that, if we have to handle it" when asked about President-elect Clinton's pledge to lift the ban.

Powell said he supports the ban, contending that allowing homosexuals in the military would strain discipline and impinge on privacy. But

he said, "I've never been of the view it will break the force . . . nor will there be large resignations" should the ban be dropped.

He noted that he has met with Clinton and said he believes the president-elect "will take time to study the issue fully."

"I hope we can keep some of the emotionalism out of this issue until we have time for a full debate, and I think that will take place early next year," Powell said.

Powell said lifting the ban was a complicated issue for the military services, given that military law bars sodomy and Congress would have to change that law.

Powell, who is black, said he gets "testy" when people compare the

integration of blacks into the military to the homosexual issue. "I need no lectures" on the history of blacks in the military, he said.

He argued that skin color is a "benign characteristic" but that sexual and privacy issues were much more difficult to manage among combat troops on the battlefield.

On women in combat, Powell said he did not think a presidential commission's recommendation to continue to bar females from combat aviation jobs will endure.

"I don't think it will hold water . . . I think the recommendation on combat will be revisited," he said. But he continued to oppose assignment of women to ground combat units.

HIGH COURT SPURNS GUAM BID TO REVIVE CURBS ON ABORTION

REFUSES TO HEAR APPEAL

6-3 Vote Reaffirms June Ruling That States Cannot Nullify Roe v. Wade Principles

By LINDA GREENHOUSE
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 30 — The Supreme Court made clear today that it meant what it said last June when it reaffirmed the constitutional right to abortion: that while states may regulate abortion, they may not outlaw it before a fetus becomes viable.

Voting 6 to 3, the Court refused to hear an appeal from a Federal appellate court ruling that Guam's broad prohibition on abortion is unconstitutional.

The Guam law, enacted in 1990, prohibited all abortions except those found by two doctors to be necessary to save a pregnant woman's life or to prevent a "grave" threat to her health. Last April a panel of the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, in San Francisco, found the law "clearly unconstitutional" under the principles of *Roe v. Wade*, the 1973 decision that the Court modified but affirmed in June by a 5-to-4 vote.

Thomas Joins Majority

The six Justices who voted today against hearing the appeal, filed by the Governor of Guam, did so without published comment. They included the five who made up the majority in *Planned Parenthood v. Casey* last June — Justices Sandra Day O'Connor, Anthony M. Kennedy, David H. Souter, Harry A. Blackmun and John Paul Stevens — plus a dissenter in that case, Justice Clarence Thomas.

The three other dissenters from the *Casey* decision, Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist and Justices Antonin Scalia and Byron R. White, dissented from the Court's action today. In an opinion by Justice Scalia, these three stopped short of saying the Court should hear the Guam appeal.

Rather, the three argued for vacating the Ninth Circuit's opinion and ordering that court to determine whether any possible application of the Guam law could be constitutional. Justice Scalia said that because the law had been struck down in the context of an "across-the-board challenge," the challenge to the law should be dismissed if it turned out that the law could be constitutionally applied in any circumstance.

An Unexplained Surprise

Justice Thomas's absence from the group of dissenters today was an unexplained surprise, although the effect of that absence was not clear. While it takes only four votes for the Court to accept a case for argument, it takes five votes to vacate a lower court opinion as the three dissenters urged. Had

Justice Thomas voted with the other three in an effort to force the Court to hear the case, the remaining five Justices could have countered by voting simply to affirm the Ninth Circuit's decision.

The Justices considered the case, *Ada v. Guam*, No. 92-104, for several weeks. During that time each side may well have tried various strategies for disposing of the case or keeping it alive. But there was no way the Court could have resurrected the Guam law in the absence of a fundamental change of heart by a member of the *Casey* decision's majority.

The National Right to Life Committee said in a statement today that the Court's action was "disappointing but unsurprising."

Simon Heller, senior lawyer for the Center for Reproductive Law and Policy, which represented some doctors from Guam who challenged the law, said he was "very happy and relieved." But he added that the division on the Court underscored the unfinished nature of the Justices' debate over the meaning of the "undue burden" standard the Court adopted in the *Casey* decision for reviewing abortion regulations.

'Undue Burden' Defined

The opinion that Justices O'Connor, Kennedy and Souter wrote in that case said that regulations placing an undue burden on a woman's access to abortion violate the Constitution. They defined "undue burden" as a regulation with "the purpose or effect of placing a substantial obstacle in the path of a woman seeking an abortion of a nonviable fetus."

Applying that standard, the Court struck down Pennsylvania's requirement that married women notify their husbands of a planned abortion, and upheld requirements that women wait 24 hours for their abortions after receiving counseling intended to persuade them to change their minds.

The decision left open numerous questions about how the new standard would be applied to different regulations and in different settings. A new case on the Court's docket may soon give the Justices the chance to debate and answer those questions. The new case, from Mississippi, raises more subtle issues than the clear-cut choice presented by the Guam appeal.

The case, *Barnes v. Moore*, No. 92-588, which the Court has not yet accepted for decision, began as a challenge to a 1991 Mississippi law that imposed a 24-hour waiting period and counseling requirements similar to those in Pennsylvania. Just before the Mississippi law was scheduled to take effect, a Federal District Court issued an injunction against its enforcement.

Case Ordered Dismissed

Last August, barely a month after the Supreme Court's *Casey* decision, the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, in New Orleans, lifted the injunction and ordered the case dismissed. The appellate court ruled that because the Supreme Court had found that the Pennsylvania provisions did not impose an undue burden the same provisions could not be challenged in Mississippi before the law took effect.

The appellate court refused to permit the plaintiffs in the case to present any evidence about the differences between Mississippi and Pennsylvania, like Mississippi's greater poverty or the distance that most women there live from that state's three abortion clinics. Abortions fell sharply in Missis-

issippi after the law took effect in August.

The doctors who brought the case, represented by the Center for Reproductive Law and Policy, contend that the appellate court misinterpreted the *Casey* decision. They say the decision did not automatically validate all similar abortion restrictions, but rather, set out a framework in which restrictions in each state could be evaluated individually.

Court Again Takes Up Question Of Big Awards for Some Damages

By LINDA GREENHOUSE
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 30 — The Supreme Court agreed today to decide whether a jury's award of punitive damages can be so excessive in comparison with the actual damages as to violate the constitutional guarantee of due process of law.

The Court's action was a surprise, coming less than two years after the Court last addressed the issue of punitive damages with a 7-to-1 decision that did little to curb the broad discretion juries have traditionally exercised over damage questions.

Since that March 1991 ruling, in a case called *Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Company v. Haslip*, the Court has refused to hear dozens of challenges to punitive damage awards, and the issue has remained one of urgent concern to insurance companies, manufacturers and critics of the liability system.

The case the Court accepted today is an appeal from a ruling issued this year by the West Virginia Supreme Court. In unusually colorful language, the state justices upheld a \$10 million punitive damage award against an oil company, which a jury found to have caused \$19,000 in actual damages by bringing a frivolous lawsuit against another company.

In his opinion upholding the award, Justice Richard Neely said that in his view punitive damages should ordinarily be no more than five times greater than the compensatory damage award. But he said that in this case the defendant had been "really mean" and thus deserved to be assessed punitive damages of more than 500 times the actual harm the company was found to have caused.

Whether it was that rhetorical approach or some other factor that attracted the High Court's attention to this case is impossible to know, since the Court does not explain its decisions to grant or deny review. The Justices may have been looking for a case with which to revisit the issue in light of several studies indicating that the vaguely worded limits that the 1991 decision set on jurors' discretion have had little or no effect on curbing lopsided punitive damage awards.

Justice Harry A. Blackmun's majority opinion in the 1991 case concluded

that the protections of constitutional due process do apply to punitive damages and that "extreme" awards might be unconstitutional. The decision instructed states to establish procedures to make sure that juries exercise discretion "within reasonable constraints."

The new case, *TXO Production Corporation v. Alliance Resources Corporation*, No. 92-479, began as a dispute over the rights to drill for oil and natural gas on a 1,000-acre tract in McDowell County, W. Va.

TXO, which later merged with the Marathon Oil Company, now the USX-Marathon Corporation, had agreed to pay Alliance, which leased the property, \$20 an acre for the rights. But TXO then brought a lawsuit, saying there was a problem with the title to the property. Alliance, asserting that the lawsuit was frivolous and a bargaining ploy, countersued for slander and won the large award.

There are two separate constitutional due process issues in the case. One is procedural, asking the Court to decide whether the West Virginia court established the procedural safeguards against excessive jury awards that the Supreme Court's 1991 decision appeared to require. The second question asks the Court to resolve the substantive issue of whether the \$10 million award was so disproportionate as to be unconstitutional. The case will be argued in the spring.

There were also these developments at the Court today:

Old Policy and New

President-elect Bill Clinton's promise to withdraw the current executive order on the treatment of Haitian refugees has put the Court at risk of wasting time because the Court has agreed to hear the Bush Administration's defense of the current policy in a case due to be argued in February.

After Mr. Clinton's election, lawyers representing the Haitian refugees asked the Court to suspend further work on the case until after Inauguration Day to give the new President a chance to make the case moot. Without comment, the Court denied the request. Justices Blackmun and Souter dissented, also without comment. The case is *McNary v. Haitian Centers Council*, No. 92-344.

The Court has not yet announced whether it will hear another case that presents a similar problem in a different area of policy. The Bush Administration is appealing a ruling by a Federal appeals court in California that reinstated a lawsuit by a lesbian Army reservist, Dusty Pruitt, challenging her discharge for violating the Army's regulation against homosexuality. In reinstating the lawsuit last year, the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, in San Francisco, said the Army had not provided adequate justifications for its policy.

The Bush Administration's appeal, *Cheney v. Pruitt*, No. 92-389, argues

that the Army should not have to defend its policy and that the lawsuit should have been dismissed. President-elect Clinton has said he will lift the bar against homosexuals' serving in the military.

Cable Television

Accepting an appeal from the Federal Communications Commission, the Court agreed to decide the validity of a section of the 1984 Federal law that provides a regulatory framework for cable television.

The law permits cable operators who serve residential customers in a single building or in commonly owned buildings to operate without a local license, while requiring operators serving separately owned buildings to have a license. A panel of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit said the distinction violated the constitutional guarantee of equal protection of the law.

Because it is extremely unusual for a court to invalidate an economic regulation on equal protection grounds, the case, *F.C.C. v. Beach Communications*, No. 92-603, is important beyond the rather narrow regulatory dispute that it involves. The broader issue is whether the Federal courts will be scrutinizing regulations of this sort more critically than in the past.

Abortion sides pick sites for battles

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Abortion opponents will be fighting in nine states to further restrict the procedure, while abortion rights advocates pin their hopes on a new Congress and a Clinton administration to do just the opposite.

In the states, battles are shaping up over laws that would impose waiting periods, require parental notification for minors and require that pregnant women be told their options and about fetal development.

At the same time, both sides are shifting much of their focus to Congress, where a Freedom of Choice Act stalled last session could turn into next year's landmark abortion rights law.

"The world changed on Nov. 3," said sociologist Kristin Luker, a professor at the University of California, Berkeley, and an abortion scholar. "It's going to be a very different political situation to have a president avowedly for abortion rights."

In the meantime, 1.5 million women and girls will probably have abortions this year, based on averages from the Allen Guttmacher Institute, which researches reproductive issues.

More pertinent to those women than the future of abortion politics are current efforts to restrict access to abortion since the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling on the subject in June. In *Planned Parenthood vs. Casey*, the court looked at Pennsylvania's abortion law and decided states cannot ban most abortions but may restrict them.

Abortion opponents in Illinois, Indiana, Michigan and Utah are proposing restrictions like Pennsylvania's, which include a 24-hour waiting period and informed consent, although the law is back in a lower court.

Also in Illinois, abortion rights advocates may push the state to protect clinics beset by protesters.

Alaska Gov. Walter J. Hickel's ban on state funded abortions is under review. Abortion rights groups promise a fight if it's approved.

In Iowa, abortion opponents rejoined Nov. 3. They helped defeat a proposed Equal Rights Amendment

ON THE ABORTION FRONT

Abortion legislation likely in the coming year.

U.S. Congress: Both chambers expected to see bills that would create a Freedom of Choice Act. Intended to turn *Roe vs. Wade* into law, the legislation got hung up last session in political maneuvering and risked doom from a Bush veto.

Alaska: Gov. Walter J. Hickel's ban on state funding for abortion undergoing legal review. After likely approval, challenges also likely.

Illinois: Bills to propose waiting period and informed consent. Pro-choice advocates may push to protect abortion clinics from protesters.

Indiana: Pro-life groups want a 24-hour waiting period and informed consent including information on fetal development and options.

Iowa: Legislature likely to pass laws requiring parental notification for minors and to require clinics to report how many abortions they perform.

Michigan: Current ban on state-funded abortion except to save a woman's life, with parental consent provision for minors, could be amended to add 24-hour waiting period and informed consent.

South Dakota: Expected return of narrowly defeated 1991 bid to pass ban on abortion that would only exempt rape, incest and risk to a woman's health.

Utah: State legislators plan to propose a law like Pennsylvania's with 24-hour wait, informed consent.

Virginia: Parental consent passed narrowly last year but was vetoed by Gov. L. Douglas Wilder, who said he would accept well-drafted restriction. New version expected. Also expected: a bill that would make it a felony to block an abortion clinic on a second offense.

The Washington Times

and the legislature gained more conservatives. So they're optimistic about proposals to require parental notification for minors and to require clinics to report how many abortions they perform.

The Virginia Legislature will likely entertain a parental consent bill and be asked to make blocking an abortion clinic a felony on a second offense.

In Wyoming, petitioners are collecting names for a 1994 ballot measure that would bar abortion, except in cases of rape, incest or danger to the mother's life.

"There's still a very great threat in many states to the right to choose," said Dawn Johnsen, legal director of the National Abortion Rights Action League in Washington, D.C. "We're going to see more obstacles imposed beginning in January, which is why we need the Freedom of Choice Act."

But Burke Balch, state legislative director of the National Right to Life Committee, says his adversaries are crying wolf.

"It's clearly in the interest of the

other side to try to create the sense of imminent peril," Mr. Balch said. "That suddenly state legislatures are poised all over the country to pass laws as Draconian as they can make them. It gets their forces invigorated and gets their funding up."

"Obviously," he said, "we cannot pass any [state] laws that would directly protect unborn children."

That's why anti-abortion forces say they're devoted to defeating any Freedom of Choice Act, which they argue goes beyond the Supreme Court's 1973 *Roe v. Wade* ruling.

"It really is a federal license to the doctor to do an abortion anytime he wants," said Douglas Johnson, the National Right to Life Committee's chief lobbyist in Congress. "The focus ... will rest primarily on this bill."

Abortion rights advocates feel encouraged by Election Day referendums on abortion: Voters in Arizona rejected a virtual ban on abortion by more than 2-to-1, while in Maryland, by nearly the same margin, voters said the state cannot interfere with

abortion.

They also may take heart from yesterday's U.S. Supreme Court decision to leave intact rulings that struck down a 1990 Guam law that barred nearly all abortions in the U.S. territory. The 6-3 vote marked the first time in 20 years the high court refused to review a major abortion dispute.

The election's results in South Dakota were less promising for abortion-rights supporters. The National Abortion Rights Action League calls the state the "No. 1 threat" to abortion rights.

The election produced a legislature apt to pass a proposed ban on abortion except in cases of rape, incest and danger to the mother's health.

Yet the bill's champion is uneasy. "I am afraid the federal leadership may take away some of our influence," South Dakota state Rep. Harvey Krautschun, a Republican, said.

His 1991 anti-abortion bill swept the state House in 1991 and failed by a single vote in the Senate. Mr. Krautschun said the bill will be back, but added, "I see some things that may not be real pleasing to us."

Until now, abortion rights advocates fretted that conservatives on the U.S. Supreme Court were eroding its *Roe vs. Wade* ruling permitting abortion. Efforts to cement the ruling into law looked hopeless.

Those days appear to be over.

"The pro-life movement will see itself even more now as having its back up against the wall," said Christopher Wolfe, a professor who teaches political science at Marquette University in Milwaukee and opposes abortion.

"If the Clinton administration can push through the Freedom of Choice Act, and if Clinton serves eight years," Mr. Wolfe said, "it seems to me abortion could dig even deeper roots in American life between now and the turn of the century."

Cutting Congress' staff

During the presidential campaign, Bill Clinton had a good idea: He would trim the White House staff by 25 percent if Congress would agree to cut back its staff by the same percentage. But he is finding out that this campaign pledge will be difficult to keep, and he seems to be retreating from it with alacrity.

In his first meeting with the Democratic congressional leadership — which would bear the brunt of Mr. Clinton's proposed cuts — Mr. Clinton was fed a line of disinformation from Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, who advanced the argument that Congress should be spared its portion of the cut since the executive branch staff had increased in recent years, while the staff of the Congress had declined by 4 percent in the past decade. Mr. Clinton quickly seemed to accept the majority leader's figures, saying he would now "set an example" by cutting the White House staff while simply encouraging Congress to continue its downward trend in staffing.

Mr. Mitchell was certainly correct that the White House staff increased far too fast under Mr. Bush — a full 20 percent, according to the Office of Personnel Management. Thus, Mr. Clinton's proposal of a 25 percent cut seemed right on the mark.

The story on Capitol Hill, however, is not as Mr.

Mitchell presented it. Again according to OPM, as reported recently in the Wall Street Journal, congressional staff numbered 36,490 in 1986 and totaled 38,509 at the end of October.

That's not exactly the 4 percent decline that Mr. Mitchell described to Mr. Clinton. To show the 4 percent decline, Mr. Mitchell had to reach back and compare the staff figures from 1980, the year the congressional staff peaked, with the figures from 1991. He thereby obscured the clear fact that the staff has been growing again since 1986.

Mr. Clinton had the right idea in the first place. Both the executive and legislative branches can stand a significant downsizing in staff. Indeed, much of the increased executive staffing has by and large simply been a way of keeping up with the increased demands for information and consultation placed on the president by the proliferation of congressional staff that began after Watergate.

On Nixon-to-China grounds, perhaps Mr. Clinton could succeed where other recent presidents have failed. He cannot do so, however, if he permits Congress to decide on its own what the appropriate level of staffing is. As Mr. Mitchell's sleight-of-hand demonstrated, Congress just can't be trusted on an issue so near and dear to its power.

Now they tell us

Seems like just the other day that the good people over at The Washington Post were defending President-elect Bill Clinton's plans to tax the rich. Nothing new there. The gospel of envy may not attract the worshipers it once did, but The Post still keeps the faith.

So it must have come as something of a shock to the true believers there that, well, there is a not-so-little "hitch," as the paper itself put it, in taxing the rich: They aren't stupid. That is, rich folks aren't likely to leave their money lying around where Mr. Clinton and like-minded members of Congress can get their hands on it.

In anticipation of an increase in the top tax rate from 31 percent to 36 percent-to-38 percent, as Mr. Clinton proposed, they will invest and spend in different ways. Instead of buying taxable bonds, they may buy tax-free municipal bonds. They may take bonuses this year instead of next. They may push deductions such as charitable or religious contributions into next year, lowering their tax liability. They could take compensation in the form of perks rather than pay.

Others may take advantage of a much-discussed liberalization of Individual Retirement Accounts, an expanded tax shelter backed by Texas Sen. Lloyd Bentsen that looks all the more likely to become law in view of the fact that he could wind up as Mr. Clinton's treasury secretary. They could invest in art works whose "dividends" wouldn't be subject to a higher income tax. If that's not enough, Mr. Clinton himself has proposed an investment tax credit that will make somebody somewhere a nice tax shelter.

These are just a few of the myriad possibilities available to upper-income earners. All are perfectly legal. With a little high-priced accounting help, each taxpayer can figure out the course best for him.

"The people in government have grossly underestimated the intellect of these people," a market researcher told The Post. "They are extremely clever. They are not going to let a group of bureaucrats take their money from them."

So? When people take their money out of the taxable economy, government has a hard time generating more revenues no matter how high it raises income tax rates. And that means, says The Post, "the new tax revenues Clinton hopes to collect from the rich won't go as far as his plan is counting on."

Now, weeks after the election, they tell us. If it's a little late to do anything about the past presidential election, it's nonetheless a timely tax warning to those persons who don't think of themselves as rich. The real money is down there in the middle class, a much bigger target with fewer resources to take advantage of a revitalized tax-shelter industry.

After interviewing some two dozen economists, tax experts and policy analysts, Money magazine is downright ominous: "The glaring gap between the taxes coming in and the money going out will have to be filled by someone, and guess who'll get hit? Yes, despite Clinton's avowed intentions to tap only the 1 percent of taxpayers making \$150,000 or more, you're a likely target if you're married and earn \$80,000 or more, or single and make above \$50,000."

Have a nice day.

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Comment

ON THE NATION

For the GOP, a Comeback by Tolerance

BY JOHN PODHORETZ

WASHINGTON
Wandering amid the wreckage of the Bush presidency, Washington's Republicans are veering between spasms of dread about future jobs and surprisingly good cheer about the party's longer-term prospects.

The dread is personal: What are Republican policy wonks to do now that three major institutions—the executive branch, the legislative branch and the media—are in hostile hands?

The good cheer comes from the general acknowledgment that the election results were a repudiation of George Bush the man, not the party. Also heartening is the fact that Bill Clinton did not win a particularly commanding victory. To Republicans, he is assuming the presidency in a weak position and has little margin for error.

In 1996, Republicans may well have the ability to renovate the party's disastrous '92 image as a bunch of gay-bashing, single-mother-haters by running to the left of the Democratic Party on one of its signal issues this year—tolerance.

There was a whiff of the trouble it might pose earlier this year, when Hillary Clinton uttered her impromptu dismissal of women who stay home and bake cookies. The public outcry that followed was an expression of the widespread sense many traditionally minded Americans have that their elite brethren look down on them and think themselves terribly superior. Clinton may talk a lot about the middle class, but he, his wife and their closest friends are not occupants of that class. They are, instead, members of the articulate class—those of us who write and talk for a living. And the particular disease of the articulate class is precisely the sort of smug social intolerance represented by Hillary Clinton's remark.

The tolerance issue cuts deeper still. Though the Republican Party was accused of advancing a stultifying political orthodoxy at its convention, the Democratic Party and its attendant interest groups are slowly being co-opted by their own brand of cultural orthodoxy. Call it political correctness, call it the new sensitivity, call it whatever you want—this radical form of intolerance that used to be concentrated on college campuses has begun to dominate the public discussion.

John Podhoretz is a visiting fellow at the Hudson Institute.

On issues of interest to liberals, freedom and fair play are being discarded. Take women's rights. The issue has gone so far afield that Americans prominent and obscure are being accused of what George Orwell called "sex crime" because they ask women out on dates. This neo-Victorianism is not coming out of the Republican Party, which can be accused of trying to turn the clock back only as far as the 1950s.

Sex education is another matter. In the name of health, city officials in Washington and New York are insisting they will give children condoms in school regardless of the views or desires of their parents. This episode of "Bureaucrat Knows Best" is another example of how intolerant liberally minded and well-intentioned people can be.

The Republicans have helped to restrain the imperial ambitions of government bureaucrats and the spread of political correctness, but with Democrats in charge of the White House and the Congress, and with a sympathetic press, there may be no brake on the growth of the new intolerance. And if Americans start feeling as though they are being oppressed and bedeviled by arch and sanctimonious Washington insiders on matters of privacy and social conduct, the GOP may have a real opening in 1996.

Republicans are going to need it, because the collapse of their unifying enemy, world communism, atomized the misnamed "conservative movement." The new post-communist right is merely a bunch of people with wildly different political obsessions—abortion for the religious right, capital-gains tax cutting for the supply-siders—and only a common set of dislikes—Anita Hill and Oliver Stone, to name two.

The Republican governing coalition is now split into three camps. The first and most easily defined is the "war party"—the followers of Pat Robertson and Patrick Buchanan, whose belief that there is a "religious war" going on in America links their pro-life views with their anger at the growing acceptance of a moral equivalency between the traditional American way of life and so-called alternative lifestyles.

The second camp is the "country club"—Republicans led by Sen. Bob Dole and Secretary of Labor Lynn Martin, who believe in fiscal probity and balanced budgets and a moderate social agenda.

The third is the "growth group"—Republicans following Jack Kemp who believe that stimulating economic growth by drastically reducing the costs of capital for small business is the key to the American future.

All three camps are going to embrace what the inside-the-Beltwayans call "the empowerment agenda." That is an infelicitous blanket appellation for policies such as school choice designed to take tax dollars away from government bureaucracies and to put both in the hands of ordinary Americans through vouchers. Kemp is the politician most closely associated with the concept, which Republicans hope and pray is their ticket back to power.

It isn't, though, because it's just a buzzword, one that Clinton has already adopted. The keys to a Republican renaissance can be summed up in one word: optimism. Optimism—faith in America and in the American future—was the special gift of Ronald Reagan to his party and the nation, and it was the loss of this gift that helped spell Bush's doom.

Everybody in Washington thinks the "growth group" is in the power position. Kemp is hands-down the most popular Republican politician among the party faithful. But here is where it starts getting tricky. Although Kemp is personally popular, the "growth group" has nowhere near the clout of the "war party." The "war party" is an actual voting bloc that proved itself the most loyal Republican constituency in 1992 and might well be larger than that, since Ross Perot surely drew some support from them as well.

Meanwhile, the "country club," in the person of Dole, is making an aggressive move to take the reins of the party by appealing to the budget-balancers among the homeless Perot voters. Dole and fellow country-clubber Bob Michel, the GOP leader of the House, are, by default, the power centers in a city dominated by the Democrats.

But what was true for the Democrats this year will be equally true for the Republican Party in 1996: The next election will be a referendum on Clinton's performance. If he is not successful, the GOP will

be ready if it can manage to keep itself whole.

For this to happen, Republicans must become the party of tolerance—Republican tolerance. PC tolerance requires society not only express its sympathy and support for the problems of a given interest group but also take rigorous, even reverse-discriminatory, steps to solve the problems. It is a matter of policy. Republican tolerance, by contrast, is about manners: You should be nice to people, but you should not be compelled to express your support for them and what they do.

Republican tolerance is more illustrative of the American character. The danger for Republicans is always that their moral and ideological messages will start to sound shrill and discordant. Republican tolerance must be accompanied by a more composed and more commanding face than it has worn these past two years in the guise of the increasingly hysterical and disconnected Bush—a welcoming face that says:

"If you think those guys don't understand you and are demanding things of you that you do not wish to give, that does not make you a bigot or a racist or a sexist or a fascist. You're just like everybody else, tired of being accused of crimes you did not commit and being asked to bear burdens you do not feel you should bear. We are your party."

It might happen, if Republicans can just calm down a little.

E. J. Dionne Jr.

They Shouldn't Blame Bush

The most important task among political conservatives these days might be described as the Legacy Preservation Project. What they're trying to preserve is the legacy of Ronald Reagan. The main slogan of this project is: Blame Bush First.

Conservatives hope to keep their cause alive by arguing that everything that went wrong in 1992 is the fault of President Bush and his henchmen—especially budget director Richard Darman and Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady. Their goal is to demonstrate that Bush's anemic 38 percent of the vote cannot possibly be seen as the fault either of conservatives or of a certain sainted former president.

Bush certainly gave the Legacy Preservation folks a lot of material to work with. The 1992 Republican campaign really was terrible, above all because Bush never even made his own best case for reelection.

Conservatives and Republicans had spent the 1980s winning the presidency by counting on economic growth and by trashing Democrats and liberals. Even when growth stopped, they maintained their faith in trashing.

But by 1992, liberals hadn't been in power for a long time. And Bill Clinton was not about to make things easy by turning himself into that parody of liberalism that had given Republicans such a large target.

The tragedy for the Republicans is that Bush actually did have a case to make, and he even made it now and again—particularly his Detroit economic speech in September. The core conservative argument was that a largely unregulated economy would produce more growth than an economy directed by the government. To the extent that government could help solve social problems, it would do so best by "empowering" individuals, through programs such as education vouchers and Housing Secretary Jack Kemp's initiatives to help the poor buy or manage public housing projects.

Bush could even have gone beyond this, arguing that his refusal to intervene much during the recession was not the product of indifference but a principled decision to give a complex economy a chance to mend itself during a difficult period of global transition.

But instead of making their case, the Republicans tried to win by arguing that Bill Clinton was a slick, untrustworthy big taxpayer who may even have been untrue to his country as a young man.

This approach worked no better than the efforts of Jimmy Carter's 1980 campaign to paint Reagan as a warmonger. Voters wanted to know how the Republicans would solve the problems they were worried about now, much as they were looking for a reason to reelect Carter. They never got a compelling reason to vote for Carter again, and they didn't get one to do the same for Bush.

But it is simply unfair to hang this whole mess on the defeated president. If conservatives try to do that, they'll evade the questions they ought to be asking themselves if they want to win the White House again in four years.

Yes, Bush broke his pledge on taxes. But the truth is that Reagan signed an even bigger tax increase than Bush did. Reagan got away with it because the economy turned up shortly after his tax hike and because many conservatives were willing to forgive Reagan almost anything. If Reagan agreed to raise taxes, it had to be because he had no choice. Conservatives never gave Bush the benefit of the doubt.

The real problem was that conservatives never tried to produce the smaller government they kept promising. Social Security, Medicare, defense spending, farm subsidies—these were all immensely popular with conservative voters. They also happen to consume huge chunks of the federal budget. Both Bush and Reagan were forced to raise taxes because they never tried hard to cut from the largest parts of the federal budget.

Thus the first question for conservatives: Are they really for a smaller government, or do they just want to talk about it?

The "family values" issue also blew up in the conservatives' faces. This is not because most Americans reject the importance of family stability. In fact, voters consistently told the pollsters that the breakdown of the family was one of the central causes of our social problems.

But conservatives never really had as much to say about "family values" as they pretended. It's easy to bash gays, feminists, the media, Murphy Brown, welfare mothers, liberals and rap music. It's a lot harder to explain how government might embark on that oldest of conservative tasks—to promote "virtue" among the citizenry.

It's especially difficult because contemporary conservatism is being ripped apart by the struggle between the virtuecrats and the libertarians. The virtuecrats think the government's main task is to make us better people and citizens, while the libertarians think government should just get out of the way.

Conservatives have been trying to paper over this conflict for a long time, and they can't do so much longer. It's hard for conservatives to say they're preaching virtue when their main promise is to cut taxes so everybody can buy, invest, spend and consume however they want. There's a perfectly good case to make for either side of conservatism, and there are even ways of bringing the two stands together. But conservatives have failed either to choose or to synthesize. It's one reason why they're in so much trouble.

The Legacy Preservation Project ought to content itself with those aspects of the Reagan-Bush memory that are already secure. Soviet communism is dead, and Reagan and Bush will ultimately get some of the credit for its demise. Market economics has a standing it did not enjoy 12 years ago, even among many on the left. Strong families are seen as essential to social progress even among liberals sympathetic to feminism, gay rights and single mothers. That ought to be enough.

Instead of spending their time trying to preserve a legacy, conservatives need to worry about how they'll create a new one.

E. J. Dionne Jr. writes about politics for *The Post*.

DATE: 12-1
PAGE: 14COLUMN RIGHT/
JOSEPH FARAH

Where Are the Ethics Cops Now?

■ The Summerland home deal should challenge the press to hold Clinton to his promise of a higher standard.

Imagine the following hypothetical scenario: It's 1988, and George Bush has just been elected President. An oil industry executive and major contributor to the campaign announces that he has leased, at \$8,000 a month, a mansion on the Gulf Coast of Texas for use by the new chief executive and his family anytime they want to "just kick back and relax for a few days."

How do you suppose news reporters and other self-appointed ethics cops would react? Wouldn't such an action prompt questions about the possibilities of conflict-of-interest and influence-peddling?

Flash forward to 1992: Why haven't similar questions been raised regarding the acquisition of a beachfront home by Harry Thomason and his wife, Linda Bloodworth-Thomason, for the use of Bill and Hillary Clinton?

The Thomasons are among the most politically active people in Hollywood, and they unapologetically use their money and their television shows to push liberal causes and candidates. Might the Thomasons—like that hypothetical oil company executive—want something from the White House some day?

Well, they say, the Thomasons are just good friends who feel sorry for the Clintons who don't own a house of their own. But if friendship alone is the motivation, why did the Thomasons wait until Bill Clinton was elected President before setting him up with beachfront digs?

After all, during the campaign, candidate Clinton insisted it was vitally important that the President avoid even the appearance of conflict-of-interest in his dealings with political lobbyists and special interests. Remember how both Ross Perot and Clinton denounced the way those seeking political favors are routinely allowed access to the corridors of power in Washington? Things were going to be different, they said. Is it, therefore, appropriate for the Clintons to accept such generosity—especially from a couple known for their strident political activism? Isn't it just a little unseemly for the President of the United States to be so beholden to anyone?

You don't have to resort to hypothetical situations to see that the Thomasons and Clintons are beneficiaries of a glaring media double standard.

There were many questions raised over whether it was appropriate for Nancy Reagan to accept designer dresses on loan

**'The Thomasons and Clintons
are beneficiaries of a glaring
media double standard.'**

during her years in the White House. Does the loan of designer dresses even compare with the use of a country-French vacation home on the Pacific Ocean? And the Bel-Air home leased by the Reagans from friends was a different situation in that they paid prevailing rental fees and occupied it after he left office.

Though their story keeps changing, the Thomasons, producers of such television shows as "Designing Women" and "Evening Shade," clearly leased the Summerland house with the First Couple in mind. In Summerland, nearby Point Mugu Naval Air Weapons Station provides security and accessibility to Air Force One. The retreat is also near the beach house of Warren Christopher, director of Clinton's White House transition team.

While Harry Thomason said they had been looking for a home near the beach "on and off for months," the timing of this acquisition—just days after the election—and the announcement of an open-door policy toward the First Family should raise some ethical questions.

And even before the house deal, the Clintons were deeply indebted to the Thomasons. The Thomasons' production company became known as a kind of second campaign headquarters for the Clinton team. The President-elect's brother, Roger, was hired by the Thomasons as a production assistant.

The Thomason influence was also felt during the Democratic National Convention. The Clinton family's televised walk to Madison Square Garden was orchestrated by Harry Thomason. His wife produced Clinton's tear-jerking, 14-minute campaign film, highlighted by footage of a 16-year-old Bill Clinton in the White House Rose Garden shaking hands with President John F. Kennedy. The Thomasons are also involved in the production of the multimillion-dollar inauguration extravaganza.

Personal relationships, of course, transcend political office. And no one can question the Clintons' right to choose their own friends. The President-elect is also enjoying the traditional honeymoon with the press and political adversaries. But don't the Clintons, who claim to be just ordinary working people and went to great lengths to promise the American people a higher ethical standard, deserve at least the scrutiny we have given his recent predecessors?

Joseph Farah, former editor of the Sacramento Union, is executive director of the Western Journalism Center.

WILLIAM BUCKLEY JR.

Answers locked in the military closet

The business about ending the ban against homosexuals entering the military has interested the public for two reasons. The first is that it is a very early indication of Bill Clinton appearing to hedge on a campaign promise. The second has, of course, to do with the merits of that promise.

All we really know is that Mr. Clinton had a very long session with Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and that Gen. Powell is ardently opposed to the idea of homosexuals in the military. What we do not know is what arguments Gen. Powell used to advance his position, other than those generally quoted, which have to do with the "morale" of the military.

This isn't enough of an argument, given that it is generally accepted that there have been, and are, a lot of homosexuals in the services, and that their sexual behavior has not been noticed, and that therefore the assumption has to be that they have performed their duties. We know, of course, that there are specific examples of men who performed well un-

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der special stress, in some instances heroically.

But we are at the same time informed that 15,000 homosexuals have been discharged as such during the past five years. What we do not know — and getting at the details is very difficult — is exactly what they were discharged for.

Fifteen thousand over five years breaks down to an average of 10 per day. Here, it would seem, are the relevant questions:

(1) Of these 10 per day, how many

were lesbians, how many males? One professor learned in sociology and psychology offers the opinion that probably a larger number of women than men are involved. This is purely intuitive, he says, on the grounds that to sign up for a military profession is a greater departure from what women are expected to do than it is for men.

(2) We need then to ask, with respect to women as well as to men: Of those 10 cases per day, how many involved homosexuals who identified themselves as such? The answer to that has got to be: pretty few. There is hardly any reason to go to the lengths of signing up in the military in order to declare yourself disqualified to serve once you have got in. The great majority of those 15,000 discharges have got to be homosexuals who were caught engaging in activity forbidden by the military and punished by expulsion.

(3) One such activity, obviously, would be the attempted seduction of a fellow soldier. How many of those 10 daily discharges were the result of Pvt. John/Jean Jones reporting to a superior that Pvt. James/Jane Smith pawed at him/her during the night, constituting an act of sexual aggression or harassment? The sergeant reports the transgression to the company commander, the company commander reports it to the trial judge advocate, and we have a court-martial resulting in the discharge of James/Jane.

One's suspicion is that such discharges can't have been that frequent. A court-martial tends to get publicity, especially when sensitive issues, for instance those involving sex, are involved. If there were a thousand-odd courts-martial per year involving aggressive homosexual activity in the military, we'd probably have heard about it.

(4) This leaves us assuming that the great majority of the expulsions for homosexuality have been the result of derelictions spotted by other soldiers, reported and acted upon. Let us suppose that Cpl. Pickens came unexpectedly into a barracks supposed to be empty because of maneuvers, and there saw two soldiers, male-male or female-female, having at it, as the British put it. He goes to company headquarters, reports the incident, and the transgressors are discharged.

(5) Normal curiosity, bent on deciding whether to support Mr. Clinton or Gen. Powell on the controversy, is likely to ask questions for which answers are not readily available. One has to do with the rate of promiscuity in the homosexual legions, widely advertised as exceeding by far that of heterosexuals.

Pause to ask: Is this a military concern? The equivalent among heterosexuals is variously named. In its extreme, it is satyriasis, or nymphomania. Slightly reduced, one speaks

of the Don Juan complex, or whatever. Is it a matter of military concern if some or even a lot of its soldiers prowls the streets at night looking for pickups? If it isn't a matter of grave concern, and given our knowledge that such activity is common in military areas, then ought it to be a matter of grave concern if homosexuals are doing their equivalent of this?

Are moral questions here relevant? I.e., fornication is also immoral, but is promiscuous homosexual sex more to be abominated? Are we talking matters of hygiene? I.e., although we can cure syphilis, we don't have a cure for AIDS. Is this a factor to be weighed?

It is hard to predict how Mr. Clinton will act. If he is going to change his mind on the matter, he is going to have to give a very detailed explanation of why, upon consideration, he thinks Gen. Powell is correct in these matters, and that he was impulsive. If so, he will need to discuss such matters as we touch on here.



A sunny day in Georgia for the GOP

CAL THOMAS

Republican Paul Coverdell's victory over incumbent Wyche Fowler in the Georgia Senate race provided a much-needed boost in what has been a disastrous political year for the GOP. The solace Republicans take from Mr. Coverdell's victory can be compared to visiting the lawyer's office when the head of the family's will is read. The grief at the loss remains, but there is considerable consolation that the deceased has left a large fortune to his heirs.

When Harris Wofford defeated Republican Dick Thornburgh in a special Pennsylvania Senate election last year, pundits touted it as a warning sign of the Republican Party's weakness and the growing strength of Democrats.

Cal Thomas is a nationally syndicated columnist.

Will the media draw a similar conclusion from the Coverdell-Fowler race concerning the weakness of Democrats? Of course not. The spin put out by the media and the Democrats (which this year have been difficult to tell apart) is that the Georgia race could not be read as a negative reflection on the mandate of President-elect Bill Clinton and Vice President-elect Al Gore, both of whom campaigned for Mr. Fowler.

The morning line after the election focused on how close the race was, not the renewed strength of the GOP or the fact that Mr. Clinton's plurality in the general election may not have indicated that voters were burying conservatism, only what they perceived to be President Bush's poor stewardship of the Ronald Reagan flame.

Republican Paul Coverdell's victory over incumbent Wyche Fowler ought to raise hopes for the GOP in '96, but it also should teach a lesson. In politics, you can never have it all. All or nothing guarantees that you will get nothing.

What won for Mr. Coverdell, who is only the second Republican elected to a Georgia Senate seat since Reconstruction, was not only a slashing attack against Mr. Fowler, but a unity based on pragmatism that has not been seen in Republican ranks in recent years.

Mr. Coverdell called Mr. Fowler a two-faced politician who talked conservative while at home but voted liberal in Washington. He also accused Mr. Fowler of writing bad checks while a congressman and of voting to raise his own pay.

Bill Clinton barely carried Georgia in the Nov. 3 election, beating President Bush by only 16,000 votes out of more than 2 million cast. Mr. Fowler's defeat ought to concern Democrats that their general election breakthrough in the GOP "solid

South" does not mean a Republican meltdown in the region.

Perhaps the most significant development in the race was how the suburban "moderate" Republicans and the Religious Right worked together, instead of engaging in self-defeating civil war. While Mr. Coverdell is "pro-choice" on abortion, he is against the Freedom of Choice Act, which Mr. Fowler co-sponsored. He also supports parental notification for minors seeking abortion and opposes federal funding of abortions.

Religious conservatives, particularly in North Georgia, strongly supported Mr. Coverdell and may have made the difference in his narrow win. They exhibited a new pragmatism that was not evident at the GOP Convention and during the campaign. Housing Secretary Jack

Kemp, who campaigned for Mr. Coverdell along with Barbara Bush and other top Republicans, called the senator-elect a "new Republican." Mr. Kemp appealed directly to blacks by saying Mr. Coverdell is a man who would promote growth and opportunity for all and not redistribute income.

Mr. Coverdell enjoyed the support not only of traditional and conservative Republicans but even of Libertarians and fans of Ross Perot, which surprised even his campaign staff. They had not expected such a strong consolidation after the fractious Republican national campaign.

The Paul Coverdell victory in Georgia ought to raise hopes for the GOP in '96, but it also should teach a lesson. In politics, you can never have it all. All or nothing guarantees that you will get nothing.

Names & Faces

O'Connor, Home for Dinner

■ Sinead O'Connor responded yesterday to a televised London charity appeal by calling in and donating her Hollywood mansion to help combat starvation in Somalia.

The Irish rock star contacted the "This Morning" program after watching a Red Cross plea for money to help famine-stricken children, a spokesman for Granada television said. "We have some amazing news. Sinead O'Connor has phoned in and donated her house," presenter Richard Madeley told viewers. "She does not want to come on-air, but we have checked it out and she has given the house, lock, stock and barrel."

The house, understood to be worth around \$750,000, is said to have five bedrooms, three reception rooms, a Jacuzzi, landscaped gardens and a swimming pool. It will be auctioned at London's Savoy Hotel in February.

O'Connor attracted attention of a different sort in October when she ripped up a picture of the pope during a telecast of NBC's "Saturday Night Live."

Vereen's Heartfelt Thanks

■ Ben Vereen can walk again, and knows he didn't do it on his own.

"I'm thankful that God has once again proven Himself to be miraculous," said the Tony- and Emmy-winning entertainer, who was struck by a truck and critically injured while walking near his Malibu, Calif., home in June. "I say, when you see me, you see God in his workshop."

Vereen also singled out parishioners Sunday at Chicago's Christ Universal Temple. He adopted the congregation after attending a service last year while in town for a performance, and they sent him two large boxes of letters after his injury.



Sinead O'Connor: Donates mansion to charity.

Though his rehabilitation isn't complete, the actor hinted at a comeback, making a passing reference to a possible performance with Gregory Hines.

Lloyd Webber's New Tunes

■ British super producer Andrew Lloyd Webber said yesterday that his latest musical, "Sunset Boulevard," will open next June in London.

Broadway star Patti LuPone will take the part of faded silent screen actress Norma Desmond, played by Gloria Swanson in the 1950 movie version, said Lloyd Webber, whose other credits include "Cats" and "Evita." A male lead has not been chosen.

Contrary to speculation that the show would appear first in the United States, it will premiere at London's Adelphi Theatre and then open soon afterward in Los Angeles with a new leading lady.

Mr. Dan's 'Dos

■ Long before he found fame in Hollywood, actor and director Danny DeVito had a way with ladies' hair. Back in Asbury Park, N.J., they called him Mr. Dan, and he was known to have heavy hand with the hair spray.

"Mr. Dan's hairdos could withstand a 40-kn wind," DeVito says on today's "Entertainment Tonight." "You know, just load 'em up with lacquer!"

End Notes

■ Queen Elizabeth has invited the Duchess of York, the separated wife of Prince Andrew, to spend Christmas with the royal family and the duchess said yes, the Sun tabloid reported in London yesterday. No word on the holiday plan of her financial adviser, John Bryan, with whom she was pictured in August romping topless in a south of France... That was Dick Moe lunch: (again) with Clinton transition chief Vernon Jordan at the Madison yesterday. Since Moe—who becomes president of the National Trust for Historic Preservation next month—doesn't need a job, he claims the friend just had "one of their non-conversations"... Egyptian authorities have reopened the tomb of Tutankhamen to mark the 70th anniversary of its discovery. Better hurry if you want to see it—it was closed last year for repairs and will be shut tight again in two months.

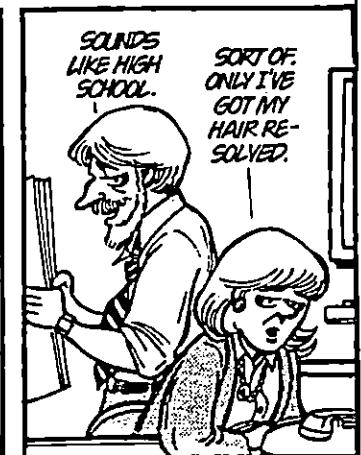
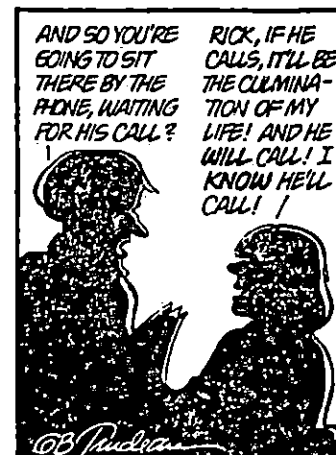
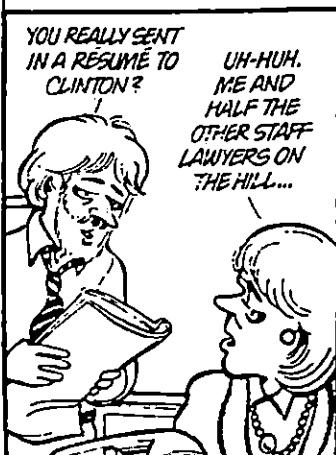
—Compiled from staff and wire reports by Mary Alma We

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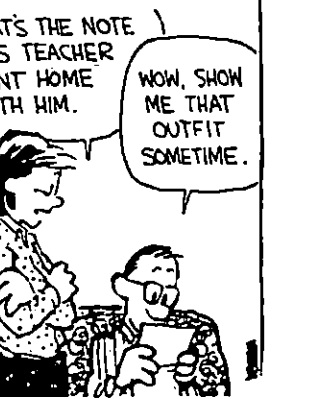
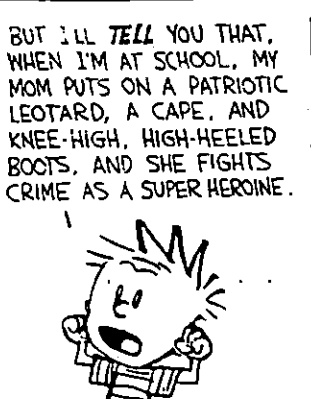
Lois Romano's column will return tomorrow.

By G.B. Trudeau

DOONESBURY



CALVIN AND HOBBS BILL WATTERSON



Vain fantasy

President-elect Bill Clinton — at least the "hunk" portion — is the latest consumer trend.

Cheryl Russell is editor of the Boomer Report, a monthly newsletter on consumer trends, and she claims that "every woman I know is having sex dreams about Bill Clinton."

"We're finally getting a president our own age who we can imagine having sex with," she writes. "I don't recall anyone having sex dreams about Michael Dukakis."

Perhaps it's time to remind these women of Ecclesiasticus XXXIV, 1, circa 180 B.C.: "Dreams lift up fools."

Fickle fans

It used to be that drinking and driving didn't mix. Now it's booze and abortion.

Not long ago, women's-rights advocates heaped praise on Sen. Bob Packwood, especially those on the side of abortion rights who were opposed to the nomination of Judge Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court. The Oregon Republican, a leading pro-choice advocate who claims alcohol drove him everywhere short of the Tidal Basin, was one of only two Senate Republicans who came out against Judge Thomas.

But now from the closets have stepped 10 women who've accused the four-term senator of uninvited and unwanted sexual advances from years past. Following the lead of Wilbur Mills, Bob Bauman and Michael Deaver before him, Mr. Packwood has quickly sought advice about his use of alcohol. But that's not bringing scorned women back to his camp, even those in the abortion arena.

Pro-choicer Mary Nolan wants Mr. Packwood to resign right now. "There's no way he can regain our trust," she says.

Golden opportunity

For those who missed the "Inside Washington" panel show over the weekend, host Gordon Peterson cited new third-quarter figures showing the economy had grown at the fastest pace of the Bush presidency.

"About President-elect Bill Clinton's ambitious game plan for the economy," Mr. Peterson said, "given this news, should he change it? Should he shelve it?"

Replied Evan Thomas: "He should shelve it, but he won't. There's a real chance he's just going to screw up the economy by adding to inflation, by adding to the deficit, but having promised to do so much in the election, he'll probably do it anyway."

— John McCaslin

**INSIDE THE
BELTWAY**

Chelsea Clinton is not likely to enroll in the D.C. public school system.

Bush education policy

When Washington writer Deborah Fallows suggested to editors at The Washington Post an article recommending that Chelsea Clinton attend public school in the District, she said the response was immediate: "We have zero interest in this idea."

So Miss Fallows approached editors of the Washington Monthly, who published her article in the December issue of the magazine. It points out that Chelsea's new neighborhood schools would be Francis Junior High or Thomas Jefferson Junior High, each less than a mile from the White House.

"Jefferson ranks first in the city in math scores for ninth-graders

and is the recipient of a million-dollar sponsorship from COMSAT to boost its math and science programs," Miss Fallows notes. "Unfortunately, Jefferson has virtually no white students."

"It is one thing for parents to value an integrated environment for their children, as the Clintons have done in sending Chelsea to public schools in Little Rock. It is something else, and less fair to any child, black or white, to put her in a situation where she constitutes such a tiny minority."

So the writer suggests that Chelsea instead attend Deal Junior High, Hardy Middle School or Wilson High School, all "within two or three miles of the White House."

"These three schools are integrated, academically strong and reasonable choices for parents who value public schools but also don't want their children to be a pawn for their beliefs," she says.

But the writer says it's unlikely the Clintons will hear her sales pitch. The Gores, she points out, send their children to private schools, as do the Quayles and even Secretary of Education Lamar Alexander. For that matter, none of the 67 top education policy-makers in the Bush administration send their kids to D.C. public schools.

Pitching the prez-elect

It pays to advertise, whether you want to sell a political idea or a burger and beer to President-elect Bill Clinton.

Persistent AIDS crusader Jim Nissley won 25 seconds of Mr. Clinton's time in California yesterday to promote the cause of condom advertising and less explicit sex on television.

And Doug Taylor's well-publicized purchase of a saxophone to lure Mr. Clinton to his Nugget Bar in Summerland paid off Sunday night when the Clinton party of 10 dropped in.

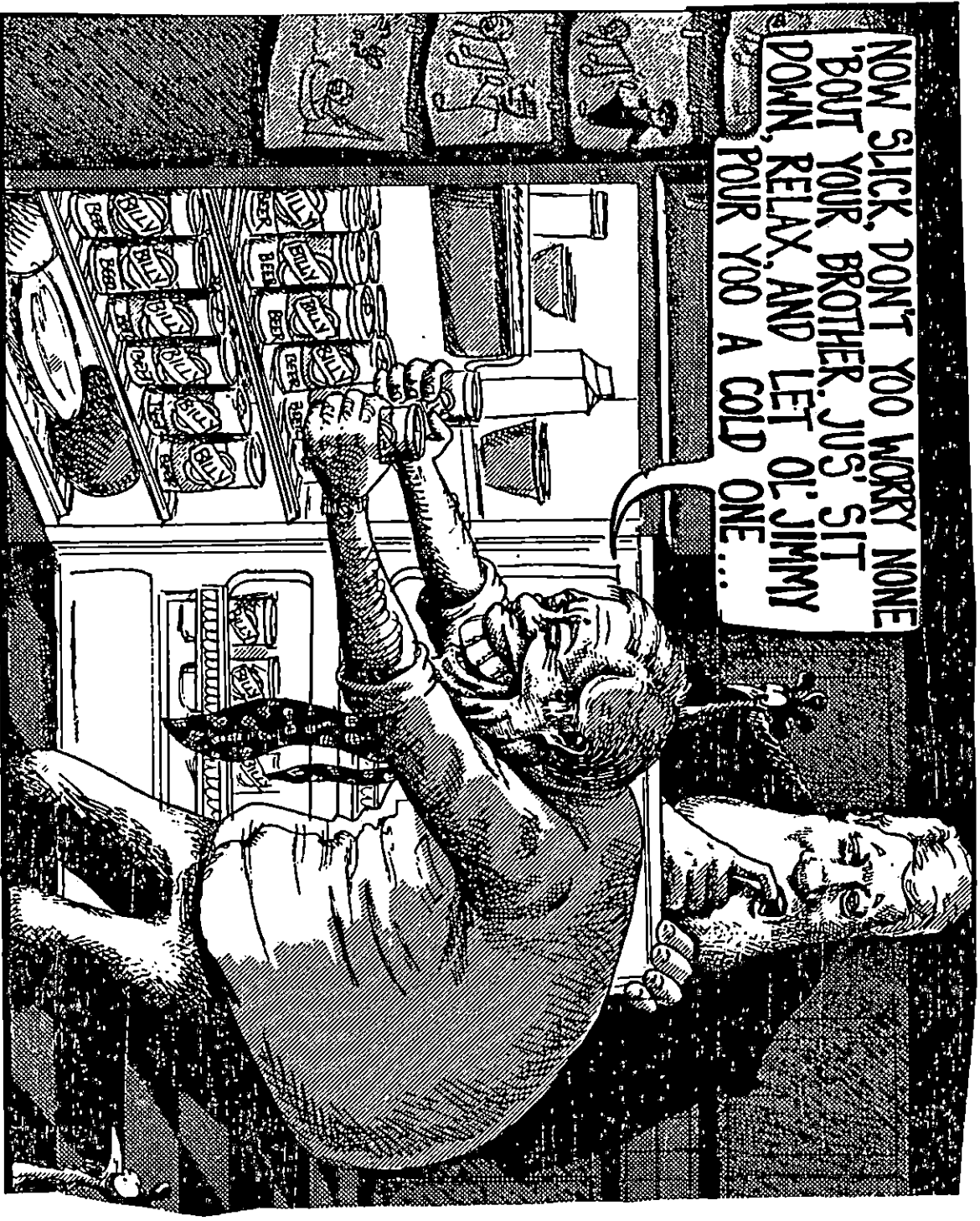
Mr. Nissley had been standing outside the Secret Service roadblocks on Padraro Lane for four days holding a sign asking for "3 minutes PLEASE."

His effort to send the message by letter was rebuffed Friday when he asked a Secret Service agent, "Can you give this letter to Clinton for me?"

The agent replied: "I can't deliver anything. We're the USSS, not the USPS."

But as Mr. Nissley was being escorted out of the way yesterday, Mr. Clinton jogged out and stopped to listen. When Mr. Nissley finished, the president-elect said, "Thank you and God bless you."

On the other hand, at the Nugget on Sunday, Mr. Clinton managed to ignore marijuana advocates Zachary and Josh Stevens, who chanted their message from seats at the bar: "Legalize it, Bill. Legalize it, Bill."



What's News—

World-Wide

THE U.N. CHIEF recommended military action to deliver aid to Somalia.

Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali recommended that the Security Council authorize military force to deliver food and other humanitarian aid to the African nation, where armed bandits have blocked the distribution of supplies to millions of people facing starvation. The Security Council is likely to decide on a plan in the next few days. President Bush has offered to send one military division. (Article on Page A18)

Boutros-Ghali has said he prefers a military force under U.N. command, while the Pentagon wants to retain control of its own soldiers.

THE SUPREME COURT REFUSED to revive Guam's antiabortion law.

The high court declined to hear an appeal seeking reinstatement of a criminal prohibition of abortion enacted by the territory of Guam. By declining to disturb a lower-court ruling striking down the 1990 Guam law, the justices didn't signal an end to the legal fight over abortion, however. With the Guam case behind them, they face the question of how courts should deal with less severe abortion curbs. (Article on Page A2)

Guam had outlawed abortion, except in cases where continuing a pregnancy would endanger a woman's life or "gravely impair" her health.

Russia's Constitutional Court issued a mixed ruling that should help protect Yeltsin from impeachment but also could help revitalize the Communist Party. The court found that the president acted constitutionally when he banned the party's leadership and top bodies, but that the ban couldn't be applied to local party organizations.

Yeltsin probably will be able to preserve the basic thrust of his economic reform program despite anticipated criticism during a session of the Congress of People's Deputies, which opens today in Moscow. (Articles on Page A13)

Sen. Packwood has entered an alcohol treatment facility and hired a lawyer, his office reported, in the wake of published allegations that the Oregon Republican made unwanted sexual advances to women. (Article on Page A5)

The European Community agreed to speed up expulsions of some asylum seekers, and turned down an appeal by Germany for other EC nations to accept a greater share of refugees. The EC interior ministers also failed to agree on dropping passport controls within the EC starting Jan. 1.

South African police said a black radical group had claimed responsibility for Saturday's attack at a country club that killed four whites and left 17 people wounded. Responsibility for the gun and grenade assault was claimed by the Azanian People's Liberation Army, an armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, according to police.

Arthur Seale was sentenced to life in prison in the kidnapping and death of Exxon executive Sidney Reso in New Jersey. Seale, who admitted imprisoning Reso in a storage vault where he died last May, was sentenced to 95 years in federal prison and a life term in state prison. Seale and his wife, who awaits sentencing, were arrested in June.

Southern California may face a 1-in-8 chance of another major earthquake by next fall, triple the odds cited before a large temblor hit the area last summer, the government said. The report by the U.S. Geological Survey and two California agencies also said the region faces a 47% chance of a strong earthquake within five years.

Unita rebels gained control of the strategic northern Angolan city of Uige after fierce fighting, according to aid workers and U.N. observers who were evacuated. Angola has been on the brink of renewed civil war since Unita leader Savimbi disputed the results of September's elections and began to mobilize his troops.

U.N. trade sanctions were imposed on Cambodian regions controlled by the Khmer Rouge in an effort to pressure the guerrillas to participate in a U.N.-supervised peace process. The Security Council resolution also threatens to exclude the rebels from Cambodia's first free election in May if they don't allow voters to register.

Bosnian Serb shells allegedly struck a Croatian town, Zupanja, in violation of a new truce, and Bosnia's government raised its official death toll from the civil war by over 20%, to 17,466. In Geneva, a U.N. panel heard allegations of atrocities.