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

OA/ID Number: 90740
Folder ID Number: 90740-002

Folder Title:
Friday, December 4, 1992 [2]

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

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Memo	[Camp David] Command Duty Officer to Distribution, Re: Visit Report for 4-6 December 1992. (3 pp.)	12/06/92	(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	
02. Manifest	Helo Manifest (Staff/Guests), Re: Camp David. (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	
03. Manifest	POV (Staff/Guests), Re: Camp David. (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	

Page 1 of 1

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Friday, December 4, 1992 [2]

Pinksheet Number: RML16072
OA/ID Number: 90740-002
Date Closed: 1/31/2025
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P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Processed by: Matt Lee
Processed by:
Processed by:

AP-US-Somalia, UPDATE

Bush Orders Troops To Somalia As Shield For Relief Supplies

UPDATES with more Bush quotations.

By ROBERT BURNS=

Associated Press Writer=

WASHINGTON (AP) - President Bush, pledging to "save thousands of innocents from death," today ordered U.S. Marines and Army soldiers to famine-wracked Somalia to begin America's largest military humanitarian mission.
"The people of Somalia, especially the children, need our help. We must help them live. We must give them hope. America must act," Bush said in an address from the Oval Office.
He said "Operation Restore Hope" was officially under way, although Pentagon officials said a vanguard force of 1,800 Marines was expected to land in the east African nation no earlier than Monday.
Bush said he expected forces from "about a dozen" other countries to contribute to the operation, which was authorized on Thursday by the U.N. Security Council.
The president said the U.S. forces would dictate the political outcome of Somalia's internal strife and that they intended to secure areas for relief agencies to work in peace. They then would turn the operation over to U.N. peacekeepers and withdraw.
"I can state with confidence we come to your country with one reason only - to enable to starving to be fed," the president said.

Bush said America was compelled to act because of the urgency of Somalia's crisis.

"Only the United States has the global reach to place a large security force on the ground in such a distant place quickly and efficiently and thus save thousands of innocents from death," Bush said.

Bush did not say exactly how long he expected the U.S. force to stay, and he did not say how many troops would be sent.
"We will not stay one day longer than is necessary," he said. The Pentagon readied about 28,000 troops for the mission and diverted a three-ship battle group headed by the aircraft carrier USS Ranger to Somalia from the Persian Gulf. The carrier was expected to be off Somalia's coast on Monday, a Navy official said. A Pentagon official, speaking on condition of anonymity, said earlier today that a vanguard force of about 1,800 Marines probably would not land in the capital Mogadishu before the beginning - and possibly not until the middle - of next week.
The Pentagon official said the force intends to move as quickly as it can, but needs a few days of preparation before landing in Somalia.

The Ranger, with its complement of 60 combat warplanes, is accompanied by the Aegis cruiser USS Valley Forge and the destroyer USS Kinkaid. The warplanes will be used "to dissuade anybody from opposing us," the Navy source said.
After meeting with Bush at the White House, congressional leaders said they supported the deployment, even though they saw the possibility of some American troop casualties.
"It's not risk-free," Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole told reporters.

House Speaker Thomas Foley said Bush and his military advisers "do not expect major confrontations with armed forces. They view this as relatively low risk."
Sen. Paul Simon, D-Ill., said that the president "expressed reluctance to do it prior to another administration coming in but said this is a problem that can't wait."
He said that Sen. Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, spoke in terms of a two-to-three months mission. "Frankly, I think they are being optimistic," Simon said.
Sen. Hank Brown, R-Colo., expressed reservations.

-more-

"It is a mistake not to have Muslim troops take the lead of this," he said. "Anytime we commit American forces without a clear, precise military objective, we get in trouble."

Bush's session with the House and Senate leaders was expected to set in motion a chain of events leading to the launching of the American-led operation in Somalia, where thousands of men, women and children are starving to death daily while armed bandits loot relief supplies.

White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater defended the U.S. offer to send troops, saying the "crisis remains urgent" in the east African nation, where an estimated 2 million Somalis are in imminent danger of starvation.

Fitzwater said today there is no change in the White House hope that the U.S. troops will be out of Somalia by Inauguration Day, Jan. 20.

"The peacemaking force going in will be replaced by the (United Nations) peacekeeping force that will have the longer term responsibility and we are hopeful to take out the American forces in this initial operation as soon as possible," he said.

The troop movement was authorized Thursday night by the U.N. Security Council, which voted 15-0 in favor of using force to ensure deliveries of humanitarian aid.

President-elect Clinton called the Security Council resolution a "historic and welcome step" that "has provided new hope to the millions of Somalis at risk of starvation."

The largest U.S. contingent would be 16,000 Marines from the 1st Marine Expeditionary Force from Camp Pendleton, Calif. In a second wave, up to 10,000 soldiers from the Army's light infantry 10th Mountain Division at Fort Drum, N.Y., would be added, said a Pentagon official who spoke on condition of anonymity.

Williams declined to say exactly how many troops might be sent to Somalia. France said it would contribute 2,000 troops, and Belgium and the African nations of Kenya, Nigeria and Zimbabwe also offered troops.

AP-TV-12-04-92 1315EST<

AM-SOMALIA-USA 2NDLDA

BUSH ORDERS U.S. TROOPS TO SOMALIA TO SAVE STARVING

(Eds: Combines takes, adds details)

By Gene Gibbons

WASHINGTON, Reuter - President Bush Friday ordered more than 25,000 U.S. troops to Somalia to protect food deliveries and save some 2 million Somalis from starvation and disease.

In a television address, Bush said the major U.S. participation in a U.N. military operation was necessary because "armed gangs" in Somalia were intercepting food shipments from relief organizations and preventing it from reaching the starving.

Bush, in what may be his last decision of international importance before he turns over power to President-elect Clinton Jan. 20, did not say how many troops would be sent to the east African country, but members of Congress who met with him before the speech said it would be in excess of 25,000.

The president tried to assure the American people that he was not starting a long, drawn-out involvement in Somalia but was simply mounting an urgently needed humanitarian mission.

"This operation is not open-ended. We will not stay one day longer than is absolutely necessary," he said.

Bush said the aim of the operation was to "open the supply routes, get the food moving, and prepare the way for a U.N. peacekeeping force to keep it moving."

He said the force, headed by Marine Gen. Joseph Hoar, would consist of elements of the 1st Marine Expeditionary Force of Camp Pendleton, Calif., and the Army's 10th Mountain Division, a light infantry outfit based at Camp Drum, N.Y.

Bush warned the warlords who have been struggling for power in poor, drought-stricken Somalia to beware.

"The outlaw elements in Somalia must understand this is serious business. We will accomplish our mission," he said.

But he promised in his speech from the Oval Office that the United States would not try to set up a new government in Somalia.

"To the people of Somalia, I promise this: We don't plan to dictate the political outcome. We respect your sovereignty and independence. We come to your country with one reason only: to enable the starving to be fed," he said.

Bush in his speech cited an example of a warehouse in the Somali capital of Mogadishu spilling over with 7,000 tons of food while people half a mile away starved to death.

"There is no government in Somalia. Law and order have broken down. Anarchy prevails ... It's now clear that military support is necessary to ensure the safe delivery of the food that Somalis need to survive," he said.

Bush noted the United States has played a leading role in trying to alleviate the suffering of the Somali people since the crisis erupted, shipping more than 200,000 tons of food and using military aircraft for deliveries since August.

The president got strong bipartisan support from Democratic and Republican leaders of Congress after a briefing of more than an hour before his speech.

House Speaker Thomas Foley, the top Democrat on Capitol Hill, said the lawmakers believed Bush had "acted wisely" and were "clearly supportive."

Foley said the impression he got from Bush and his advisers was that "they do not expect major confrontations with armed forces" and that, while there are always circumstances where casualties can occur, "they view this as relatively low risk."

But a few of those who crowded into the Cabinet Room for the session voiced reservations.

Colorado Republican Sen. Hank Brown told reporters that Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the military Joint Chiefs of Staff, estimated in the meeting that the operation would take two or three months to complete but said there was no firm commitment to withdraw by then.

The White House says it wants the troops out by Jan. 20 to leave Clinton a clean slate to begin his term.

-more-

''At this point we do not have a firm commitment as to when American troops will come home,'' Brown said.

Since Somalia is largely Moslem, he said, Moslem troops should play a lead role in the effort instead of Americans.

Senate Armed Service Committee Chairman Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) said he agreed with the decision to send forces to Somalia and that he believe the mission would last about two months.

''I agree with the overall mission,'' Nunn said at a Harvard University news conference. ''I certainly agree that we can't stand idly by and watch a million people literally starve to death.''

Bush said he had commitments from about a dozen countries to participate in the operation and one lawmaker told Reuters Moslem troops from Morocco, Egypt and Jordan would be involved. The source also said the U.S.-led force would not try to disarm the warring factions in Somalia and would try to avoid confrontation.

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bulletin

Bush orders troops into Somalia

By HELEN THOMAS

UPI White House Reporter

WASHINGTON (UPI) - President Bush ordered troops into war-torn

Somalia Friday to help deliver food and medical shipments for 2 million persons threatened with starvation and disease.

"You are doing God's work - we will not fail," Bush told American

forces during a nationally broadcast address that he used to formally

announce the mercy mission and to explain his reasons for it.

Speaking from the Oval Office, Bush said he has "given the order"

to Defense Secretary Dick Cheney to "move a substantial American force

into Somalia," but did not say exactly how many or when they would

arrive.

Other administration officials have indicated, however, that the

operation would likely begin within days and involve about 28,000

troops.

Bush said he expects more than a dozen nations to participate in the

mission authorized Thursday night by the U.N. Security Council at the

request of the president.

He said U.S. troops would be used to secure the environment for safe

passage of relief supplies, and then turn over the operation to regular

U.N.-peacekeeping forces.

"Our mission is humanitarian," the president said. "The outlaw

elements... must understand that this is serious business... We will

accomplish our mission. We are determined to do it right."

White House officials said that the president hopes to be able to

complete the mission by Jan. 20, the day he leaves office, but it

addresses likely President-elect Bill Clinton will inherit it.

more

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^PM-UN-Somalia, 4th Ld-Writethru, a0574,1039<

^U.N. Okays Mission, Marines Poised For Somalia<

^Eds: Leads with 10 grafs to UPDATE with Bush comment; picks up 9th pvs, 'Many Somalis ...; SUBS grafs 18-20 pvs, with 3 grafs bgng 'The U.S. ... with British, Belgian donations; INSERTS 1 graf after 24th pvs, 'The United ... with Hamilton comments.<

^AP Photos NYU101,102, EDM2<

^By VICTORIA GRAHAM=

^Associated Press Writer=

UNITED NATIONS (AP) _ President Bush today ordered the first Marines to Somalia, but he and his aides took pains to stress the limits of a relief operation that is already raising high hopes in the starving African land.

Acting on a U.N. Security Council resolution, Bush said he had ordered Defense Secretary Dick Cheney to begin moving a 1,800-member Indian Ocean strike force toward Somalia.

Defense sources said the first of 28,000 U.S. troops planned for the operation, from the aircraft carrier USS Ranger, would land no earlier than Monday.

'We will not stand by and allow armed gangs to rip off their own people, condemning them to starvation,' Bush said.

He described a limited mission: to 'to open supply lines, get food moving and prepare way for U.N. forces to keep it moving.' Once U.S. troops have done this, he said, 'we will withdraw and turn over the security regime to a U.N. force.'

He said the commander of the operation, Marine Gen. Joseph P. Hoar, will 'take whatever military action is necessary to safeguard our troops and the lives of Somali people.'

Neither Bush nor the U.N. resolution specified who would finance the operation, how long it would last or who would decide it was over _ the United Nations or Washington.

U.S. officials at the United Nations said the were concerned the world body might want U.S. troops to stay on too long.

White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said troops hopefully would begin leaving before Bush leaves office on Jan. 20. Bush gave no withdrawal date, saying the mission would last 'not one day longer than is necessary.'

The U.N. resolution indicates the United Nations and United States will decide together when U.S. troops are withdrawn. About 3,500 U.N. peacekeepers were earlier authorized for Somalia, but the 500 there since September have been ineffective.

Many Somalis have big dreams for the U.S. force.

The troops are 'going to make sure the security problems in the country are ended and feed us as well, and send out children to school,' said Mohamed Nur-Omar, interviewed on a street in the Somalia capital.

'The Americans must stay until a national reconciliation is reached, the weapons are collected, and the country is on its feet,' said Yusef Abdi, a Somali economist.

Many worried that when combat troops withdraw in favor of lightly armed U.N. peacekeepers, the clan bandits and teen-age gunmen would return. Bandits have stolen at least half of the food and medicine shipped to Somalia and paralyzed relief delivery.

U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said political reconciliation and reconstruction would be part of the U.N.'s mission once food deliveries are secure.

'For the first time you have an intervention in favor of humanitarian aid, with a moral backing,' Boutros-Ghali said Thursday. 'I hope this will be a precedent.'

For all the boldness of the move, it came more than a year after severe food shortages and civil unrest were first reported in Somalia.

Clans have been battling for control of Somalia since the collapse of President Mohamed Siad Barre's rule in January 1991, worsening a famine that has killed 300,000 people and put another 2 million at risk.

Even China, always reluctant to back foreign intervention, agreed that Somalia's horror demanded radical steps and approved the force.

-more-

The U.S. offer galvanized the world body into action. France reportedly will contribute 2,000 troops and Italy, a former colonial ruler of Somalia, also will send soldiers. Belgium promised 550 paratroopers, and Canada, Nigeria and Egypt also offered troops.

Others will contribute cash or services. The U.N. resolution established a fund for donations, but did not explicitly say who would pay.

Britain today pledged \$7 million. Japan, criticized by the United States for "checkbook diplomacy" during the Gulf War, seemed little inclined to do much for Somalia. Officials hesitated to commit themselves beyond about \$27 million already promised.

"The location is remote from Japan, and Japan's capabilities are limited," Foreign Ministry spokesman Masamichi Hanabusa said today.

Washington will be contributing most of the troops and funding, and it is accustomed to calling the shots, as in the Gulf War. On the ground in Somalia, the U.S. commander — likely to be Marine Lt. Gen. Bob Johnston — will make the decisions.

U.S. soldiers will fly their own flag, and they won't wear blue helmets like the lightly armed U.N. peacekeepers, Western diplomats said.

The United Nations will have a liaison office at U.S. headquarters in Somalia, but Western diplomats said the U.N. oversight provisions were largely symbolic — intended to assuage fears of nations like China and Zimbabwe who are wary of unchecked U.S. intervention in the developing world.

"The great risk is the quagmire," said Rep. Lee Hamilton, a Democrat on the House Foreign Affairs Committee. He said he feared "this is going to be a costly endeavor" for American taxpayers unless other countries give more.

The potential dangers to U.S. troops were underlined Thursday when a Marine photographer, Cpl. Rick Laemmle, and two Canadian journalists were detained by a clan warlord in the city of Baidoa, where they were reporting on a gunfight between looters and a relief convoy guarded by mercenaries.

Laemmle and reporter Paul Bucci and photographer Tom Braid, both of the Edmonton Sun, were held about 30 minutes, until Red Cross workers negotiated their release.

In Oxford, England today, Former President Reagan called for military power to be used as a humanitarian tool in Yugoslavia, Somalia, Sudan and any other country that flouts human decency.

Reagan called for a standing U.N. force, "an army of conscience that is fully equipped and prepared to carve out human sanctuaries through force if necessary."

AP-TV-12-04-92 1304EST<



THE PRESIDENT

Dec. 4, 1992

Dear Joe -

Thanks so very much for
your letter, for your kind
words about my service to
Country; - and especially
for your comforting
thoughts about my beloved

THE WHITE HOUSE

The Honorable Joseph I. Lieberman
United States Senate
502 Senate Hart Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

(By Courier)

R2

Mother. She was our
lovely leader, our family's
moral compass.

Good Luck.

May + kids,

Cy + Ed

THE WHITE HOUSE

The Honorable Joseph I. Lieberman
United States Senate
502 Senate Hart Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

(By Courier)

JOSEPH I. LIEBERMAN
CONNECTICUT



UNITED STATES SENATE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20510

11/30/92

Dear Mr. Pearson -

I HAVE BEEN THINKING OF
WAITING YOU SINCE ELECTION DAY,
AND YOUR MOTHER'S DEATH NOW
GIVES ME A SAD REASON TO DO SO,
MY CONDOLENCES TO YOU AND YOUR
FAMILY, FROM ALL THAT I HAVE
HEARD, YOUR MOTHER WAS A SPLENDID
WOMAN WHO RAISED A GREAT FAMILY,
I CAN'T IMAGINE ANY SON COULD
HAVE DONE MORE THAN YOU DID
TO BRING PRIDE AND JOY INTO YOUR
MOTHER'S LIFE,

I WANT TO TELL YOU ALSO
WHAT AN HONOR IT HAS BEEN FOR ME
TO SERVE UNDER YOU DURING THOSE
FIRST FOUR YEARS OF MY SENATE CAREER,
OUR DIFFERENCES IN PARTY NEVER DIMINISHED
MY ADMIRATION FOR YOUR LIFE AND OF
SERVICE TO OUR COUNTRY, AND MY
RESPECT FOR YOUR INTEGRITY, DEDICATION,
AND SINCERE DESIRE TO DO THE RIGHT
THING. YOUR MANAGEMENT OF THE END (OF)

THE COLO WAR WAS SUPER,
AND YOUR LEADERSHIP OF OPERATION
DESERT STORM ONE OF THE
FINEST, MOST EFFICIENT, MOST
COURAGEOUS ACTS OF PARLIAMENTARY
LEADERSHIP WE HAVE SEEN IN A
LONG TIME, AND WHICH I WAS
VERY PRONE TO SUPPORT,

YOU AND YOUR FAMILY HAVE
AN AWFUL LOT TO BE PRONE OF AS
YOU GO INTO THE NEXT CHAPTER
OF YOUR LIFE.

GOOD LUCK AND GOD BLESS YOU,

Sincerely,

A stylized, handwritten signature, possibly reading "J. Smith", written in dark ink.

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Allin Roberts, M.D.
1119-3C North Pitt Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314



THE PRESIDENT

Dec. 4 '92

Dear Al,

Thanks for your
really kind note -
and good luck in what
I know will be a great
career ahead. Give a good
man and I'm grateful to you - Liz B

RZ

1119-30 N. 1st St.
Alexandria, Va. 22314
01 December, 1992

Dear President and Mrs Bush,

As this occasion upon me, I wanted
to write a brief note to say what an
honour it was for me to have served you
and your family as White House Physician
during the past two years.

You have been very much in my heart
and prayer in these recent times, and I
wish for you God's richest blessings in
the years to come. May you find joy
and strength in knowing how deeply
you are loved and admired by those
who have served you.

Sincerely,

Dr. Allen Roberts



THE PRESIDENT

12-4-92

Dear Tach -

Great letter of Nov. 6th.

I just today saw it!

We're doing OK. Back
to Texas Van Zote - as far
now Somalia. We're trying to help

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. John H. Adams
87 Depot Road
Santa Barbara, California . 93108

RZ

Love to Doty,
Cg

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. John H. Adams
87 Depot Road
Santa Barbara, California, 93108

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Reading Sec. 507. 365121
File

John H. Adams
87 Depot Road
Santa Barbara, CA 93108

11/16/92 response to
Dotsy attached.

November 6, 1992

Can I remember
Dear Mr. President and Bar:

While we all have learned to accept change as life becomes more complex and challenging, it is bitterly disappointing to find that this most recent historic change means that you will be leaving The White House.

Starting with our friend Rush Limbaugh's reports, we know there is abundant evidence that actually fewer people than otherwise wanted a new person in The White House; furthermore the media's allegations of such things as a new mandate and a landslide victory are just prposterous.

Dotsy and I want you to know how deeply we regret your leaving The White House and at the same time we would like to tell you how much we have appreciated the loyal friendship and cordial thoughtfulness you have extended to us over the past twelve years. When you have been obliged to think of so many who deserved far more attention than you gave us, we have indeed been privileged.

On a further personal note, I must report how grateful we are for Bar's taking the time to send my mother (Gram) a signed photograph for her 100th birthday last month. Needless to say Mother proudly showed the photo to all 46 members of the family who gathered in Madison, Connecticut last week to celebrate the occasion.

We do look forward to hearing of your plans for the future. While you both richly deserve a life of complete ease from now on, we join a host of admirers who know there will be no folding of the tent and riding into the sunset. Godbless!

Most sincerely,

Jack

President and Mrs. George H.W. Bush
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Rose Zamaria (lcc)

Charles Free (the President kept both jackets and has sent the video tape to the Library with Don Rhodes)

Mr. and Mrs. George Michael
The George Michael Sports Machine
4001 Nebraska Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016



THE PRESIDENT

December 4, 1992

Dear Pat and George,

Thanks for your letter of December 1 and for sending me the tapes from my visit and the "Sports Machine" jackets. I'm delighted to have them and appreciate your thoughtfulness.

Barbara and I are sorry you won't be able to join us at the Christmas party, but we wish you lots of luck in the National Finals Rodeo. We will certainly keep you in mind if we're ever in the market for a Black and White Paint. Hope you have a great time in Las Vegas and a wonderful holiday season. With best wishes,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "George Michael".



December 1, 1992

I've shared cc
with Laurie
Firestone so she
will mark them
as a regret for
the 9th.

The President and Mrs. Bush
The White House
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. President and Mrs. Bush:

✓ It is with much regret that I inform you that Pat and I
will not be able to attend your Christmas party on
Wednesday, December 9th.

As you may recall, the National Finals Rodeo takes place in
Las Vegas the first week of December and it is an event
which we must attend. (You'll recall that last year I had
the good fortune to have one of my bulls win the Gold
Buckle which I was able to share with you).

I had hoped very much to be able to see you before you
leave for Texas. Perhaps that opportunity will still
present itself.

I am enclosing a copy of the segment we did on "The Sports
Machine" with you on Sunday, November 1st. I appreciated
you taking the time to visit with us.

I am also enclosing several of our "Sports Machine" jackets
which will help take the chill out of the Texas mornings.

Because you were unable to get to the ranch, I am enclosing
some background information on our Black and White Paint
Horse program. When you decide it's time to put a
beautiful Black and White Paint in your pasture, just give
me a call. We travel to Texas regularly.

Please accept our warmest wishes for a happy and blessed
holiday and peace and prosperity in the New Year.

Warmest Regards,

George & Pat Michael

p.s. From horseshoes to the Christams parties, thanks for
some wonderful memories.

cc: (in & out)

Rose Zamaria (2cc)



IDENT

December 4, 1992

Dear Mr. King,

Thank you for your letter of November 24 and your very kind invitation to serve on an Advisory Council for American Arbitration Association. Barbara and I will be moving back to Texas on January 20 and my primary focus will be on my Presidential Library at Texas A&M. I do appreciate your offer, but I cannot make any other commitments at this time.

Again, thanks for your letter and best wishes for a happy holiday season.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "George Bush".

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. Henry H. King
American Arbitration Association
1005 First City Tower
1001 Fannin Street
Houston, Texas 77002-6708

Rose 3 886699



American Arbitration Association

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Therese A. Tilley
Regional Vice President

November 24, 1992

S. H. King
VIA MESSENGER

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

Dear President Bush:

Welcome home and congratulations on a job well done. Millions of people appreciate your marvelous contribution to the future of America and peace throughout the World.

As Chairman of a regional committee for the American Arbitration Association, it is my honor to invite you to serve on an Advisory Council designed to approve the arbitrators for large, complex cases in this area. We will meet twice a year, or if necessary, send you the material if you are unable to attend.

Mr. President, you are the one person in this Country's leadership that fully understands the importance of Alternate Dispute Resolution.

I also recognize the large number of similar requests that you are receiving. Nevertheless, because you will be in Houston and have been carrying the flag for this cause so well, I had to try.

With much Admiration
and Respect -
God Bless America,

Henry H. King
Henry H. King
Retired Vice Chairman
Texas Eastern Corporation

HHK/kb
p\ttbush
Enclosures

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Arnold, White, & Durkee
P. O. Box 4433
Houston, TX 77210
(713) 787-1414

The Honorable Lamar T. McCorkle
133rd Civil District Court
301 Fannin, 5th Floor
Houston, TX 77002
(713) 221-6266

p\complex

Page 2 - Complex Case Council

Nicholas F. McClanahan
District Director
Merrill Lynch
One Houston Center
1221 McKinney, Suite 3900
Houston, TX 77010-2010
(713) 658-1200

p\complex

**SUPPLEMENTARY PROCEDURES
FOR
LARGE COMPLEX COMMERCIAL DISPUTES**

1. Applicability

(a) The Supplementary Procedures for Large Complex Commercial Disputes (hereinafter "Procedures") shall apply to all cases administered by the American Arbitration Association (hereinafter "AAA") under any of its rules in which the claim or counterclaim of any party is at least \$250,000 exclusive of interest, costs and fees or is undetermined, and in which either: (1) all parties have elected to have the Procedures apply to the resolution of their dispute; or (2) a court or governmental agency of competent jurisdiction has determined that a dispute should be resolved before the AAA pursuant to the Procedures. To the extent that there is any variance between such rules and these Procedures, the Procedures shall control. Any such cases are herein referred to as "Large Cases."

(b) The parties to any arbitration proceeding that it to be subject to the Procedures may, by consent of all parties, agree to eliminate, modify or alter any of the Procedures, and, in such case, the Procedures as so modified or altered shall apply to that particular case.

2. Administrative Conference

Prior to the dissemination of a list of potential arbitrators, the AAA shall, unless it determines the same to be unnecessary, conduct an administrative conference with the parties or their attorneys or other representatives, either in person or by conference call, at the discretion of the AAA. Such administrative conference shall be conducted for the following purposes and for such additional purposes as the parties or the AAA may deem appropriate: (a) to consider with the parties whether mediation or other non-binding methods of dispute resolution might be appropriately tried before commencing the use of arbitration; (b) to discuss the views of the parties about the technical and other qualifications of the arbitrators; and (c) to obtain additional information about the nature and magnitude of the dispute and the anticipated length of hearing and scheduling.

3. Arbitrators

(a) Large Cases shall be heard and determined by either one or three arbitrators, as may be agreed upon by the parties. If the parties are unable to agree upon the number of arbitrators, then one arbitrator shall hear and determine the case unless AAA shall determine otherwise.

(b) Compensation for the arbitrators shall be based upon the magnitude and complexity of the case and shall be arranged by the AAA with the parties and the arbitrators prior to the commencement of the arbitration hearings. If the parties fail to agree to the terms of compensation, an appropriate rate shall be established by the AAA.

4. Preliminary Hearing

As promptly as practicable after the selection of the arbitrators, a preliminary hearing shall be held among the parties or their attorneys or other representatives and the arbitrators. With the consent of the arbitrators and the parties, the preliminary hearing may: (1) be conducted by the Chairman of the panel of arbitrators rather than all the arbitrators; and/or (2) be conducted by telephone conference call rather than in person; or (3) be omitted. At the preliminary hearing the matters that may be considered shall include, without limitation by specification: (a) service of a detailed statement of claims, damages and defenses, a statement of the issues asserted by each party and positions with respect thereto, and any legal authorities the parties may wish to bring to the attention of the arbitrators; (b) stipulations to uncontested facts; (c) exchange and pre-marking of those documents which each party believes may be offered at the hearing; (d) the identification and availability of witnesses, including experts, and such matters with respect to witnesses including their biographies and expected testimony as may be appropriate; (e) whether, and the extent to which, any sworn statements and/or depositions shall be permitted; (f) whether a stenographic or other official record of the proceedings shall be maintained; and (g) the possibility of utilizing mediation or other non-adjudicative methods of dispute resolution.

5. Management of Proceedings

(a) Arbitrators shall take such steps as they may deem necessary or desirable to avoid delay and to achieve a just, speedy and cost-effective resolution of Large Cases.

(b) Parties shall cooperate in the exchange of documents, exhibits and information within such party's control if the arbitrators consider such production to be consistent with the goal of achieving a just, speedy and cost-effective resolution of a Large Case.

(c) The parties may conduct such discovery as may be agreed to by all parties provided, however, that the arbitrators may place such limitations on the conduct of such discovery as the arbitrators may deem appropriate.

(d) At the request of a party, the arbitrators may order the conduct of the deposition of, or the propounding of interrogatories to, such persons who may possess information determined by the arbitrators to be necessary to a determination of a Large Case and who will not be available to testify at the hearings.

6. Form of Award

If requested by all parties, the award of the arbitrators shall be accompanied by a statement of the reasons upon which such award is based. If requested by one party the arbitrators may, in their discretion, issue such a statement.

7. Interest, Fees and Costs

The award of the arbitrators may include: (a) interest at such rate and from such date as the arbitrators may deem appropriate; (b) an apportionment between the parties of all or part of the fees and expenses of the AAA and the compensation and expenses of the arbitrators; and (c) an award of attorneys fees if all parties have requested or authorized such an award.

Advisory Council will
Evaluate Panel Members (Arbitrators)
on the Following Qualifications:

1. Experience and Competence
 - a. Fifteen-year business or professional practice involving complex legal or business matters;
 - b. Extensive experience in dispute resolution;
 - c. Periodic review of the panel.
2. Neutrality
 - a. Commitment to impartiality and objectivity;
 - b. Freedom from national or cultural prejudice;
 - c. Independence and open-mindedness.
3. Judicial Capacity
 - a. Dispute management skills;
 - b. Judicious temperament: impartiality, patience, courtesy;
 - c. Talent for adjudication, negotiation, and conciliation;
 - d. Successful completion of an advanced AAA panelist training course.
4. Reputation
 - a. Highest respect of Bar or business community for integrity, patience, courtesy;
 - b. Strong academic background and professional/business credentials preferred;
 - c. Scholarship and continuing education preferred..
5. Commitment and Availability
 - a. A willingness to serve if nominated, and general availability to serve in accordance with the needs of the parties;
 - b. Ability to devote time and effort to major disputes.



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 Leland Stanford
1026 Larkspur Drive
Livermore, California 94550

DWB

8

My Great. Grand
Uncle
Deland Stanford
1st Republican
Governor of California
1891

In expression
of deepest sympathy
to you
and your family.

Deland Stanford

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

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Elliott Robinson
Melissa Robinson
Bowie Robinson
Tyler Robinson
Mamie Robinson
5672 Cedar Creek
Houston, Texas 77056



THE PRESIDENT

12-4-92

Dear Elliott, Melissa, Bowie, Tyler
and Mamie, too.

Your Mother & Dad
came to the White House yesterday.
It was fun having them there.
I wish you all could have come.

Your Deal is going to build
a nice home for us to live in.

Maybe you will come see

me when the building gets

going. Merry Christmas,

Ag Bank

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Desh

Elliott
Melissa
Bowie
Tyler
Mamie

Robinson
5672 Cedar Creek
Amish
17054



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 Leland Stanford
1026 Larkspur Drive
Livermore, California 94550

My Great-Grand
Uncle
Leland Stanford
1st Republican
Governor of California
1892

An expression
of deepest sympathy
to you
and your family.

Leland Stanford

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



THE PRESIDENT

December 4, 1992

Dear David,

Thanks so much for your wonderful letter. I loved hearing from someone who is as rich in family as I am. You have great reason to be proud of yours.

Barbara and I will be moving back to Houston on Inaugural Day and my primary focus then will be on my Presidential Library at Texas A&M. I do not have any plans to go into business, so I am not able to offer you a position. I hope your great attitude and ambition bring you much success in whatever you do. Good luck and best wishes to you and your family.

Sincerely,

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. David McCall
Post Office Box 52
Greenback, Tennessee 37742-0052

11-6
David McCall
P.O. Box 52
Greenback, TN 37742-0052
(615)-856-2741

Dear President Bush,

IN HONOR OF VETERAN'S DAY...

Our forefathers worked too hard and risked too much for families to be trapped in a bureaucratic web of gridlock. In our family Bible, there is a reference to my family helping soldiers in the Civil War. My father served in World War II in radar communications.

Our families are free because of the great sacrifices of those who displayed courage and dedication instead of apathy and self-centered complacency. Now it is my turn. If I need to work till retirement to lobby for an ethical economy, an excellent educational system and a more peaceful society, then so be it. I give my word as a moral commitment. I have gained everything if my children succeed without getting caught in the crossfire of radical reasoning or passiveness.

The government can not be moved unless the people, united, move them. For too long we have seen a continuous break down of morals and motivations from the highest ranks of political office.

A man's word should be held high in regard. Because greed is replacing charity, there is little concern for honesty, integrity or intelligence.

Please consider my request and proposals. I shall be forever grateful. I am anxiously waiting for a response.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "David C. McCall". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name.

David Charles McCall

Post-Script: The media is transparent and distinctively unfair to you and your family. We totally regard their tactics as unprofessional and negatively manipulative.

However, when you decide to engage in business opportunities,
I pray that you will consider my request to work with you in
any area so designated.

My wife and I are thirty-nine years of age and we feel a
great need to work for an honest man. A man's word means a
great deal to me and character most certainly does define
integrity. I have never disappointed an employee and never
intend to. What is a man's worth if he is never given a
opportunity to prove himself.

I am enclosing a resume, as well as the Veteran's Day
tribute. I have also enclosed a picture of our three
children.

*Enc. 1
no
photo
or
resume*

I trust your honesty and if you will allow me to work
with you to earn an honest salary, without working 19 to 23
hours, I will be able to complete my education and be a
unique example of how the Republican system creates and
encourages. I also would like to pledge financial aid when I
am more financially stable. I will be proud to assist the
campaign for our 1996 Presidential election.

I have a keen math mind and an excellent memory. IF I
thought I would not be a positive, productive asset, this
letter would not have been written.

A few pages can not tell you about my integrity and desire to work for the common good of fellow Americans. I have enclosed a tribute to Veteran's Day with this letter. My heartfelt appreciation and desire to renew the American spirit is sincerely related in this tribute.

I am writing to thank you for your service and to ask you for an opportunity to work with you, in whatever capacity, you deem appropriate.

There are several significant reasons why I know I can help make a difference in the next Presidential election.

First, I must tell you, I am quite alarmed at how democrats are redefining the state of Tennessee. There is an abundance of apathy in East Tennessee and many voters do not understand the liberal changes in what has always been a conservative area. I am dedicating myself to work incessantly to bring Tennessee and other frustrated states back to a Republic commitment.

I give my word as a moral commitment to honestly delve into government waste and shed light on the inconsistencies of the new Presidential promises.

By attempting to redefine our armed forces, Governor Clinton is standing on a delicate and serious issue. I pray that he will listen to his advisors and grasp what he is undermining.

I know you have a large, beautiful family and must spend quality time with your loved ones.

I found myself working in what could have been a successful company but because of adultery, lavish parties, and exotic pleasure trips, this company primarily destroyed itself. A great number of the upper management were liberal democrats. I was told that if I would "go along with the big boys", I would rise to the top.

After my love for God, my wife and children are more precious than words, I refused to be a part of this ridiculous type of behavior.

Even though this company was closing several locations, I was asked to stay and work for a 60% cut in pay. I immediately flew to Kansas City and retrained to work for another corporation. The salary was not enough so I applied and passed a test to work for the United States Postal Service as a substitute mail carrier for whenever I am called and always on Saturdays.

I recently squeezed six more college credit hours into my schedule and scored a 3.5 average on a 4.0 scale. This makes a total of seventy hours with a 3.6 grade point average. My major is advanced math and computer business. I am also taking medical courses, whenever possible.

I just completed a four-year term on the Loudon County School Board. I accomplished every pro-education goal that was needed.

The University of Tennessee is now taking notes on a unique program that we developed to keep students in school. This program is very exciting.

11-11
David McCall
P.O. Box 52
Greenback, Tennessee 37742-0052

Request to work for President when
he leaves office, Campaign 1996
Assistance

Rose
889644

3

Dear President Bush:

S. Green
I am writing to thank you for your outstanding service to my family and our country. We are extremely proud to have been represented by you and your gracious wife. You have served your country with high honors and consistent integrity.

I am rich in family resources. I have been married for twenty years to a lovely lady. We have identical twins that tested 12th grade 9th month on a fifth grade T-cap test. Our oldest son just completed a semester in college and hopes to earn a medical degree. He graduated with high honors and received English, drama, and writing awards during his four years of high school. He also competed among thousands of students, and won the Tennessee Valley Authority Scholarship for prestigious writing. My wife has worked with pride in Educational Resources (classes for children with learning disabilities).

Mr. President, sir, I am rich in family resources. Financially I am working two jobs 19-23 hours a day, six days a week, to provide a comfortable living. Some might say, "Oh, it is the economy." Sir the state of the economy has nothing to do with this unusual stressful work situation. What I am about to tell you is quite unbelievable.

A few years ago, I worked as a Production Manager for a major corporation.

I will work as civil, structural or educational consultant or lobbyist to represent conservative ideas.

My father passed away last year at a very old age. He left me with so much mathematical and common sense discipline. I need to share my knowledge. If a human being can not give of himself, and honor his/her parents in a charitable way, then what can he give? The purpose of living is giving. Of course I want to help secure my own family and then I must help make things right, in whatever capacity.

For thirty years, my Father worked as an advanced math teacher and principal of a rough, back woods school system. Many of his former students have thanked me and praised my Father for steering them in the right direction.

My Father, being married to a Home Economics teacher minded his manners and could talk to the most illiterate student or a university president and inspire these totally different individuals to take an inward look and do something greater with their lives.

I know that I have inherited so much of my Fathers decency and unique perseverance. This type of gift, to work with people from all walks of life, needs to be used.

I am asking you for one opportunity. My family and I are working and creating almost twenty-three hours a day. To carry on my family's legacy, I need to invest in a future of resolve for my children.

Will you please respond whenever you find it possible, via letter, telephone or fax.

Please give me a chance to show my handiwork and integrity.
If you feel a need to, check my records, that is fine with
me.

SINCERELY,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "David McCall". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned directly below the word "SINCERELY,".

DAVID MCCALL

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

cc: (in & out)

Rose Zamaria (lcs)

December 4, 1992

Dear Jerry:

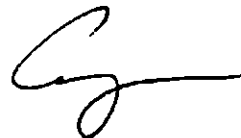
Thank you so much for your expression of confidence. It was a tough campaign, but we are thankful for so many blessings -- among them our family and millions of wonderful supporters like you. We have the satisfaction of having given it our best, but clearly victory was not to be.

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

Best wishes to you and Posy.

Sincerely,

*Thanks so
much, my friend*



Mr. Jeremiah Milbank
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York 10165

57
JEREMIAH MILBANK

60 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10165

November 19, 1992

Jer. Milbank
The Honorable and Mrs. George H. W. Bush
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President and Barbara:

It has been much on my mind since election day to write and express my sincere and deep appreciation to you both for your truly outstanding accomplishments for our Nation.

The removal of the Communist threat around most of the world which came mostly through the inability of Russia to maintain dictatorship and also to match our own determination for freedom and our strong national defense, the extraordinary action which you mobilized in the Gulf, the development of better trade relations in the world, and especially in our hemisphere, and the passage of ADA to give equal rights to the handicapped were all dramatic examples of accomplishments that along with many others will have tremendous long-term benefits in the lives of Americans.

Sadly, the short term programs promoted by Bill Clinton, and supported by the 80% Democratic media made it impossible for many to realize that, like all recessions, this one was already on its way out, and unless reversed by misdirected tax and spend policies in the future, may in fact be over in a relatively short time.

I want also to express my sincere thanks to you both for your wonderful support of our Boys & Girls Clubs movement which makes it possible for so many hundreds of thousands of disadvantaged kids to live happier and more useful lives. I am retiring as Chairman at year end, but I know our new leaders will work to continue and probably surpass our growth of the past few years.

My warm best wishes are with you for your future lives, and I hope that, as in the past, our family friendship with you both and your entire family may long continue.

Sincerely and with gratitude,

JM:cg

Jer. Milbank

980298

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 4, 1992

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

Dear Mrs. Lyons:

Thank you so much for the photograph and for your thoughtful message about the election. It was a tough campaign, but we are thankful for so many blessings -- among them our family and millions of wonderful supporters like you. Barbara and I will always be grateful for the privilege that we have had of serving the American people.

Congratulations, too, on the birth of your first granddaughter. We'll be sure to pass along the good news to Marvin and Margaret.

Best wishes to you and yours, in which Barbara joins.

Sincerely,

Ann

Best to George

AB

AB
Mrs. George Lyons
545 Spring Lane
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19118-2412

1545 Spring Lane

St Philipsburg, PA. 19118

November 18/1992

1/ Dear President and Mrs. Bush,

It was an honor and a thrill for me to be able to
repeated with you both when you arrived in Boca Grande
last Wednesday.

Whenever I see or hear you, I am reminded of the
friendship my daughter had with your son Marvin &
daughter-in-law Margaret, during their college years
together. Therefore, that is what I mentioned when
I greeted each of you. I really wanted you both to
know how much my husband and I admire the
many fine qualities you possess and the great service
you have given to our Country for most of your lives.

I have great confidence that you will continue
to serve our Country for many years to come, Mr
President, with the knowledge and capability and expertise
that you possess. I hope you will take some time
before you go onto something new. My husband, George,
retired before he was ready. He became the Company
he worked for was bought out. He felt he had to go right
into another job and did so. He was very unhappy with
what he had chosen and it took him awhile before
he worked things out for himself. He wished that he
had taken some time in between to decide what
was best for him. He is very pleased & content with
his life now & derives great pleasure fishing for
snook & redfish when we are at our place in
Boca Grande. I think one of his happiest days was
the day he caught his first snook!
I hope you will come again to Boca Grande.
It is still a special place & usually people who like
mine like Boca Grande.

Our daughter's name is Bonnie Lyons and as I know she would want to be remembered to Marvin & Margaret Bonnie & Margaret were in the same room their freshman year (Katie Couric of the Today show was their resident advisor.) They were sorority sisters and had many mutual friends. Bonnie is now married & recently had a little girl (our first grandchild - such pleasure!) She lives in New York and Conn. & is a vice president at J. Crew, the retail & mail order catalog company.

George joins me in wishing the best of everything to a most gracious and deserving couple.

Anne Lyons

P.S. Enclosed is a picture of you in Braintree. I think it is good of you & it has our special banyon tree in the background.

92 DEC -1 AM 4:14

Presidential Phone Calls



DATE: 12-4-92

TIME: 8:03
incoming/outgoing

WITH: Bobby Holt

SUBJECT: _____

- ② Ron Emmanuel - Clinton won
wants use logo for 88 - I say "Yes"
- 2 Cannot Pay Peggy from Iran
- ③ Available for
weekend he & Joan
- 4)

FOLLOW UP: Ash Patts write

Sunday lunch

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Daily 12/4

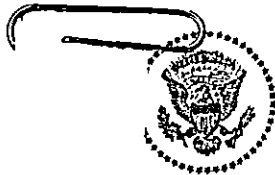
Ms. Wendy L. Thompson
Room 253
Office of Management and Budget
Washington, D.C. 20503



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. Bruce Thompson



THE PRESIDENT

December 4, 1992

Dear Mr. Thompson,

Your daughter, Wendy, passed along the wonderful t-shirt you brought me from the Middle East. Many thanks! I'm delighted to have it and appreciate your thoughtfulness.

Thanks, too, for your kind words. Barbara and I wish you and your family a happy holiday season.

Sincerely,

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



OFFICE OF
THE DIRECTOR

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

November 30, 1992

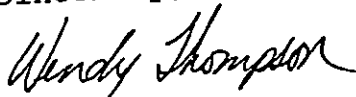
Dear Mr. President:

My father and two business associates (all Bush supporters) left for the Middle East the day after the elections. My father saw this shirt and thought you might appreciate it.

He would also like to relay to you that everyone they met in the Middle East holds you in the highest esteem.

We hope you enjoy wearing this memento.

Sincerely,



Wendy L. Thompson



CAMP DAVID



FAX COMM # 301-271-1366

TO: ROSE ZAMRIA
FROM: LT WEBB
SUBJECT: VISIT REPORT 4-6 DEC 1992

No. of Pages to follow: 6

Reply Requested (Y/N)? N

COMMENTS: _____

If you don't receive all copies, call 301-271-1400.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Memo	[Camp David] Command Duty Officer to Distribution, Re: Visit Report for 4-6 December 1992. (3 pp.)	12/06/92	(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Friday, December 4, 1992 [2]

Date Closed: 1/31/2025	OA/ID Number: 90740-002
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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

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

CABIN ASSIGNMENTS

<u>CABIN</u>	<u>FRIDAY</u>	<u>SATURDAY</u>	<u>SUNDAY</u>
<u>ASPEN</u>			
MSTR (K)	H2(1540) PRESIDENT BUSH.....		H3(1407)
BR (2 T)	H2(1540) BARBARA BUSH.....		H3(1407)
<u>BIRCH</u>			
MSTR (K)	H2(1540) TERRI LACY.....	C3(1510)	
BR (2 T)		P6(1525) GEORGE KOCH.....	P6(1415)
		P6(1525) HELEN KOCH.....	P6(1415)
<u>DOGWOOD</u>			
MSTR (K)	H2(1540) JIM BAIRD.....	C3(1510)	
BR (2 T)			
<u>MAPLE</u>			
MSTR (K)	P2(1749) DORO KOCH.....		P2(1435)
BR (2 T)		P3(1155) BOBBY KOCH.....	P3(1436)
	P2(1749) SAM LEBLOND.....		P2(1435)
	P2(1749) ELLIE LEBLOND.....		P2(1435)
		P5(1045) BECCA KILBORNE....	P2(1435)
<u>RED OAK</u>			
MSTR (K)	[CHANGING CABIN]		
BR (2 T)			
<u>HAWTHORN</u>			
MSTR (K) A	H2(1540) CDR CONNIE MARIANO.....		H3(1407)
		P7(1500) RICHARD STEVENS..	P7(1100)
BR (2 T) B	H2(1540) LCDR WAYNE JUSTICE.....		H3(1407)
		P8(1107) VIRGINIA JUSTICE..	P8(1255)
<u>SYCAMORE</u>			
MSTR (K) B	H2(1540) MICHAEL BUSCH.....		H3(1407)
BR (2 T) A	H1(1538) MAJ KIM SINISCALCHI.....		H4(1409)
<u>LINDEN</u>			
BR (2 T)	C1(1000) CAPT AMY MARKETT.....		H4(1409)
<u>WALNUT</u>			
BR (2 T)	H2(1540) MAJ ROLAND MASSEY.....		H3(1407)
	H2(1540) CAPT JIM OGERSHOCK.....		H3(1407)
BR (2 T)	H1(1538) MAJ JEFF LUCAS.....		H4(1409)
	H1(1538) MAJ JIM ROUSE.....		H4(1409)
<u>ROSEBUD</u>			
MSTR (Q)	P1(2120) DON RHODES.....		P1(1322)
BR (2 T)			
<u>WITCH HAZEL</u>			
BR (2 T) A	C2(1420) PAULA RENDON.....		C2(1314)
BR (2 T) B	C2(1420) MSCM ORLANDO FRILLES.....		C2(1314)
<u>HEMLOCK</u>			
BR (1 Q)	H2(1540) RICH MILLER.....		H3(1407)

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02. Manifest	Helo Manifest (Staff/Guests), Re: Camp David. (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Friday, December 4, 1992 [2]

Date Closed: 1/31/2025	OA/ID Number: 90740-002
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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

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

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03. Manifest	POV (Staff/Guests), Re: Camp David. (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Friday, December 4, 1992 [2]

Date Closed: 1/31/2025	OA/ID Number: 90740-002
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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 P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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 (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
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December 4, 1992

final 

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH

SUBJECT: CAMP DAVID VISIT
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 4 - SUNDAY, DECEMBER 6.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 4

3:00 p.m. The President and Mrs. Bush board Marine One, accompanied by Terri Lacy and Jim Baird, and depart the South Lawn of the White House enroute Camp David.

3:30 p.m. Marine One arrives Camp David.

5:00 p.m. Doro Koch, Sam and Ellie LeBlond arrive Camp David
(approx.) by private vehicle.

OVERNIGHT GUESTS:

Doro Koch
Sam and Ellie LeBlond
Terri Lacy
Jim Baird

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 5

to be Bobby Koch arrives Camp David by private vehicle.
determined

to be Susie Kelly (Doro's friend) and her two children, Taylor
determined and Katie, arrive Camp David by private vehicle (station wagon, Maryland license: VRD-341). (They will depart Saturday afternoon.)

10 or 11 a.m. Terri Lacy and Jim Baird depart Camp David by Camp David vehicle enroute Washington, D.C.

10:30 a.m.
(approx.) Al, Elsie, Becca and John Kilborne arrive Camp David by private vehicle (maroon Jeep, MD license: 393949 M). (They will depart Saturday afternoon.)

LUNCH:

Doro, Bobby, Sam and Ellie
Susie, Taylor and Katie Kelly
Al, Elsie, Becca, and John Kilborn

2 or 3 p.m. Mr. and Mrs. George (Helen) Koch arrive Camp David by private vehicle.

OVERNIGHT GUESTS:

Doro and Bobby Koch
Sam and Ellie LeBlond
George and Helen Koch

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 6

9:00 a.m. The President and Mrs. Bush attend Chapel.

11:30 a.m. Bobby and Joanie Holt arrive Camp David by private vehicle (& driver). ^{LIMOLINE SAME DRIVER} (Private vehicle departs immediately after dropping off the Holts.)

LUNCH Doro, Bobby, Sam and Ellie
George and Helen Koch
Bobby and Joanie Holt

to be determined Doro and Bobby Koch, accompanied by Sam and Ellie LeBlond, depart Camp David by private vehicle.

to be determined George and Helen Koch depart Camp David by private vehicle.

Page 3

2:00 p.m. The President and Mrs. Bush, accompanied by Bobby and Joanie Holt, depart Camp David by Marine One.

2:30 p.m. Marine One arrives the White House, South Lawn.

(NOTE: WH Vehicle will be on stand-by to take the Holts to the Watergate Hotel.)

4:30 p.m. Mr. and Mrs. Dana Carvey (Paula) arrive the White House by White House vehicle.

to be determined 4 30 Mr. and Mrs. Don Hall (Adele) arrive the White House by White House vehicle.

6:00 p.m. Reception for Kennedy Center Honors - The State Floor

7:30 p.m. The President and Mrs. Bush, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Dana Carvey and Mr. and Mrs. Don Hall, depart the White House enroute the Kennedy Center.

OVERNIGHT RESIDENCE GUESTS:

Mr. and Mrs. Dana Carvey (Paula)

Mr. and Mrs. Don Hall (Adele)

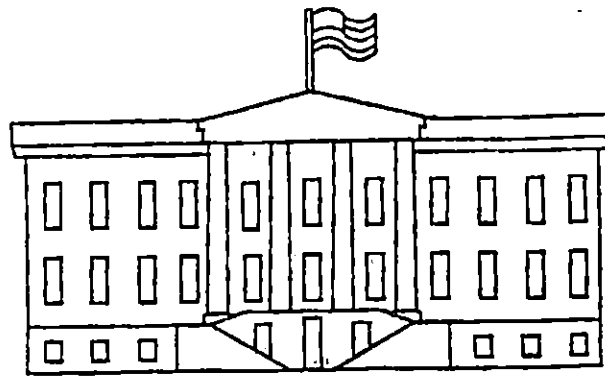
STAFF AT CAMP DAVID:

Don Rhodes
Paula Rendon
Orlando Frilles
Dr. Connie Mariano
Major Kim Siniscalchi
LCDR Wayne Justice/Military Aide
Michael Busch/Press
Rich Miller/USSS

MOVIES:

Malcolm X
The Distinguished Gentleman
Home Alone 2: Lost in New York

Patty Presock



WHITE HOUSE COMMUNICATIONS AGENCY VOICE OPERATIONS BRANCH

FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL HEADER SHEET

COMMAND	OFFICE SYMBOL	PHONE NUMBER	DATE-TIME GROUP
TO: CDR Justice CAMP DAVID SIGNAL SUPERVISOR		Auto von: : Commercial: FAX Called:	050600Z DEC 92 (YYMMDD-HHMM ET)
FROM: :		Auto von: Commercial:	Authorized Releaser Signature
CLASSIFICATION ETO	PAGES 3 + Header	PRECEDENCE	
REMARKS:			
VERIFICATION INFORMATION			

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM
SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD

December 4, 1992

	TIME		NAME	ACTION
	PLACED	DISC		
OUT XXX	10:02 AM PM	10:10	Mr. Jonathan Bush Hotel Quisisana Tontevocchio Florence, Italy 216-692	Tlkd-ok 10:04 AM
OUT XXX	10:20 AM PM	10:34	Princess Catherine Agakhan Residence, Geneva, Switzerland 752-1212	Tlkd-ok 10:31 AM
OUT XXX	10:35 AM PM		Mr. Jonathan Bush Hotel Quisisana Tontevocchio Florence, Italy 216-692	LW with Ms. Berne 10:38 AM
OUT XXX	AM 12:05 PM	12:14	Conference Call: Secretary General Butros Butros-Ghali	Tlkd-ok 12:08 PM
OUT INC	AM		Office, New York, New York 212-963-5012	
OUT INC	AM PM		Mr. Ralph H. Sigler White House Situation Room White House Signal 7-2264	
OUT INC	AM PM		Mr. John M. Ordway White House Situation Room White House Signal 7-2262	
OUT INC	AM		Ms. Nancy B. Dyke White House Situation Room White House Signal 7-2262	
OUT XXX	AM 3:15 PM	3:23	Congressman Robert J. Largomarsino Residence, Ventura, California 805-643-5914	Tlkd-ok 3:22 PM via YANKEE ZULU

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM
SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD

December 4, 1992

	TIME		NAME	ACTION
	PLACED	DISC		
OUT XXX	AM 3:24 PM	 3:34	Mr. Robert B. Zoellick Office, Washington, D.C. 647-7688	Tlkd-ok 3:30 PM via YANKEE ZULU
OUT XXX	AM 3:54 PM	 3:56	LCDR Wayne E. Justice Hawthorn Cabin, Camp David, Maryland Camp David Signal 4-1748	Tlkd-ok 3:55 PM
OUT XXX	AM 3:56 PM	 4:01	Ms. Patty Presock Office, Washington, D.C. White House Signal 7-2198	Tlkd-ok 3:57 PM
OUT XXX	AM 5:53 PM	 5:54	Major Kimberly A. Siniscalchi Sycamore Cabin, Camp David, Maryland Camp David Signal 4-1736	Tlkd-ok 5:54 PM
XXX INC	AM 6:31 PM	 7:20	Mr. Sigmund A. Rogich Office, Las Vegas, Nevada 702-228-0222	Tlkd with CDR Justice 6:34 PM Tlkd-ok 7:15 PM
XXX INC	AM 6:53 PM	 6:58	Ms. Patty Presock Residence, Fairfax, Virginia White House Signal 7-3804	Tlkd-ok 6:56 PM
OUT INC	AM PM			
OUT INC	AM PM			
OUT INC	AM PM			
OUT INC	AM PM			
OUT INC	AM PM			

PRESIDENTIAL MOVEMENTS

LOCATION Washington, D.C.
Camp David, Maryland

DATE 04 December 1992

TIME

MOVEMENTS

[illegible]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM
SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD

December 5, 1992

	TIME		NAME	ACTION
	PLACED	DISC		
XXX INC	6:47 AM PM	7:03	Conference Call: President Turgut Ozal Esenboga Airport, Ankara, Turkey 398-0339	Tlkd-ok 6:51 AM
OUT INC	AM PM		Ms. Katherine E. O'Loughlin White House Situation Room White House Signal 7-2264	
OUT INC	AM PM		Ms. Bonnie E. Mitchell White House Situation Room White House Signal 7-2264	
OUT INC	AM PM		Major Jane E. Holl Residence, Arlington, Virginia 703-241-9165	
OUT XXX	8:33 AM PM	8:41	Mr. Alec Courtelis Residence, Ocala, Florida 904-591-2105	Tlkd-ok 8:36 AM
XXX INC	10:16 AM PM		Mr. Marlin Fitzwater Residence, Alexandria, Virginia White House Signal 7-3864	Tlkd with LCDR Justice 10:17 AM
OUT XXX	11:43 AM PM	11:48	Mr. Lewis Walker Residence, Hobe Sound, Florida 407-548-2242	Tlkd-ok 11:44 AM
OUT XXX	11:49 AM PM	7:09	Mr. Bruce Rounds Residence, Cocoa Beach, Florida 407-799-0984	Left Message on Answering Machine 11:49 AM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM
SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD

December 5, 1992

	TIME		NAME	ACTION
	PLACED	DISC		
XXX INC	AM 12:55 PM	 1:08	General Brent Scowcroft Office, Washington, D.C. White House Signal 7-2260	Tlkd-ok 1:02 PM
XXX INC	AM 1:32 PM	 1:37	General Brent Scowcroft Office, Washington, D.C. White House Signal 7-2260	Tlkd-ok 1:35 PM
XXX INC	AM 1:43 PM	 1:49	Conference Call: Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin Residence, Jerusalem, Israel 571-777	Tlkd-ok 1:45 PM
OUT INC	AM PM		Mr. John K. Naland White House Situation Room White House Signal 7-2264	
OUT INC	AM PM		Dr. Richard N. Haass Office, Washington, D.C. 395-6900	
XXX INC	AM 3:10 PM	 6:45	Mr. Don Kendall Office, Port Chester, New York 914-253-3000	Tlkd with LCDR Justice 3:12 PM
OUT INC	AM PM			Tlkd-ok 6:42 PM
OUT XXX	AM 5:20 PM	 5:22	Major Kimberly A. Siniscalchi Sycamore Cabin, Camp David, Maryland Camp David Signal 4-1736	Tlkd-ok 5:21 PM
OUT XXX	AM 6:57 PM	 7:01	Mr. Victor Gold Residence, Alexandria, Virginia 703-998-7711	Tlkd-ok 6:57 PM

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM
SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD

[illegible]

PRESIDENTIAL MOVEMENTS

LOCATION Camp David, Maryland

DATE 5 December 1992

TIME

MOVEMENTS

[illegible]

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

PRESIDENT BUSH

DECEMBER 4th

, 1992

	TIME		NAME	ACTION
	PLACED	DISC		
OUT	6:41 AM	6:42	GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT RES: BETHESDA, MD. WHITE HOUSE SIGNAL 7-3881	TLKD-OK 6:42 A.M.
~~INC~~	~~PM~~			
OUT	AM			
~~INC~~	~~PM~~			
OUT	6:42 AM	6:47	MR. DANIEL B. MC GROARTY OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN EXT: 6-2930	TLKD-OK 6:43 A.M.
~~INC~~	~~PM~~			
OUT	AM			
~~INC~~	~~PM~~			
OUT	7:40 AM		CONGRESSMAN G.V.MONTGOMERY OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. 202-225-5031	LW WITH MR. KYLE STEWART 7:40 A.M
~~INC~~	~~PM~~			
OUT	AM			
~~INC~~	~~PM~~			
OUT	7:58 AM	8:03	MR. ROBERT B. HOLT RES: MIDLAND, TX. 915-682-3086	TLKD-OK 8:00 A.M.
~~INC~~	~~PM~~			
OUT	AM			
~~INC~~	~~PM~~			
OUT	8:05 AM	8:12	MR. WILLIAM BUSH RES: ST. LOUIS, MO. 314-993-1210	TLKD-OK 8:07 A.M.
~~INC~~	~~PM~~			
OUT	AM			
~~INC~~	~~PM~~			
OUT	8:12 AM	9:53	MR. PRESCOTT BUSH OFC: NEW YORK, N.Y. 212-599-1409	TLKD-OK 9:50 A.M.
~~INC~~	~~PM~~			

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

DECEMBER 4th, 1992

PRESIDENT BUSH

	TIME		DISC	NAME	ACTION
	PLACED				
OUT	8:24 AM		9:58	MR. JONATHAN BUSH'S PERSONAL SECRETARY OFC: NEW YORK, N.Y. 212-371-2170	TLKD-OK WITH MRS. MARY ROSE PALLADINO 9:57 A.M.
~~INC~~ OUT	~~PM~~ AM				
INC	PM				
~~OUT~~	8:28 AM		8:31	AMBASSADOR STEVEN J. RHODES OFC: CARLETON, JAMAICA 809-968-6204	CLEARED BY MRS. ROSE M. ZAMARIA 8:29 A.M. TLKD-OK 8:29 A.M.
INC	~~PM~~				
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				
~~OUT~~	8:34 AM			REVEREND JESSE L. JACKSON CELLULAR PHONE 202-679-4902	TLKD WITH MRS. ROSE M. ZAMARIA 8:34 A.M.
INC	~~PM~~				
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				
~~OUT~~	~~AM~~			CONGRESSMAN ROBERT J. LARGOMARSINO RES: VENTURA, CA. 805-643-5914	MR. DAN MATTHEWS TLKD WITH MS. ROBIN A. MAC LEAN 12:54 P.M.
INC	12:52 PM				
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM
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December 4, 1992

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OUT XXX	AM 3:15 PM	3:23	Congressman Robert J. Largomarsino Residence, Ventura, California 805-643-5914	Tlkd-ok 3:22 PM via YANKEE ZULU

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD

December 4, 1992

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OUT INC	AM PM			
OUT INC	AM PM			
OUT INC	AM PM			
OUT INC	AM PM			
OUT INC	AM PM			

PRESIDENTIAL MOVEMENTS

LOCATION Washington, D.C.
Camp David, Maryland

DATE 04 December 1992

TIME

MOVEMENTS

[illegible]

THE WHITE HOUSE
MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE

DAILY PRESS CLIPPINGS

Friday, December 4, 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)

NEW YORK NEWSDAY, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1982



AP Photo

Christmas Time

Barbara Bush holds grandson Walker Bush, 3, as she and Joe Riley, president of the Christmas Pageant of Peace, place a star atop the National Christmas Tree in Washington yesterday.



AP Photo

Barbara Bush holds grandson Walker Bush as she and Joe Riley, of the Christmas Pageant of Peace, place a star atop the National Christmas tree yesterday.

'Give Her a Break'

First lady tells media to be kind to Hillary

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Washington — Barbara Bush had kind words yesterday for the next first lady and — in the spirit of the season — a few for reporters too.

Chatting with news people on hand for the arrival of the White House Christmas tree, Bush was asked about Hillary Clinton.

"I wanted to talk to you about that," Bush said sternly. "I hope you all treat her like you treated me. I mean, give her a break."

Bush disagreed with a suggestion that the news media have been fair to Clinton. "I don't think you have yet," she said. "The cartoons are ugly — let her make her own mistakes. She's great. She was just the warmest, nicest, friendliest person."

Two weeks ago, Bush gave Clinton a tour of the White House. As they met, the first lady pointed to nearby report-

ers and told her successor: "Avoid this crowd like the plague."

Yesterday, a kinder and gentler Barbara Bush told the news media crowd that if Clinton "wants a good time and a lot of fun, she ought to see you."

Bush shrugged off the idea that Hillary Clinton, a full-time lawyer, is a radical feminist, as several speakers said at the Republican National Convention. "It's just not fair," Bush said. "She's going to be just great and let her do her thing."

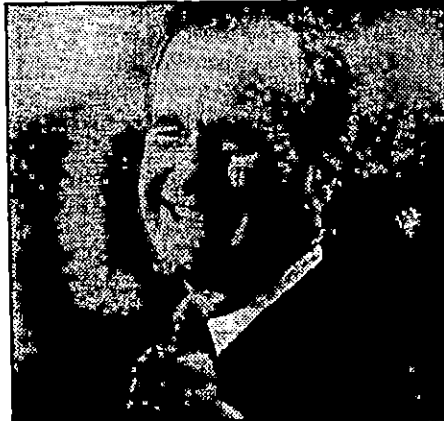
The Bush family will spend Christmas at Camp David. Afterward, the president will head for Texas to hunt while his wife returns to the White House to pack.

Asked whether this round of Christmas parties will be difficult, Barbara Bush said, "We're really looking forward to it — and we're really looking forward to getting back home."

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1992

The Reliable Source

RD THAT...



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Bush (flashing a campaign smile here),
received gladly at the theater.

University for a one-year master's in
American government. "Just because I'm
chairman of the party doesn't mean I know
everything about American government,"
Bond tells *Newsday*. Well said, Rich.

■ George and Barbara Bush took yet
another curtain call at the opening of "A
Tuna Christmas" at the National Theatre
last night, where even the Democratic
guests were kind enough to give them a
standing ovation.

Even soon-to-be-unemployed presidents need outplacement help

By Meryl L. Bralower

Dear President Bush,

Welcome to the club. You, like millions of your fellow Americans, have lost your job as a result of the economy, and will soon be joining the ranks of the unemployed. As an outplacement consultant who has counseled hundreds of people with job loss, I would like to offer some suggestions to help you manage your transition.

First, as with any loss, be prepared to experience a grief reaction. This process will help you accept the loss and move forward. Most people experience the stage: shock, anger and blame, shame, and despair sequentially, but don't be surprised if you go back and forth between them, or find yourself with more than one at the same time. You are already in stage one, disbelief. Even if you had allowed yourself thoughts about losing, you never really considered an alternative plan. For now, the steps you have taken, a trip to Florida, buying a new fishing rod and obtaining a quail-hunting license, will help block the pain until you are ready to absorb the blow.

Once you reach the next stage, anger, don't be surprised if you find yourself snapping at Barbara or barking at Millie. Blame usually accompanies the anger. Many in your administration are already pointing fingers at Richard Darman and Robert

Teeter.

Along with anger, you can expect shame. Given the highly visible and public nature of your profession, this will be more pronounced. The shame may take a variety of forms. For example, you might start to obsess over New Hampshire or New Jersey.

The next stage of grief is depression. Clearly you have experienced a major loss, a high-paying, high-status job, with incredible perks and unparalleled power. You even lost your magnificent home. Not exactly like other Americans who couldn't keep up their mortgage payments, but a major loss nonetheless. You can expect the intensity of your despair will be greatest approximately 60 to 90 days after the loss. Throughout the process, and particularly during this phase, you will need the support of family, friends and colleagues. Don't laugh, but you might find it comforting to talk to others who have been through a similar experience, all party affiliations aside.

President Bush, with all due respect, you may realize that leaving your job will actually be a relief. When the focus of your job changed from foreign to domestic, it no longer played to your strengths, and your heart was no longer in it. Like many people holding onto jobs that are not a good fit, you may find yourself glad to be leaving. Once you have had some distance from the situation, you will appreciate the personal toll it has taken on you, Barbara and the family.

Publicly you've mentioned going into the "grandfather business." That's just your first response to the loss and, like hunting and fishing, is likely to

keep you occupied temporarily. With tincture of time you will be better able to chart your course.

Like others who have undergone job loss, you will need to find a way of reconfiguring your skills for today's marketplace. Bankers and engineers, unable to find comparable jobs, have had to find new ways of packaging their skills and abilities. So will you, even with your strong résumé. Given your international achievements, your ability to perform under pressure and global contacts, once you do, you will have a wide range of choices. Before you take action, give yourself time to assess your accomplishments. Focusing on the ones most meaningful to you will direct you in planning your future.

You may want to consider the trend toward "work portfolios." Many Americans are turning toward a collection of work, rather than a particular job. Some are patching together a combination of work, based on economic necessity, while others are choosing this approach because of the challenge and variety it provides. If you decide to retire, it is a way to continue to make a meaningful contribution. Your portfolio could consist of both paid and non-paid work: public speaking, consulting and volunteer activities.

Once you grieve your loss, take a look at your accomplishments, and identify your interests, you will be ready to consider your options. With a little patience and planning, you too, Mr. President, will be able to turn this into an opportunity.

Meryl L. Bralower is a management consultant and author based in Chestnut Hills, Mass.

'Buscapade' to kick off inauguration

WASHINGTON—President-elect Bill Clinton plans to end his long journey to the White House the same way he began last summer: traveling by bus, this time to his own populist-flavored inaugural celebration.

Clinton will board a chartered bus at Thomas Jefferson's home, Monticello, near Charlottesville, Va., on Jan. 17, the Sunday before the inauguration, and motor across Virginia to a rally at the Lincoln Memorial. Clinton's "buscapades" were a campaign trademark.

The 115-mile drive, with public stops along the way, kicks off five days of inaugural activities that organizers say will be the most open and accessible to the general public in recent history. The inauguration is Jan. 20, a Wednesday.

The Clintons even plan a three-hour public "open house" at the White House the day after Clinton takes the oath of office.

The theme of the inauguration is "American Reunion—New Beginnings, Renewed Hope."

About 250,000 people are expected to attend Clinton's swearing-in ceremony. The best chances for tickets are through members of Congress or local Democratic organizations, officials said.

Organizers said they hope to spend slightly less than \$20 million on the inauguration, paid for by private contributions and sales of tickets and souvenirs.

Organizers say they will have eight free events for the public. The lineup includes an all-day Sunday festival on the Mall, featuring U.S. regional cuisine and crafts, and a concert that evening at the Lincoln Memorial.

On Monday, an "American Gala" evening of entertainment—starts to be announced later—is planned for the Capitol Centre, a sports auditorium in the Washington suburb of Landover, Md. Those who attend will be asked to bring food or clothing for the poor.

Tuesday, two events for children are planned at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington.

Monday and Tuesday's activities will be free, but tickets will be required to control crowd size.

The events of Clinton's inauguration day will largely follow tradition. The president-elect and Hillary Clinton will meet briefly at the White House with President Bush and his wife, Barbara, before the swearing-in ceremony.

Maya Angelou, a nationally noted African-American writer from Arkansas, is expected to read a poem at the ceremony, according to an inaugural official.

The new president will attend a congressional luncheon after the ceremony and then will join a parade down Pennsylvania Avenue from the Capitol to the White House.

Ten invitation-only inaugural balls are planned for Wednesday night. Tickets are \$125 each.

Thu 3-Dec-92 23:43 EST

Mrs. Bush's Will Gives To Many

STUART, Fla. (AP) — President Bush's mother left much of her multimillion-dollar estate to five children and 16 grandchildren. But she also left money to a woman who once worked at the family's winter home in Florida.

Dorothy Bush died Nov. 19 at her home in Greenwich, Conn., a day after suffering a stroke. She was 91.

The Bush family matriarch's will, written in 1982 and revised less than six months ago, named two of her sons — not President Bush — as executors of her will and trustees of her estate.

The will, filed last week in circuit court in Martin County, didn't give the estate's value, but it is believed to be worth millions.

Mrs. Bush asked that the bulk of the estate be divided into equal shares and distributed among her children.

She left sons Prescott Bush Jr. and Jonathan Bush each \$30,000 more than her other children for serving as executors of their father's estate. Her husband, former U.S. Sen. Prescott Bush, died in 1972.

The will directs the same sons to be executors and trustees of Mrs. Bush's estate.

"It is my hope and recommendation, however, that my executors and trustees shall consult with my son, George Herbert Walker Bush, on any important matters pertaining to the investment or administration of my estate and any trusts created hereby," the will states.

Mrs. Bush's daughter, Nancy Bush Ellis, is to receive all of her jewelry and a painting. Another painting was left to Mrs. Bush's daughter-in-law, Elizabeth K. Bush, the wife of Prescott Bush Jr. Her other daughters-in-law, including Barbara Bush, weren't named in the will.

While the will leaves each of 16 grandchildren \$10,000, it also provides an additional \$25,000 to grandson Prescott Bush III and granddaughter Nancy W. Ellis Black, "because of the difficulties (each) has experienced." The will didn't elaborate.

Among other benefactors was Christ Memorial Chapel on Jupiter Island, Fla., which she attended during her winter stays in Martin County. Mrs. Bush left \$2,500 for the church.

And she left \$2,000 to Cather Hudson, the former cook at the Bush family's winter home on Jupiter Island.

"Thank you, Jesus, so much," Ms. Hudson, 77, said. "I'm all choked up. I loved her so much. She was just like a mother to me. She was so sweet."

Thu 3-Dec-92 12:54 EST

PARAMOUNT COMMUNICATIONS NAMES BENITA SOMERFIELD
SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT, COMMUNICATIONS

NEW YORK, Dec. 3 /PRNewswire/ -- Paramount announced today that Benita Somerfield has been appointed senior vice president, Communications, for the publishing operation of Paramount Communications Inc., which includes Simon & Schuster, Prentice Hall, Silver Burdett Ginn and Pocket Books among its principal imprints. Ms. Somerfield succeeds Joseph Bereswill, who has left the company to pursue other interests.

Richard E. Snyder, chairman of Paramount's publishing group, said, "With the publishing industry, like the world in which we live, changing at such a rapid rate and on such an unprecedented scale, effective communication of information, internally and externally, is critical. Benita's strong education background combined with her Washington, D.C. and publishing experience makes her uniquely suited to the task."

Previously, Ms. Somerfield was president of Simon & Schuster Workplace Resources, which publishes adult literacy materials, such as the Tests of Applied Literacy Skills created in partnership with the Educational Testing Service (ETS) of Princeton, N.J.

Before that, Ms. Somerfield served for two years as a special literacy adviser at the U.S. Department of Education in Washington, D.C., working with federal, state and local government officials to develop policy initiatives. She also spent six years as president of Cambridge Book Company, an educational publisher, and four years as vice-president and associate publisher, of Contemporary Books, Inc., where she was responsible for consumer and educational publishing operations.

She also is the executive director of the Barbara Bush Foundation for Family Literacy, which funds the development of intergenerational education programs around the country and publishes materials such as Barbara Bush's Family Reading Tips to promote family reading. In October, Ms. Somerfield was confirmed by the U.S. Senate as a member of the Presidentially appointed Board of the National Institute for Literacy.

Ms. Somerfield holds a B.A. from the State University of New York in Binghamton and an M.A. from New York University.

Paramount Communications is America's leading publisher of educational material from textbooks to computer-based learning systems, and has significant operations serving the consumer and business, technical and professional publishing markets. Paramount Communications also is a major producer and distributor of motion pictures, television programming and home videos, and has significant operations in cable television networks, broadcast television stations, motion picture theaters and live and televised sports and entertainment events. The company's well-known operations include Paramount Pictures, Paramount Television, Paramount Home Video, Madison Square Garden and jointly owned USA Networks.

Fri 4-Dec-92 7:17 EST.

NEW YORK--(BUSINESS WIRE FEATURES)--The First Lady, the Nobel Peace Prize Winning Nun and the Princess of Wales are the three "Most Admired Women" in the country, according to the results of Good Housekeeping's 24th annual poll, it was announced Friday by John Mack Carter, editor-in-chief of Good Housekeeping.

Barbara Bush took First Place for the fourth year. The Number Two spot belongs to Mother Teresa, who has been in the Top Ten for 16 years. The Princess of Wales took Third Place. Despite her marital problems, she moved up two spots from Number Five last year.

The newly engaged Oprah Winfrey slipped from Number Three last year to Number Four this year. She is followed by Rosalynn Carter, who moved up to Number Five. Anita Hill led the second half of the Top Ten, followed by Hillary Clinton, Marilyn Quayle, Margaret Thatcher and Katharine Hepburn. Hepburn, who was also Number Ten last year, is the only actress among the politically-anchored group.

"Anita Hill's appearance, a year after the Senate hearings, is a testament to how women across America still feel about those hearings," said Carter.

In the "Most Admired Men" Poll, the Top Three were: Billy Graham, President Bush and Jimmy Carter. Pope John Paul II came in Fourth and Terry Anderson took Fifth Place, another strong ranking for a first-time appearance. Stormin' Norman Schwarzkopf took Sixth, down from Number Two last year, and Dan Quayle, his first time on the list, took Number Seven. Bob Hope, Norman Vincent Peale and President elect Clinton filled out the Top Ten. This is the 12th annual "Most Admired Men" Poll.

The poll was conducted from mid-August to Sept. 4, 1992, in the frenzy of the presidential campaigns. Fifteen thousand readers cast their votes from a list of possibilities from "Roseanne" to Raisa Gorbachev on the women's list, and Bruce Springsteen to Colin Powell on the men's list. They could also write-in names.

Good Housekeeping is published by Hearst Magazines.

The Washington Times

★ FRIDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1992

Birthday party planned for Lady Bird Johnson

AUSTIN, Texas — Lady Bird Johnson already is embarrassed, and the party hasn't even begun.



Johnson

Her friends have pulled together two days of celebrations to honor the former first lady's 80th birthday.

"She said to keep things low key, but with millions of friends and the enthusiasm for her, there's no way to keep it low key," said Liz Carpenter, Mrs. Johnson's former press secretary and an organizer of the birthday bash. "She's already told me, 'Liz, I'm going to be blushing for two days.'"

Those invited to the private celebrations today and tomorrow at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library include family, former Johnson administration members and even a former college roommate.

Mrs. Johnson plans to spend her actual birthday, Dec. 22, in a private celebration with family. Her husband died in 1973.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1992

New math focuses on real-life problems

ASSOCIATED PRESS

For many, the words "math test" conjure up a nightmare of trying to manipulate jumbles of numbers and letters using all-but-meaningless formulas. But no more, perhaps.

In a book of prototype tests released yesterday, fourth-graders are challenged to decipher an abstract chart to determine the standings in a checkers tournament, predict who is likely to win a certain contest and explain why.

"The notion that the right answer to the question is a single number is what we want to refute," said Nancy Cole, executive vice president of the Educational Testing Service. "There are better answers and less good answers," depending on the reasoning behind them.

"We're trying to give kids real-life problems and show how mathematics is not separate from real-world

problems," Miss Cole said. She is also head of the policy committee for the Mathematical Sciences Education Board, the part of the National Research Council that developed the book, called "Measuring Up."

The concepts are not new to teachers. Educators have been working for several years to revamp how math is taught, first developing new curriculum standards and then new instruction standards to help teachers. "Measuring Up" offers a way to assess what the students are learning.

Miss Cole acknowledged that the self-described reformers who prepared the book have not worked out all the problems.

For one thing, the book's examples require a great deal of verbal ability to understand the problems and explain the solutions. That is a

potential problem for students who don't speak English as their first language, she said in an interview.

In addition, the inclusion of "why" questions — Why does the student think one checkers player will beat another? — means there will be a lot more work for harried teachers accustomed to speed-of-light grading of multiple-choice or simple-answer exams.

But the lengthy, explanatory answers are essential to assess how much is learned, said Linda Rosen, associate executive director of the Mathematical Sciences Education Board.

"One of the driving forces in math reform is the attainment by students of mathematical power," Miss Rosen said. "One important component of that power is being able to communicate your results, communicate to

your peers, to your teachers, to yourself."

Teachers, she predicted, will "be reluctant because they recognize this is asking for a different level of time commitment."

But Mary Lindquist, president of the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, said she expected only modest resistance among teachers.

"Any time we want excellence, it'll take more work," she said yesterday. "But we as teachers are willing to give time if we see good results."

Sponsors of the new assessment methods criticized current standardized tests used to compare schools, districts and states, saying their multiple-choice, short-answer format didn't show which students had the best understanding of mathematical concepts.

Joe Sears

Daily 12-4

personal

SENT TO: Joe Sears
c/o The National Theater
via courier
(sent w/ key chain)



THE PRESIDENT

12-4-92

Dear Joe -

Once again we left the theater the words "smash performance" on our lips.

Thanks for yet another great evening -

Barbara, perhaps your biggest fan world wide, and I really loved our last glimpse of "Tina" as occupants of the white house. This is to say, thanks for the memory - make that memories -

Good luck to you in your career ahead. *Cy B*

w/ Presidential
key chain

Jaston Williams

Daily 12/4

SENT TO: Jaston Williams
c/o The National Theater
via courier

passed



THE PRESIDENT

12-4-92

Dear Jaston -

You two were superb last
night - but what's new!

Your campaign manager, one
Barbara Bush, loved it as
much as I did.

I just wanted to send
our this note to say
that we were both very
pleased to see your show
one more time before leaving
the Presidency -

Good Luck.

Thanks for another
treat -
Ag Bush

DATE: DECEMBER 4, 1992

CONTACT: KEITH WRIGHT

PRESS: 863-8550

THE DAILY NEWS SUMMARY



The Best of America, The Best of Bush

There is no oil, or military advantage, to be had in Somalia

The U.S. willingness to help Somalia is nothing less than a great tribute to the American spirit and character. There is little in Somalia for a superpower to covet. It is not a repository of strategic resources such as oil and gas. It does not offer exploitable wealth in the form of diamonds or gold. And with the demise of the Cold War, it is no longer a prominent pawn in the East-West struggle for dominance.

And yet there is the United States of America, troops and ships steaming toward the Indian Ocean, ready to act when many other nations, including some on the African continent, have so far offered only pathetic excuses. Without American initiative, collective inaction might have amounted to little more than death warrants for hundreds of thousands of starving people, many of them children.

And there is President Bush—defeated for reelection but even in the shadow of that great political loss still trying to be the best of what he is: the world leader.

He is the telephonic equivalent of a person-to-person United Nations . . . calling foreign leaders, soliciting their advice, seeking to build a broad consensus.

This was the best of George Bush during the Persian Gulf crisis; this is the best of Bush today, during Somalia's heartbreaking crisis.

No doubt no one more than the President—and President-elect Bill Clinton—is aware of the need for this rescue mission to be far broader than a U.S. go-it-alone operation. France, Italy and several other nations have now offered to participate. More countries must help.

Moreover, Washington must be

careful not to involve U.S. forces in a mission with unclear goals and of an indeterminate duration. One recalls the United States' tragic experience in Lebanon.

President Bush was right to insist on Security Council authorization. That was one of the saving elements of the Kuwait rescue operation, and it was a vital condition for this one.

It's true that the line-of-command question could not be clearly addressed. This issue centers on the historical U.S. refusal to permit American bat-

tlefield commanders to report to anyone other than an American commander. The U.N. resolution, for better or worse, deliberately sought to fudge that issue with U.N. gobbledygook.

Even so, no one at the United Nations believes for a moment that U.S. troops will go anywhere or do anything except on the orders of U.S. offi-



With U.S. leading, many more nations must rise to challenge.

cers.

Now the American people need to hope, along with George Bush and Bill Clinton, that the operation proves to be relatively brief and focused, that somehow no American men or women are lost in the great humanitarian intervention and that this dramatic involvement of the United Nations will lead to a termination of the Somali civil war and the beginnings of a measure of political stability and democratization in that disintegrating African country.

Until then, the United States has spoken to the starving people of Somalia. It has said: You are important. It has said that this mass starving will not stand. Now others too must contribute all that they can to the U.N.-authorized effort to save Somalia.

No more boredom for Bush

Somalia keeps lame duck busy

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

After weeks of frustrating boredom, President Bush's Oval Office hot line is ringing again thanks to the humanitarian crisis in Somalia.

Mr. Bush, who has joined previous lame-duck presidents in complaining that the transition between administrations lingers too long, is happy to be back in the saddle, according to senior aides.

Vexed by the inability of a lame-duck president to have an impact in his last days, Mr. Bush has seized the Somali crisis with the same vigor he thrived on during the Gulf war and the 1989 U.S. mission to Panama to capture Manuel Noriega, the aides said.

"He loves foreign policy, and this is an opportunity to stay engaged. He has greeted it with the same sense of commitment as a big foreign policy issue," said one senior aide.

"There are certain things that can be done [during the lame-duck period], and Somalia is one of those and he's ready to meet the challenge. It's better than doing nothing," another senior administration official said.

After losing the presidential contest to Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton nearly five weeks ago, Mr. Bush had been forced into semi-retirement. Meetings with interest groups and congressional leaders, who are now focused on Little Rock, Ark., have dried up. Aides are busy looking for work. And many of the economic problems that had a hand in causing Mr. Bush's defeat are giving way to a new economic prosperity.

Mr. Bush took two family vacations and has generally tried to shift the media spotlight to Little Rock. Several times, his spokesman has said the attention should now be on Mr. Clinton, who doesn't take over for 6½ weeks.

Throughout, Mr. Bush has at times found himself wishing the transition were over, an administration official said.

"There are times when he is bored in the sense that it's like treading water, killing time. I mean, it can get bad," said another administration official, who requested anonymity.

Enter the Somali crisis and the president's belief that some 21,000 U.S. troops and thousands of U.N. multilateral forces must be sent to the war-torn nation to ensure that food, clothing, medicine and other humanitarian aid is delivered to the millions of starving refugees there.

Mr. Bush sees the crisis as a final hurrah in which he can display his expertise in handling foreign policy problems and score one more victory — he hopes by Jan. 20, his own personal deadline for getting American troops out of Somalia.

The pace stormed forward this week when the United Nations moved to send a military force to Somalia to open up airports, seaports and highways in an effort to clear a path for humanitarian relief.

As he did after Iraq's invasion of

tional Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft, White House Chief of Staff James A. Baker III and Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Gen. Colin Powell — took the international lead in forging world support for the U.N. measure.

Over the past two days, Mr. Bush has burned up the phone lines, keeping constant contact with U.S. representatives at the United Nations and his world allies, French President Francois Mitterrand, British Prime Minister John Major, Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa.

The path between Mr. Scowcroft's corner office in the West Wing and the Oval Office again looks worn. The Pentagon's motorcade, meanwhile, has been told to keep the engines running in order to get military brass to the White House on a minute's notice — like yesterday, when the president called his military advisers over for an Oval Office chat at midday.

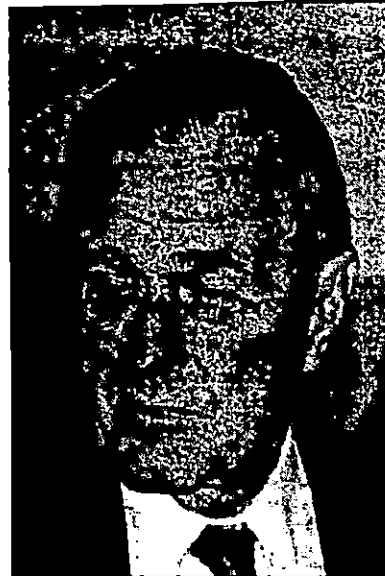
"It's like the Gulf war," said a senior aide. "This is an issue he cares about, and I know it sounds corny, but he likes to help people."

Presidential spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said Mr. Bush "sees this as an important humanitarian and international action to be dealt with."

But another close aide said that while Mr. Bush relishes having an important issue on his radar screen, the president isn't excited about the work needed to marshal forces in his final days.

"I don't think he relishes the work and hard effort involved in it, but it's not something he shies away from," said the aide.

Most in the White House expect the crisis to be the final event people



President Bush

remember about Mr. Bush. Today, he is expected to take a major step in that direction when he goes before the American people to explain the U.S. military mission in Somalia. Now that the United Nations has voted to send troops, he will confer with world leaders and then deliver the address.

Aides said it is unlikely that Mr. Bush will hold a news conference, where he could face other questions about his future or why he thinks the Bush-Quayle ticket lost.

Instead, his aides said, Mr. Bush will either speak via television from the Oval Office or make a statement in the White House briefing room and leave the questions for Defense Secretary Dick Cheney and Gen. Powell.

Bush Is Seen as Rebounding To Center of World's Stage

By MICHAEL WINES

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 3 — For someone who implied barely three weeks ago that he had taken his final bow and left the script to the new star of the show, George Bush is spending a lot of time lately on center stage.

Working the telephone with the abandon of his Desert Storm heyday, President Bush has spent the week dragooning world leaders from Britain to Japan to Africa into a multinational coalition to clear the way for the safe delivery of aid to the starving in Somalia. Administration officials say he may return to national television soon — perhaps by Friday — for a brief Oval Office speech to explain his decision to send American troops to Africa.

In coming weeks, Mr. Bush plans to travel outside Washington for as many as three major speeches on foreign and domestic policy — all, aides say, part of an effort to establish a legacy for his Presidency and to pass on advice about the conduct of American policy in a post-Soviet era.

"It's important to remind people what we think the proven approaches are," a senior Bush aide said in an interview today.

This is a far cry from the President who said on Nov. 17, two weeks after

his loss to Mr. Clinton, that he was "referring all calls" to the President-elect, or from the Mr. Bush of Nov. 24, who grouched with determined good nature, just before an annual Thanksgiving-week ceremony, about "these marvelously responsible things I have left to do — walking the dogs and accepting this enormous turkey" from the poultry lobby.

But several aides and friends say the President himself has changed in the four weeks since his defeat. Left reeling at first by the sheer shock of surrendering the Presidency, Mr. Bush has rebounded in the last week with the realization that his job is not finished, they say.

"A variety of different issues, including the crisis in Somalia, have brought home to the President that he's still the only person that can make these decisions, and that the wisdom and experience he brings to these problems is important to the nation," said a friend, who spoke only on condition of anonymity. "If you know this guy, you know he's driven by the call to duty and the fact of his responsibility."

Bush gets bipartisan backing for Somalia initiative

By Jerry Seper and Joyce Price
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Bush has received overwhelming bipartisan support on Capitol Hill for his initiative to send U.S. troops into Somalia to support humanitarian efforts.

And while a few lawmakers have raised questions and at least one has called for Congress to reconvene to discuss troop deployment, there appeared yesterday to be little sentiment to derail the president's last chance to direct foreign policy before he leaves office in January.

"I haven't heard anyone [in Congress] suggest we need a declaration of war or that it was beyond the

authority of the president to act," said Tony Blankley, spokesman for House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich, Georgia Republican.

Mr. Blankley said the public knows of the "tragedy that's going on in Somalia" and understands the need to help.

"I'm sure the president is not prepared for high casualties, but I assume the president is not anticipating high casualties," he said.

Christopher Mehl, a spokesman for Rep. Lee Hamilton, a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, said he did not know if Americans were prepared for the possibility of U.S. soldiers dying in Somalia but the Indiana Democrat has heard

from constituents who support the deployment "provided they don't expose the troops unnecessarily."

Sen. Alan Simpson of Wyoming, the second-ranking Republican in the Senate, said he supported sending troops to Somalia as long as the operation remained under the auspices of the United Nations.

"This is a terrain you can control totally. That's why Desert Storm worked," he said, comparing Somalia with mountainous Yugoslavia, another country for which a U.S. military presence has been called.

Mr. Simpson said U.S. involvement in Somalia could lead to Americans "being called upon to do this all over the world."

Missy Tessier, spokeswoman for House Minority Leader Robert Michel, said that while Mr. Michel supports the president, the Illinois Republican has questions about the scope of the mission.

"He's looking for a clear definition of the scope," Ms. Tessier said.

Rep. John P. Murtha, Pennsylvania Democrat, said yesterday that the humanitarian mission would do little to stabilize chaotic conditions in Somalia. "The people would be fed for a short time, but the minute we left, my prediction would be that we would see the same problem all over again," he said.

Mr. Murtha will be among a bipartisan group of congressmen who will meet with Mr. Bush today to discuss Somalia.

Sen. Paul Wellstone, Minnesota Democrat, called for Congress to reconvene to vote on whether troops should be sent, but others — including Mr. Hamilton — said a congressional vote was not necessary.

"When members of Congress come back in January, events will determine if there will be some sort of resolution" authorizing military intervention, Mr. Mehl said.

Kevin Kellems, press secretary to Sen. Richard G. Lugar, said the Indiana Republican believes State Department and Pentagon officials have taken the necessary precautions to avoid problems.

"He is encouraged that precautions have been taken to get the troops out with minimal problems," Mr. Kellems said.

Sen. Sam Nunn, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, said on CNN's "Larry King Live" this week that it was important to have a "clear mission" and "know when we have finished our mission."

"That is important to define before you get in, because there will be a never-ending series of tasks that we could be called on to perform unless we know clearly where we are stopping," the Georgia Democrat said.

• J. Jennings Moss contributed to this report.

U.N. Orders U.S.-Led Force Into Somalia

By John M. Goshko
Washington Post Staff Writer

UNITED NATIONS, Dec. 3—The Security Council voted unanimously tonight to send a U.S.-led military force to Somalia to stop warring factions there from blocking relief operations for the estimated 2 million people threatened by starvation and disease.

The decision constitutes the first United Nations intervention in a country's internal affairs with a mandate to use offensive force, if necessary. The force, expected to involve as many as 27,000 U.S. troops and smaller contingents from other countries, could begin deploying in Somalia as early as this weekend, Pentagon officials in Washington said.

White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said President Bush hopes that U.S. troops can be withdrawn from Somalia by the time he leaves the presidency Jan. 20. While Pentagon officials have said such an early withdrawal may be unrealistic, Fitzwater said it would "be preferable" if the troops were out by Inauguration Day.

"We want to make it clear that this U.N. force would be designed to get humanitarian supplies in, not to establish a new government or resolve the decades-long conflict there or to set up a protectorate or anything like that," Fitzwater said.

Bush met for nearly two hours today with military leaders and other senior foreign policy advisers to review plans for the Somalia operation, the White House said. Aides said Bush consulted leaders of at least 10 other countries, several of whom offered to contribute troops.

Bush plans to meet congressional leaders at the White House on Friday to discuss the Somalia operation and is likely to make his first public statement on the subject a short time later, White House officials said.

In Little Rock, Ark., President-elect Clinton called the resolution "an historic and welcome step to assist the people of Somalia." He added: "I commend President Bush

for taking the lead in this important humanitarian effort. I appreciate his keeping me informed of developments as he makes decisions regarding possible courses of action for the United States under this new Security Council resolution."

U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali warned the Security Council on Monday that "a country-wide show of force" is required in Somalia to disarm the gangs stealing food and medicine from relief agencies and to bring the major weapons of militias commanded by local warlords under international control.

The resolution adopted tonight did not specifically call for disarming the Somali irregulars. Instead, in an echo of the language that authorized the United States and its allies to mount last year's Desert Storm campaign that ended Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, the resolution authorizes U.N. members "to use all necessary means to establish as soon as possible a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations."

Diplomats here declined to specify what "all necessary means" might involve and said that would be a matter to be decided by the commanders of the operation. "One point should be clear: Our mission is essentially a peaceful one, and we will endorse the use of force only if and when we decide it is necessary to accomplish our objective," U.S. Ambassador Edward J. Perkins said. "Once deployed, our military forces will remain in Somalia no longer than necessary."

The resolution also specified that once peace has been restored and relief operations are proceeding normally, U.N. activities inside Somalia should be turned back to the small, traditional peace-keeping force already there.

However, while some countries have suggested that the United Nations should take over the administration of the war-shattered country, the resolution made no recommendation of that sort. Instead, it instructs Boutros-Ghali to submit a plan to the council within 15 days about future peace-keeping plans. Britain's ambassador, Sir David Hannay, said, "The aim is to create an environment in which the Somalis can take responsibility for their own political and social arrangements."

In voting to authorize a military force to use offensive power within the territory of a member nation, the United Nations broke precedent with past interventions in nations' internal affairs. All such earlier operations were limited to passive roles such as monitoring cease-fires or elections.

Tonight's decision reflects recognition by U.N. members that the possible use of force might be necessary to deal with the kind of post-Cold War internal disputes that have been breaking out in such places as Somalia and the former Yugoslavia.

The resolution, adopted 15 to 0 by the council, effectively makes clear that the United States will command and dominate the operation. The resolution stopped short of providing direct U.N. command of the forces, as had been sought by a number of African and Third World nations, but sought to address those countries' concerns by giving the council and the secretary general a bigger, more explicit role than they had during last year's Persian Gulf War.

That arrangement resulted from three days of intense negotiation designed to strike a balance between U.S. insistence on retaining control

over American troops and the desire of the other countries for assurance that the operation is a legitimate effort to avert continued mass starvation in Somalia and not a new form of big-power colonialism.

The resolution does not create the kind of U.N.-commanded force that many believe would be the most effective instrument for dealing with the regional conflicts that appear to be replacing the superpower confrontations of the Cold War. But the oversight functions given to the secretary general and council at the insistence of Third World members is what Belgium's ambassador, Paul Noterdaeme, called "a major innovative and historical step" in that direction.

In fact, recognition of that point meant some last-minute hitches that diplomatic sources said were caused by U.S. concern that Boutros-Ghali might have too much to say about how the operation is conducted.

After day-long wrangling, diplomats crossed that hurdle by inserting into the resolution a statement that the council "welcomes the offer by a member state described in the secretary general's letter to the council of Nov. 29." That was a reference to Boutros-Ghali's report Monday in which he referred to the U.S. offer of troops and acknowledged that, as a practical matter, the United States would have to command the operation.

"The reference to the secretary general's letter is a way of making clear that the command is being given to an American general without actually saying so," Hannay told reporters.

While that maneuver satisfied U.S. concerns, the insistence of Third World members that Washington not be given what one called "a blank

check" was dealt with by delineating specific tasks for the secretary general.

The resolution "authorizes the secretary general and the member states concerned to make the necessary arrangements for the unified command and control of the forces involved." It also says Boutros-Ghali and the concerned countries should "establish appropriate mechanisms for coordination between the United Nations and their military forces."

It calls for appointment of an ad hoc commission of Security Council members to report to the council on implementation of the resolution, and, most importantly, reserves for the council and the secretary general a voice in deciding when the operation should be ended.

Although the United States originally wanted the U.N. peace-keeping troops already in Somalia to be put under the commander of the new offensive force, the resolution specifies that it should remain under Boutros-Ghali's control, "with a small liaison staff to the field headquarters of the unified command."

The participation of other nations in the U.N. force still was being worked out tonight. There has been strong sentiment to have some African countries take part, but many have made clear that they cannot afford to do so through their own resources. For that reason, the resolution calls for establishing a fund through which contributions from the wealthy, industrialized powers could be channelled to states that want to participate.

Staff writers Don Oberdorfer and John Lancaster in Washington and special correspondent Trevor Rowe at the United Nations contributed to this report.

TWO YEARS OF WAR, HUNGER

1991

- Jan. 5 — Heavy fighting breaks out in Mogadishu between rebels of the United Somali Congress and troops of President Mohamed Siad Barre.
- Jan. 28 — Siad Barre flees the capital, ending his 22-year dictatorship.
- Nov. 17 — Fighting forces the U.N. staff to withdraw.
- Dec. 23 — U.N. secretary general orders UNICEF to return to Mogadishu.

1992

- Feb. 14 — Two factions, led by General Mohamed Farah Aideed and interim President Ali Mahdi Mohamed, agree to immediate cease-fire and promise negotiations.
- Feb. 29 — U.N.-sponsored negotiations begin.
- March 3 — Cease-fire signed by Ali Mahdi and Aideed.
- March 5 — First U.N.-chartered relief ship is fired on while entering Mogadishu harbor. Ship returns to Kenya.
- July 5 — First of 50 U.N. cease-fire observers arrive in Mogadishu.
- July 27 — U.N. Security Council approves emergency airlift of relief supplies for the estimated 30 percent of the population believed to be starving to death.
- Aug. 12 — Aideed agrees to allow 500 U.N. troops into country to protect relief convoys.
- Aug. 14 — The United States begins an emergency airlift of food to Somalia and refugees in Kenya.

- Aug. 28 — First four relief planes land in Beladweyne. Three guards killed and two U.N. military observers wounded by gunmen in Mogadishu when they refuse to stop for attackers.
- Sept. 14 — 40 armed U.N. troops arrive in Mogadishu to help protect relief supplies. United Nations authorizes 3,000 additional troops.
- Sept. 16 — U.S. Naval Forces Central Command announces 2,400 Marines en route to waters off Somalia for command and control of U.S. airlift planes.
- Sept. 28 — Final contingent of 500-man Pakistani infantry battalion arrives in Mogadishu.
- Oct. 12 — United Nations announces 100-day crash program to accelerate food shipments.
- Nov. 24 — U.N. relief ship carrying 10,000 tons of food shelled while trying to enter harbor; returns to sea.
- Nov. 25 — United States offers troops to distribute food and aid as part of a multinational force.
- Nov. 30 — U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali recommends use of military force.
- Dec. 3 — Security Council votes unanimously to send U.S.-led force.

SOURCE: Associated Press

DATE: 12-4
PAGE: 6

Bush Asks Yeltsin Aid to Finish START II

■ **Diplomacy:** The President is making an effort to complete the treaty before his term ends.

By DOYLE McMANUS
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—President Bush has launched a last-ditch effort to complete the unfinished U.S.-Russian strategic arms reduction pact before the end of his Administration, and he telephoned Russian President Boris N. Yeltsin this week to press the issue personally, officials said Thursday.

Yeltsin responded warmly that he also wants to sign a finished treaty before Bush leaves office, the officials said.

"Yeltsin said, 'I'd like to sign it,'" a senior official said. "He wants to do this as an accomplishment with George Bush. He's a sentimental man who feels a very strong tie with the President."

In several letters sent to Moscow this week, Bush has pressed Yeltsin to drop several demands that Russian negotiators have made for changes in the framework agreement the two presidents made informally in June, officials said.

Administration officials suspect that Russian negotiators from the ministries of foreign affairs and defense have been demanding concessions that Yeltsin himself does not feel strongly about—and that the Russian president may overrule his diplomats in response to Bush's personal appeal.

Yeltsin has indicated that he may reply to Bush by some time next week, the official said.

The agreement, commonly called START II, would cut the U.S. and Russian nuclear arsenals from more than 11,000 long-range warheads on each side to fewer than 3,500 each, the lowest levels in two decades. Equally important, it would commit both nuclear powers to eliminate missiles that carry multiple warheads, the most dangerous nuclear weapons.

After the two presidents announced their basic agreement in June, however, Russian military leaders complained that the deal required more cuts from Russia than from the United States.

Senior Bush Administration officials said that the United States does not intend to accept any major changes—partly because the changes would require U.S. concessions in important issues but also because they do not want to accept the idea that the Russians can renegotiate a pact that their president agreed to six months ago.

Officials said they also have warned the Russians that if they fail to reach agreement by Inauguration Day, the incoming Administration of President-elect Bill Clinton may need several months of preparation before it can get back to the negotiations.

The Russians have raised four major issues, arms control experts said:

● **Downloading**—The agreement requires

both countries to destroy all multiple-warhead missiles, but the Russians want to change some multiple-warhead SS-19 missiles into single-warhead missiles by removing all but one warhead—an arrangement that would save them billions of rubles. U.S. officials have objected that this arrangement, known as "downloading," would be difficult to verify.

● **Silos**—The Russians have agreed to destroy all their giant SS-18 missiles, but they want to use the hardened underground silos that housed the SS-18s for other missiles. The two countries appear to be working toward a compromise.

● **Bombers**—The Russians have asked for more detailed rules to govern the use of U.S. Air Force long-range bombers. Under the agreement, the United States can declare that some bombers are not carrying nuclear weapons, making them exempt from START II. The Russians want more reassurance that the non-nuclear bombers cannot be converted quickly into nuclear bombers. But the Air Force objects to any such limits.

● **The ABM Treaty**—The Russians asked for an explicit reaffirmation of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, which restricts each country's ability to deploy weapons to defend against incoming nuclear missiles. For example, the treaty would prohibit the United States from deploying the kind of defensive systems that the Strategic Defense Initiative ("Star Wars") has been trying to develop. The Bush Administration has agreed to this request.

Administration Supports Penalties for Overbilling

OMB Official Testifies for Contractor Sanctions

By Dan Morgan
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Bush administration urged Congress yesterday to enact legislation providing penalties and the possibility of criminal prosecution for companies that overbill the government in connection with the work they do for civilian federal agencies and departments.

Allan V. Burman, administrator of federal procurement policy for the Office of Management and Budget, told a House subcommittee that the penalty provisions would encourage better self-policing by companies receiving more than \$50 billion a year in nondefense contracts.

John D. Dingell (D-Mich.), chairman of the House Energy and Commerce Committee's subcommittee on oversight and investigations, praised Burman and the OMB for a task force report that acknowledged flaws in the oversight of the contractors.

But he noted that OMB's "discovery" of serious deficiencies in the system had come "after well over a trillion dollars in contracts have been issued."

"The executive branch of government messed up big time," said subcommittee member Rep. Jim Slattery (D-Kan.)

The OMB report did not put a dollar figure on the possible losses resulting from flaws in the audit system. Burman said that in many cases, oversight appeared to have taken a back seat to getting jobs accomplished quickly.

But the report, and the testimony before Dingell's subcommittee yesterday, confirmed that there were problems.

The panel was told, for example, that the Interior Department had been auditing one contract for nine years but was yet to complete the job because records were missing.

In 1991, Burman said, the Defense Contract Audit Agency performed 71 audits for one civilian agency covering \$1.2 billion worth of contracts. The agency ques-

tioned costs of more than \$74 million for which contractors had received reimbursement.

Burman said that OMB had turned up cases of contractors leasing equipment from their spouses at inflated prices and passing on the charges to the government.

A General Accounting Office review of a contractor performing hazardous waste cleanup work for the Environmental Protection Agency showed that the company had sought government reimbursement of "costs" that included \$7,700 for alcoholic beverages and \$4,100 for tickets to professional basketball and football games, said J. Dexter Peach, assistant comptroller general.

Civilian agencies such as EPA and the Energy Department turned increasingly to civilian contractors to provide services in the 1980s. At Energy, which uses private companies and universities to run the nation's weapons laboratories and clean up nuclear waste, private contracting has been increasing rapidly. This year, \$15.6 billion of its total \$20 billion appropriation will be used to pay the private contractors.

Some in Congress, such as Sen. David Pryor (D-Ark.), have questioned the growing dependence on the private sector.

Under the OMB proposal sent to Dingell, a company doing business with a civilian agency would have to certify that any costs for which it sought reimbursement were allowable ones. If an audit found otherwise, the company would be subject to criminal prosecution for making a false statement to the government, as well as a penalty equal to the amount of the disallowed expense—or double the amount in some cases.

To reduce the huge backlog of unaudited contracts, Burman suggested that the money to pay for audits be taken from funds allocated to programs for which the contractor was hired.

Dingell called the idea "eminently sound and sensible."

DATE: 12.4
PAGE: 2

Marlin Fitzwater, spokesman for George Bush or Ronald Reagan since 1980, is among the few top officials to have served through the 12-year Reagan-Bush administrations. In an interview with USA TODAY, he looks back, and ahead:

Fitzwater weighs anchor

By Judy Keen
USA TODAY

When Marlin Fitzwater visited an Istanbul rug shop last year, the proprietor said excitedly: "White House talker! White House talker!"

Since Jan. 12, 1987, Fitzwater has been an eyewitness to history made by two presidents — Ronald Reagan and George Bush — and a world-famous "White House talker."

He is the only press secretary to serve two presidents. He attended seven U.S.-Soviet summits, and was the daily purveyor of good — and, often, grim — news to the nation.

He visited all 50 states, every continent and every major international city. He was in the room, behind closed doors, when deals were cut with virtually every key world leader.

But today, his "in" box is empty, a Federal Archives carton labeled "personal files, clippings, telephone logs" sits nearby, and perhaps the most vital piece of paper atop his curved desk is a brochure for the Albin Trawler boat he's craving.

"I'm ready," he says of his

“
There are a lot of issues I don't agree with (Bush) on, but I would never say and I hope no one knows.
”

— Marlin Fitzwater



departure from the office decorated with photos of him with Reagan, Bush and a myriad of famous faces. He would have stayed only a year longer, he says, had Bush been re-elected.

"It's been a wonderful career; it's been good, but the timing is right."

He calls the boat his "little dream," fantasizing of lazy days on Chesapeake Bay. "The ocean is my prairie," says Fitzwater, who was born 50 years ago on the prairie in Salina, Kan. "It's the same openness and freedom."

The sting of President Bush's loss — the worst day of Fitzwater's White House tenure — is fading and he's now planning

to write a behind-the-scenes account of his glimpses of history.

His best day: "The day we won Desert Storm. It signified so many important things for America that will last whether people realize it or not: dignity, confidence in ourselves as a nation, the end of the Vietnam syndrome. A grand moment."

Fitzwater says he'd like to give speeches detailing his experiences, then become president of a college or start his own Washington government-relations firm.

Like Bush, he never allowed himself to believe Bill Clinton would win, even as he watched the Democrat's Electoral College votes pile up in Houston on

election night.

"There was always a feeling that we've done a good job, we've been honest, we've been good stewards for the country, and in the final analysis, regardless of what the polls say, people are going to vote for us," he remembers.

Since Election Day, Fitzwater has stopped his daily marches to the White House briefing room to wrangle and joke with the reporters who have been his foes and, he says, his family.

A divorced father of two, he lives alone in Alexandria, Va., surrounded by Early American furniture and a collection of handmade boxes from around the world.

Fitzwater's flat Kansas cadence has marked the last decade's most momentous events: troops being dispatched to the Persian Gulf, Panama, Grenada; presidents' illnesses.

Through it all, he managed to maintain credibility, he says, by never knowingly lying and never voicing his own opinions.

"There are a lot of issues I don't agree with (Bush) on, but I would never say, and I hope no one knows," he says.

Each of his 700 press briefings was "a fearful prospect," Fitzwater says. Not only was Bush usually tuned in, listening from the Oval Office, but Fitzwater knew that his words could make "whole countries go crazy."

Fitzwater has a journalism degree, and in the 1960s was an editor and advertising executive at Kansas newspapers, but the notion of serving as press

secretary first occurred to him when he was in high school.

"I often thought that would really be neat — to be the president's press secretary," he says. "I never dreamed it would happen."

He and Bush have a close friendship. "If I was hurting and I was in real trouble personally in my life," Fitzwater says, "I would go to him and ask for help, which to me is the

definition of real friends."

Still sitting on Fitzwater's desk is a yellowed note left for him by his predecessor, Larry Speakes, in 1987. "Don't forget: You don't have to explain what you don't say," it reads.

Fitzwater's welcoming words to his still-unnamed successor, he says, will be the same.



Let it be

Don't spoil the Bush recovery, economists likely to tell Clinton

By Elisa Williams
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Ten days from now, President-elect Bill Clinton is going to hear a lot of suggestions on how he should handle the economy.

The strongest advice he may hear, according to recent interviews with local and national business leaders and economists, can be summed up in three words: Don't do anything.

A fiscal-stimulus package might add too much momentum to the fragile recovery, corporate leaders and analysts told The Washington Times. Excess causes recessions.

They said a major change in tax policy also has a downside: Lack of stability spooks financial markets.

For weeks now, Mr. Clinton's transition team has been collecting suggestions in preparation for the Dec. 14-15 economic summit in Little Rock, Ark., with a select group of economic opinion leaders.

There's no end to the economic advice the new president could receive.

"At this point, the best course would be to let the economic recovery take hold," said Lynn Reaser, senior vice president and chief economist for First Interstate Bank of Los Angeles, echoing the viewpoint of many. "He [Mr. Clinton] should reduce regulatory restraints. . . . In many cases, less may be more."

"Right now, we have the best of all possible worlds. We have an economy that's growing without inflation," said Richard Stuckey, chief economist for Du Pont. "Some of us are hopeful that Clinton will minimize stimulus."

"My advice," said Stephen Fuller, a professor of urban planning at George Washington University who tracks the local economy for the Greater Washington Research Center, "is just don't screw it up. There isn't a whole lot that can be done right now. We've already paid for the recovery over the last 18 months."

Some are concerned that the speculation about what Mr. Clinton will do in his first 100 days may harm the economy.

"Caution is word No. 1," said Joseph W. Duncan, vice president and corporate economist for the Dun & Bradstreet Corp. "Just announcing something has an impact on people's behavior."

Though many corporate leaders want to maintain the status quo to avoid scuttling the recovery, others call for change.

"I think it's important that [Mr. Clinton] move ahead quickly with a stimulus package, infrastructure spending and a job-creation program," said James W. Jones, managing partner of the Washington law

firm Arnold & Porter. "More than anything else, it's vital to impress upon people that we're getting things done. We need to build the confidence of the public."

Business leaders and economists have plenty of suggestions about long-range changes. They want to rearrange the nation's economic priorities and make the country a better global competitor.

In the meantime, many of Mr. Clinton's campaign proposals are subjects of hot debate.

Among the most controversial are proposals to:

- Create an \$80 billion, four-year program to build and repair roads, bridges and railroads and create a national, computerized public information network.

- Require employers to spend 1.5 percent of their payroll on education and training.

Mr. Clinton's most popular suggestions include:

- Adopting an investment tax credit to encourage investment in new plants and equipment.

- Starting programs to encourage growth of the nation's high-tech companies.

- Cutting federal jobs, reducing the White House staff by 25 percent and asking Congress to make similar cuts.

Besides debating the merits of these programs, economists offered guidance on what Mr. Clinton should focus on first. Most chose reducing the deficit.

"The best thing the government could do . . . right now is to cut the budget," said consultant Christopher Whalen of the Whalen Co. in Washington. "Fiscal stimulus doesn't work; it's like giving the alcoholic another drink."

Mr. Whalen suggested that Mr. Clinton start a deficit-reduction program with a spending freeze. "That would force agencies to find a way to make it fit. You can't take it all out of defense," he said.

"You have to increase revenue," said Mr. Duncan of Dun & Bradstreet. Among his top choices is a tax on imported oil or gasoline.

But business leaders fear that deficit-reduction programs will hurt their companies.

For example, George Eastment, vice president of Long & Foster Real Estate Inc., warned against reducing deductions for mortgage interest.

Differences emerge when economists discuss how they'd like to see investment and worker-training programs implemented.

Take the investment tax credit.

Investment in capital does not always produce good results, said Marvin Kosters, resident scholar for the American Enterprise Institute.

Tax policies led to excessive supplies of office buildings and the same phenomenon could occur with physical capital, he said.

Instead of limiting a tax incentive to investments in plants and equipment, Mr. Clinton should include credits for worker training, Mr. Kosters said.

"Say a firm installed a computer system one year and spent about 15 percent of payroll on training. Would they get 10 years of credit?" Mr. Kosters asked of the proposal to require companies to spend 1.5 percent of payroll on training. "The world doesn't conveniently come in segments of 1.5 percent."

The infrastructure program has drawn concern that despite its benefits, it will turn into a game of political favoritism.

"What I fear is that it would be a big pork barrel," said David Sykes, chief financial officer of Giant Food Inc. in Landover. "I don't feel that spending money on the infrastructure will do the kind of good that [the Clinton team] has said it

will."

Mr. Duncan said that instead of trying to spark the economy with infrastructure spending, Mr. Clinton should find ways to boost small business.

With most large corporations eliminating people, small business generates most of the new jobs in the U.S. economy, he noted.

Crisis has Arkansans antsy for Clinton to quit

By Ronald A. Taylor
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. — While Washington insiders, scholars and lawyers shuttle in and out of the Governor's Mansion, the state is run by four persons crammed into a single Capitol office.

Most state residents are still giddy about Bill Clinton's election, but pressing state business — highlighted by a financial crisis — prompts growing restiveness about when he will officially become the former governor.

"Everybody concerned will be glad when we can get settled down so we can do a first-class job," Neil Turner, executive assistant to the acting governor, Lt. Gov. Jim Guy Tucker, said yesterday.

He and his boss have been more gracious in their public statements than have local editorial writers.

"The governor needs to go so the governor can get down to work," the Arkansas Democrat-Gazette said, opening its lead editorial yesterday by questioning the delay in Mr. Clinton's formal resignation.

While national reporters ask about Somalia and monetary policy, the timetable for Mr. Clinton's resignation is topic A among state journalists at the daily Clinton transition briefing here.

"There is no specific date," Clinton communications director George Stephanopoulos said. He added that the resignation would likely occur "around Jan. 1."

Meanwhile, Mr. Tucker is handling state affairs, including a Medicaid crisis that, unless resolved by Jan. 1, will result in the elimination of \$141 million in benefits to 240,000 state Medicaid recipients.

The choices facing state officials are a tax increase or a benefits cutback to cover the current \$37 million deficit in the state budget caused by Medicaid spending.

Already, Mr. Tucker has announced he wants to stop paying women who have more children after becoming recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children.

Mr. Turner is, in effect, chief of a three-person staff that is running the day-to-day affairs of the state with little of the resources and trappings that Mr. Clinton has used during his 12 years in office.

This work is carried out from the lieutenant governor's office, the small room at the other end of the state Capitol from Mr. Clinton's suite.

Mr. Tucker and his staff also lack such office comforts as a bank of multiline telephones and a phalanx of messengers and clerks to help run things efficiently.

Meanwhile, the business that a governor must attend to piles up. "We're just here trying to cope with an increased workload, and the governor's office is at the other end of the building," Mr. Turner said.

At the heart of the problem is the absence of constitutional clarity about how to handle the departure of a governor in midterm.

A state Supreme Court ruling is pending on whether Mr. Tucker, a former broadcaster, can fill the remainder of Mr. Clinton's term, which ends in December 1994, or if a special election must be called.

If an election were held, the gubernatorial campaign could occur during the regularly scheduled 60-day session of the General Assembly.

Aides say Mr. Clinton is waiting for the Supreme Court to rule so his departure can be orderly and consistent with the state law.

Arkansas' Tucker targets repeat moms' welfare raises

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. (AP) — Mothers who have more babies while on welfare would not be eligible for increased benefits under a plan announced by Lt. Gov. Jim Guy Tucker.

Mr. Tucker, who is likely to become governor when President-elect Bill Clinton resigns by year's end, said Wednesday that he also wants the state to provide contraceptives for women on welfare.

In October, New Jersey became the first state to eliminate the monthly increase in benefits for each child born after a woman goes on welfare.

Mr. Tucker said he will ask the federal government for permission to stop increasing payments for children born to recipients of Aid to Families With Dependent Children (AFDC). New Jersey received such permission in July.

Mr. Tucker, who is running the governor's

office while Mr. Clinton makes the transition to the presidency, is grappling with a mounting shortfall in the state Medicaid budget, which includes AFDC.

"When AFDC recipients add children to their families, it is an unreasonable burden on the taxpayers who are supporting their family, and it directly reduces the amount of money available to other AFDC and Medicaid recipients," Mr. Tucker said in a statement.

Jack Reynolds, director of the state Department of Human Services, said Mr. Tucker wants to show taxpayers he's trying to save as much money as possible.

The AFDC program cost Arkansas \$60.7 million in fiscal 1992, of which nearly 25 percent was state money.

Mr. Reynolds' department estimates Arkansas could save about \$1.6 million a year by not increasing payments for new children.

DATE: 12-4
PAGE: 4

Clinton Promise to Beef Up Ethics Rules Hits Snag

■ **Transition:** His advisers are worried that strict standards may keep many potential appointees from government service.

By DOUGLAS JEHL, TIMES STAFF WRITER

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—Advisers to Bill Clinton have grown increasingly concerned that the strict ethics standards promised by the President-elect may dissuade many qualified appointees from entering government service.

Clinton promised during the campaign to tighten ethics rules far beyond those already in place and vowed soon after the election that new rules would be forthcoming. But aides said this week that drafting the regulations was proving far more complicated than expected.

A particular problem for the Clinton team has emerged in efforts to translate into policy a recurrent campaign pledge: that to slow the so-called revolving door, officials would be barred from contact with their former government agencies for five years after leaving office.

Although Clinton aides said they expect him to stand by the commitment, they suggested that it is highly possible the ban might be applied only to several hundred top-ranking officials among the thousands who will be appointed.

"We didn't go into [the ethics question] with our eyes open," a senior Clinton aide acknowledged.

Top government officials are currently subjected only to a one-year ban on lobbying activities, and Clinton aides have had to turn to ethics lawyers across the nation for advice as they seek to make the standard stricter.

"We're still very much in the looking-at-the-problem phase," said Harold Ickes, a New York attorney who is among those struggling to find ways to ensure that the guidelines do not create too great a barrier to potential nominees.

On Thursday, as vehicles with tinted windows continued to ferry unidentified job hopefuls to the Arkansas governor's mansion, problems with the proposed code presented a potential obstacle as the President-elect begins to make choices for Cabinet and sub-Cabinet posts.

There has always been tension between efforts to attract the best candidates to public service and parallel efforts to establish safeguards designed to prevent special interests from gaining undue influence over government decisions.

But while decisions about that trade-off have been high on the agenda of every recent administration, Clinton's ambitious promise to "send a signal that we are going to change politics as usual" has made the task particularly vexing for his advisers.

The quest for an ethics code has taken on particular urgency this week as Clinton prepares to announce his first Cabinet appointments. As his advisers acknowledged, potential appointees should know how their future options would be restricted.

But with a final code now not expected before late next week, George Stephanopoulos, Clinton's communications director, had suggested that prospective nominees would have to rely on "general outlines" of the guidelines in deciding whether to accept Administration posts.

Clinton's promise to toughen the ethics codes applicable to government employees comes as some experts, including a panel assembled earlier this year by the National Academy of Sciences, suggest that in some technical fields, at least, such efforts may be counterproductive.

In a published report, the panel said it had found that "the laws restricting post-government employment have become the single biggest disincentive to public service." It concluded that "the unintended costs of broader conflict-of-interest restrictions . . . have reached the point where they substantially outweigh the benefits."

Stephanopoulos and other top Clinton advisers said this week that the President-elect had no intention of abandoning his call for tougher restrictions. In interviews, officials in Washington and in Little Rock also said they had seen no indication that the promise of a strict ethics code would dissuade prospective nominees.

Until now, however, the transition team has largely focused on filling only the highest-level government jobs. The aides acknowledged that the effect of the new guidelines will become clearer when the group turns to lower-ranking appointments, matching as many as 3,000 lawyers, lobbyists, academics and other experts to the sub-Cabinet and government agency jobs.

That task, headed by Richard Riley, the former governor of South Carolina, is only now beginning. Officials involved said the recruiting effort could be accelerated once the guidelines are in place.

The team of lawyers assigned to the ethics problem was said by Clinton aides to be headed by Washington attorney Jack Quinn. He did not return a telephone call.

Several outside legal experts said they believe that the team will have no choice but to establish exceptions to the rigid guidelines Clinton has mentioned.

"You can't practice tax law without talking to the [Internal Revenue Service]," one ethics law expert said. "So if you want tax lawyers working in the IRS, you're going to have to find some way for them to make a living afterward."

The National Academy of Sciences report, titled "Ensuring the Best Presidential Appointments," expressed similar concerns. It described laws related to the government procurement process as "particularly damaging."

At highly specialized agencies like the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the Energy Department and the National Institutes of Health, the report warned, "high-level appointees may be effectively barred from immediate post-employment opportunities with many or all of the firms or institutions at which they could practice their career specialties."

Efforts to enforce strict ethical standards also have contributed to other delays in the selection process. Even before turning to the FBI for background checks, the Clinton team assembled lawyers to conduct preliminary reviews of the financial affairs of prospective candidates, sources said.

Clinton advisers defended the practice as necessary to ensure that appointees fulfilled the highest ethical standards. But they said that the introduction of the time-consuming practice would make it all but impossible for Clinton to complete his Cabinet nominations before the Christmas holiday.

Among the job candidates reportedly interviewed by Clinton at his mansion in recent days were Donna Shalala of the University of Wisconsin, a possible candidate for secretary of education, and John Young of Hewlett-Packard Co., a potential choice to head either the Commerce Department or the Defense Department.

The visits suggest that Clinton is prepared to move on to other appointments quickly after making his selections on the economic-policy posts that he has pledged to give top priority. But his advisers said privately that a logjam already has begun to develop because of the internal background checks.

Asked whether he now believes that it is possible Clinton could be prepared to announce all of his choices by Christmas, one senior adviser replied: "I just don't see how."

'We didn't go into [the ethics question] with our eyes open,' a senior Clinton aide acknowledged.

63

Clinton stays on the sidelines

By Bill Nichols and Johanna Neuman
USA TODAY

LITTLE ROCK — President-elect Clinton is giving general blessings to sending U.S. troops to Somalia, an action whose repercussions may dominate his first days in the Oval Office.

Clinton's views on the Somalia intervention remain sketchy. But the Clinton camp is making clear that he is not making policy; President Bush is, and will continue to until Jan. 20.

"The day after the election, Gov. Clinton said we have one president," spokesman George Stephanopoulos said. "We have one president who's got responsibility for foreign policy. He intends to stand by that."

That stance is expected from a government-in-waiting, and historians note the parallels to other transitions.

► Ronald Reagan, after defeating President Carter, left it to the Carter team — ironically led by Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher, now Clinton's top transition aide — to keep negotiating with Iran for the release of U.S. hostages.

► Richard Nixon, despite having run against Vice President Hubert Humphrey by criticizing Democratic handling of the Vietnam War, made no

move to play a role in the lame-duck Johnson administration's handling of the war or of the Paris peace talks.

► Franklin Roosevelt, after beating Herbert Hoover, stayed on the sidelines as Hoover faced the Depression.

"This is traditional," said Helmut Sonnenfeldt, who served in the Nixon and Ford National Security Council staffs. "Incoming presidents are reluctant to commit themselves."

In the case of Somalia, Sonnenfeldt says, Clinton has special reasons to express general support without putting his footprints on the policy.

He says Clinton may have "goaded" Bush into action in the first place with campaign criticisms, and the goal of the mission is unassailable — to feed starving people.

But in putting a hint of distance between himself and the decision, Sonnenfeldt adds, Clinton ensures that if something goes wrong, it's not on his watch, or with his approval.

The extent to which Clinton aides are trying not to step on the toes of their Bush counterparts is striking.

There is no sense Clinton or his top national security aides are hiding any major disagreements with the Somalia policy. But there is an awkwardness with the subject that seems either due

to the delicate nature of being a government as yet unformed or to the relative lack of foreign experience of both Clinton and many top staffers.

Clinton declined comment until after the U.N. Security Council voted and — more importantly, aides say — Bush had a chance to react first.

After Bush telephoned Clinton Wednesday to brief him, Clinton aides declined comment, referring reporters to a White House statement.

Aides, such as deputy transition national security director Nancy Soderberg, would not even comment on how often Clinton's staff is being briefed. Stephanopoulos won't discuss whether Clinton has contacted African affairs experts.

Stephanopoulos did say senior national security aide Sandy Berger has been briefed regularly by Bush national security adviser Brent Scowcroft. And he said Clinton gets the same daily intelligence briefing given to Bush.

Clinton, aides say, has no plans to meet with Bush during his visit early next week to Washington on the Somali situation or anything else.

But it's clear that, at least up until Inauguration Day, Bush can count on a unified front with his once-bitter Democratic foe.

WAITING FOR NAMES

President-elect Bill Clinton, 31 days into his transition, has not chosen his first Cabinet appointee. Other presidents-elect in recent history have waited longer, but then named most of their Cabinet in one day.

President	Election Day	Chose first	Chose last	Confirmed first	Confirmed last
Kennedy	Nov. 8	Dec. 1	Dec. 18	Jan. 21 (all)	—
Nixon	Nov. 5	Dec. 11 (all)	N/A	Jan. 20 (all)	—
Carter	Nov. 2	Dec. 3	Dec. 18	Jan. 20 (9)	Jan. 26
Reagan	Nov. 4	Dec. 11 (11)	Jan. 7	Jan. 20 (1)	Feb. 3
Bush	Nov. 8	Nov. 9	Dec. 24	Jan. 25 (3)*	March 7

* Three carryover appointees not subject to confirmation.

The Washington Times

Clinton unfazed by transition's leisurely pace

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President-elect Bill Clinton insisted yesterday he's "getting close" to naming a Cabinet and seemed unconcerned about falling behind the pace of recent presidents in forming his administration.

"You'll have some news to chew on in the next few days," Mr. Clinton told reporters as he jogged through the streets of Little Rock a few hours before meeting with Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan.

Mr. Greenspan, who has enormous economic clout until his term as chairman expires in August 1995, advocates anti-inflation policies that could run counter to Mr. Clinton's short-term fiscal stimulus strategies, which include unbudgeted deficit spending to put more money into circulation.

Based on statements from staff members, Mr. Clinton apparently intends to announce his first choices on or after Wednesday when he gets back to Little Rock from a Washington visit. That would be the 36th day of the transition and could be the day the economic team is announced.

"Don't be surprised to see a group named all at once next week. What better way to make a point?" a long-time Clinton aide told the Associated Press, speaking on the condition of anonymity.

Communications director George Stephanopoulos said he doesn't expect the leader of that group, the Treasury secretary, to "be a candidate coming out of nowhere."

Several newspapers this week corroborated a Nov. 25 report in The Washington Times that Senate Finance Committee Chairman Lloyd Bentsen is the front-runner for that post.

"Soon. Real soon," Mr. Stephanopoulos said yesterday while discouraging expectations of announcements this weekend or on Monday or Tuesday.

Mr. Bentsen's spokesman, Jack Devore, called the reports speculative and said, "Senator Bentsen is not the kind of person who would publicly reject a job that hadn't been offered to him."

Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell is determined to move as soon as Mr. Clinton makes his selections, a senior aide said yesterday.

"Senator Mitchell indicated that he has conveyed to committee chairmen that he wants them in place to hold confirmation hearings between January 5 and January 20 so that immediately after the inauguration we would be able to take up the Cabinet nominations, so his team could be in place as quickly as possible," the aide said.

Marla Romash, a spokeswoman for the separate Washington transition office, said its four policy groups and nine "clusters," which focus on sub-Cabinet positions and agency heads, are in high gear "with a real sense of energy and movement."

At this point, 31 days after the five elections that changed presidents since 1960, John F. Kennedy, Jimmy Carter and George Bush had begun naming their Cabinets.

Mr. Bush's first choice, Secretary of State James A. Baker III, came the morning after the election.

Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan waited until Dec. 11. Mr. Nixon named his entire Cabinet on Day 36,



Sen. Lloyd Bentsen

• Arts funding unlikely to change under the new administration. E1.

and Mr. Reagan announced the first 11 members of his Cabinet on Day 37.

All but Mr. Reagan completed their choices by Christmas, the traditional time to finish nominations and allow time for Senate confirmation as quickly as possible after noon Jan. 20. Mr. Stephanopoulos, a key transition strategist, said he expects a "fair amount" of the Clinton Cabinet to be announced by Christmas.

"I can't swear to any particular order, but we do think he's fairly far along in the economic [area] and he has been addressing all of the other Cabinet issues as well," Mr. Stephanopoulos said.

Aides contended there was no particular urgency as Mr. Clinton's target dates for naming Cabinet members were pushed back a few days or a week at a time and no ranking White House staff were chosen.

There had been speculation Mr. Clinton might try to dramatize his domestic concerns by quickly naming an economic team — secretaries of Treasury, commerce and energy, director of the Office of Management and Budget, and chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers.

In true White House honeymoons, the Senate can act on Inauguration Day. Committees hold hearings before formal nominations are filed, and the full Senate confirms everyone as soon after noon on Jan. 20 as nominations are transmitted and the members can vote.

Mr. Nixon in 1969 was the last president to get his entire Cabinet confirmed on Inauguration Day.

Mr. Kennedy's entire Cabinet was confirmed on Jan. 21, delayed a day because a snowfall shut down the city.

Mr. Carter had nine Cabinet members confirmed on Inauguration Day and the others within the week.

From there it's been downhill. Mr. Reagan got one Cabinet member confirmed Jan. 20. The Senate acted the next day on his secretaries of state, defense and Treasury and finished the roster on Feb. 3.

For Mr. Bush it was slower yet, with the first three confirmations on Jan. 25 and the last, Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, on March 7 because of the fight over John Tower.

• Researcher Clark Eberly contributed to this report.

Clinton Meets With Fed Chief Greenspan

*Session Is Said to Lay
Economic 'Groundwork'*

By Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writer

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Dec. 3— President-elect Clinton conferred today with Federal Reserve Board Chairman Alan Greenspan in a meeting that Clinton's spokesman said was meant "to lay the groundwork for a productive relationship" with an official whose cooperation could be critical to Clinton's economic programs.

Clinton met for more than an hour at the governor's mansion with Greenspan, who was reappointed by President Bush last year to a second four-year term.

"Governor Clinton's goal is economic growth without heightened inflation. He thinks that's achievable," said communications director George Stephanopoulos. "That's the kind of thing they're talking about today. I don't know if they'll get into specifics on the economic plan, but I think those basic principles will be in discussion."

Meanwhile, a key transition official said that Clinton had decided on about a half-dozen appointments and was beginning to notify both his choices and other candidates who had been interviewed for those posts.

Speaking to reporters as he started his morning jog, Clinton promised, "You all will have some news to chew on in the next few days."

Senate Finance Committee Chairman Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.) remained the prime focus of attention as the leading candidate for treasury secretary in the Clinton administration. Bentsen was in Texas today and his spokesman said he had not received an offer from Clinton to be in the Cabinet.

Clinton is expected to name his treasury secretary and other top economic advisers in the first wave of announcements, probably next week after he returns here from Washington. But transition sources said other appointments could come at the same time, and Clinton hinted today that the early announcements could include some of the environmental advisers in his new Cabinet.

Clinton told a local newspaper publisher who asked him about a local environmental issue, "As a matter of fact, I've been interviewing some people about" the Environmental Protection Agency.

Last week Clinton interviewed former Arizona governor Bruce Babbitt (D), retiring Sen. Timothy E. Wirth (D-Colo.) and Rep. Bill Richardson (D-N.M.), all of whom he believed to be under consideration for one of several environmental posts in the new administration.

Transition aides have done background work-ups and provided memos summarizing their findings on close to 100 people for some 26 Cabinet and other top positions, the official said.

Despite the proliferation of foreign policy problems awaiting the president-elect, his foreign policy team is not expected to be

among the first wave of appointments, this official said.

"The United States has a secretary of state in place, we have a president in place, and they're handling the policy. We're going to proceed at our own pace," Stephanopoulos said.

The transition office also announced that Clinton will make a stop at a Chicago community college on his way to Washington on Monday for talks with members of Congress, transition aides, and a tea with Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist.

Clinton plans to speak to students and teachers at the Wilbur Wright College and then hold a question-and-answer session, a format that Clinton popularized during the campaign.

Clinton Uses 2-Track Plan to Project Public Image

DATE: 12-4
PAGE: 1

By RONALD BROWNSTEIN
and DAVID LAUTER
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—If his long campaign for the White House proved anything, it is that Bill Clinton believes in nothing more deeply than his own ability to reconcile the seemingly irreconcilable.

Now he's at it again.

Since his election as President last month, Clinton has moved aggressively to project a public image along two tracks that appear to be running in entirely opposite directions.

On one track, he is using a variety of symbols—from his stop at a McDonald's in Washington, D.C., to his plans to ride a bus to his inauguration—to convince ordinary people that he is one of them, not part of the capital's professional political class.

On the other track, he is taking concrete steps—from topping his transition team with Establishment figures to appearing for inspection next Monday night at a dinner hosted by Washington Post matriarch Katharine Graham—to assure the professional politicians and the Washington Establishment that he can work with them.

"He's a master of narrow-casting," says one veteran liberal lobbyist in Washington. "He's signaling to the Establishment: 'I'm OK, because I've got people you know making the picks.' And he's signaling to the mass audience: 'I'm OK, because I'm going to McDonald's and I'm taking the bus.'"

At a personal level, the dual approach reflects competing aspects of Clinton's political persona: the populist outsider arriving from Arkansas to bring change to Washington and the insider educated at Georgetown, Oxford and Yale who is determined to prove that he can play the traditional power game with the old pros.

At another level, while skeptics might argue that the two-track strategy is little more than the time-honored impulse of politicians to be all things to all people, Clinton aides portray it as a tactical response to a basic ambiguity in how the public views Washington and its problems. On the one hand, many Americans profoundly believe that the country has been on the wrong track and blame Washington's Establishment for that. On the other hand, many Americans—often the same people—fear the prospect of too much change.

The result, said Clinton communications director George Stephanopoulos, is that "making people comfortable with change"—a slogan with embedded ambiguity—has become an overriding concern underlying much of what Clinton does.

That concern already may be shaping Clinton's decisions about whom to select for his Cabinet. Even top aides concede that they know little about Clinton's plans, but many believe that he hopes to balance the Cabinet among old and new, Washington insiders and outsiders, former Jimmy Carter Administration officials and non-Washington figures.

Clinton's efforts to run simultaneously along these insider and outsider tracks raise many questions. One is whether he can, in fact, balance both of these aims—whether he can simultaneously mollify institutional Washington and force it to change in ways that put substance behind his symbols of reform.

There is also the question of whether Clinton and those around him may overestimate the extent to which manipulating images will enable them to overcome obstacles and bring about meaningful

change—which, for most Americans, is likely to be the litmus test of his presidency.

Already, elements of the Democratic Party's populist left complain of hypocrisy in the contrast between Clinton's outsider public image and his reliance on veteran powerbrokers such as corporate attorneys Vernon E. Jordan Jr. and Warren Christopher to head his transition team.

"It's two worlds that seem to be emerging," said consumer advocate Ralph Nader. "The first world seems to be accommodating the powerbrokers as the reality of his Administration and the veneer is this folksy down-home people-toucher."

Others believe Clinton's dexterity at managing these dual messages bodes well for his ability to work with Congress—or appeal to the people if he needs to do so. "It looks like they are going to embark on a two-pronged campaign to work with Congress and the insiders... while he knows they will always know he has the ability to go over their heads to the people," says Gerald Rafshoon, who was Carter's media adviser.

In his efforts during the campaign to establish himself as a non-traditional politician, Clinton put great emphasis on making himself directly available to voters in non-traditional settings—town meetings, morning talk shows, MTV, the Arsenio Hall show. To a large extent, the medium became the message.

That pattern already appears locked in place for the new Administration. Hoping in part to emphasize the contrast with President Bush—who was widely criticized for seeming oblivious to life beyond the White House bubble—Clinton has jumped at every opportunity to portray himself as being in touch with ordinary concerns.

His aides have planned a populist inaugural week that will include a bus trip by the Clinton, lower ticket prices for major events of the celebration and an open house at

the White House—although the \$20-million price tag, and the private donations paying for it, impart more than a whiff of Washington's old ways of doing things.

Aides are also drawing plans for White House versions of the televised town meetings that Clinton employed during the campaign. Advisers say that the incoming President also is likely to make himself available for questioning on television programs.

"I think the feeling is the public took this election very seriously. They want to take politics back... and he wants to bring them into the process in a way we've not seen before," said Stanley B. Greenberg, Clinton's pollster.

Carter, the last Democratic chief executive, came into office bearing many of these same hopes of demystifying the presidency and maintaining contact with voters. In a celebrated memo written during Carter's transition to power, his pollster, Patrick H. Caddell, counseled the President-elect to conduct a "continuing political campaign" with town meetings, televised question-and-answer sessions, fireside chats and symbolic populist gestures, such as cutting his White House staff. Clinton is mulling variations on all those ideas today.

Where the new President-elect departs from Carter's path is his emphasis on co-opting Washington. Carter and his top lieutenants seemed intent on deliberately snubbing the capital Establishment; Clinton, as is his style, is smothering them with consultation.

After a campaign where Clinton constantly struggled against voter perceptions that he was, at heart, a typical politician, some around the President-elect fear that this reassurance can go too far. One senior aide said he worries that in both of his press conferences with congressional leaders last month, Clinton struck not a single challenging note. Indeed, he backed away from his insistence on congressional

staff cuts, an idea spectacularly unpopular on Capitol Hill.

There are also some faint rumblings in the Clinton camp about the overwhelmingly Establishment cast of the apparent leading contenders for the central economic policy jobs—with names such as Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.), a consummate Washington insider, and investment banker Robert E. Rubin, who answers to the same description on Wall Street, topping the speculation for Treasury secretary.

And some fret that partying with network anchors and Georgetown socialites at Pamela Harriman's home, as Clinton did last month, sends precisely the wrong signal.

In the end, Americans may pay far less attention to whether Clinton's insider or outsider image predominates than whether the combination of approaches—or some other strategy—produces significant results.

Clinton will face a series of early tests to his commitment to reform. Although he has talked of strong ethics rules to limit lobbying by his appointees after they leave government, aides are saying that writing those rules in ways that do not prevent Clinton from recruiting the people he needs has proved complicated.

Campaign finance reform legislation, which he promised during the campaign, will be equally difficult: "You're really hitting people where they live," one aide said.

And even those fights pale beside the looming struggles to break the gridlock over economic policy and deficit reduction, as well as systematic reform of the health care system.

Symbolic gestures that demonstrate empathy may "buy Clinton a whole lot of time" from the public as he fights to implement his program, Rafshoon says.

But, like Carter, Clinton may find symbols of empathy thin defense if his program does not produce results.

Clinton, Gore Set for Environmental Push

 DATE: 12-7
 PAGE: 15

By Geoffrey D. Dabelko

BILL CLINTON'S election raises high expectations for new executive leadership on the environment. The president-elect's choice of Sen. Al Gore as his vice president brings to the new administration an advocate well-versed in many of the intricacies of complex environmental issues.

As Mr. Clinton decides on the structure of his administration in this transition period, what steps should Americans watch for as indicators of the Clinton/Gore strategy on the environment?

While the United States has historically set the pace with high relative levels of protection for its habitats, US leadership has slipped during the last decade. The comprehensive Clean Air Act was passed in 1990, but many of its potential benefits to the environment were lost after implementing regulations were gutted or simply not issued. After promising no net loss of wetlands in America, Bush administration officials sought to change the definition of wetlands to open up protected areas to development.

Perhaps most illustrative of absent environmental leadership was the obstructionist role the US played at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in June of 1992. The US showed that it remains one of the last countries in the world to recognize the key to providing for future generations: caring for the environment to ensure that sustainable economic growth is possible.

The meetings in Rio de Janeiro did make great strides toward this end with conventions on climate change and biodiversity as well as a broad agenda for the 21st century. But one can only imagine the progress that could have been achieved if the sole remaining superpower had put its muscle behind finding ways to sustain the environment instead of insisting on the least common denominator for climate change and refusing to agree on biodiversity.

There is great reason to believe the Clinton administration will bring some of that power and influence to bear on this critical international issue. The decisionmaking structures Clinton chooses to handle the environmental portfolio will help determine whether the environment receives priority attention by the administration. It is fair to expect a major role for Mr. Gore.

Many other questions, however, remain to be answered. Here are some possible changes to look for early in the Clinton administration:

■ Centralizing the key actors. Numerous agencies and departments currently work on environmental questions in one form or another. Bringing at least some of the responsible actors together under one

cabinet-level department would demonstrate a commitment to better coordination on environmental issues.

Such actions could include a recent bipartisan commission's recommendation that the new president ask Congress to create a Department of the Environment. The department should at least include the Environmental Protection Agency and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA is now in the Department of Commerce).

■ Issuing new regulations under existing legislation. Clinton can issue numerous executive regulations under existing laws such as the Clean Air Act and the Clean Water Act. He also can declare his support for the Endangered Species Act while convening a forest-management summit to negotiate a compromise to the Spotted Owl standoff in the Northwest. Following through on the original intent of these laws will dramatically increase the beneficial impact this legislation is having.

■ Bringing new expertise into the White House. The science adviser to the president has historically been a nuclear physicist or an engineer, reflecting the need for advice on military questions. Some former White House officials have called for appointing a natural or physical earth scientist to provide expertise on the new challenges presented by environmental degradation.

■ Making a different kind of defense conversion. The defense and intelligence communities have begun efforts to identify data, hardware, and technologies that could prove useful for addressing environmental concerns.

Clinton could, at the very least, task these agencies to redouble their search.

Perhaps most importantly, Clinton can announce to his fellow world leaders that the US will reassert its leadership role in working for a better environment. He could declare that the US will bring the resources of the remaining superpower to bear on these daunting problems.

Signing the biodiversity treaty agreed to by 160 other nations at Rio and pushing ahead on negotiations for forest and population treaties would be signals of the US return to constructive environmental leadership.

Clinton will realize there are costs to being an environmental president, something George Bush never did. Environmental decisions on fuel efficiency standards, gasoline taxes, and trade agreements all may carry tolls in terms of political and economic capital. But strong executive leadership can persuade this country, and by example the world, to make the necessary sacrifices.

■ *Geoffrey D. Dabelko, former program associate at the Council on Foreign Relations in Washington, is a doctoral student in the Department of Government and Politics at the University of Maryland, College Park.*

Clinton can announce to his fellow world leaders that the US will reassert its role in working for a better environment.

Democratic council to play key role in administration

USA TODAY

By Adam Nagourney
USA TODAY

LITTLE ROCK — In the flurry of appointments President-elect Clinton made to his transition team last month, one selection — that of Al From — was nearly overlooked.

But Clinton's decision to tap From, a founder of the moderate Democratic Leadership Council, to prepare the domestic agenda might be the single most significant step he has made yet.

It is not that this longtime Clinton adviser is a particularly colorful figure (he is not) or that he is in line for a big job (he says he is not).

But From's appointment, which surprised some Clinton aides, suggested not only the influence the DLC is going to wield in a Clinton administration, but Clinton's interest in the catalog of ideas the DLC has circulated.

From's appointment is "a clear indication of where the Clinton administration is going," said Stuart Butler of the conservative Heritage Foundation, which provided Ronald Reagan with a detailed agenda he followed for the next year.

"This guy knows what he's doing," Butler said. "He set up the DLC, and got Clinton positioned to be the nominee. These people are as dedicated as the Reaganites were."

When From is asked if he wants a job in the administration, he demurs: "What I want is for the DLC to be to the Clinton administration what the Heritage Foundation was to the Reagan administration."

So far, it seems an apt comparison, a surprising develop-



By Paul Felters

FROM: Preparing Bill Clinton's domestic agenda

ment for a group that, just 18 months ago, was so renegade that liberal Democrats likened it to the Republican Party.

The ideas at the crux of Clinton's candidacy — letting college students repay scholarships with public service, giving parents more choice in selecting public schools, imposing a two-year-limit on welfare benefits — were largely drafted by the DLC.

Clinton and Vice President-elect Gore were among moderate Southerners who formed the DLC in 1985. So were some of the first people interviewed for Cabinet jobs, such as Texas Sen. Lloyd Bentsen.

Against that backdrop, it is no surprise that there is suddenly intense interest in a 380-page book called *Mandate for Change* that the DLC's think tank is releasing next week.

The book contains some ideas sure to create a stir. It calls for creating a commission, patterned after the military-base-closing commission,

to impose cuts without fear of political reprisal.

It suggests new cuts in benefit programs for the wealthy and decentralizing many federal programs, farming them out to the states.

Among its more intriguing suggestions are "opportunity cards" a kind of pre-assigned ceiling on which people could draw federally subsidized employment training throughout their careers.

Not all the attention now focused on From, 49, who began his career in the War on Poverty and worked for two years as an inflation adviser to Jimmy Carter, is flattering.

He has long been a lightning rod for liberals who thought the DLC was running against poor people and racial minorities.

"You would think that one of the urban mayors, or some economist who identifies with urban policy, would be occupying such a position," says Jesse Jackson. "What Al From is known for is his DLC strategy, his attempt to regain Reagan Democrats."

George Mason University historian Roger Wilkins, a civil rights veteran, says the selection shows that Clinton "is going to dance with the people who brung him. ... It speaks well for his character, but not very well for the policy interests I care about."

But Bruce Reed, From's deputy and another DLC official, says such concerns are unfounded: "Institutions by nature resist change. And Al From was one of the first to have the courage to stand up and say our party has to change to survive."

THE FINAL CAMPAIGN: Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole, R-Kan., quips: "I've always believed in the old saying, 'As Georgia goes, so does North Dakota.'"



CONRAD



Grand Forks Herald
DALRYMPLE

North Dakota voters today select a senator — 10 days after Republican Paul Coverdell ousted Democratic Sen. Wyche Fowler in a Georgia runoff.

But North Dakota Republican Jack Dalrymple faces a tougher battle against Democratic Sen. Kent Conrad in the final campaign battle of 1992. Conrad is favored, although eight months ago he said he would leave the Senate.

Conrad said in April he wouldn't seek a second term in keeping with a promise to quit if the budget deficit hadn't been cut. But after Sen. Quentin Burdick, 84, died in September, Conrad got into the race for his seat.

Dole campaigned for Dalrymple, saying he'd double the number of "real live farmers" in the Senate. Dalrymple wants to guarantee farmers \$5 for each bushel of wheat. Conrad quotes farm economists saying that's unrealistic.

A victory by Conrad, who has comfortable leads in all state polls, would give the Senate 57 Democrats and 43 Republicans — exact-

ly the margin before the Nov. 3 election. Some analysts had predicted Democrats could control up to 60 seats.

In Georgia, meanwhile, consumer activists filed suit chal-

Helping a Jogger Hit the Ground Running

The Clinton transition operation has an unusual component: a small team of lawyers devoted to reviewing and drafting executive orders that the new president can issue the moment he is sworn in.

"Clinton wants to be able to hit the ground running and demonstrate some presidential leadership," said Bruce Reed, the transition's deputy assistant director for domestic policy. "He's asked the policy teams to identify the actions that can be achieved either through legislation or through executive order," Reed said.

"All four policy teams [health, domestic, national security and economic] are funneling ideas through this group."

The idea is to give President-elect Clinton a series of already drafted executive orders and messages ready for him if he wants to act the moment he is sworn in.

Clinton has a broad range of options from which to choose. Much of the controversial social policy legacy of the Reagan and Bush years was accomplished through the executive orders and policy directives they issued.

Some likely targets for Clinton: the "gag rule" on abortion counseling in federally funded clinics; the summary return of Haitian boat people without a hearing; the ban on fetal tissue testing. Clinton also may look at orders designed to limit perks and privileges for federal employees, to cut the bureaucracy or to convert a percentage of the government's fleet of cars to natural gas.

"Clinton will be the one to choose among possible executive orders," Reed said. "We want to make sure we're ready."

The senior lawyer on the team is Peter Van Lockwood, a partner at Caplin & Drysdale and former clerk to retired Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall. Also on the team are Steve Warnath, a former partner at Hopkins, Sutter, Hamel & Park; Diane Lowe, an attorney with Casey, Scott, Canfield & Heggstad; Margaret Cone, who was environmental legal counsel for Detroit Mayor Coleman Young; and Michael Levitin, formerly at the Treasury Department and now at Sidley & Austin.

Sources say former State Department official and Washington lawyer John Holum, a partner at Warren M. Christopher's firm, O'Melveny & Meyers, is the point man for Clinton's proposed executive order involving gays and lesbians in the military.

Working with him on that is Bob Hattoy, who is coordinating various policy proposals and personnel suggestions with Congress, environmental groups, and gay and lesbian organizations, and working on Clinton's pledge to name an AIDS "czar."



Hopkins Seeks Career in Agriculture

■ Now here's a transition: retiring Rep. Larry J. Hopkins (R-Ky.) is looking for a career Senior Executive Service job at the Agriculture Department.

Hopkins, the ranking minority member of the House peanuts and tobacco subcommittee, has applied for the vacant directorship of the department's tobacco division, which pays between \$90,000 and \$112,100 a year. Hopkins is one of six applicants and meets the "minimum qualifications" for the job, which oversees the inspection and grading of tobacco, a department official said. A recommendation for the job has been made and the Office of Personnel Management is reviewing it, officials said. Hopkins was the first casualty of the House Bank scandal. His 32 overdrafts were an issue in his losing race for Kentucky governor in 1991 and apparently contributed to his decision to retire from Congress. Hopkins also is one of several departing House members who can convert leftover campaign funds—in this case, about \$650,000—to personal use.



REP. LARRY J. HOPKINS

Hopkins was elected to Congress in 1978, promising to get the government "off your back and out of your pocket," according to the Louisville Courier Journal, which reported Hopkins's unusual career quest.

Resigning Themselves to Change

■ In the transiting-out category, Jeff Nesbit, communications director for Vice President Quayle and a key player in Quayle's anti-regulatory drive, will join an economic think tank, Citizens for Free Enterprise, which recites the anti-regulatory mantra.

Jim McAvoy, formerly at the Republican National Committee, has been named president of Advocacy Communications Team, a company launched by media relations giant Burson-Marsteller to mobilize grass-roots support for business.

The new firm touts itself as business's antidote to "professional interest groups" and "activists" who will be working round the clock to "press for more government intrusion in the marketplace."

Also moving on . . . James R. Doty, general counsel of the Securities and Exchange Commission, who said yesterday he will leave this month to return to private practice as a partner in his old law firm, Baker & Botts of Texas.

Transiting in . . . Linda Yanez, directing attorney for the Harvard Law School immigration clinic, is said to be in line to run the Clinton transition team looking at the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

—Al Kamen, Stephen Barr, Ann Devroy

For Job-Seekers, The Campaign's Far From Over

*Faxes, Phone Calls, Invitations
Inundate Clinton Officials*

By Steven Mufson
Washington Post Staff Writer

One of President-elect Clinton's transition officials recently heard from an old schoolmate who wanted help getting a job as general counsel to a federal agency. The official was surprised because she hadn't heard from the person since they were in school together—elementary school.

For Clinton, the campaign season is over. But for hundreds, perhaps thousands of Democratic job-seekers, the campaign is in full swing.

Those aspiring to posts in the Clinton administration have been using every available tactic, from urging reporters to mention their names as candidates to trying to tug on ancient school ties, to gain an edge in their quest for public service.

Rep. Jim Bacchus (D-Fla.) has repeatedly called transition officials and faxed copies of trade journal articles that mention his name in order to promote himself for the job of U.S. trade representative, according to a transition official.

A television reporter sent in her resume in a finished binder, complete with an 8-by-10-inch glossy, soft-focus, airbrushed photograph of herself.

Some job-seekers fax their resumes over and over again. "It's refreshing that people want to contribute," one transition official said. "But these people are never going to get jobs."

Even people who are leading candidates for jobs have been clarifying their positions on issues near and dear to Clinton, such as the need for economic stimulus.

Lawrence H. Summers, chief economist of the World Bank and a leading candidate to be chairman of the president's Council of Economic Advisers, has been an outspoken critic of big budget deficits and efforts to fine-tune the economy's ups and downs. In late October, however, he gave a speech that condemned single-minded emphasis on budget deficits as "Hooverite madness."

Alice Rivlin, another deficit hawk and a leading candidate to be director of the Office of Management and Budget, recently wrote an article for the Los Angeles Times stressing the need to get the economy moving again before targeting the deficit.

Many Democrats have been telephoning the transition offices in Washington and Little Rock to ask whether working for the transition would help or hinder their chances for a higher office. Harrison Welford, a Carter administration budget official and Washington lawyer who transition officials say would like to be OMB director, enhanced his prospects by giving Clinton a lively presentation on how to organize the White House staff. Clinton was said to be impressed.

Republicans are playing this game too. Albert V. Casey, the Bush administration's man at the helm of the Resolution Trust Corp., has publicly said he hopes to keep his job even though Clinton has openly criticized the handling of the savings and loan mess.

Casey has been cultivating allies in Congress, making a strong pitch to Senate Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee Chairman Donald W. Riegle Jr. (D-Mich.) and meeting with Clinton transition official Frank Raines. Recently he hosted a weekend party and Clinton transition co-chairman Vernon E. Jordan Jr. just happened to be on the guest list according to several

sources. When asked about the party, Casey would say only that Jordan is a close friend of his and "I have Vernon Jordan over lots of times."

Friends of John Young, former chief executive of Hewlett Packard Co., are openly campaigning for him to be appointed commerce secretary. Two heavyweight trade groups, the American Electronics Association and the Computer and Business Equipment Manufacturers Association, have formally endorsed him. Young, a lifelong Republican, grabbed headlines when he endorsed Clinton and his positions on high technology during the presidential election campaign.

In some cases, the campaign efforts of would-be office holders have boomeranged. Bacchus, who won reelection after his district was redrawn to favor the Republicans, received extensive help in his campaign from Vice President-elect Gore and other top Democrats. Many view him not only as an unlikely candidate for an administration post, but as ungrateful for wanting to abandon a hard-won Democratic seat in Congress just a few weeks later.

Transition officials say that people who campaign too hard are "pulling a Lee Hamilton," a reference to the Indiana congressman whom Clinton considered as a running mate.

Many jockeying for influence are also engaged in the time-honored tradition of maligning rivals.

Members of the Economic Policy Institute, a think-tank associated with labor interests and the liberal band of the Democratic spectrum, have urged reporters to give EPI's views as much weight as those of the Progressive Policy Institute, a think-tank associated with the Democratic Leadership Council and devoted to bringing the party back to the political center.

Enemies of Paula Stern, a trade expert who was chairman of the International Trade Commission during the Carter administration, spread the word that she elbowed her way uninvited into a campaign briefing for Clinton. Though she is an old acquaintance of Clinton's, her rivals also criticize her for representing the Mexican Chamber of Commerce on trade negotiations.

Stern loyalists, on the other hand, say she is heads above rivals like Alan Wolff, who has supported protectionist measures for the steel and semiconductor industries and who is being heavily promoted by labor unions.

Generally, the more serious the candidate's prospects, the quieter the candidate. Some are reticent to a point that strains credulity.

Robert Rubin, co-chairman of the Goldman, Sachs & Co. investment banking firm and a possibility for treasury secretary, recently spoke at a conference on economic renewal proposals. He was so cautious about giving any hints of his or Clinton's thinking that he claimed to have no opinion at all about the crucial issue of whether the economy would need a stimulus early next year.

"I don't have a view about whether there should be a stimulus program up front," Rubin said.

One transition official explained: People are "thinking, 'how do I get what I want?' and until that is resolved, people are afraid of exposing themselves."

Staff writers Steven Pearlstein, Susan Schmidt and Daniel Southerland contributed to this report.

Group Sues to Void Runoff In Senate Contest in Georgia

By PETER APPLEBOME
Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Dec. 3 — A week after it finally staggered to an apparent end, the bitter Georgia Senate race in which Paul D. Coverdell, the Republican, narrowly defeated Senator Wyche Fowler Jr. in a post-election runoff is still generating disputes that threaten to cloud Mr. Coverdell's victory.

A public interest group today filed a lawsuit seeking to void the election and certify Mr. Fowler as the winner, saying the Nov. 24 runoff, which was held after Mr. Fowler led but failed to get 50 percent of the vote on Nov. 3, violated the United States Constitution.

And, in a separate issue, angry Democrats say Mr. Coverdell's election was unduly influenced by an illegal \$500,000 contribution from the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee used to broadcast pivotal advertisements in the race's final days.

'Desperate Complaints'

Republicans say neither complaint will affect the outcome of the election and deny that any contributions they made were illegal.

"Desperate people make desperate complaints," said Mr. Coverdell's spokesman, Bill Crane. "They wanted that seat, and they lost it."

Democrats say they will pursue their complaints aggressively through the legal system.

"There is a real blood lust right now building in the party on this," said Robert Bauer, general counsel of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee. "The law was effectively changed by a putsch, by a coup d'état five days before the election. We simply can't tolerate that," he said of the \$500,000 contribution.

Still very much in question is how far the Democrats will press the case if the runoff is upheld. It is not clear whether the Democrats would be willing to endure the kind of bitter partisan battle that would surely ensue if the Senate itself took any steps to refuse to seat Mr. Coverdell.

Won by 15,000 Votes

Mr. Fowler, a one-term Democrat, led Mr. Coverdell by 35,000 votes in the Nov. 3 election. But because of a 1966 Georgia law — the only one of its kind in the country — that requires that a candidate receive a majority of the vote to win, the race was thrown into a runoff. In the runoff, in which turnout fell from 2.25 million votes to 1.3 million, Mr. Coverdell won by 15,000 votes.

Public Citizen, a group founded by

Ralph Nader, and four Georgia residents filed suit today in Federal court in Atlanta seeking to throw out the runoff and declare Mr. Fowler the victor. The plaintiffs say the law violates the Constitution's dictate on "the times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators." The plaintiffs say the Georgia law was enacted as a way to dilute the voting strength of blacks.

"I just don't think there's any merit in the claim that Georgia cannot impose a majority-vote requirement," said Attorney General Michael Bowers of Georgia, a Democrat.

Judge Robert Hall of Federal District Court today refused to issue a restraining order blocking the certification of the election.

Even more emotional is a growing dispute over an 11th-hour infusion of

The G.O.P. is accused of breaking a campaign law.

\$500,000 from the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee to the Coverdell campaign.

Citing a Federal Election Commission ruling in a California case, the commission's general counsel determined that the runoff was a continuation of the general election. Under that interpretation, the Republican committee, which had already contributed the maximum amount to the race, could not contribute to the runoff.

But the six members of the commission split along party lines, with Democrats saying the spending was unlawful and Republicans saying it was permitted.

Given the deadlock, the Republicans poured money into the race. Democrats and campaign finance watchdog groups, like Public Citizen and the Center for Responsive Politics, say the Republicans' decision to contribute another \$500,000 to the Coverdell campaign was a willful decision to break the campaign contribution law, knowing sanctions, if any, would take place after the election was over.

Helms' office irate as Bush frees aid to Nicaragua

By Tom Carter
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The Bush administration said yesterday it has released \$54 million of the \$104 million in suspended aid to Nicaragua, a step that angered Capitol Hill conservatives but won praise from Managua.

The release was timed to coincide with a gathering of international aid donors meeting in Managua.

"We are very encouraged by this new development," said Ernesto Palazio, Nicaragua's ambassador to the United States. "As the transition from a totalitarian government be-

comes more real, people understand it is very difficult, but it is clear that we are moving in the right direction. We are very encouraged."

In August, Sen. Jesse Helms, North Carolina Republican, released a 144-page report charging continued Sandinista control of Nicaraguan President Violeta Chamorro's government, two years after she defeated the leftist party in elections.

The controversial Helms report listed hundreds of properties it said were stolen, some from American citizens, by the Sandinistas, who took power in 1979. It also listed con-

tinuing human rights abuses and political assassinations it says are being conducted by the Sandinista-controlled police and army.

Based on the report's findings, Mr. Helms forced the Bush administration to withhold \$104 million in aid that had been authorized by Congress.

But Wednesday evening, acting Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger called the Nicaraguan Embassy to inform Mr. Palazio that his country would be receiving the \$54 million.

Mr. Palazio said he hopes the rest of the money will be forthcoming

before President Bush leaves office Jan. 20.

Deborah de Moss, a senior foreign relations aide to Mr. Helms and one of the chief authors of the report, reacted angrily to the move.

"[The release of the aid] is an outrage," she said. "We see no reason for releasing the aid. They [the Chamorro government] have no incentive for returning any of the confiscated property. There is no reason for the Chamorro government to investigate the deaths of 220 Contras, or of former Contra leaders Jean Paul Genie and Enrique Bermudez. It is unjustifiable."

As an example of the continued Sandinista influence in Nicaragua, Miss de Moss cited the murder last week of Arges Sequeira, president of the National Association of Confiscated Property Holders and president of the Association of Agricultural Producers.

On Dec. 1, the Managua headquarters of COSEP, the Superior Council on Private Enterprise, was damaged in a terrorist bombing.

"I would say the Chamorro government is responsible," she said.

State Department spokesman Richard Boucher said the release of the funds was meant to support a

country where gains have been made but more needs to be done.

"The funds are needed to sustain Nicaragua's economic stabilization program and to preserve gains made in controlling inflation and normalizing Nicaragua's relations with the international financial institutions," Mr. Boucher said.

"This is essential to Nicaragua's economic recovery and consolidation of democracy."

He said the U.S. aid includes \$40 million in funds to replenish foreign currency reserves, finance oil imports and meet obligations to international financial institutions.

The other \$14 million will serve a variety of purposes, including strengthening democratic institutions and human rights organizations.

Senate's new women waver on committee wishes

By Major Garrett
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

After campaigning to change the Senate with their feminist perspective on the law and ethics, the female Democrats elected to the Senate have shown little interest in serving on the Judiciary and Ethics committees.

Both committees will play a prominent role in the gender politics that are sure to crop up during the 103rd

NEWS ANALYSIS

Congress. In discussions with the Senate leadership and committee chairmen, the women have shown more interest in the traditionally more powerful committees such as Appropriations, Commerce, Labor and Human Resources, and Finance.

These committees exert extensive influence over the economy, health care, taxes and trade.

And while it is true these female senators campaigned on some of these issues, all said they deserved to win because they were uniquely qualified to deal with the Senate's insensitivity to sexual harassment specifically and women's issues in general.

The four new female members of the Senate are Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein of California, Patty Murray of Washington, and Carol Moseley Braun of Illinois.

When Sen. Barbara Mikulski, Maryland Democrat, introduced the Democratic nominees for the Senate at the Democratic National Convention, she said they were part of a feminist vanguard that would fundamentally alter the Senate.

"In 1992, as Democrats and as women, we are the change," said Miss Mikulski, then the only female Democrat in the Senate. "We, the Democratic women who are running and winning this year, will change

the United States Senate fundamentally and forever."

Minutes later, Mrs. Boxer, then a member of the House, vowed to confront the male-dominated ethos that allowed the Senate to reluctantly investigate Anita Hill's allegations of sexual harassment against Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas.

"We will crack open the closed doors of the Senate, open them wide

and start running a country, not a country club," she said.

But now, Mrs. Boxer and the other three female Democrats in the Senate are sending mixed signals about their willingness to serve on the Judiciary and Ethics committees.

Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr., chairman of the Judiciary Committee, has made repeated overtures to the newly elected female senators but has yet to find one willing to serve on his committee.

There also is heightened interest as well in placing a woman on the Ethics Committee, which will have two vacancies. It will be the venue for at least one and possibly three groundbreaking proceedings into allegations of sexual harassment.

The committee already is reviewing charges of sexual harassment against Sen. Bob Packwood, Oregon Republican, and is reviewing allegations of sexual impropriety leveled against Sens. Daniel Inouye, Hawaii Democrat, and Dave Durenberger, Minnesota Republican.

As a result, the Senate's Democratic leadership and the four newly elected female senators have been involved in an elaborate political minuet over whether they will serve on either of these committees.

"I'm sure the phone calls are going fast and furious," said one key Democratic Senate aide.

"There's some logrolling going on," said Nancy Duff Campbell, co-president of the National Women's

Law Center.

Perhaps the best example is Mrs. Feinstein. After first saying through a spokesman that she was not interested in the Judiciary Committee, her staff now says she is.

Several key Senate aides said it appears Mrs. Feinstein has been negotiating for a slot on the Appropriations Committee, which controls all discretionary federal spending, in exchange for taking a seat on Judiciary.

This scenario has added to intense speculation on Capitol Hill about how Mr. Biden would alter the size of his committee without stepping on other senators' toes.

The entire process — the intense

negotiations, the maneuvering, and the high-stakes competition for power and influence over national policy — illustrates many of the ways life has changed on Capitol Hill with the arrival of four new female senators.

And it raises a question: Do these women have a political obligation to serve on committees that could have a direct bearing on the Senate's ability to police itself or on the very issues they used as centerpieces of their campaigns?

"I don't feel it's incumbent upon them," said Ms. Campbell of the National Women's Law Center. "They didn't run campaigns on sexual harassment only."

Jada Berteaux, spokeswoman for Mrs. Murray, said the senator would not feel she would be letting voters down if she passed up a chance for the Judiciary or Ethics committees if she could land a more powerful seat on the Appropriations, Labor or Commerce committees.

"It's very clear to her that the issues she campaigned upon are issues that come under those committees," Miss Berteaux said.

Mrs. Murray did not request a seat on either the Ethics or Judiciary committees but said this week that she would accept a seat on Ethics if the leadership asked her to.

Mr. Biden and Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell are said to be adamant about adding at least one woman to the Judiciary Committee to repair the damage wrought by the Hill-Thomas hearings.

Mr. Biden's committee does not have a vacancy, but he and the Democratic leadership are considering asking a sitting member to leave or expanding the committee.

The only senator who might be interested in leaving is Herb Kohl of Wisconsin, the lowest-ranking committee Democrat.

The senator's spokeswoman, Kristy Schantz, said Mr. Kohl is "exploring other committees but doesn't think it's likely he'll be leaving the Judiciary Committee."

Ultimately, a special committee will meet Jan. 5 and 6 to assign senators to their committee posts. The committee operates with direct input from the leadership and the committee chairmen.

After Years of Gridlock and Scandals, Foley Appears Poised to Fulfill Potential as Speaker

By DAVID ROGERS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — This is shaping up as the session of Congress when Thomas Foley runs out of excuses.

Since becoming Speaker of the House in 1989, the 63-year-old Democrat has been bedeviled by gridlock with a Republican administration and a string of congressional scandals. As lawmakers fought among themselves or with the White House, the national debt piled up alongside a list of health and economic initiatives that government seemed unable to address.



Thomas Foley

Mr. Foley's leadership came under heavy criticism and his speakership was in jeopardy just months ago. But now, behind a Democratic president-elect, he has at last found what looks like open water. The coming months will be a crucial test of whether the soft-spoken judge's son from the Pacific Northwest can be a strong leader and fulfill the promise many have long seen.

In a broad sense, the House is facing the same challenge to renew itself. November's election produced not only 110 new faces, but left its mark on scores of surviving incumbents forced by a disgusted public to rethink their purpose in Congress. At home in Spokane, Mr. Foley weathered humbling debates against a well-financed challenger. Now he returns to Washington with some of the urgency of a freshman.

"The expectations are high and they should be," said Rep. Mike Synar, a young ally who had to fight off a strong challenge himself in Oklahoma.

"A lot of what were legitimate excuses are no longer there," says Mr. Foley. "We are busting to do things." He jokes of press reports labeling him, like Mr. Clinton, the "Comeback Kid." The hangdog look is gone. No longer dragged down by damage-control efforts in the House bank and post office scandals, he's focusing on shaping the committees that will draw up the president-elect's health-care and economic legislation. And after wrestling with painful questions about his own wife's role as his unpaid aide in the Capitol, he enjoys speaking in defense of Hillary Clinton's with the president-elect.

Never comfortable as a partisan opponent to George Bush, Mr. Foley may be better-suited to serving as a loyal commander under a friendly president. And Mr. Clinton's Oxford experience builds a natural affinity with Mr. Foley, who also attended the English university.

Mr. Foley has even positioned himself to be an arbiter of sorts for Mr. Clinton in the press and inside Congress. Soon after the election, he sought to buy the new administration time by warning reporters against holding Mr. Clinton to a fixed timetable for his first hundred days. And his institutional credentials give him a role in the current skirmishing over proposals to grant the president a form of line-item veto for spending bills.

NONE of the proposals is likely to have much impact on the deficit, but the fight shows how Congress is responding to the public anger shown this year. Mr. Foley has upset old barons in the Appropriations Committee leadership by embracing a compromise giving Mr. Clinton at least some of the power he wants. And the speaker argues that past abuses demand that lawmakers be willing to surrender some prerogatives in order to protect what he sees as the truly important powers vested in them by the Constitution.

"I'm a real fiery defender of the Constitution," he says. "On my watch, I'm not going to have the Constitution amended, if I can avoid it."

Mr. Foley's practical politics are his trademark, but he also seems willing to move with greater forcefulness after many counted him as dead last spring. Recently, he has been holding dinners with supporters in Sam Rayburn's old "board of education" room in the Capitol to help ensure his re-election as speaker in party caucuses next week. And after all the turmoil of the past year, rarely has a modern speaker had so much power, or such opportunities to use it.

With little notice, Mr. Foley has tightened his hold on the party's 33-member steering and policy apparatus, and the huge turnover in the House has given him a wealth of vacancies to fill on legislative committees. More than two dozen seats are up for grabs on just the Ways and Means, Appropriations, and Energy and Commerce panels. Looking to the future, the speaker has reached out to an old adversary, Energy and Commerce Chairman John Dingell, and may give the Michigan Democrat a place on the steering panel that makes committee appointments.

Together with other Democratic leaders, Mr. Foley made a point of reaching out early to the freshmen, and the current appetite for change can work to his advantage. As speaker, Mr. Foley is a tool for the Democratic caucus to use in exerting its will on the House committees. While opposing plans to limit the tenure of committee chairmen, a reform that could produce many future candidates for speaker, he doesn't shy away from proposals that would enhance his own role in policy making and ability to hold chairmen accountable.

The leadership is poised to move next week to replace the elderly Appropriations Committee chairman, Jamie Whitten of Mississippi. Though Mr. Foley refuses any comment, Intelligence Committee Chairman David McCurdy of Oklahoma, a Clinton ally who flirted with challenging the speaker, could well lose that post if he doesn't jump to a job in the new administration first.

Appointments to committee seats also

will have an impact on Mr. Clinton's agenda. While respecting regional balance, the leadership must ensure working majorities on those panels charged with writing economic and health legislation. Only tough-minded generalists need apply. "People who have too restrictive a position because of the weakness of their constituency or because they have taken hard and almost theological positions . . . I don't think they ought to be on those kind of committees," Mr. Foley says.

However satisfying, this power is fleeting. Once in place, new committee members will begin to assert their own independence, and the first months of Congress are a precious window of opportunity for Mr. Foley as much as the president. The 1994 election season will soon be upon the House, and Democrats will be most vulnerable if progress can't be shown to voters. "We hang together," Mr. Synar told freshmen this week. "Or we hang separately."

House Republicans face a series of bloody leadership fights next week that could yet make it easier for Democrats to reach across the aisle to moderates. By the same token, Mr. Foley's politics of inclusion are crucial to holding the diverse Democratic factions together. His immense whip organization in the early 1980s grew to be a comical but useful forum for involving members. And his efforts to elevate blacks and Hispanics in the leadership serve him well given the historic infusion of minority members this year.

"There's a tough side to him that people overlook because he's so soft-spoken," says Rep. Brian Donnelly (D., Mass.), who is retiring this year. Mr. Foley admits as much himself. "People make mistakes about me based upon manner," he says. "I hope I never forget favors and there's a point at which I'm not going to fail to remember opposition, particularly if I think it is not justified by either principle or circumstance."

Outside Counsel Is Urged In Inquiry on Packwood

By Eric Pianin and Florence Graves
Washington Post Staff Writers

Common Cause, the public interest group, yesterday urged the Senate ethics committee to retain an outside counsel to investigate complaints that Sen. Bob Packwood (R-Ore.) had sexually harassed female members of his staff and lobbyists.

Also yesterday, a former Packwood campaign volunteer said that the senator had sought information from her to try to damage the reputation of Mary Heffernan, a lobbyist who told The Washington Post that Packwood had made inappropriate sexual advances toward her.

The Post reported Nov. 22 that over the last two decades Packwood had made uninvited sexual advances toward women who worked for or with him, including 10 women who gave specific accounts.

Mabsie Walters of Portland said in an interview that Packwood, whom she considers a friend, called her Nov. 9 to ask about Heffernan, who founded Oregon's National Abortion Rights Action League.

Walters said Packwood did not state the purpose of his call, but she assumed he was considering hiring Heffernan as a top aide. Walters said Packwood asked about the Oregon Women's Foundation, where Heffernan is executive director, and then asked, "Didn't Mary have a nervous breakdown?"

Walters said she told Packwood that she knew of no such breakdown. After reading the Nov. 22 report, Walters said she realized that Packwood had been trying to get "information from me to discredit Mary."

Heffernan said yesterday in an interview that she has never had a nervous breakdown or "anything close to one."

Although Packwood submitted information to The Post attempting to discredit three of the women who told the paper he had made unwanted sexual advances, he did not offer any such information about Heffernan. "I thought she was a solid person," Packwood had told Post reporters investigating the story.

A Packwood spokesman said yesterday the senator's office would have no comment.

Fred Wertheimer, president of Common Cause, said in a letter to the committee chairman that the use of an outside counsel "is well recognized as a critical factor in obtaining a publicly credible result."

"Very serious questions have been raised about the committee's performance in upholding and enforcing Senate ethics rules and standards," Wertheimer said. "We believe there must be a basic change in the way the Senate oversees and enforces its ethic rules."

Sen. Terry Sanford (D-N.C.), the outgoing chairman of the ethics committee, was unavailable for comment.

Sanford has ordered the committee staff to move expeditiously to investigate the charges, but the case is likely to continue into next year, when the all-male, six-member panel will be reconstituted, with a new chairman and vice chairman and probably at least one female member. Sen.-elect Patty Murray (D-Wash.) has been mentioned as a likely choice.

An aide to Packwood, who checked into an alcoholism diagnostic and treatment facility last weekend, said the senator would go along with the appointment of an outside counsel if that's what the committee decides.

"That's an internal matter for the ethics committee to decide," said aide Josie Martin. "If they decide to do that, we will cooperate with whomever they designate. Senator Packwood deserves a hearing, an investigation of this matter, and we welcome it."

The ethics committee on Tuesday began a preliminary hearing into a complaint brought against Packwood by the Women's Equal Rights, Legal Defense and Education Committee, citing the accounts in The Post article.

TODAY IN CONGRESS

SENATE

Not in session.

Committees:

Select on POW-MIA Affairs—9:30

a.m. Ongoing operations in Southeast

Asia examining status of Americans

held prisoner of war or listed as missing

in action. 216 Hart Office Bldg.

Joint Economic—9:30 a.m. November

unemployment figures. 628 Dirksen

Office Bldg.

HOUSE

Not in session.

Committee:

Small Business—9:30 a.m.

Regulation, business opportunities &

energy subc. Obstacles inhibiting

technology transfers from Energy

Department laboratories to private

sector. 2359A Rayburn House Office

Bldg.

The Dilemma That Survived the War

Are the Missing Dead or Alive? Kin Warn Kerry Not to Believe Hanoi

By Thomas W. Lippman
Washington Post Staff Writer

For 25 years, Pat Plumadore of Syracuse, N.Y., believed her brother had been killed in action in Vietnam. The Marine Corps said so, even though his body was never recovered, and there was nothing to indicate otherwise.

But last spring, out of the blue, the Pentagon told her there was reason to believe from "highly reliable intelligence information" that Cpl. Kenneth L. Plumadore had not died in battle but had been captured near the demilitarized zone and taken to North Vietnam. The Pentagon provided no additional information about what happened to her brother.

"I've only had six months' experience" at trying to learn the truth about the fate of a relative missing from the war, she told a Senate committee yesterday, "and already I'm so frustrated I could scream."

The testimony that Plumadore and other women gave to the Senate Select Committee on POW-MIA Affairs yesterday showed in raw, personal terms why the fate of men who never came home from the nation's longest war remains such a volatile issue a generation later.

In voices ragged with emotion, they told of being stonewalled by the Defense Department, victimized by frauds and tormented by uncertainty, unable to bring to closure the doubt and grief that have kept the issue alive.

The scene in the Senate's largest hearing room was sharply different from the usual committee session, and showed why the committee's effort to determine the fates of the missing is more than a historical exercise. Relatives of some of the 2,265 men still unaccounted for pushed strollers and breast-fed babies. Some witnesses and senators addressed each other by their first names, exhibiting the familiarity that comes from long association with a painful cause.

Each of the women had a different kind of unhappy story. Collectively, they issued a strong warning to the committee and to the White House not to accept at face

value Hanoi's promises to cooperate in the search for the missing.

Carol Hrdlicka, of Wichita, Kan., is still waiting for news of her husband, Capt. David Hrdlicka, whose plane went down in Laos in 1965. The Soviet newspaper Pravda ran a picture of him in custody of Pathet Lao communist troops, and he was listed by the Defense Department as a prisoner of war, but he did not come home with other U.S. prisoners in 1973.

Laotian officials said he died in captivity in 1968 and identified his burial site, but a Pentagon investigating team that went to the site last April found no remains.

"I have asked to see the Defense Intelligence Agency's evidence that David had not survived, and they tell me they have no evidence to this day that he is not alive," she said. "If there is no evidence that these men are dead, then why can't

we make the assumption they are alive?"

Janis Dodge Otis, of San Diego, knows her husband is dead. The remains of Cmdr. Ronald W. Dodge came home from Hanoi in 1981. But he had been taken prisoner in 1967—his photograph was published in the French magazine Paris Match—and did not come home with the 591 other Americans released by North Vietnam in 1973. Otis still does not know when he died, or why.

"They had him alive, and they had him after they killed him," she said. "They lied and they are still lying today. I will never believe them."

Carol Carr Collins said she "believed it, I had no reason not to," when she was notified that her husband, Capt. Donald G. Carr, probably had been killed in the 1971 crash of his plane over central Laos. But she was thrown into emotional turmoil last year when a retired Air

Force officer named Jack Bailey, head of a Thailand-based freelance MIA search organization known as Operation Rescue, came up with a photograph that purportedly showed Carr alive in a prison camp.

Checking the authenticity of that photo had "a substantial cost in time, energy and financial resources," Collins said, "but it cannot compare with the emotional drain." With Pentagon assistance, she learned that the man in the photo was a German who bears some facial resemblance to her dead husband's father but is much shorter and thinner than the American flier.

Sens. John F. Kerry (D-Mass.) and John McCain (R-Ariz.) have described Bailey's Operation Rescue as a fraud and have sent the committee's files on it to the Justice Department for possible criminal action.

Among those who spoke was retired Adm. James B. Stockdale, who was the senior U.S. officer among

U.S. prisoners of war in Hanoi from 1965 to 1973 and recently the vice presidential running mate of independent presidential candidate Ross Perot. Stockdale predicted there never will be a full accounting of the missing from Vietnam, noting, "When you lose a war, you don't get to go in and account for your people."

Stockdale's wife, Sybil, a long-time activist among the families of missing Americans, also testified, criticizing the Defense Department's handling of relations with the POW families. "It's important that you understand the extent to which we wives and families were lied to and patronized by our own government," she said.

Kerry, the committee's chairman, said the women's testimony dramatized the policy dilemma facing the panel as it prepares to issue its final report Dec. 21, and facing President Bush and President-elect Clinton as they decide how far to go

in rewarding Vietnam for its recent cooperation on the MIA issue.

"It's sort of a Catch-22 situation, Carol," Kerry told Hrdlicka, who argued against any relaxation of the U.S. trade embargo on Vietnam or any move toward establishing diplomatic relations. "I can guarantee you that if we don't move this policy forward, and go back to the situation we had two years ago" when no progress was being made on the issue, "it's more likely that David would draw his last breath" still in captivity, assuming he is alive, which his wife does.

"I know in here he's alive," she said, hands to her heart. "I consider myself a realistic person, and I believe if it was final, I would know it was final."

"We're not going to try to stamp out what's in your heart," Kerry said. But, he added, David Hrdlicka was "last known alive in 1973. You don't close the case, but you can't say you know he's alive today."

Lawmaker: 'Define the Mission'

Rep. Hamilton to Seek Resolution Next Month on Use of Troops

By Walter Pincus
Washington Post Staff Writer

Rep. Lee H. Hamilton (D-Ind.), who is expected to become chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee in the next Congress, said yesterday that a congressional resolution on the dispatch of U.S. forces to Somalia "will be the first order of business" when the new House convenes in January.

Hamilton, reflecting the view of several other congressional leaders, said there is a need to "define the mission precisely" so that "when it is accomplished ... we can get out."

Rep. David R. Obey (D-Wis.), chairman of the House Appropriations subcommittee on foreign operations, said he backed the deployment but emphasized the limited nature of the U.S. military mission articulated so far by the White House.

"It needs to be made clear," Obey said in a statement, "that the primary message is not to pacify the entire country, but to secure limited territorial zones where those who seek it can receive critically needed U.N. assistance."

Reflecting the concern of many legislators that the mission not be allowed to drag on, Hamilton said, "I don't expect Congress to pick a date for the troops to be out, but I hope we can say we expect the mission to be accomplished by some date." White House officials have said they hope the operation can be concluded by Inauguration Day, although Pentagon officials expect U.S. troops may remain in Somalia until the spring.

President Bush is scheduled to brief House and Senate leaders this morning at the White House on the military operation. House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.), sources said, is expected to ask Bush to arrange for regular consultations during December with an informal bipartisan group of legislators, as was done two years ago in the buildup to the Persian Gulf War when Congress was also not in session.



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Gen. Joseph Hoar leaves White House after meeting President Bush.

A senior White House official said yesterday that as more members of Congress have focused on plans to deploy U.S. forces to Somalia, a number of them have questioned "the murky nature of the mission. Some members are not comfortable with committing troops."

The most outspoken congressional critic of the deployment has been Rep. John P. Murtha (D-Pa.), who is expected to raise questions during today's meeting with Bush.

Sen. Paul Simon (D-Ill.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee on African affairs, said yesterday he has scheduled a hearing on the operation for next Thursday. Simon, who recently visited Somalia, said in a telephone interview from Chicago that he had been in touch by telephone several times with acting Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger since his return from Africa last week.

"We have talked about a short run commitment," Simon said. "We are going to be there to secure food lines, and I assume there will be 'blue hats' [United Nations troops]

from Moslem nations to establish an interim [Somalian] government."

Sen. Nancy L. Kassebaum (R-Kan.), ranking minority member of Simon's subcommittee, said she hoped that "stability can be restored by March and a transition be made to make sure negotiations [between Somalian leaders] can continue" after U.S. troops have left.

It was also learned yesterday that White House Counsel C. Boyden Gray is preparing a letter to Congress about the deployment. The letter will note that Bush does not recognize the War Powers Resolution, but the letter's contents are expected to be consistent with information that the law requires be given to Congress.

The War Powers Resolution, passed in the wake of the Vietnam War, requires a president to inform Congress as soon as possible after dispatching troops to an area of danger. The president, under the law, must seek congressional approval for the deployment within 60 days or remove the forces from danger.

Staff writer Ann Devroy contributed to this report.

POLITICS

Polls Give Sen. Conrad Lead in Dakota Voting

Polls leading up to today's special election in North Dakota showed Sen. Kent Conrad (D-N.D.) with a decisive lead in what became an increasingly negative campaign for the vacancy created by the death of Sen. Quentin N. Burdick (D-N.D.).

Conrad won election six years ago with a promise that he would not run for a second term if the federal budget deficit and the trade deficit were not cut by 80 percent.

Conrad kept his pledge, announcing his retirement last April. Rep. Byron L. Dorgan (D-N.D.) was elected to Conrad's seat Nov. 3.

Burdick's death Sept. 8 gave Conrad the opportunity to return to the Senate, but to a different seat.

A Conrad victory would maintain the Democratic majority in the Senate at 57 to 43, and most recent surveys gave him a lead of 20 to 30 percentage points over Republican Jack Dalrymple, a state representative.

In the closing days, however, the contest has become increasingly harsh, and Democrats are fearful that a low turnout could skew the results in favor of the GOP.

Dalrymple charged in a last-minute direct mailing to voters that Conrad would try to balance the budget by cutting Medicare and Medicaid. Conrad countered that he supports cutting those programs through administrative reforms while retaining full benefits to recipients.

In an effort to boost Dalrymple's chances, Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) promised earlier this week that if the Republican is elected, he

will get a seat on the Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry Committee, of which Conrad is a member.

Nader Unit Says Sen. Fowler Won

■ The unusual general election runoff vote in Georgia that resulted in the defeat of first-term Sen. Wyche Fowler Jr. (D) was challenged yesterday by Ralph Nader's organization, Public Citizen.

The consumer group charged in federal court that Senate runoffs of general election contests violate Article I of the Constitution and federal statutes based on the Constitution.

On Nov. 3, Fowler won a plurality, but not a majority out of more than 2.2 million votes cast, garnering 1,098,658 votes. GOP nominee Paul Coverdell got 1,067,294 votes and libertarian candidate Jim Hudson got 69,779.

Under Georgia law, which most often applies to primary elections when it is common to have three or more candidates, a runoff

must be held if no one receives a majority of the vote. On Nov. 24, with turnout way down, Coverdell edged out Fowler by an unofficial margin of about 15,000 votes, in an election with only 1.24 million votes cast.

Public Citizen, in a complaint filed in U.S. District Court in Atlanta, contended that the Constitution gives Congress broad authority over Senate and House elections, and Congress has specified that elections are to be held on the "Tuesday next after the first Monday in November."

"As the candidate who received the most votes cast at the general election held on the date prescribed by Congress [Nov. 3], Senator Fowler is entitled to be certified," the suit asserted.

In a preliminary setback, U.S. District Judge Robert Hall rejected Public Citizen's request for a temporary restraining order preventing the certification of Coverdell as winner.

—Thomas B. Edsall

Washington Wire

A Special Weekly Report From
The Wall Street Journal's
Capital Bureau

DATE: 12-4
PAGE: 1

CLINTON FACES economic woes abroad as he maps plans for recovery at home.

The weakening German and Japan economies are big concerns. Clinton stays in touch with European and Japanese leaders. He got a note from Japan's prime minister, and a meeting may be set this month with Britain's Major. A new survey of business economists sees a slump in U.S. exports, a "likely drag on the recovery."

Clinton's pick for Treasury chief "will send a signal to financial markets abroad, and that's important to keep long-term interest rates down," says former Carter aide Stuart Eizenstat. Foreigners also focus on key Treasury international posts. In the running: Robert Hormats of Goldman Sachs and Fred Bergsten of the Institute for International Economics.

Clinton's top economic team will be announced Wednesday, with Sen. Bentsen favored to head Treasury.

SIMMERING DISPUTES threaten to slow the U.S. push for a trade accord.

Environmentalists fret that an agreement would hurt efforts to ban wood imports from rain forests and protect endangered animals. A move to form a new world trade group with more enforcement teeth raises sovereignty questions. "Our negotiators are amending the Constitution through the back door," charges Alfred Eckes, former International Trade Commission chairman.

Clinton aides privately signal that the president-elect wants a trade deal now, British officials say. But France may seek delay until after its March elections, timing that would require Clinton to get new negotiating authority from Congress. New lawmakers' demands could make agreements harder to get.

LAWMAKERS SCRAMBLE for the many open seats on key House committees.

Openings on such panels as Ways and Means should strengthen the hand of Democratic leaders and Clinton to put through jobs and health-care plans. Two sure additions are liberal Reps. Lewis of Georgia and Kopetski of Oregon. In a break from tradition, freshman members will get on major committees. The Black Caucus presses for more minorities on top panels.

House reforms get less attention. Common Cause wants campaign-finance reform and more restrictions on lobbyists. Term limits for chairmen is even discussed. But reform fervor is cooled by the need to curry favor with leaders for plum committee spots. "My heart would be with reformers, but that would distract from my efforts to get a Ways and Means seat," says one House Democrat.

House Speaker Foley remains committed to action on campaign finances, but wants to first hear Clinton's plan.

CONSERVATIVES SEEK more House GOP leadership posts. Moderate California Rep. Lewis, the GOP House conference chairman, faces a tough challenge from Texas Rep. Arney. Conservative Illinois Rep. Hyde is unopposed for policy committee chairman. Moderate Ohio Rep. Gradison and conservative Texas Rep. DeLay run for conference secretary.

CLASH AND TELL: Clinton strategist James Carville and Mary Matalin, a top Bush campaign official, plan a book touted as the first on a presidential race from inside both camps. A movie may be next, with Bruce Dern envisioned as Carville.

HOMELESS PROBLEMS are set to be discussed at a Clinton-transition gathering in Little Rock Monday. Access to housing will be one topic. Two former homeless people will attend. Bruce Reed, a top Clinton domestic adviser, says the meeting is "part of our constituency outreach."

CLINTON VS. POWELL: Potential conflict lies beneath mutual admiration. The Joint Chiefs chairman likes big operations under clear U.S. command, as proposed for Somalia; Clinton has talked of creating a small, U.N. intervention force. Clinton's defense-cut plans focus on personnel, not weapons; Powell favors the opposite.

DECISION TIME NEARS on an independent counsel to probe loans to Iraq.

Attorney General Barr will decide Tuesday whether to approve an independent investigation into alleged Bush administration bungling of the case involving loans to Iraq by the Atlanta branch of Banca Nazionale del Lavoro. That is the day retired Judge Frederick Lacey delivers preliminary findings. Barr has opposed court-appointed independent counsels, but has incentives to change his mind.

By requesting a counsel now, he may have some control over the process. Also, Democrats and the incoming Clinton administration are likely to see that a counsel is appointed next year even if he refuses to seek one now. But a counsel would have to be appointed by Dec. 15, when the law authorizing such posts expires. Picking Lacey could expedite the process.

But Barr would have to go against hard opposition to an independent counsel from other administration agencies involved in the case.

MINOR MEMOS: GOP media consultant Mike Murphy issues a press release hailing a "banner year" working for seven winning congressional candidates, but fails to mention one 1992 client: President Bush. . . . Clinton's economic conference will be "Donahue-like," says an aide, with Clinton roaming the room with a microphone like Phil Donahue. . . . Stone & McCarthy Research Associates asks 202 bond-market players who they prefer as Treasury chief: Paul Volcker gets 170 votes; Bentsen and Goldman Sachs's Robert Rubin get 16 each.

—RONALD G. SHAFER

Intervention in Somalia

White House and U.N. Muddy the Mission

American troops are rightly being sent to strife-torn Somalia to insure that food reaches millions of starving people. But instead of doing it right, President Bush seems bent on doing it quickly. Even before the United Nations approved the dispatch of U.S. forces under U.N. auspices, the White House was telling the world — and thugs in Somalia — that the whole military operation would be wrapped up by Jan. 20, Inauguration Day.

Thus over the holidays, viewers will see U.S. marines protecting relief workers as food and medicines are distributed to a stricken people. That's something, to be sure, but there's a danger that it could be only a poultice.

Knowing the deadline, warlords and pillagers manifestly won't do battle with as many as 20,000 U.S. troops. They need only wait until the marines withdraw to resume hijacking food, waging clan war and preying murderously on relief agencies. Unless preparations are made for longer-term security, that's the spectacle likely to confront a new President, untested in foreign affairs, on Jan. 21.

The idea, according to the White House spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater, is to move food in rapidly, establish safe havens and then turn the operation over to U.N. peacekeeping forces. But none of this is spelled out in the vague Security Council resolution authorizing the U.S.-led effort. It says nothing, for

example, about disarming marauding gangs but instead refers mushily "to facilitating the process of a political settlement under the auspices of the U.N." Good luck.

Conceivably these cavils are unfair to Mr. Bush. But the President has yet to comment, much less address the nation, on Somalia. Mr. Fitzwater says there are no present plans for his boss to do so. Thus thousands of American troops are about to be committed to a distant land, for ill-defined purposes, without real consultation with Congress or President-elect Clinton, without serious debate or even a semblance of executive leadership.

Backstage comment in Washington has centered on the need to assure that U.S. troops will be solely under U.S. command in Somalia, as if that mattered most. At least as important, surely, is the participation of other nations, European and African, rich and poor, especially if U.N. blue helmets are to pick up the pieces after Americans pull out. Mr. Bush missed a chance, in Somalia, to lay the ground for a truly multinational operation, in which costs and command are shared, that might serve as a model for other peacemaking efforts.

Alas, there are so far no signs that Mr. Bush will use his final days to treat the tragedy in Somalia as anything more than a flashy police operation in an unquestionably good cause.

Congress Can't Just Let George Do It

It's not enough for the United Nations to authorize peace enforcement in Somalia, as it did yesterday, or for President Bush to provide U.S. troops for that worthy purpose. The Constitution, the law and prudent politics require that Congress also take responsibility for dispatching American troops abroad.

That means reconvening to debate and authorize the troop commitment at the earliest possible date. Even after the troops have landed, there are important issues for Congress to address.

But Democratic leaders are shirking their responsibility. George Mitchell, the Senate majority leader, would avoid any vote on the ground that the troops are not likely to be engaged in combat. "The War Powers Act," he acknowledges, "requires Congressional approval within a 60-day period after American troops are introduced into a situation where hostilities are occurring or are imminent." But he adds, "it's unclear whether that will apply in this case" because the mission is "to assist in the distribution of supplies."

"I do not believe that will involve Americans in a shooting war," he says. But it could.

Congressional participation is especially critical at a time when the U.S. is changing Presidents and trying to chart a new international role. Responsibility needs to be shared by the lame-duck Republican President and the Democrat-dominated Congress.

Even after the troops have been sent, Congress can help define their mission. And in the absence of any Presidential statement of purpose, the public is in the dark. It needs to be persuaded of the need to intervene and of the American interests at stake. Congressional debate would help clarify the case for intervention.

President Bush and Congressional leaders have tried to portray Somalia as a unique catastrophe. But with starvation, cruelty and civil war rampant in many nations, it may not be. Either way, Congress needs to set a sound precedent for how U.S. troops are to be deployed to cope with crises after the cold war.

Congress can also address publicly many questions about this potentially precedent-setting commitment. Why are 28,000 troops warranted in Somalia, but not in Bosnia? What is their mission — just to convoy food and other supplies, or to restore civil order amid armed anarchy? The U.N. left this vague, and once troops are on the ground, pressures may mount to expand their mission. What are their rules of engagement if warring clans should fire upon them?

With the end of the cold war, Presidents no longer need a quick finger-on-the-nuclear-button response to military engagement. Congress has to share responsibility for putting American troops in harm's way. It can lead robust public debate about military commitments, starting with Somalia.

Peace in Somalia May Require New Colonialism

DATE: 12.4
PAGE: 8

President Bush's swift decision to send 28,000 U.S. troops to save lives in Somalia is a welcome if surprising change of heart. It'd be even more consequential if it meant a renewal of what, in more optimistic days, Mr. Bush once called the New World Order.

In immediate terms, of course, Mr. Bush's deployment serves a noble purpose. The Somali warlords, ragtag but vicious, are denying aid to the starving. Only a military presence can cut through the chaos to prevent a tragedy. And only the U.S. has the diplomatic and military clout to cut through the timidity of the United Nations. The Africans have provided even less leadership in their own neighborhood than the Europeans have in Bosnia. If the U.S. does nothing, nothing happens.

The immediate U.S. purpose is humanitarian, not strategic. There is no national interest in Somalia of the sort that must usually be at stake to warrant U.S. military intervention. Yet at some point, especially in today's world of TV cameras and instant communications, a humanitarian purpose does warrant the risk of lives. Just because we don't intervene everywhere when people are starving doesn't mean we shouldn't intervene anywhere.

In World War II, the U.S. decided not to bomb the rail lines to Auschwitz (to borrow from writer Joshua Muravchik's analogy) because we couldn't be sure what was happening. But with satellite pictures,

The Boston Globe wants the U.S. to intervene but avers that "under no circumstance should the United States seek to be the arbiter of Somalia's future." What does the Globe think we are doing now? Does it think Somalis will be happier if they are left to the whims of teenagers with machine guns? Some liberals want the U.S. to become, literally, the "world's policeman" they've long decried; they just don't want it to act like a superpower.

A more realistic, if radical, intervention is suggested by historian Paul Johnson in *National Review* magazine. He writes that "up to now" the U.N. has failed in Africa "because it treats symptoms, not causes." It treats famine but not the underlying political disorder.

Mr. Johnson recommends — and predicts — that "the Security Council, using one or more advanced powers as its agents," will begin "moving into the business of government, taking countries into its trusteeship for varying periods, and becoming itself an architect and exemplar of honest, efficient administration." This, he says, "is plainly needed in Somaliland now."

There is a word for this: colonialism. It would be vastly different from 19th century colonialism in part because it'd be multilateral. Still, it is a taboo word, especially among liberals, and it would require a better U.N. than we now have. But something like it may be the only policy that can prevent more such tragedies in Somalia, and maybe elsewhere in Africa.

The more fundamental point here is that military force is supposed to serve political ends. Gen. Colin Powell's theory of using massive force and then getting out quick is designed to achieve military success but can leave the political goals hanging.



President Bush

This is what happened at the end of the Gulf War, when the military's (and President Bush's) impulse to declare victory left Saddam Hussein in power. A chance to create a more peaceable, democratic government in Iraq was abandoned — and with it the chances for a stable Middle East. Maybe the warlords of Somalia, or the Serbs now "cleansing" Bosnia, were paying attention to that abdication.

Mr. Bush might tell us why the rules of post-Cold War intervention differ in Somalia from Bosnia. Bush officials say it's because it's easier (better terrain, etc.). But no intervention is cost-free, as witness Beirut. It's a measure of how little Mr. Bush has explained any of this to the nation that some Democrats think (too cynically) he moved in Somalia now to pre-empt having to act if tens of thousands of Bosnians starve this winter.

Jeane Kirkpatrick says that, like Mark Twain reading the dictionary, she looks at the world's current disorder and searches for "a plot." The former U.N. ambassador is (like all of us) looking for a way to explain, and a strategy to cope with, what is happening from Bosnia to Russia to the Horn of Africa. Before he leaves office, this most unrhethorical president still has a chance to explain how he thinks the plot should unfold.

Potomac Watch

By Paul A. Gigot

we would know and be obliged. In Somalia, we know and the world knows. There is some cost in both stature and conscience for doing nothing. That cost, I suspect, is what finally caused Mr. Bush to override his more cautious military advisers.

What's less obvious, and more worrisome, is whether Mr. Bush intends this deployment as part of any broader strategy. Marlin Fitzwater, the White House spokesman, says the sole military purpose is to open airports, secure highways and deliver aid — then get out by Jan. 20. "There will need to be some kind of follow-up U.N. presence," he says, with notable ambiguity.

But Sen. Sam Nunn (D., Ga.), who may be Bill Clinton's secretary of state, is right to ask: "How can you pull" U.S. troops "back with the tragedy that may ensue after they leave?" The liberals now cheering for Mr. Bush to "intervene" to soothe their consciences have ignored this point.

DICK ARMEY

Summit diagnosis and prognosis

Less than a month after his election, President-elect Bill Clinton began talking about convening an economic "summit" of economists and business people to examine the condition of the U.S. economy, which he's going to focus on "like a laser beam" right after he makes good on his promise to homosexual advocacy groups to allow gays in the military.

President-elect Clinton apparently feels the need for such a summit to guide policy, despite his much ballyhooed economic plan. To the extent 43 percent of the vote constitutes a mandate, it was based on a perception that he already had specific economic proposals. "Read my plan," candidate Clinton responded in the debates time and again. His campaign was masterful at releasing five-point plans and espousing their economic approach of "Putting People First." Why the need for a summit, then?

This is as much an expectations summit as an economic summit; specifically, an expectations lowering summit. Like Ronald Reagan before him, Bill Clinton ran on dissatisfaction with the economy. But George Bush did not leave Bill Clinton an economy like Jimmy Carter left Ronald Reagan. When Mr. Carter left office, the prime rate was more than 20 percent, inflation more than 10 percent and unemployment was hovering around 7.5 percent with an anemic growth rate of 1.6 percent. Republican policies brought all these economic ills under control, and as Mr. Bush leaves office, the prime rate is 6 percent, inflation 3 percent and unemployment a downward-trending 7.4 percent with economic growth at nearly 4 percent.

Simply put, in order to meet expectations, Mr. Clinton must drop the unemployment rate to well below 6 percent, as Mr. Reagan did, while still maintaining low interest rates and low levels of inflation. It's frankly unlikely Mr. Clinton can meet the expectations he raised during the course of his campaign, especially if he really intends to keep the wide array of promises he made.

I'll bet dollars to donuts that at the end of this summit, Mr. Clinton or his top domestic advisers emerge from behind closed doors, wipe a handkerchief across a sweat-beaded brow, look grimly into the television cameras and pronounce, "Despite some recent good news, things are worse than we thought."

This summit is being orchestrated to lay the groundwork for invoking the emergency provisions contained in the 1990 Budget Deal, which would allow Congress and the

president to break through the spending caps and send public "investment" rocketing skyward.

Practically speaking, President-elect Clinton's proposals were always predicated on his use of emergency provisions of the budget law to implement his program. You could not otherwise spend the \$220 billion he's been talking about. Typical of Mr. Clinton's smartly run campaign, the emphasis has been on the "investment" while studiously avoiding any mention of the need to break the budget deal to implement such a massive increase in spending.

Given already jittery financial markets, official designation of an emergency to permit more federal spending would likely lead to a sharp rise in interest rates, which would in turn choke off the modest improvement in the economy that seems now to be under way. Once the caps are violated, it will be difficult to restrain a spending spree based on 12 years of pent-up special interest demand. Unfortunately, this won't help our economy since shifting resources from the private to the public sector will hinder rather than spur economic growth.

Once the 1990 Budget Deal's spending caps are violated, it will be difficult to restrain a spending spree based on twelve years of pent-up special interest demand.

Not nearly enough attention has been paid to the principle that underlies Mr. Clinton's solution to stagnant employment, which is concentrating even more power in the hands of the Democrat-controlled Congress. Basically, the president is going to ask Congress, an institution now notorious for its inability to run its own post office, to take greater control over the resources of a \$6 trillion dollar economy in order to

improve its performance. Don't be too surprised if many of the "investment" decisions end up "creating jobs" in places like Senate Appropriations Committee Chairman Robert Byrd's home state of West Virginia, Speaker Tom Foley's district in Washington state, or the home towns of the various other committee chairmen. This will come at the expense of more efficient private sector employment and long-term economic growth.

I ardently opposed the 1990 Budget Deal during its enactment, but violating its spending caps now would be a grave mistake. As with all grandiose plans in Washington, the less desirable elements of this plan — specifically, spending restraint — were back-ended. We got a huge tax increase and federal spending rose 18 percent during the first two fiscal years of the deal, but now that the meager concessions on spending made to Republicans as part of that damaging deal are starting to kick in, Democrats in Congress are beginning to chafe. A vote to breach the caps would be a fiscal dam break, and Republicans would be loath to support Mr. Clinton on such a move.

Of course, he doesn't need Republicans to invoke the emergency provisions of the budget deal, and his handling of the budget deal will provide an early glimpse of how he deals with Congress.

Opening wide the door to the federal treasury and increasing the deficit in the name of fiscal stimulus will be a sure sign that the "moderate" candidate who campaigned as a "new Democrat" is going to be a liberal president who gives in to the old Democrats on Capitol Hill. Mr. Clinton does not have to pursue this course, however. He could try to reassemble the remnants of the boll weevil coalition of Republicans and conservative Southern Democrats in the House of Representatives that passed legislation during Ronald Reagan's first term. Economic measures like a line-item veto or balanced budget amendment to rein in federal spending and indexing capital gains for inflation (if not cutting the rate) to encourage business formation could be passed without the liberal Democrats who wield the most influence on Capitol Hill. Opting instead to break the bank could signal a long four years ahead.

Rep. Dick Armev of Texas is the ranking Republican on Congress' Joint Economic Committee.

DATE: 12/4
PAGE: 9

Troika Lessons for Clinton

By HERBERT STEIN

During the campaign Bill Clinton gave two clues to the way in which he proposes to go about making economic policy. He said that he would be in charge. That was in response to Mr. Bush's statement that if re-elected he would put James Baker in charge of economic policy. Mr. Clinton also said that he would set up an "Economic Security Council." Each of these ideas raises a number of questions.

Of course, the president is in charge of the administration's economic policy. Who else could be? But, also of course, he can not make all the decisions all by himself. There are too many issues, too many interests, too many agencies and too much information for any one person, however capable, to manage by himself. There has to be delegation of authority and dependence on information and advice. The question raised by Mr. Clinton's intention to be in charge, presumably more than his predecessor, is what the degree and nature of his personal involvement will be.

And, of course, there will be a cabinet-level committee on economic policy. There has been such a committee, and sometimes more than one at a time, for at least 30 years. The questions are what should be the charge of such a committee, who should be members of it, who should run it and what should be the president's relation to it.

I will start with the committee and with a little historical background, partly from my own experience in the Nixon administration. At least since 1961 there has been a core economic policy group, called the Troika, consisting of the secretary of the Treasury, the director of the Bureau of the Budget (now called the Office of Management and Budget) and the chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers. Originally this group dealt with macroeconomic matters, essentially the use of the budget as an instrument for achieving high employment and economic stability.

The Logic of It

As Arthur Okun, chairman of the CEA in 1968, said, the logic of the arrangement was that Treasury had the revenues, Budget had the expenditures, and CEA had the deficit. But there was a further logic to it. The secretary of the Treasury was the senior economic officer of the administration, the president's spokesman, his representative in dealing with foreign nations and, sometimes, his political adviser — as in the cases of John Connally and James Baker. The director of the budget knew more about what was going on in the numerous agencies of government than any other person. The chairman of the CEA had the best analytical staff, with the broadest and longest view of the economic problem.

The Troika, being only three people, needed no chairman, but for many purposes the Treasury took the lead and the CEA did the research and paper-writing. The president did not regularly meet with the Troika, but he would be kept informed of their work and would meet with them at key times, as when the final decisions were to be made on the budget. Several times a year the Troika would be augmented by the addition of the chairman of the Federal Reserve to form the Quadriad, and on those occasions, at least in my experience in the Nixon administration, the president met with the group.

As the economic activities and objectives of government expanded, so did the concerns of the Troika. It served as a

means for resolving questions beyond macroeconomic policy in which several agencies had an interest and for providing the president with analysis and options on issues that might be raised for his consideration by other agencies. Also, as new issues came to the fore, other people might be added to the Troika on a regular, although not permanent, basis. For example, in 1971 the director of the Council on International Economic Policy began to meet with the Troika. Later the director of the Cost of Living Council, responsible for price and wage control, was added, and later still whoever was in charge of energy policy. With the Troika as the core, ad hoc committees could also be established to deal with problems as they arose.

This system is capable of working well. It keeps the lead in the hands of the people

Board of Contributors

The question arises whether the emphasis on "economic security" constitutes a useful way to organize the making of economic policy. In my opinion it would be a serious mistake.

who have the most status and knowledge and the most "presidential," as distinguished from "departmental," view. It can be flexibly adapted to changing problems and presidential priorities. It avoids the sheer drudgery of a cabinetwide committee that only invites too many people to talk too much about subjects on which they have too little knowledge and authority.

I say that his committee is capable of working well. Whether it actually does work well will depend on the people involved, especially on the secretary of the Treasury, who is its natural leader. He has to be a person of high intelligence and objectivity, and one who has the confidence of the president. Most important, he has to be willing and able to bring other people, all of them conscious of their status as presidential appointees, into a cooperative relationship and to lead them to decisions in which all feel that they have participated. Also, of course, he must recognize that he is not the president.

In my experience the system worked best when George Shultz was secretary of the Treasury as well as assistant to the president, from 1972 to 1974, and he is my model of the kind of person who is required. We made some mistakes in those years but not, I think, because the process was deficient. One exception was the decision to embargo soybean exports, which might not have been made if the State Department had been more involved. But that was a mistake anyway.

Given what I have said about the ability of this system to adapt to changing problems and priorities, the question arises whether the emphasis on "economic security" constitutes a useful way to organize the making of economic policy. In my opinion it would be a serious mistake.

Most of our economic problems and policy issues have only a marginal relation to "security." To try to force economic

policy making through the sieve of security would distort both economic policy and foreign relations. Anyway, I do not think it is going to happen, whatever the name of the "council." When the top economic officials of the administration meet, they are going to find that they have to talk about taxes and expenditures and regulations from the standpoint of their effects on economic growth and high employment and poverty and equity and that the consequences for security are a minor part of their concern.

If the new president wants to give his economic policy-making machinery a new direction consistent with his priorities, he might try to adapt it to the problem of accelerating long-run economic growth. For this purpose he might want to add some new members to the core group. I am not sure, however, who they might be — possibly the secretary of education and the science adviser.

How would a president who wants to be more involved personally work with this policy-making system? In 1969 Mr. Nixon established the Cabinet Committee on Economic Policy—CabComEcoPol, as William Safire dubbed it — with himself as chairman. That turned out to be a failure, and the president soon abandoned it. There was too much trivial conversation about too small subjects, and the time of the president and of some others was being wasted.

Another possible model of presidential participation is the relation between President Nixon and Henry Kissinger as his national security adviser. Essentially those two made the policy, with other agencies supplying information, filtered through Mr. Kissinger, and carrying out instructions, relayed through Mr. Kissinger. That, however, is a dangerous model. Unless the president is much more competent and confident in the field of economics than Mr. Clinton is, or any other president is likely to be, the president becomes the puppet and the adviser becomes the czar — just the condition Mr. Clinton said he did not want.

The Best Way

In my opinion, the best way for Mr. Clinton to take a firmer lead in the making of economic policy would be to work more closely with the core group than has been done in the past. That group, the Troika, could be expanded by the addition of two or three people who represent Mr. Clinton's economic priorities, which could be the emphasis on long-run economic growth.

The group would continue to be led by the secretary of the Treasury, and the CEA would continue to function as its analytical arm. They would keep the president continuously informed and meet with him regularly. They would meet with him not only when a major issue was ripe for decision but along the way as positions were being argued out. Of course, when they met with the president he would be in the chair.

Such a system could give the president the opportunity for setting the course he wants to follow and for obtaining a clear, objective, well-thought-out view of his options for moving along the course. But, as I have said earlier, whether the process works well or badly will depend most of all on the people in it, including, of course, the president.

A former chairman of the president's Council of Economic Advisers, Mr. Stein is an American Enterprise Institute fellow.

COLUMN RIGHT/
CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER

DATE: 12-4
PAGE: 11

On Abortion, Battle Moves to Hearts, Minds

■ With Clinton's election, the legislative and judicial battles are over.

The great abortion debate is over. With the courts overturning a Guam law criminalizing abortion, and with the election of a down-the-line pro-choice President, November, 1992, marks the end of the 20-year abortion wars. The principle has been settled, though some details remain. Never again will abortion be criminalized, though the question remains as to how far society can go to discourage abortion by creating such inconveniences as parental notification and 24-hour waiting periods.

It is important to distinguish questions of principle from questions of detail. I suspect there are many voters in Maryland who, like me, supported the recent referendum affirming the legality of abortion but would have preferred a less permissive law. (The parental notification requirement for minors, for example, is so loopholed as to be practically meaningless.) Nonetheless, whatever misgivings they might have had about details, Maryland voters overwhelmingly affirmed the principle of legal abortion by a 61% landslide.

One can reasonably declare a great national debate over when all three branches of government come to the same position. The Supreme Court, a court that has had not a single Democratic appointment in 25 years, declared unequivocally in its Pennsylvania ruling last summer that it would not permit the criminalization of abortion. With Clinton pledged to appoint abortion-rights judges, the remote possibility of a Supreme Court majority to overthrow *Roe vs. Wade* has vanished.

The other branches are equally secure. The new President is rigidly pro-choice and there are majorities in both houses of Congress for the Freedom of Choice Act, the legislative equivalent of *Roe*.

Many pro-choice forces (I acquiesce in this barbarous usage because it is by now accepted, noting only the reluctance of many to speak the name of the procedure they are defending) will continue to wax hysterical in their direct mail solicitations. They will warn of dark forces waiting to spring upon the American woman and force upon her backroom abortions. This is a desperate device to keep contributions flowing. But it is patently absurd.

The anti-abortion forces have been routed. In most races, carrying that tag is politically fatal. This year, the abortion issue helped pro-choice candidates win the governorship in Missouri and Senate seats

**'Binding the Republican Party
to do what the American
people will not jeopardizes all
the other agendas that
Republicans care about.'**

in California, Colorado, Ohio and Wisconsin. Nationally, the Republicans ran full-speed away from their hard-line platform on abortion, knowing it to be a sure loser. The Democrats, knowing exactly what the Republicans know, rushed to embrace the opposite position.

The moral of the story is that democracy works. In a democracy, the law comes to reflect the people's basic mores. In an extremely messy and often haphazard way, a national consensus on abortion has been, in effect, enacted into law. Most Americans believe that abortion should be legal, although most also believe that the state may try to discourage the practice (with waiting periods, for example) to prevent it from becoming merely another form of birth control.

It is important for Republicans to recognize that the battle is over. Years ago, Republicans suicidally carried on against the New Deal long after it had been accepted by most citizens as part of American political life. Republicans had better not do the same with legal abortion.

That does not mean having to excommunicate or repudiate the anti-abortion forces. Unlike the Democrats, who would not allow the anti-abortion governor of Pennsylvania to address their convention, the Republicans can become the party of the big tent on abortion. They can tell the pro-lifers that they are welcome and will find in the party a commonality of values and purpose regarding most social issues (e.g., school choice, school prayer, pornography, gay rights).

But the Republican Party has to make clear that it will not allow itself to become a vehicle of the anti-abortion agenda, not for reasons of principle but of political practice. The issue is lost. Binding the Republican Party to do what the American people will not jeopardizes all the other agendas that Republicans care about.

Is this the end of the anti-abortion movement? No. But its future now must lie in the realm of culture and ideas. Rather than interfere with the practice of abortion, a practice that has received the democratic sanction of the nation, anti-abortion activists should redirect their energies to change the climate of the country. They will earn respect, and perhaps a measure of influence, if they realize that their task now is changing minds, not laws.

Charles Krauthammer writes a syndicated column in Washington.

It's the Candidate, Stupid!

DATE: 12-4
PAGE: 31By James Carville
and Paul Begala

Bum Phillips, the former coach of the Houston Oilers, paid the Miami Dolphins coach Don Shula the highest compliment imaginable when he said, "He can take his'n and beat your'n, or he can take your'n and beat his'n."

Bill Clinton and Al Gore probably assembled as good a staff as anyone has ever put together for a Presidential campaign. But the dirty little secret is that they would have won with the staffs assembled by Michael Dukakis or Walter Mondale. It has always been our belief that consultants don't win elections; candidates do.

Bill Clinton could have taken his staff and defeated George Bush's, or he could have taken Mr. Bush's staff and beat his own. The single best strategic decision we made as political consultants was to go to work for Bill Clinton in the first place.

While keeping in mind the pre-eminent role of the candidate, we believe a number of other strategic events and conditions contributed to the Clinton victory.

THE HANGOVER FACTOR. After the 1988 campaign, the media went through their ritualistic self-flagellation with more energy than usual. The next Presidential election, they vowed, would focus more on budgets than bimbos. And yet the instant a supermarket tabloid published an outrageous, bought-and-paid-for tale about Bill Clinton, otherwise responsible reporters dove for it like unreconstructed drunks diving for a jigger of whisky. Their behavior sickened even themselves. And from then on, the press largely resisted feeding frenzies based on unsubstantiated rumors.

THE EL DORADO FACTOR. Like conquistadors who searched for the mythical City of Gold, the Bush campaign was distracted by the search for a silver bullet in Bill Clinton's draft records.

That was a mistake. Governor Clinton's draft record had been a constant issue since the New Hampshire primary. By the general election, people had heard his response, and decided the issue was not important enough to make them change their

James Carville and Paul Begala, partners in a political consulting firm, were strategists for the Clinton campaign.

votes. Bill Clinton even carried the veterans' vote. And yet the Bush people stubbornly continued, in the immortal words of Gib Lewis, speaker of the Texas State House of Representatives, "beating their heads against a dead horse."

In the end, the draft issue hurt the President more than Governor Clinton. The Bush campaign's peculiar fixation on the draft illuminated a critical flaw: They had no prescription for the economy, health care or education. And voters figured that out. Which leads us to:

THE ATCHAFALAYA FACTOR. Louisiana legend has it that the Atchafalaya River has no bottom. Voters suspected the same of President Bush. In a speech to the Economic Club of Detroit in September, the President outlined what he called an Agenda for American Renewal. It was hyped as the campaign's defining moment, the time the President would articulate his economic vision. But when voters reacted to his new economic message with justifiable skepticism, the campaign dropped it.

The President would have been better served by articulating his economic plan earlier in the campaign, and sticking to it even after it failed in focus group tests. If the content wasn't the greatest, voters would have at least rewarded the commitment. At some point, a credibility breakthrough might have occurred.

No amount of public opinion research could have persuaded Bill Clinton to ditch his People First economic plan. He believes in it. He

avoided the siren songs of the latest political fads and showed true character by keeping faith with his original vision. Any doubts voters had about his commitment to recast the Democratic Party and move it away from traditional liberal orthodoxies were dispelled when he chose Senator Al Gore of Tennessee as his running mate. Al Gore's intelligence, competence and strength, the fact he was an ideological soul mate as well as a running mate, revealed a devotion to principle on Bill Clinton's part.

THE KITTY DUKAKIS FACTOR. In the 1988 Presidential debate, Michael Dukakis was asked about the hypothetical rape and murder of his wife. The question was not about crime. Rather, it was a way of asking Mr. Dukakis if he shared the feelings and values of real people. Voters want to feel their President is in touch. Mr. Dukakis's cold, legalistic answer gave them the impression he wasn't.

George Bush — who last year appeared surprised by a common supermarket scanner — could not answer the most obvious question put to him: "Do you get it?" During the Richmond debate, a woman in the audience asked the President how the national debt affected him personally. When he replied, "I'm not sure I get it," voters figured out he didn't get an awful lot about their lives.

By contrast, when Governor Clinton was asked by a viewer on "CBS This Morning" if he knew the price of bread, milk and blue jeans — and he did — it spoke volumes about his ability to empathize with average people, as well as his commitment to improve their lives.

THE WILLIE SUTTON FACTOR. Willie Sutton said he robbed banks because that's where the money was. The Clinton campaign used nontraditional media to spread its message because we had to.

Demand for political information — especially a specific plan for the economy — was high. When the traditional media were unable or unwilling to give Bill Clinton time to discuss these issues, we turned elsewhere. Televised town-hall meetings, call-in

shows and the appearance on "The Arsenio Hall Show" were all efforts to supply voters with information about Bill Clinton and his plans. It is a matter of some pride that our campaign pioneered the use of pop-culture media. Ross Perot popularized this, but Bill Clinton was there first.

Of course, there are risks in dealing with the "new news." Phil Donahue, for example, promised he would focus an entire show on the plight of Tennessee textile workers whose jobs had been shipped overseas because of American subsidies. You can imagine our surprise when Mr. Donahue instead devoted the first segment of the broadcast to asking Governor Clinton about his opposition to the Vietnam War and his student trip to Moscow.

THE VOTERS WERE MORE THAN JUST A FACTOR. If our starting point is that candidates, not consultants, win or lose elections, our conclusion should be that voters matter. This was an important election to the people of this country, and they made sure that it stayed focused on them. Voter interest was far higher than in

Strategic highlights of the Clinton campaign.

previous elections: Viewership of the debates, commercials and political news was extraordinarily high, tens of thousands of voters turned out for rallies, and across the country people were talking about the election in serious and spirited tones.

The voters disciplined the press when it sunk into scandalmongering, and kept the campaign focused on the issues. Governor Clinton survived the primaries because voters sensed that somewhere, under all the mud, there was a set of ideas that could change their lives for the better. By contrast, Paul Tsongas and Jerry Brown faltered when people took a closer look at their plans and decided that a 50-cent gas tax or a regressive flat tax were not what they wanted. Candidates rose or fell on the quality of their ideas, and that's the way it should be.

As nice as it is to receive kudos for a well-run campaign, we have to admit that you'd have had the same result without us, given our candidate and the high level of voter interest. Maybe that's the most gratifying news of the 1992 election. □

Pruden on Politics

By Wesley Pruden



Pulling KP duty in Mogadishu

Splendid little wars offer something to nearly everybody, even in miserable little places like Somalia.

Nobody expects the Somalian campaign ribbon to be particularly coveted. In before Christmas, out before the Clinton inaugural.

"We don't see this as a big invasion force," says the spokesman for the military establishment. "We are not looking to go in with guns blazing. I wouldn't expect a big confrontation."

Don't think of it as the sands of Iwo Jima, but as the Domino's Pizza delivery.

Nevertheless, we're going. The Pentagon has ordered 28,000 troops to stand by for deployment to mount what the diplomats and the generals are calling, somewhat grandly, "a military rescue mission," though sending men to chase gangs of illiterate boys is not much more heroic than calling 911.

President Bush, perhaps with a rush of adrenalin saved from the heady days preceding Operation Desert Storm, calls in his military advisers, places telephone calls to presidents and prime ministers around the world, and waits for D-Day.

Delivering pizza to a faraway place gives Mr. Bush, who will be remembered far more fondly than either his friends or enemies expect, a chance to leave office in a blaze of glory, or at least a chance to stay awake for the next eight weeks. Not only that, it gives the commander in chief one last opportunity to show the incoming commander in chief, who has yet to return his first salute, how to organize a military operation.

The White House is eager to put it on record that the United States seeks to seize no hostile territory or even to impose a civilized government in a place where there is small capacity to appreciate the kind

of government usually taken for granted in the West.

So if this is not Operation Desert Storm, Act II, neither is it Return to Vietnam, although the irony would be sweet for history if what George Bush ultimately accomplishes is to leave it up to Bill Clinton to retrieve American troops from an African hellhole. For his part, Mr. Clinton, who did



Commander Clinton

every young out renounce his citizenship to avoid going to Vietnam as a private, gets the thrill of finally starting his military career out of harm's way.

No one should doubt the ability of the Army and the Marines, at division strength, to feed the multitudes, but neither should anyone at the White House imagine that putting 28,000 troops on KP duty is without risks to an American public that has no experience with patience or sacrifice.

The Rev. Jesse Jackson is ready — for now — to celebrate: "The dispatch of troops breaks new ground because for the first time we're willing to risk lives of American soldiers to save an African people."

This is inaccurate, as is so much of what the shadow senator says, since hundreds of American soldiers died to save North Africa from the Nazis in 1942, but even such gratitude as there may be will evaporate when reality intrudes, as reality always does. The first time a Cobra gunship sends a rocket up the tailpipe of a truckload of teen-age thugs armed with assault weapons, we can no doubt expect one of the shadow's blustering attacks on America as the oppressor of the world.

And not just from the man who thinks he's a real senator. Rep. John Murtha of Pennsylvania, the Democratic chairman of a House defense panel, makes the common-sensical observation that nothing short of a Western — i.e., American — takeover of Somalia would stabilize the chaos. The brutal fact of life for Somalia, which no one wants to acknowledge, is that relieving the heartbreaking hunger of pitiful children without imposing a civilized government merely saves them from starvation today so they can starve later. The fortunate ones are those spared the wait.

The president should make it clear that we're not doing this to earn gratitude, and that's just as well. Whoever the president may be at the time, he'll have to hurry if he gets the troops out before the scabrous regiments of protesters disturb the peace of Washington with the cries and whimpers of the permanently poisonous.

The Reliable Source

By Lois Romano



Mary Matalin and James Carville tell campaign tales to an LSU audience.

Censoring Men In Japan

■ Before Madonna's erotic "Sex" book could come out in Japan this week, the Doho Publishing Co. decided some air-brushing was needed. After long consideration, they concluded that the revealing photos of women would be published untouched—but that the men would be provided some cover.

Obviously, that wasn't enough. The Post's T.R. Reid reports that on Wednesday police questioned employees of Doho about possible violations of Japan's obscenity laws.

In Japanese bookstores, American magazines like "Playboy" are routinely sold with photos retouched. But the government has been loosening up. Last month, for example, the video of "Basic Instinct" was permitted to be sold in Japan without blurring any of Sharon Stone's anatomy. Meanwhile, no word on whether police will take action against Doho.

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For once, the coverup doesn't include Madonna.



The Donkey and the Elephant on Marriage: Not!

Contrary to widespread rumor, Washington's favorite bipartisan couple are insisting they are not married. In separate interviews this week, Mary Matalin and James Carville maintained that they did not secretly get hitched during the contentious presidential battle.

"Do you really think we could keep this from his mother?" asked Matalin, referring to the now infamous Ms. Nippy. "She'd have the biggest jambalaya feast."

"I assure you, if I get married it will be very public," said Carville. "I'm a 48-year-old bachelior. I am not going to elope."

And no comment on any future nuptials. In the meantime, they are spending all this new quality time they have remodeling the A-frame he bought in the Shenandoah Valley, and they'll soon start talking to

publishers about a co-authored book on the campaign—sprinkled with some of the personal drama of their relationship, of course. (For those of you who slept through the campaign, she was a senior strategist for George Bush, and he for Bill Clinton.) Indeed, they took their show on the road earlier this week at Carville's alma mater, Louisiana State University, where they regaled the crowd with anecdotes from the heat of battle.

"We won't write a kiss-and-tell," Matalin says. "We'd like to write a kiss-and-not-tell. It's got to pass the 'sister test'—as in everybody's sister we know would enjoy it."

But though they've been called the Tracy and Hepburn of politics, she says she has "zero, zip interest in doing the movie stuff. At a certain point enough is enough."

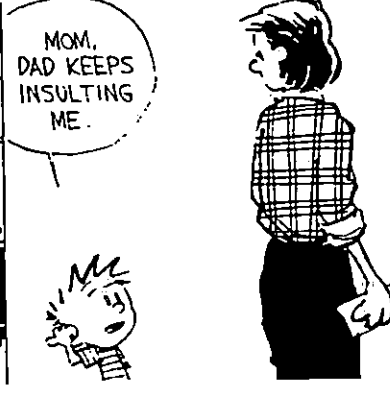
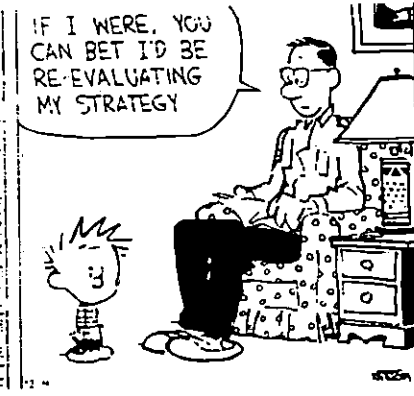
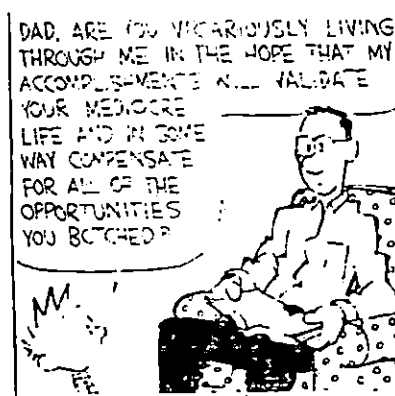
There's always, always more, we say.

DOONESBURY

By G.B. Trudeau



CALVIN AND HOBBS



WE'VE HEARD THAT...



Mitchell, close to her beau.

■ The biggest news out of Little Rock yesterday was that NBC's Andrea Mitchell was caught by surprise when her longtime boyfriend, Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan, showed up to meet with Bill Clinton. Mitchell,

who's been covering the president-elect, got tipped off when Greenspan was spotted in town. "I thought it was hilarious," said Mitchell, who says the couple assiduously avoids conflicts in their jobs. "This is what we're down to for news here—sightings. We're surviving on fumes." And no, she never reports on her beau's whereabouts.

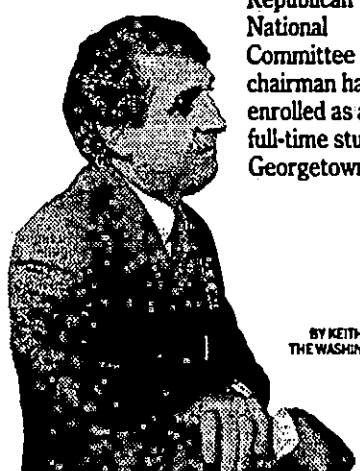
■ Bill and Hillary Clinton would like to walk the inaugural parade route from the Capitol to the White House, à la Jimmy Carter.

■ Former Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall is the odds-on favorite to swear in Al Gore as vice president. No word on who will swear in the Top Dog, a job that traditionally falls to the court's chief justice—in this case William Rehnquist.

■ Warren Beatty and Annette Bening were spotted with Rob Reiner at the epic theater event of the season in Los Angeles, "Angels in America." The play, we remind, is seven hours long, interrupted by a dinner break.

■ Controversial rockers Guns N'Roses have been ordered to stay in Chile after police found traces of cocaine in the clothing of one of the band members. Reuter reports that the group had been scheduled to leave Chile for Argentina at noon local time yesterday, but will be detained until the investigation is completed.

■ The GOP's painful presidential loss appears to have sent Rich Bond back to the books. The Republican National Committee chairman has enrolled as a full-time student at Georgetown



Bond, headed back to school.

BY KEITH JENKINS—THE WASHINGTON POST



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Bush (flashing a campaign smile here), received gladly at the theater.

University for a one-year master's in American government. "Just because I'm chairman of the party doesn't mean I know everything about American government," Bond tells Newsday. Well said, Rich.

■ George and Barbara Bush took yet another curtain call at the opening of "A Tuna Christmas" at the National Theatre last night, where even the Democratic guests were kind enough to give them a standing ovation.

■ Hillary Clinton and Tipper Gore are expected at the annual Democratic Congressional Spouses luncheon at the Capitol today.

■ Julia Roberts seems to be having a busy professional and personal week. The glamour girl, who hasn't been seen since last year's "Hook," has signed a deal with independent producer Joe Roth to develop and produce her own projects for the Disney Co., where Roth hangs his hat. And the New York Post reports that she's ditched Jason Patric for Daniel Day-Lewis, but her publicist says their relationship is strictly professional.

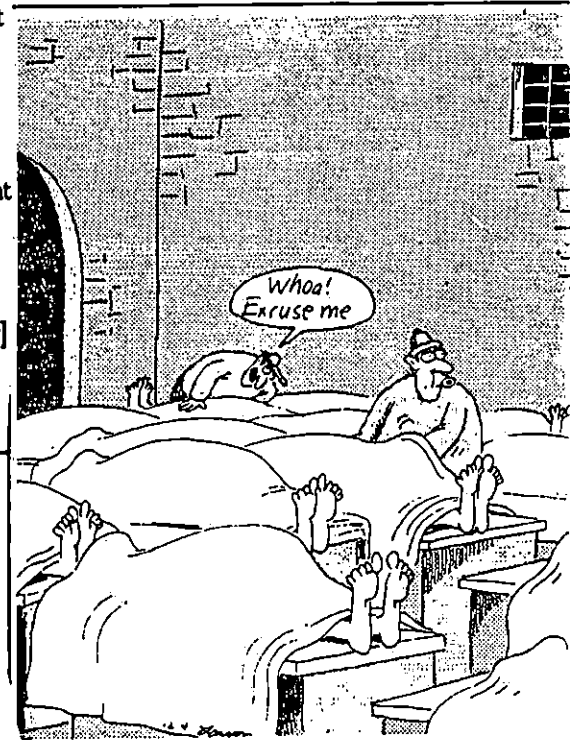


Roberts, with new plan, new man?

■ Better scratch Dorothy and Hugh Rodham from your dinner lists. Seems that the parents of the First Lady-to-be don't want to follow their daughter east, after all. "No way they're going to move to Washington," assures Hillary's brother Hugh Rodham Jr.

"They have too many good friends in Little Rock. It was hard enough getting [my father] to move from Park Ridge [Ill.]."

THE FAR SIDE GARY LARSON



Pickpockets of the Rue Morgue

A woman's mission

Donna Shalala, chancellor of the University of Wisconsin, is politically correct. She championed a speech code for students that barred offensive speech about another person's race, sex, religion, color, creed, disability, sexual orientation, national origin, ancestry or age.

After a faculty vote to shut down her university's ROTC programs until Pentagon policy is reversed and the military begins admitting self-proclaimed homosexual men and women, Miss Shalala proclaimed, "I couldn't be prouder."

As chancellor of the 26-campus University of Wisconsin system, based in Madison, she's also developed a "Madison Plan." The plan warns deans that their own chances for salary raises might depend on how successfully they recruit — and how rapidly they advance — minority faculty members.

Then she announced that selected minority applicants for admission to the university would be excused from meeting minimum entrance requirements that other students must meet.

Which takes us to Little Rock, where Miss Shalala, a friend of Hillary Clinton's, has been spied on what could be the first leg of a journey that ends in the nation's capital. Hillary's pal from the board of the Children's Defense Fund is said to be a strong contender for a post in the Clinton administration, possibly secretary of education. She was an assistant secretary at HUD in the Carter administration.

Greenland

Ask most people and they'll be able to match a city with "The Big Apple," "The Windy City," "Beantown," "City of Angels," "The Mile-High City," "City of Roses," etc. But

INSIDE THE BELTWAY

how many people know which city claims title to "City of Trees"?

Answer: The District of Columbia.

Your first reaction might be that there's obviously more to the District than meets the eye. But in the winter 1992 issue of Citizens Update, a progress report on D.C. programs and policies, Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly tells constituents that the District is branching out, working hard to retain its title as the City of Trees.

"The city will plant 4,000 trees during a six-month period ending in May 1993, which tops last year's record-setting planting of 3,200 trees," the mayor says.

A mother's advice

Vincent J. Femia is not your ordinary circuit court judge. Anyone who has stood before the outspoken Prince George's County veteran on judgment day knows he doesn't waste your time with the legal jargon written for barristers.

For example, Judge Femia's formula for sentencing drunken-driving offenders (he handles about 1,800 DWI cases each year) is known as "Femia's menu." A first offender can select either one or two nights' lodging in jail or four to eight days along PG's more scenic highways — "the dog poop and paper patrol."

Second offenders can choose 21 days in jail or, if they pay a considerable fine, seven days in jail and 14 in the county's nationally recognized DWI tank.

As for third offenders... well, "If, God forbid, you come before



Judge Vincent Femia's "menu" lists several choices — all unappetizing.

me... then you should have a suitcase with you. You're going away for a substantial period of time."

A few weeks back, Judge Femia had before him a case where two young men riding in a late-model BMW were stopped by police for running a stop sign. The driver had no license or registration, so both men were ordered from the car, which was then searched. Found beneath the driver's seat was a bag containing 6.5 grams of crack cocaine. The constitutionality of that search and seizure was before the judge.

"Because the search was unconstitutional, I suppressed the drugs for use against the driver," the

judge wrote in his bimonthly "Legal View" column in the Prince George's Journal. "But I did not suppress their use at the trial of the passenger. Why, you ask? Because under our law... only the person with the protected right can complain of its infringement."

Needless to say, the judge adds, the passenger left court shaking his head and wondering how it can be that the guy in whose car illegal drugs were found can walk away scot-free while he, the passenger, was looking at 20 years in prison.

Yes, a fair question, Judge. How can that be?

"If the passenger asked my mom how that could be, she'd tell him, 'Lie down with dogs, get up with fleas.'"

Got It

Legal Times, a leading source of information about the business of law and lobbying in the nation's capital, has a circulation of only about 10,000. But that doesn't mean they can't outrun the big dog.

Legal Times this week ran an advertisement headlined "If We Don't Get It, They Don't Get It." Below the head were two clippings, one taken from Legal Times on Nov. 23, 1992, the other from the next day's Washington Post. Each told about Solicitor General Kenneth Starr angling for a seven-figure annual contract from a major national law firm. Legal Times' point is obvious.

"In advertisements plastered around Washington... The Washington Post says, 'If you don't get it, you don't get it.'"

"Maybe. But on matters of interest to the legal community, time after time the Post gets its news from the newspaper you're reading — Legal Times."

And to think Bill and Hillary Clinton are dining next week at the home of Washington Post Chairman Katharine Graham.

— John McCaslin

What's News—

World-Wide

THE SECURITY COUNCIL APPROVED the deployment of troops in Somalia.

The 15-nation U.N. council unanimously approved sending a U.S.-led military force to help deliver food to starving Somalis. Deployment of the first troops could come as early as today. A Marine amphibious force consisting of three ships carrying 1,800 troops arrived off the coast of Somalia yesterday, and tens of thousands of other U.S. troops are poised for deployment. Ultimately, 30,000 or more U.S. soldiers could be sent. Bush plans to discuss the situation with lawmakers today. (Article on Page A10)

White House aides expect troops to be contributed by France, Italy, Canada, Egypt and Pakistan. Other possible participants are Morocco and Nigeria.

A Greek tanker ran aground and caught fire at the entrance to the Spanish port of La Coruna. The vessel broke apart, spilling millions of gallons of crude oil, but the extent of environmental damage wasn't clear as cleanup crews worked to contain the spill. (Article on Page A3)

The U.S. is operating secret, high-speed spy planes, a magazine article suggests. The article, prepared for Jane's Defence Weekly, indicates the \$1 billion planes may have been flying for over three years. The planes — possibly cruising up to eight times the speed of sound — could explain some military mysteries. (Article on Page B6)

The Census Bureau sharply revised its projections for population growth, saying that agency officials underestimated fertility rates, immigration and longevity. The bureau said the U.S. population is expected to rise 50%, to 383 million, by the year 2050. In this decade alone, the population is projected to surge 7.8%. (Article on Page B1)

Gunfire in Sarajevo hit a plane carrying the U.N. commander for Bosnia, but the aircraft landed safely. The U.N. extended a suspension of relief flights into the capital for at least two more days. In Belgrade, Serbia's electoral commission blocked a bid by Yugoslav Prime Minister Panic to run against Serbian President Milosevic.

Fistfights broke out in Russia's Congress of People's Deputies shortly after acting Prime Minister Gaidar appealed for centrist support to stop an onslaught by hard-liners on his market reform policies. Deputies pushed and shoved each other as Speaker Khasbulatov called for order.

An insurance-industry group voted to support a ceiling on tax breaks for employer-provided health insurance, a law requiring that all Americans receive basic health benefits, and uniform rates for doctors and hospitals. The vote by the Health Insurance Association of America's board was a shift.

A car bomb exploded outside a soccer stadium in Medellin, Colombia, killing at least 14 people, including 10 police officers. The nation's defense minister said the attack was a reprisal by drug traffickers for last week's police killing of a top member of the Medellin drug cartel.

Israel has arrested some 450 members of Islamic and PLO groups opposed to Mideast talks, in the biggest raid in the occupied territories since the talks began, security sources said. The secret police and army began rounding up the activists in October to curb unrest, the sources said.

Standardized math tests don't measure what students really need to know, according to a new government report, which offers models of what the tests should look like. (Article on Page B6)

German Chancellor Kohl told foreign ambassadors that his government's efforts to fight neo-Nazi violence weren't always noticed abroad, adding that officials were using all legal means to curb attacks. Separately, former East German leader Honecker said his manslaughter trial for deaths at the Berlin Wall was a "farce."

The European Community sought to overcome Danish objections to the Maasticht treaty by proposing special treatment for Denmark in the areas of monetary union, citizenship and defense. Danish voters rejected the treaty in June; a second vote is due by May. (Article on Page A6)

Two bombs rocked the northern English city of Manchester during the morning rush hour, injuring at least 65 people and forcing police to evacuate the city center. Police blamed the Irish Republican Army.



THE PRESIDENT

December 4, 1992

R2/Patty/Residence/BPB

Overnight Guests the night of:

Monday Dec.14th

Mr/Mrs. P>S>Bush Jr.

GB

A handwritten signature, likely of George Bush, consisting of a stylized 'G' and 'B'.



address to Nation
re: Somalia

OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTOGRAPH 04 DEC 92 P38319-17 DV