

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):
2009-0166-S

FOIA Number:
2009-0166-S

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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: 90740-007

Folder Title:
Monday, December 7, 1992 [3]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 7, 1992

Dear Honey:

Enjoyed your Thanksgiving note, especially your analogy comparing the last four years to living in a California house without a roof, and your feeling of "Been there. Done that."

Barbara and I are grateful for so many blessings -- among them loyal, true friends like you and Sam. Our warm best wishes to you both.

Sincerely,



*By your letter was so
kind, written from the heart!!*

Mrs. Samuel K. Skinner
Apartment 1710
1600 North Oak Street
Arlington, Virginia 22209

Thanks for your

TLC for us,

for Doro, for all the family

Love - GB

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

Jim Burmeister

Año 1926



La Quinta Hotel
Golf & Tennis Resort

365025

Thanksgiving '92

Dear Mr. President,

Because of your beneficence, Sam and I are here, guests of Toyota, at The Skins Game. For this, and for everything else, we thank you.

I have been trying to write this letter since November 4 and failed previously. The failure resulted from my ever-varying emotional states. Sam swung around too -- every once in a while we were in sync. Then, when your mom died, and knowing her significance in your life, I felt even more conflicted about how to express myself to you.

Yesterday, however, I experienced a breakthrough: Doro suggested that I read Hugh Sidey's column in Time. Sam + I discussed it at length. What we both realized, and

what we wanted to express to you, is that despite November 3, you won, Mr. President. You won as a son, a father, a husband, a friend, a public servant and as our role model. You never once compromised your priorities, in a business in which compromise is valued first of all things. We were/are inspired by your decency and leadership. Mr. President, Secretary Martin got it right in Houston: you are a man of modesty and humility. On the campaign trail, I would say that you might be the "last modest President." This is no small thing! In all of politics in D.C., such as you is unknown! (And apparently your mother is largely to thank.)

Mr. President, you are the President that I will know best in my lifetime and I thank God that you fulfilled every expectation I had for the Office. My devotion to our country is largely due to your example.

I know that the process

Año 1926



La Quinta Hotel
Golf & Tennis Resort

- 3 -

of getting on with our lives is going to be difficult. For our part, Sam and I have realized how our life completely oriented around the Administration, and that now we must build a life, almost from scratch. Both of us have an acute sense of "Been There. Done That." about life right now. We are going to have to "learn" how to build a life that does involve many of the highs we experienced in Washington, but which satisfies us in a deeper, more important way. I told Doris that the last four years were like living in a California house without a roof: most days it allowed us access to spectacular vistas, beautiful skies, and star-filled nights. Some days, however, we got rained on. Now, we are building a roof for this house-- we will be more secure, we will stay dry, but we will have to

-4-

learn to live without those
skies. We will have to find ~~beauty~~
beauty and happiness within our
bones and ourselves. Sam and I
want to commit ourselves to this
effort with love and without
regret.

On Thanksgiving, Mr.
President, thank you. Our love
to Barbara and to all the
Bushes.

Honey (and Sam) Skinner



THE PRESIDENT

December 7, 1992

Dear Joy,

We just learned that Alex's courageous battle is over, and Barbara and I wanted to send our sincere condolences and family love to you and your family.

While the days ahead will not be easy, maybe it will help a little bit to know that your many friends are thinking of you.

Love,

*He was very
special - I
loved the guy*

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mrs. Alexander Armendaris
1819 Great Falls Street
McLean, Virginia 22101

cc: (~~to~~ out)
Rose Zamaria (lcc)
Jan Burmeister

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. and Mrs. Nick Hahn
483 Middlesex Road
Darien, Connecticut 06820



Tulie -
Charles so
very much
Ag B

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

Ag Bush

Barbara Bush

Dear President Bush,
21013 Nick and I were
very sorry to hear
of your mother's
death.

Please accept
our deepest sympathy.

5

DWB

We will keep you
and your family in our
thoughts and prayers
With sympathy,
Julius Hahn

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Ms. Patricia Jobe Pierce
721 Main Street
Hingham, Massachusetts 02043



Thanks so much
Patricia
Ag Bush

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

Ag Bush

Barbara Bush

H. 2
DWB

Patricia Jobe Pierce

Free-lance writer

(617) 749-6023 Fax: (617) 749-6685

President & Mrs. George Bush
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Drive
Washington, D.C. 20500

November 19, 1992

Dear Mr. President and Barbara:

The nation grieves the recent passing of Dorothy Walker Bush. She stood out as an outstanding example of what a strong, compassionate, determined, caring and relevant woman is all about. She cared about the Red Cross, welfare projects, what was correct politically, and she always concerned herself with telling the candid truth in as disciplined and sensitive a manner possible. With her husband, Dorothy was instrumental in formulating solid morals and ethics in her children, and because she was such a gifted mother and friend to her children, she developed men and women with noble characteristics.

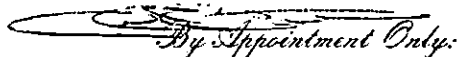
I am a close friend of your older brother, Prescott, Mr. President. Prescott has referenced fondly your parents from time to time. Like you, he certainly holds in the highest esteem your mother and father. I couldn't help notice the dedication in your autobiography to your parents, Mr. President. Their love, steady devotion, honesty and discipline impacted your life, and thus -- the world's direction. Over the years, I've seen many parallels between Barbara and Dorothy. Each woman is strong, straightforward, loving, concerned, and a relevant being. Most people may not realize it, but Barbara and Dorothy's philosophy and caring have become a major design in the tapestry of the American conscience, and because of their love for you, Mr. President, I believe the world and America have become more wholesome and steadfast.

It is difficult and painful to say "goodbye" to a loved one, but when the person's life and contributions were as all-encompassing and poignant as Dorothy Walker Bush's has been, the person "passing on" never fades, but lives on and on in those who knew and respected her. Your mother has many decades of life left, Mr. President. She is in her children and those she touched.

As Dorothy Walker Bush's essence travels to that unknown territory-- where all of us will one day join her--I have a feeling her presence here will last, because she was truly loved. Because she is in both of you, Prescott, and many others, she will be having a marvelously innovative, creative and vital after-life!

In closing, permit me to thank you for being gracious, thoughtful and moral leaders of America. Your efforts have been meaningful and will be remembered as those which gave birth to world peace. I greatly admire both of you.

Sincerely,


By Appointment Only:

Patricia Jobe Pierce

721 Main Street, Hingham, MA 02043



Thanks Punch
to you and Carol!

I really loved her *Ag Bush*

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

Ag Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Ochs Sulzberger
1010 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10028

8

005

11/18/92

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER
1010 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10028

DW15

November 19, 1992

Dear Mr. President,

I was deeply sorry to learn of the passing
of your mother - one of the great ladies of our
time.

Carol joins me in sending you and your
family our sincere sympathy.

Punch

IR

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. Victor L. Robles
Council Member, 34th District
5th Floor
815 Broadway
Brooklyn, New York 11206



Thanks, Victor -

Ay B

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

Ay Bush

Barbara Bush



The Council of The City of New York

Victor L. Robles
Council Member
34th District, Brooklyn

Committee Assignments:
Chair, Youth Services
Finance
Health
Public Safety
State & Federal Legislation

11
DWB C

"PERSONAL & UNOFFICIAL"

November 20, 1992

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

My dearest President Bush and Family:

There is only one way to look when the day is dark, and that is forward, where the sun is shining behind the clouds. Happiness lies in meeting each day with a smile and going ahead.

The pioneer rose with the sun and labored as it crossed the heavens. And when it sank behind a western horizon she cheerfully headed home - tired but happy in the consciousness of a woman's work done.

It is so that I like to think of Life - when a woman like your dear mother is called to her reward - with a woman's work done.

Sincerely yours,

Victor C

VICTOR L. ROBLES
Council Member

VLR/

City Hall Office
250 Broadway, 22nd Floor
New York, NY 10007
(212) 788-6856

District Office
815 Broadway, 5th Floor
Brooklyn, NY 11206
(718) 963-3141
Fax: (718) 963-4527

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. Dave Montgomery
Washington Bureau
Fort Worth Star-Telegram
Suite 400
1705 De Sales Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036



Thanks, Dave -
You're a kind
a good man

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

Ag Bush

Barbara Bush

8-2
THE NEWS YOU WANT WHEN YOU WANT IT

Fort Worth Star-Telegram

MORNING

EVENING

SUNDAY

DWB

WASHINGTON BUREAU

Dear Mr. President,

I wanted to express my sympathy over the recent loss of your mother. I know what an influence she was in your life and I know you and your family will miss her a great deal.

On a personal note I've appreciated the opportunity of covering you and your administration over the past 12 years and would like to thank you for the courtesies extended by both you and your staff, particularly Marilyn. Please give my regards to Mrs. Bush. I hope to have the opportunity to see you before you return to our home state.

Respectfully yours,
Dave Montgomery

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Gagnon
Post Office Box 47
East Lebanon, Maine 04027



Ernest & Simone
So many thanks
Ag B

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

Ag Bush

Barbara Bush

No words of ours
could ever
fully express
the heartfelt sympathy
this brings today.

*With Our prayers and deepest
sympathy,*

Your friends

Ernest and Simone Hagnon

(formerly of Smith's market)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Ms. Maxene Andrews
The Old Ranch House
14200 Carriage Oaks Lane
Auburn, California 95603



*How kind of
you Maxene -
Ag Bush*

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

Ag Bush

Barbara Bush

Officer Andrews

My dear Mr. President

Please accept my profound
 consideration in the hour of
 your Beloved Mother.

That wonderful old line
 to all the can become a
 great President of the great

country. You had the will to
 your soul as many years to
 share your many friends

May God in His Omnipotence
 of your Blessings keep you in
 Good health, happiness and
 joy.

Sincerely

Matie Andrews

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable Ronald H. Brown
Chairman
Democratic National Committee
430 South Capitol Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003



*That was very
kind of you, Ron
Thanks*

Ag Bush

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

Ag Bush

Barbara Bush

S
DWD



Democratic National Committee

Ronald H. Brown
Chairman

November 24, 1992

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

Dear Mr. President:

On behalf of the Committee, I would like to extend our deepest sympathy to you and your family on the loss of your mother. Words are always inadequate in times of sorrow, but be assured that you are remembered in our thoughts and prayers.

With respect,

Sincerely,

Ronald H. Brown



*Thanks, Ed,
so much*

Ag

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

Ag Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable and Mrs. Edwin H. May, Jr.
5060 Burning Tree Circle
Stuart, Florida 34997

May these few words
serve to express
our heartfelt sympathy
to you and your family.

Dear & Ed May
We shall always remember
campaigning with your mother and father when we
won for Congress & he for Senate in 1956!

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Ms. Ann Perkins
278 Pine Hill Road
Cape Neddick, Maine 03902



Thanks Ann—
You were nice to
Mother—and cared
Ag Bush

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

Ag Bush

Barbara Bush

Ann Perkins
(Maurice Anne)

It was such a pleasure
taking care of your wonderful
mother. She was one of the
nicest people I'd ever met.

There is so little one can say,
so little one can do,
When you have lost a loved one
Who was very dear to you.
Still, many understanding thoughts
Are being sent your way
To let you know that others care
And share your loss today.

21
DAYS

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Ms. Mary Olive Bush
Post Office Box 1546
Hobe Sound, Florida 33475



Mary -
Thank so much
Cg B

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

Cg Bush

Barbara Bush

W.R.

DWB

MB

Friday, November 27th

My dear Mr. President

Now we express our deepest sorrow
with the loss of your Mother and our
friend. She was an amazingly
wonderful, respected and loved lady.
Our lives and others have been enriched
by knowing her personally and she
will be truly missed. We always
mentioned to her that her son, the
President, was so much like her in
looks and ways.

Our thoughts and prayers are
with you always.

Best wishes to you and yours!

Sincerely, Bush
Hampshire
F.O. Recently, the Press
mentioned you preferred being called
George rather than Pres. Bush. I regret
that we cannot go along with that.
There are many Georges but
only one President Bush, and he
is great!!!! Do take care!
M.S.B.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable J. Carter Beese, Jr.
Commissioner
Securities and Exchange Commission
450 Fifth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20549



Thanks, Carter
Thanks a lot

Ag Bush

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

Ag Bush

Barbara Bush



Dear George
How kind of
you to write me!

Love Ag Bush

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

Ag Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

George Williams
5422 Albia Road
Bethesda, Maryland 20816

5470

125



COMMISSIONER
SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION

Mr. President-

Natalie and I send our deepest sympathies
and all our prayers regarding your mother.
We know she's gone to a well earned reward.

The attached letter is from a friend's
8 yr old son who was compelled to write
upon hearing the sad news. (Carter

20816 Bethesda
Maryland
5422 Albia Road
229-1931

George Williams

Encl #36

Encl #36
sent
12/2/92
BR

Dear President Bush, I am
Very sorry that your
mother died. If I could
vote, I would vote for
you. You have been the
best President Since George
Washington. When I was in
Second grade I Went
to one of your meetings
With President novel from
Czechoslovakia and I
really liked it. When you
resign President I hope
you catch lots of big
fish. My mom Went to the
same Highschool as you. You
are the best President

I am in third grade,
I go to Landon School
and I am a Republican. I
am also a episcopalian.

Sincerely

George

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. John B. Ashmun
2147 Stanmore Drive
Houston, Texas 77019-2611

John -

Thanks for your
kind words
about Mother



~

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 PRESIDENT

Dec. 7th - 92

Dear Ashie -

Your letter was great; but
don't leave now that we're
coming back.

Friends are what it's all
about so don't pull the rip
cord and go to Austin.

We're adjourning. I am
trying to finish our tough
negotiations with the Russians
so I can help out in
the Chambers - Fitch
arbitration - Bow & I have our
flack-jackets at the ready -
Thanks, pal - CJ

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. John B. Ashmun

JOHN B. ASHMUN

November 30, 1992

President George H. W. Bush
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, T.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

What a tremendous contribution you've made to our great country since arriving at George's Courts with Bar and young George some 43 years ago! A two-party political system and Republicans were as unheard of in Midland as the YMCA. After further nurturing Republicanism from a Harris County base in the state you helped make bipartisan, your most competent services in key posts for this nation have culminated in four outstanding years. How fortunate we've all been, Bushie, for your great capacity and determination to strengthen and build for your fellow man.

Involuntary retirement, on one's septuagenarian eve, from something thrived on and of long attachment can, I assure you, be very soon enjoyed. The younger crowd has a lot going for it, and even though we've been respective experts there is room for replacements. And oh, what a relief to be rid of operational headaches, and what joy and satisfaction to spend more time with family and friends, whiff the scents, make the odd buck and perform some choice good works. You might even improve your golf -- that **PUTTER!**

We are delighted you and Bar are coming back here and even though Brucie and I may be headquartering in Austin, where three children and eight (three step) grandchildren reside, we'll keep a Houston base and hope to see much of you both.

Deepest thanks from so many of us and blessings for your marvelous mother.

Best always and love to Bar,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "John B. Ashmun".

P.S. You'll be handy to adjudicate between M and the admiral. Cheers!

JBA:cp



THE PRESIDENT

12 - 7 - 92

Dear French,

I doubt I'll get
to Morocco soon. but thanks
for the suggestion.

Thanks, too, for your
great service to Country

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable Frederick Vreeland
Ambassador to Rabat
American Embassy of Rabat
PSC 74, Box 017
APO - AE, 09718
MORROCCO

and for your kind
letter.

Warmest regards.

Your Friend,

Ag Bush

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable Frederick Vreeland
Ambassador to Rabat
American Embassy of Rabat
PSC 74, Box 017
APO - AE, 09718
MORROCCO



Thanks, Fred
for the condolences

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

Ag Bush

Barbara Bush

THE AMBASSADOR

26 Nov 72

Dear Mr President -

Just a few words of friendship in your sad moment. Condolences on the death of your mother who must have been such an inspiration to you over so many years. You should know that the whole world shared your grief when that announcement was broadcast last week. And for the loss of the election, if the rest of mankind had been voting, you'd have had a tidal wave. In any case you have the knowledge that your policies have been the wise ones, conscientiously chosen, and that you fought a good campaign to the end.

On 24 November King Hassan charged me with urging you to come to Morocco at your convenience for a vacation. Rest and recuperation (as Vance and I are embarking on now). You and Barbara really should take him up on it. As you know it is a beautiful country, with exciting experiences and here your privacy - I can guarantee you - will be respected as perhaps in no country except a dictatorship. Let me know if you have any questions. With warmest wishes, respectfully,

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
RABAT, MOROCCO

THE AMBASSADOR

me!

Nov 92

Dear Mr. President Dear Barbara,

Thank you so much for the chance to serve. We are overworked, but we love the job; and I hope and feel we are doing good work.

Apart from my art, when we leave, I hope we'll be able to help on ecological problems, and also with 3rd world problems of soaring birth rates.

Now would be a wonderful time for you - if you had the time which I'm sure you don't! - to organize some positive, ultimate goodies - such as succeeding in changing the "line-item vetoes" or solving Bosnia or Somalia. That would!

sum up the selflessness of
your tenure.

My very best to you both,

Vavona

Barbara, we were so Touched by
your mentioning my grandch. Iren's
health. You are fabulous.

Love
Fred

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mrs. Weldon Hardegree and Family
115 East 14th Street
Colorado City, Texas 79512

Thanks so very much



Love

Ag Bush

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

Ag Bush

Barbara Bush

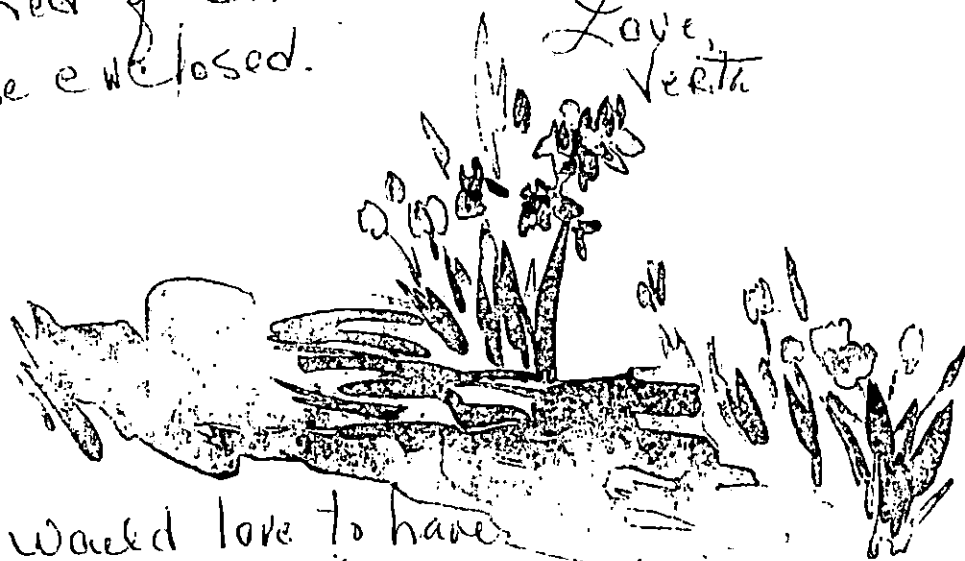
George,

When the family was together
at Thanksgiving, as usual,
we talked about the Bushes.

They all wanted you to know
we were thinking about you
in this time of loss.

Kyla, our 4 year old granddaughter,
asked if she could write - thus
the enclosed.

Love,
Verith



I would love to have
known your mother and listened
to her stories about you
when you were a boy.

May you find
peace and comfort
in warm memories
of your loved one.

Mary Rogers
Paul & Eileen Hildebrandson (Don & Carol)
Rita (Sister of Kyla Carlson)
(Hildebrand)

Sid and Gertrude Hildebrand
Mark, Jan (Hildebrand) & Dawn White
Dorinda Hildebrand



Thank so much
for that donation
in memory of
my Mom - *[Signature]*

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.

[Signature] Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. and Mrs. Shelly Kamins
9716 Sorrel Avenue
Potomac, Maryland 20854



A donation to the Institute for
Advanced Studies in Immunology & Aging
has been made

by Lynnie and Shelly Kamins
of 9716 Lorrel Avenue, Potomac, Maryland 20854
in memory of Dorothy Walker Bush

335163 DOCUMENT= 1 OF 2 PAGE = 1 OF 1
 OPID PD
 DOCDATE 920616
 RECTYP OBA
 MEDIA L
 NAME MR. AND MRS. SHELDON B. KAMINS
 SPOUSE LYNN
 PSAL SHELLY
 STREET 9716 SORREL AVENUE
 ADDR POTOMAC MD 20854
 SUBJECT THANKS FOR LETTING THE EVENT BE HELD IN THAT
 LOVELY HOUSE
 SUBCODE TR001
 FG001-05
 INDCODE 4000
 ACTION RM DSP 920616 CP2 A 920616

I0607 * End of document.

4BÜ

339342 DOCUMENT= 2 OF 2 PAGE = 1 OF 1
 OPID GR
 DOCDATE 920622
 RECTYP OBA
 MEDIA L
 NAME MR. AND MRS. SHELLY KAMINS
 PSAL LYNN AND SHELLY
 STREET 9716 SORREL AVENUE
 ADDR POTOMAC MD 20854
 SUBJECT WHAT A GREAT TIME WE HAD AT YOUR DINNER ON
 MONDAY EVENING. YOUR GIFT OF THE PHOTO IN
 THE SCHOOLHOUSE FRAME IS A UNIQUE AND
 DELIGHTFUL REMEMBRANCE.
 SUBCODE TR001
 LGPOTOM ST020 GI002 PL002
 INDCODE 4000
 ACTION RM DSP 920623 CP2A A 920622
 COMMENTS NO INCOMING ATTACHED.
 SEE ALSO ID# 339346

I0601 * End of documents in list. Press ENTER or enter another command.

4BÜ

To all at the Criminal Intelligence Division
my sincere
message
Mother - I am
Soon will be back in Houston.



thanks for your
about my beloved
kind of you.

Ag Bush

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

Ag Bush

Barbara Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Criminal Intelligence Division
Houston Police Department
33 Artesia, Room 350
Houston, Texas 77002

*We wish to extend our
sympathy and support
to you during this
difficult time.*

*Our thoughts and prayers
are with you.*

*From the members of the
Criminal Intelligence Division
Houston Police Department
Houston, Texas*



THE PRESIDENT

December 7, 1992

Dear Kyla,

Thanks so much for your nice note about my mother.
It hurts to lose her, but I know she is in Heaven.
Your grandmother is lucky to have such a wonderful
family.

I hope you have a very merry Christmas.

Sincerely,

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

Miss Kyla Carlson
4307 Thornberry
Midland, Texas 79707

Verta Hardegree's
granddaughter.



Come to see us some time

PS: I love you and Barbara

Love,
Kyla Carlson
4307 Timberberry
Midland, TX 79707

God bless you and your family.

My grandmother and I talk
about you all the time. I just wanted
you to know that I am sorry that
your mother died.

Dave R. President Bush

Nov. 25, 1991



THE PRESIDENT

Dec. 7, '92

Dear Connie -

I've never read a lovelier
nor more insightful letter. I will
not comment on each salient
point. I will say I hope
you're right about ^{how} history will
view our work. I know
what you did was absolutely
superb.

I have been honored
to have you at my side.

Connie, on Jan 20th will
head to Houston. I will
wind down. Then I will find
some way to help others. I'd
love to have you involved as you so
kindly suggest. Thanks again. I'm
so proud of you. Love Cap But

The Honorable Constance B. Newman
Under Secretary
Smithsonian Institute
Room 219
100 Jefferson Drive, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20560

cc: R. Zamaria

in/out, 1 copy

November 30, 1992

My dear Mr. President:

I am very sad about the outcome of the election. But, as I am sure is your inclination, dwelling on what might have been is not useful. It is, however, important to begin to put in the proper context what did happen as a result of your presidency.

What do I mean by the "proper context?" I mean three things:

First, it is important to understand how reporters differ from historians. In other words, one must understand the difference in relevancy over time of the products of their work.

Second, there should be a fair recounting and reflection on what important did happen during and as a result of your presidency.

Third, there should be at present an unbiased assessment of the impact of your efforts on future world peace and the prosperity of the United States.

News is not history and they differ in coverage and significance.

A reporter will note when the President has a cold; when cabinet members disagree; or the weight of a fish caught by the President on vacation. To be fair, a reporter will have also noted the beginning date of Desert Shield; that on July 31, 1991 you and Gorbachev negotiated a strategic arms treaty; and that on August 6, 1992, you called on the UN Security Council to issue a resolution authorizing use of force to support relief efforts in Bosnia and Herzegovina. But a reporter will have not put all of the news in the proper context. Presidents before you can attest to that.

George Washington was considered "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen," and yet during his presidency some in the press noted that posterity will in vain search for the monuments of his administration.

The nature of the press coverage of Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt is well known. But historians have said of Lincoln: "Lincoln's prestige has grown with time, until many have come to regard him as the greatest president." And about Roosevelt, the historians have said: "He was a monumental figure in American political life, capturing the imagination of both press and public. Most people believed in him so much that the flood tide of words pouring from the media, pro and con, had no more effect on them than the washing of waves on a deserted beach."

What is my point? Reporters are important; historians are more important. It is the historians who put events in the proper context. Historians covering between 10,000 and 4,000 BC have recounted the feats of those who lived and developed settlements into cities . . . developed the wheel . . . or improved the methods of cultivation in Mesopotamia. What the story tellers of the time had to say is of less consequence.

It is historians who describe the development of the United States in the proper context . . . not in terms of the day-to-day successes and failures. The historians tell us that:

Many peoples have contributed to the development of the United States of America. The first humans to inhabit the North American continent were migrants from northeast Asia who established settlements in North America as early as 8000 BC and possibly much earlier. By about AD 1500 the native peoples of the areas north of the Rio Grande had developed a variety of different cultures. The vast region stretching eastward from the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic Ocean was relatively

sparsely populated by tribes whose economies were generally based on hunting and gathering, fishing and farming. (Grolier's Academic American, 1991)

The difference in the relevancy of the news versus history over time is clear. Historians will be interested in how you left the nation and the world in the 1990s. Historians, then, will be interested in the Bush legacy . . . which leads me to my next contextual observation.

A fair recounting and reflection on your presidency will conclude that you made a major impact

As I indicated earlier what is useful to remember is how other presidencies were rated upon reflection. John Adams had major disagreements with the very popular Hamilton and later lost to Jefferson, but has been credited in his independent policies in averting a war with France. Historians now admit the dark-horse president, James Knox Polk, accomplished a great deal in bringing about the acquisition of California, the settlement of the Oregon question and establishment of an independent treasury. Lincoln was not popular while he served, nor was he really given credit for the preservation of the union until after his death. And then there was Harry S. Truman . . . need I say more!

A fair recounting and reflection on your presidency would include: the overthrow of the Noriega regime and the installation of an elected government; the opting of one after another Eastern bloc countries for democracy; your leadership in obtaining condemnation of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and the drive of Iraq's armed forces out of Kuwait; your role in obtaining nuclear arms reduction; after 28 years the Berlin Wall falls . . . and not without your leadership; the Western Alliance ends the cold war; you initiated the Middle East Peace talks; and the list goes on.

Mrs. Bush will go down in history as one of the greatest first ladies. She has made a difference that will be noted by historians. Never again will the nation be able to ignore the problem of illiteracy in the country as a result of her interest and action. As a result of her efforts at Morehouse, more African American doctors are available to provide medical care where it is most needed. As a result of her efforts, women feel more comfortable with themselves no matter what they have chosen to do with their lives.

A present unbiased assessment of the impact of your efforts on the prosperity of the United States and world peace.

An unbiased assessment of your presidency will have to note that it was you who brought to America's attention the problem of the deficit and that that problem would have to be addressed. You tried to have the people understand that the government's role in selling debt means that it was competing for limited private dollars, driving up the cost of borrowing. You tried to have the taxpayers of the present understand that the taxpayers of the future would need to pay off large amounts of debt diverting resources from investment in the future, hence a drain on the future economy.

An unbiased assessment of your presidency is in the papers of today noting the signs of recovery - economic growth is up; there is a surge in consumer confidence; business confidence is making a quiet comeback. The comeback of businesses could result in reducing unemployment, restocking inventories and spending money on equipment that would raise productivity. None of this would have been as a result of magic, but rather as a result of your policies.

With regard to how you left the world. There is now little need for fear of strategic arms with the signing of the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty. Your involvement in foreign

policy left to the world the disintegration of the Communist empire with nations opting for democracy. In many ways you can take credit for the strengthening of the United Nations. That in and of itself will contribute to world peace, in my view. One other part of the world that benefitted from your involvement was the Middle East, with you launching of the Mideast peace talks.

It is my belief that both history and near-term assessments will give your presidency high marks. For me it was a great honor to have served in your Administration.

You have been reported as saying you and Mrs. Bush plan to move to Houston and help others. Please keep me in mind for any of your projects in which I might be involved.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Constance Berry Newman", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Constance Berry Newman

The Honorable Jeanie Austin
Co-Chairman
Republican National Committee
Dwight D. Eisenhower Republican
Center
310 First Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

FRC
THE WHIT
WASHINGTON
cc: R. Zamaria
in/out, 1 copy

CA

Good luck

my friend —

You're the best.
I loved your card
I love you. I will always
be grateful. You're doing it well
Jeanie. I'm proud you're

Dear Jeanie -

12-7-92

THE PRESIDENT



11-19-92

Dear Mr. President:

We have come full circle in this political arena. You have done so much good, not just in the U.S. or A. but all over the World, and we appreciate you for all that you have done.

On a personal note, I am thankful for you naming me to the Co-Chairman of the R.N.C. It has been a real pleasure to serve, and the many friends out across this Country that love you and your family so much shall never forget you.

You will always be my President. You are the best.

Sincerely,
Jeanie

THE
QUALITY
OF A PERSON'S
LIFE IS IN DIRECT
PROPORTION TO
THEIR COMMITMENT
TO EXCELLENCE,
REGARDLESS OF
THEIR CHOSEN
FIELD OF
ENDEAVOR."

-VINCENT T. LOMBARDI

With much love and devotion,
Jeanie Austin



THE PRESIDENT

12 7 92

Dear Vernon -

Thanks for that letter
and for your service here.
Now, for you, onwards & upwards.
Good luck. It was a joy
seeing your family too.
Thanks. Well Done Ag 131

FRC
THE WHITE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

cc: R. Zamaria
in/out 1 copy

The Honorable Vernon B. Parker
Special Assistant to the President
and Associate Director of
Presidential Personnel
147 Old Executive Office Building
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

December 7, 1992

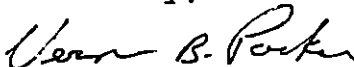
Dear Mr. President,

In 1985 I attended Georgetown University Law Center. I chose the location and the timing of my law school attendance because I wanted to work on your 1988 Presidential Campaign. I became a devout follower of yours in 1980 when I watched you in the presidential primary debates. Although I am from the Compton, California area and was raised in a single-parent welfare household, I supported you. It was my first election, and I decided at the age of twenty that the future of our country would be in your hands in the years to come. Little did I know back then that I would have the privilege to serve as Special Assistant to one of the greatest Presidents to ever occupy the oval office.

Mr. President I am certain that history will vindicate you. I know that if I go to my grave tomorrow, I have been part of something much greater than history has presently recorded. The unfair characterization of today's media will be erased and your deeds will live on. Through the passage of time, your greatness will not be measured by ad hoc popularity polls or by spontaneous approval ratings, but by a lifetime of giving and accomplishments only surpassed by a handful of others who served before you. Your impeccable leadership during the Persian Gulf War, the selection of Justice Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court and of General Colin Powell as the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and your most recent decision to send troops to Somalia represent the true test of great leadership. Most importantly, your wise leadership has kept our country the envy of the world during a time of world-wide recession. The recent improved economic numbers reflect that leadership.

Mr. President I thank you for the experience of a lifetime-- to serve in your Administration -- first as General Counsel of the Office of Personnel Management and second as one of your Special Assistants here at the White House. I hope that I contributed in some small way to your Administration. It has been a tremendous honor to serve with a man of your caliber. Good luck to you and your family, and may the lord continue to richly bless you.

Sincerely,



Vernon B. Parker
Special Assistant to the President
of the United States of America



THE PRESIDENT

Dec-7 '92

Dear Bill,

I've read your
letter and I want
to thank you for those
very kind & generous words.

You have done a great
job for our Country -
God's speed to you!

Gratefully

Ly. Bush

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable William T. Pryce
Special Assistant to The President
for National Security Affairs
361 Old Executive Office Building
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

cc: R. Zamaria
in/out, 1 copy

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

July 31, 1992

*handed over
Dec. 4 92*

Dear Mr. President:

As I leave the National Security Council Staff to prepare to serve as your Ambassador to Honduras I want to tell you how very much I enjoyed my tenure as one of your Special Assistants for National Security Affairs and the NSC's Senior Director for Latin America and the Caribbean.

It was indeed a real honor to have been associated with your outstanding successes in Latin America over the last three years, including the liberation of Panama, the return of democracy to Nicaragua and peace to El Salvador, the North American Free Trade Agreement and, above all, your Enterprise for the America's initiative, which I believe will go down in history as an undertaking which has fundamentally changed our nation's relationship with the Hemisphere and the world for the better.

On a more personal note, I want you to know that of the eight Presidents I have served as a Foreign Service Officer, you have been far and away the most effective and innovative in dealing with Latin America both in terms of your personal leadership and in the programs you have promoted.

Sincerely yours,


William T. Pryce

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



THE PRESIDENT

Dec. 7 '92

Dear Michael.

That was a really
nice letter you sent me.

May my thanks.

You have a great Dad
who has taken wonderful
care of me. Love to all

your family

Thank Matt, Tommy
and Nicky for the
card - Love to all

Ag Bush

FRI
THE WHITE
WASHINGTON

cc: R. Zamaria
in/out, 1 copy

Master Michael Koroscil
c/o Dr. Thomas M. Koroscil
Room 107
Old Executive Office Building
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Mr. President:
This was in your
briefcase. Did you
forget my name?
Yes - me -

Dec. 6, 1992
JH

Dr. Kowal says
a family says
she says

Dear Mr President

My name is Michael
Kowal. I'm sorry you lost the
election, when I saw that you
lost & cried. You've been a
great president, and because
of you the world is a better
and safer place. My parents
love you a lot and I do to.

Your friend,
Michael
Kowal

Dear President Bush,
My Dad has told me
a lot about you
In my class, I voted
for you. You are my favorite
President.

Your Friend,
Matt Korosoll

President and Mrs. Bush,

HOPING THE HOLIDAYS
ARE WARM AND WONDERFUL
FOR YOU AND YOURS!

Mike, Matt, Tommy
and Nicky Korosoll.

Dec 10, 1992

The President and Mrs. Bush,

HOPING THE HOLIDAYS
ARE WARM AND WONDERFUL
FOR YOU AND YOURS!

Mike, Mary, Tommy
and Nicky Kovacil.



Mr. President:

- 1) When you talk to Boyden ask him status of the Michael Halbouty correspondence.

Halbouty is back in Houston and his office called today.

*Boyden will
call -
has avoided
call.*

- 2) Guy Molinari called again today. He has been unable to talk to Boyden, who promised ten days ago (in fact it was the Friday after Thanksgiving) to return his call -- he still has not heard from Boyden.
- 3) FRED BUSH IS BACK FROM SPAIN. YOUR BROTHER TOLD HIM TO GIVE YOU A CALL YOU WANTED TO SEE HIM. (301) 656-2756

GUIDANCE. TRY TO FIND TIME.

YES ☒ NO ☐

*not so us
to brother but
glad to see him*

*Discussed
with CBG
12-7
don't can
help?*

XXXXXX
12/7/92

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - George Bush Handwriting

FROM THE PRESIDENT

DATE: DECEMBER 7, 1992

CONTACT: KEITH WRIGHT

PRESS: 863-8550

THE DAILY NEWS SUMMARY



Bush sends troops to feed Somalia

Congress, Clinton laud plan

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

After winning bipartisan support, President Bush yesterday ordered 28,150 troops into Somalia to protect delivery of supplies to hundreds of thousands of starving Somalis isolated by gang wars.

In what was viewed as his last major decision before vacating the Oval Office, Mr. Bush said "Operation Restore Hope" is a short-term mission, but aides conceded there was no chance U.S. troops will be withdrawn by the president's deadline of Inauguration Day, Jan. 20.

Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said American units will likely be in Somalia for two to three months. After that, U.S. troops will turn over the secured areas to United Nations peace-keeping forces and return home, he said.

Administration officials assured congressional leaders that the United States had no interest in trying to set up a government in the East African nation, which has been devastated by civil war.

After winning nearly unanimous support from congressional leaders, the president said in a nationally televised address that Operation Restore Hope is a "mission that can ease suffering and save lives."

A grim-faced Mr. Bush added: "When we see Somalia's children starving, all of America hurts. We've tried to help in many ways. And make no mistake about it, now we and our allies will ensure that aid gets through."

Clearly angered at theft of supplies at the expense of some 1.5 million starving Somalis, he said, "We will not tolerate armed gangs ripping off their own people, condemning them to death by starvation."

Under Mr. Bush's orders:

- By early next week, 1,800 Marines stationed in the Indian Ocean off the coast of southern Somalia will be sent in to secure the airport and seaport of Mogadishu, the country's capital, early next week.

- Subsequently, the port city of Kismayo and five other airports will be secured by a total of 16,000 Marines from Camp Pendleton, Calif., 10,000 Army troops from Fort Drum, N.Y., 600 Air Force personnel

flying cargo jets and 1,550 Navy personnel.

Administration officials said that once the cities and ports are under control, food and medicine will be distributed to the countryside.

A dozen other nations plan to send troops in the biggest mobilization of forces since the Gulf war, when 540,000 Americans were sent to the Middle East to push Iraqi troops out of Kuwait.

During his tenure, Mr. Bush ordered troops into action three times, the first in 1989 when he sent American forces to Panama to capture dictator Manuel Noriega.

Military leaders warned Mr. Bush that the mission could be dangerous, but the White House and Congress were assured that the Somali gang leaders stealing relief supplies pledged to stay out of the way.

"This is a potentially dangerous mission," said Gen. Powell.

Defense Secretary Dick Cheney said: "It is militarily doable. . . . We are not seeking a confrontation. We are not going expecting that we will

be engaged in heavy combat."

Mr. Bush, who is authorized to send in the troops under the War Powers Act, sought and won congressional support at a one-hour meeting at the White House.

In addition, President-elect Bill Clinton backed the effort. In a statement from Little Rock, Ark., he said, "I support President Bush's decision to dedicate U.S. forces in support of the . . . humanitarian mission."

After a briefing in Little Rock by Adm. David E. Jeremiah, assistant chairman of the Joint Chiefs, Mr. Clinton said the international community "will not stand idly by while armed bandits force starvation on millions of people who have become pawns in a political struggle for power."

"I think it's a mistake to have U.S. troops involved in it. And the terms of engagement are not clearly spelled out, and I think that's a mistake," he told reporters after the White House meeting.

Mr. Bush tried to explain the reasons for sending in troops in simple terms. First, he said he tried to help the starving masses last August when he authorized an Air Force airlift of humanitarian aid.

But, said Mr. Bush, "armed gangs roving the city" of Mogadishu seized most of the aid and kept it from the citizens.

"Confronted with these conditions, relief groups called for outside troops to provide security so they could feed people. It's now clear that military support is necessary to ensure the safe delivery of the food Somalis need to survive," he said.

The president said the mission was the only thing to do, considering the unwillingness of neighboring nations to help out.

"In taking this action, I want to emphasize that I understand the United States alone cannot right the world's wrongs," said Mr. Bush before leaving for a weekend at Camp David, Md., the presidential retreat.

"But we also know that some crises in the world cannot be resolved without American involvement, that American action is often necessary as a catalyst for broader involvement of the community of nations."

The United States also will provide \$32 million in corn to starving Somalis and other victims of food shortages in sub-Saharan Africa, according to Agriculture Secretary Edward Madigan.

President explains decision to deploy

Excerpts from President Bush's address yesterday on the mobilization of U.S. troops to Somalia:

"... Every American has seen the shocking images from Somalia. The scope of suffering there is hard to imagine. Already over a quarter-million people, as many people as live in Buffalo, New York, have died in the Somali famine. In the months ahead ... 1½ million people could starve to death.

"For many months now, the United States has been actively engaged in the massive international relief effort to ease Somalia's suffering. ...

"This summer, the distribution system broke down. ... Sufficient food failed to reach the starving in the interior of Somalia.

"And so in August, we took additional action. In concert with the United Nations, we sent in the U.S. Air Force to help fly food to the towns. ... And when the U.N. authorized 3,500 U.N. guards to protect the relief operation, we flew in the first of them — 500 soldiers from Pakistan.

"But in the months since then, the security situation has grown worse.

"In many cases, food from relief flights is being looted upon landing. Food convoys have been hijacked, aid workers assaulted, ships with food have been subject to artillery attacks that prevented them from docking.

"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 Somalis need to survive. ...

"Last night, the United Nations Security Council, by unanimous vote, ... welcomed the United States' offer to lead a coalition to get the food through. ...

"I have given the order to [Defense] Secretary [Dick] Cheney to move a substantial American force into Somalia.

"As I speak, a Marine amphibious ready group ... is offshore

Mogadishu. These troops will be joined by elements of the 1st Marine Expeditionary Force, based out of Camp Pendleton, California, and by the Army's 10th Mountain Division out of Fort Drum, New York.

"These, and other American forces, will assist in Operation Restore Hope. ...

"In taking this action, I want to emphasize that I understand the United States alone cannot right the world's wrongs, but we also know ... that American action is often necessary as a catalyst for broader involvement of the community of nations. ...

"We will not, however, be acting alone. I expect forces from about a dozen countries to join us in this mission. ...

"And here is what we and our co-

alition partners will do:

"First, we will create a secure environment in the hardest-hit parts of Somalia so that food can move from ships overland to the people in the countryside now devastated by starvation.

"And second, once we have created that secure environment, we will withdraw our troops, handing the security mission back to a regular U.N. peacekeeping force. ... This operation is not open-ended. We will not stay one day longer than is absolutely necessary.

"And let me be very clear. Our mission is humanitarian, but we will not tolerate armed gangs ripping off their own people, condemning them to death by starvation.

"[Marine] General [Joseph P.] Hoar and his troops have the author-

ity to take whatever military action is necessary to safeguard the lives of our troops and the lives of Somalia's people. ...

"To the people of Somalia, I promise this. ... We come to your country for one reason only, to enable the starving to be fed.

"And let me say to the men and women of our armed forces, we're asking you to do a difficult and dangerous job. As commander in chief, I assure you you will have our full support to get the job done. And we will bring you home as soon as possible. ...

"And so, to every sailor, soldier, airman and Marine who is involved in this mission, let me say you're doing God's work. We will not fail. Thank you, and may God bless the United States of America."

President makes it a private session with stars

By Anne Gowen
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Aretha Franklin, Tom Selleck, Sally Field and other stars turned out last evening for a White House reception for Kennedy Center honorees that the man of the house closed to reporters for the first time in four years.

Perhaps some hearts, especially Republican ones, weren't into it.

President Bush did give the occasion the old Yale try, albeit behind closed doors.

Reporters were allowed to watch guests arrive, and could hear the president's toast piped into the press room, but were not allowed upstairs afterward, as is customary. Officials gave no reason for the change.

In his toast, Mr. Bush praised the six honorees — choreographer Paul Taylor, actress-dancer Ginger Rogers, jazz musician Lionel Hampton, cellist-conductor Mstislav Rostropovich and the husband-wife acting team of Paul Newman and Joanne Woodward.

"We tapped our feet to their music," the president said, "hummed their tunes, glided around our living rooms ..." (Here, he departed from his text with a wisecrack: "something to witness!")

"Grinned at the movie screens, or maybe even waved an imaginary baton," Mr. Bush continued. "Tonight's honorees have delivered a lifetime of performances that have carried us to places and emotions and ideals only the best in the performing arts can reach."

■ ■ ■

Paul Taylor was perusing an oil painting on a wall. "I feel very American tonight," he said. "There's a lot of Americana in these rooms."

The modern dance master meant the seldom-seen State Department diplomatic



Photo by Vivian Ronay/The Washington Times
Paul Newman and Joanne Woodward enter the Kennedy Center for the awards ceremony.

rooms, with their antiques and history and wide nighttime view of the Lincoln Memorial.

Such was the setting for Saturday night's duckling dinner at the State Department to salute the 15th annual Kennedy Center honorees.

Coming as the event did during the transition to the first Democratic administration in 12 years, there were some new faces among the familiar ones such as former Bush-Quayle campaign chief Robert Mosbacher and his cosmetics-queen wife, Georgette, in gray wool Dior.

"I'm sure having a ball," Vernon E. Jordan Jr., Clinton transition chairman, confided to Mr. Selleck, a Bush favorite. Mr. Jordan then

crossed his long fingers and said "Stay tuned" when asked if President-elect Bill Clinton might announce some Cabinet picks this week.

The secretary of state traditionally is host of this dinner on the eve of the Kennedy Center Honors gala. This year, acting Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger filled in.

"I am, however, not the only one playing this role on the Washington stage," Mr. Eagleburger said of his "acting" status. "Not with 535 members of Congress and several others vying for the same role."

"Nor can I judge that there has been more method than madness to my acting of late. All I know for certain is that some of my subordinates have been acting up," he added, in a reference to the Clinton file search.

Kennedy Center Chairman James Wolfensohn bestowed the brightly colored, beribboned national medal of the arts on the six honorees, who then were toasted.

Mr. Newman and his wife arrived late, citing a schedule foul-up. The actor seemed a tad nonplussed at a reception before dinner.

"Well, there's the obligatory answer," he replied when asked his thoughts. "Terrific."

But what was he really thinking about the honor?

"It was unexpected and surprising," Mr. Newman said. "And we will not take offense."

■ ■ ■

Even the stars had Mr. Clinton's advent on their mind.

Mr. Selleck, whose long hair drooped over his tuxedo collar and nearly overshadowed his impossibly chiseled face, wouldn't say whom he voted for.

"I think we should, as the American people, regardless of how we voted, give him the support he deserves," the actor said, adding of the

■ "A lifetime of performances that only the best in the performing arts can reach."

inauguration: "I'm not wangling an invitation."

Actor Gregory Peck, an honoree last year, was master of ceremonies Saturday night. Also at dinner were singer Leontyne Price; actresses Cicely Tyson, Dina Merrill and Michele Lee; actors Michael York and Christopher Plummer; CBS newswoman Connie Chung (sans husband Maury Povich), CBS veteran Walter Cronkite and Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Massachusetts Sen. Edward Kennedy ushered his coltishly beautiful lawyer-wife Victoria, stopping her at the appropriate marks for photographers and remarking, "Everybody seems so nice tonight!"

Jean Kennedy Smith sat at her brother's table. Last year, during the rape trial of her son William, the gala had to do without any Kennedys.

Ginger Rogers, resplendent in dark glasses and a sparkling pink gown, was wheeled around in a wheelchair. She was refreshingly tart and, she said, was having a good time.

"It's a wonderful, fun-packed weekend," Miss Rogers said.

And the best thing?

"There's no talking. You don't talk at these things. You smile. That's all."

Reagan: Protect Bosnians

FROM COMBINED DISPATCHES

OXFORD, England — Former President Reagan said yesterday that "evil still stalks the planet" and called for the use of military power as a humanitarian tool in Yugoslavia, Somalia and other countries that flout human decency.

"What I propose . . . is nothing less than a human velvet glove backed by a steel fist of military force," he said in a speech to about 1,000 students at the Oxford Union.

There were several boos when Mr. Reagan arrived at the union, but he was given standing ovations before and after the 30-minute speech. Students also applauded when Mr. Reagan noted that Bill Clinton, a former Oxford student, won the U.S. presidency.

Mr. Reagan, who once dubbed the former Soviet Union "the evil empire," said that with the collapse of communism, the world appears to have traded "a single, monolithic

threat to the world's peace for a host of smaller, yet no less deadly, flash-points."

He said multinational institutions like the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the United Nations must be in the forefront of putting "weapons behind our words" to help get food to starving Somalis and put an end to "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia.

Mr. Reagan also 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."

"Just as the world's democracies banded together to advance the cause of freedom in the face of totalitarianism, might we not now unite to impose civilized standards of behavior on those who flout every measure of human decency?" he asked.

Speaking of the ethnic warfare in

Bosnia-Herzegovina, Mr. Reagan said, "Quite frankly, the average American is perplexed to put it mildly, that such abominations can occur in Yugoslavia while a Europe, moving toward union, refrains from action. . . ."

"The U.N. has voted that humanitarian assistance to civilian populations may be delivered through all necessary means. NATO has those means. NATO is the means."

The former president said the Serbs must be "given an ultimatum to cease the shelling of civilian populations and lift their deadly siege."

"The consequence of ignoring the ultimatum is this: sharply focused bombing against Serbian military supplies and targets."

On Somalia, Mr. Reagan said that in parts of Africa, "mankind is an endangered species."

"Have we come to the point where we must set up human preserves as we have for rhinos and elephants? If so, then let us do it and do it now," he said.

Weinberger indictment denounced by Cheney

By Carleton R. Bryant
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Defense Secretary Dick Cheney yesterday denounced the indictment of Caspar Weinberger as an "outrage" but said he has not — "at this point" — advised President Bush to pardon the former defense chief, as several prominent Republicans have proposed.

Appearing on NBC's "Meet the Press," Mr. Cheney joined a GOP chorus of disapproval, led by Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole, over Iran-Contra special prosecutor Lawrence Walsh's Oct. 30 indictment of the former defense secretary.

"I think the indictment of 'Cap' Weinberger's a travesty," Mr. Cheney said. "But I have not gotten into the business, at this point, of advising the president on whether or not he ought to issue a pardon."

Attorney General William P. Barr has until Friday to respond to Mr. Dole's request for an investigation of Mr. Walsh's six-year, \$40 million probe and, more specifically, the timing of the Weinberger indictment's release.

Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman Joseph Biden, Delaware Democrat, has said he will not make a final decision on Mr. Dole's request for hearings to investigate Mr. Walsh until Mr. Barr announces what he intends to do.



Cheney

Mr. Cheney, a former member of the House Intelligence Committee, said he knows a "good deal" about the Iran-Contra affair and the level of Mr. Weinberger's participation.

"I was the senior House Republican on the committee that investigated the Iran-Contra matter. I know personally that 'Cap' [Mr. Weinberger] opposed the Iran-Contra operation," he said.

"And the fact that now — six years after the fact — ... the special prosecutor, who has yet really to nail anybody and who's spent millions of dollars, is out trying to prosecute 'Cap' Weinberger, I think, is an outrage," Mr. Cheney said.

Republican leaders have argued that the Weinberger indictment was politically motivated and released four days before the presidential election by a prosecutor on Mr. Walsh's staff who had contributed to Mr. Clinton's campaign.

Republicans also have charged collusion between Mr. Walsh's office and the Clinton campaign, which issued a detailed news release on the indictment dated the day before the indictment became public knowledge.

In addition, Mr. Dole, a Kansas Republican, has called on Mr. Walsh to fire James Brosnahan, the Iran-Contra prosecutor who filed the indictment and contributed to the Clinton campaign fund.

Mr. Dole, who soon will be the nation's highest-ranking elected GOP official, has led the call for a pardon of Mr. Weinberger and all those implicated in the arms-for-hostages scheme.

Airline executive gave big to GOP with case pending

ASSOCIATED PRESS

The co-chairman of Northwest Airlines gave \$100,000 to the Republican Party at a time when the Bush administration was moving toward approval of two favorable rulings that helped the financially ailing airline.

Gary L. Wilson wrote checks for \$80,000 and \$20,000 to separate GOP accounts on Aug. 18, according to Federal Election Commission records.

The administration in September gave final approval to an open-skies agreement with the Netherlands, the first such deal with any European country. It allows KLM Royal Dutch Airlines — which owns 49 percent of Northwest's parent company — to fly to any U.S. market it chooses.

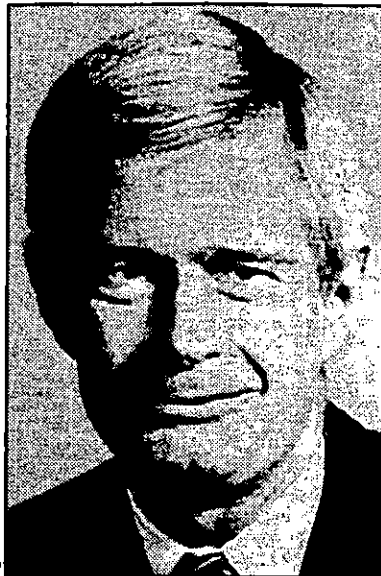
Two months later, the Transportation Department gave preliminary approval to the antitrust immunity Northwest and KLM needed to merge their services. The airlines say that will allow them to compete more effectively with Delta Air Lines and other big transatlantic carriers.

Now KLM and a group of Northwest's bankers and equipment suppliers reportedly have agreed to lend the carrier \$260 million to keep it solvent through the winter.

Elliott Seiden, Northwest's vice president for law and governmental affairs, said yesterday "there's no possibility of a connection" between Mr. Wilson's contribution and approval of the Northwest-KLM deal.

He noted that a tentative open-skies agreement had been reached with KLM and the Dutch government — after years of negotiations — several months before the contribution.

"It just defies any sense of credulity to suppose that any contribution made in August had anything to do with putting these policies in place," Mr. Seiden said in a telephone interview. "It really is unfair to imply or suggest that a contribution bought a policy from the Bush administration."



Fred Malek drew Ross Perot's fire after he quit as Northwest's vice chairman to run the Bush campaign.

Similar protracted negotiations are now under way among the U.S. and British governments and USAir and British Airways on an arrangement that would lead to a partial merger of the two airlines.

Mr. Wilson, who has a substantial financial stake in Northwest, had not contributed to the party or President Bush before, federal records show. In fact, he gave to Democrat Michael Dukakis in 1988 — \$1,000 each to presidential candidates Dukakis, Democrat Al Gore and Republican Bob Dole.

Mr. Wilson denied through a Northwest spokesman that his contributions this year were linked to the pending government action. But one critic says the actions fit a pattern of political activity by corporations and investors.

"When you're giving contributions in that ballpark, you are not giving for truth, justice and the American way. You're usually giving for very specific purposes," said Larry Makinson, research director of the Center for Responsive Politics.

Mr. Wilson declined to comment on why he contributed so much money to the GOP this year.

"He's not in the mood to get into a discussion of why [the candidates he contributed to were] Democratic in 1988 and Republican in 1992," said Doug Miller, a Northwest spokesman.

Direct contributions to candidates are limited by law, but individuals and even corporations can give unlimited amounts of money to party organizations to assist in get-out-the-vote drives and other party-building activities.

Archer Daniels Midland Co., the nation's biggest ethanol producer, and its chairman, Duane Andreas, gave more than \$900,000 to the GOP during 1991 and 1992. Shortly before the election, the administration waived environmental rules to permit the use of ethanol, a gasoline additive, in badly polluted cities.

At Northwest, Mr. Wilson and Co-chairman Al Checchi led a group with KLM that bought the carrier in 1989 and took it private. Together they invested \$40 million.

The Northwest-KLM deal briefly surfaced as an issue in the presidential race because of Fred Malek, who resigned as the airline's vice chairman to manage the Bush campaign. Independent candidate Ross Perot suggested that he had a conflict of interest because of the pending Northwest-KLM partnership. "Guess who's on the president's campaign big time?" Mr. Perot asked during a debate. "A guy from Northwest."

Northwest and its executives and board members have cultivated friends in both parties.

Mr. Checchi, a longtime Democratic donor, gave \$15,000 to the party in 1991 and \$1,000 to Bill Clinton's campaign this year.

The airline's board includes San Francisco investor Richard Blum, who gave some \$25,000 to various Democratic Party committees and candidates for this year's election, and former Vice President Walter Mondale.

Liberals Hold Sway on Agency Audit Teams

Tensions between the conservative and liberal wings of the Clinton coalition are starting to show as various transition teams get assembled.

For example, the domestic policy cluster, headed by Al From, is largely dominated by people from—or aligned with—From's Democratic Leadership Council, a group Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton helped found to pull the party more to the right.

But some of the agency audit teams, which will be reviewing agency operations for the new department heads, appear heavily represented by the liberal wing

of the party, at least judging from the backgrounds of those likely to be running the environment and justice teams.

For example, sources say those named to assist World Resources Institute president Gus Speth on environment/natural resources include:

Sierra Club legislative director David Gardiner; Carter administration Environmental Protection Agency head Douglas M. Costle; a Speth aide at WRI, Rafe Pomerance;



AL FROM

Brooks Yeager, who headed Environmentalists for Clinton-Gore and is on leave from the Audubon Society to work with the League of Conservation Voters; Sharon Newsome of the National Wildlife Federation; longtime Clinton friend and transition board member Thomas F. "Mack" McLarty III; and John Leshy, Arizona State University law school professor and aide to House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee Chairman George Miller (D-Calif.) who is described as one of Miller's "thinkers." Leshy, heading the team at the Interior Department, was seen there last week with Speth and Yeager.

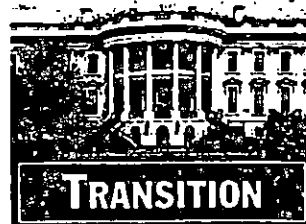
Most of this group is greener than the Jolly Green Giant.

Meanwhile, the Justice Department team, headed by Georgetown law professor Peter Edelman and New York corporate lawyer Bernard Nussbaum, includes a number of prominent liberals.

Emma Jordan, Georgetown law professor and friend of Anita F. Hill, is reviewing operations in the attorney general's office along with Jeffrey Blattner, counsel to Sen. Edward M. Kennedy's Judiciary subcommittee; Virginia E. Sloan, an attorney on Rep. Don Edwards's House Judiciary subcommittee, and Washington attorney Anne K. Bingaman of Powell, Goldstein, Frazer & Murphy.

Lois Schiffer, a lawyer at Nussbaum & Wald, former general counsel at National Public Radio and Lands Division section chief, will check on environmental and natural resources. Harvard law professor Kathleen Sullivan—often described as a protégé of liberal Harvard professor Laurence Tribe—will review the solicitor general's office, assisted by Georgetown law professor Chai Feldblum, a former American Civil Liberties Union attorney who will focus on the office of legal counsel. Sutherland, Asbill & Brennan tax expert Margaret M. Richardson will check the tax division. Michael Bromwiche, for-

mer federal prosecutor, top aide to Iran-contra prosecutor Lawrence E. Walsh and lawyer at Mayer, Brown & Platt, will eye the criminal division, assisted by Harvard law professor and former head of the criminal division Phillip Heymann, who will check the FBI. Also, former Federal Trade Commission chairman and Georgetown law professor Robert Pitofsky for anti-trust; Carolyn Osolinik, formerly counsel to Kennedy's Judiciary subcommittee and now at Mayer, Brown, for justice programs; Gore aide Thurgood Marshall Jr. for personnel; Williams & Connolly lawyer Victoria L. Radd for the civil division; Covington & Burling lawyer Thomas S. Williamson Jr. for the civil rights division; former Minnesota corrections head Kenneth Schoen for the Bureau of Prisons; and Dickstein, Shapiro & Morin lawyer Peter Kadzik for the Federal Election Commission.



A List Rivlin Wasn't On

■ Alice M. Rivlin, former head of the Congressional Budget Office, is said to be a candidate to direct the Office of Management and Budget. But it is not lost on some political types within the Clinton camp that her name was conspicuously absent from the list of 600 economists who endorsed Clinton's economic policies during the campaign. And it was not missing because the Clinton people didn't try, said one knowledgeable source.

On the Vice Presidential Beat

■ Seen having coffee at the Hay Adams last week . . . Vice President Quayle's spokesman David Beckwith and Marla Romash, Clinton's transition deputy communications director here, who is talked about for either vice presidential spokeswoman or another top position in the new administration.

A solid bet to move into the veep's chief of staff slot, replacing conservative brain truster William Kristol, is Vice President-elect Gore's administrative assistant, Roy M. Neel.

Potential Dilemma for Mineta

■ Spotted in Little Rock . . . Rep. Norman Y. Mineta (D-Calif.) was there last week—talking transportation secretary maybe? He'd be the first Asian-American Cabinet member. On the other hand, the retirement of Rep. Robert A. Roe (D-N.J.) makes Mineta chairman of the powerful House Public Works and Transportation Committee if he stays in the House.

Albright: Right at Home

■ Seems like old times . . . National Security Council transition team member Madeleine Albright's office at the White House is only a few feet from her old desk when she worked at the NSC for Zbigniew Brzezinski. Even a guard asked her as she arrived: "Didn't you used to work here?"

—Al Kamen and Tom Kenworthy

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Clinton to Tap Bentsen to Head Treasury, Panetta for White House Budget Office

Two Wall Streeters, Rubin And Altman, Will Get Other Economic Posts

By JEFFREY H. BIRNBAUM

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — President-elect Clinton has decided on his top economic team, and the lineup isn't surprising; it will be moderate and establishmentarian, and will include two sitting chairmen of major fiscal committees in Congress.

According to officials at the Clinton transition, the president-elect will name Chairman Lloyd Bentsen (D., Texas) of the Senate Finance Committee to be his Treasury secretary and Chairman Leon Panetta (D., Calif.) of the House Budget Committee to head the White House Budget Office. Mr. Clinton will begin announcing his choices on Thursday.



Lloyd Bentsen

Mr. Clinton will turn to Wall Street to fill two other senior posts. His economic security adviser will be Robert Rubin, co-chairman of Goldman, Sachs & Co., and the deputy Treasury secretary will be Roger Altman, an investment banker who was an assistant Treasury secretary during the Carter administration.

The announcement Thursday will include at least some of these top appointments, and other top appointments will follow soon thereafter. With no women or minorities among the economic selections, Mr. Clinton is likely to name at least one or two women to top environmental posts. There is also a better-than-even chance that a woman will be named attorney general, according to officials. And other women are considered serious contenders.

In addition, Alice Rivlin, the former Congressional Budget Office director who had been in the running to head the budget office, is likely to be offered some other senior post. One possibility is chairwoman of the Council of Economic Advisers.

A leading candidate to chair the council has been Robert Reich, a Harvard University professor who is heading the transition's economic-policy effort. In recent

for several posts, including the secretaries of education and possibly agriculture. weeks, Clinton officials have talked privately about forming an advisory council directed by Mr. Reich.

But Mr. Reich's chances of getting the CEA job have declined. Mr. Reich doesn't have a degree in economics, and economists with such credentials have groused about the possibility of his leading such a prestigious panel. Clinton officials would say only that Mr. Reich will receive some sort of senior role in the administration.

For his top economic team, Mr. Clinton has picked three veterans of major legislative battles in Congress. Sen. Bentsen, who is 71 years old, and Rep. Panetta, who is 54, have been actively involved in every significant piece of fiscal legislation enacted over the last decade, including huge deficit-reduction bills and tax overhaul. The 46-year-old Mr. Altman is seen as a younger complement to Sen. Bentsen and an important link to Wall Street, but he also was integral to the Chrysler Corp. bailout during the Carter years.

Mr. Clinton's top priority next year is to pass an economic-revitalization and deficit-reduction bill that will rival any of those earlier efforts in size and scope. As a result, in picking his top economic team Mr. Clinton looked for expertise both in the substance and the politics of fiscal legislation, officials said.

Although he isn't as much an insider as the others, the 54-year-old Mr. Rubin has closely watched Washington's ways for many years, is well respected in the financial markets and has been prominent in Democratic circles as both an economic adviser and fund-raiser.

The selection of two sitting chairmen will mean much flux in Congress. If Sen. Bentsen takes the post, the Finance Committee, which has jurisdiction over tax, trade and health-care issues, is expected to be chaired by Sen. Daniel Moynihan (D., N.Y.), 65, who has considerable experience directing legislative efforts both in the Senate, where he has served since 1977, and earlier as an executive branch official. Others on the panel will also become more prominent, including such close friends of Mr. Clinton as Sens. David Pryor (D., Ark.) and John Breaux (D., La.).

The selection of the nine-term Mr. Panetta will set off a battle royal for his seat as chairman of the high-profile House budget panel. From the left, Rep. Martin Sabo (D., Minn.) is expected to be a leading candidate. From the right, Rep. Charles Stenholm (D., Texas) is expected to make a run. The centrist candidate is

likely to be Rep. John Spratt (D., S.C.), who is an expert in military matters. The House Democratic Caucus would have to take a special vote to select a new Budget Committee chairman.

After the economic appointments are made, some of the jobs to be named afterward are expected to be in the environmental area. The leading contenders to head the Environmental Protection Agency are thought to be women: Carol Browner, who is a former aide to Vice President-elect Albert Gore and is currently chief of Florida's Department of Environmental Regulation; and Madeline Kunin, a former Vermont governor who is a member of the Clinton transition board. Retiring Colorado Sen. Tim Wirth is most often mentioned as the likely choice for energy secretary.

Separately, John Young, the recently retired chief executive of Hewlett-Packard Co., took himself out of the running for commerce secretary because he said he was concerned about the "appearance of conflict of interest." Individuals close to the 60-year-old Mr. Young said he had several high-level discussions with senior Clinton aides concerning the top commerce job.

But Mr. Young, who is a Republican supporter of Mr. Clinton, became convinced that his large holding in Hewlett-Packard stock and options would pose problems. The Clinton administration wants to turn the moribund commerce agency into a lead player in commercializing promising new technology, particularly in computers. Those efforts, Mr. Young believed, would inevitably lead to conflicts with his Hewlett-Packard holdings.

However, he said in a statement, "I remain very supportive of the Clinton agenda, and I suspect there are many ways I could contribute outside holding an official role."



Rep. Leon Panetta

Moderate leads domestic policy team

By Donald Lambro
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

When Al From, one of the Democratic Party's leading strategists, discovered that organized labor had slipped a proposal for yearly minimum wage increases into the party platform, he cringed.

"I would not have put it in," Mr. From said at the national convention in July where, as the head of the moderate Democratic Leadership Council and a key adviser to Bill Clinton, he helped shape the platform in the DLC's image.

The labor provision, he feared, might send the wrong signal that Mr. Clinton was beholden to the party's traditional, liberal special interests, and the idea was never mentioned in any of his campaign speeches.

Mr. From, who spearheaded the DLC that Mr. Clinton chaired for nearly two years before declaring his candidacy and who was on the enemies list of a number of party liberals, is now heading the president-elect's domestic policy transition team. That's made some liberal Democrats a little nervous.

"I'm not surprised, because they were upset by the whole idea of the DLC when it was created," said a veteran party leader who did not wish to be identified.

"I'm sure it has [made some liberals nervous] because the DLC has tried to take the party back to the center, and that concerns some people in the party," said Stuart Eizenstat, a veteran party strategist and



Al From

chief domestic adviser in the Carter administration.

"It's not an accident that Al From was appointed to that position," Mr. Eizenstat added. "He's head keeper of the flame, and thanks to him the DLC has led our party back from the wilderness. He understands where Bill Clinton is coming from, and he's not going to let anything deviate us from that."

The president-elect will address a DLC dinner tomorrow night and is expected to reaffirm his commitment to the group's moderate vision of the party.

As head of the domestic policy group, Mr. From is in a powerful position to select party moderates for top policy posts in the new administration. His chief deputy, Bruce Reed, is a former DLC staffer.

"Al is a 25-year veteran of this party, and few people know better how to maneuver politically than he does," a close aide said. "He's got teams of people in place, and they are concentrating on the key proposals in our agenda — national service, welfare reform, health care and family issues."

"There's a lot of politics going on [in the transition groups]," said another insider who also did not wish to be named. "And there's some [fighting], but the spirit is generally conciliatory and collaborative."

Nevertheless, the nervousness Mr. From's enlarged role has sparked in some party circles underscores the competing ideologies that still divide Democrats and that Mr. Clinton is going to have to overcome if he is to swing his party behind the reforms he outlined in his campaign.

Mr. Clinton is being bombarded with a number of political blueprints and action memos that represent these divisions, all of them pulling the president-elect to move in opposite directions.

The DLC's think tank, the Progressive Policy Institute, for one, will issue its 380-page "Mandate for Change" today, urging Mr. Clinton to shun the party's long-standing liberal agenda and pursue more moderate policies.

"Al is a 25-year veteran of this party, and few people know better how to maneuver politically than he does."

The book "sets forth a philosophy and governing agenda that offers progressive alternatives to the old left-right debate," PPI President Will Marshall said.

On the party's left, the Economic Policy Institute has sent Mr. Clinton and his chief economic adviser, Robert Reich, a confidential 40-page memorandum that calls for a deficit-raising, big spending stimulus package.

Those with access to the discussions going on within the Clinton transition groups on economic policy say that there is still wide disagreement over how much of a spending stimulus is necessary in light of recent reports that show more strength in the economy than was previously believed.

Yet, even though more liberal Democrats distrust the DLC's agenda, most believe it is too early to reach any firm conclusions about Mr. Clinton's proposals or the ideological direction he will take. And there is a mood among the Democrats in Congress that after being

out of power for most of the last 24 years, they have a stake in trying to help Mr. Clinton succeed.

"When you take a look at all of the transition clusters and team leaders, there is a diverse population that represents a variety of sectors of the party," said Amy Isaacs, national director of the Americans for Democratic Action. "You have Al From on one side and you have people like Robert Reich and [transition chairman] Vernon Jordan on the other."

But when the Progressive Policy Institute issued an analysis of the party's problems by two top DLC policy strategists, William Galston and Elaine Kamarck, Miss Isaacs said she was angered enough by their views that she wrote a letter complaining that they were dividing the party.

"They were basically declaring civil war within their party, unlike Clinton who is basically trying to bring the party together," she said.

"We'll have differences as we go along, but Al From is not in charge of the administration," Miss Isaacs said. "What we're talking about are differences of degree."

Mr. Marshall, however, thinks that Mr. Clinton will attempt to transcend the party's differences through his policies and appointments.

"I believe that Bill Clinton is defining a new Democratic coalition in which the old schisms are not as relevant as they used to be," he said. "Our [proposals] will be a guide to the new thinking that is shaping Clinton's administration."



Aspin



Dellums



Bliley



Bateman

COMMITTEE COMMOTION

At least three House committees will get new Democratic chairman and 10 will get new ranking Republicans next week. A look at the committees:

Agriculture:

Chairman: E. "Kika" de la Garza, Texas.

Ranking Republican: Vacant. Pat Roberts of Kansas in line.

Appropriations:

Chairman: Jamie L. Whitten of Mississippi. William H. Natcher of Kentucky expected to take over.

Ranking Republican: Joseph M. McDade of Pennsylvania. Could be ousted.

Armed Services:

Chairman: Les Aspin of Wisconsin.

Ranking Republican: Vacant. Floyd D. Spence of South Carolina likely.

Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs:

Chairman: Henry B. Gonzalez of Texas.

Ranking Republican: Vacant. Jim Leach of Iowa in line.

District of Columbia:

Chairman: Ronald V. Dellums of California.

Ranking Republican: Thomas J. Bliley Jr. of Virginia. Stable unless he wins other post.

Energy and Commerce:

Chairman: John D. Dingell of Michigan.

Ranking Republican: Vacant. Carlos J. Moorhead of California in line. Mr. Bliley may challenge.

Foreign Affairs:

Chairman: Vacant. Lee H. Hamilton of Indiana in line.

Ranking Republican: Vacant. Benjamin Gilman of New York in line. Possible challenge.

Government Operations:

Chairman: John Conyers Jr. of Michigan.

Ranking Republican: Vacant. William F. Clinger of Pennsylvania in line.

Intelligence:

Chairman: Dave McCurdy of Oklahoma.

Ranking Republican: Vacant. Larry Combest of Texas in line.

Merchant Marines and Fishery:

Chairman: Vacant. Gerry E. Studds of Massachusetts in line.

Ranking Republican: Vacant. Jack Fields of Texas and Herbert H. Bateman of Virginia in line.

Post Office and Civil Service:

Chairman: William L. Clay of Missouri.

Ranking Republican: Benjamin A. Gilman of New York. Shake-up if Mr. Gilman moves to Foreign Affairs.

Public Works and Transportation:

Chairman: Vacant. Norman Y. Mineta of California in line.

Ranking Republican: Vacant. Bud Shuster of Pennsylvania in line. Possible challenge.

Small Business:

Chairman: John J. LaFalce of New York.

Ranking Republican: Vacant. Jan Meyers of Kansas in line.

Veterans' Affairs:

Chairman: G. V. "Sonny" Montgomery of Mississippi. Challenged by Lane Evans of Illinois.

Ranking Republican: Bob Stump of Arizona.

3 WOMEN ARE SAID TO BE CANDIDATES FOR CABINET POSTS

CLINTON ADJUSTS SIGNALS

Educator, Ex-Vermont Governor
and an Indiana Lawmaker
Are Being Considered

By GWEN IFILL

Special to The New York Times

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Dec. 6 — Concerned that his first Cabinet appointments might signal the wrong intentions for his Administration, President-elect Bill Clinton plans to expand this week's announcements to include posts that would be filled by female and minority appointees.

Aides to the President-elect said that Madeleine M. Kunin, the former Governor of Vermont; Donna E. Shalala, the chancellor of the University of Wisconsin, and Jill L. Long, a Congresswoman from Indiana, are leading candidates for Cabinet jobs.

Mrs. Kunin, who is serving on the transition board and helped Mr. Clinton select Senator Al Gore of Tennessee as his running mate, is the likely nominee to lead the Environmental Protection Agency. Mrs. Kunin is credited with rewriting Vermont's environmental laws, including new rules for toxic waste and garbage dumping.

'Look Like America'

Ms. Shalala (pronounced shuh-LAY-luh), who met with Mr. Clinton here last week and held a reception for Mr. Clinton and Senator Gore at her Madison, Wis., home during a campaign visit this fall, is in the running for Secretary of Education, Secretary of Commerce or possibly one other position.

And Representative Long, who was interviewed by Mr. Clinton on Saturday, is considered a top prospect for the Department of Agriculture. She owns an 80-acre farm in northeastern Indiana.

Image of Diversity Sought

Mr. Clinton said repeatedly during the campaign that his closest circle of advisers would "look like America," his way of promising a Cabinet that would include men, women and members of minorities. But some of his advisers have worried that as he grew closer to making his first public announcements — probably on Thursday — this promise would conflict with his desire to fill economic posts first.

His leading choices for the financial jobs, including Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas for Secretary of the Treasury, Roger C. Altman as Mr. Bentsen's deputy, and Robert E. Rubin or Robert B. Reich as Economic Security Adviser, are all white men. Mr. Reich is also

being considered for Commerce Secretary, aides said today.

"There's sensitivity about rolling out four white males," said one Clinton aide. "They want to show their sense of diversity."

Alice M. Rivlin, an economist who was the first director of the Congressional Budget Office, is the only woman who has been mentioned in the first rank of economic appointments, and it has remained unclear to which post she might be appointed.

Rather than scour the country further for women or minority candidates for the economic jobs, Clinton aides who are aware of how closely watched the President-elect's first appointments will be have been working instead to expand the pool of announcements.

Blacks Under Consideration

The Clinton transition team is also helping the President-elect select candidates for the Departments of Health and Human Services, Energy and Interior.

Aides are also concerned that none of Mr. Clinton's first appointees will be black. Black candidates have been mentioned most often for the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Department of Health and Human Services, two departments where blacks have held Cabinet posts in past administrations.

Among those mentioned for these jobs have been Joycelyn Elders, the Secretary of the Arkansas Department of Health, Vincent Lane, the head of the Chicago Housing Authority, and Marian Wright Edelman, the executive director of the Children's Defense Fund, a children's advocacy group.

Alexis Herman, a transition official who has been a deputy at the Demo-

cratic National Committee and ran the national convention for Mr. Clinton, is reported to be considered to become Secretary of Labor and would be the first black woman in that position. She

once headed the Woman's Bureau at that department.

And at least two black big-city mayors — Maynard Jackson of Atlanta and Kurt Schmoke of Baltimore — have been mentioned for Administration posts. Mr. Schmoke, however, has said that he plans to remain in Baltimore.

The Democratic National Committee chairman, Ronald H. Brown, has also met with Mr. Clinton to discuss a Cabinet post, but it is unclear whether he is seeking or being considered for a foreign policy or a domestic policy role.

A more distinct problem has emerged in the search for Hispanic Cabinet candidates. Henry Cisneros, a Clinton friend, transition adviser and a former Mayor of San Antonio, is considered likely to take over the Senate seat to be vacated by Mr. Bentsen's elevation to Treasury Secretary.

And Representative Bill Richardson of New Mexico, another Hispanic possibility who was interviewed for a Cab-

net job in Little Rock, is considered by some to be to have insufficient experience for a senior position. Federico Pena, the former Mayor of Denver, has been considered along with Mr. Jackson of Atlanta to be a prospect for the Department of Transportation.

But while some of the appointments to the domestic posts are becoming firm, there has been some turmoil within the tentative economic team. Lawrence H. Summers, who had been considered a top choice to be Mr. Clinton's Economic Security Adviser, has come under fire from environmentalists who are allies of Mr. Gore.

At issue is a memorandum written by Mr. Summers while he was chief economist at the World Bank. In it, he argued that it might make sense to dispose of toxic industrial waste in developing countries. He has said the memorandum was merely a working paper and not a statement of belief. But the dispute has wounded his chances for the White House job, aides said.

Better Times May Lead Clinton to Focus on Deficit

By STEVEN GREENHOUSE
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 6 — The economic team that President-elect Bill Clinton has chosen and a recent pickup in economic growth mean that Mr. Clinton is likely to take a tougher approach to reducing the Federal budget deficit than he expressed during the campaign, transition team members said this weekend.

In interviews, a number of advisers said the encouraging economic news and the likelihood that the President-elect would choose a deficit "hawk" to be his budget director made it less likely that Mr. Clinton would decide to push the deficit up temporarily to give the economy a quick jolt.

"If, come January, employment is substantially on the rebound, then obviously there's less need — there may be no need — to take immediate action" to stimulate the economy in the short term, Robert B. Reich, the head of Mr. Clinton's economic transition team, said.

Mr. Clinton's advisers have been weighing whether the Government should spend \$20 billion to \$50 billion more on public works next year with the aim of creating more than a million jobs. But, they said, the drop in the November unemployment rate to 7.2 percent, from 7.4 percent, is making them reconsider whether a stimulus program is needed. They add that if job growth stalls, action may be required.

Focus May Shift

Mr. Clinton's apparent choice for Treasury Secretary, Senator Lloyd Bentsen, and the other members of the new economic team are expected to follow most of the economic proposals Mr. Clinton promoted during the campaign, the advisers say. Nonetheless, a few advisers suggested that Mr. Bentsen might seek to graft on some of his own ideas, like expanding individual retirement accounts in the hope of increasing the amount that Americans save.

Because of the surprisingly strong economic growth in recent weeks, transition team members said, Mr. Clinton may shift his economic focus away from short-term stimulus and toward long-term problems, like slow income growth, low investment and poor worker training.

Mr. Reich, who aides say is being considered to be Commerce Secretary or to run the proposed economic security council, said that "when job growth comes back, the long-term challenges will still be there." He said those included reducing the deficit, improving the quality of the work force, and rebuilding highways and other public works "to insure that our children have a higher standard of living."

Over the last decade, neither Senator Bentsen nor Mr. Reich has made deep reductions in the deficit a top priority, many economists say. But the other candidates whom Mr. Clinton is considering for his economic team are all known for tough views on the deficit. They include the two

candidates favored to be budget director, Representative Leon E. Panetta, the California Democrat who is chairman of the House Budget Committee, and Alice M. Rivlin, former director of the Congressional Budget Office.

Roger C. Altman, an investment banker at the Blackstone Group who advisers say has been tapped to be Deputy Treasury Secretary, shares Wall Street's concerns about bringing down the deficit. So does Robert E. Rubin, the co-chairman of Goldman, Sachs & Company, who, like Mr. Reich, is being considered to run the economic security council.

One adviser said that because Mr. Bentsen, Mr. Panetta and Ms. Rivlin all knew their way around Congress, Mr. Clinton might find it easier to push some tough deficit-reduction measures through the House and Senate.

'Great Deal of Experience'

Robert D. Reischauer, director of the Congressional Budget Office, said of Mr. Bentsen, "He certainly would bring to the job a great deal of expertise about the tax system and how revenues might be raised," as well as "the likely Congressional reaction to those proposals."

In the past, Mr. Bentsen, the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, has favored tax breaks for the oil and gas industry and for real estate investment. But several Clinton advisers said they would expect him to put those preferences on the back burner while pushing for Mr. Clinton's agenda, which calls for increasing taxes on the rich.

Aides to Mr. Clinton say Mr. Panetta has the edge in the competition to be director of the Office of Management and Budget. He was one of the most outspoken Democrats in Congress for deficit reduction, and in an interview last month he said that as part of any economic program, Mr. Clinton's advisers needed to "lay out first and foremost their deficit-reduction plan."

"This is a guy who has talked about deficit reduction as an overarching goal," said Gary D. Bass, director of O.M.B. Watch, a liberal budget research group in Washington. "And I'd say Alice Rivlin has much the same viewpoint."

Possible Criticism

Several advisers acknowledged that if the President-elect appoints Mr. Bentsen and Mr. Panetta this week, the man who ran on a platform of change might be lambasted for turning his Administration over to pillars of the Washington status quo.

"Whatever the first week's perception of these people as Washington insiders, what the country cares about is whether or not you produce

The role of the economic security council apparently is still undecided.

change," one Clinton adviser said, adding that with their contacts in Congress, Mr. Bentsen and Mr. Panetta would lubricate the wheels of change.

As for the economic security council, Mr. Clinton's advisers admit they have not figured out its exact structure and scope. In proposing such a council during the campaign, Mr. Clinton sought to signal that he wanted to roll up his sleeves in taking on the economy and get tougher with America's trading partners.

At the least, Clinton aides say, the council will coordinate economic policy under an economic security adviser and supporting staff. It would resemble the National Security Council, and like that body would present policy options — and perhaps recommendations — to the President after consulting with other departments.

Mr. Clinton's advisers say the council will replace Mr. Bush's Economic Policy Council and will take a less piecemeal approach to stimulating the economy than previous such councils did. While past councils focused on taxes, deficits and regula-

tion, the proposed council, they say, will also look at how schools, job training and technological research can be improved to make American industry more competitive. The council would also focus more on international issues, like removing foreign trade barriers.

'Honest Broker'

That Mr. Clinton is weighing two very different men to run the council indicates that he has not made up his mind on what its role should be. Some advisers say the council should be run by an "honest broker" who would analyze proposals from Treasury, Labor, the Office of Management and Budget and other agencies and then impartially present policy options to the President.

Some advisers say Mr. Rubin of Goldman, Sachs would be well suited for this role. He does not have a policy ax to grind and has shown considerable managerial talent, and this might help him get this new council running smoothly.

Under another view, the council would not just coordinate policy, but would develop new ideas. The problem with this structure, aides say, is that other agencies might conclude that the council too often favors its own proposals over those from other agencies.

If Mr. Clinton decided that the council should be a hothouse of policy ideas, several advisers said, then Mr. Reich, a lecturer at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard, would be best as the economic security adviser.

In an interview this weekend, Mr. Reich said Mr. Clinton had not totally written off the idea of a short-term stimulus plan.

'Bringing Jobs Back'

"We'll be looking closely at every indicator between now and Inauguration Day which sheds light on whether jobs are really coming back," he said. "Bill Clinton is committed to bringing jobs back, and he'll do what's necessary to accomplish that."

Even if the economy continues to pick up, he said, Mr. Clinton would still probably embrace a plan to give tax credits to businesses when they buy new equipment — a measure aimed at making American industry more competitive over the long term.

Mr. Reich voiced fears that many Americans would conclude that as the economy gathered steam, its long-term problems had gone away.

"If people say that the economy is recovering and thus there is no need for Clinton's economic plan, then they fail to understand what we're getting at when we talk about improving the quality of American jobs and earnings," he said.

Mr. Reich said that if any national leader was capable "of using the bully pulpit to maintain that focus on the long term, even when the economy is recovering, it's Bill Clinton."

The Inauguration

Inaugural Elbowing Aside Big Tractors and Games

By MARTIN TOLCHIN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 6 — To Washington politicians, the inaugural events will be the hottest tickets in town, but don't tell that to people who prefer to watch jump shots and tractor pulls.

The "Presidential Gala," to be held at the Capital Center on the eve of the inauguration, will displace two basketball games and a three-day truck-and-tractor pull. President-elect Bill Clinton's inaugural planners will take over the 20,000-seat arena for five days, including four to prepare for the extravaganza on Jan. 19.

Mr. Clinton and his wife, Hillary, will be in the invitation-only audience when some of "the biggest names in the entertainment business" take the stage, said Harry Thomason, who with his wife, Linda Bloodworth-Thomason, is general co-chairman of the inaugural. Barbra Streisand and Judy Collins have been among the entertainers mentioned.

No Favors to Reagan

Abe Pollin, who owns the Capital Center, said it would be only the second time he had provided the building rent-free. The first time was for a reunion of Holocaust survivors about 10 years ago, he said. No such dispensation was received by Ronald Reagan's inaugural committee, which held its 1981 gala at the Capital Center.

"I'm a strong Democrat," said Mr. Pollin, who also owns the two professional teams that play in the arena, the Bullets basketball team and the Capitals hockey team. "I'm absolutely delighted to do it."

As a result, the Hoyas of Georgetown University, Mr. Clinton's alma mater, will lose the home-court advantage against their Big East rivals, the Huskies of the University of Connecticut. The game was originally scheduled for Jan. 18, when a dress rehearsal for the gala, open to the public, will be held. The price of admission to the rehearsal will be the donation of at least one can of food or an article of clothing for the homeless.

Game Goes to Hartford

To find an alternative site for the Georgetown-Connecticut game, Mr. Pollin said, he called the biggest names in the arena business. The problem was finding an arena that was available on a day that both the Hoyas and Huskies had open on their schedules. The search ended at the Hartford Civic Center, where the game will be played on March 7, at the end of the basketball

season, when the game could determine the Big East championship.

Mr. Pollin said that Frank Rienzo, Georgetown's athletic director, "was absolutely gracious and helpful," adding that "without him it wouldn't have happened."

Some college basketball fans believe that a home-court advantage like the one Connecticut will have is worth 10 points. But many Georgetown students took the postponement in stride. Andrew Graziani, an English major, said, "I like basketball, but I think it's reasonable to displace a game with an inaugural gala."

Kam Bellamy, a junior in interdisciplinary studies, said, "We're not too upset because we're excited to have a Hoya in the White House."

And Pat Hanish, an international business major, said, "With a President who's an alumnus and a strong basketball team, the school can't lose."

Mr. Pollin also rescheduled a game between the Bullets and the Cleveland Cavaliers, moving the date up to Dec. 21 from Jan. 18.

Canceled outright was a truck-and-tractor pull, in which contestants use the vehicles to try to pull a weighted sled farther than their opponents. That was scheduled for the Friday, Saturday and Sunday before the inauguration.

Missing the 'Mud Dogs'

These events are apparently a lot more exciting to some people than inaugural parties. "It's who builds the best engines, who's the best driver, who puts everything together," said David Smith, manager of the Central Tractor Farm and Family Center in Hagerstown, Md., a tractor-pull aficionado.

What some people, like Lisa Hewitt of Frederick, Md., prefer even more are "mud dogs," trucks that grind through mud pits. "It's something for the whole family," she said.

Lady Bird at 80, a First Lady for All Seasons

By David Maraniss
Washington Post Staff Writer

AUSTIN, Tex., Dec. 6—Because there is so much blind speculation these days about the anticipated behavior of the next First Lady, as though Hillary Clinton will arrive in Washington with no comparable antecedents, perhaps the best place to begin this chronicle of Lady Bird Johnson's 80th birthday party is with a scene that connects the past with the future.

In the documentary about Claudia Taylor Johnson of Karnack, Tex., that premiered at her four-score birthday festivities here over the weekend, there is a striking scene in which President Johnson calls his entire Cabinet and top staff to a special meeting during a congressional session. They must all put their minds and muscle behind one effort, he tells them—the passage of a bill that is not his initiative but his wife's. "You know I love that woman," Johnson intones about Lady Bird during this pep talk. "And she wants that highway beautification bill, and by God we're going to get it for her!"

Imagine President Clinton sometime next year in that same

setting barking out similar orders regarding one of Hillary Clinton's favorite projects. Some segment of women-wary Washington would go wild with I-told-you-so's about who *really* ran the show in the Clinton family. But the Lady Bird Johnson portrayed lovingly and in great detail by her friends and associates during two days of recollections at the LBJ Library and Museum offers a lesson for Mrs. Clinton and her modern-day assessors: Perhaps the more First Ladies change, the more they stay the same.

Here was Sargent Shriver near tears as he described how it was Lady Bird Johnson who gave crucial White House support to Head Start, perhaps the greatest living legacy of the Johnson administration's War on Poverty. Here were eight former East Wing reporters describing their arduous yet unforgettable treks with Lady Bird Johnson: on foot through Appalachia, where she brought attention to poverty; on a whistle-stop train tour through the Deep South in 1964, where she served as a strong and willing symbol of her husband's commitment to civil rights; by raft through the canyons of the Rio Grande in Big Bend, where she championed the natural environment.

Here was Laurance Rockefeller describing her as an important bridge between the old-line conservation mentality and the modern environmental movement. And here was Texas Gov. Ann Richards shattering the myth that the woman who served as America's First Lady from Novem-

ber 1963 to January 1969 was merely an ornament in her husband's political career. "Although it may seem that she served best by sort of taking a lower profile role, a supportive and nurturing position, we in Texas grew close to her in hundreds of courthouses, we grew close to her at thousands of political stops," Richards said. "Because, you see, Lady Bird Johnson is not a shy, retiring flower; she is a heckuva politician."

The reminiscences and toasts were heartfelt and nonstop all weekend, forcing the honoree to blush and pantomime dozens of "thank-yous" to the adoring throng. She said she felt like a cup "filled to the brim and overflowing" with fine wine.

Lady Bird Johnson does not, in fact, turn 80 until Dec. 22, but the birthday celebration, organized by her former press secretary, the irrepressible and inimitable Liz Carpenter, was held over the weekend so that a few old friends could come to the capital city of Texas from out of town. A few friends in this case multiplied to nearly 1,000, including Carol Channing, who popped from a birthday cake and

sang "Hello, Lady Bird," and Hugh O'Brian, better known as Wyatt Earp, who gamboled onstage in boots and jeans and six-shooter and nearly brought a premature end to the esteemed birthday lady and other grayhairs in the audience with a sudden loud pop from his gun. Carpenter, with her classic Texas wit, embraced the aging crowd by saying: "Here we are, older, wiser, more decrepit—I'm down to one of everything."

Robert Strauss, former U.S. ambassador to Russia, was on hand, displaying his world-class glad-handing ("You're a nice young man, I've heard nice things about you," he said to one fellow; "That smile is getting prettier every day," he drawled to a woman acquaintance). Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.) moved about, shadowed by a gaggle of journalists eager for any mutterings he might offer about his imminent appointment as treasury secretary. (The Houston Chronicle's R.G. Ratcliffe came away with this verbatim quote: "Unh, unh, huh, thank you; no, unh, unh, thank you.") The Austin-area congressman, J.J. "Jake" Pickle, played the harmonica, in some fashion, to the tune of "Re-vive Us Again."

The guest of honor arrived onstage Friday night amid her seven grandchildren and was surrounded throughout the festivities by the entire Johnson clan, including her daughters, Luci Baines Johnson and Lynda Johnson Robb, who brought along her husband, Sen. Charles Robb (D-Va.). He was seen in a corridor at one point trading *semper fis* with another former Marine, but stayed in the background during the hours of festivities.

Claudia Taylor Johnson was born in east Texas in 1912. She was reared by her father, a merchant, and an aunt after her mother died when she was a young girl. She attended the University of Texas at Austin and graduated with a degree in journalism, history and philosophy. She met Lyndon Johnson and married him in 1934. In the documentary made by Charles Guggenheim about her life,

she is quoted as saying of her late husband: "He may not have been perfect, but at least he was fun."

The Lady Bird Johnson depicted by others during this 80th birthday celebration was more nearly perfect. Barbara Jordan, the famed orator and former congresswoman from Houston who now teaches at the LBJ School of Public Affairs here and advises Gov. Richards on ethics issues, said of Mrs. Johnson: "Personally, you are my personification of 'America the Beautiful.'" A local comedy troupe known as Esther's Follies took note of her love of flowers by giving her a 21-flower salute. Marie Smith Schwartz, who covered her for The Washington Post and wrote a glowing book about her, said that if she could retitile the book today she would call it "A Role Model for Modern Women."

The final tribute came from Bill Moyers, the former Johnson aide who in recent years has emerged as public television's sober dispenser of wisdom and grace. He recalled how he used to sleep in a cot in the Johnsons' basement, and how after he had been subjected to one of LBJ's characteristic "imitations of Vesuvius," Mrs. Johnson came down the stairs to check on him. When Moyers told her he was all right, he recalled, she responded, "I know, I just wanted to assure you, I'm all right too." Lady Bird Johnson, he said, had a remarkable capacity to tame the "civil war that raged inside" her husband "as it rages in all men and women of great ambition."

"I suggest that what your gift is to all of us is a way of being in the world—what you would have done, by the way, if you had stayed in Austin and simply been yourself," Moyers concluded. "Because it's not the position we honor—you've held no office—it's not the dogwoods and daffodils and desolate places made green that we remember, as delightful as they are. It is, Mrs. Johnson, Lady Bird, it is you we honor, a soul at peace with herself and one that brings peace to all touched by it."

With Friends in High Places, Democratic Think Tank Bids for Glory

By David Von Drehle
Washington Post Staff Writer

Think Tank Glamour is a distinctly Washington phenomenon, and there is no purer glamour in this realm than to be known as the president's brain shop of choice.

That is why there is a lot of jockeying these days among the tanks closest to President-elect Clinton. And it's why, in certain Washington circles, the scheduled release today of a fat book of policy essays has become a major publishing event.

The great powers of the American media have been invited to the unveiling of "Mandate for Change," the Progressive Policy Institute's bid for think tank glory. From its cramped and jumbled offices on Capitol Hill, this tiny tank is already wired into the fledgling Clinton administration like a microchip. But glamour is as much in the public perception as in the private reality.

Hence the book: 380 pages on topics ranging from health care reform to foreign policy to national service; from welfare reform to school choice to tips on Clinton's Inaugural Address.

As it turns out, anything the PPI has to say to the president-elect it can pretty much just dial Little Rock and say. Clinton's top transition advisers on domestic policy, Al From and Bruce Reed, are on loan from the think tank's parent organization, the Democratic Leadership Council.

But once upon a time, in 1980, a conservative think tank called the Heritage Foundation published a tome called "Mandate for Leadership," which came to be known, hyperbolically, as "the bible of the Reagan Revolution." PPI's "Mandate" is an attempt to assume the Heritage limelight, the tank's leaders openly acknowledge.

On that score, the effort seems destined for success. Time magazine wrote recently that PPI might "offer the best window into understanding how Clinton may proceed from here."

That is Think Tank Glamour.

And the aura will only intensify on Tuesday, when Clinton himself attends a fund-raiser for the DLC. The president-elect is a founder and former chairman of the PPI parent; not surprisingly, selling tickets to the event has been a snap.

Founded in 1989 to put flesh on the general themes espoused by the centrist DLC, the Progressive Policy Institute is the Mighty Mouse of the think tank world. Its most recent catalogue of publications lists a professional staff of just seven. By comparison, the venerable Brookings Institution lists 13 different departments, including its own food service, in the Washington telephone book.

Many of the ideas promoted by PPI are already widely familiar: using the Earned Income Tax Credit to boost wage earners out of poverty; creating a national Police Corps and a youth apprenticeship program; shifting more of the tax burden to wealthy Americans; imposing a "Green Tax" on polluters; reforming the Social Security tax; and making across-the-board cuts in the federal bureaucracy.

Much of this sounds familiar because Clinton helped shape the PPI agenda, then adopted and sold much of it. Clinton's relentless pursuit of the middle ground on nearly every issue is the personification of PPI's "third way" of thinking—well to the right of familiar Democratic nostrums, but still to the left of Reagan Republicanism.

"Whenever there was a critical moment in his campaign, Bill Clinton returned to our basic messages," said institute president Will Marshall. "Growth, responsibility, skepticism about big government."

But while everyone acknowledges PPI's splendid Clintonian bloodlines, other Washington think tanks are contesting its claim to outright supremacy. The Economic Policy Institute, for instance, takes credit for framing the government spending debate in terms of "investment," and Robert Reich, an EPI founder, is the top transition adviser on the economy.

At the Urban Institute, they point out that Clinton's health care chief for the transition is Judith Feder of that think tank's Health Policy Institute. And that's not the only name they drop. Vernon Jordan, the transition chairman, "is a member of our board, you know," a UI booster said.

Experts at idea shops all over town are quick to point out that about Clinton, the economy, the future of the country . . . and PPI.

"Both the classic conservative position and the classic liberal position depend on a closed national economy," Shapiro, a PPI vice president, said last week. "But now we are in a global economy."

"As the market expands, it fragments. The nature of goods and services has changed. Different conditions require a new paradigm."

The fact gradually dawns that Shapiro is saying that he has developed ideas to replace the economic philosophies of the entire industrial age. The profoundly influential theories of John Maynard Keynes, Shapiro allowed, form "the most brilliant model of the 20th century." But not quite as good for current circumstances as the PPI model would be. . .

That's the sort of chutzpah that has brought PPI so far so fast. Shapiro, Marshall, health care expert Jeremy Rosner, senior scholar Elaine Kamarck, institute fellow David Osborne—they all like to talk in terms of "crystallizing the renegade of PPI's proposed reforms, like taxing employee health insurance benefits, appear to be out of step with Clinton's campaign rhetoric."

And the conservatives at Heritage suggest maybe they should get the credit for the rightward drift in national politics that made PPI possible in the first place. "To the extent Clinton embraces PPI's idea, he'll be doing what we've been saying for 15 years," Heritage vice president Herb Berkowitz boasted recently.

More than pride is at stake in these maneuverings, although no one should underestimate its importance. There is also money—for the think tanks themselves and for their individual scholars, who suddenly become pricey on the lecture circuit.

Perhaps most important of all, there is the chance to see one's ideas put to work—transformed into rules and programs that might steer the planet!

That's what makes Rob Shapiro's eyes shine when he gets to talking about national politics, "transforming the American debate," or "reinventing government." No cramped horizons here.

Indeed, with Clinton as its occasional messenger, PPI has developed and popularized some intriguing new ideas. Often, though, the think tank has filled out its reputation as much by iconoclasm as brilliance.

This one was a doozy: Raising the minimum wage doesn't help the poor. How so? Because most minimum-wage workers are well-fed kids earning money for CDs and Gap sweatshirts. The money to pay them a higher wage comes largely from price increases on fast food, groceries, gasoline and so forth. These costs fall heaviest on poor people.

PPI also makes an art of saying common-sensical things that nevertheless irritate certain established interests.

Happy two-parent families are, on balance, best for children. That was one such PPI insight. Another was that absent parents should be made to pay their child support.

Rivals of PPI say it's one thing to espouse good, or clever, ideas, but Mighty Mouse will never be big enough to do the mind-boggling work required to reinvent the gargantuan federal bureaucracy. And though Marshall hopes to raise

enough money on PPI's new recognition to fund a rapid expansion of his staff, many in the think tank world suspect there isn't time.

"I think they'll be more of a salon for policy scholars on contract," said one highly placed thinker at a much larger think tank. "They will mostly collect ideas from others on certain favorite topics."

At Brookings, a preeminent think tank that long ago passed from temporary glamour to a sort of Hepburnian grandeur, president Bruce McLaury said his organization and others like it will be available for "the nuts and bolts."

"There are ideas and there are ideas," McLaury said assuredly. "Trying to implement them is the real test. We would welcome the opportunity to be a part of the practical side."

But the staff at the latest hot shop is much more interested in the Big Picture. "We will serve as a focal point for all the people who say we need a new governing philosophy," Marshall said.

Inside Politics



In the bond

In his first interview since Election Day, departing National Republican Committee Chairman Rich Bond told Newsday that "the party's hard-line opposition to abortion rights" was a "net plus" for President Bush but "also had contributed to a perception of intolerance that has damaged the party."

Mr. Bond singled out John Sununu, former White House chief of staff, as having "erred in advising Bush not to pursue an aggressive domestic agenda" after the Persian Gulf war and noted the Republican campaign's inability to talk "in convincing terms about the economy."

He added that Mr. Bush's "seeming disengagement on domestic policy," the media's "interpretation" of Vice President Dan Quayle's "Murphy Brown" remarks, Pat Buchanan's "controversial" convention speech and the debate over abortion helped to suggest that "the GOP was intolerant and exclusionary."

Life after Durenberger?

Although GOP Sen. David Durenberger has said nothing about quitting, calls for his resignation are mounting in Minnesota since he was named in a 29-year-old paternity suit.

GOP Gov. Arne Carlson, who would appoint an interim senator, refuses to give much direction about his intentions but has hinted he might give the nod to an old intraparty foe, retiring conservative Republican Rep. Vin Weber.

Attention likewise focuses on former state House Majority Leader Connie Levi and seven-term state Rep. Kathleen Blatz. Also mentioned by the press, but not the governor's office, is former Republican Sen. Rudy Boschwitz.

According to the Minneapolis Star Tribune, the Democratic candidate in 1994 is expected to be a woman, and several Republicans believe the best counterstrategy would be a woman of their own.

Mr. Durenberger's term expires in 1994. He separated from his wife in 1985 amid rumors that he had had an affair with an aide. A few years later the Senate denounced him for improper financial dealings.

Cox vs. Feinstein?

Republicans already are thinking about challenging the new senator from California, Dianne Feinstein, when she has to run for a full six-year term in two years.

Rep. Chris Cox, a Republican from Newport Beach, is mulling over his options and could decide to enter the GOP primary for the right to take on the former San Francisco mayor, a source close to the congressman says. Mr. Cox, first elected in 1988, is a conservative.

The world turns

Vice President Dan Quayle "will almost certainly return" to Indiana, according to his spokesman, David Beckwith. He added that Mr. Quayle will probably join a few corporate boards and participate in the activities of the Hudson Institute, a conservative think tank.

Jim Rappaport, 36, defeated by Democratic Sen. John Kerry in 1990, won the chairmanship of the state Republican Party in Massachusetts, catching GOP Gov. William Weld "off guard," the Boston Globe reported.

The Arkansas Democrat Gazette reported that first feline-elect Socks Clinton "receives sacks full of kitty letters from partisan pet fanciers."

Goldwater: Off the wall?

Some Arizona Republicans want to take former Sen. Barry Goldwater's name off the state GOP headquarters because he endorsed a Democratic congressional candidate and opposed an anti-abortion initiative.

Mr. Goldwater, the Republican nominee for president in 1964, supported Democrat Karen English rather than Republican Doug Wead in the 6th District because the latter had been an Arizona resident for only two years and was "associated with the religious right."

The initiative lost, and Mr. Wead was defeated by 53 to 42 percent.

GOP officials said last week that some party workers feel Mr. Goldwater's political decision was treason and want to introduce a name-removal resolution at the state GOP committee meeting Jan. 23.

Doris Berry, Mr. Goldwater's press secretary, said her boss had no comment.

Lone Star romance

Gov. Ann Richards reported that a man really caught her eye. The lucky guy, mentioned at a fund-raising event last week, is another state chief, Tennessee Gov. Ned McWherter, a 62-year-old widower.

"He's just one of the greatest looking men you've ever seen, and he isn't married, I want you to know. And I've taken note of that," said Mrs. Richards, 59, who has been divorced for several years.

Mr. McWherter said, "Ann Richards is not only good looking, smart and capable, but a pretty good shot herself."

Maybe not as good as Mr. McWherter, though. In a shooting contest at the event, he killed two javelina pigs (wild boars) with one 30.06 round.

Bush son scouts seat

President Bush's eldest son, George W. Bush, says he is interested in seeking the Senate seat held by Texas Democrat Lloyd Bentsen if Mr. Bentsen becomes secretary of the Treasury, as rumored.

An article in the Houston Post last week quoted the younger Bush as saying "put me down as interested" in filling Mr. Bentsen's seat. "My decision will be made not on who gets in or out but on family considerations."

Mr. Bush, 46, who lives in Dallas, is managing partner of the Texas Rangers baseball team and spent much of this year campaigning for his father. In 1978 young Mr. Bush lost a bid to be elected to Congress from Midland, Texas.

Irish balm

Connecticut Democrat Bruce Morrison, who lost his race for the governorship two years ago after leaving Congress, has become an Irish cult figure as a result of his congressional effort to reopen Irish immigration.

The law that also eliminated most problems for undocumented Irish living

illegally in the United States prompted the Irish community to "adopt" Mr. Morrison's \$400,000 debt from his 1990 bid for governor.

The Hartford Courant reports that Irish groups are even pushing Mr. Morrison, a Yale classmate of President-elect Bill Clinton, as Immigration and Naturalization Service commissioner.

The week's quotes

Jesse Jackson said on ABC that the move to send U.S. troops to Somalia "breaks new ground because; for the first time, we've been willing to risk lives of American soldiers to save an African people."

Paul Tsongas, talking to the Boston Globe about his latest bout with cancer, said of the better-known Democrats who didn't run this year: "A lot of people who might have been running for president didn't, and it was a medical problem: gonads, not lymph nodes."

James Carville and Paul Begala, Clinton state-gists, wrote in the New York Times that "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."

Feminist Gloria Steinem has come to Sen. Bob Packwood's defense, saying last week that the Oregon Republican, accused of unwanted sexual advances, was "a courageous champion" for women and should not be judged hastily.

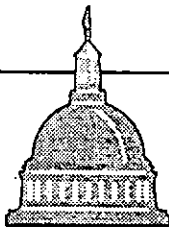
The newcomers

The Associated Press discovered last week that new members of Congress



Gov. Ann Richards of Texas (left) has an eye on Tennessee's Gov. Ned McWherter.

YOUR TAX DOLLARS AT WORK?



A House conference committee agreed to appropriate \$1 million for the Environmental Protection Agency's budget "for Indian multimedia grants."

Source: The Congressional Record

are learning a startling lesson: There are lots of ways to get into trouble.

"Everything's a gray area," griped Bart Stupak, a newly elected Democrat from Michigan, after a dizzying day of briefings on ethics, campaign money and congressional office accounts.

Noting Congress has been bathed by scandal recently, the 110 freshmen who will be sworn in Jan. 5 were loaded down with rulebooks, ethics manuals, legal fine print and a long list of "Don'ts."

"The best advice I heard was, 'When in doubt, don't do it,'" said Robert Goodlatte, Virginia Republican.

Support for Russian gays

Rep. Barney Frank last week appealed in Moscow for the release of jailed Russian homosexuals and said he believes the regime is moving toward repeal of a law that makes homosexuality a crime.

"I will continue to urge the Russian government to release from prison people whose only crime... is that they engaged in consenting sexual activities," said the Massachusetts Democrat, who is homosexual.

He spoke after talks with officials on Article 121.1 of the old Soviet penal code — a statute introduced by Josef Stalin that makes male homosexual relations punishable by five years in prison or a labor camp.

Despite whirlwind changes in Russian society, homosexuals remain social and legal outcasts, widely regarded as deviants. An opinion poll published two years ago said one in three persons thought they should be "destroyed."

Mr. Frank said a Justice Ministry official told him 10 persons had been convicted under Article 121.1 in the first six months of 1992.

Arkansas litigator

Bill McCuen, Arkansas secretary of state, refuses to concede defeat in his bid for Congress. And he's going to court to keep the race open, saying defective ballots and machines distorted the result.

Mr. McCuen, a Democrat, is challenging his home county's returns in last month's election. He asked a judge to order his office not to certify the election results, one of the duties of the secretary of state.

John Wesley Hall Jr., his lawyer, plans to ask the U.S. House of Representatives for a ruling. "This is a bona fide election screw-up," Mr. Hall told the Associated Press last week. "This is not just sour grapes."

Mr. McCuen's Republican opponent, Jay Dickey, was in Washington preparing to begin his first term as 4th District representative. He said he is confident any review will show that he won.

POLITICS

Already, N.Y. GOP Is Looking to 1994

If you believe it is never too early to start speculating about the 1994 gubernatorial race in New York, then read this—and it's not about Mario M. Cuomo, either.

The word in Republican circles in New York is that Republican Rep. Bill Green, who just lost his bid for reelection from Manhattan, is eyeing a run for governor in 1994. But there is a twist.

"Some people have approached me and naturally I'm flattered," Green said in a telephone interview. "But the rumor is quite prevalent that Senator [Alfonse M.] D'Amato is interested in making the race and state party leaders would back him."

D'Amato just won a bitter reelection contest and it is not certain whether he is itching to challenge Cuomo, who, by the way, has not said whether he wants to run for a fourth term.

Green said he will take his time making a decision, but added that he is "sufficiently far along in my thinking that I know I don't want to run for Congress in two years."

He also said he will not let Cuomo's decision about another race affect his. Noting that Cuomo won with just 54 percent of the vote in 1990, Green said, "I don't see any real improvement in the state's finances."

Perot's \$60 Million Help

■ Texas billionaire Ross Perot ended up spending or lending more than \$60 million to his

"grass-roots" presidential campaign—93 percent of its receipts, according to a new filing at the Federal Election Commission.

The report, covering Oct. 16 through Nov. 23, shows Perot donated \$9.4 million and made \$4.5 million in loans. For the year he made \$56.2 million in direct donations to his effort.

Most of Perot's expenditures came in the form of television advertising when he returned to the race Oct. 1 after dropping out three months earlier.

President Bush and President-elect Clinton were limited to spending no more than the \$55.2 million each accepted in public campaign financing from the government for the fall campaign.

—Dan Balz
and Charles R. Babcock

Packwood Leaves Facility After Alcohol Evaluation

Reuter

PORTLAND, Ore., Dec. 5—Sen. Bob Packwood (R-Ore.) has left a Minnesota substance abuse treatment center after a five-day evaluation for alcohol abuse, declining further comment on complaints by several women that he made unwanted sexual advances toward them.

The five-term senator returned to Washington, D.C., Friday night after a week at the Hazelden Foundation in Minnesota, the Oregonian newspaper reported today.

Packwood faces a Senate ethics committee investigation of complaints by at least 10 women, many of them former Senate staff members, that he had made uninvited sexual advances toward them over a period of many years.

When the women's accounts were first published by The Washington Post last month, the senator issued an apology for any "comments or actions" that may have been "unwelcome" and later suggested a drinking problem may have affected his judgment and conduct.

Armey, Lewis vie for GOP position

By J. Jennings Moss
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

In the summer of 1990, Rep. Dick Armey was so angry over White House negotiators' consent to higher taxes in that year's budget agreement that he wanted the House Republican Conference to go on record against it.

Rep. Jerry Lewis, the conference chairman, favored the budget deal and thought House Republicans should support President Bush. Despite Mr. Lewis' objections, the conference supported Mr. Armey by a 62-32 vote.

The incident prompted Mr. Armey to think about challenging Mr. Lewis for conference chairman, the third highest GOP leadership position. House Republicans will cast their vote today.

The 1990 fight illustrates more than just the difference in style and policy between the two men; it shows the two directions House Republicans want to take their party.

A win for Mr. Armey of Texas, now entering his fifth term, would add another conservative to the GOP leadership and portend a confrontational relationship with President-elect Bill Clinton. A win for Mr. Lewis would be a victory for moderates who think the party should be diverse and develop consensus with Mr. Clinton.

"To people like Dick Armey, Jerry is not 100 percent pure on a strictly right-wing conservative scale," said an official close to Mr. Lewis, a California lawmaker. "The conference is



Rep. Jerry Lewis



Rep. Dick Armey

one of great diversity and our strength lies in that diversity."

Said an official with ties to Mr. Armey: "Armey's just saying that we need to challenge Bill Clinton and the Democrats in Congress. ... Lewis says, 'Well, you need people in the leadership who can reach out across the aisle and work with the Democrats.' Maybe you do, but it ought not be the conference chairman, who should be defining the difference between the two parties."

Because of the sensitive nature of internal politics on Capitol Hill, everyone interviewed for this story asked for anonymity.

Both men have been campaigning

hard for the job since last year. Mr. Armey said in a press release in September that he had the support of more than half of all Republicans seeking re-election. Recently, he said he has the votes to win.

Mr. Lewis, who is seeking his third term as chairman, has been less talkative about the race. Those close to him say he is following the same course that helped him defeat a conservative challenge in 1990 from Rep. Carl Pursell of Michigan.

Each is heavily courting freshmen Republicans, who make up one-quarter of the conference. Both men contributed money to numerous races and in some cases campaigned

personally for candidates.

Several GOP newcomers said they liked Mr. Armey's ideological drive, but one said he thought a majority of the class would vote for Mr. Lewis.

One undecided freshman said he agreed more with Mr. Armey's philosophy but found some of his specific proposals — namely cutting back farm subsidies — unacceptable politically. "I've got some of the poorest counties in my district and I couldn't support something that would reduce jobs," the incoming lawmaker said.

Among returning representatives, the main question is the direction of a party that no longer controls the White House.

"It should be apparent to a dispassionate analyst that the glue that has held the Republican coalition together is economic. Under the watchful eye of our current Republican leadership for the last four years, we sold our birthright," one lawmaker said.

He said Mr. Armey's "entire persona is an expression of the Republican economic message." Mr. Armey is the ranking Republican on the Joint Economic Committee.

Another House Republican who backs Mr. Lewis said Mr. Armey's views will be represented by others in the leadership. "The last thing we want to project ... is a party cast in the same exact ideological mode," the lawmaker said. "We're now the loyal opposition, so we have to work together."

Some Republicans, but Not All, Praise the Expected Appointments

By CLIFFORD KRAUSS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 5 — Republican members of Congress joined their Democratic colleagues today in praising the expected appointment of Senator Lloyd M. Bentsen as Treasury Secretary, but some raised concerns about other leading candidates for President-elect Bill Clinton's economic team.

Democrats said the reported list of economic advisers reflected Mr. Clinton's commitment to move the party away from traditional tax-and-spend liberalism toward pragmatism.

Members of both parties voiced enthusiasm for Senator Bentsen, Democrat of Texas, who is widely expected to be chosen Treasury Secretary. And they thought that Representative Leon E. Panetta, Democrat of California, would make a strong advocate for fiscal discipline should he be selected director of the Office of Management and Budget.

But some Republicans predicted that Robert B. Reich, a Harvard instructor who is widely expected to assume a senior economic post, would become a lightning rod for partisan controversy.

Criticism From Gramm

Senator Phil Gramm of Texas, a ranking Republican on the Banking and Appropriations Committees, criticized Mr. Reich as "a state socialist, a national economic planner" who might push for the kind of economic policies that failed in Eastern Europe.

Still, the overall reaction from both sides of the aisle was positive. "Wonderful appointments," said Senator John H. Chafee of Rhode Island, a ranking Republican on the Banking and Finance Committees. "Bentsen is thoughtful and sound. If Clinton's got Panetta in there, he's picking someone who is concerned about the deficits and is willing to do something about them."

Speculation on the economic appointments has reached a high pitch on Capitol Hill, in large part because Mr. Bentsen's and Mr. Panetta's departures would trigger potentially significant leadership changes on the Senate Finance Committee and the House Budget Committee that they now head, with possible policy implications affecting social security, health care, trade and the environment.

The ultimate effect on Congress is still a matter of speculation, but an appointment for Mr. Panetta could set off a donnybrook between Democratic liberals and conservatives over who would become chairman of the Budget Committee, which has special rules on succession. Several members said Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan's accession to the chairmanship of the Finance Committee would lend the panel greater creativity in dealing with the rising costs of entitlements like Social Security.

Mr. Moynihan is expected to give up his chairmanship of the Committee on Environment and Public Works to assume the Finance Committee post, opening the way for Senator Max Baucus, a Democratic environmentalist from Montana, to take over for Mr. Moynihan. Already chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on International Trade, Mr. Baucus would assume substantial leverage in his goal of pressuring the Mexican Government to improve its environmental standards in exchange for ratifying the free trade agreement with Mexico.

Democrats Offer Praise

Not surprising, Democrats greeted the expected announcements with the warmest praise.

"It's a very good team that combines new ideas and pragmatism," said Representative Charles E. Schumer of Brooklyn, a ranking Democrat on the House Banking Committee. He added that Mr. Bentsen, Mr. Panetta, Mr. Reich and Roger Altman, a New York investment banker expected to become deputy treasury secretary, would push to open new export markets and promote high-technology industries without involving the Government in areas where the private sector is better off left alone.

Senator Richard H. Bryan, a moderate Democrat from Nevada, said the expected appointments "show that Clinton is indeed a new kind of Democrat."

Even some conservative Republicans voiced approval for some of the expected appointments.

Senator Steve Symms of Idaho, a Republican member of the Budget and Finance Committees, said the appointment of Mr. Bentsen "should send strong signals to everyone in the financial community that there will be a steady hand at Treasury." And should Mr. Panetta receive the nod, Mr. Symms said, "the deficit will no longer be the Reagan deficit and the Bush deficit. We will have everyone involved in it."

Mr. Gramm had kind words for Mr. Panetta and Mr. Bentsen, his fellow Texan, but with the inclusion of Mr. Reich, who he believes is an unreformed liberal, he said, "I don't see a consistent team there."

Representative Nancy L. Johnson of Connecticut, a Republican member of the House Ways and Means Committee, was also critical of Mr. Reich, saying he "is clearly identified with one extreme of thinking in terms of manipulating economic growth." She also said she regretted to see Mr. Bentsen leave the Senate "because he is one of the most knowledgeable and balanced thinkers on health care reform."

And as for Mr. Panetta, Ms. Johnson criticized his leadership role in defeat-

ing the proposed balanced budget amendment last year, adding, "If you're trying to break gridlock, it seems to me unwise to choose appointments that focus on partisan differences."

Although Mr. Panetta's appointment is not certain, House Democrats are already expecting that Representative Charles W. Stenholm, a conservative Texan who is a chief promoter of the balanced budget amendment, will run to replace him as Budget Committee chairman. Liberals are expected to rally behind Representative Martin Olav Sabo of Minnesota, as Representative John M. Spratt of South Carolina jockeys to become the compromise winner should no candidate win a first ballot caucus victory.

Senator Who Wouldn't Run Has Won

By MICHAEL deCOURCY HINDS

Special to The New York Times

FARGO, N.D., Dec. 5 — The nation's 1992 election season sputtered to an end with a special election for the United States Senate on Friday, amid snow flurries, bitter cold and unusual voter apathy for this civic-minded Great Plains state. Only about 25 percent of the voters went to polls, but they sent Kent Conrad back to the Senate by an overwhelming margin.

In winning the election, Mr. Conrad became the first Senator to have decided not to seek re-election and then to have won another seat, all within eight months and without affecting his seniority, said Senate historians.

The special election was held to fill the vacancy left when Senator Quentin N. Burdick died on Sept. 8 at the age of 84 with two years left in his fifth term.

A state succession law prevented holding the election on Nov. 3, and the delay itself played a major role in the campaign. "People are very tired of campaigns, very tired of politicians, and if this hadn't been an Senate election, nobody would have gone to the polls," said Phil Harmeson, director of the Bureau of Government Affairs, a research organization at the University of North Dakota.

Ran Positive Campaign

Mr. Conrad, 44 years old, ran a positive campaign that emphasized his work on reducing the Federal deficit and in improving farm programs, which are of overwhelming interest in this agricultural state that provides 10 percent of the nation's wheat. Mr. Conrad, a moderate Democrat, had been the front-runner, and he won the election by a ratio of almost 2 to 1, winning 102,887 votes, or 63 percent of the 162,452 cast.

In the general election in November, 307,00 people voted, or 68 percent of the state's residents over 18, putting it among the five states with the highest turnout. North Dakota is the only state that does not register voters before elections; people simply walk in and vote without declaring their party. That works because just about everybody knows their neighbors in North Dakota, which is not only the state least visited by other Americans but also the least populated.

"How sweet it is," Mr. Conrad told about 200 of his supporters at a celebration Friday night in Bismarck. "I think this election proves that hard work and straight talk still matter in North Dakota."

Mr. Conrad defeated two opponents. Jack Dalrymple, 44, a Republican state



Associated Press

Senator Kent Conrad of North Dakota was re-elected Friday in a special election in which only 25 percent of the voters participated.

legislator who is a wealthy wheat farmer, received 54,726 votes, or nearly 34 percent. Mr. Dalrymple ran a negative campaign attacking Mr. Conrad's record as a Senator and integrity. Mr. Dalrymple also promised voters that he would seek a substantial increase in Federal wheat subsidies.

Abortion Foe Draws 3 Percent

Donald Larson, 50, a fund-raiser for organizations that oppose abortion, drew the most public attention to the monthlong campaign with television commercials showing aborted fetuses. Anti-abortion candidates used similar advertising in 13 other Congressional and Senate races this year and lost all the races amid widespread public criticism. Mr. Larson received 4,839 votes, or 3 percent.

In April, Mr. Conrad announced that he would not seek a second term, keeping with his 1986 campaign pledge that he would not seek re-election unless Congress, with his help, eliminated 80 percent of the annual Federal deficit.

Many people in North Dakota were stunned that a politician would honor

such a commitment, especially since it had not been a central theme in his campaign, political analysts here say. Still, Mr. Conrad's popularity soared after his announcement, and he was widely expected to run in 1994, when it was thought that Mr. Burdick, also a Democrat, would retire.

But five months later Mr. Burdick died. The state's Democratic leaders encouraged Mr. Conrad to run. Newspaper polls showed that nearly 75 percent of the electorate supported his entry into the race and did not consider it a violation of his pledge. "When my seat came up, I declined to run in order to keep my word," Mr. Conrad said on Sept. 22 in announcing his candidacy. "Now, with the death of Senator Burdick, we face a new situation."

Deep Dakota Roots

Mr. Conrad is a fourth-generation North Dakotan, which means his great-grandparents were among the first homesteaders in this 103-year-old state. His parents died in a car wreck when he was 5, and he was raised by his grandparents in Bismarck.

In 1976, he narrowly lost when he ran for State Auditor, but in 1980, and again in 1984, he was elected Tax Commissioner. In 1986 he ran for the Senate and won an upset victory over Senator Mark Andrews, who had represented North Dakota in the House and Senate for 23 years.

Shortly after his election, Mr. Conrad married Lucy Calautti, and each has a child from a former marriage. For the past 18 years, Ms. Calautti has worked for United States Representative Byron L. Dorgan, most recently, as his chief of staff. Mr. Dorgan, a Democrat, was elected to the Senate in November to fill Mr. Conrad's seat. "Working with Byron is going to be terrific," Mr. Conrad said Friday night. "He's my best friend."

North Dakotans traditionally split their ticket as they did in November. President Bush easily carried the state, which has not supported a Democratic Presidential candidate since 1960, and Ed Schafer, a Republican, was elected Governor. But North Dakotans sent two Democrats to Congress: Mr. Dorgan was elected to the Senate, and Earl Pomeroy, a former state insurance commissioner, won Mr. Dorgan's House seat, which is the state's only one.

North Dakota politics is a small pond, and Mr. Conrad, Mr. Dorgan and Mr. Pomeroy have worked with or for one another in the past. "It's going to be just like old times," Mr. Conrad said.

Big freshman class eager to pack punch on panels

By J. Jennings Moss
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The scramble for slots on House committees is like a frenetic game of musical chairs as 110 new members try to grab influential seats and more senior lawmakers fight for the big chairs that control the committees.

For a few select newcomers, the quest will be successful. Democratic and Republican leadership sources expect freshmen to be named to several major committees for the first time in a decade.

For those who already have built long careers on Capitol Hill, at least three Democrats will become new committee chairmen and 10 Republicans will become ranking minority members. But challenges to sitting leaders and the chance President-elect Bill Clinton will steal away a chairman or two could increase those numbers.

In addition to personnel changes, the structure of the committee system also will change. Lawmakers are sure to reduce the number of subcommittees by as many as 18 while they debate limiting the terms of committee chairmen and ranking members to six years.

The upshot of what the shifts will mean for the 103rd Congress is unclear, largely because of uncertainty over what the freshman will do.

"I don't know that there will be that much drastic change until perhaps the middle of the session and the issues start getting defined," said House Minority Leader Robert Michel. "It's like when a guy gets appointed to the Supreme Court, you don't know how he's going to go until he starts making decisions."

The makeup of the committees will come next week as new and old members meet to organize the Democratic caucus and the Republican conference behind closed doors.

Both parties have senior panels that decide who gets committee assignments, while the entire membership of both parties decides who will be the chairman and ranking member for most committees. These spots almost always go to the most senior members.

As freshmen lawmakers went through orientation sessions last week, a common request was that many wanted spots on one of the troika of top committees — Appropriations, Energy and Commerce,

and Ways and Means. A senior Democratic official said at least one Democratic freshman would be placed on each committee; a Republican source said the same was likely to occur for GOP newcomers.

Three panels are without Democratic leaders because of retirement or death: Foreign Affairs, Merchant Marine and Fishery, and Public Works and Transportation. In all three cases, the next-most-senior members are expected to rise to the top without challenges.

Rep. Leon E. Panetta of California, Budget Committee chairman, is said to be on Mr. Clinton's list of possible Cabinet choices, which would leave his slot open. A battle for control of the committee could erupt if he leaves.

The two other committees to watch next week are Appropriations and Veterans Affairs.

In Appropriations, Democrats will not re-nominate Chairman Jamie L. Whitten, the longest-serving House member who at 83 suffered health problems last year, a Democratic leadership source said. Mr. Whitten, of Mississippi, has agreed to step down, clearing the way for Rep. William H. Natcher of Kentucky, another 83-year-old.

Veterans Affairs Chairman G.V. "Sonny" Montgomery of Mississippi faces a longshot challenge by Rep. Lane Evans of Illinois, who at 41 is 31 years younger than Mr. Montgomery.

Another committee that may get a new chairman is Intelligence. House Speaker Thomas Foley of Washington state chose Rep. David McCurdy of Oklahoma during the last Congress to head the committee, but Mr. McCurdy angered many last year when he contemplated challenging the speaker.

Mr. Foley has not decided on Mr. McCurdy's fate, a source said, and is not expected to act until early next year. The issue would become moot if Mr. Clinton taps Mr. McCurdy for his Cabinet.

On the Republican side, 10 ranking positions are open, but the minority could find itself with a maximum of 17 spots to fill.

The most likely challenge is for the vacant ranking post on the Energy and Commerce Committee, where conservative Rep. Thomas J. Bliley Jr. of Virginia may oppose Rep. Carlos J. Moorhead of California, a low-key moderate.

Rep. Joseph M. McDade of Pennsylvania also is in danger of losing his ranking post on Appropriations if the Republican conference changes its rules and bars members under indictment from holding top jobs, as the Democrats do. He has been charged with running his office as a criminal enterprise.

In the Small Business Committee, Rep. Jan Meyers of Kansas is poised to become the first woman in 20 years to be a ranking member of a committee.

A Few in Congress Advising Caution, or Vote, on Somalia

WASHINGTON, Dec. 6 — Amid the chorus of Congressional support for military intervention in Somalia, a few dissident voices are urging caution and, in some cases, suggesting that the mission be formally put to a vote under the War Powers Act.

Many Democrats and some Republicans in Congress had been urging the Bush Administration for months to step up its efforts to get food to starving people in Somalia. But now that President Bush has acted, some lawmakers are troubled that Congress, which is not in session now, is exerting so little influence when the Administration is beginning a military operation.

Adding to their concern is an awareness that the deployment of combat troops to Somalia is a new kind of

'Mistake' Seen

"I think it's a mistake not to have Muslim troops take the lead in this," the Senator, who served in Vietnam as a Navy officer, said after the White House briefing.

Since the Vietnam War, Congress has been wary of allowing the President to act unimpeded in setting foreign policy. Some members say that even if the operation to feed Somalis is overwhelmingly popular, Congressional prerogatives established by the War Powers Act must be exercised through a vote authorizing the deployment of troops.

The War Powers Act was approved

by Congress in 1973, overriding a veto by President Nixon, in the wake of the Vietnam War. It requires the President to report to Congress when he deploys troops in areas where they might face combat. Once he declares that troops face "imminent" risk, the resolution is invoked and the President is granted a 60-day limit to commit forces without Congressional authorization.

"The widespread violence against non-government relief personnel, U.N. staff, and occasionally even U.S. military personnel in the region suggests that the dangers of such a deployment are real," Senator Paul D. Wellstone, Democrat of Minnesota, wrote in a letter last week to Senator George J. Mitchell of Maine, the majority leader. "It is my view that this is one of those situations where the Congress should be accountable, whether the law requires us to cast a vote or not."

Mr. Wellstone emphasized that he would support a "limited deployment of U.S. troops to provide humanitarian aid" in Somalia.

Nature of Mission Cited

Mr. Mitchell maintains that there is no need to reconvene Congress under the terms of the War Powers Act because the mission in Somalia is aimed at feeding the starving rather than putting down a revolt or dislodging a government. In any case, he has said, Congress can discuss the issue when it goes into session in January, well within the 60-day limit set by the act for authorizing deployment of American troops in a hostile situation.

In a letter to Congressional leaders on Friday, the American Civil Liberties Union called on Congress to reconvene quickly to affirm its war powers by authorizing the troop deployment.

"Even if the objective is to deliver food and medical supplies," said Kate Martin, director of the organization's Center for National Security Studies, "the Constitution simply forbids the President from deciding on his own to authorize tens of thousands of U.S. troops to engage in force and military combat."

In his meeting with the Congressional leaders on Friday, Mr. Bush repeated his contention that the War Powers Act is unconstitutional.

Concerns over a new kind of intervention.

intervention, in which American security interests are not directly involved, and that it could set a precedent for military relief operations in more dangerous places like Yugoslavia, Cambodia or Liberia.

The House Speaker, Thomas S. Foley, and other senior lawmakers expressed firm support for the Administration's decision in a meeting on Friday with Mr. Bush and with other Congressional leaders at the White House. Representative David R. Obey, Democrat of Wisconsin, even expressed hope that the Somalia operation could set a precedent for sending a United Nations peacekeeping force to Haiti to help establish a constitutional government.

Quick Return Urged

But Representative John P. Murtha of Pennsylvania, the Democratic chairman of the House Appropriations defense subcommittee, pressed for a commitment to bring the troops back home quickly. "The danger is we won't be able to get them out," he said after the meeting.

So far, lawmakers' expressions of caution have varied in their emphasis and have been largely uncoordinated. Representative Lee H. Hamilton of Indiana, a senior Democrat on the Foreign Affairs Committee, warned that Congress should not assume that American troops will face no meaningful opposition from violent Somali gang members, but he has stopped short of opposing the operation.

Senator Hank Brown of Colorado, a Republican member of the Foreign Relations Committee who also attended the meeting at the White House on Friday, said he could not support the troop deployment "without a clearly defined military mission."

Mr. Brown also argued that troops performing what he views as "police functions" in Somalia should have a deeper understanding of the Somalis' language or religion or culture.

Foley remains at helm

No 'Mr. Clean' posed challenge

By J. Jennings Moss
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The voter mood of reform that led to a Congress with a quarter new faces was widely expected to bring with it new House leaders, especially a different Democratic speaker.

But Speaker Thomas S. Foley faces no challenge as lawmakers converge this week on Washington to organize the 103rd Congress. No Democratic leaders are in danger of losing their jobs and neither are the top two Republicans, leaving challenges only for lower GOP posts.

Analysts and many lawmakers thought toward the middle of the year that wholesale change was inevitable. The House's reputation was getting pounded because of stories of mismanagement or criminal activity at the House bank and post office, and reports of legislative gridlock.

Mr. Foley was seen as having faltered — he downplayed the importance of the scandals, tried to keep details from the public and was not a forceful counter to President Bush.

What saved the Washington Democrat was a combination of factors, according to congressional sources and analysts. Mr. Foley fought aggressively to improve his standing, no credible alternative stepped forward and the public turned its attention to the presidential race.

Those close to Mr. Foley say the real turning point came in a series of one-on-one or small group meetings he had with practically every Democrat in the House and later with every freshman.

"What they turned out to be were two-to-three-hour sessions where people were allowed to get things off their chest and he was allowed to defend himself and people were reacquainted with him," a senior leadership aide said.

Analysts say Mr. Foley was helped by a lack of competition, although Rep. Charles Stenholm of Texas, Rep. George Miller of California and Rep. David McCurdy of Oklahoma are said to have thought about a challenge earlier this year.

"Back in the spring... Foley was on shaky ground, but there was no one who could step forward and look good to the rest of the party," said David Mason of the Heritage Foundation.

"The thing that most of the Democrats were looking for was somebody who could be a Mr. Clean, and that gave Foley the time to go back and rally his forces. If there had been a dominant competing leader, Foley probably wouldn't have survived," Mr. Mason said.

Democratic freshmen saw no need to challenge the status quo. "Truthfully, there's not going to be a

challenge of the speaker right now and I'm not going to comment on that," said Rep.-elect Tim Holden of Pennsylvania when asked if he felt it was time for a change.

Some Republicans questioned whether Robert Michel of Illinois should continue as minority leader, partly because he initially agreed with Mr. Foley that the names of lawmakers who bounced checks should remain secret. Mr. Michel, a moderate, also was criticized for being too willing to compromise with the Democrats.

But the man who stood the best chance of challenging Mr. Michel, House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich of Georgia, stood down. The two men, who come from different generations and political philosophies, reached an understanding: Mr. Gingrich would support Mr. Michel now while planning to seek the leader's job in 1994.

What's left for lawmakers to decide in meetings today is the rest of the Republican leadership. Unlike the Democrats, who re-elected all of their leaders without a challenge, Republicans have four open positions to fill and challenges to two incumbents.

The changing of the GOP guard is more than an internal political game, lawmakers and congressional observers say: It is a fight for the direction of a party that no longer controls the White House and remains in the minority on Capitol Hill.

"We need to pull together our party in the House, and we need to be very cohesive on the issues, to define economic issues and issues like term limits, where we'll be clearly different from them [Demo-

crats]," said Rep. Bill McCollum of Florida, a conservative who is seeking re-election as vice chairman of the House Republican Conference.

A moderate GOP lawmaker, who asked not to be identified, said of the choices: "There's a fight in the national party now on how we dig out from the mess we're in. Loading our leadership with conservatives isn't going to move the party forward."

A breakdown of the six Republican leadership posts that could have new people in them follows:

- Conference chairman. Rep. Jerry Lewis of California, who has held the third-highest GOP job, has been fighting against Rep. Dick Armey of Texas since early this year to keep the job he took over in 1989. The race is a classic moderate vs. conservative matchup that has drawn the most attention. Both men say they have the votes to win.

- Conference vice chairman. Mr. McCollum is being challenged by Rep. Nancy Johnson of Connecticut. Besides being an ideological contest between Mr. McCollum and the moderate Mrs. Johnson, gender also could play a role. Republicans have no women in leadership now and Mrs. Johnson, who has the support

of such conservatives as Mr. Gingrich, could score an upset.

- Conference secretary. Now held by retiring Rep. Vin Weber of Minnesota. Rep. Duncan Hunter of Texas and Rep. Willis Gradison of Ohio are seeking the job. Mr. Hunter has been campaigning aggressively for months, while Mr. Gradison has done little to promote his candidacy.

- House Republican Policy Committee chairman. Open because of the primary defeat of Rep. Mickey Edwards of Oklahoma. The only candidate running is Rep. Henry Hyde of Illinois, a well-respected conservative.

- National Republican Congressional Committee chairman. Rep. Guy Vander Jagt of Michigan, who has been chairman since 1975, was defeated in the primary this year. Surprisingly, only one lawmaker — Rep. Bill Paxon of New York — is seeking this high-profile post.

- Republican Study Committee chairman. Not officially a leadership post, the job still will be decided by the party's membership. Mr. Hunter is leaving the post to run for conference chairman. Rep. John Doolittle of California, one of the reformist "Gang of Seven," is pitted against Rep. Dan Burton of Indiana.

Agency Reorganizations, 'Burrowing In' Targeted

By Stephen Barr
Washington Post Staff Writer

Congressional investigators will examine up to 25 federal agencies in which there are more than 50 allegations of political appointees attempting to "burrow in" to career civil service jobs improperly.

In addition, a subcommittee headed by Sen. David Pryor (D-Ark.) has given the General Accounting Office a tentative list of a dozen agency reorganizations that the subcommittee would like reviewed to ensure that they do not pose special problems for the Clinton administration.

Worries by the winning team in previous presidential elections that the losers would dig into the government—and later throw sand into the new administration's machinery—are a staple of transitions. But the level of tensions this year seems to be markedly higher, apparently because Republicans have ruled the bureaucracy for the past 12 years and some career employees feel they can vent their frustrations over what they see as a politicized workplace.

A number of government employees have called Pryor's Governmental Affairs subcommittee on federal services, post office and civil service and the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee to report rumors of political appointees and congressional aides scheming to stay on the public payroll.

James P. Pfiffner, a professor of government and public policy at George Mason University, views the burrowing-in phenomenon as "a really difficult issue," because "I'm not sure you can make generalizations about this problem or how big it is."

In most cases, Pfiffner said, "The people inside the building know the nature of the [job] opening, the quality of the people applying. They can tell who gets hired with special attention . . . but looking in from the outside is really difficult" when trying to decide "whether the spirit of the law is being kept."

But the bending of personnel or merit rules, even if proved in only a few cases, deserves attention, he said. "The broader question is political manipulation of the civil service, a really important principle that we should worry about."

In a letter to the GAO last week, Pryor provided the congressional

agency with a second list of names and agency reorganizations for investigation. The panel's first memo on burrowing-in allegations was sent to the GAO about two weeks after the Nov. 3 election.

The pending personnel moves submitted for review included allegations about officials at the Agriculture, Commerce, Defense, Energy, Health and Human Services, Housing and Urban Development, Interior, Justice, State, Treasury and Veterans Affairs departments. The panel's list also included proposed personnel changes at the Environmental Protection Agency, Federal Emergency Management Agency, General Services Administration, National Aeronautics and Space Administration and Pension Benefit Guaranty Corp.

Earlier this year, the Office of Personnel Management reminded agency chiefs to ensure that personnel actions "are free of impropriety."

Acting OPM Director Douglas A. Brook, in a letter to Pryor last month, said OPM "will, as usual, be alert to any indications or allegations involving improper personnel actions during this period and will pursue them appropriately."

Brook noted in his letter that "every citizen" has the right to compete for civil service jobs and "must be given equal opportunity on the basis of their qualifications." He added, "Just as political affiliation may not be used to give a candidate preferential consideration, it also may not be used to discriminate against an otherwise qualified candidate."

The Pryor panel also said it has been told of a dozen cases in which agencies are attempting reorganizations, even though the White House has instructed agencies to avoid significant policy initiatives until President-elect Clinton takes office. A congressional aide said that any review would not be an attempt to find wrongdoing as much as to determine whether the proposed agency realignments made sense or were cost-effective.

Rep. Ron Wyden (D-Ore.), chairman of the House Small Business subcommittee on regulation, business opportunities and energy, has asked Brook to compile data on how many political appointees hold high-salary positions and whether there has been a high level of turnover in the jobs over the past few years.

New Chairman Plans Intelligence Scrutiny

DeConcini Cites Errors in Gulf War Appraisal

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

When the Senate intelligence committee lopped about \$1 billion from the \$30 billion-plus intelligence budget the Bush administration proposed for fiscal 1993, Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.) wasn't satisfied. He wanted to cut half a billion more.

A member of the select committee since 1987, DeConcini thought at least that much could be carved from the non-CIA segments of the hidden budget, particularly from the huge amounts still being spent for intelligence satellites, despite the end of the Cold War.

The Arizona Democrat didn't have the votes this year, but his outspoken views will take on increasing importance after President-elect Clinton is sworn in next month. DeConcini will be chairman of the Senate intelligence committee for the next two years, finishing the last lap of his eight-year term on the panel.

He says he is looking forward to working with the new director of central intelligence (DCI), who he hopes will be an outsider primed to make the intelligence community maze work better.

For DeConcini, a prime example of how the system should not work occurred in the buildup for the Persian Gulf War.

"We were told [in semiweekly briefings] that Iraq had a huge army, with Russian equipment, and that [U.S.] casualties would be in the tens of thousands," he said. "That was wrong. I'm glad it was."

But the reason behind the alarms, DeConcini is convinced, was to generate congressional and public support for the conflict. "The information was misleading," he said. "I think the intelligence community knew it, but regurgitated it the way the [Bush] administration wanted it, and gave it to us."

Not surprisingly, DeConcini is not a fan of departing CIA Director Robert M. Gates. After contentious nomination hearings last year, DeConcini voted against Gates, who as CIA director also serves as DCI. Gates's

performance since then has not changed DeConcini's opinion.

"I think he's a very honest guy, a sincere fella, and he concentrated on improving the [CIA] image," DeConcini said. "But to me, he's what we don't need. He's a company man, essentially groomed to program and deliver things as the boss wants them, to making intelligence seem accurate and non-manipulated when in fact we know better."

DeConcini said he felt Gates tried to address the committee's concerns about the slanting of intelligence and other shortcomings, voiced last year at his confirmation hearings, by setting up a series of task forces. But he said he felt Gates failed to follow up sufficiently.

Last January, for instance, Gates approved the recommendations of a special CIA task force on wrongdoing, aimed at encouraging CIA employees to look out for criminal activities outside as well as within the agency. The study was spurred by the Bank of Credit and Commerce International scandal, which surprised Washington last year even though the CIA and other federal agencies had had information on BCCI's illegal activities for years.

DeConcini also pointed to the CIA's controversial performance in the Banca Nazionale del Lavoro scandal involving billions of dollars in fraudulent loans to Iraq.

Although the BNL investigation began more than three years ago, government prosecutors in Atlanta this fall were still seeking a full account of what—and when—the CIA knew about the Italian bank, and what role the agency might have played in loans and loan guarantees for Iraq between 1984 and 1989. The CIA tentatively blamed its sluggish response to some requests on filing glitches.

"That's the most recent example of the failure of the whole system," DeConcini said. "The CIA doesn't know what it's got or can't deliver what it's got. What I want to do [as chairman] is make sure we concentrate on what the users of intelligence need and how to minimize the manipulation of intelligence information."

To do that, DeConcini believes, "you need somebody new" as head of the CIA and the intelligence community, preferably a high-powered executive "who knows what the consumer wants" and is shrewd enough not to be fooled by longtime intelligence professionals.

DeConcini acknowledged that an outsider could simply wind up as a figurehead. "But you take someone like a John Sculley [head of Apple Computer Inc.] or Lee Iacocca [retiring chairman of Chrysler Corp.]—people who are bulldogs at making something work. I think you can get somebody of that caliber from the outside, somebody who says, 'I'll shake it up if needs be' to make it a user-oriented, consumer system."

The system in place now, DeConcini said, costs "a lot of money." According to informed sources, the administration proposed a 1993 intelligence budget of more than \$30 billion, virtually the same as the 1992 budget, although officials said that inflation really reduced it slightly.

DeConcini credited outgoing Chairman David L. Boren (D-Okla.) for persuading Republican committee members to back a \$1 billion cut, all in funding for the CIA, the National Security Agency, the Defense Intelligence Agency, the National Reconnaissance Office and other sectors of the National Foreign Intelligence Program (NFIP). Pressures

from the House led to some additional cuts, though not as many as DeConcini wanted.

In the end, sources say, Congress approved an overall intelligence budget for fiscal 1993 of slightly under \$29 billion, a figure that includes both NFIP and the tactical intelligence activities of the military services known as TIARA.

DeConcini said further reductions "may be appropriate" in the year ahead. He implied that reconnaissance satellites are still engaged in costly, daily, Cold War-era monitoring of Russian troops in Germany to see if they are preparing a preemptive strike against Western Europe.

"We don't need that kind of reporting," DeConcini said. "Our satellite systems have got to be looked at." He said he intends to arrange in-depth briefings on that subject for the six new committee members, four Democrats and two Republicans, who are to be appointed in January.

At the same time, DeConcini said he hopes the Clinton administration's new CIA director will analyze the intelligence budget and propose more cuts.

"I'm not the new breed of chairman who knows it all," said DeConcini, now in his third term in the Senate. "I'm interested in constructive changes in intelligence, not slash-and-burn."

The U.S. economy: Steady as she goes

The fifth consecutive monthly decline in the unemployment rate announced Friday, coupled with the upward revision in third-quarter GNP figures announced earlier, suggests that the U.S. economy has at last absorbed the series of blows it has suffered in the past few years and is ready to grow steadily for a while again. Unless, that is, the incoming administration insists on taking actions that sock it to the economy again.

President George Bush, whose real interests were elsewhere, seems to have labored long under the illusion that the economy is something that more or less just happens to people (and their leaders, alas, for the electoral fortunes of those doomed to run in a downturn). It is a sort of business-cycle mysticism that prevents leaders from confronting the real economic consequences of government actions.

The U.S. economy entering the 1990s probably did need to make a few corrections. It was probably not necessary, however, to have a recession for those corrections to be made. High levels of consumer and business debt, the costs of the savings-and-loan bailout, the effective increase in the tax rate on capital gains that came with tax reform, and the other negative carry-over effects of the 1980s might have led only to a bit of sluggishness, not an actual downturn.

But Mr. Bush, in pursuit of his vision of a "kinder, gentler" America, wanted additional government action that would also have a negative effect on the economy — such big-ticket regulatory initiatives as the Clean Air Act and the Americans with Disabilities Act, as well as a major increase in regulation and regulatory zeal in general. Also, Mr. Bush, genuinely sleepless over the size of the federal budget deficit, thought a budget agreement with Democrats in Congress was the only way to address the problem. But George Mitchell in the Senate and Tom Foley in the House never had any intention of making good on their promises to restrain spending. And Mr. Bush went along with tax increases that further dampened the economy just as the early signs of sluggishness were beginning to appear. Meanwhile, the sluggishness was

also resulting in lower state and local tax revenues than expected, and some began looking to tax increases to sustain spending.

So sluggishness turned to recession, and the recovery that began six quarters ago was anemic for an alarmingly long time. Mr. Bush can, if he is so inclined, spend his retirement thinking he was unlucky, coming up for re-election at the wrong time in the business cycle, or that the media did him in by failing to report that the economy was improving significantly before the election, which it was. But the extent of the late economic unpleasantness does, alas, have its true roots in his administration's and Congress' actions and inaction.

Human ingenuity being what it is, the economy has learned to do more with less — to get by and grow despite the fact that government is extracting more from it and demanding that it behave in ways that are not productive. Economic growth did not come to a permanent end under Mr. Bush. There was just a lot less of it than there might have been.

During the campaign, Bill "The economy, stupid" Clinton insisted he was going to "grow" the economy. It is interesting that the president-elect, unlike his predecessor, thinks he can actually do that. If Mr. Clinton really wants to grow it, he might consider doing the following: Nothing. Just let the recovery continue. If he feels he has to do something, he should lower the capital gains tax rate and index it for inflation.

Somehow, however, it seems unlikely that this is the advice Mr. Clinton will be getting from his economic summit mouseketeers — or if it is, that he will listen to it or be allowed by more left-wing Democrats in Congress, for example Mr. Mitchell, to do so. In addition, if Mr. Bush's people had a certain affinity for regulation, it is as nothing next to the ardor of some of the people who have been out of the executive branch for 12 years.

They are all going to want to do something. And we will soon see how much "something" the U.S. economy can take and still deliver more prosperity to Americans.

Mr. Smith Goes to Harvard

In the month before they take their seats, many of the newly elected members of Congress are preparing to go back to school. This week most of the Democrats and many of the Republicans in the huge freshman class are on their way to Cambridge, Mass., where Harvard's Kennedy School of Government is ready with the re-education curriculum. For those new faces on the Hill who want to save themselves a trip to Boston, a helpful condensed course is here provided:

- 1) Economics: raise taxes.
- 2) Public finance: raise taxes.
- 3) Infrastructure: yes (so raise taxes).
- 4) Defense: no (but raise taxes).
- 5) Crime: see social policy
- 6) Social policy: see welfare
- 7) Welfare: ugly word, see public assistance
- 8) Public assistance: Yes, and how! (so raise taxes)

Some of the new Republican members will be passing up the opportunity to get a coffee mug with a Harvard logo on it and will be attending a freshman orientation meeting run by the Heritage Foundation, this week in Annapolis. The curriculum for this program will be not unlike that at the Kennedy School, except that the word "raise" should be replaced wherever it appears with the word "lower." Similarly, change "yes" to "no" and vice versa.

Heritage will be meeting with far fewer members than will the Cambridge philosophers, but the foundation is still providing an example that conservatives would do well to imitate. Rather than simply complaining about Harvard's liberal indoctrination of new congressmen at Harvard, they are offering an alternative.

But the freshmen may not need that much schooling. The activities on the Hill in the past couple of weeks show that the new crowd has already learned the basics, the three R's of Congress: Re-election, Re-

election and Re-election. Six months ago, House Speaker Tom Foley was embattled, with dissension in his ranks as Democratic members plagued with the House post office and bank scandals blamed their troubles on him. Now many of them are gone, and their replacements see Mr. Foley as a source of juicy committee assignments and reserved parking places. The much-touted wave of reform has already been dissipated as Mr. Foley and the rest of the Democratic leadership have used their committee-assigning clout to tighten their grip on the institution. Most of the new members don't seem to care.

For those new members hoping to hone their re-election skills, the best classes are those held by the Congressional Management Foundation, an outfit bankrolled by AT&T that puts out several handbooks and holds seminars for members and their staffs. The CMF guides give invaluable advice on, for example, how to choose legislative specialties that will get one re-elected. The books also detail the proper operation of the constituent service racket — that is, the practice of turning taxpayer-funded congressional staff into full-time campaign staff by assigning them to solve (or appear to solve) any problem of any constituent.

For example, the guides suggest how best to get electoral credit by steering federal grant money to those constituents who are smart enough to ask their congressman for help: "Remember that the constituent is your client," chides the invaluable book. "Therefore, it's important that they hear from you if a [grant] award is about to be made. This not only reinforces your relationship with the constituent, but reminds him of the instrumental role your office played in obtaining the grant — a point you would like them to remember when reporters call." Come January, the 103rd Congress will get under way. We will see what lessons its members will have learned by then.

Bill Archer

Tax and Spend Express

As control of the presidency passes into new hands, the pressure is growing to address "the social deficit" by taxing the rich and spending more on the disadvantaged.

The journey toward a new attack on poverty has been prepared by a decade of reports on the nation's editorial pages and TV screens about alleged cuts in federal social programs, about tax cuts for the rich and tax increases for the middle class and about the presumed indifference of Republicans to the poor.

It is now more important than ever to examine claims about Reagan-Bush policies. No longer are they simply fodder for op-ed pieces; now they are used to justify President-elect Clinton's proposals for new taxes and spending.

But before climbing aboard the tax and spend express gathering on Capitol Hill, I suggest that ticket holders pay careful attention to two new studies. The first, conducted by the non-partisan Congressional Budget Office, examines changes since 1980 in federal taxes. CBO:

- Applied the 1980 federal tax code to 1980 incomes and the current tax code to projected 1993 incomes of a representative sample of Americans;
- Computed effective tax rates under both tax codes for Americans of various incomes by dividing their tax bill by their income; and
- Compared the effective tax rates under the 1980 and 1992 tax codes for each income group.

The results were completely at odds with conventional wisdom. The median American family enjoyed a 22 percent cut in federal income tax rates during the Reagan-Bush era.

To discover who got the biggest cuts, CBO divided families into five groups of equal size, called quintiles, from lowest to highest income. They found that richer families got the smallest reduction in tax rates (about 10 percent for the top quintile) while families with less income got bigger reductions (e.g., 38 percent for families in the next-to-bottom quintile). Most important given the conventional wisdom, CBO discovered that the bottom quintile got huge cuts.

Democrats will counter these facts by asserting that tax changes in the early 1980s were not as progressive as those made later in the decade and that the overall federal tax system, including income, corporate, Social Security and excise taxes became less progressive during the Reagan-Bush era.

Even if the first assertion is correct, and the evidence is ambiguous, the debate is over the entire Reagan-

Bush period rather than a particular segment. The second charge, in addition to being correct, is of more consequence. But the CBO analysis shows that the modest decline in progressivity is due almost entirely to the growth of Social Security taxes—and practically none of the Social Security tax increases implemented during the Reagan-Bush era were enacted in the 1980s. Rather, they were enacted in 1977 under a House and Senate controlled by Democrats and signed into law by Jimmy Carter.

The biggest Reagan-Bush era hike was an expansion of the hospital insurance wage base from around

Two studies show the conventional wisdom is wrong about the Reagan-Bush years.

\$53,000 to \$125,000 in 1991, a change that has had a positive impact on progressivity. This history is inconvenient for those trying to pin the regressivity label on Reagan-Bush tax policy.

Second, all taxes are not equal. Take income taxes. You pay \$1,000 to the Treasury. What does it buy? Federal parks, fighter jets, bank regulators and 30,000 congressional staffers. Did you personally reap benefits from these uses of your income tax payments? Perhaps, but so did lots of other people.

Now take Social Security. You pay \$1,000 to the Treasury. What does it buy? Disability payments if you get hurt, health services when you get old, a guaranteed income for your spouse and kids if you die and a guaranteed income when you get old. Nor is that all. The benefits are highly progressive. The average minimum earner and spouse retiring today recover their tax payments plus interest in 5.5 years; the average maximum earners require 9.2 years to recover their tax payments.

Because Social Security produces such direct and progressive benefits, it is misleading to lump income taxes and Social Security taxes together and claim the mixture to be less progressive now than in 1980. But if someone wants to mislead in this way, it should be remembered that the

higher Social Security taxes were not enacted under Republican presidents.

Claims about regressive Reagan-Bush taxes are usually accompanied by claims about cuts in social spending. The combined impact of government taxes and spending on the distribution of income is the subject of the second study that should be considered before boarding the tax and spend express.

Based on more than a decade of interviews with random samples of Americans, the Census Bureau has estimated the tax payments made and the government benefits received by households. In 1979, before the Reagan-Bush era, the average household in the bottom quintile received net benefits (benefits received minus taxes paid) of more than \$9,500 in 1991 dollars. By contrast, households in the top quintile paid net taxes (taxes paid minus benefits received) of nearly \$20,000. So the impact of government activity on the market distribution of income was highly progressive in 1979. Removing \$20,000 of income from the average household in the top quintile and adding \$9,500 to the average household in the bottom quintile reduced income inequality between the two quintiles by \$29,500.

At the end of what the media now refer to as the decade of greed, households in the bottom quintile received government benefits worth almost \$11,500, or 20 percent more, than at the end of the Carter era. Meanwhile, the top quintile paid net taxes of \$21,099, 6 percent higher than in 1979. Indeed, the bottom 80 percent of American households received more from government in net terms in 1991 than 1979; only the top 20 percent paid larger net taxes in 1991 than 1979. Further, the impact of government programs on income inequality between the average household in the top and bottom quintiles had increased to \$32,600, about 10 percent more than in 1979.

These studies demolish the conventional wisdom about government taxes and spending during the Reagan-Bush era. As we embark on a "new" journey to address the social deficit, who will warn the engineers and passengers that we have already traveled this route? If we continue in the same direction, is there any reason to think we will encounter less poverty, welfare dependency, crime and family dissolution than the levels that now afflict us?

The writer, a representative from Texas, is senior Republican on the House Ways and Means Committee.

ROBERT DORNAN

Entitlement oversight of Clintonomics

For some time now, left-wing talk show host Michael Kinsley has been on the lookout for what he calls an "honest Republican," or one who will admit that the deficit can't be tamed without tackling entitlement spending. It will be interesting to see if Mr. Kinsley holds Bill Clinton and his cohorts in Congress to the same standard of honesty.

After all, the economic plan that Mr. Clinton outlined recently does not even address the issue of entitlement spending. Instead, Mr. Clinton says he can increase spending on infrastructure, provide an investment tax credit, and reduce the deficit all at the same time. How? By growing the economy."

If George Bush or Ronald Reagan had offered this plan and accompanying rationale, the media would have scorned it as a "free lunch." Yet Mr. Clinton's plan is being favorably characterized by the media, with the L.A. Times calling it "a tough balancing act."

Growing the economy to balance the budget may sound great, but it just won't work. It's already been tried.

Here's what Frank Gregorsky concluded in his February 1985 Wall Street Journal article titled, "Growth Alone Won't Do It." As you

read, keep in mind that this was written after eight quarters of low inflation and a level of real growth (a whopping 10.3 percent) that Mr. Clinton can't hope to match.

"The U.S. economy can't grow fast enough to catch up with ... de-

liberate high spending. Neither can the economy grow fast enough to overtake spending on an aging population interacting with too-generous transfer payment laws. Sen. Alan Simpson was right: 'No slot machine in America pays off like that.' "Mr. Gregorsky, of course, was referring to runaway entitlement spending — those mandatory programs that are not subject to annual appropriations and which lie outside the scope of any budget discipline (Social Security, Medicaid, Medicare, civil service retirement, military retirement, etc.). In this regard nothing has changed since. If anything, the situation is even worse.

Entitlement spending currently accounts for almost \$1 of every \$2 the federal government spends. By the year 2001, it is estimated entitlements will gobble up 60 percent of the federal budget. As we move beyond the year 2001, entitlement programs will grow even faster as the baby boom population becomes eligible for Social Security and Medicare benefits.

Much of the future growth in entitlements will be in health care programs, such as Medicare and Medicaid, which are growing faster than other entitlements due to medical care inflation. If Mr. Clinton goes ahead with his national health care program or some other new benefits program, entitlement spending growth would be pushed even higher.

But ignoring the ticking entitlement time bomb is not the only flaw in Mr. Clinton's plan. He has claimed that spending \$20 billion more annu-

ally on infrastructure and high speed rail will create 275,000 jobs directly and possibly more through a Keynesian multiplier effect. These new jobs will supposedly increase the tax base and result in more government revenue. In short, Mr. Clinton proposes we spend our way out of the deficit.

Yet at the same time Mr. Clinton has proposed cutting active duty military personnel by about 237,000 below the current Pentagon draw-down plan. Using his own numbers, this would give Mr. Clinton a net of only 38,000 new jobs, or pretty much a wash.

Indeed, the problem with Mr. Clinton's plan is that in order to get the Keynesian spurt in economic activity he is looking for he must, by definition, increase the size of the deficit. Simply shifting federal funds from one use (defense) to another (infrastructure) will have no stimulative effect. That is why his team is starting to talk more in terms of \$50 billion in infrastructure spending instead of only \$20 billion, which would dramatically increase the deficit.

Mr. Clinton may claim he will indulge in deficit spending only for a couple of years and then tackle the deficit once the economy is moving. But this strategy begs the question: If deficit spending stimulates economic growth now, won't deficit reduction halt it later on?

The fact is that the government cannot take the place of the private sector in creating jobs. A good job should be measured as much by what it produces as what a worker earns in wages. In that regard, jobs that pay people to build boondoggles or pork barrel projects that benefit only the elected representatives in-

involved (Miami's mass transit rail system is a perfect case in point) do not help our long-term economic prospects and may impose additional future costs on government in the form of operating subsidies.

And you can be sure that any infrastructure plan going through Congress will be chock full of pork. It is a simple truth — apparently lost on Mr. Clinton — that a job created by government is not as beneficial as a job created by the private sector.

What about the investment tax credit (ITC)? Mr. Clinton has been touting a study claiming his ITC proposal will result in 500,000 new jobs the first year alone. This reminds me of those Communist Party econo-

mists in the former U.S.S.R. who assured us of the wonderful state of the Soviet economy, explaining, "Everything's great. We have statistics."

In fact, Mr. Clinton's ITC is targeted. That means it will only be used for government-approved activities and industries, which will distort the market by taking capital away from other, potentially more productive uses. It is also an invitation for industries to do the type of lobbying Mr. Clinton has decried.

It would be better to lower the capital gains tax and let investors and the market decide where capital should best be deployed. This would do more to spur economic growth

than any road the government could build.

But again, economic growth, while an important component of any deficit reduction package, cannot reduce the deficit by itself. Mr. Gregorsky had it right in 1985: "It will take politicians investing political capital to achieve balanced budgets." It will take entitlement reform.

Oh, by the way. There was one candidate for president whose economic plan called for a cap on entitlement spending (excluding Social Security) that would have resulted in saving \$294 billion over five years. His name was George Bush.

Robert K. Dornan is a Republican member of the U.S. House of Representatives from California.

Pruden on
Politics

By Wesley Pruden

And off to Saigon,
via Mogadishu

Somalia is certainly not Saigon, but some of the most surprising people are calling down the echoes of one of our earlier humanitarian adventures.

The differences begin with the fact that the war in Vietnam, conceived as an exercise to protect a free people and American interests in a strategic place in the world, was real work, against a real foe.

Somalia is mostly a feel-good exercise. Every man's heart breaks when he sees the newspaper photographs of the starving children, many too weak to brush the clouds of bluebottle flies from their horrific little faces, and it's tempting to imagine that Operation Restore Hope is something more than taking a Christmas turkey to the poor.

Sen. Paul Simon, for example, has been down in Atlanta, schmoozing with Jimmy Carter at his Center for Peace, Goodness and Happiness Ever After, and he says the Somalia exercise is the American military's "finest hour." (So much for Antietam and Prairie Grove, Belleau Wood, the Battle of the Bulge and the Ia Drang valley, where everybody was required to shoot those gun thingies.)

When one of the Sunday television interlocutors posed the simple but straight-to-the-point question — if Somalia is such a good idea why aren't we on our way to Bosnia and Haiti? — the senator was ready to play Simon says.

"Yes, I think you have very different situations militarily in both Haiti and Bosnia," he replied. "Bosnia, for example, is very mountainous. I would not favor deployment of ground troops in Bosnia."

He never got around to answering the question, because the hawks who are so eager to put out more flags in the hell-holes of Africa don't seem to be interested in Haiti, which is in our hemisphere, where we have helped before, and where we might actually have a chance to do good. (The Democrats in Congress may believe that Bill Clinton has already dealt with tragedy in Haiti with his invitation

to the Haitians to start building their boats to winter in Florida.)

Even a thoughtful man like Rep. John Lewis of Georgia descends into the quicksand composed of equal parts of syrup and sentiment. "I tend to agree with Senator Simon," he says. "Our world, our little planet, is now becoming a global village. And we must be concerned about the people of the world."



Gen. Carl Mundy

Indeed we must, but Americans should feel no guilt for wanting to help when and where they can, on their own terms. The talk of "restoring" order to Somalia is bunk, since there is no order to restore. What we're doing is feeding the starving, a worthy goal, but this could be done by low-flying C-124s at stall speed, with crewmen — "kickers," they're called — shoving the stuff out the cargo doors. That's how we supplied friendly forces in Cambodia and Laos, and it worked. In a fortnight, two squadrons of C-124s and C-130s could make Somalia look like looting day at Safeway. We could keep it up forever.

The alternative, as George Bush and then Bill Clinton will learn, is to see American generosity and largesse soon denounced as instruments of American plunder and colonialist pillage. The Rev. Jesse Jackson is already booking flights to Mogadishu.

Sam Donaldson, an authority on military tactics as on everything else, yesterday tried to chivvy Gen. Carl Mundy, the commandant of the Marine Corps, on just what the rules of engagement might be in Mogadishu.

"What are you going to tell Marines, as far as when they can fire?"

"If they are threatened, certainly if they're fired upon," Gen. Mundy replied, "they can return fire."

"Well," Brigadier Sam pressed on, "[Colin] Powell was a little indistinct in his briefing the other day, but he made clear that it wasn't just if someone shoots at you; you might take the first step."

That was too much for David Brinkley. "Sooner or later," he said, "it must be known to everybody in the world that pointing a weapon at a battalion of Marines must be a bad idea."

"I sure hope they know it," the commandant replied, "and we certainly believe it."

We all should hope so. But this miserable exercise hasn't even begun, and already we're halfway to Saigon.

Judge speaks mind

CORPUS CHRISTI, Texas (AP) — State District Judge Margarito Garza has called defendants fools, criticized women in court for living with men they aren't married to and said the Texas Supreme Court "can shove it."

Such tough talk, and his often salty language, is bringing him before the Texas Commission on Judicial Conduct this week. The commission can dismiss the complaints, censure the judge or begin more serious formal proceedings that could lead to dismissal.

Lawyers have complained that Judge Garza's comments violate the Code of Judicial Conduct requiring judges to "be patient, dignified and courteous."

Once, denying a protective order sought by a woman against her live-in boyfriend, he said: "You don't need a protective order, ma'am, and this is not a case for a protective order. You are not married. You want me to treat you with respect, then you tell me you ain't shacking up with that guy."

The judge also said he believes his actions don't violate the judicial code. "I am an activist," he said. "If I have offended anyone by using 'hell' or 'damn,' I suggest they tune in to 'Murphy Brown.'"

The Reliable Source

By Lois Romano

The Monday Interview

Steady-Going Stedman Graham

He is indeed a commanding presence—even without Oprah Winfrey on his arm. But it's only in the six years since the 6-6, no-nonsense PR exec has been linked with the sizzling TV host and one-woman entertainment empire that Stedman Graham has grabbed the fascination of millions. They plan to marry next year, but don't expect Mr. Graham to become Mr. Winfrey.

Settling down in a friend's office here the other night for an extremely rare interview, Graham lets you know many times over that he has a mind—and an agenda—of his own. "I don't let people determine how I live, what I should say, what I should do. I know who I am," he says, rather directly. "Don't think that you're somebody special just because of all the hoopla. You have to keep your feet on the ground."

This he does, he says, through his commitment to Athletes Against Drugs, a preventive program he started in '85—and the main reason he's agreed to be interviewed. AAD targets 9-to-18-year-olds and recruits drug-free pro athletes (like Michael Jordan and Chris Evert) to act as role models in parent workshops, field trips, sports clinics and career days.

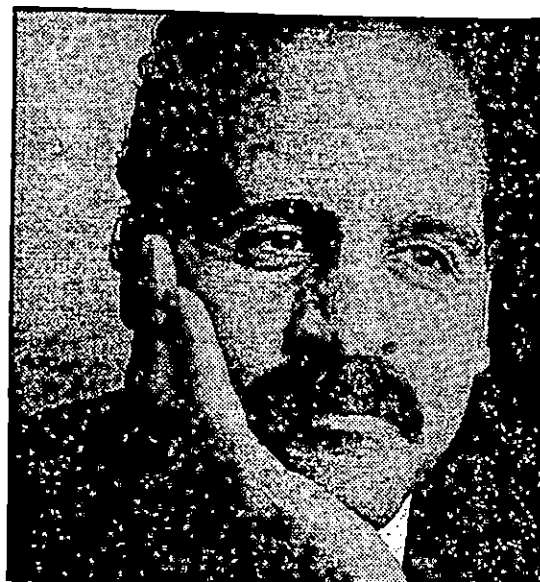
"I didn't know much about how to organize a program—all I had was drive," he tells The Post's Mary Alma Welch.

And that, he says, came from his upbringing. Along with the accouterments of his success—gold watch, monogrammed shirt, stylish suit, perfectly coiffed wavy graying hair—Graham, 41, says he wears the scars of discrimination he faced as a child. "Because of being in an all-black town, you grew up feeling inadequate, having low self-esteem. . . . I have a hole in my heart that I'm trying to fill."

He's one of six children born to a New Jersey housewife and a contractor, to whom he's very close. Like many other kids of modest means, Graham found a way up and out through sports—he parlayed his skill in high school basketball into college scholarships.

"If it wasn't for athletics I never would have made it. . . . It was the opportunity for me to get out," he says.

After college, graduate school and a stint in a European basketball league, Graham turned to a public relations career in North Carolina. Along the way, he did some



BY HARRY NALTCHAYAN
—THE WASHINGTON POST

Graham and Winfrey in 1988; left, the engaged man today.

BY NANCY ANDREWS—THE WASHINGTON POST

modeling—he met Jordan while serving as his body double. The move to Chicago and his own company—S. Graham & Associates (he's on the board of the Graham/Williams Group here)—came after he and Winfrey had been an item for two years.

There's no shortage of salacious interest in the duo. There've been scores of unwelcomed tabloid headlines, including one that prompted a successful libel suit against a Montreal paper. But on this cold Washington evening, he refuses to fill in blanks like: how they met, the proposal, a

prenuptial agreement, the wedding date (we hear June) and his 17-year-old daughter by a previous marriage.

He does bristle, however, when asked how he'd answer those who wonder if his will be a marriage of convenience. "If they had to deal with what I've dealt with for the past six years, they wouldn't even ask that question. . . . We've got feelings like anybody else, we hurt like anybody else. I feel lucky to have her. It's worth all the suffering and pain. She's one in a million."

A Return to Roots

■ Tuesday's Democratic Leadership Council dinner—at which Bill Clinton is expected—is shaping up as a blockbuster with hundreds begging to kick in the \$1,500-a-head to see the Big Man. The DLC, which Clinton helped found, has already sold 1,500 seats. And there's a waiting list of 200 people, says one source.

The DLC's gross for the night will be at least \$2.25 million—not bad for a group that recently was portrayed as not fully representative of the party. Appropriately, singer Judy Collins will perform. Bill and Hillary Clinton named their daughter after the song "Chelsea Morning," which was written by Joni Mitchell and popularized by Collins.

WE'VE HEARD THAT...

Arsenio Hall, here over the weekend to donate food to poor families, slipped into Morton's on Saturday night with a date, and both nibbled on a Grand Marnier soufflé. And at a nearby table were his four bodyguards—who also chowed down.

■ Bill and Hillary Clinton are expected at their ninth-annual New Year's Eve "Renaissance Weekend" retreat in Hilton Head, S.C., where all good policy wonks and pols flock. Not surprisingly, attendance is expected to be high this year.

■ Congressional inaugural chairman Sen. Wendell Ford will present Bill Clinton with a gift of Lenox crystal at the lunch following the swearing-in. It's being cast by a firm in the senator's home state of Kentucky, but no word on what exactly it is.

■ For those of you who were thoughtful

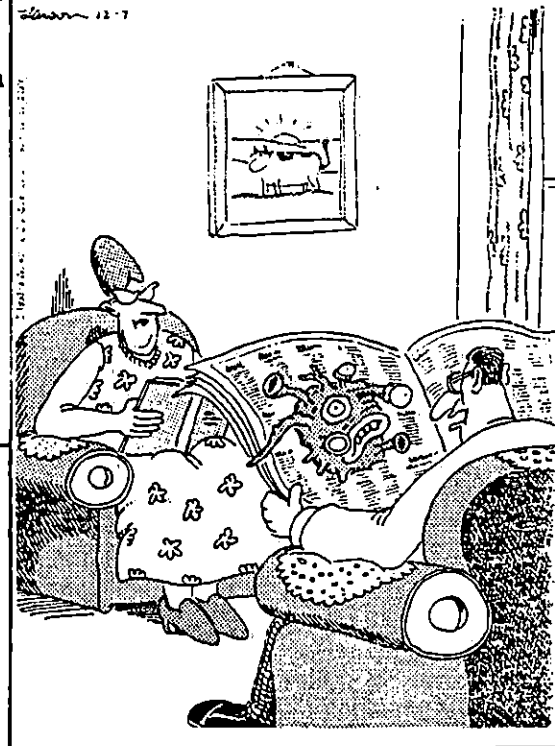
enough to point out that inaugural pooh-bah Rahm Emanuel is staying in a \$400-a-night Mayflower Hotel



suite, take solace in knowing that the inaugural committee isn't footing the bill. The Mayflower is subsidizing the room as an inaugural promotion, says an organizer.

■ Speaking at the winter Gridiron party Saturday night, Bill Clinton's spokeswoman, Dee Dee Myers, joked that her boss's claim "that he didn't inhale [marijuana] becomes unbelievable to anyone who's seen him eat at a McDonald's."

THE FAR SIDE GARY LARSON



"Hey, Lola, Did you see this thing in the paper?"

The Party's Not Over—Yet

■ Hispanic leaders have been working furiously since Wednesday to put together a Hispanic Inaugural Ball after negotiations collapsed between the Democratic National Committee and the Hispanic Congressional Caucus.

The caucus, chaired by Rep. Solomon Ortiz, had volunteered to coordinate a Hispanic gala. But Jack Otero, the highest-ranking Hispanic DNC member, nixed the idea because the caucus was a bipartisan group—and the ball's Democratic.

When heroes for a Hispanic

celebration seemed dashed, several other Hispanic leaders—L.A. council member Gloria Molina, former San Antonio mayor Henry Cisneros and National Council of La Raza head Raul Yzaguirre—stepped in to revive the event, reports The Post's Carlos Sanchez.

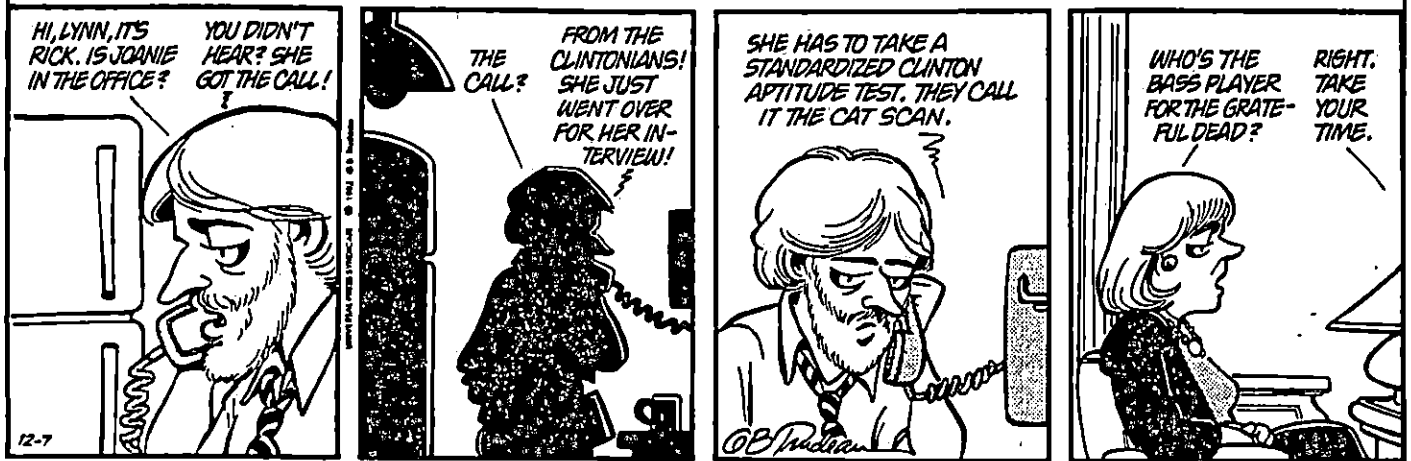
No word yet on whether the transition team is going to sanction this one.



Henry Cisneros, stepping in.

DOONESBURY

By G.B. Trudeau



CALVIN AND HOBBS BILL WATTERSON



Going, going . . .

The Arkansas Democrat-Gazette, in a lead editorial last week, said, "The governor needs to go, so the governor can get down to work." Arkansans by the thousands, including many in the 47 percent who voted against him last month, are worried over their state's pressing affairs and would just as soon see Bill Clinton make his getaway so Lt. Gov. Jim Guy Tucker can get down to real business.

But you may recall that Orval Faubus holds title as Arkansas' longest-serving and heretofore most famous governor. He spent six terms in office, or 12 years, until he was defeated in 1967. Mr. Faubus tried an unsuccessful comeback against then-Gov. Clinton in 1986, complaining at the time that our future president was "not keeping the store." As long as Mr. Clinton waits until at least Jan. 1 to resign, which he says he will, he will have served in office the same number of years as Mr. Faubus.

Why is this important? Mr. Faubus and Mr. Clinton have never seen eye to eye on a lot of things, but once Mr. Clinton did something during the 1986 campaign that really angered Mr. Faubus, and he's never forgotten it, only he won't say what it was.

Besides, many Arkansans say being governor of their state is a greater honor than being president of all the other states.

Apparently, however, the speculation is all for nought. George Stephanopoulos, Mr. Clinton's director of communications, said Friday that his boss will resign as governor before the state legislature returns for a special session scheduled for next week. The special session was called because the state's Medicaid program is running out of money.

Also on Friday, the Arkansas Supreme Court rejected a legal challenge over the state's gubernatorial succession policy, ruling that Lt.

**INSIDE THE
BELTWAY**

Gov. Tucker will become governor upon Mr. Clinton's resignation. Mr. Stephanopoulos said Mr. Clinton had been awaiting the outcome of that case before stepping down.

Looking ahead

Defense Secretary Dick Cheney is thinking about a run for the White House in 1996. A year ago he said on NBC's "Meet the Press" that he'd never given the presidency a thought. But yesterday he noted: "I cannot any longer say the thought never crossed my mind. . . . When the time's right, I'll take a look at it."

In the meantime, the Pentagon chief said that after his term is up he will return to his native Wyoming for some fly fishing, perhaps join corporate boards and sign up with a think tank in Washington. He also held out the prospect of running for the Senate in 1994 for the seat now held by Republican Malcolm Wallop.

A long way, baby

Last month's voting places six women in the U.S. Senate (up from three) and in the House we have 47 women (up from 28). This must make Jeannette Rankin, if she's watching from above, awfully proud. At a time when most women in this nation were denied the right to vote, Miss Rankin became the first woman to sit in the U.S. Congress. A Republican from Montana, she was elected in 1916, but her opposition to U.S. entry into World War I led to her defeat two years



America's first congresswoman, Jeannette Rankin, would be pleased by the elections.

later in a bid for the Senate.

Miss Rankin would bounce back as a congresswoman 24 years later, but once again "the lady from Montana" would take a lonely stand. After Japanese planes attacked Pearl Harbor 51 years ago today, President Roosevelt went to the Capitol the following day seeking a declaration of war. He got it in less than two hours, with a single dissenting vote: 82-0 in the Senate, and 388-1 in the House.

Amidst a chorus of boos and

words that can't be reprinted in this column, Miss Rankin violated protocol and on her vote shouted: "As a woman I cannot go to war, and I refuse to send anyone else." An outraged mob accosted her as she left the chamber, forcing her into a phone booth where she called Capitol Police for protection and an escort to her office. Two policemen guarded her for the remainder of the day.

A telegram to Miss Rankin the next day from the Cowpokes Union of Deer Lodge, Montana, summed up the feelings of the nation: "In view of the bad storms in the offing and the way you botched up the last branding, we would like to have you saddle up your bronc, tie your bedroll on behind, and just ride home . . . until we have a chance to send a new representative after the next election."

The rest is history.

The 'in' crowd

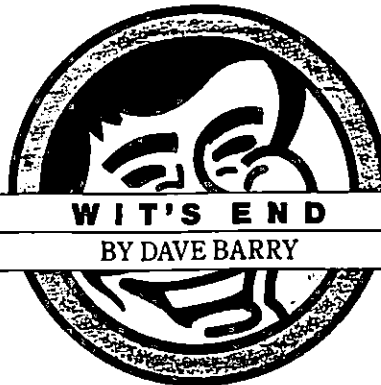
Bill Clinton hasn't even arrived in Washington yet and already prices are going down.

The National Democratic Club, where prominent Democrats gather on a daily basis and where Mr. Clinton met with congressional leaders to ask their support for his campaign, is offering select members of Washington's business community a special VIP membership entitling them to join the club without paying the regular \$250 initiation fee.

"I would like to invite you to join the leaders who will be shaping our nation as a member of the NDC," wrote William H. Cable, president of the club.

Said one recipient of Mr. Cable's invitation: "It will be interesting to see how many of the lobbyists who have been members of the Capitol Hill Club (Republican) decide that it is time to join a new club."

— John McCaslin



Needled and Pinned

IS THE HOLIDAY SEASON—A time when writers openly use words like “tis” and even “twas”; a time when throngs of excited parents bustle into the Toys Sure “R” Costing “U” Plen-“T” store and club each other with sturdy Tonka trucks in fierce holiday struggles over who gets to purchase the only remaining unit of the toy industry’s hottest new product concept, Baby Fester Face (“The Doll That Develops REAL BOILS!”); a time when festive gatherings of loud, eggnog-impaired people attempt to sing “The Twelve Days of Christmas” despite the fact that nobody ever remembers what my true love gave to me after Day 5:

“... drummers milking,
“EIGHT leapers leaping,
“SEVEN figgy puddings,
“SIX snakes a-molting . . .”

Yes, the holiday season is a time of traditions, and here in the newspaper industry we have a cherished tradition of reminding you, the public, of all the holiday-related ways in which you can get injured or killed. We also perform this service for you on Memorial Day, the Fourth of July, Labor Day, Halloween and Thanksgiving. (“Enjoy your turkey dinner, but remember: This year, 250 Americans will choke on their giblets.”)

So today I want to discuss a potential holiday disaster that was brought to my attention by alert reader Debby Denniston, who sent me an Associated Press article that appeared last December in the Albany (N.Y.) Times Union. The article, which I am not making up, begins:

“FREMONT, Neb.—A 10-year-old boy trying to keep his dog from throwing up on a rug was pinned when the family Christmas tree fell on top of him.”

This incident should come as no surprise to anybody who has ever owned a dog. Throwing up on rugs is the primary function of dogs, as a species. If you were

to put a dog in the middle of the Sahara, the dog would immediately start trotting in a straight, purposeful line, and it would continue night and day, traveling thousands of miles if necessary, defying exhaustion, starvation and thirst, until it located a rug, which it would throw up on.

So anyway, when this Fremont, Neb., dog—whose name, according to the article, is “Pookie”—started to woof, the boy shoved him off the rug. Naturally this caused the Christmas tree to fall. Christmas trees have some kind of inner-ear problem that renders them incapable of standing erect for any significant length of time. In their natural forest environment, they grow horizontally on the ground, like zucchini.

Compounding the problem is the fact that Christmas trees are known to be among the most vicious members of the plant community. They become especially hostile after they’ve spent weeks tied up tightly at the Christmas-tree sales lot while holiday shoppers repeatedly lift them up and pound them down to see if

any needles fall off. So when Dad brings a tree home, cuts its ropes and tries to jam it into one of those ludicrously flimsy, ashtray-sized “tree stands”—which are barely adequate to handle a small floral centerpiece, let alone an enraged, full-grown conifer—the tree, freed from its restraining ropes, will immediately start lunging violently in all directions, while Mom, trying to be helpful, says, “Okay, now it’s leaning to the left . . . Okay, now it’s leaning to the right . . . Okay, now it’s leaning back to the left . . . Okay, now it’s . . .” Meanwhile, Dad, somewhere down on the floor under the thrashing branches, pine sap smeared in his hair, is fighting for his life, bleeding from hundreds of tiny pine-needle stab wounds and saying many non-holiday words. At least that’s the tradition in our house.

But getting back to the Associated Press article: There the boy was, alone in his house, trapped under a highly aggressive Christmas tree. Fortunately, Pookie saw what was happening, trotted alertly over to the boy, and, in the heroic tradition of resourceful canines Lassie and Rin-Tin-Fin, threw up.

No, seriously, the article states that the boy was able to reach a phone and call 911, whereupon “police and firefighters pulled the tree off the boy, who was not injured.” The article does not state whether the police used tranquilizer darts on the tree.

So fortunately this story has a happy ending, which is good, because the holiday season should be a happy time. So before we create the impression that there’s nothing more to this very special time of year than tree attacks, we’d like to wish you the best, and leave you with this holiday thought: Both holly AND mistletoe are poisonous. ■

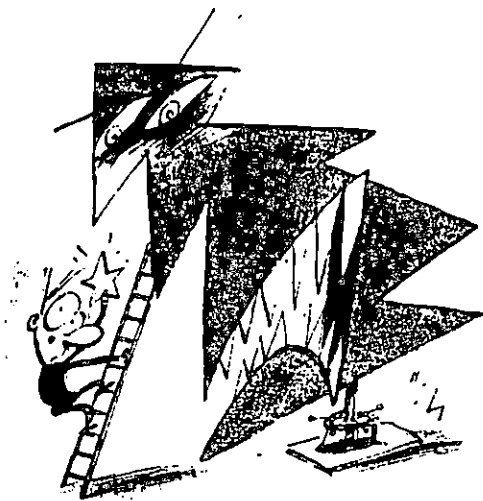


ILLUSTRATION BY HAL MAYFORTH

DATE: 12.7
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What's News—

World-Wide

ABOUT 1,800 MARINES MADE final preparations to go ashore in Somalia.

The first wave of U.S. Marines is expected to enter the capital, Mogadishu, tomorrow to begin a U.N.-mandated international relief mission to help deliver food and supplies. The Pentagon plans to have 30,000 U.S. troops in the African nation by next month, when the U.S. hopes to begin turning over secured areas to U.N. forces. Joint Chiefs chairman Powell said Friday that he envisioned a two- to three-month U.S.-led effort. (Article on Page A16)

Defense chief Cheney said American soldiers may round up and disarm the warring Somali gunmen who block aid deliveries, but he insisted the U.S. won't become mired in a guerrilla war.

Hindu fundamentalists used pickaxes and crowbars to raze a 430-year-old mosque in northern India that they claimed was built on the site where a Hindu deity was born. Indian officials declared a security alert and braced for a Muslim backlash. At least four Hindus died during the nearly six-hour demolition of the mosque in Ayodhya.

German officials ended months of squabbling with opposition leaders as both sides agreed on a proposed tightening of the nation's liberal asylum law for refugees. In Munich, 350,000 people marched with candles and lanterns to protest a wave of racism and antiforeigner violence.

Bosnian government troops fought to block Serbs from cutting off the road to Sarajevo's airport, and the U.N. said a suspended airlift wouldn't resume until tomorrow at the earliest. The mayor of Serb-occupied Vlasenica said 70 people have died of starvation in his area, with many eating livestock feed or a salt-sand mixture.

Yeltsin fended off an attack on his authority over the weekend, as Russia's legislature failed to pass amendments that would have curtailed the president's ability to name key ministers. The amendments narrowly fell short of the required two-thirds majority, fueling concern that the opposition may reintroduce diluted versions.

South African police knew a radical black group planned bombings against whites, but decided not to alarm civilians by issuing a warning, the Sunday Times said in Johannesburg. Separately, black opposition leader Mandela said the government agreed to schedule elections to end white minority rule by the end of next year.

Russian troops and tanks helped pro-Muslim volunteers defend the capital of Tajikistan, Dushanbe, from an attack mounted by Communist-backed forces based in Gissar, about 15 miles to the west. Russian media said. Casualty reports weren't immediately available.

Swiss citizens voted down membership in the planned European Economic Area, in another setback to efforts aimed at binding European nations closer together. The result of the referendum — reflecting Swiss fears about losing jobs to foreigners — will delay formation of the free-trade zone, known as the EEA. (Article on Page A10)

Prime Minister Rabin said he was convinced that Israel would reach peace agreements with some of its Arab neighbors in 1993 despite Arab pessimism over the 13-month-old Mideast peace talks. In Tunis, meanwhile, the PLO announced that Palestinians would send fewer delegates than usual to the talks, which resume today.

Rockets and artillery shells exploded throughout Kabul in a new round of combat between Afghanistan's Iranian-backed Shiite Muslim guerrillas and troops loyal to the interim Islamic government. Doctors said at least 20 people died and 360 were wounded in the battle, which shattered three months of relative calm in the capital.

California geologists announced the discovery in downtown Los Angeles of two previously unknown earthquake faults that pass beneath skyscrapers, along the Hollywood Freeway and near Dodger Stadium. Scientists said that if the faults became active, they could produce quakes measuring 5.5 to 6.5 on the Richter scale.

An oil slick spread along Spain's northwestern coast despite efforts to prevent it from polluting beaches and shellfish beds. The oil from a disabled tanker — which ran aground, exploded and split in two off La Coruna on Thursday — covered an area of 19 square miles by early yesterday. The ship carried nearly 25 million gallons of crude.



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