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Folder Title:
Monday, January 4, 1993 [2]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	35	3	1	0

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (1cc)

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Marshal of The Royal Air Force Sir John Grandy
GCB, GCVO, KBE, DSO
The American Air Museum in Britain Campaign
Duxford
Cambridge CB2 4QR
ENGLAND



THE PRESIDENT

January 4, 1993

Dear John,

Thanks for your letter of December 14. The American Air Museum Campaign is a wonderful endeavor; however, I must decline your kind invitation at this time. After January 20, Mrs. Bush and I will be moving back to Texas and my focus will primarily be on my Presidential Library at Texas A&M. I hope you understand.

Chuck Heston is a good friend, and I have a lot of confidence in him. Good luck to you and best wishes for a successful 1993.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "G. H. W. Bush".

Rose J.



THE AMERICAN AIR MUSEUM IN BRITAIN CAMPAIGN

Sir John Grandy

Joint Chairmen:

Mr Charlton Heston

Marshal of The Royal Air Force Sir John Grandy GCB, GCVO, KBE, DSO

Duxford

Cambridge CB2 4QR England

Telephone: 0223 835155 Ext: 254

Fax: 0223 837267

14 December 1992

The Honorable George H W Bush
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington DC
United States of America

Dear Mr President,

I send deeply felt commiserations. The pinnacle of political life - and then?

Both you, and Winston Churchill in 1945, having each led your countries with such magnificent and historic courage and success, were rejected. It is difficult fully to grasp the depth of sadness this apparent lack of public awareness and understanding of such great achievement, must cause. You have all my sympathy Sir.

If I am not intruding, Mr President, you may remember that way back in 1990 our mutual friend the late Senator John Tower set up with me, as Joint Chairman, The American Air Museum Campaign. This is to raise money in the States to build a special new hangar here at the existing Air Museum in which to protect, house and display our unique collection of American aircraft, mostly WWII vintage including an Avenger you so kindly agreed we could name Barbara and paint in your colours. Many United States veterans have visited Duxford this year in connection with the 50th Anniversary celebrations of the American Air Forces arrival in this country in 1942 and we get some 400,000 visitors annually to this active flying Museum - the largest of its kind in Europe. We are thus determined to construct the new building here; it will be planned with educational facilities in mind and will also be designated as a memorial to the 30,000 US airmen who, flying from this country in WWII, gave their lives.

John's tragic death was a major setback; but in due course Chuck Heston very nobly agreed to take his place as Joint Chairman with me. We have now raised \$3 million gross towards our US target of \$7.5 million and recently held a successful fund raising dinner in Beverly Hills; President Reagan supported the Appeal, our Patron HRH The Duke of Kent was with us and spoke as did Jimmy Stewart and General Bill Lyon. We have to date received responses from some 35,000 American citizens to our continuing direct mail operation.

In addition Prince Bandar most generously arranged for a \$1 million gift from Saudi Arabia (the Museum will cover Allied Air Cooperation from WWII right down to and including Desert Storm).

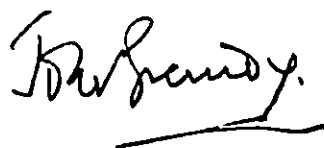
But in these hard times, and despite some wonderful support we still have a long way to go. Chuck Heston and I believe, with the support of our Campaign Board members, that it is now imperative that we find the major American donors, individuals or foundations, who will take us to our target. It is in this regard Sir, that I am wondering whether you might be willing to help us.

We would so much appreciate your active involvement in this important endeavour, perhaps by attendance at a campaign event or signing an appeal letter. Perhaps Chuck Heston could speak with you on whether you might help and how you might participate.

I do hope, Sir, that you may be able to respond favourably.

With all good wishes,

Yours very sincerely

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Bar Gandy', with a horizontal line drawn underneath it.

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable Della Newman
American Ambassador
American Embassy, Wellington
PSC 467, Box 1
FPO AP 96531-1001



THE PRESIDENT

January 4, 1993

Dear Della,

Thanks so much for the reference material -- it looks great! Maybe Barbara and I will be able to visit in the future. Hope your Christmas was merry. Ours was white and wonderful, spent at Camp David with kids and grandkids. We have so much to be thankful for.

Thanks, again, and I hope 1993 is the best year ever for you and Wells.

Con Afecto,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "Barbara" or similar, written in a cursive style.

FROM THE DESK OF

DELLA NEWMAN

TO: The Boss DATE: Dec 15, 1992

Just a few things for your
future reference!

X X X

The WBA

Moonlight Lodge

NEW ZEALAND

- LOCATION:** Moonlight Lodge estate is located in the northern part of the South Island of New Zealand, some 265 kilometres north of Christchurch and 160 kilometres south of Nelson on the State Highway 65.
- TRAVEL ARRANGEMENTS:** Christchurch International Airport is well served by international carriers and is connected with regular flights from Auckland International Airport (as is the regional airport at Nelson).
With the growth of fly/drive and campervan arrangements, guests may drive to the Lodge through picturesque scenery:
via State Highways 1, 7 and 65 from Christchurch
via State Highways 6 and 65 from Nelson
via State Highways 1, 6, 63 and 65 from Picton.
- TRANSFER TO LODGE:** Guests arriving other than by rental car may choose from the following transfer methods:
Within 50 kms, by complimentary Lodge limousine
By private limousine from Christchurch
By helicopter from Christchurch International Airport.
The Lodge can arrange all the above to suit the clients particular requirements.
- ACCOMMODATION:** The elegant Main Lodge houses the 30-seat silver service restaurant, well-stocked dispense bar, guest lounge with open fire, bibliographical and C.D. Library, and Cabinet Room (for executive meetings).
Guests are accommodated in their own cottages on the banks of the river; each cottage has King or Queen sized bedroom, spa bathroom, lounge and private verandah overlooking the floodlit grounds. Each has its own tea and coffee-making facility and C.D. player, also worldwide direct-dial phone, and other important amenities. Guests are also invited to use the Health Pavilion which includes whirlpool spa, dry sauna, remedial massage, equipped gym and changing/shower rooms.
- WINING & DINING:** "Fairweathers" restaurant is open daily for breakfast, lunch and dinner; the menu provides a feast of exciting dishes each made specially in the kitchens at the Lodge, where most of the ingredients are freshly prepared. Our water and foodstuffs are from a totally natural, unpolluted source.
Morning coffee and afternoon tea are served in the lounge and cottage (room) service is available 24 hours a day throughout the complex.
A fine selection of wines and spirits may also be enjoyed, whether in the Health Club, Library, Restaurant or guests' cottage.
- ACTIVITIES:** Beside the leisurely pastimes of reading, playing backgammon, chess or card games, or 'relaxing' in the Health Club, guests may enjoy a number of recreational activities on the estate. These include gold-panning, canoeing/white-water rafting, bush walks, and archery: all equipment supplied. Other facilities available in the region include golf, skiing, mountaineering and horse riding.
- FISHING:** The estate borders four kilometres of the world-renowned Maruia River which is fed by mountain streams and offers the fisherman the challenge of landing large brown trout. This and other mountain fed streams offers the intrepid angler the choice of dry fly or spin casters with catches up to seven pounds (three kilos). Helicopter and overland trips to remote rivers and lakes can also be arranged.
Tourist fishing licences can be purchased at selected sporting stores in New Zealand or may be arranged through the Lodge.

Moonlight Lodge

PAENGA MARUIA VALLEY SOUTH ISLAND NEW ZEALAND

RATES

Valid 01 October 1991 through 31 March 1993

NZ\$

COTTAGE ONLY:

1 bedroom cottage — 1 or 2 persons	250.00 per cottage per night
2 bedroom cottage — 1 to 4 persons	400.00 per cottage per night

COTTAGE ONLY RATES include: overnight accommodation, morning coffee and afternoon tea. Free use of all facilities at the Lodge.

HALF BOARD:

1 bedroom cottage — 1 person	315.00 per person per night
— 2 persons	220.00 per person per night
2 bedroom cottage — 2 persons	295.00 per person per night
— 3 persons	225.00 per person per night
— 4 persons	195.00 per person per night

HALF BOARD RATES include: afternoon tea, pre-dinner aperitif, dinner with wine, overnight accommodation, full breakfast, morning coffee.
Free use of all facilities at the Lodge.

ALL RATES ARE INCLUSIVE OF 12.5% GST

CHECK IN 14:00 (2:00pm) CHECK OUT 12:00 (midday)

SETTLEMENT of accounts: All major credit cards are accepted at the Lodge. Cheques are only accepted by prior arrangement. Travellers cheques may be encashed at the prevailing rate.

GUARANTEES AND DEPOSITS

MARCH through NOVEMBER bookings require a deposit of one night's accommodation charge to be sent to the Lodge.

DECEMBER through FEBRUARY bookings require a deposit of two night's accommodation charge to be sent to the Lodge.

Alternatively, reservations may be assured through a major credit card: those accepted at the Lodge include: American Express, Diners Club, Mastercard and Visa.

The Lodge accepts guarantees only from those travel agents/operators who have made prior arrangements with the management. Details available on request.

CANCELLATIONS:

Bookings cancelled under 30 days from date of arrival incur a 25% cancellation fee.

Bookings cancelled within 2 days from date of arrival incur a 100% cancellation fee.

Moonlight Lodge

PAENGA MARUIA VALLEY SOUTH ISLAND NEW ZEALAND
PHONE (03) 523-9323 FAX (03) 523-9515

RATES

Valid 01 April 1993 through 31 March 1994

HALF BOARD:

1 bedroom cottage — 1 person	345.00 per person per night
— 2 persons	245.00 per person per night
2 bedroom cottage — 2 persons	325.00 per person per night
— 3 persons	245.00 per person per night
— 4 persons	205.00 per person per night

INCLUDES: Devonshire tea, pre-dinner aperitif, a-la-carte dinner with wine,
cottage accommodation, full English breakfast, morning coffee.

Free use of all facilities at the Lodge.

Cottage only rate also available.

ALL RATES ARE INCLUSIVE OF 12.5% GST

CHECK IN 14:00 (2:00pm) CHECK OUT 12:00 (midday)

SETTLEMENT of accounts: All major credit cards are accepted at the Lodge. Cheques are only accepted by prior arrangement. Travellers cheques may be encashed at the prevailing rate.

GUARANTEES AND DEPOSITS

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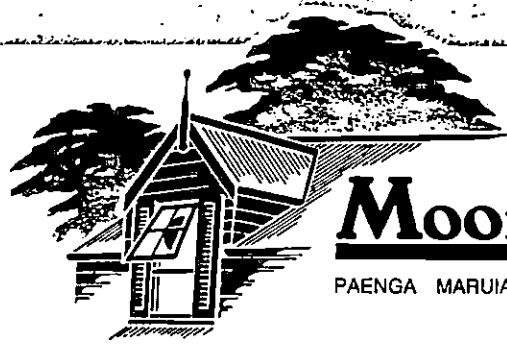
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Moonlight Lodge

PAENGA MARUIA VALLEY SOUTH ISLAND NEW ZEALAND



Being There...

DATE 92

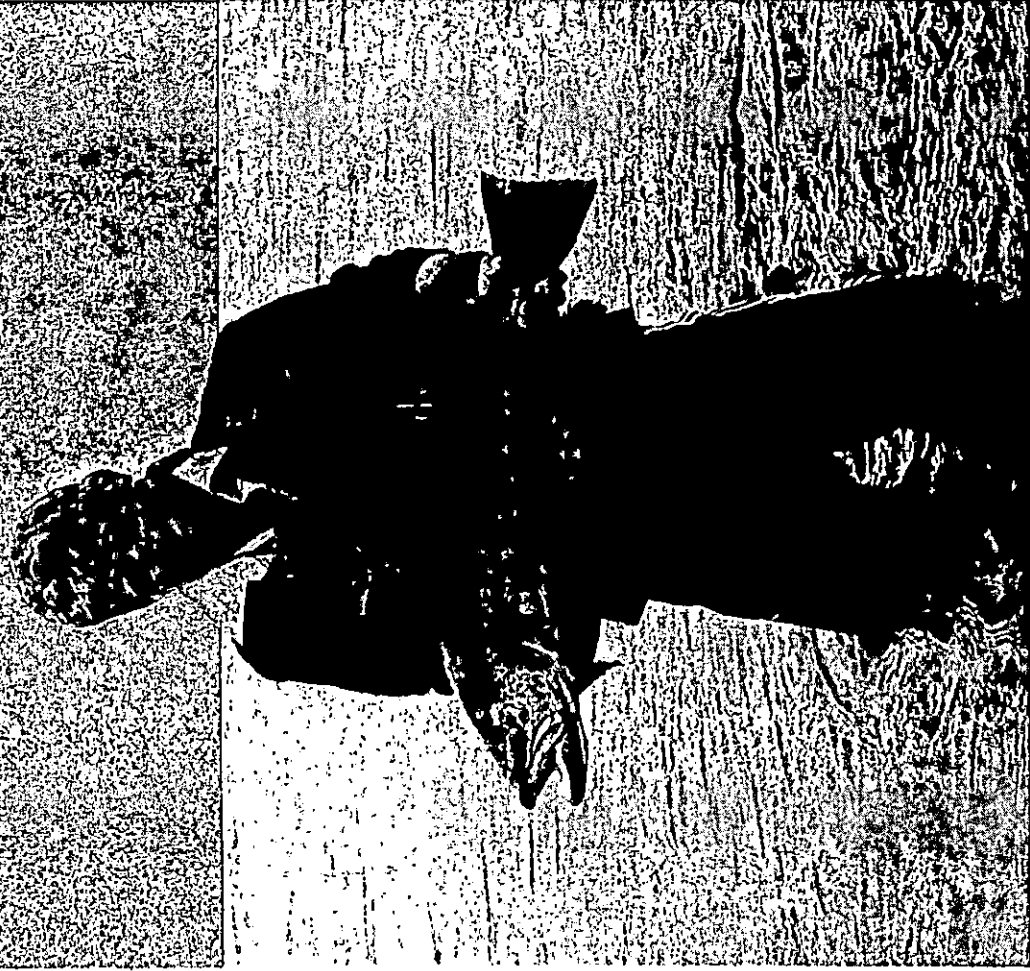


Photo: R. Vaile

Tony Entwistle's



FLY FISHING

[illegible]

This licence allows the holder to access on foot over the designated lakeshore and riverbank rights of way. It does not permit access over any other private or Maori land including Motutai Island.

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
|  | TAUPO FISHING
DISTRICT BOUNDARY |  | FISHING PERMITTED
1 October to 30 June |
|  | FISHING PERMITTED
1 July to 30 June |  | FISHING PERMITTED
1 September to 30 June |
|  | FISHING PERMITTED
1 December to 31 May |  | FISHING PROHIBITED
ALL YEAR ROUND |



TAUPO DISTRICT LICENCE TO FISH FOR TROUT 1992-1993 SEASON

(1 July 1992 to 30 June 1993)

NOT TRANSFERABLE

Under the Conservation Act 1987, the Taupo Fishing Regulations 1984, the Maori Land Amendment and Maori Land Claims Adjustment Act 1926.

The holder of this licence

D. Newman

Surname

Initials

MALE

FEMALE

Full Postal Address

U.S. EMBASSY

Waiuku

I hereby authorised to take trout within any part of the Taupo District, between the dates shown hereon, subject to the above Acts and to all regulations made thereunder for the time being in force in the said district.

Name and Address of Issuing Officer
TAUPO SPORTS DEPOT LTD.

Signature of Licence Holder
(Licence not valid until signed)

Date available 24/1/92 to 12 midnight

Date of issue 24/1/92 Time of issue 1100 am/pm

SUMMARY OF THE TAUPO FISHING REGULATIONS

This anglers' guide has no legal standing. Please refer to the Taupo Fishing Regulations 1984, which are available at all licence agents.

Minimum Size — No person shall have in their possession any trout which is less than 35cm in length, or less than 30cm in length if it was taken from the Kuratau River upstream from the hydro-electric supply dam, or the Wanganui River and its tributaries. Any undersized fish caught must be immediately returned to the water whether it is alive or dead.

Daily Bag Limit — Maximum of 3 trout, irrespective of species. Anglers must cease fishing on any one day once they have caught and kept three trout.

Fishing Hours — You may only fish between the hours of 5.00 a.m. and 12.00 midnight.

Prohibited Gear — No person shall use any handline, any strokehauling or foulhooking gear, any gaff, any lure with more than one hook or a multiple hook, more than two lures, any hook which is greater than 14mm between the point and the shank, any paravane, downrigger, or unsportsmanlike device; any line having a metal content within areas specified for fly fishing only. Wire and lead lines may be used in those portions of Lake Taupo which are outside fly fishing only areas.

Fishing Methods — You may fish for trout with only one rod and running line. Possession of more than one assembled rod while fishing from a boat is not allowed. Foulhooking is illegal and any trout caught in this manner, either dead or alive, must be immediately returned to the water. Set rods or rod holders may only be used on boats where all occupants of the boat have fishing licences; the person in charge of the boat is liable for any breach of this provision. Other than a maximum of two flies, the only item which may be attached to a line or leader used in fly fishing only waters is a strike indicator of synthetic or natural yarn. Other materials which may help float or sink the line, or aid casting, such as polystyrene, foam, plastic, cork, lead, etc., are not permitted. Medicated or chemical preparations, except for dry fly floatants and fly line dressing, may not be used.

Fishing Lures — Artificial flies, artificial minnows and natural flies may be used in the District. Other than artificial imitations of Koura and fish, the use of baits or their imitations is not permitted. "Artificial fly" includes any lure of feather, fur, wool or other material of any kind customarily used in the making of artificial flies; excludes any lure in the tying of which lead or other weight has been incorporated, unless the hook incorporated in the lure does not exceed 17mm in length, exclusive of the eye, and the gap does not exceed 5.5mm. "Artificial minnow" includes spoonbait, any lure in the tying of which lead or other weight has been incorporated to facilitate the casting

ADULT'S DAY LICENCE

47098

\$8.00



Photograph by John Gibbs, Taupo.

Please note: The winter fishing limit on the Tongariro River is now 500 metres above the confluence of the Whitiakau Stream as marked by a landmark (Black, yellow and white ringed post).

or sinking of the lure and any lure which incorporates a spinning device or a device to impart a wobbling or irregular motion to the lure.

7 Restricted Fishing Areas — Fly fishing only applies to most rivers and streams in the District. All legal lures may be used in Lakes Taupo and Otamangakau, the Hinemaiaia River upstream of the lower hydro dam, the Tongariro River upstream of Beggs Falls, the Tokaanu Tailrace downstream of the SH41 bridge, the Kuratau River upstream of the hydro dam and the Waikato River downstream of the Taupo control gates bridge on SH1.

On Lake Taupo, fly fishing only applies within a 300 metre radius around the mouths of most tributary streams. There are also restrictions governing the use of boats. Where boat fishing is allowed in fly fishing only areas, boats must be anchored. In Lake Taupo, fishing from an anchored boat is permitted at the mouths of the Tongariro River and Tauranga-Taupo River, and there are no artificial fly or boat fishing restrictions at the mouths of the Waikino and Otupoto Streams. Anglers should refer to Regulations 17 and 18.

8 Fishing Prohibited in Certain Areas — There are a number of waters in which fishing is prohibited at all times. Anglers should refer to the map on the back of this licence which defines areas and seasons where fishing is permitted.

9 Pollution — It is illegal to allow rubbish of any sort to enter any waterway.

10 Tagged Fish — Information about tagged trout must be reported to the Fishery Manager, Department of Conservation, Private Bag, Turangi. Details giving date, locality, species, sex, length and weight should be included.

11 Sale of Trout — It is illegal to sell or purchase trout.

12 Canning and Freezing — Special conditions apply, refer to Parts IV and V of the regulations.

13 Koura and Smelt — The taking of koura and other fish indigenous to Lake Taupo is permitted only for members of the Ngati Tuwharetoa tribe. The taking of smelt by any person is prohibited.

Fish diseases affect trout both in the hatchery and in the wild. Do not carry dirty waders from the North to South Islands or vice versa. When leaving islands or coming in from overseas, please ensure all gear is adequately sterilised.

"YOUR FISHERIES NEED YOU. JOIN A CLUB"

I DON'T CARE WHO PUT HIM
THERE ... THERE'S NOTHING
DOING 'TIL YOU GET
RID OF HIM!

11/17/91



GARRICK TANAKA

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

ENT

Jan 4 '93
(just back)

Dear Arthur,

Thanks so very much
for your New Year's note
and for that lovely present.
You are far too kind and
generous. I hope you

THE WHITE HOUSE

Rabbi Arthur Schneier
President, Appeal of Conscience Foundation
119 West 57th Street
New York City, New York 10019

Ag 731

Sincerely with friendship

Year ever -

have you best New

1873-1874

Pauli Arthur Johnson

Dear President Bush and Barbara,

Our thoughts and prayers are with
you during this holy season. We
wish you all the best for the new year,
health, peace of mind and heart -

Warm regards,

Pauli, Jennifer

1992

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



THE PRESIDENT

January 4, 1993

Dear Mr. Walker,

Thank you for your letter of December 3 and your kind offer to represent me. I do appreciate your letter, but I have decided not to consider any future opportunities until I am actually out of office and have moved back to Texas.

Again, thanks for sending me your catalogs. With best wishes,

Sincerely,

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. Alan S. Walker
President
Program Corporation of America
599 West Hartsdale Avenue
White Plains, New York 10607-9990



Rose Z
599 West Hartsdale Avenue, White Plains, New York 10607-9990
914-428-5840 • 800-877-3253 • Fax 914-428-5356

America's largest lecture agency serving as exclusive lecture managers and booking agents for the world's leading celebrities.

✓
S. Green
December 3, 1992

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

Dear President Bush:

We have received quite a number of inquiries regarding your availability to lecture to major colleges, associations and corporations. The fees that have been mentioned to us by these groups for your lectures range anywhere from \$50,000 to \$75,000 per engagement.

Program Corporation of America is one of the country's largest and oldest lecture management firms being in business for almost twenty-two years. We represent and book such people as Nina Totenberg, Walter Mondale, Elliott Abrams, Jimmy Carter, Max Cleland, Terrel Bell, Linda Chavez, Charles Fried, George Gallup, Charlayne Hunter-Gault, William Proxmire, Jehan Sadat, Helen Thomas, Ben Wattenberg and Linda Wertheimer. I'm enclosing our catalogs and other information about Program Corporation of America.

I'd like to have the opportunity of meeting with you in Washington to discuss our services and what we can offer you regarding lecture management. I will call your office in a few days in the hopes of setting up an appointment with you.

Sincerely,

Alan S. Walker
President

ASW:ac



Secretary of State
214 State Capitol
Atlanta
30334

Max Cleland
SECRETARY OF STATE
(404) 656-2081

February 14, 1991

Mr. Alan Walker
Program Corporation America
599 West Hartsdale Avenue
White Plains, New York 10607

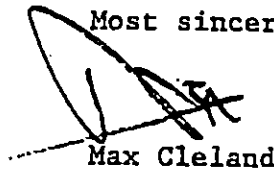
Dear Alan:

Thank you so much for all you and PCA have meant to me over the last ten years.

It was ten years ago this month that Joan Steinhouse flew down from New York to Washington and signed me up on an exclusive contract. It has been one of the most enjoyable episodes in my life. Each time I travel and speak, I thank God for PCA.

Hang in there, and know that you are loved and supported by me. Let me know if I can ever help you or PCA in any endeavor. Thanks again.

Most sincerely,



Max Cleland

MC:js

P.S. - I love working with you!

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY LAW CENTER
WASHINGTON. D. C. 20001

ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON
PROFESSOR OF LAW

August 10, 1982

Mr. Alan Walker
Program Corporation of America
595 West Hartsdale Avenue
White Plains, New York 10607

. Dear Mr. Walker:

I have had a note to myself for six months to write you a note about Joan Steinhaus. As you know, I did not know Joan before and have come to know her only through my work with your company. Her diligence, intelligence, and sensitivity speak so well for your company and for your own judgment that I wanted to let you know personally.

My own work running governmental agencies has given me considerable appreciation for the importance of strong staff. I must say that Joan has been quite extraordinary in the way she has handled my bookings and worked with me. She has energetically maximized my opportunities while at the same time winning kudos from those who have sought me out for speaking engagements. Over and over again people who have dealt with her by phone have raised with me how helpful she has been to them in making arrangements.

Needless to say, she has been even more helpful to me. She has skillfully protected my interests, often getting me more financially than seemed possible when an initial contact was made. I have been mightily impressed by her initiative, energy, and follow-through. The smallest details of arrangements have never been too trivial for her to pursue enthusiastically. In all of this she has been aided by an intelligence, a sensitivity, and a knack for engaging people that have proved invaluable in her representation of me. Finally, she has brought to her work that high level of sound and mature judgment that inspires the utmost in confidence and trust.

I feel lucky to have Joan as my representative. I look forward to continuing to work with her and with your company.

Best regards.

Sincerely,



Eleanor Holmes Norton

EHN:bb

On Lecture Circuit, Talk Is Not Cheap

By LYNNE AMES

A PICTURE may be worth a thousand words, but on the lecture circuit, a few words are worth a thousand dollars.

Madam Jehan Sadat, Anwar el-Sadat's widow, receives \$20,000 to deliver an hour-long talk. Dan Rather also commands \$20,000. Dr. Ruth Westheimer — known to most simply as Dr. Ruth — did get \$5,000, but is reportedly raising her fee to \$7,000. Famous Amos makes a mere \$2,000.

All of these celebrities — and 1,500 or so other individuals ranging from the very famous to the relatively unknown — are clients of Program Corporation of America, a company based in White Plains. Housed in a sleek but unassuming office near the Greenburgh border, Program Corporation matches up speakers with organizations that want them. Its founder and president, Alan Walker, first set up shop in Manhattan, but shortly afterward moved to an office in Hartsdale. Five years ago, the company settled into its White Plains location.

"You'd be surprised how many famous people drop in here," he said recently. "Although really, in a business like this, almost everything we do is over the telephone. We book people all over the world — not long ago, we arranged a booking in Monte Carlo."

If White Plains might seem an unlikely location for a celebrity-studded operation, Mr. Walker seems at first just as unlikely a candidate for its president. He sports no gold chains, no pinkie rings, and there isn't a trace of mogul in his manner. He is, in fact, low key, with serene blue eyes and a deep, mellifluous voice. His first profession was criminology; he fell into lecture booking almost by accident.

"I was working for the State of California prison system, and going to law school," he recalled. "A

relative of mine was in the business of booking concerts. One day, he asked me to do some work for him and I said, why not, it sounded like fun. I never went back to criminology."

In 1971, Mr. Walker opened his own agency. It was, he concedes, "a little scary at first," but he parlayed contacts he had already made into a successful enterprise. Today Program Corporation has a roster of 1,500 speakers and serves 30,000 professional organizations and universities.

The nuts and bolts of the operation are as follows: An organization contacts the company and describes a particular need, or requests a particular speaker; Mr. Walker and his staff of 15 try to "find someone who'll fit the price and need" and the speaker is reached to work out details of the scheduling, fee and expenses. The glitch comes if a sought-after speaker has too high a price tag.

"Organizations and colleges want celebrities with major names, until they find out how much they cost," Mr. Walker said. "We explain to them that we don't set the fees, the speakers do. We only take a percentage as our commission."

Building up a cadre of speakers requires constant work. Joan Steinhaus, the company's vice president, is "forever getting in touch with new people," according to Mr. Walker. The wooing of Madame Sadat, for example, was a long-term challenge: "We persevered, calling her and writing to her for about a year," Mr. Walker said. "We had contacts in the U.S.A. and in Egypt. There was calling back and forth from Cairo as if it was around the corner."

At the other end of the spectrum are the people who ask if they, too, can pick up hefty sums for simply making an after-dinner speech. The main criteria, Mr. Walker said, is whether he or she is "bookable." If one is very famous, that alone will suffice; but notoriety is not an absolute prerequisite, and professionals with specialized expertise

make up the bulk of the company's roster.

"Doctors, people in law and government, authors — we have many who make about \$1,500 to \$2,000 per lecture, who are not big names but have a definite niche," Mr. Walker said.

The company also puts together special programs on such subjects as women's rights, gun control and drug abuse.

It is the superstars, however, who command big attention — and the superstar fees that cause so many eyebrows to go up. Among the company's clients: Barbara Walters, \$20,000; Robert Redford, \$15,000 — but only, Mr. Walker cautioned, "to speak on environmental issues, not Hollywood"; Mario Thomas, \$12,500 "for a very entertaining, personalized talk"; Billy Martin, \$10,000.

"As I tell the organizations — we have nothing to do with setting the fees," Mr. Walker said. "Most celebrities asking high fees are very successful at what they do. Their time is limited and they want to be paid for their presence and notoriety. Some might feel that fame is fleeting and they want to get money while the getting is good. Then there are taxes — I have a feeling some of them sit down with their accountants and figure out how much they need to make an engagement worthwhile."

And what, he was asked, is the audience's fascination with speakers?

"To some extent, it's a form of entertainment, edification," he replied. "Or maybe it's a way of drawing people into a conference and keeping them there — often someone will tell us, we need a major name for the last-day luncheon of a three- or four-day convention."

He paused. "Of course, once we get into the area of celebrity... well, people just want to see the person in person. It almost doesn't matter what a celebrity has to say. If Woody Allen were to show up somewhere, people wouldn't care if he talked about the wallpaper."

DAILY NEWS

Sports
starts on
Page 42

Tuesday, May 14, 1985

NEW YORK'S PICTURE NEWSPAPER®

Largest general circulation paper in America

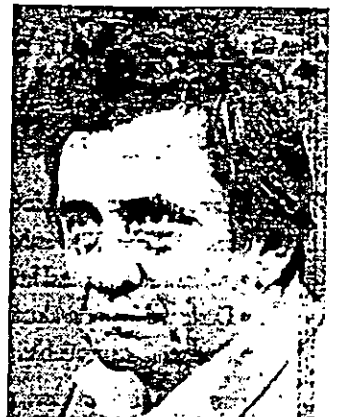
Cash & Ford top drug talkers



Betty's getting \$10,000 a speech.

What do country singer Johnny Cash, former First Lady Betty Ford and ex-Newark Detective Dave Toma have in common? They're among the most sought-after speakers on drug and alcohol abuse in the nation. The White Plains-based Program Corporation of America has been booking them on lecture tours around the country. Nobody asks Cash to sing, few seek political opinions from Ford and no one asks about police protection from Toma. Their audiences want to hear how they broke their alcohol or drug habit. Toma's work as a detective led to the TV series "Baretta" and "Toma" but his exploits as a crimebuster do not interest audiences these days. It's Toma's hard-nosed approach to the evils of drugs that concerns audiences. It also became the basis for a WOR-TV series on drug

abuse. The series is being circulated in New Jersey schools to warn children about the evils of experimenting with drugs. And because of reports of drug abuse by baseball players, former Yankee pitcher Ryne Duren is one of the hottest lecturers on the circuit, talking about how he was hooked. And "Love Boat" star Lauren Tewes, who was bounced from her role on the show as ship's hostess because of her drug problem, is very popular with young fans. Most recently, too, because she went public with her problems, singer Rosemary Clooney has become a popular speaker. Colleges, hospitals, professional organizations and sports-oriented groups are eager to see and hear the stars talk about their problem. Cash gets \$15,000 a lecture, Ford gets \$10,000, Clooney and Tewes get \$7,500 and Toma gets \$5,000.



Cash gets \$15,000 per lecture.

PEOPLE

By PHIL ROURA and TOM POSTER

PEOPLE

By PHIL ROURA and TOM POSTER

Money talks: Jihan's No. 1



SADAT: 20G



DAVIS: 5G



FORD: 10G



CUNNINGHAM: 10G



THOMAS: 12.5G



FONDA: 5G

For the few uninformed men in our audience, March is National Women's History Month and the demand for women speakers across the nation is at its peak. That's why you may find it hard to find Bella Abzug or Marlo Thomas or Jane Fonda at home. They're probably out lecturing somewhere.

Alan Walker, who books prominent speakers, reported Jihan Sadat, widow of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, ranks near the top of the list this month, drawing from \$17,500 to \$20,000 a speech.

Eleanor Holmes Norton, the former human rights commissioner, gets anywhere from \$3,000 up, and she ranks as the most sought after speaker as a civil rights advocate and feminist. Angela Davis pulls down \$5,000 a pop.

Mary Cunningham, of Bendix love fame, gets \$10,000 a shot because she penned the book "Powerplay," about how difficult it is for a woman to get ahead in business. Betty Ford, the former first lady, is getting \$10,000 per speech while Betty Friedan walks off with \$5,000 each time she lectures on the ERA and NOW, which she founded.

Joan Mondale, who is called "Joan of Art" because of the way she pursued the cause of the arts while hubby, Walter Mondale, was vice president, gets \$5,000 per speech. Her topics include "Art in the Vice President's House."

Coretta Scott King gets \$7,500 per lecture while Marlo Thomas picks up \$12,500 per speech. Why? Because, her booking agent, Program Corporation of America, says: "To millions of American women, Marlo Thomas means change." Her topic: "From That Girl to This Woman."

Other top draws include Fonda on "Economic Democracy" (she draws \$5,000), Abzug on the gender gap, Ginny Foat on battered women, Brooklyn District Attorney Liz Holtzman who is presented as the youngest woman ever elected to Congress, and Maureen Reagan, outspoken daughter of President Reagan. Mo's price varies depending on the audience.

Fleeting fame's fortune hunters

By DOUG WILLIAMS

BY DAWN OF NOV. 5, one of the longest and most prestigious unemployment lines in the last quarter century began to develop in Washington D.C. For in the nation's capital, defeat gives birth to more than "new eras." It also breeds resumes.

For the toilers of the ancient regime, the pink slip comes as no real surprise. But by the time it officially arrives in January, most have already done quite well in one of the nation's lesser publicized auctions — the recruiting war staged by lecture management firms for the signatures of the top talent in the departing administration.

In the latest political version of baseball's free agent draft, the Program Corporation of America, based in White Plains, came away with several "blue chippers." Including Jimmy Carter's press secretary, the affable Jody Powell, and Joan Mondale, the wife of former Vice President Walter Mondale.

PCA, one of the leading lecture management firms in the country, now adds to the stable of stars it markets each year to the university, corporate, civic organization and trade association rubber-chicken circuit such former Carter

DOUG WILLIAMS is a business writer for the Gannett Westchester Newspapers.



Staff photo by Robert F. Rodriguez

Alan Walker and Joan Steinhaus

Administration officials as Secretary of State Edmund Muskie, Chief Domestic Affairs Adviser Stuart Eizenstat, Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall, Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti, CIA Director Stansfield Turner, Budget Director

James McIntyre, and "inflation fighter" Alfred Kahn.

"The day after the Carter Administration found that it would no longer be in the White House," explains PCA Vice President Joan Steinhaus, "we started to

seek out people we wanted. We made phone calls, mailed letters and sent telegrams describing our services."

One day, a senior Carter White House official returned a PCA call and invited Mrs. Steinhaus to the White House for breakfast to discuss the future.

"That opened the door for us," she recalls. "In a way, Washington is really a very small town and word travels pretty fast. We soon began to get calls from others in the White House and from Senate committee staffs. We were one of only three or four firms in the country that got in to see these people."

Once the PCA foot was securely lodged in the White House door, Mrs. Steinhaus began commuting to Washington for negotiations with potential clients.

"It's never an easy thing," she says. "Like they say, it's never over until the fat lady sings. I have been in and out of every conceivable high level of government and they got to know me so well down there that I literally got into the White House without a pass one day. It's a glimpse of a world you don't normally get to see."

At PCA's office, located at 595 W. Hartsdale Ave., Mrs. Steinhaus handles most of the client recruitment, with founder and President, Alan Walker, guiding the overall operation and directing the sales side of the business. PCA

From page one

Gannett Westchester Newspapers/Sunday, Feb. 15, 1981

B9

FAME'S FORTUNE HUNTERS

Continued from page B1

promotes its services primarily through mailings to the many organizations on file who seek keynote speakers for events.

"There are literally a million different organizations who have programs needing speakers all over the world," Walker explains. "Most people are looking for a personality who is a household name. Not many are really all that interested in the local police chief."

Other newly acquired stars handled by PCA include former South Dakota Sen. George McGovern, former Congresswoman Elizabeth Holtzman, former Indiana Sen. Birch Bayh, noted ecologist and Citizens Party presidential candidate Barry Commoner, and Libertarian Party presidential candidate Ed Clark.

Speakers can do quite nicely on the banquet circuit, with top-line talkers drawing as much as \$15,000 for an appearance, depending on his or her stature and the nature of the group financing the appearance and the type of performance called for. A former president can garner \$25,000.

"The bottom line is really \$500," Walker says. "There aren't too many who will take \$500 anymore."

On the lecture circuit, fame is the name of the game and, as a result, one's marketability can be short-lived, particularly if fame derives from political position.

"Today," Walker says, "the colleges in particular are looking for draws, the name people, the faces on the television. Media people are good sellers. Ten years ago, the name was not as important. The issues were more important than they are now — unless there is a big name associated with an issue like Ralph Nader or Jane Fonda. Fonda is booked solid on her tours."

Walker, who started the business more than 10 years ago after working for a now-defunct firm in Manhattan, says a big seller in the 1960s was "the assassination expert," particularly those who argued that President John F. Kennedy was a victim of a conspiracy.

"We had a guy named Ted Shurack who had a show he called 'The Second Gun' who was in great demand. Now you couldn't give him away," Walker says.

Most of the lecturers or speakers come from fields in which they were accustomed to public speaking and need no coaching, Walker says. Some are seeking only occasional speaking engagements, while others are looking for a more extensive lecture management contract in which PCA acts more like a booking agent or professional manager for the client.

"Most of the people are either experts in their field or have done plenty of public speaking," Walker says. "The best ones simply speak right off of the cuff without notes."

Mrs. Steinhaus adds, "I do have a file of speechwriters now that I have been down in Washington. But we have rarely run into a need for a speechwriter."

While seeking out business in Washington after the Carter defeat, Mrs. Steinhaus says she was able to gain a feeling for the emotional shock the outgoing administrators were experiencing.

"The first week or so they were still getting over the shock of defeat and it was a little gloomy," she says. "But soon the transition work began and that kept them pretty busy."

"But you can see that they get used to living in a rarified atmosphere," she adds. "At the end they were suddenly off the party lists and having trouble getting a table for lunch at Sans Souci. It was quite a shock to them."

But the recruitment of departing administration officials is only a part of the total effort for an organization like the PCA. The object is to amass a supply of speakers to appeal to a broad range of organizations over a long period of time. PCA has a catalogue of more than 1,000 speakers, ranging from Cincinnati Reds catcher Johnny Bench to The Amazing Kreskin, a "master of ESP."

"We have people in DNA and for ERA and people in cloning — just about anything," Walker says. "Whenever we sign a new speaker, we send out a notice to everyone who has our catalogue and is on our mailing list."

In one PCA catalogue, Westchester County Executive Alfred DeBello is offered for speaking engagements and is described as "one of the nation's leading authorities on energy, public power and government takeover of private electrical utilities."

How fleeting is fame?



October 14, 1992

Dear Fredda,

On April 16, I called you and we talked about bringing Ben and Jerry to Penn State. One storm, two dates, six months, dozens of phone calls, and twenty-four hundred peace pops later we had a show. If it wasn't for all of your help and the fact that Ben and Jerry are two of the greatest guys I ever met, this show could have become Colloquy's apocalypse.

As you may have already figured out, the show last night was a great success. I think that agents from all around the country owe you an apology for accusing you of leading us on. We were told by countless agents that we could never get *both* Ben and Jerry on campus, and obviously they are not agents who can get things done because that was the easy part. Granted they were stuck in Philadelphia the first time because of a Hurricane Andrew backlash, but even then they were willing to drive the four hours to do the show. To avoid having to write How we killed Ben & Jerry by Fredda Kray and Chris McKim, we deferred that option but easily rescheduled the show with your help and their willingness.

Penn State is forever indebted to you for making this show work and to Ben and Jerry for their extreme generosity. Thank you!

Sincerely,

Chris McKim

Chris McKim
Vice-President
Colloquy

Comment Letters about Program Corporation of America



151 Farmington Avenue
Hartford, Connecticut 06156

David E. Smith
Director, Marketing Communications
Marketing Services
Life Division Marketing

Ms. Norma Parets
Program Corporation of America
595 West Hartsdale Avenue
White Plains, NY 10607

Dear Norma:

The first time we talked a year and a half ago, I asked you a question. I pointed out that I receive mailings from at least a dozen speakers bureaus each year. I wanted to know why I should do business with you. What made you different from the others?

You told me that you try harder. I believe you. Arranging for Governor Connally to speak at our International Seminar in Monte Carlo was no small job. I had more than a few doubts. You were upbeat and reassuring all the way. You were right. You've earned your spurs with me. You can count on getting the opportunity to work with me in the future.

Governor Connally completely lived up to our expectations. He arrived in time for our reception and dinner and shook hands and posed for pictures like the seasoned veteran politician he is. They loved him -- especially the Texans in the group.

The following morning, he again showed his class and poise on the podium, delivering an address that was highly stimulating and showed a great depth of knowledge of world affairs and rare good sense. Had a vote been taken on the spot, he'd have been elected. His handling of the questions directed to him from the audience was equally stimulating and impressive.

I've searched for negatives and I can find only one and that so relatively small that it almost seems like carping. The Governor, like most Americans I fear, tends to lose sight of the fact that the United States and the free world are not entirely synonymous. His talk was probably more interesting to the Americans in our audience than to those from Australia, New Zealand, or Canada.

But, on balance and overall, it was excellent. Our thanks to Governor Connally for a fine presentation. And, a salute to you for a job very well done.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "David E. Smith".

David E. Smith, Director

Connecticut National Bank

Trust Division
One Church Street
P.O. Box 1909
New Haven, Connecticut 06509
203 771 7800

Ms. Grada Fischer
Program Corporation of America
595 West Hartsdale Ave.
White Plains, NY 10607

Dear Grada:

The conference went fantastically well. Both Donna and Jane were very well received. They added style, sparkle and commitment to the whole day. The co-chairs of the conference will be writing to Jane and Donna to thank them personally but I wanted to write to you and thank you for all your efforts on our behalf. Our association with your company has proved to be one of good business and pleasant personal relations. I want to commend you personally for your attention to detail, your availability and your ability to find for us not only speakers that would enhance our conference, but that which we could afford with a limited budget. I have made a strong recommendation for future program chairmen to start with the Program Corporation of America in the search for major speakers.

Sincerely,

Sheilah B. Rostow
Sheilah B. Rostow
Trust Officer

SBR/pao



American Medical
Technologists

710 Higgins Road
Park Ridge, Illinois 60068
Phone AC 312 822-5141

Grada Fischer
Program Corp. of America
595 West Hartsdale Ave.
White Plains, NY 10607

Dear Grada:

As I indicated in our phone conversation today, we are hoping you can duplicate for our national meeting this year the absolute coup you pulled off last year in obtaining for us the services of Max Cleland as our national convention keynote speaker.

With humor and complete understanding of the audience, Mr. Cleland kept all in rapt attention during his entire time at the microphone.

You found an excellent speaker for our organization; we anticipate your doing the same this year.

Thank you!

Yours truly,

Eleanor M. Bors

Mrs. Eleanor M. Bors
Public Relations Director

"Pride of the Profession"
Incorporated in 1939

RICHMOND URBAN LEAGUE, INC.

FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY



101 East Clay Street Richmond, Virginia 23219 (804) 649-8407

Mr. Alan S. Walker
Program Corporation of America
595 West Hartsdale Avenue
White Plains, New York 10607

Dear Mr. Walker:

The Richmond Urban League is indeed most appreciative for the arrangements made by the Program Corporation of America to have Mrs. Eleanor Holmes-Norton serve as guest speaker for our Annual Equal Employment Opportunity Day Conference.

Ms. Joan Steinhaus was very pleasant and helpful in making arrangements for Mrs. Norton's appearance in Richmond. Any assistance requested was quickly provided in addition to the contacts made to clear up travel and lodging arrangements for Mrs. Norton. Her assistance was most helpful in our planning efforts.

Thank you very much for the cooperation provided by the Program Corporation of America. We hope assistance requested in the future will be delightful as experienced recently.

Sincerely,

Randolph C. Kendall
Randolph C. Kendall
Executive Director

RCK/1j



A United Way of
Greater Richmond Agency
An Affiliate of the
National Urban League

THE BENSON COMPANY • Public Relations

271 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016 • (212) 686-7756 • 7

GUY K. BENSON

Ms. Rita L. Kopell
Program Consultant
Program Corporation of America
595 West Hartsdale Avenue
White Plains, New York 10607

Dear Rita:

This is to let you know how very pleased we were to have had Carol Foreman with us at the National Pretzel Bakers Convention earlier this month. She is a remarkably cogent and knowledgeable speaker, who voices her public-spirited convictions in a way that manages to be both winning and no-nonsense at the same time. Quite a lady.

Of course, I share many of her convictions and so may be prejudiced. Long may she wave. Political philosophies aside, she is warm and spirited company - especially at the dinner table. We wish she could have stayed longer.

By now she will have received a note expressing the same sentiments for myself and on behalf of the entire membership. By the same token, I write you to thank you and Joan Steinhaus for a fine job in making all the preparatory arrangements and for your help in making her visit with us an easy and enjoyable one, free of niggly details.

A good show all around!

With best wishes,

Guy

pb

CAMPUS ASSOCIATION FOR STUDENT ACTIVITIES

HERBERT H. LEHMAN COLLEGE *C.A.S.A.*
REDFORD PARK BOULEVARD WEST BRONX, NEW YORK 10468

Mr. Keith Greim
Program Corporation of America
595 West Hartsdale Avenue
White Plains, New York 10607

Dear Keith:

I would like to extend thanks from myself and the entire C.A.S.A. Board. Your personal assistance was greatly appreciated and extremely beneficial in the successful outcome of the Moral Majority debate.

The debate itself was interesting and informative. The overall reaction of those who attended was definitely positive.

I am sure that I will be contacting you sometime in the up-coming semester to make use of your valuable services.

Sincerely,
Dennis Campbell
Dennis Campbell
Executive Vice-President

DC/co



10 FRANKLIN STREET
BANGOR, ME 04401
(207) 942-6389

Mr. Alan S. Walker, President
Program Corporation of America
595 West Hartsdale Avenue
White Plains, New York 10607

Dear Mr. Walker:

I certainly believe that Robert Metz's presentation was well scated, timely, entertaining and informative.

My only regret, was that we at this end perhaps provided too much of an entertaining portion to the evening. Therefore, Mr. Metz's comments had to be reduced substantially. He did speak, however, for about 20-25 minutes and then remained available to answer any questions that people had.

I can heartily endorse Mr. Metz as a speaker for any group. He did not give us a canned speech, but rather tried to fine tune his comments to the state of the national economy and how its impact would be on the State of Maine. He obviously had done his homework, done some research, and was well worth our costs.

Also, let me take a moment to thank you for your willingness to quickly get a response for us.

I would be more than happy to hear from you in the near future as to whom you might suggest for a guest speaker for our next Annual Dinner.

I have learned my lesson and it's not too early to begin planning.

Best wishes always.

Sincerely,

Michael W. Aube

Michael W. Aube
President

MWA:ewn



Metropolitan Evansville Chamber of Commerce
1000 Market Street Evansville, Indiana 47710 Telephone 313-4150

Ms. Rita L. Kopell
Public Relations
Program Corporation of America
595 West Hartsdale Avenue
White Plains, New York 10607

Dear Rita:

The members in attendance at the Annual Meeting of the Chamber of Commerce thoroughly enjoyed the remarks given by General William C. Westmoreland. His message was extremely timely and pulled no punches. It gave the audience much to think about and reflect upon.

We appreciate the fine service which you gave us. Thank you very much!

Sincerely yours,

James T. Dittoe
James T. Dittoe
Executive Vice President

JTD/idi



SCRIPPS-HOWARD BROADCASTING COMPANY

TELEVISION STATION WPTV
P O BOX 510
PALM BEACH, FLORIDA 33480
655-5455

Ms. Norma Parets
Program Consultant
Program Corporation of America
595 West Hartsdale Avenue
White Plains, New York 10607

Dear Norma:

On behalf of the Urban League of the Palm Beach County, I would like to thank you for your cooperation in securing Mr. Geoffrey Holder for the 7th Annual Equal Opportunity Day Dinner Benefit.

The arrangements we made through the Program Corporation of America were very professional, as you delivered exactly what you said you would. Geoffrey Holder, on your recommendation was very appropriate for our dinner benefit. We are looking forward to working with you again, next year.

As we discussed, enclosed please find several copies of our souvenir booklet as well as our invitation.

Sincerely,

John T. Quigley
John T. Quigley
Chairman, Equal Opportunity
Day Dinner Benefit

JTQ/bo'g

GEORGIA **THE FRED B. WENN
TECH STUDENT CENTER**
Georgia Institute of Technology ■ Atlanta, Georgia 30332 ■ (404) 894-2905

Mr. Keith Greim
Program Corporation of America
595 West Hartsdale Avenue
White Plains, New York 10607

Dear Keith:

Enclosed please find Georgia Tech check #027739, in the amount of \$2,050.00 in payment for the lecture last night by Carl Stokes. I have also enclosed a copy of your invoice for the program.

Mr. Stokes provided a fine program. After his lecture he held a question - answer session, and was on stage for two hours. He was extremely knowledgeable about current political trends, and provided much humor through his wry remarks. He was also warm and very personable. Overall, he does an excellent program and is a delight to deal with.

Thank you for your assistance with the program. It is a pleasure to work on a program with professionals who genuinely want the program to be successful.

Sincerely,

Sally

Sally Hammock
Director of Programs

SH:mj

Georgia Tech is a Unit of the University System of Georgia
and an Equal Education and Employment Opportunity Institution



Mr. Alan S. Walker, President
Program Corporation of America
595 West Hartsdale Avenue
White Plains, New York 10607

Dear Alan:

Thank you for your recent letter regarding General William Westmoreland's March 23rd lecture. I think I can safely speak for my friends and colleagues at Pfeiffer College when I write that the General is a most gracious, honorable, and interesting man. His 10:00 a.m. lecture was very well attended by both campus and off-campus people. At 11:15 a.m.--after a few minutes with the press--General Westmoreland fielded questions from a lecture hall filled with eager History and Government students. He reminded them more than once: "Ask away, folks. You can't embarrass me," and his readiness to offer an answer proved it.

Finally, after an afternoon luncheon with the college and student leadership, and a number of afternoon "round-table" discussions, my Co-chairperson and I returned him to a Charlotte motel for an early morning flight.

In short, Alan, General Westmoreland was "worth every penny." But I believe that instrumental in our choosing him was the unbiased and sensible advice of our middleman. This is where the Program Corporation of America comes in. I can assure you that your obvious concern--and your no-pressure philosophy--has gained you a friend and a client in Pfeiffer College. Although I will be graduating in May, I intend to encourage my successor to strongly consider P.C.A. for any future lecture planning. I am sure that he (or she) will agree.

Thanking you again for all your friendly assistance, and wishing you continued success in all you do, I remain.

Yours very truly,

Philip

Philip J. Passanante
Co-chairman
S.G.A. Lecture and Forum Committee

Enclosure
cc: Executive Coordinator

**SUFFOLK
University**

Beacon Hill
Boston, MA 02114
(617) 723-4700 Ext. 320
Program Council



Mr. Keith Greim
Program Corp. of America
595 West Hartsdale Avenue
White Plains, NY 10607

Dear Keith:

I would like to thank - you for your help and assistance in the planning of the William Belk Lecture.

Mr. Belk was a success and all went well. His program provided the students with a great deal of knowledge and some light entertainment. Suffolk is a fairly small commuter school with much apathy towards events. But, this sparked the most interest that we have had in Special Events.

I would recommend William Belk to other schools but, more importantly, I will recommend Program Corp. of America for next years events.

Cordially,

Nancy J. Conti

Nancy J. Conti
Special Events - Program Council



Kearney State College, Kearney, Nebraska 68841

Mr. Alan S. Walker
Program Corporation of America
595 West Hartsdale Avenue
White Plains, NY 10607

Dear Alan:

A personal note of thanks to you and Program Corporation of America for assisting Kearney State College in securing the talents of Mr. F. Lee Bailey.

Our audience response was tremendous, his presentation superb.

Again, thank you.

Cordially,

Claudia Eastman

Claudia Eastman
Assistant Union Director
Memorial Student Union
Kearney State College
Kearney, NE 68849-0745

Enclosure

CE/db

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

GEORGE BUSH
WASHINGTON

January 4, 1993

(Personal)

Dear Mr. Easter,

Barbara and I are both happy to be recorded as enthusiastic endorsers as you consider Willard Scott for entry into Virginia's Communications Hall of Fame.

Certainly he's famous. He's known nationwide for his humor, for his downright decency, and for his willingness to help others. The Bush family judgment on Willard, you should know, is not the most objective because we consider him a good friend.

I hope that Willard Scott will be accorded the honor of induction into your prestigious Hall of Fame. He's a good man -- a very good man.

Sincerely,



Mr. Peter Easter
Executive Director
Virginia Association of Broadcasters
620 Stagecoach Road
Charlottesville, Virginia 22902-6435



THE PRESIDENT

write on paper UNOFFICIAL

Derar Mr. Easter,

Barbara and I are both happy to be recorded as enthusiastic endorsers as you consider Willard Scott for entry into Virginia's Communications Hall of Fame.

Certainly he's famous. He's known nationwide for his humor, for his downright decency, and for his willingness to help others.

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I hope thta Willard Scott will be accorded the honor of induction into your presitgious Hall of Fame. He's a good man - a very good man.

Sicnere;y. ((((((((((

use
George Bush
stationery

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

I-11
dictate

DATE:

12/30/92

TO:

Rose Zamaria

As a general rule
(Counsel's), we have
declined all requests
for Pres. to nominate or
endorse people for honors
unless the P.W. has a
personal relationship
w/ the individual.

Is this one the Pres.
would want to do?

25
SHIRLEY M. GREEN
Special Assistant to the President
for Presidential Messages
and Correspondence
Room 94-OEOB, 456-7610



Virginia Association of Broadcasters

620 Stagecoach Road, Charlottesville, VA 22902-6435
(804) 977-3716 FAX (804) 979-2439

December 22, 1992

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

Dear Mr. President:

One of the few honors that your friend, Willard Scott, has not received is induction into the Virginia Communications Hall of Fame, which was founded by Virginia Commonwealth University in Richmond.

Many famous broadcast and newspaper leaders are in this Hall of Fame, including James J. Kilpatrick, Virginius Dabney, Roger Mudd, and D. Tennant Bryan.

It has been my intention to nominate Willard for this honor. When I contacted his assistant, Nancy Fields, for biographical material, she suggested that I ask you to participate, as the nominator or endorser, because of his friendship with you and Mrs. Bush.

I am enclosing the nomination form and biographical information so that if you wish to make the nomination, you will have the necessities.

If you would rather have me make the nomination, I would very much appreciate a letter endorsing the nomination, which would cite Willard for doing so much good for the citizens of America.

Thank you very much for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Peter Easter". The signature is stylized with a large, looped 'P' and a cursive 'Easter'.

Peter Easter, CAE
Executive Director

PE/rs

VIRGINIA COMMUNICATIONS HALL OF FAME

NOMINATION FORM

DEADLINE: Due no later than March 15, 1993

INSTRUCTIONS: Return completed nomination form with BIOGRAPHY to the Virginia Communications Hall of Fame Committee, Theresa Rice, School of Mass Communications, Virginia Commonwealth University, 901 West Main Street, Richmond, Virginia 23284-2034.

CRITERIA: The Virginia Commonwealth University Hall of Fame honors either, a) persons who were born in Virginia and who have made outstanding long-term contributions in their field of communications, or b) persons who were born elsewhere and have become distinctively identified with Virginia and have made outstanding longterm contributions in the field of communications. Persons nominated must have shown exceptional achievement over the years on newspapers, on magazines, in radio or television, in advertising, in public relations, in journalism-related organizations, or in journalism education. No more than five awards will be made, of which no more than one will be made posthumously.

Nominator: _____

Address: _____

Telephone Numbers: _____ **Office** _____

Relationship to Nominee (if any) _____

Nominee: _____

_____ **LIVING** _____ **DECEASED**

Nominee's Title (current or former) _____

Business Address: _____

Telephone Number: _____

Home Address: _____

Telephone Number: _____

Birthplace: _____ **Birth date:** _____

SUMMARY OF QUALIFICATIONS: (Please list contributions and other qualifications. Use back and additional sheets, if necessary.)



WILLARD SCOTT

Weather reporter, NBC News' "Today"

Mondays-Fridays (7-9 a.m. NYT) on NBC-TV

"Today's" ebullient Willard Scott has made many mornings much brighter for millions of viewers since he first appeared on the program in March 1980 reporting on the weather. He joined "Today" after having performed similar duties beginning in 1968 at WRC-TV, the NBC Television Station in Washington, DC.

Scott traveled with "Today" to Australia; to South America when the program originated from Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro; on a cruise along the eastern seaboard on the S.S. Norway; to Rome during Holy Week; and to the heartland of America, stopping at Houston, New Orleans, Memphis, Indianapolis and Cincinnati on the "Today Express."

He began his career with NBC as a page at the Washington station in 1950. At that time he was also a weekend disk jockey for radio station WINX in that city. He joined WOL Radio that same year and, with Ed Walker, formed The Joy Boys broadcast team. In 1953 The Joy Boys moved to WRC-AM, the NBC Radio Station in Washington, DC, entertaining listeners in the metropolitan area until 1972. That year they moved to WWDC and remained there until 1974. Scott began reporting the weather at WRC-TV in 1967. His reports were broadcast on WRC-AM from 1956 until 1972.

During this tenure in Washington, he distinguished himself with his public service efforts. In 1979 he was named Washingtonian-of-the-Year by Washingtonian magazine. In 1975 he was named Humanitarian-in-Residence by the National Society of Fund Raisers. On June 20, 1985, he received the Private Sector Award for Public Service from President Ronald Reagan at the White House.

Scott is the author of a monthly column, "Weather Watch," in Travel & Leisure magazine. He has published three books: an autobiography entitled "The Joy of Living"; "Willard Scott's Down-Home Stories"; and "Willard Scott's All-American Cookbook." & "AMERICAN IS MY NEIGHBORHOOD."

Scott is a graduate of American University in Washington, DC, with a B.A. in philosophy and religion. He is married to the former Mary Dwyer and they are the parents of two daughters, Mary and Sally. Scott was born March 7, 1934, in Alexandria, VA.

WILLARD SCOTT Cont'd page 2

Willard hosted NBC News' coverage of the Macy Thanksgiving Day Parade in 1987,88 and co-hosted w/Deborah Norville in 1989.

On July 4, 1988, Willard travelled to Panama where he acted as Parade Marshall in the U.S. Army Southern Forces Salute to our Army and Navy men and women serving overseas on Independence Day.

In November of 1988, he was honored by The Casa Des Los Ninos, a home for needy children in Tucson, Arizona for the work he had done as honorary chairman of its foundation in helping Sister Mary Kathleen, founder, raise the money needed to build a new wing.

In February of this year, he was the recipient of The Bards of Bohemia "Great American Award" during the Mardi Gras season in New Orleans, Louisiana.

This past May, Willard addressed the Graduates of Johnson & Wales University at their commencement exercises in Providence, Rhode Island and received an honorary degree of Doctor of Culinary Arts at the same time.

And...it's become a Christmas tradition for Willard to join as Santa Claus at the Pageant of Peace lighting of The National Christmas Tree in Washington and to join as Santa at The White House Christmas party for kids.

In June, The Virginia Association of Broadcasters will honor him with their "Distinguished Virginian" award for the year.

Lastly, Willard celebrates his tenth year as Weatherman on "Today" this 1990.

6/1/90



THE PRESIDENT

January 4, 1993

Dear Paul,

Thanks for recommending Leslie H. Southwick for a recess appointment to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

I appreciate knowing of your interest in Leslie; however, I am making no recess appointments to the Courts.

It was great seeing you and Nancy and, again, congratulations. Best wishes for a happy and successful 1993.

Sincerely;

THE WHITE HOUSE

cc: (in-s-out)
Rose Zamaria (lcc)

The Honorable Paul Coverdell
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-1004

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-1004

Dec 28, 1992

Dear Mr. President,

Leslie H. Southwick of the
Department of Justice is seeking a recess
Judicial Appointment, to fill Circuit Court
of Appeals.

I do not know the merits of
such appointment, but if it is your
intention to pursue — then I can
recommend Leslie. He is a fine,
capable young man who has and
would serve our country well.

We are setting up a meeting
per your recommendation with Judge
Smith — thank you for the suggestion.

Best forward to seeing you

soon

Your friend,


Mr. Timothy E. Volk
P.O. Box #610
Wainscott, New York 11975

(self-typed)



THE PRESIDENT

January 4, 1993

Dear Mr. Volk,

I was delighted to get back from my trip to Somalia and Russia to find that old scrap book that years ago I put together for my friend Harry Treleven. Harry had come down to Texas to help me in my race for Congress- the first election I ever won.

I had put the book together as a "thank You" present. The writing is mine.

I can't thank you enough for your thoughtfulness. I will carry this keepsake with me when I leave on January 20th -- back to Houston, back to where that first election took place. It's been a wonderful journey.

I am enclosing a couple of tiny souvenirs that come to you with my thanks and my warm best wishes.

Sincerely,

George Bush

P.S. Best to Michael, too!

From the desk of

George Bush

enclose

Tue Clip +

Links + pin

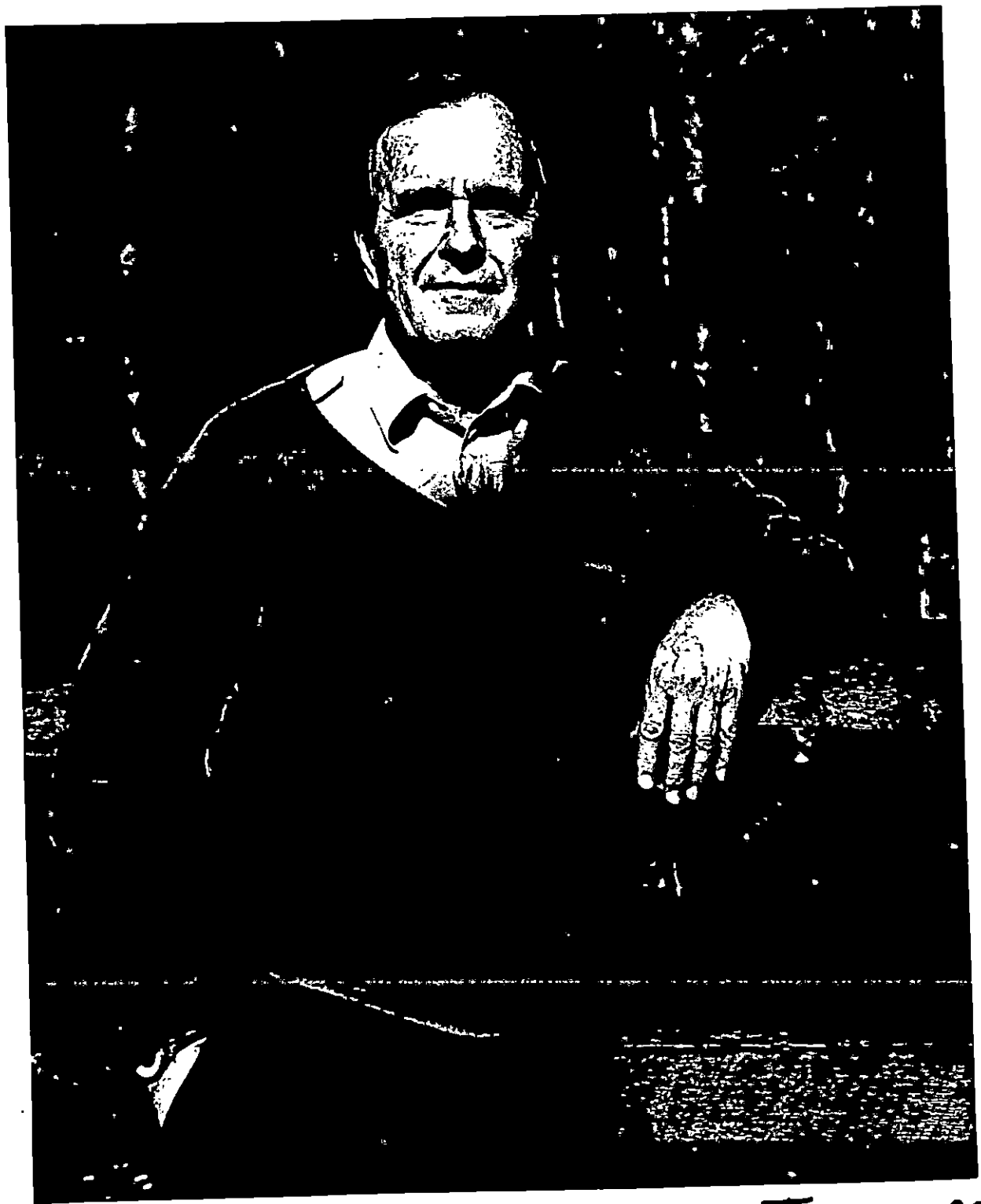
cc: (in & out)

✓ Rose Zamaria (lcc)

(Note: The President

kept photo album)

TRINKETS go w/out going



Jan. 4, 1993
To Timothy Volk-
With Many Thanks and With Warm Regards,
Cap Bunk



To Billy Hawkins
Best wishes, Liz Bunt

Jan 4, 1993



To Bill Devlin

1-4-93

Thanks for the support. Sincerely,

By Burl

Jan 4, '93

To Michael Volk

Warm Best Wishes. Good Luck, Cy Bunt



Volk's MONTAUK DISPOSAL SERVICE L.T.D.
D.B.A., S. STANLEY & SON COMMERCIAL RUBBISH REMOVAL
P.O. Box #610
WAINSCOTT, N.Y. 11975
(516) 324-0112

December 24, 1992

President George Bush
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

It has been a few weeks since I spoke with Mr. Donald Rhodes but as I had promised enclosed is a photo album of your first run for congress that had been found by one of my employees.

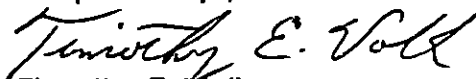
Sometime in October we were called to make a special pick up at the Treleaven home in Amagansett. The home had recently been sold and the new owners called us to take away a few boxes left by Mrs. Treleaven. My driver, Billy Hawkins, responded to the call. While closing the tailgate after dumping the truck at the town landfill he found the album on the ground. Knowing that Bill Devlin, one of the employees at the landfill, was a big supporter of yours, Mr. Hawkins turned the album over to him. A few weeks later, Mr. Devlin gave it to me.

Needless to say, after all the years in the garbage business I felt I had finally struck gold. I was a little upset with Mr. Hawkins for not thinking to give me the album first. After all, the walls in my office are covered with Regan-Bush and Bush-Quayle memorabilia alongside my Suffolk County Republican Committeemen's certificate of which I am a former member. However, I did get over it, and Mr. Hawkins is still gainfully employed.

It gives me great pleasure to return this album to you, Mr. President. I'm sure that you will be putting together your presidential library and I believe that Mr. Treleaven and his family would be pleased that the album was returned to you rather than buried in the town landfill.

My family and I wish you and yours a very Merry Christmas and Happy New Year.

Respectfully yours,


Timothy E. Volk

DATE: JANUARY 4, 1993

CONTACT: KEITH WRIGHT

PRESS: 863-8550

THE DAILY NEWS SUMMARY



Bush and Yeltsin Sign Treaty To Slash Nuclear Arsenals

Russian President Seeks Early Summit With Clinton

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

MOSCOW, Jan. 3—President Bush and Russian President Boris Yeltsin signed the broadest arms reduction pact in history in a glittering Kremlin ceremony here today, and Yeltsin said he has asked President-elect Clinton for an early summit meeting "to pass the baton" of U.S.-Russian relations.

The START II treaty, hailed by Yeltsin as one of Bush's proudest legacies, would cut by two-thirds the nuclear arsenals of the two countries. Its signing, Yeltsin said, "gives mankind hope for a nuclear-free world" and will stand as a tes-

tament to the end of the Cold War. The treaty is subject to ratification by the U.S. Senate, where little opposition is foreseen, and the Russian Supreme Soviet, where hostility toward Yeltsin's policies has been growing. [Story on Page A12.]

But while the ceremony, in golden-domed Vladimir Hall, captured the historic changes in U.S.-Soviet and U.S.-Russian relations since the collapse of communist rule here, it was also a poignant reminder of the passing of power in the United States from Bush to a new president and a new era.

At a news conference following the signing ceremony, Yeltsin said he had written Clinton two days ago

to suggest an early meeting in a neutral location and to say "there should be no lull" in U.S.-Russian relations when Clinton takes office Jan. 20 because any pause "would give us concern."

Clinton, asked later at Hilton Head, S.C., about Yeltsin's invitation, said "no decision has been made about that yet, [but] I do look forward to meeting with him early," Washington Post staff writer David Maraniss reported.

Bush, noting he was in no position to commit Clinton to the path he has followed with the Russians, said he had reassured Yeltsin that the Russian president would "enjoy

See START, A18, Col. 1

START, From A1

working" with Clinton. Bush said he told Yeltsin he had spoken with Clinton often enough about Russia to know that the president-elect is "interested in keeping on a high plane on which it now stands" the relationship between the two nations. He said Clinton has generally supported the results of the START negotiations.

A senior official told reporters that while the fundamental point of this last of 25 overseas trips by Bush was to cap his presidency with the signing of the START II treaty, the administration also hoped that the Moscow visit would keep Russia high on Clinton's agenda when he takes over in 17 days.

Speaking to reporters in Hilton Head, Clinton said he thinks Yeltsin "is genuinely committed to democracy and to a free and more prosperous economy in Russia, and I do think the United States has a big stake in the success of freedom and democracy there."

But he added that a decision about a meeting "is going to depend in part on the timetable of the Congress and the work I have to do here on problems in America."

Bush went from here to France

for a meeting with President Francois Mitterrand in which international efforts to end the bloodshed in Bosnia were on the agenda, as they were here with Yeltsin.

Bush and Yeltsin sidestepped public discussion of their differences over U.N.-sponsored military intervention to stop the fighting in Bosnia and keep it from spreading into a wider Balkan war. The United States, Britain and France have expressed increasing willingness to use military force to enforce a "no-fly zone" over Bosnia, and peace talks that opened Saturday in Geneva have been called the last chance to avoid a U.N. vote to authorize such a use of force.

Bush said that he and Yeltsin, in their private meetings, discussed the Bosnia situation "in some detail," and he added that the Russian leader shares with the United States a goal of ending the fighting there. But he refused to say if he had pushed Yeltsin to move Russia away from its opposition to U.N.-sponsored military intervention if needed. A senior official said, however, that Yeltsin has told Bush Russia would not oppose a U.N. vote to authorize force to ensure that Serb planes do not fly bombing raids in the excluded zone.

The official also said Yeltsin had sent "private messages" to the Serbs that coincide with Bush's blunt warning last month of U.S. military intervention if the war spreads to Kosovo, a province of Serbia inhabited mainly by ethnic Albanians. The official said Yeltsin told the United States that Russia had warned Serbia that the West "is very, very serious" about its threats over Kosovo.

The brief news conference ended Bush's 24-hour visit here to sign the third major arms pact of his presidency. The signing took place in the same hall where he and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev signed the START I agreement in July 1991. Today, Bush and Yeltsin, sitting side by side, smiled as the historic documents were signed in a festive setting. Waiters handed out champagne, and dozens of glasses clinked as the Russians and Americans responsible for negotiating the agreement celebrated its signing.

Both leaders spoke of the world's children who will live in less of a shadow of nuclear war because of progress on reducing such arms. Yeltsin called the agreement a "treaty of hope" for the children of the 21st century, who he said may be able to enjoy a nuclear-free world. Bush said the pact promises a "future

free from fear" of nuclear war and vindicates the insistence by former president Ronald Reagan and himself that the nations go beyond "freezing the arms race in place" to true reductions.

The treaty provides for a two-thirds reduction in the nuclear weapons arsenals of the two countries and amounts to halving the number of warheads permitted by the START I agreement.

But beyond that, it will fundamentally change the global strategic situation, because by the year 2003 all land-based missiles with multiple warheads must be eliminated, a move experts say will contribute substantially to nuclear stability because these missiles have been looked on as the greatest threat to a preemptive strike.

The START I pact took nine years to negotiate and required a reduction of 25 to 35 percent in the number of long-range nuclear warheads on both sides.

Today's agreement goes significantly further, bringing down to 3,000 to 3,500 the total number of warheads on each side. When the reductions are complete in 10 years, the U.S. long-range nuclear arsenal would be back to the levels of the 1960s and the Russian arsenals to the levels of the 1970s.

The final negotiations, officials here said, allowed the Russians to retain some of their 154 silos that house the giant, land-based SS-18 missiles, which are to be scrapped, but the silos must be rendered incapable of holding those missiles.

Russia will be allowed to convert some of its multiple-warhead SS-19 missiles to single warheads, and the United States will be allowed to convert some of its strategic B-1 bombers to nonnuclear use and then back again one time. The Russians will be able to inspect the B-1 arsenal.

Bush Assures World Leaders On Clinton

Reuter

PARIS, Jan. 3—President Bush predicted today that world leaders will find President-elect Clinton "a good man to work with" on important global issues.

Talking to journalists after meeting French President Francois Mitterrand here, Bush sought to allay reservations about Clinton's foreign policy inexperience.

"I certainly would understand if they were wondering what new policies would come into being and what policies would continue," Bush said.

"I am one who wants very much to see Gov. Clinton succeed as president. . . . When I say to my friends [such as] President Mitterrand that I believe he will find Gov. Clinton a good man to work with on these important problems, I can say that from the heart."

The outgoing president has given a positive assessment of Clinton throughout his current trip, which has taken him to Saudi Arabia, Somalia and Russia as well as France.

"It's not a question of fear. It is a question, I think, on the part of the people that I visited with to wonder whether there will be substantial changes," he said.

Bush said he would talk with Clinton about his latest trip and said Clinton agreed with him on such issues as Somalia, the START II arms treaty with Russia and other international issues.

2 Leaders Warn Serbs On Talks

Bush, Mitterrand Set To Press for Flight Ban

By William Drozdiak
Washington Post Foreign Service

PARIS, Jan. 3—President Bush and French President Francois Mitterrand warned today that they will press for the use of force to drive Serb warplanes from Bosnian airspace if new peace talks among warring factions in the former Yugoslav republic break down.

Stopping here briefly after signing the START II treaty in Moscow, Bush urged opposing sides in the bloody nine-month-old Bosnian conflict to solve their differences at top-level discussions that began Saturday in Geneva. "It is very important that the diplomatic effort now underway succeed," Bush told reporters following a two-hour meeting with Mitterrand. "A diplomatic answer is absolutely essential at some point in time, the sooner the better, to stop the suffering and to stop the killing."

In the absence of an agreement in Geneva, Bush said he expects the U.N. Security Council to authorize military enforcement of a ban on Serb military flights in Bosnia "fairly soon." He added, however, that "there is still some diplomatic work left to be done."

France and Britain are concerned about the safety of the 7,400 troops they have sent to Bosnia under the U.N. flag to help deliver humanitarian aid to beleaguered civilians, and both had argued that Western attacks on Serb planes would leave these troops exposed to revenge attacks by Serb ground forces.

Lately, however, both governments have begun speaking bluntly about the need for foreign intervention to halt further aggression by Bosnian Serb militia forces—by far the most powerful in the republic's three-sided fratricidal war and the only one equipped with warplanes.

Bush stressed that the United States "was very sensitive to the fact that other countries have [U.N.] troops on the ground" and said that "we would not precipitously, on a unilateral basis, do anything that would put these troops further in danger."

In his New Year's address to the nation, Mitterrand called for a new U.N. mandate to use force to clear Bosnian airspace of Serb aircraft, and he urged the United States and

France's European allies also to adopt a tougher stand. Today, he appeared more pessimistic than Bush about a negotiated peace, saying, "it's clear that a purely diplomatic approach has not worked" and that "if required, other measures of another kind could be taken."

Despite serious tensions over trade and defense policy that roiled relations between Paris and Washington in recent years, Bush and Mitterrand have maintained a warm personal rapport, and today's encounter—the last before Bush steps down Jan. 20—was designed to celebrate that friendship.

"We have an old relationship that goes back to the first days of my [presidency]," Mitterrand said of Bush, who was vice president when Mitterrand was first elected. "We have always held confident relations, and no debate . . . has altered this relationship."

Bush, too, commented on the "close relationship" he has had with the French leader, saying: "I have valued the personal interchange that I have had with President Mitterrand over the years. I will never forget it, his kindness, his courtesy."

In Geneva, meanwhile, U.N. and European Community mediators expressed cautious optimism that progress is being made in a new round of

Bosnian peace talks that U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has described as perhaps the last chance for a negotiated settlement in the shattered republic.

Alija Izetbegovic, president of Bosnia's Slavic Muslim-led government, set the tone by engaging in a face-to-face discussion with Radovan Karadzic, leader of Bosnia's Serb nationalist faction and a man he has publicly described as a murderer and a war criminal.

Spokesmen for both Izetbegovic and Karadzic have rejected a proposal for a "new" Bosnia made by conference mediators Saturday that calls for 10 largely autonomous Bosnian provinces plus a "neutral" capital of Sarajevo, a mostly Muslim city that has been under Serb siege since last April.

But British diplomat David Owen, cochairman of the conference along with former U.S. secretary of state Cyrus Vance, described the proposal as simply "a talking paper" and said "the whole idea is in the framework of people who have to live together in the future." Owen rejected the idea that the plan carves up the republic along communal lines among Serbs, Muslims and Croats, and added: "There will always be some provinces where somebody is in a minority; that's a fact of life."

Special correspondent John Parry in Geneva contributed to this report.

REPORTER'S NOTEBOOK

All Through the Capital, Only One Creature is Stirring: Bush

By Amy Kaslow

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

THIS town usually throttles back during the weeks between Thanksgiving and the beginning of the New Year. Congress is out of session, the president's schedule slows, and many United States government offices and foreign embassies all but empty out for extended holidays.

But the end of 1992 and the beginning of 1993 has seemed especially quiet when compared with the same time last year, which was a frenzied build-up to the national election campaign season. Washington these days also appears dormant compared to late 1990 and early 1991, when the city was buzzing with White House, Pentagon and State Department preparations for the United States' involvement in the Gulf war.

While bright Christmas lights still adorn buildings and monuments downtown, they will soon give way to patriotic banners of red, white, and blue. President-elect Clinton is coming to town.

There is plenty of activity, both easy to see and behind-the-scenes. All along the inaugural route, thousands of viewing stands are under construction for the Jan. 20 celebration. The local fashion boutiques and fine department stores are doing a brisk business in women's wear for the upcoming inaugural balls.

Caterers, hoteliers, and restaurateurs are getting ready for lavish affairs and down-home, blue-jeans bashes. And shoppers are lined up outside the new inaugural souvenir store, where merchandise sales will help defray costs for some planned festivities. Managers say they can't keep enough Clinton-Gore memorabilia in stock.

Lobbyists are busy repositioning themselves to work their way into the new administration's fold. Before the November election, most firms were careful to spread their good will among Republicans and Democrats alike. Those with high-profile GOP connections made sure to spread around their donations to Mr. Clinton's campaign.

That even goes for Black, Manafort, and Stone — a law/lobbying firm where Charles Black, President Bush's 1992 campaign adviser and now a competitor for the chairmanship of the Republi-

can National Committee, hangs his hat.

Representatives from US and foreign industry, as well as political and economic officers from assorted embassies, are canvassing influence peddlers and even journalists to gauge how the Clinton administration will affect their interests.

Official organizers for the shift from President Bush's tenure, finishing 12 years of Republican rule, to the new Democratic administration are moving fast. Holed up in offices seven days a week are the members of Clinton's economic policy and national security cluster groups, who are readying lists of sub-cabinet appointees and a broad range of recommended steps for Clinton's first 100 days as chief executive.

But those who now glide through the city's relatively quiet streets are preparing for a downtown crowded with gridlock traffic and hoards of well-wishers soon to descend upon Washington. By some Arkansans' estimates, some 6,000 proud Clinton devotees will arrive from the Razorback state alone.

Bouncing back after a crushing electoral defeat, Bush has taken his business abroad with an agenda that defies the usual assumptions about a "lame duck" presidency. Along with his Mexican and Canadian counterparts, he signed the North American Free Trade Agreement, the crowning achievement of his past four

years of trade policy.

Together with British Prime Minister John Major and European Community President Jacques Delors, Bush made a final push for resolution of a global trade pact by Jan. 15. And he sent US troops into Somalia to help stabilize the African country and provide humanitarian relief to starving people.

On Bush's watch, a US pilot countered Saddam Hussein's recent test of US resolve when he shot down an Iraqi jet flying over the no-fly zone. Bush also summited with Russian President Boris Yeltsin and signed START II, an accord designed to slash US and Russian nuclear arsenals.

These many initiatives are far from completion, but US policy concerning the former Yugoslavia is the least developed.

Bush's push for a no-fly zone over Bosnia and warnings to Serbia about designs on Kosovo have been thwarted. The Balkans pose the most immediate foreign policy challenge for Clinton, who will try to operate in full gear as soon he is sworn into office.

Washington snoozes through a quiet holiday season, but the president's flurry of activity belies his lame-duck status.

Light won't flicker out, even after Bush leaves

By Siobhan McDonough
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Bush is the only chief executive in history to establish a White House office exclusively dedicated to encouraging volunteer service and to name an assistant to the president to carry out this work, says Greg Petersmeyer, assistant to the president and director of the Office of National Service (ONS).

Mr. Bush has met about 650 of the daily Points of Light in their communities. The National Service staff, interns and a nominating committee go through more than 150 unsolicited nominations a week, Mr. Petersmeyer says, but only seven Points of Light are named each week.

The fate of the 15 employees and nominating committee for the Points of Light program in the White House is uncertain after Mr. Bush's term ends. But those who have been part of the so-called Points of Light movement say they're confident the country's volunteer spirit will continue under a new administration.

The movement also includes the Points of Light Foundation, which is often confused with the White

House-based Points of Light program.

"The [ONS] provides some of the hype and promotion, thus building the demand. It is more ceremonial and focuses on the recognition of those full of the volunteer spirit. The Points of Light Foundation is involved in how to deal with the problems and does an in-depth consideration of techniques, methodology and procedures to more effectively recruit and train volunteers for community needs and service," says Robert Goodwin, the foundation's executive vice president and chief operating officer.

The foundation receives short-term funding from Congress but operates mostly on private resources. It has a budget of \$8.5 million.

Mr. Goodwin says the organizations in the Points of Light movement have similar mandates but are more dissimilar than many people realize.

"The perception is that the fate of the Points of Light movement rests with Mr. Bush's fate. That is not the case," he says.

He says the foundation will continue with its goal of involving every American in community service.

Conflict building in GOP 'big tent'

Religious right alarms moderates

By Joan Lowy
SCRIPPS HOWARD NEWS SERVICE

The precinct-by-precinct battle for control of the GOP between moderate Republicans and conservative Christian activists is going full tilt in cities and towns across the country.

Moderates who were awakened by the Republican National Convention in August to the gains within the party by the religious right have begun to organize and fight back, but they have a long way to go.

Working at the grass roots, Christian activists have either gained control or made sizable inroads into state party organizations in Alaska, California, Colorado, Florida, Geor-

gia, Hawaii, Kansas, Louisiana, Minnesota, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, Oregon, Washington and Virginia.

A loosely affiliated network of religious-right organizations led by televangelist Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition also has mobilized millions of evangelical voters across the country.

While they failed to re-elect President Bush, those voters did help elect hundreds of religious activists and Republicans sympathetic to their conservative social agenda to school boards, city councils, state legislatures and Congress.

Now Christian activists are laying plans to expand their influence

within the party and to target off-year election contests, particularly gubernatorial and state legislative

races in New Jersey and Virginia this year.

"We're going to be a significant force at the grass roots of American politics for the foreseeable future," predicted Christian Coalition executive director Ralph Reed.

For most evangelical activists, promoting a conservative social agenda is far more important than furthering the Republican Party. They generally believe that the United States is a "Christian nation" favored by God, but they're disturbed by many societal trends — rising crime, teen-age pregnancy, abortion, the feminist movement and growing acceptance of homosexuals, for example.

These trends, they believe, are attributable to Americans straying from their "Christian heritage." If they can elect like-minded Christian conservatives to office, then government would reflect religious values and these trends would begin to reverse, they argue.

"The agenda this voting bloc is interested in is not some sort of bizarre agenda," said Gary Bauer, president of the Family Research Council, a religious-right organization. "Most Americans don't want gays to be allowed to marry or adopt children. Most Americans are troubled by the increasing amount of sex and violence on TV and in the movies. Most Americans want some restrictions on abortion."

The battle lines between religious activists and moderate Republicans already have been drawn. Among the recent developments:

- Oregon state GOP Chairman Craig Berkman has proposed joining Ross Perot's supporters to set up a separate, independent state Republican Party apart from the anti-abortion, anti-homosexual forces that now dominate the state party.

Meanwhile, the Oregon Citizens Alliance, the state's leading Christian right group, plans to try again in 1994 to pass an anti-homosexual law. A referendum opposing homosexuality pushed by the alliance failed in 1992, but the next attempt will be modeled after a more softly worded referendum approved by Colorado voters last year.

- Moderate Republicans in Houston recently formed a separate party committee to compete with the regular GOP organization when the Harris County Republican chairman was forced out of office by religious activists.

The new county chairman, Dr. Stephen Hotze, is a born-again activist who argues that the survival of the United States hinges on restoring "its Christian heritage" and limiting government "to its God-ordained role of providing justice based upon God's laws, restraining wickedness, punishing evildoers and protecting the life, liberty and property of law-abiding citizens."

- More than a dozen county meetings to elect party officers in Washington state erupted into shouting matches in recent weeks as moderate Republicans and religious activists battled for control. Last summer, the GOP state convention under the control of religious activists passed a party platform denouncing witchcraft and yoga, among other subjects.

- In Minnesota, the state GOP's former executive director caused a stir with a memo recommending that the party eliminate its practice of endorsing candidates through state conventions, which are easily controlled by a small number of dedicated activists. This would diminish the growing power of evangelical activists, who had been pressuring Republicans attending precinct caucuses to state if and when they had been born again.

- Moderates in Johnson County, Kan., a suburb of Kansas City, lost out two months ago when members of a conservative, pro-life faction were elected to three of the four top local Republican Party posts.

• Groups have sprung up in Colorado Springs, San Diego, Virginia Beach and elsewhere to research and publicize the religious right's activities.

Several leading GOP moderates — including Rep. Tom Campbell of California, retiring Sen. Warren Rudman of New Hampshire, and Sens. Nancy Kassebaum of Kansas, Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania and John Chafee of Rhode Island — recently announced the formation of the Republican Majority Coalition, a national organization "to take our party back" from the religious right.

"We believe issues such as abortion, mandatory school prayer, homosexuality, the teaching of creationism and other similar questions recently inserted into the political context should instead be left to the conscience of individuals," the coalition's statement of purpose said.

Among the group's goals are to identify moderates in precincts across the country, recruit and endorse like-minded candidates and soften the GOP platform in 1996, in-

cluding making it neutral on the abortion issue.

The 1992 GOP platform called for an across-the-board ban on abortion, said laws should reflect a "faith in God," promoted prayer in school, opposed homosexual marriage or adoption of children, and favored a voucher system that would give parents public funds to send their children to private schools, including religious schools.

"We don't believe issues of personal morality ought to be tests for being a Republican," Mr. Campbell said.

Rep. Rod Chandler, Washington Republican, a moderate who lost the Senate race in Washington to Democrat Patty Murray last year, said he plans to form a similar organization in his state.

It's preferable to find a way to keep Christian activists within the party, Mr. Chandler said, "but if they insist on attempting to control it themselves, at that point ... it becomes a fight to the finish."

Mr. Reed said the actions of moderate Republicans — like the Republican Majority Coalition that is trying to diminish the influence of evangelical activists — border on "anti-Christian bias."

"We hope they don't want to exclude Christians," he said. "No one should be excluded from participation in the civic process based on their faith."

He also warned that the party needs Christian activists, who have become its most loyal voting bloc and provide many of its most dedicated grass-roots volunteers. "Without pro-family conservatives, the big tent will become a pup tent," he said.

Many Republican strategists agree.

"If they were successful in driving the religious right out, we wouldn't be successful in winning another election in this country," GOP consultant Eddie Mahe said. "You can't throw out a third of your base vote and win. They are us and we are them."

Robertson's group faces legal hurdles

SCRIPPS HOWARD NEWS SERVICE

Televangelist Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition is facing significant legal hurdles that could cause it to scale back its political activity or begin following campaign disclosure rules.

In October, the Democratic National Committee filed a complaint with the Federal Election Commission charging the coalition is a predominantly partisan political organization and should be forced to register as a political committee, disclose the sources of its funding and abide by campaign contribution limits.

Democrats also are challenging the coalition's application with the Internal Revenue Service for status as a 501(c)(4) nonprofit, tax-exempt, social welfare organization. The application has been pending for more than two years, but organizations are allowed to operate as if they had nonprofit, tax-

exempt status while awaiting a decision.

The tax code allows 501(c)(4) organizations to engage in partisan political activity as long as that is not their "primary" mission. Democrats argue the coalition is engaged almost exclusively in partisan work.

Christian Coalition Executive Director Ralph Reed called the complaint "sheer nonsense."

"We have received no funding or direction from the Republican Party or any of its candidates," he said. "[The DNC] complaint is further evidence of bigotry against Christians who only seek to exercise their basic rights of citizenship."

Mr. Reed insists the coalition is nonpartisan and doesn't endorse candidates. He notes the coalition — a 350,000-member national grass-roots political organization — has invited several conservative

Democratic officeholders to address them.

However, Democrats point out that the National Republican Senatorial Committee, the party's principal committee for electing senators, donated \$64,000 to the coalition in October 1990.

Michael Pauley, coalitions director of the National Republican Congressional Committee, which works to elect GOP House members, told The Norfolk Virginian-Pilot newspaper earlier this year that he touches base with Mr. Reed an average of every other day.

The coalition has filed a counter complaint with the FEC against Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition, charging the Democratic Party's financial support for Mr. Jackson's voter registration and get-out-the-vote efforts in the black community violate election law.

— Joan Lowy

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By Lou Krasky, AP
BACK TO WORK: President-elect Clinton leaves Renaissance Weekend in Hilton Head Island, S.C. With him are retreat organizer Phil Lader and his wife, Linda.

Clinton enters final pre-inaugural stretch

By Bill Nichols
USA TODAY

LITTLE ROCK — After six days of government policy heaven and South Carolina beachfront sun, President-elect Clinton today begins a transition stretch run in which he'll name his White House staff, meet the president of Mexico and fine-tune his legislative agenda.

Clinton came home late Sunday afternoon from his annual New Year's trip to Renaissance Weekend, an informal series of seminars, lectures and panel discussions attended by about 1,500 people on Hilton Head Island.

Away from the policy discussions, Clinton also jogged along the beach, golfed, played touch football with daughter Chelsea, took bicycle rides with his wife, Hillary, and enjoyed the use of a loaned \$2 million beach house.



By Elise Amendola, AP
SALINAS: Supports trade agreement

But like all holiday vacationers, Clinton now faces some tough and familiar realities. Clinton, armed with detailed options and briefing papers from most of his transition policy teams, must begin giving definite focus to his administration's crucial early days, particularly in the economic area.

One tangled and difficult issue, the North American Free Trade Agreement, on which Clinton was accused of waffling during the presidential campaign, will be the prime subject of his meeting Friday in Austin, Texas, with Carlos

Salinas de Gortari, the president of Mexico.

Salinas is an enthusiastic supporter of the trade agreement, which would eliminate most tariffs and restrictions between the United States, Canada and Mexico. Clinton backs the pact, which must be ratified by Congress, but only in conjunction with legislation that would somehow require environmental controls and fair labor practices in Mexico.

Clinton will also round out his White House staff, having so far named White House economic and national security advisers. The New York Times reports today that Princeton economist Alan Blinder has been offered a seat on the Council of Economic Advisers.

Clinton's already named Thomas "Mack" McLarty, an old friend, as chief of staff. Campaign and transition communications director George Stephanopoulos likely will retain that job in the White House. Likewise for campaign and transition press secretary Dee Dee Myers. Campaign director Bruce Lindsey, perhaps Clinton's most trusted adviser and a constant presence during the most sensitive transition staffing discussions, will be a White House counselor without portfolio.

Tonight, Clinton attends the Little Rock premiere of a Disney Channel movie, *The Ernie Green Story*. Green, a Clinton campaign aide and former assistant Labor secretary, was one of the black students who integrated Little Rock Central High School in 1957.

CONFIRMATION HEARINGS: President-elect Clinton's choices for his Cabinet will face confirmation hearings almost as soon as Congress convenes this week.

The Cabinet appointees can't be confirmed until after Clinton is inaugurated Jan. 20. But Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, D-Maine, is moving to expedite the process in hopes that the Senate will be ready to vote soon after the new administration takes office.

"I don't know if there will be any controversy over any of the nominees," Mitchell said last week. But Republicans, still smarting over Senate Democrats' rejection in 1989 of the late John Tower, President Bush's initial choice for Defense secretary, are scrutinizing the nominees' records.

The first hearing begins Wednesday, for Commerce Secretary-designate Ron Brown. Hearings begin Thursday for House Armed Services Committee Chairman Les Aspin, Clinton's choice for Defense; former Denver mayor Federico Pena for Transportation; and Harvard professor Robert Reich for Labor.

Republicans are expected to question Brown, outgoing Democratic Party chairman, about his business dealings and lobbying — including foreign clients — as partner in a Washington law firm.

Among the clients Brown represented was the government of Haiti when it was headed by dictator Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier. Brown has repeatedly said he didn't work for the Duvaliers, but the Republic of Haiti. Brown's firm was paid \$12,500 a month by Haiti's government until 1986, when the Duvaliers were forced to flee the country.

POOL SHOTS: Clinton continues to chafe over the scrutiny he gets from the small group of reporters — the traveling pool — that follows him most closely. On Hilton Head Island, S.C., Clinton bristled during his first jog when a boom microphone was held overhead while he talked with Tom Schneider, a Maryland businessman and longtime friend.

FAMILY AFFAIR: Congressional kids, not their moms and dads, are supposed to be the focus tonight of a party to welcome the new Congress. It could be quite an event if everyone shows up. The House Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families calculated that the 435 members of the new House have 1,019 children. The two biggest congressional families both are new to Capitol Hill: Rep.-elect Marjorie Margolies Mezvinsky, D-Pa., is the mother of 11 children (five are adopted, four are stepchildren) while Rep.-elect Roscoe Bartlett, R-Md., is the father of 10. The party is part of an effort to create a congressional schedule that allows members more time with their families.



USA TODAY
BROWN: Will face tough questions

A Small Army Toils to Ensure Clinton Makes The Right Impression on His First Day at Work

By JILL ABRAMSON

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Democrats have been out of the inauguration business for 16 years, and they are desperate to make a success of this one.

Urgency is in the air at the Navy Yard here, where scores of New Democrats are enlisting for Bill Clinton's volunteer army of inaugural footsoldiers. Near the doorway, conveniently, there is a large box marked "Resumes"; the inauguration is, of course, a great place to get a foot in the new administration's door. Blue and white painted signs show the countdown to Inauguration Day.



Rahm Emanuel

"This is like setting up a Fortune 100 company in two weeks, running it for two months and then taking it apart," observes Richard Mintz, who runs the large media operation at the inaugural command post.

"If it's done properly, no one pays attention. If there's a glitch, everyone notices," adds Ron Walker, who helped run the festivities for President Nixon in 1969 and President Reagan in 1985. "If it's not run well, people will say you won't run the country well."

Populist Gesture Scrubbed

For Democrats seeking to prove they know how to manage and run a business, the potential for inaugural haywire is daunting. Already there have been a few glitches. Plans to open the doors of the White House to the public the day after the inauguration, an homage to Andrew Jackson, had to be scrubbed. It turns out that the White House was practically trashed after President Jackson's populist display, and the Secret Service nixed the idea because of concerns about crowd control. So tickets will now be required to gain admission to this and almost all other inaugural events.

What if there is a breakdown in the caravan of buses carrying the host of dignitaries — including the president-elect himself — from Monticello into Washington? What if the weather doesn't cooperate, as was the case in 1984 when sub-freezing weather forced the cancellation of the inaugural parade? The biggest headache

of all: how to keep President-elect Clinton, a notorious schmoozer and glad-hander, on schedule.

No wonder Rahm Emanuel, the general directing some 300 paid workers and even more volunteers, looks gaunt and tired. The 33-year-old Mr. Emanuel, who years ago turned down a scholarship to the Joffrey Ballet school, is working off tension by bending his waist and cracking his backbone. He has not only had to raise \$20 million in the few weeks since Election Day, but also to deal with the endless gripes, from people who feel snubbed to volunteers complaining that Mr. Emanuel's dress code doesn't allow for blue jeans. So much for generational change.

"This is like being CEO of . . . what?" Mr. Emanuel says as he pauses to draw the right analogy. ". . . of 3,500 bar mitzvahs."

A veteran of Chicago politics, Mr. Emanuel grew up in the city's mostly Jewish 49th Ward. Until the age of 18, he retained dual U.S.-Israeli citizenship. During the Persian Gulf War Mr. Emanuel volunteered on an Israeli army base near the Lebanese border helping to repair military vehicles. Then he moved to Little Rock and became Mr. Clinton's top money man.

"I thought I was hyper until I met Rahm," says Skip Rutherford, an Arkansas businessman who helped Mr. Emanuel raise money in the Clinton campaign. "Not since General Sherman marched on Atlanta had the South seen anything like Rahm Emanuel."

Interest-Free Loans

Mr. Emanuel launched a massive effort to make sure Mr. Clinton's campaign was the financial pacesetter during the primaries. He helped raise another \$20 million in large "soft money" contributions from wealthy individuals and corporations for the general election, then turned around and hit up many of these same contributors for another \$20 million in loans for the inauguration.

The money is lent, interest-free, to an inaugural guaranty fund. Mr. Emanuel got loan commitments ranging from \$5,000 to \$100,000, with the bulk coming in at the higher end of the scale. Among the lenders are labor unions and large corporations such as Coca-Cola Co., BankAmerica, First Boston, General Electric Co., Merrill Lynch & Co., Merck & Co., Revlon and Shell Oil Co., to name just a few. Wealthy Democratic contributors, such as movie and television executive Barry Diller and

California attorney William Lerach are also among the lenders.

Mr. Emanuel and Mr. Mintz defend the propriety of financing the inauguration through short-term loans (it has been done this way for several decades) and say lenders don't get special favors or access.

The loans will be repaid with proceeds of ticket sales for the 10 inaugural balls, sales of inaugural commemorative items and advertising revenue from the Presidential Gala concert that will be televised by CBS on Jan. 19. So far, the commemoratives — which include such items as a cookbook penned by the mother of Clinton campaign strategist James Carville — are selling briskly. If the inaugural committee breaks even, all the loans will be repaid. If it ends up in the black, as was the case with Ronald Reagan's festivities, extra money will be donated to various charities. If the inauguration winds up in debt, as the 1988 Bush committee found itself, some loans will have to be forgiven.

Additional money is going to something the Clinton team calls the Presidential Inaugural Foundation. These funds, also raised from an array of companies and individuals, are used to pay for the many public and free events during inauguration week, Jan. 17-21, and won't be repaid. The free events being underwritten by the foundation include two concert galas, two children's programs, a parade and an outdoor festival called America's Reunion on the Mall, which will feature an array of musical talent as well as rows of heated tents filled with crafts and foods.

Corporate Contributions

A number of corporations and business experts have contributed services and skill to the inauguration. Andrew Rogal, an early Clinton supporter who manages a convention-planning business in Massachusetts, is overseeing logistics, including the mammoth task of making sure the campaign's supporters and top Democrats receive the right invitations and tickets to the right events (More than 300,000 have been mailed, and tickets were safeguarded in a locked vault). Hyatt Hotels donated customer-service managers to help the committee train volunteers to handle the deluge of inquiries from those lucky enough to have received invitations. AT&T donated telephones.

"Our main goal is to make sure the governor can project the image he wants to project," Mr. Emanuel says. So far that has meant lowering the cost of tickets to many events to about \$125 (the cheapest

tickets four years ago were \$175). Overseeing the visual and musical parts of the inauguration is Mr. Clinton's close friend Harry Thomason, the television producer who helped stage the successful Democratic convention in New York. "Harry is watching over the whole image part," says Mr. Emanuel. That part will include a vast inaugural parade, with at least two Elvis Presley impersonators.

The Clinton team has brought several innovations, including an inaugural historian. The bus ride from Monticello was the historian's idea, a throwback to George

Washington's coach ride from Mount Vernon to New York and Abraham Lincoln's historic train voyage into Washington.

Mr. Emanuel hopes to bring everything off under budget. He won't quote an exact figure, saying only that the Clinton team expects to spend less than the \$29 million the Bush inauguration committee spent four years ago. "I want [people] to say they ran the country the way they ran the inauguration," he says. "This is the first task of governing."

Easy Sailing Seen for Most Cabinet Picks

GOP Likely to Target Domestic Policy Posts

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

When it comes to confirming President-elect Clinton's Cabinet appointees, the Senate Republicans' bark may be worse than their bite.

Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) set off nervous vibes in Little Rock, Ark., a couple of weeks ago when he disclosed that he had launched a coordinated effort to collect information on Clinton nominees. The operation Dole asked Sen. Trent Lott (R-Miss.) to run was immediately named a "hit squad" and there was talk that the Republicans would be as tough on Clinton's choices as the Democrats were four years ago when they refused to confirm John G. Tower, President Bush's first choice for secretary of defense.

But with confirmation hearings starting this week—Clinton wants his Cabinet sworn in on Inauguration Day—interviews with Dole, Lott and other key Republican senators suggest that the grilling will be selective and, in most cases, non-threatening.

"We don't have a hit team," Dole said in a pre-Christmas interview. "We're not in the business to try to block everybody, and we couldn't if we wanted to. Obviously, most of the nominees will sail right through."

"But we are going to make a record and ask certain questions of every nominee. . . . It will just be the normal process, and if something pops up, we'll pursue it. But you start out with the general view that the president is entitled to have his people on board, unless there is some glaring reason not to."

Lott, in a telephone interview last week, took a similar tone. While he has been receiving "lots of 'Did you know?' calls from private individuals, politicians and members of the press," the Mississippi senator said, "I don't think there's anything monumental" turning up. "I'm not prepared to say any of them have any real problems. I think most all of them will go through fairly easily."

Early indications are that there will be smooth sailing for the economic team—led by Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (Tex.), the choice for

Treasury secretary, and Rep. Leon E. Panetta (Calif.), picked to direct the Office of Management and Budget—and the national security team, led by transition director Warren M. Christopher for secretary of state and Rep. Les Aspin (Wis.) for defense secretary.

The more likely targets are in the domestic departments, especially Ronald H. Brown at Commerce, Donna E. Shalala at Health and Human Services, Robert B. Reich at Labor and Jesse Brown at Veterans Affairs.

Senate Minority Whip Alan K. Simpson (R-Wyo.) said that when

he was asked at a Cody Kiwanis Club meeting about the Clinton appointees, "I told them that Bentsen is an ace, Panetta is a double-ace, Les Aspin will keep us steady on course, and Christopher, to me, was the most impressive man in the Carter administration."

Sen. Pete V. Domenici (N.M.), ranking Republican on the Budget Committee, said: "I don't think there will be any real knockdown and drag-out fights. . . . Essentially, they'll go through pretty smoothly."

Sen. Dan Coats (R-Ind.), a member of the Armed Services and Labor and Human Resources committees, said: "Republicans are pretty pleased about the foreign policy and national security appointments. The social and domestic policy areas may be where conflict arises."

In particular, Coats pointed to Shalala, now chancellor of the University of Wisconsin at Madison, as "the appointee who may raise as much interest and controversy as any."

"I expect she'll be confirmed," he said, "but there will be questions raised" about her policies at the university and her "apparent lack of experience with welfare and health policy."

"A lot of parents—Clinton voters as well as people from the religious right—are concerned about 'political correctness' standards changing the curricula their youngsters are taught or the state creating a campus environment where anything goes," he said.

Coats also said "concerns have been raised" among conservatives by the outspoken abortion-rights views of Jovelyn Elders, the head of the Arkansas public health department and Clinton's choice to be surgeon general. That post will not be vacated by incumbent Antonia C. Novello until June, so the hearings may be delayed.

Lott mentioned Shalala and Reich, the Harvard professor tabbed to head the Labor Department, as likely targets for questioning. "Reich has been a prolific writer" on economic and social policy, he said, "and probably has said some things that he wishes he hadn't."

Dole said that Ronald Brown, the Washington lawyer-lobbyist and chairman of the Democratic National Committee for the past four years, has a "background that sort of jumps out at you. With all his activities, you know there will be questions."

Lott also mentioned Brown as someone "who needs to be asked how he'll handle all his business and professional relationships," and complained that the hearing on the Commerce appointee has been set for Wednesday, one day after Congress convenes. "That's pushing it," Lott said. "I hope they're not trying to ram these things through."

Simpson, a member of the Veterans Affairs Committee who has often clashed with the veterans' lobby, said he called Jesse Brown, a top official of the Disabled American Veterans (DAV) organization, and warned him, half-humorously, that "in 18 months, the professional fund-raising veterans will have you on the griddle."

But Simpson also said he intends to question Brown closely at confirmation hearings for the VA post about the "bureaucracy and staff expenses" of the DAV, adding, "They've got a pension system and trust fund for themselves that you wouldn't believe."

Dole and others expressed doubts, however, that the hearings would venture into the personal lives of the nominees, as happened with Tower, the former Texas senator who was subjected to lengthy questioning about his alleged alcohol abuse and treatment of women.

"People who were very close to Tower haven't forgotten," Dole said. "But I don't think you apply 'a Tower test' or any other test to every nominee. That would be a rather long, arduous process."

Simpson said: "Some on our side will say, 'They did it to us, so we'll ask this guy what he did when he was 24.' There will be some of that. There will be some groups keeping score that will want us to do that. But we can't be using anonymous charges from FBI files the way they did against John [Tower]. I hope we'll have no more of that."

And Coats offered a reason—not very flattering to Clinton—why his appointees may not face the same kind of questioning that Tower did.

"A lot has changed in attitudes toward character questions of people who hold office in the last four years," Coats said, "and no one has broken the barrier more than Bill Clinton did." Referring to Clinton's success in surviving questions about his marital fidelity, Coats said: "This is a different day. If these rules didn't apply to Clinton, why should they apply to others?"

Jockeying for Sub-Cabinet Posts Intensifies

Now that President-elect Clinton has chosen his Cabinet, jockeying for the "real" jobs—at the assistant secretary and deputy levels—is reaching new heights, or lows, depending on one's point of view.

A Senate aide, who is not among the job-seekers, recently observed: "It's cannibalism out there," as thousands of long aging Democrats vie for the senior policy positions throughout the government.



Meanwhile, the choice for the coveted job of solicitor general—the government's advocate at the Supreme Court—is likely

to be made fairly soon, transition sources say, given the new administration's interest in putting its stamp quickly on cases already before the high court.

The list of candidates seems to have expanded of late, Washington sources say, with the inclusion of veteran New York litigator and First Amendment expert Floyd Abrams and another prominent New York lawyer, Conrad K. Harper, who recently ran the New York City bar association. American Bar Association president Talbot D'Alemberte of Florida also is a contender. Harvard Law School Prof. Laurence H. Tribe, Duke Law School Prof. Walter Dellinger, Washington attorney Joel Klein and D.C. federal appeals Judge Ruth Bader Ginsburg also are being eyed for the job.

Then there are all those White House jobs, hundreds of them, with a dozen or so generally thought to be very plum. One lawyer working on the transition and believed to have an inside track on the White House counsel's job is Washington attorney James Hamilton, a legal counsel to the transition who has been in charge of vetting of potential nominees.

But another source, asked about Hamilton, said, "One thing I can tell you is that the White House counsel is going to wear a dress to work every day."

The senior White House jobs—including chief of staff and national security adviser—have gone to white men, and most likely communications director and congressional liaison will too.



ZOE E. BAIRD

That will increase pressure on Clinton to search for minorities and women in many of the remaining key jobs to make his White House, like his Cabinet, look "more like America," the phrase often employed by Clinton to describe the makeup of his administration.

Washington attorney Jamie S. Gorelick, on Hilton Head Island, S.C., last week with the Clintons and a close friend of attorney general-designate Zoe E. Baird, is being mentioned as a candidate for a number of senior jobs, including White House counsel, general counsel at the Depart-

ment of Defense, or a deputy or associate attorney general.

Just Another Day at the Beach

■ Does this guy ever take a break?

At the Renaissance Weekend on Hilton Head Island, Clinton shook hands with the thousand or so invitees going into the Hyatt Hotel ballroom for dinner on Wednesday evening.

After dinner, he attended a reception for the oldest and newest members of the 12-year-old gathering at a little bar called Hemingway's, in an open area off the corridor from the ballroom.

The president-elect was spotted there holding forth for several hours on serious policy issues, shaking every hand and talking with small groups of people. A few hundred people were there for the opening, but the numbers dwindled to about 15 or 20 by the end. "Everybody else got tired and went to bed," one participant said. Clinton was there well past 1 a.m.

But by 7 a.m. Thursday, Clinton was jogging on the beach.

Wirth May Be Offered Post at State

■ Outgoing Sen. Timothy E. Wirth (D-Colo.), having lost what once appeared a sure bet to be secretary of energy, may not be out of the Clinton administration picture. There is talk in Washington that Wirth may be offered another job, perhaps at the State Department as assistant secretary for oceans and international environmental and scientific affairs—not a traditionally high-profile job but something that, in the Clinton administration, could be an important post. But such a job may not be inducement enough to keep Wirth from going to the private sector.

Looking Out for Chicago's Daley

■ Transition sources say Clinton also will be looking hard to find a senior job for a Democratic heavy hitter, Chicago bank president William Daley, who was rejected for the job of secretary of transportation. There are still a substantial number of important banking-related and other jobs to be passed out. For someone who patterns himself after John F. Kennedy, stiffing a Chicagoan named Daley—William is the brother of Mayor Richard M. Daley and son of the late Kennedy stalwart Mayor Richard J. Daley—does not bode well for 1996.

Transiting Out

■ Meanwhile, former White House aide David Carney, who left there to be the political field director of President Bush's reelection campaign, will become chief political operative of the National Republican Senatorial Committee headed by Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.).

David Bates, who traveled the byways of Iowa and New Hampshire with Bush in 1979 on Bush's first run for the presidency and again in 1988 and 1992, is returning to his home state of Texas. Bates, who was an assistant commerce secretary and Cabinet secretary at the White House, is moving to San Antonio, where he will be vice president and general counsel to a biomedical company.

—Al Kamen and Ann Devroy

Confirmation hearings to precede inauguration

ASSOCIATED PRESS

As Republicans scrutinize their records for hints of trouble, President-elect Bill Clinton's Cabinet nominees will face confirmation hearings almost as quickly as Congress convenes this week.

The new Cabinet members can't be confirmed until after Mr. Clinton is inaugurated Jan. 20, but Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell is moving to expedite the process in hopes the Senate will be ready to vote soon after the new administration takes office.

"I don't know if there will be any controversy over any of the nominees," Mr. Mitchell said last week. "I hope we're going to be able to confirm them soon after the inaugural."

The 103rd Congress formally convenes tomorrow, and on Wednesday Commerce Secretary-designate Ron Brown goes before a Senate committee to begin his confirmation process.

Three more Cabinet designees have their hearings Thursday — Les Aspin, Mr. Clinton's choice for defense secretary; Federico Pena for transportation; and Robert Reich for labor.

Others are scheduled to face their first hearings the following week, including Treasury Secretary-designate Lloyd Bentsen, the Texas Democrat whose hearing will be before the Senate Finance Committee that he chairs.

The schedule is being set individually by the various committees with jurisdiction.

Although no organized campaign has emerged against any of the choices so far, Sen. Trent Lott, Mississippi Republican, is leading GOP efforts to scrutinize their backgrounds and may direct the opposition.

Though Mr. Lott insists he has no such test, some Republicans are considering trying to probe private lives in a way they say Democrats did in blocking the late John Tower, President Bush's initial choice for Defense secretary, in 1989.

"He doesn't view his role as a hit man," said Bruce Lott, press secretary to the Mississippi senator. "Senator Lott believes the president should have a great deal of leeway in who he

chooses, and he's not going to oppose someone just because he disagrees with them. He's looking to be sure they're qualified."

Republicans are expected to question Mr. Brown, the outgoing Democratic national chairman, about his extensive lobbying, including that for foreign clients, as partner in the Washington powerhouse law firm of Patton, Boggs and Blow.

Among the clients he has represented is the government of Haiti and its former dictator, Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier. Mr. Brown also could face questioning about ties to big corporations and other rich donors who gave huge sums of legal but unregulated donations to the Democratic Party.

"Obviously every nominee should be checked into," Mr. Mitchell said. "But Ron Brown is a very distinguished and able person. I don't anticipate he'll have difficulty being confirmed."

Mr. Brown's spokeswoman, Ginny Terzano, said that his lobbying for Haiti took place before he took the party post, and that "Chairman Brown served his law firm well" while a lobbyist.

"We all hope partisan attacks will not be a centerpiece of the hearings," she said.

Also likely to face Republican grilling is Donna Shalala, the health and human services secretary-designate.

She has been chancellor since 1988 of the University of Wisconsin's flagship campus, where she took on a controversial battle to prohibit harassing speech. She has been attacked by conservatives as championing "political correctness" on campus.

Though the House has no role in the confirmation process, Republican staff aides say they expect Republicans will use the televised House proceedings as a forum to launch attacks on targeted nominees.

Though her appointment is not subject to confirmation, Laura Tyson, Mr. Clinton's designated head of the Council of Economic Advisers, is likely to face partisan criticism for her economic philosophy and writings on eastern Europe, according to GOP aides.

Indicted governor takes to pulpit

VESTAVIA HILLS, Ala. (AP) — No, the pastor said, he never had any second thoughts about having Gov. Guy Hunt preach at his church yesterday, although Mr. Hunt had been indicted six days earlier on felony charges.

"That didn't alter it a bit," said Ernest Stump of the Vestavia Primitive Baptist Church.

So, after 30 minutes of congregational hymn singing with no musical instruments, the more than 200 people at the morning service heard a sermon from a governor charged in a 13-count indictment with stealing \$200,000 from his 1987 inaugural fund.

Mr. Hunt, 59, a Primitive Baptist preacher long before he became a politician, has said he is "totally innocent" of the charge.

He didn't refer directly to his personal problems during his 50-minute sermon, his first since his indictment.

"Our souls are made to soar above the cares of this world," he told the congregation at the church just south of Birmingham.

"The Lord says we are to have no fellowship with unrighteousness," he said at another point.

And, "Religion should involve things of honesty and integrity right down the line."

After the sermon, Mr. Stump asked the worshippers to shake hands with Mr. Hunt and his wife, Helen, "because of what he stands for, what he preaches."

The indictment charges Mr. Hunt conspired with an accountant and two aides to take money from the fund, a tax-exempt account drawn from private sources, inaugural tickets and program ads. It doesn't say what Mr. Hunt allegedly did with the money.

The charge was brought by a grand jury that was originally investigating whether Mr. Hunt illegally took state airplanes to paid preaching engagements. The indictment made no mention of that issue.

Mr. Hunt is to be arraigned Jan. 20. If convicted, he would be stripped of his office and could get 20 years in prison.

Health care, deficit await new Congress

ASSOCIATED PRESS

The 103rd Congress convenes tomorrow, infused with newcomers and eager to prove it heard voters' demands to end years of partisan stalemate once President-elect Bill Clinton takes office.

But Congress and the new president will face formidable problems: the nation's health care system, a sluggish economy, the deficit and an array of social issues.

"There are obviously going to be differences of opinion, and I expect that Republicans, as is their right, will oppose some of his initiatives," Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell said last week. "But I'm hopeful that on the important issues of economic growth and dealing with the deficit, health care reform, and others, that we'll be able to get action this Congress."

At the same time, Mr. Clinton will be confronted with his own campaign promises, such as a tax break for the middle class. He also will have to decide whether a line-item veto to control spending is worth the battle it will take to overcome strong Senate opposition.

Mr. Clinton has promised to send Congress his health care plans within 100 days. Although there is wide agreement something must be done about health care, consensus on what to do is elusive.

To buy time on that and other big issues, congressional leaders plan early action on some other bills that were frustrated by President Bush's opposition or veto over the past four years.

House Speaker Thomas Foley, Washington Democrat, said the House would act on new versions of the family and medical leave bills, easier voter registration and campaign finance reform — probably in that order.

The House and Senate meet at noon tomorrow to swear in new members and conduct other formalities. Senate committees will begin considering Mr. Clinton's Cabinet selections right away, starting with Commerce Secretary-designate Ron Brown on Wednesday.

The new Congress will meet for only a couple of days, however, before recessing to await the new president's inauguration on Jan. 20 and the arrival of the first Democratic administration in a dozen years.

The new Congress will be vastly different from the previous one, which was beset by scandal and embarrassment.

There are 110 freshmen in the new House,



George Mitchell



Thomas Foley

a quarter of its membership. The Senate will have six women, including its first black woman, Carol Moseley Braun of Illinois.

Blacks, Hispanics and women all have increased numbers. Republicans gained slightly in the House but remain heavily outnumbered by Democrats; the Senate retains its 57-43 Democratic majority.

For all the talk of change in the 1992 elections, the congressional newcomers are hardly the type to rock the boat. Three-quarters of the new members have held elective office before, most in the state legislatures.

Still, there is a widespread determination, forged by the difficult 1992 campaigns, to break the legislative impasse of recent years.

In the House, formal election of Mr. Foley is the first order of business tomorrow, followed by the swearing-in of members. In the Senate, new members will be sworn in and final committee assignments handed out. Also on the first day, House members will vote on a new set of rules incorporating some reform-minded changes.

Wary of triggering a bitter fight with Republicans on the very first day, House Democratic leaders were considering backing off their controversial proposal to extend floor voting privileges to five delegates from the District of Columbia and territories — all of them Democrats.

Republican Whip Newt Gingrich of Georgia denounced the move as a poisonous and partisan power grab that would pad the Democrats' 82-vote majority by five votes. Many Democrats also question the move.

On Wednesday, the House and Senate will carry out the constitutional duty of certifying the Electoral College votes that formally give Mr. Clinton the White House.

Packwood Aides Reportedly Left In Ethics Flap

*Paper Says 2 Staffers
Refused 1980s Orders*

Associated Press

PORTLAND, Ore., Jan. 3—Two former members of Sen. Bob Packwood's staff resigned after they were ordered to solicit campaign funds, an activity they believed was unethical and possibly illegal, a newspaper reported today.

The employees felt it was wrong to do the work while on the Senate payroll, the Oregonian reported.

Robin H. Shepherd, who managed the Republican senator's office here until late 1984, told the newspaper that she quit after Elaine Franklin, then director of the office, told her to send letters soliciting campaign contributions.

Michael K. Salsgiver, a former staff assistant in the Portland office, left in June 1985 after Franklin made a similar demand of him, the newspaper said, citing sources it did not identify.

Franklin, now Packwood's chief of staff, denied that any fund-raising went on in the office. She said Shepherd was fired over a disagreement after being assigned some clerical duties and Salsgiver quit for a better-paying job.

Salsgiver, who now manages the Portland office of Sen. Mark O. Hatfield (R-Ore.), said he did not want to talk about his experience, but added, "Elaine's response to why I left is inaccurate."

Senate rules allow two or three designated assistants to receive, solicit and distribute campaign funds. Neither Shepherd nor Salsgiver had such a designation, the newspaper said.

The Senate Select Committee on Ethics is investigating accounts in The Washington Post by 10 women who said Packwood made unwanted sexual advances. The senator has rejected calls for his resignation and is to be sworn in to a new six-year term on Tuesday.

Carter, Reagan Honored as Peacemakers

Associated Press

Former presidents Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan were awarded the nation's first Spark M. Matsunaga Medals of Peace by the U.S. Peace Institute, which yesterday cited the two for giving hope "to people throughout the world who suffered under tyranny."

The award was created by Congress in 1990 to honor Matsunaga, a senator from Hawaii who died that year and was a proponent of peace education. It carries a \$25,000 stipend.

Carter and Reagan were selected by the board of directors of the U.S. Institute of Peace, a government institution created by Congress at Matsunaga's suggestion to promote research, education and training on international peace and conflict resolution.

The institute cited Carter's attempts to make human rights a cornerstone of American foreign policy, his role in concluding the Camp David accords and his efforts since leaving office as a mediator, election observer and promoter of peace.

It cited Reagan for promoting arms control agreements with the Soviet Union and for encouraging changes in Soviet policies that contributed to peace.

The winners were selected from nominations made by the public.

BREAKING GROUND IN THE 103RD CONGRESS

FIRSTS AMONG THE NEW FACES

The 103rd Congress, which convenes Tuesday, will have more women, African-American and Hispanic members than any other Congress. Many new members of the House and the Senate represent firsts in the nation or their states.

THE HOUSE

ALABAMA

Earl Hilliard (D): First African-American member from the state since 1877.

Hilliard, a 50-year-old lawyer, fought to establish urban enterprise zones during his 18 years as a state legislator. He wants more federal funds spent on infrastructure improvements needed by his largely rural district.

CALIFORNIA

Jay C. Kim (R): First Korean American elected to Congress.



A successful businessman, Kim was elected from a district with only 2.7 percent Asian Americans. A term-limit advocate, Kim plans to focus on creating jobs, trimming the federal bureaucracy,

implementing tax incentives for businesses that train and hire the unemployed and cutting capital gains taxes.

FLORIDA

Carrie P. Meek (D), Corrine Brown (D) and Alcee L. Hastings (D): First African-American members from the state since 1873. Meek and Brown are the first African-American women elected to Congress from the state.



Veteran state legislator Meek's priority is economic revitalization for her hurricane-ravaged district; she also wants to alter the Bush administration's policy of detaining Haitian refugees. The 66-year-old educational

administrator supports teacher pay raises and opposes private school vouchers.



Brown, like President-elect Clinton, is a baby boomer. The 46-year-old college professor is interested in improving education and health care. She advocates increased federal funding for day care and "Healthy Start" programs.



Hastings, 66, is one of the most controversial incoming members of Congress. A former federal judge, he was impeached in 1989 on perjury and bribery conspiracy charges. A judge in Washington overturned the impeachment on grounds that he was not tried by the full Senate but only by a Senate committee. A law school student has challenged Hastings's right to hold public office, and the case is to be heard today in Florida.

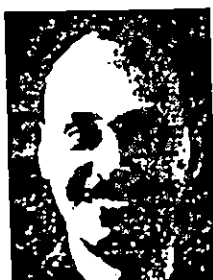
GEORGIA

Cynthia McKinney (D): First African-American woman elected from the state.

A 37-year-old professor and state legislator who spoke out against the Persian Gulf War, McKinney has worked to increase Georgia's hiring of minority contractors. She is expected to be a strong defender of minority rights.

ILLINOIS

Luis V. Gutierrez (D): First Hispanic member from the state.



A 39-year-old former Chicago alderman, Gutierrez is pushing for job retraining programs, increased federal funding for local police presence and low-income housing programs.

NEW JERSEY

Robert Menendez (D): First Hispanic member from the state, first Cuban-American Democrat in Congress.

Menendez, 38, is a former state senator who will represent an ethnically diverse, densely populated district. He favors tax incentives to aid inner cities.

NEW YORK

Nydia M. Velazquez (D): First Puerto Rican woman in Congress.



Velazquez, 39, beat nine-term incumbent Stephen J. Solarz (D) to win her seat in a newly drawn Hispanic-majority district. The former New York City Council member plans to focus on helping women, Hispanics and the poor in her district

and working to improve public schools, reduce the dropout rate and ensure school children's safety.

NORTH CAROLINA

Rep. Eva M. Clayton (D) and Melvin Watt (D): Clayton is the first female member from the state. She and Watt are the first African-American members from the state since 1901. (Clayton is a new member but assumed office on Election Day, fulfilling the unexpired term of Democrat Walter B. Jones.)



A former county commissioner, Clayton, 58, is especially concerned with agricultural issues and accessibility and affordability of health care for people in rural areas.

Watt, a 47-year-old lawyer, advocates welfare reform, full funding of Head Start and prenatal care programs and halving the defense budget in favor of domestic programs.

SOUTH CAROLINA

James E. Clyburn (D): First African-American member from the state since 1897.

Clyburn, 52, served as South Carolina's human affairs commissioner for nearly 19 years, earning recognition and support from both blacks and whites. He favors establishing enterprise zones in low-income areas.

TEXAS

Henry Bonilla (R): First Hispanic Republican from the state in Congress.

Bonilla is a 38-year-old television executive who ran an anti-incumbent campaign. He supports term limits and opposes excessive government regulation

SOURCE: Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report

that impedes small businesses. He suggests that members' salaries be reduced by 50 percent if the federal deficit is not cut by 50 percent within five years.

VIRGINIA

Leslie L. Byrne (D). The first woman in Congress from Virginia. **Robert C. Scott (D):** First African-American member from the state since 1891.

Byrne, 46, won her fight to represent her newly created urban district by focusing on economic issues and her seven-year record as a state delegate. She proposes tax incentives for industries that create jobs and she will also concentrate on transportation concerns.



Scott won his House seat as an unconditional supporter of abortion rights, an opponent of capital punishment and a defender of jobs at Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Co., a major defense contractor in

his district. As a state legislator, the 45-year-old lawyer fought for expanded Medicaid services for women and children and minimum wage and unemployment benefit increases.

THE SENATE

CALIFORNIA

Barbara Boxer (D) and Dianne Feinstein (D): First two women elected from the same state.



Boxer, a 52-year-old House veteran, comes to the Senate as a champion of abortion rights and proponent of increased educational spending. She advocates higher defense cuts than Clinton and suggests using the money to

rebuild the infrastructure and clean up the environment.

Feinstein, 59, the former mayor of San Francisco, is serving the final two years of Republican Gov. Pete Wilson's Senate term after defeating John Seymour, his appointed replacement. She has pledged to concentrate on reversing California's economic woes by retraining defense workers and improving education, the transportation system and the technology

base. She opposes the North American Free Trade Agreement and supports abortion rights and the death penalty. She took office Nov. 4.

COLORADO

Ben Nighthorse Campbell (D): First Native American elected to the Senate in more than 60 years.



Campbell, a 59-year-old rancher and jewelry designer who wears a steel-gray ponytail, is part American Indian. First elected to the House in 1987, he calls himself a social liberal and fiscal

conservative, and strongly supports ranching and mining interests.

ILLINOIS

Carol Moseley Braun (D): First African-American woman elected to the Senate.



Braun is no stranger to politics, having served as a state legislator and recorder of deeds, but the Clarence Thomas hearings spurred her to run for the Senate. She is expected to push for greater federal educational

funding. The 45-year-old lawyer supports abortion rights, tax increases for the wealthy, gun control and universal health care.

WASHINGTON

Patty Murray (D): The first woman elected to the Senate from her state.



Murray, 42, a former state senator, supports family leave legislation, health care reform, tax relief for the middle class, abortion rights and infrastructure improvements. She wants defense budget cuts combined with

retraining programs and advocates environmental protection while preserving jobs that rely on natural resources.

—Compiled by staff writer Kenneth J. Cooper and staff researcher Barbara J. Saffir

BY PETER ALSBERG—THE WASHINGTON POST

Transition advice

A word of caution from President-elect Bill Clinton's old pals at the Progressive Policy Institute arrived amid an avalanche of unsolicited advice for the incoming administration.

In effect, that policy extension of the Democratic Leadership Council said: Cocky ... Not! More specifically, this collection of moderate Democratic wonks advised the newcomers to avoid "the illusion of absolute power."

"The largest transition pitfall, put simply, is hubris."

"The last three Democratic presidents have suffered from early self-inflicted wounds. For Kennedy, it was the disastrous Bay of Pigs invasion; for Johnson, it was the decision to escalate the war in Vietnam; for Carter, it was the promotion of his energy bill and the alienation of the Democratic Congress in his first year in office."

Gore gets question!

With all of the excitement over the new Cabinet members and the unrelenting focus on his boss, Vice President-elect Al Gore was not in high press demand.

Finally, as Mr. Clinton headed off the stage, a reporter hurled a question at the Tennessee senator. "My first question!" a wide-eyed Mr. Gore said with feigned excitement. "Go ahead. We're in overtime."

After giving his opinion on the day's appointments, Mr. Gore strode off before reporters were finished. One tried to get him back by shouting, "Your first follow-up." No luck. Lost in overtime.

Wirth loses to diversity

Departing Sen. Tim Wirth spent much of the fall campaigning for Mr. Clinton, and everyone, including the Colorado Democrat, thought he was certain to receive a post in the incoming Cabinet.

According to the Los Angeles Times, Mr. Wirth wanted to direct the Environmental Protection Agency but allowed himself to be persuaded by Vice President-elect Gore to seek the top job in the Energy Department.

But Mr. Clinton, feeling the need to fulfill his diversity goals, chose Hazel O'Leary, an executive in a Minnesota power company, as Mr. Wirth's old Senate antagonists mounted a backdoor campaign to discredit him.

Informed of the O'Leary choice by Mr. Clinton, Mr. Wirth was understanding on the telephone. But privately the senator "seethed" and blamed opposition in the Senate for torpedoing his prospects.

The Times report concluded that the president-elect "can be ruthlessly unsentimental in making decisions that require treading on the feelings of old friends or supporters."

Socks stirs advocates

An important epistle relating to high policy and Hillary Clinton found its way into the recent edition of the Animals' Agenda magazine, the journal of animal rights advocates.

Sherry E. DeBoer of the California Federation for Animal Legislation wrote the editor that she had approached Mrs. Clinton to talk about the problem of pet overpopulation.

"Mrs. Clinton told me that her cat is spayed! ... I suggested she let it be known worldwide. Now would be an

Inside Politics



excellent time for animal advocates to flood Hillary with thank-you notes."

Last week's quotes

Lt. Gov. Melvin A. Steinberg of Maryland told the Baltimore Sun that the federal government's merging of Washington and Baltimore for statistical purposes has a silver lining: "By making it 'the Washington-Baltimore area,' Baltimore is the last word."

Sen. Mitch McConnell, Kentucky Republican, told Scripps Howard that this was not a cool yule for Janet Mullins, the White House aide under scrutiny in the Clinton passport flap: "I think it's safe to say this will probably be Janet's worst Christmas ever."

Departing Rep. William E. Dannemeyer, California's fierce Republican conservative, told the Los Angeles Times he was pleased to learn of Mr. Clinton's interest in having Republicans in the Cabinet and applied for Treasury secretary and head of the Office of Management and Budget: "I'm a little surprised I haven't got a response from Mr. Clinton yet. I don't know why he would avoid an opportunity of having a person with my commitment to getting a balanced budget."

The Washingtonian said Hillary Clinton's schoolmates predicted she would become a nun. Her name? "Sister

Frigidaire," said the high school paper.

Clinton in new year

William Safire, the New York Times' conservative for all seasons, asked last week whether "W. Jefferson Clinton's thorniest domestic problem will be (a) tension with Hillary on policy grounds; (b) loss of voice under stress; (c) weight approaching presidential record of William Howard Taft; (d) tardy reporting to Congress of intelligence findings?"

Mr. Safire noted the new president will learn what the columnist's readers have known for 19 years: There are no easy choices. The Timesman then picked the answer ... (a).

Packwood in new year

The National Organization for Women will hold a rally tomorrow at the Russell Senate Office Building to demand that the Senate refuse to seat Sen. Bob Packwood, Oregon Republican, who has admitted to sexual misconduct.

On the other hand, Camille Paglia, the bisexual essayist, said this about the Packwood case on "John McLaughlin's One on One." "What we're not hearing are the cases of the women who enjoyed it, who enjoyed getting groped. OK, in the closet, who enjoyed a hot one after lunch?"

B.J. CUTLER

As President Bush leaves office, it is clear that one charge made against him — that he lacks the "vision thing" — is a bad rap.

When his stay in the Oval Office is assessed, it will be seen he had the energy, determination and, yes, vision to achieve three of the most sweeping arms control treaties in history.

In November 1990, Mr. Bush and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev played key roles in agreeing to make drastic cuts in the numbers of troops, tanks, cannons and warplanes deployed in Europe.

That accord's importance cannot be overestimated. It left Moscow lacking the conventional forces to accomplish what the United States and its allies had long feared: a massive, lightning invasion of Western Europe.

B.J. Cutler is foreign affairs columnist for Scripps Howard News Service.

Bush's vision wins at the arms table

In July 1991, Mr. Bush and Mr. Gorbachev signed the first strategic arms reduction treaty, or Start I. This trail-blazing document committed the superpowers to slashing their intercontinental nuclear warheads by about one-third.

A year later the Soviet Union and Mr. Gorbachev were gone. But Mr. Bush and President Boris Yeltsin slogged on toward a safer world. In June 1992, they agreed in principle to leapfrog Start I by cutting nuclear warheads by two-thirds.

On Dec. 29 in Geneva, Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger and Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev hammered the general principles into an agreement for Mr. Bush and Mr. Yeltsin to sign at their

Moscow summit.

Start II, if implemented, will do more than reduce each side's 10,000-or-so warheads to 3,500 for the United States and 3,000 for Russia. It will eliminate the most dangerous weapons, huge land-based missiles with multiple warheads.

These missiles, such as the American MX and the Russian SS-18, are feared as first-strike weapons because each can hurl 10 warheads with devastating accuracy. They keep both sides on hair-trigger.

Intentionally or not, Mr. Bush did President-elect Bill Clinton a favor. Conservatives in the Senate, where

see CUTLER, page C3

From page C1

Start II will go for ratification, are more likely to swallow concessions made by a GOP chief executive than by a Democrat they suspect of dovishness.

Mr. Bush and Mr. Eagleburger did have to make major concessions to induce the Russian generals to give up their strategic force's core, the multiple-warhead missiles in silos.

Nevertheless, Start II is on balance advantageous to Washington. The Navy gets to keep 1,728 largely invulnerable submarine-launched warheads, a field in which the United States is superior.

The real fight to ratify the treaty won't be in the Senate but in the Russian Parliament. That body is packed with nationalists, hardliners and "former" communists who dislike the United States and distrust their foreign minister. They frequently accuse Mr. Kozyrev of "selling out" Russia.

Kozyrev did have Defense Minister Pavel Grachev sitting at his elbow when he came to terms with Mr. Eagleburger. This may provide him with cover when the Russian right starts blasting at him.

Start II has one thing going for it that may prove decisive. Economically stumbling Russia no longer can afford to staff and maintain a nuclear force that was excessive even in the Cold War. Mr. Yeltsin knows this. It helps explain why he grabbed for a treaty now, rather than waiting months for Mr. Clinton to assemble his arms control team.

Mr. Bush won't be remembered as the education president, environmental president and re-elected president, as he wished. But disarmament president he was, which is an honorable title.

PAUL CRAIG ROBERTS

Bent on vengeance at any price

We have to hand it to President Bush for flushing out special prosecutor Lawrence Walsh with his pardon of Caspar Weinberger and five other Iran-Contra victims.

Mr. Walsh's vindictive announcement that he would retaliate by making Mr. Bush "the subject of our investigation" speaks volumes to the unprofessional and unethical behavior that defines Mr. Walsh and his entire six-year enterprise.

However many licks Mr. Bush takes from this episode, Mr. Walsh has emerged as a power-mad, deranged figure, bent on pursuit at any price.

The Wall Street Journal has compared him to the mad Captain Ahab.

The Washington Post, which normally hates Republicans with a passion, editorialized that "Lawrence Walsh did his own record in this lengthy case an injustice in saying the pardons stood for the proposition that the well-connected go free. Mr. Bush was right that these were not venal acts, and that all six of those he pardoned for acts in the line of what they perceived as duty have paid a price."

Even the New York Times abandoned Mr. Walsh.

In a front-page story, the newspaper that seldom misses an opportunity to scream for a Republican head concluded that Mr. Walsh's misguided prosecutions had trivialized the Iran-Contra affair.

At issue was the question of whether the Arms Export Control Act and the Boland Amendment had been violated.

However, Mr. Walsh and his trigger-happy gang of lawyers just wanted victims to convict on any charge for the pure fun of it. They ended up charging Oliver North, the principal figure, with accepting a gift of a home security system.

As the New York Times noted, this offense "was so far from the heart of the matter as to obscure rather than illuminate what the fuss over the Iran-Contra affair was all

about."

Mr. Walsh's operation was so obviously partisan and devoid of integrity that it became an embarrassment to the Democrats who were its beneficiaries.

The second indictment of Mr. Weinberger, timed to influence the outcome of the presidential election, was the straw that broke the camel's back.

When consulted by Mr. Bush, both House Speaker Tom Foley and House Armed Services Chairman Les Aspin said they would not criticize the pardon.

Mr. Walsh is finished, and his own

misconduct — including his avoidance of District of Columbia income taxes by falsely claiming his hometown as his work station, his violation of court rules and his violation of federal contracting guidelines — have discredited forever the office of special prosecutor.

It is ironic that Mr. Walsh and his gang built a stronger case against themselves than against their targets. Their arrogance did them in but so, too, did the unaccountable nature of the office.

Prosecutors who have unlimited budgets and can fish forever in people's lives searching for an offense

are inherently abusive and unacceptable in a democracy.

If real wrongdoing occurs in the executive branch, Congress has the impeachment option.

Mr. Walsh failed in the end because he and his team tried to criminalize the exercise of judgment in interpreting laws by those charged with running the government.

Regardless of its economic and military might, a government is paralyzed when it is filled with people fearful of making judgments that could later be used against them.

The liberals abandoned Mr. Walsh because the last thing they want is a government that does nothing.

Government cannot be separated from the exercise of discretionary power, which is why conservatives prefer limited government.

No one exercises greater discretion than regulatory bureaucrats, who routinely stretch statutes far beyond the elasticity that Col. North and his cohorts applied to the Boland Amendment. Yet courts have given great deference to the regulators' interpretation of laws.

We even have massive wetlands regulations without any statutory basis, and we have quotas despite their strict prohibition by the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

When British unions wanted to disrupt the national transportation system, they did not need to strike; they simply "worked to rule."

By carefully observing every rule in the book, they could paralyze the system by staying on the job. Similarly, the way to throw the military into turmoil is to "go by the book."

Would we think better of executive branch officials if they had lost the Cold War by working to rule?

Paul Craig Roberts, an economist at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, is a columnist for The Washington Times and is nationally syndicated.

Names & Faces

Chelsea Visits Sidwell

■ Chelsea Clinton further fueled the intense speculation about Where She'll Go to School here by touring the upper Northwest campus of Sidwell Friends yesterday, along with her mother and a Secret Service detail. The 12-year-old's visit on the last day of the private school's two-week hiatus was brief, said Headmaster Earl Harrison, who declined to add anything more. The school was attended by the three sons of Marian Wright Edelman, the president of the Children's Defense Fund and a close friend of Bill and Hillary Clinton.



Chelsea Clinton: A future with Sidwell Friends?

royals racing from one beach to another in a convoy of a dozen four-wheel-drive vehicles. The threesome is expected to return to London on Wednesday.

The Critics' Choices

■ Clint Eastwood's "Unforgiven" was chosen Best Picture of 1992 by the National Society of Film Critics. The film, which Eastwood directed and starred in, also won prizes for Best Director, Best Screenplay (David Webb Peoples) and Best Supporting Actor (Gene Hackman).

The Best Actor award went to Stephen Rea for "The Crying Game," Best Actress to Emma Thompson for "Howards End";

and Best Supporting Actress to Judy Davis for "Husbands and Wives."

Manhattan Macaroni Date

■ Woody Allen and Soon-Yi Previn, chaperoned by Woody's sister, Letty Aronson, were spotted dining last Tuesday night at Felidia on East 58th Street, according to Newsday.

Both Woody and Soon-Yi ordered bruschetta and pasta; he had the penne, she had tortellini. He drank white wine; she had red.

End Notes

■ Lefthander magazine has named President-elect Clinton its Lefthander of the Year. Also honored: entertainers Whoopi Goldberg, Jerry Seinfeld and Billy Ray Cyrus, tennis player Martina Navratilova and baseball player Ken Griffey Jr. . . .

Ezra Taft Benson, 93, president of the 8.4-million-member Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and agriculture secretary during the Eisenhower administration, was hospitalized with pneumonia Thursday. Benson is in serious but stable condition . . .

The first Elvis stamp has been sighted—and a bit prematurely. A woman bought 60 Elvis stamps at a post office in Amarillo, Tex., on Wednesday. A postal employee said the office received the Elvis stamps that day, but it wasn't until the next day that a letter arrived saying the stamps shouldn't yet be sold. The 29-cent commemorative stamp wasn't supposed to be available until this week, when the Postal Service formally releases the stamp in Memphis, home town of the rock-and-roll icon. It will be released nationwide at noon Friday.

—Compiled from staff and wire reports by Marla Harper

Di, Living a Little

■ More royal romping. Princess Diana was pursued by a legion of reporters and photographers while she vacationed with her two sons on the Caribbean island of Nevis. Diana, who separated from Prince Charles last month, arrived on the sunlit shores three days ago. The princess and her sons, Prince William, 10, and Prince Harry, 8, have spent much of their time playing in the surf. The paparazzi caught a glimpse of the



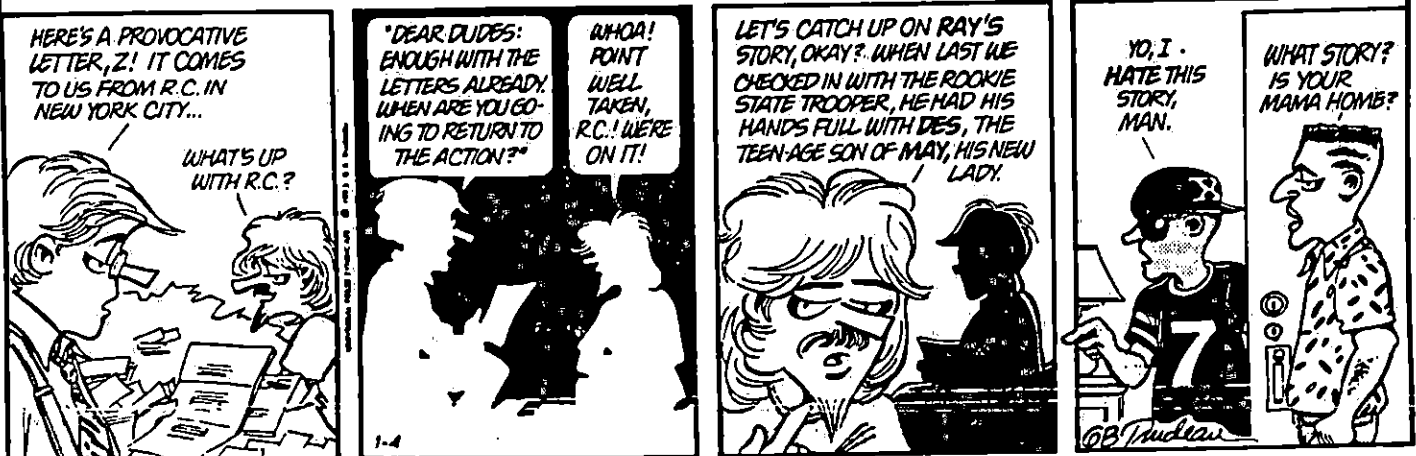
Diana, frolicking.

THE RELIABLE SOURCE

Lois Romano's column will resume next week.

DOONESBURY

By G.B. Trudeau



CALVIN AND HOBBS BILL WATTERSON



INSIDE THE BELTWAY

Slow news

In this business of journalism, it takes at least one editor to keep track of the Associated Press Daybook for Washington, a daily computerized schedule of news events usually numbering in the dozens if not hundreds. But not last Friday, Jan. 1, New Year's Day.

There were a whopping two events listed, one of the quietest news days in recent memory. First, reporters were advised of a 12:30 p.m. meeting between Jesse Jackson and the foreign minister of Somalia at Mr. Jackson's T Street NW residence. There was no need for crowd control at that one. Second, at 2 p.m., reporters could watch Jesse Jackson view the Emancipation Proclamation at the National Archives. No comment.

Peace prizes

President-elect Bill Clinton might be Time magazine's Man of the Year, but former presidents Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan are the first recipients of the Spark M. Matsunaga Medal of Peace awarded by the United States Institute of Peace. The peace medal was established by Congress in honor of the late senator from Hawaii, who was a longtime proponent of peace.

In a letter for Mr. Carter, the institute, governed by a 15-member bipartisan board, cited his "leadership, creativity, determination, and personal diplomatic skill in concluding the Camp David Accords ... demonstrating how the power and prestige of the President of the United States can be employed to bring about peace."

In a simultaneous communication to Mr. Reagan, it noted "leadership in promoting arms control agreements with the Soviet Union to reduce the threat of nuclear war [and] steadfastness in supporting freedom, opposing totalitarianism, and advancing the cause of human rights." These efforts, said the institute, encouraged leaders of the former Soviet Union to implement positive changes in Soviet domestic and foreign policies that have contributed to world peace. The institute also lauded Mr. Reagan for supporting the Helsinki process.

In addition to the bronze medals designed and struck by the U.S. Mint, the laureates will each receive a \$25,000 cash award.



Robert Bryant made his prediction about homicides in D.C. come true.

Told you so

In the first days of February 1992, just a month into the new year, Robert Bryant, special agent in charge of the FBI's Washington Metropolitan Field Office, lunched with several reporters and editors of The Washington Times. An expert in street and gang-related crime, he had recently transferred here from Salt Lake City for obvious reasons. During our lunch, Mr. Bryant, who prefers the nickname "Bear," surprised everyone at the table when he declared that the District's murder total, which had continuously risen since 1985, would drop in 1992.

"This is not going to be Beirut," he said. "Effective law enforcement will bring the rate down."

The journalists at the table, most veteran reporters of the District's Daily & Sunday carnage, politely smiled.

"How so?" Mr. Bryant was asked.

"Interview me on January 2," is all he would say.

Jan. 2 of this past weekend was not only a Saturday, it was a Saturday during a holiday when the Redskins also happened to be in the playoffs. We knew better than to bother Mr. Bryant at home. But what we can tell you is that under Mr. Bryant's watch, the FBI in 1992 assigned 50 special agents to work with Metropolitan Police to investigate local drug and gang-related violence, which is right up Mr. Bryant's alley. The FBI also played a major role (at least 100 agents took part) in a massive raid last year

that dismantled the notorious P Street Gang, whose members had grown comfortable shooting anyone who got too close to their local crack operation.

"This was an operation designed to go after the gang," Mr. Bryant said after the raid, "to take out the leadership, to take away the physical property and to show that effective law enforcement will bring this city's murder rate down."

City officials, including Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly, were visibly relieved as they called a New Year's Eve news conference to announce that the homicide tally had dropped from 489 in 1991 to 451 in 1992.

"We feel good about this margin of life," the mayor said.

Here's betting that Mr. Bryant feels good, too.

Tough words to come

Vice President Dan Quayle will be happy to know that Quayle Quarterly readers were notified in writing that their subscription to the Quarterly "expires with this issue, which is a good thing because this is our final issue."

The Quayle Quarterly, published out of Bridgeport, Conn., bashed the vice president four times a year for nearly four years, from his weekend duty with the National Guard to his most recent run-ins with Murphy Brown and a potato. But not any longer. And don't count on a Gore Quarterly, at least from the same publishers. Instead, they're launching a new women's quarterly, Hysteria, which you can get for \$14.95 a subscription.

As for the final issue of the Quayle Quarterly, a letter to the editor from Kathy Stonecash of Springboro, Ohio, urges: "Please do not close your presses! You can spend the next four years making fun of a dirt-ball who ran for president and won. Can you believe it? It's hilarious! We now have for president a pot-smoking, flag-burning, protest in Soviet Russia draft-dodger whose Bimbo is featured in Penthouse magazine this month."

Mr. Gore is not off the hook, either. Joe Goulden of Accuracy in Media writes that he is starting the Gore Gazette, "which will consist entirely of intelligent statements on the environment by Ol' Wooden Mouth. It shall be issued annually on a 3x5 post card — or less frequently as his wisdom warrants."

— John McCaslin

DATE: 1-4
PAGE: 1

What's News—

World-Wide

YELTSIN AND BUSH SIGNED a historic missile-reduction pact in Moscow.

The two presidents signed the far-reaching arms-control treaty, known as Start II, at a Kremlin ceremony. Yeltsin described the accord as "a major step toward fulfilling mankind's centuries-old dream of disarmament." Bush praised the Russian leader for pushing the disarmament process further than "few believed possible just one year ago." The agreement still must be approved by the U.S. Senate and by Russia's parliament, where conservatives object to the treaty's requirement that Russia give up its most sophisticated missile, the SS-18. (Article on Page A3)

Yeltsin invited Clinton to meet in a neutral country as soon as possible, adding that any lull in U.S.-Russian relations would be "cause for concern."

Germany's economics minister quit amid accusations that the country's economic troubles are too severe for him to handle. Moellmann's problems began last month when a magazine published a copy of an official letter with his signature endorsing a product made by a company headed by a relative. (Related article on Page A5)

The German government may use radar and night vision devices to monitor its eastern borders as part of a crackdown on illegal immigrants, an Interior Ministry spokesman announced. He said the government would test the military surveillance equipment along Germany's borders with Poland and the Czech republic.

Bush won broad agreement from France's Mitterrand on enforcing a flight ban over Bosnia but said any military action must await the outcome of peace talks. In Geneva, Bosnia raised objections to a peace plan that would divide the former Yugoslav republic into 10 provinces, saying it would institutionalize ethnic division.

Stone-throwing Somalis yelled "Boutros-Ghali go home" and besieged the headquarters of the U.N. operation in Somalia during a visit by the U.N. chief. Leaflets tossed into the U.N. compound in Mogadishu denounced Boutros-Ghali as a colonialist and hailed President Bush, who visited Somalia late last week, as a "savior."

A Palestinian killed an undercover Israeli police officer with a knife and hammer in what is believed to be the first slaying of a secret agent during the five-year-old uprising against Israeli rule, police said. Earlier, Israeli soldiers clashed with stone-throwing Palestinians in the Gaza Strip and reportedly shot to death an 18-year-old Arab.

Clinton's aides are formulating a policy toward Haiti aimed at forestalling a surge of immigrants to the U.S. The Clinton administration will seek to establish an equitable refugee policy that will be linked to efforts toward bringing economic relief and democracy to Haiti, according to the president-elect's advisers. (Article on Page A5)

NASA gave up an attempt to send an eight-legged robot into the crater of an active Antarctic volcano, Mount Erebus, on Saturday after the robot's fiber-optic cable became severed. The eight-foot-high, 1,000-pound robot Dante was to have helped determine the makeup of the volcano's molten crater and its gases.

More than 40,000 Muslims gathered in western Bangladesh, preparing to march into India today to rebuild a mosque demolished last month by Hindus. As the Muslims continued to arrive in the border town of Jessore, district authorities in Bangladesh vowed to stop the march. Indian security forces also were placed on alert.

Kenya's three opposition parties met to try to block President Moi from taking office after his victory in last Tuesday's elections, officials said. Over the weekend, international poll monitors criticized the government for widespread voting irregularities but didn't reject the election results.

Clinton ended a six-day vacation visit to Hilton Head Island, S.C., where he spent most of his time attending Renaissance Weekend, a networking conference. Clinton plans to meet with Mexico's President Salinas on Friday in Austin, Texas.

At least 100 people were killed in a battle between forces of the Angolan government and the rebel movement Unita in the southern city of Lubango, the official Angolan news agency said. According to the agency, government forces were in control of Lubango and Unita's regional commander had been captured.



PRESS CLIPPINGS OF INTEREST

OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY
DAVID C. BECKWITH

JANUARY 4, 1993

INSIDE THE BELTWAY

Slow news

In this business of journalism, it takes at least one editor to keep track of the Associated Press Daybook for Washington, a daily computerized schedule of news events usually numbering in the dozens if not hundreds. But not last Friday, Jan. 1, New Year's Day.

There were a whopping two events listed, one of the quietest news days in recent memory. First, reporters were advised of a 12:30 p.m. meeting between Jesse Jackson and the foreign minister of Somalia at Mr. Jackson's T Street NW residence. There was no need for crowd control at that one. Second, at 2 p.m., reporters could watch Jesse Jackson view the Emancipation Proclamation at the National Archives. No comment.

Peace prizes

President-elect Bill Clinton might be Time magazine's Man of the Year, but former presidents Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan are the first recipients of the Spark M. Matsunaga Medal of Peace awarded by the United States Institute of Peace. The peace medal was established by Congress in honor of the late senator from Hawaii, who was a longtime proponent of peace.

In a letter for Mr. Carter, the institute, governed by a 15-member bipartisan board, cited his "leadership, creativity, determination, and personal diplomatic skill in concluding the Camp David Accords ... demonstrating how the power and prestige of the President of the United States can be employed to bring about peace."

In a simultaneous communication to Mr. Reagan, it noted "leadership in promoting arms control agreements with the Soviet Union to reduce the threat of nuclear war [and] steadfastness in supporting freedom, opposing totalitarianism, and advancing the cause of human rights." These efforts, said the institute, encouraged leaders of the former Soviet Union to implement positive changes in Soviet domestic and foreign policies that have contributed to world peace. The institute also lauded Mr. Reagan for supporting the Helsinki process.

In addition to the bronze medals designed and struck by the U.S. Mint, the laureates will each receive a \$25,000 cash award.



Robert Bryant made his prediction about homicides in D.C. come true.

Told you so

In the first days of February 1992, just a month into the new year, Robert Bryant, special agent in charge of the FBI's Washington Metropolitan Field Office, lunched with several reporters and editors of The Washington Times. An expert in street and gang-related crime, he had recently transferred here from Salt Lake City for obvious reasons. During our lunch, Mr. Bryant, who prefers the nickname "Bear," surprised everyone at the table when he declared that the District's murder total, which had continuously risen since 1985, would drop in 1992.

"This is not going to be Beirut," he said. "Effective law enforcement will bring the rate down."

The journalists at the table, most veteran reporters of the District's Daily & Sunday carnage, politely smiled.

"How so?" Mr. Bryant was asked. "Interview me on January 2," is all he would say.

Jan. 2 of this past weekend was not only a Saturday, it was a Saturday during a holiday when the Redskins also happened to be in the playoffs. We knew better than to bother Mr. Bryant at home. But what we can tell you is that under Mr. Bryant's watch, the FBI in 1992 assigned 50 special agents to work with Metropolitan Police to investigate local drug and gang-related violence, which is right up Mr. Bryant's alley. The FBI also played a major role (at least 100 agents took part) in a massive raid last year

that dismantled the notorious P Street Gang, whose members had grown comfortable shooting anyone who got too close to their local crack operation.

"This was an operation designed to go after the gang," Mr. Bryant said after the raid, "to take out the leadership, to take away the physical property and to show that effective law enforcement will bring this city's murder rate down."

City officials, including Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly, were visibly relieved as they called a New Year's Eve news conference to announce that the homicide tally had dropped from 489 in 1991 to 451 in 1992.

"We feel good about this margin of life," the mayor said.

Here's betting that Mr. Bryant feels good, too.

Tough words to come

Vice President Dan Quayle will be happy to know that Quayle Quarterly readers were notified in writing that their subscription to the Quarterly "expires with this issue, which is a good thing because this is our final issue."

The Quayle Quarterly, published out of Bridgeport, Conn., bashed the vice president four times a year for nearly four years, from his weekend duty with the National Guard to his most recent run-ins with Murphy Brown and a potato. But not any longer. And don't count on a Gore Quarterly, at least from the same publishers. Instead, they're launching a new women's quarterly, Hysteria, which you can get for \$14.95 a subscription.

As for the final issue of the Quayle Quarterly, a letter to the editor from Kathy Stonecash of Springboro, Ohio, urges: "Please do not close your presses! You can spend the next four years making fun of a dirt-ball who ran for president and won. Can you believe it? It's hilarious! We now have for president a pot-smoking, flag-burning, protest in Soviet Russia draft-dodger whose Bimbo is featured in Penthouse magazine this month."

Mr. Gore is not off the hook, either. Joe Goulden of Accuracy in Media writes that he is starting the Gore Gazette, "which will consist entirely of intelligent statements on the environment by Ol' Wooden Mouth. It shall be issued annually on a 3x5 post card — or less frequently as his wisdom warrants."

— John McCaslin



Vice President Dan Quayle (left) and Pat Robertson greet each other at the Republican Convention last August. AP

Robertson's group faces legal hurdles

SCRIPPS HOWARD NEWS SERVICE

Televangelist Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition is facing significant legal hurdles that could cause it to scale back its political activity or begin following campaign disclosure rules.

In October, the Democratic National Committee filed a complaint with the Federal Election Commission charging the coalition is a predominantly partisan political organization and should be forced to register as a political committee, disclose the sources of its funding and abide by campaign contribution limits.

Democrats also are challenging the coalition's application with the Internal Revenue Service for status as a 501(c)(4) nonprofit, tax-exempt, social welfare organization. The application has been pending for more than two years, but organizations are allowed to operate as if they had nonprofit, tax-

exempt status while awaiting a decision.

The tax code allows 501(c)(4) organizations to engage in partisan political activity as long as that is not their "primary" mission. Democrats argue the coalition is engaged almost exclusively in partisan work.

Christian Coalition Executive Director Ralph Reed called the complaint "sheer nonsense."

"We have received no funding or direction from the Republican Party or any of its candidates," he said. "[The DNC] complaint is further evidence of bigotry against Christians who only seek to exercise their basic rights of citizenship."

Mr. Reed insists the coalition is nonpartisan and doesn't endorse candidates. He notes the coalition — a 350,000-member, national grass-roots political organization — has invited several conservative

Democratic officeholders to address them.

However, Democrats point out that the National Republican Senatorial Committee, the party's principal committee for electing senators, donated \$64,000 to the coalition in October 1990.

Michael Pauley, coalitions director of the National Republican Congressional Committee, which works to elect GOP House members, told The Norfolk Virginian-Pilot newspaper earlier this year that he touches base with Mr. Reed an average of every other day.

The coalition has filed a counter complaint with the FEC against Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition, charging the Democratic Party's financial support for Mr. Jackson's voter registration and get-out-the-vote efforts in the black community violate election law.

— Joan Lowy

Conflict building in GOP 'big tent'

Religious right alarms moderates

By Joan Lowy
SCRIPPS HOWARD NEWS SERVICE

The precinct-by-precinct battle for control of the GOP between moderate Republicans and conservative Christian activists is going full tilt in cities and towns across the country. Moderates who were awakened by the Republican National Convention in August to the gains within the party by the religious right have begun to organize and fight back, but they have a long way to go.

Working at the grass roots, Christian activists have either gained control or made sizable inroads into state party organizations in Alaska, California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Kansas, Louisiana, Minnesota, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, Oregon, Washington and Virginia.

A loosely affiliated network of religious-right organizations led by televangelist Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition also has mobilized millions of evangelical voters across the country.

While they failed to re-elect President Bush, those voters did help elect hundreds of religious activists and Republicans sympathetic to their conservative social agenda to school boards, city councils, state legislatures and Congress.

Now Christian activists are laying plans to expand their influence

within the party and to target off-year election contests, particularly gubernatorial and state legislative

• Oregon state GOP Chairman Craig Berkman has proposed joining Ross Perot's supporters to set up a separate, independent state Republican Party apart from the anti-abortion, anti-homosexual forces that now dominate the state party.

Meanwhile, the Oregon Citizens Alliance, the state's leading Christian right group, plans to try again in 1994 to pass an anti-homosexual law. A referendum opposing homosexuality pushed by the alliance failed in 1992, but the next attempt will be modeled after a more softly worded referendum approved by Colorado voters last year.

• Moderate Republicans in Houston recently formed a separate party committee to compete with the regular GOP organization when the Harris County Republican chairman was forced out of office by religious activists.

The new county chairman, Dr. Stephen Hotze, is a born-again activist who argues that the survival of the United States hinges on restoring "its Christian heritage" and limiting government "to its God-ordained role of providing justice based upon God's laws, restraining wickedness, punishing evildoers and protecting the life, liberty and property of law-abiding citizens."

• More than a dozen county meetings to elect party officers in Washington state erupted into shouting matches in recent weeks as moderate Republicans and religious activists battled for control. Last summer, the GOP state convention under the control of religious activists passed a party platform denouncing witchcraft and yoga, among other subjects.

• In Minnesota, the state GOP's former executive director caused a stir with a memo recommending that the party eliminate its practice of endorsing candidates through state conventions, which are easily controlled by a small number of dedicated activists. This would diminish the growing power of evangelical activists, who had been pressuring Republicans attending precinct caucuses to state if and when they had been born again.

• Moderates in Johnson County, Kan., a suburb of Kansas City, lost out two months ago when members of a conservative, pro-life faction were elected to three of the four top local Republican Party posts.

THE WASHINGTON TIMES
JANUARY 4, 1993

• Groups have sprung up in Colorado Springs, San Diego, Virginia Beach and elsewhere to research and publicize the religious right's activities.

Several leading GOP moderates — including Rep. Tom Campbell of California, retiring Sen. Warren Rudman of New Hampshire, and Sens. Nancy Kassebaum of Kansas, Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania and John Chafee of Rhode Island — recently announced the formation of the Republican Majority Coalition, a national organization "to take our party back" from the religious right.

"We believe issues such as abortion, mandatory school prayer, homosexuality, the teaching of creationism and other similar questions recently inserted into the political context should instead be left to the conscience of individuals," the coalition's statement of purpose said.

Among the group's goals are to identify moderates in precincts across the country, recruit and endorse like-minded candidates and soften the GOP platform in 1996, including making it neutral on the abortion issue.

The 1992 GOP platform called for an across-the-board ban on abortion, said laws should reflect a "faith in God," promoted prayer in school, opposed homosexual marriage or adoption of children, and favored a voucher system that would give parents public funds to send their children to private schools, including religious schools.

"We don't believe issues of personal morality ought to be tests for being a Republican," Mr. Campbell said.

Rep. Rod Chandler, Washington Republican, a moderate who lost the Senate race in Washington to Democrat Patty Murray last year, said he plans to form a similar organization in his state.

It's preferable to find a way to keep Christian activists within the party, Mr. Chandler said, "but if they insist on attempting to control it themselves, at that point ... it becomes a fight to the finish."

Mr. Reed said the actions of moderate Republicans — like the Republican Majority Coalition that is trying to diminish the influence of evangelical activists — border on "anti-Christian bias."

"We hope they don't want to exclude Christians," he said. "No one should be excluded from participation in the civic process based on their faith."

He also warned that the party needs Christian activists, who have become its most loyal voting bloc and provide many of its most dedicated grass-roots volunteers. "Without pro-family conservatives, the big tent will become a pup tent," he said.

Many Republican strategists agree.

"If they were successful in driving the religious right out, we wouldn't be successful in winning another election in this country," GOP consultant Eddie Mahe said.

"You can't throw out a third of your base vote and win. They are us and we are them."

GOP

From page A1

in races in New Jersey and Virginia this year.

"We're going to be a significant force at the grass roots of American politics for the foreseeable future," predicted Christian Coalition executive director Ralph Reed.

For most evangelical activists, promoting a conservative social agenda is far more important than furthering the Republican Party. They generally believe that the United States is a "Christian nation" favored by God, but they're disturbed by many societal trends — rising crime, teen-age pregnancy, abortion, the feminist movement and growing acceptance of homosexuals, for example.

These trends, they believe, are attributable to Americans straying from their "Christian heritage." If they can elect like-minded Christian conservatives to office, then government would reflect religious values and these trends would begin to reverse, they argue.

"The agenda this voting bloc is interested in is not some sort of bizarre agenda," said Gary Bauer, president of the Family Research Council, a religious-right organization. "Most Americans don't want gays to be allowed to marry or adopt children. Most Americans are troubled by the increasing amount of sex and violence on TV and in the movies. Most Americans want some restrictions on abortion."

The battle lines between religious activists and moderate Republicans already have been drawn. Among the recent developments:

As 1992 Fades Into Memory, Have Your Memories of It Faded?

BY LAURA BIRD

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Pundits have yet to coin the right nickname, but 1992 will almost certainly go down as the year when outsiders—from Bill Clinton to outside directors—toppled the status quo. From the Oval Office to the boardroom, the comfortable and established were afflicted, if not ousted outright.

It was also the silliest of seasons. Real life and fiction overlapped to the point where a fictional TV character fell into debate with the vice president; where the "Long Island Lolita" case spawned not one but three TV movies; and where Woody Allen and Mia Farrow fought on screen and off.

But amid the seemingly endless flaps over the Royals' shenanigans and the spelling of potato, some important things really did happen. So whether to refresh your memory or impress your friends, test your knowledge of last year's news events. A perfect score is 35, plus 4 bonus points. Answers are on page B2.

1. International Business Machines Corp. ranked No. 1 in market value at the end of 1990 among companies in the Standard & Poor's 500 index. It finished 1992 at No. 15. Within \$5 billion, how much did the company's market value decline in 1992? To what? (1 point for each answer)



2. For all of IBM's problems, its chief executive officer stayed put. But these corporate titans all made untimely or unexpected exits from the uppermost echelons of their companies in 1992. Match the executive with his former position. (6 points total)

■ Brandon Tartikoff	■ Chairman of Rubbermaid Inc.
■ Walter Williams	■ Commissioner of Major League Baseball
■ Richard S. Braddock	■ Chairman, CEO, General Motors Corp.
■ Robert C. Stempel	■ Chairman of Dow Corning Corp.
■ John S. Ludington	■ President of Citicorp
■ Francis T. "Fay" Vincent	■ Chairman of Paramount Pictures Corp.

3. Reebok International Ltd. suffered from an untimely exit of another kind. The company spent \$25 million on a pre-Olympics ad campaign promoting the rivalry for the gold medal between two U.S. decathletes, Dave Johnson and Dan O'Brien. How did Messrs. Johnson and O'Brien fare? (1 point each) Bonus point: Who is Robert Zmelik?

4. A host of nonbank companies pole-vaulted into the consumer-credit business in the past year by sponsoring general-purpose credit cards. Which of the following didn't take the leap? (1 point)

- General Motors
- General Electric Co.
- General Cinema Corp.
- GTE Corp.

5. In the fiscal year ended Sept. 30, what was the total federal budget deficit, within \$10 billion? (1 point)

6. In what order did President Bush, President-elect Clinton and Ross Perot rank in a Wall Street Journal/NBC poll taken one week before Mr. Perot withdrew from the race in July? (1 point)

7. Match each campaign quotation with the candidate who said it. The candidates are Bill Clinton, George Bush, Ross Perot, Dan Quayle and Paul Tsongas. (5 points total)

- a) "If Barbara Bush were running this year, she'd be elected."
- b) "If you hate people, I don't want your vote."
- c) "I don't think the president should be judged solely on the deficit."
- d) "That's a good question. Let me try to evade you."
- e) "I wear their scorn as a badge of honor."

8. Name the four new female members of the U.S. Senate's so-called Anita Hill class. (4 points total)

9. The French newspaper Le Figaro accused this famous U.S. figure of "stifling individualism and transforming children into consumers." Who is he, and what was he doing in France? (1 point)

10. This U.S. rapper and Time Warner Inc. came in for blistering criticism for his album "Body Count" and the song "Cop Killer," which details how a victim of police abuse sets out to "dust some cops off." Name the recording artist. (1 point)

- a) Vanilla Ice
- b) Ice Cube
- c) Ice-T
- d) Milli Vanilli

11. Mattel Inc.'s Teen Talk Barbie, a doll randomly programmed to say four out of a possible 270 phrases, drew criticism from a university-women's group and eventually prompted an apology from Mattel. What did Barbie say that offended her critics? (1 point)



12. Who is Elizabeth Tamposi? (1 point)

13. For 124 years, doctors and parents accepted 98.6 degrees Fahrenheit as the average normal temperature of the human body. Then researchers discovered they were wrong. Which did they find the new average to be: higher or lower? (1 point) Bonus point: Specify the right temperature.



14. Gregory Kingsley is a 12-year-old boy who last year won a lawsuit in a Florida state circuit court that may set a precedent in family law if it withstands appeal. What did Gregory win in his lawsuit? (1 point)

15. In a twist on "family values," which one of the following Canadian families watched its real-estate empire of Olympia & York Developments Ltd. crumble under billions in debt? (1 point) Bonus point: Name the project that became O&Y's biggest albatross.

- a) The Belzbergs
- b) The Bronfmans
- c) The Reichmanns
- d) The Campeaus

16. True or False? President Bush attended the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro. (1 point)

17. European Community plans for a single currency and closer political ties among its members received a crucial setback in June when voters in which nation rejected the Maastricht treaty? (1 point)

18. What is the EC's Exchange Rate Mechanism, and why did Britain suspend its membership in it last September? (2 points total)

19. Identify Nafta. (1 point)

20. As anniversaries go, this international celebration was a bust. A city in Ohio spent \$95 million commemorating it with a flower show that flopped. Paramount Pictures timed the release of a big-budget movie to coincide with it, and the movie bombed at the box office. The U.S. Justice Department has been investigating the government commission set up to celebrate it. What is it? (1 point) Bonus point: Name the Ohio city.

Illustrations by Stuart Goldenberg

A Small Army Toils to Ensure Clinton Makes The Right Impression on His First Day at Work

By JILL ABRAMSON

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Democrats have been out of the inauguration business for 16 years, and they are desperate to make a success of this one.

Urgency is in the air at the Navy Yard here, where scores of New Democrats are enlisting for Bill Clinton's volunteer army of inaugural footsoldiers. Near the doorway, conveniently, there is a large box marked "Resumes"; the inauguration is, of course, a great place to get a foot in the new administration's door. Blue and white painted signs show the countdown to Inauguration Day.



Rahm Emanuel

"This is like setting up a Fortune 100 company in two weeks, running it for two months and then taking it apart," observes Richard Mintz, who runs the large media operation at the inaugural command post.

"If it's done properly, no one pays attention. If there's a glitch, everyone notices," adds Ron Walker, who helped run the festivities for President Nixon in 1969 and President Reagan in 1985. "If it's not run well, people will say you won't run the country well."

Populist Gesture Scrubbed

For Democrats seeking to prove they know how to manage and run a business, the potential for inaugural haywire is daunting. Already there have been a few glitches. Plans to open the doors of the White House to the public the day after the inauguration, an homage to Andrew Jackson, had to be scrubbed. It turns out that the White House was practically trashed after President Jackson's populist display, and the Secret Service nixed the idea because of concerns about crowd control. So tickets will now be required to gain admission to this and almost all other inaugural events.

What if there is a breakdown in the caravan of buses carrying the host of dignitaries — including the president-elect himself — from Monticello into Washington? What if the weather doesn't cooperate, as was the case in 1984 when sub-freezing weather forced the cancellation of the inaugural parade? The biggest headache

of all: how to keep President-elect Clinton, a notorious schmoozer and glad-hander, on schedule.

No wonder Rahm Emanuel, the general directing some 300 paid workers and even more volunteers, looks gaunt and tired. The 33-year-old Mr. Emanuel, who years ago turned down a scholarship to the Joffrey Ballet school, is working off tension by bending his waist and cracking his backbone. He has not only had to raise \$20 million in the few weeks since Election Day, but also to deal with the endless gripes, from people who feel snubbed to volunteers complaining that Mr. Emanuel's dress code doesn't allow for blue jeans. So much for generational change.

"This is like being CEO of . . . what?" Mr. Emanuel says as he pauses to draw the right analogy, "... of 3,500 bar mitzvahs."

A veteran of Chicago politics, Mr. Emanuel grew up in the city's mostly Jewish 49th Ward. Until the age of 18, he retained dual U.S.-Israeli citizenship. During the Persian Gulf War Mr. Emanuel volunteered on an Israeli army base near the Lebanese border helping to repair military vehicles. Then he moved to Little Rock and became Mr. Clinton's top money man.

"I thought I was hyper until I met Rahm," says Skip Rutherford, an Arkansas businessman who helped Mr. Emanuel raise money in the Clinton campaign. "Not since General Sherman marched on Atlanta had the South seen anything like Rahm Emanuel."

Interest-Free Loans

Mr. Emanuel launched a massive effort to make sure Mr. Clinton's campaign was the financial pacesetter during the primaries. He helped raise another \$20 million in large "soft money" contributions from wealthy individuals and corporations for the general election, then turned around and hit up many of these same contributors for another \$20 million in loans for the inauguration.

The money is lent, interest-free, to an inaugural guaranty fund. Mr. Emanuel got loan commitments ranging from \$5,000 to \$100,000, with the bulk coming in at the higher end of the scale. Among the lenders are labor unions and large corporations such as Coca-Cola Co., BankAmerica, First Boston, General Electric Co., Merrill Lynch & Co., Merck & Co., Revlon and Shell Oil Co., to name just a few. Wealthy Democratic contributors, such as movie and television executive Barry Diller and

California attorney William Lerach are also among the lenders.

Mr. Emanuel and Mr. Mintz defend the propriety of financing the inauguration through short-term loans (it has been done this way for several decades) and say lenders don't get special favors or access.

The loans will be repaid with proceeds of ticket sales for the 10 inaugural balls, sales of inaugural commemorative items and advertising revenue from the Presidential Gala concert that will be televised by CBS on Jan. 19. So far, the commemoratives — which include such items as a cookbook penned by the mother of Clinton campaign strategist James Carville — are selling briskly. If the inaugural committee breaks even, all the loans will be repaid. If it ends up in the black, as was the case with Ronald Reagan's festivities, extra money will be donated to various charities. If the inauguration winds up in debt, as the 1988 Bush committee found itself, some loans will have to be forgiven.

Additional money is going to something the Clinton team calls the Presidential Inaugural Foundation. These funds, also raised from an array of companies and individuals, are used to pay for the many public and free events during inauguration week, Jan. 17-21, and won't be repaid. The free events being underwritten by the foundation include two concert galas, two children's programs, a parade and an outdoor festival called America's Reunion on the Mall, which will feature an array of musical talent as well as rows of heated tents filled with crafts and foods.

Corporate Contributions

A number of corporations and business experts have contributed services and skill to the inauguration. Andrew Rogal, an early Clinton supporter who manages a convention-planning business in Massachusetts, is overseeing logistics, including the mammoth task of making sure the campaign's supporters and top Democrats receive the right invitations and tickets to the right events (More than 300,000 have been mailed, and tickets were safeguarded in a locked vault). Hyatt Hotels donated customer-service managers to help the committee train volunteers to handle the deluge of inquiries from those lucky enough to have received invitations. AT&T donated telephones.

"Our main goal is to make sure the governor can project the image he wants to project," Mr. Emanuel says. So far that has meant lowering the cost of tickets to many events to about \$125 (the cheapest

tickets four years ago were \$175). Overseeing the visual and musical parts of the inauguration is Mr. Clinton's close friend Harry Thomason, the television producer who helped stage the successful Democratic convention in New York. "Harry is watching over the whole image part," says Mr. Emanuel. That part will include a vast inaugural parade, with at least two Elvis Presley impersonators.

The Clinton team has brought several innovations, including an inaugural historian. The bus ride from Monticello was the historian's idea, a throwback to George Washington's coach ride from Mount Vernon to New York and Abraham Lincoln's historic train voyage into Washington.

Mr. Emanuel hopes to bring everything off under budget. He won't quote an exact figure, saying only that the Clinton team expects to spend less than the \$29 million the Bush inauguration committee spent four years ago. "I want [people] to say they ran the country the way they ran the inauguration," he says. "This is the first task of governing."

Clinton undecided on when to present economic plan

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

HILTON HEAD, S.C. — President-elect Bill Clinton left fantasy island behind yesterday to confront the reality of making good on economic campaign promises in the inaugural speech he begins writing this week.

"Whether to include economic

specifics in the inaugural speech is being discussed right now," a senior transition official said when asked if Mr. Clinton would fulfill his commitment to unveil a jobs program on Jan. 20 or hold off until a later speech devoted entirely to economics.

"It's a collective process. Different people are submitting drafts, but in the end the best speeches Bill Clinton gives are the speeches he

writes, and he'll write this one," the official said. He added that "fairly long blocks of time" this week are scheduled to work on the address.

That will make it a busy week indeed for Mr. Clinton, who flew back to Little Rock, Ark., at midafternoon yesterday, two hours late, on a corporate jet provided at a steep discount by Coastal Oil and Gas of Houston.

A company official said the ride amounted to "a donation."

The president-elect looked relaxed in blue jeans and a windbreaker embroidered to commemorate the week of personal-enrichment seminars and sports he spent here, portrayed as an escape from presidential transition pressures.

Mr. Clinton intends to set up a

presidential office in Little Rock and has slated a series of day trips in his home state over the next two weeks. He also plans to announce some key staff appointments left undone when he filled out his Cabinet before the holidays.

He has announced a trip to Austin, Texas, this week to meet Mexican

see CLINTON, page A6

CLINTON

From page A1

President Carlos Salinas de Gortari and plans to announce later a meeting with Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, also before Inauguration Day.

On his last lap of Arkansas, Mr. Clinton will say political farewells in person throughout the state he's governed for 12 years.

His longtime gubernatorial secretary, Linda Dixon, will staff the unusual home-state presidential office, which is intended to allow Arkansas associates freer access to the White House, one aide explained.

Many chief executives have used the opening words of their presidency to define a philosophy and inspire the nation to unity, instead of laying out a legislative agenda or specific actions they might take.

The aide wouldn't discuss details of disagreements over the tone the inaugural speech should take, or who is taking which side, but he emphasized that such philosophical discussions underlie almost all of Mr. Clinton's major decisions.

"There's text in progress right now, sections of an inaugural speech

have been written. We just don't know how much of it is for the one he's going to deliver on Jan. 20," the aide said.

"He writes all the big ones himself. Every major policy speech in the campaign was an ordeal. He'd still be making changes in the car on the way to the event," the official said.

As of now, he said, the tentative strategy is to delay economic specifics until after Inauguration Day, but to schedule the economic speech as soon as possible. He would not speculate on the forum that might be used for that talk on implementing the centerpiece of Mr. Clinton's campaign.

His budget for fiscal year 1994, beginning Oct. 1, is due to Congress by Feb. 1, but he is not realistically expected to meet that mark.

Foreign affairs may make some demands on that time period as key leaders compete to be the first to host the new American president.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin said yesterday in Moscow that he sent Mr. Clinton a private message Friday asking for a summit as soon as possible after Inauguration Day.

"There should be no pause in relations just because of the change in the U.S. administration," Mr. Yeltsin

told reporters.

Before departing Hilton Head airport, Mr. Clinton said no decision had been made on the proposed meeting but called Mr. Yeltsin's letter of invitation "warm and somewhat lengthy." Speaking in a voice still hoarse, he said he appreciated the comments of Mr. Yeltsin and President Bush, saying "they'll facilitate the transition."

He also said:

- He expects to get together "pretty soon" for what he called a very important meeting with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. Mr. Rabin has asked for the meeting before Middle East peace talks resume.

- He had no details of a possible meeting with French President Francois Mitterrand. Mr. Mitterrand, who is preparing a chemical weapons treaty-signing ceremony, reportedly is maneuvering to stage that event as soon as practical after Jan. 20 so that Mr. Clinton will attend.

- Friday's meeting with Mr. Salinas would be just a get-acquainted session: "No long detailed discussion of the North American Free Trade Agreement or anything like that," the aide said.

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With Yeltsin Overture, Clinton Backs Early Meeting

By MICHAEL KELLY

Special to The New York Times

HILTON HEAD, S.C., Jan. 3 — Responding to an invitation for an early meeting with President Boris N. Yeltsin, President-elect Bill Clinton said today that he looked forward to meeting with the Russian leader soon and indicated his support for the arms treaty signed today between the United States and Russia. But he said he had made no decision as to when and where such a meeting would take place.

Speaking to reporters at the Hilton Head airport just before returning to Little Rock, Ark., after a six-day family vacation, Mr. Clinton said he was "very pleased" to have received the invitation from Mr. Yeltsin but added: "I have not made a decision about when we're going to meet and where we're going to meet. I think that is going to depend in part on the timetable of the Congress and the work that I have to do here on the problems of America."

Mr. Clinton took pains several times during the brief news conference to indicate strong support for President Bush's policies on Russia and Somalia, the two principal stops on Mr. Bush's journey. Asked whether he planned to make any dramatic changes regarding United States policy on the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty signed today or on Somalia, Mr. Clinton said emphatically no.

"With regard to Russia and Somalia, the two things that are part of the President's trip, I don't think you can look forward to dramatic changes," he said. "I hope we'll see some progress. I hope we can conclude the mission in Somalia successfully. But I've said all

along that when the President decided to send our troops there and he said he hoped the main mission would be over by Jan. 20, we couldn't hold him to that and we're doing what we have to do there."

Yeltsin Seeks Neutral Site

Publicly issuing the invitation in Moscow, Mr. Yeltsin called for a meeting with Mr. Clinton in a neutral country as soon as possible and said that a lull in relations between the two countries would be "cause for concern."

Mr. Bush sought to assure the Russian leader, saying: "I've talked to

Saying yes to meeting Yeltsin but giving no specific date.

President-elect Clinton enough to know that he is most interested in keeping this U.S.-Russia relationship on the high plane at which it stands right now. And I've told President Yeltsin that I think he will enjoy working with Governor Clinton."

Mr. Yeltsin responded by saying, "I hope that he will take over the baton that was given to him with such grace by President Bush."

The Russian President said he had sent a letter to Mr. Clinton in which he proposed meeting after the inauguration to discuss world problems and

bilateral relations.

"There should be no lull in our relations with the new administration, because any lull in the bilateral relations between the superpowers would give cause for concern," Mr. Yeltsin said.

Bush Meets with Mitterrand

Later, in Paris, President Bush repeated his reassurances about Mr. Clinton at a news conference after a farewell meeting with President François Mitterrand. "I think Governor Clinton will be a good man to work with," he said. "I'm very much one who wants to see Governor Clinton succeed as President."

Speaking of the message from Mr. Yeltsin, Mr. Clinton said he had received a "a very warm and somewhat lengthy" letter from the Russian President a few days ago, "following up on the communication we had about Start II and about President Bush going to Russia to sign the treaty."

Mr. Clinton said Mr. Yeltsin had "expressed his thanks for my support of the process and for what they're doing. And he asked me to meet pretty soon, either in Russia or in the United States or in some third country."

While saying he had not decided when and where that meeting would take place, Mr. Clinton stressed his eagerness about it. "I do look forward to meeting with him early," he said.

Sees 'Big Stake' in Reforms

"And I do think he is genuinely committed to democracy and to a free and a more prosperous economy in Russia, and I do think the United States has a very big stake in the success of freedom and democracy there. I am very pleased at the progress that has led to

Clinton says he plans to keep U.S. policy on Somalia and Russia.

the Start II success, and I appreciate the comments both he and President Bush have made facilitating this transition, and I look forward to working with him."

Mr. Clinton, who spoke to reporters in a quick and casual news conference on the airport tarmac, said he was also looking forward to a meeting early on in his administration with Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel, who also recently extended an invitation.

Mr. Clinton also spoke of his scheduled trip to Austin, Tex., this week to meet with President Carlos Salinas de Gortari of Mexico. He said that the meeting would be largely for getting acquainted with each other and that he did not expect to get into substantive discussions on the pending North American Free Trade Agreement.

Quotation of the Day,
page 2, every day,
in the News Summary.
The New York Times.

Senate to Begin Informal Hearings on Clinton's Cabinet Nominees

By ADAM CLYMER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 3 — Although none of President-elect Bill Clinton's Cabinet choices can officially be nominated until he takes the inaugural oath on Jan. 20, Senate committees will start conducting informal confirmation hearings this week.

Democrats hope that most can be confirmed by the full Senate on the 20th itself or the next day. But Republicans, still irritated over the Democrats' defeat of John G. Tower, President Bush's choice for Secretary of Defense four years ago, have not committed themselves either on the prospects of hard fights against any particular selections or on whether they will accommodate the Democrats' hopes for fast action. Democrats still control the Senate, but the chamber's rules make

child's play of delay. Senator Trent Lott of Mississippi, secretary of the Senate Republican conference, is coordinating Republican research efforts on Mr. Clinton's choices. He and other Republican leaders expect to discuss their plans on Monday.

In 1981, when Republicans took over the White House and the Senate from the Democrats, one Cabinet officer, Caspar W. Weinberger, the Secretary of Defense, was confirmed on Jan. 20, three more on Jan. 21 and seven on Jan. 22. None faced significant opposition. Other, contested nominations, like that of Raymond J. Donovan to be Secretary of Labor, took longer.

Informal Hearings Once Again

When President Bush was inaugurated in 1989, Democrats controlled the Senate, and the first three Cabinet

Democrats hope to confirm the choices swiftly.

choices were not acted on until Jan. 25, when James A. Baker 3d, the Secretary of State, Elizabeth Hanford Dole, the Secretary of Labor, and Richard G. Darman, the director of the Office of Management and Budget, were all confirmed.

In both 1981 and 1989 there were informal confirmation hearings like those planned this year. On Wednesday, the Senate Commerce Committee will hold a hearing on Ronald H. Brown, the chairman of the Democratic National Committee who has been selected to be Secretary of Commerce.

On Thursday three or four hearings will be held. The Labor and Human Resources Committee will hear from Robert B. Reich, a Harvard lecturer who is nominated to be the Secretary of Labor. The Commerce Committee will hear Federico F. Pena, the former Mayor of Denver, who has been chosen as Secretary of Transportation. The Veterans Affairs Committee will hear Jesse Brown, executive director of the Disabled American Veterans and Mr. Clinton's selection to be Secretary of Veterans Affairs.

And the Armed Services Committee may hold a hearing that day on Representative Les Aspin of Wisconsin, Mr. Clinton's choice for Secretary of Defense.

More Hearings Next Week

Next week, several more hearings are planned. Warren M. Christopher, the nominee for Secretary of State, will go before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Jan. 13 and 14. Carol M. Browner, Florida's top environmental

official and the selection to be Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, will go before the Environment and Public Works Committee next Monday. On that same day, Representative Leon E. Panetta of California, Mr. Clinton's choice as budget director, is expected to go before Governmental Affairs Committee.

The Senate Finance Committee expects to hold three hearings that week. Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas, the committee's current chairman, is up for Secretary of the Treasury. The committee will also hear from Donna E. Shalala, the chancellor of the University of Wisconsin who had been chosen to be Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, and from Mickey Kantor, Mr. Clinton's campaign chairman who has been chosen to be United States Trade Representative.

Other hearings that week are expected before the Energy and Natural Resources Committee on Hazel R. O'Leary, a Minnesota utilities executive who has been chosen as Secretary of Energy and former Governor Bruce Babbitt of Arizona, the nominee for Secretary of the Interior. On Jan. 12, the Banking Committee will hear from Henry G. Cisneros, the former Mayor of San Antonio who has been nominated to be Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

The Agriculture Committee will hold a hearing that week on Representative Mike Espy of Mississippi, the selection for Secretary of Agriculture. The Labor Committee will hear from former Gov. Richard W. Riley of South Carolina, the nominee for Secretary of Education.

The last Cabinet selection to come before a Senate committee will be Zoe Baird, vice president of Aetna Life and Casualty, who has been selected for Attorney General. Her hearings before the Judiciary Committee are expected to begin on Jan. 19.

Gores Get the Ball Rolling

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 3 — It was just another busy Saturday night at Nick Rinaldi's Bowling Lanes in Alexandria, Va., except that the three people in the lane off to the right were the Vice President-elect and his family.

But few of the bowlers even recognized Al Gore, his wife, Tipper, and their son, Albert. The only clue that someone famous was in the alley was the half-dozen Secret Service agents, conspicuous for their earphones and their lack of bowling shoes.

And even fewer of the patrons paid much attention to the Gores' bowling prowess. (It was up to Marla Romash, the Gores'

spokeswoman, to give the Vice President-elect's score: 135 in the first game, 134 in the next.)

Debbie Anger, a bartender at Rinaldi's, seized her moment with the Vice President-elect while he was tying his shoes. With an "Excuse me, my girlfriend has an awful crush on you," she persuaded Mr. Gore to sign an old receipt she had in her pocket. After all, she said, "How often does the Vice President come into a bowling alley?"

James K. Kitchel, another bowler, added: "He's shorter and fatter in real life. No, you better change that to shorter and more robust."

Princeton Economist to Be Named To Clinton's Council, Aides Say

By LOUIS UCHITELLE

After coming under pressure to name a prominent mainstream economist to the Council of Economic Advisers, President-elect Bill Clinton has offered a seat on the council to Alan Blinder of Princeton University, and Mr. Blinder has accepted, aides to Mr. Clinton and others familiar with the appointment said over the weekend.

Mr. Blinder, whose appointment is likely to be announced this week, would serve under Laura D'Andrea Tyson, a Stanford University economist. Some economists have criticized Ms. Tyson's appointment, arguing that her specialty, industrial and trade issues, has not given her the broad skills needed by a chairman of the council.

Effects of Policies on Economy

Mr. Blinder's appointment would help to counter this criticism; he is highly regarded as a macroeconomist, a specialty that carries considerable status in his profession.

Macroeconomists employ mathematical formulas and computer models, among other techniques, in attempts to determine how the economy might respond to particular Government policies or other economic developments. Among the policies likely to be proposed by a Clinton Administration and evaluated by the council are

increased spending on public works, an income tax cut for the middle class or a higher gasoline tax. Macroeconomists also try to forecast turns in the economy — the likelihood of recoveries or recessions.

The chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers has generally overshadowed the two other members, working directly with the President while the others have stayed in the background, their names almost unknown to the public. But as a macroeconomist, Mr. Blinder is likely to play

Continued From Page A1

a prominent role on the council, since he is considered more suited than Ms. Tyson to performing a crucial task of the council: assessing the impact of proposed policies.

"I will be vastly reassured if Alan Blinder is named to the Council of Economic Advisers," said Paul R. Krugman, a Harvard University macroeconomist who had himself been a candidate for the chairmanship. "He would provide the necessary analytical skills that Laura Tyson lacks."

Ms. Tyson came to Mr. Clinton's attention during the campaign and has helped to draft amendments to

President Bush's free trade agreement with Mexico and Canada that Mr. Clinton might insist on after his inauguration. These would, in effect, require Mexico to enforce its labor and anti-pollution laws.

Worked With Clinton's Campaign

Mr. Blinder also helped with the campaign, and he spoke on macroeconomic issues at Mr. Clinton's recent economic get-together in Little Rock, Ark. Reached by telephone yesterday, the economist declined comment on the reports of his appointment. During the campaign, he came out in favor of increasing the deficit to finance public works spending, a position favored by many economists who supported Mr. Clinton.

Mr. Blinder, 47, has been an economics professor at Princeton, his

alma mater, since 1969. He received his Ph.D. at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and is the author or co-author of three books on economics. If Congress approves his appointment, this will be his first Government job.

No one has yet been publicly identified as a likely candidate for the third seat on the Council of Economic Advisers.

Until Ms. Tyson's surprise appointment last month as chairman, Mr. Blinder had been mentioned in press reports as a leading candidate for the job, along with Mr. Krugman and Lawrence H. Summers, a Harvard macroeconomist who took a leave as chief economist at the World Bank to work with Mr. Clinton's transition team.

Mr. Summers in particular was publicly endorsed for the job by prominent university economists. And his appointment seemed likely until a proposal of his on waste disposal came to the attention of the Clinton camp. It suggested that waste products might be shipped to third world countries, bringing him into disfavor with Vice President-elect Al Gore.

Academic Economists' Envoy

Mr. Krugman and many other macroeconomists, particularly those in academia, have come to consider the three-member Council of Economic Advisers as their "embassy" in Washington. Because they view the council as their chief means of influencing Administration policy, they urged Mr. Clinton to appoint a top macroeconomist who would properly practice their skills and represent their views.

When Mr. Clinton named Ms. Tyson instead, she was publicly criticized by other economists as not only lacking the necessary qualifications for the job but also as favoring managed trade and Government support for key American industries. Neither view is popular among most mainstream academic economists, who generally prefer a minimal Government role in the economy. This disagreement has helped to fuel the criticism of Ms. Tyson, several economists, who insisted that they not be named, said in interviews.

Ms. Tyson declined to be interviewed. An aide said she would not speak with journalists until after her confirmation hearing, which is expected this month.

Her appointment also raised the issue of rankings within the profession. Mr. Krugman and other economists argued that after 12 years of Republican Administrations, the chairmanship of the council should go to one of the Democrats among the ranks of the top macroeconomists.

"Despite what people say about economists always disagreeing with each other, there is agreement on rankings within the profession," Mr. Krugman said.

"There is a pecking order," he continued, citing Nobel laureates in economics like Paul Samuelson, Robert M. Solow and James Tobin as those at the pinnacle in the over-65 generation. All are Democrats. Mr. Blinder, Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Krugman, also Democrats, are ranked among the top 20 or so in the younger generation.

No day is complete
without
The New York Times.

Bush and Yeltsin Sign Treaty To Slash Nuclear Arsenals

Russian President Seeks Early Summit With Clinton

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

MOSCOW, Jan. 3—President Bush and Russian President Boris Yeltsin signed the broadest arms reduction pact in history in a glittering Kremlin ceremony here today, and Yeltsin said he has asked President-elect Clinton for an early summit meeting "to pass the baton" of U.S.-Russian relations.

The START II treaty, hailed by Yeltsin as one of Bush's proudest legacies, would cut by two-thirds the nuclear arsenals of the two countries. Its signing, Yeltsin said, "gives mankind hope for a nuclear-free world" and will stand as a tes-

tament to the end of the Cold War. The treaty is subject to ratification by the U.S. Senate, where little opposition is foreseen, and the Russian Supreme Soviet, where hostility toward Yeltsin's policies has been growing. [Story on Page A12.]

But while the ceremony, in gold-en-domed Vladimir Hall, captured the historic changes in U.S.-Soviet and U.S.-Russian relations since the collapse of communist rule here, it was also a poignant reminder of the passing of power in the United States from Bush to a new president and a new era.

At a news conference following the signing ceremony, Yeltsin said he had written Clinton two days ago

to suggest an early meeting in a neutral location and to say "there should be no lull" in U.S.-Russian relations when Clinton takes office Jan. 20 because any pause "would give us concern."

Clinton, asked later at Hilton Head, S.C., about Yeltsin's invitation, said "no decision has been made about that yet, [but] I do look forward to meeting with him early," Washington Post staff writer David Maraniss reported.

Bush, noting he was in no position to commit Clinton to the path he has followed with the Russians, said he had reassured Yeltsin that the Russian president would "enjoy

working" with Clinton. Bush said he told Yeltsin he had spoken with Clinton often enough about Russia to know that the president-elect is "interested in keeping on a high plane on which it now stands" the relationship between the two nations. He said Clinton has generally supported the results of the START negotiations.

A senior official told reporters that while the fundamental point of this last of 25 overseas trips by Bush was to cap his presidency with the signing of the START II treaty, the administration also hoped that the Moscow visit would keep Russia high on Clinton's agenda when he takes over in 17 days.

Speaking to reporters in Hilton Head, Clinton said he thinks Yeltsin "is genuinely committed to democ-

racy and to a free and more prosperous economy in Russia, and I do think the United States has a big stake in the success of freedom and democracy there."

But he added that a decision about a meeting "is going to depend in part on the timetable of the Congress and the work I have to do here on problems in America."

Bush went from here to France

for a meeting with President Francois Mitterrand in which international efforts to end the bloodshed in Bosnia were on the agenda, as they were here with Yeltsin.

Bush and Yeltsin sidestepped public discussion of their differences over U.N.-sponsored military intervention to stop the fighting in Bosnia and keep it from spreading into a wider Balkan war. The United States, Britain and France have expressed increasing willingness to use military force to enforce a "no-fly zone" over Bosnia, and peace talks that opened Saturday in Geneva have been called the last chance to avoid a U.N. vote to authorize such a use of force.

Bush said that he and Yeltsin, in their private meetings, discussed the Bosnia situation "in some detail," and he added that the Russian leader shares with the United States a goal of ending the fighting there. But he refused to say if he had pushed Yeltsin to move Russia away from its opposition to U.N.-sponsored military intervention if needed. A senior official said, however, that Yeltsin has told Bush Russia would not oppose a U.N. vote to authorize force to ensure that Serb planes do not fly bombing raids in the excluded zone.

The official also said Yeltsin had sent "private messages" to the Serbs that coincide with Bush's blunt warning last month of U.S. military intervention if the war spreads to Kosovo, a province of Serbia inhabited mainly by ethnic Albanians. The official said Yeltsin told the United States that Russia had warned Serbia that the West "is very, very serious" about its threats over Kosovo.

The brief news conference ended Bush's 24-hour visit here to sign the third major arms pact of his presidency. The signing took place in the same hall where he and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev signed the START I agreement in July 1991. Today, Bush and Yeltsin, sitting side by side, smiled as the historic documents were signed in a festive setting. Waiters handed out champagne, and dozens of glasses clinked as the Russians and Americans responsible for negotiating the agreement celebrated its signing.

Both leaders spoke of the world's children who will live in less of a shadow of nuclear war because of progress on reducing such arms. Yeltsin called the agreement a "treaty of hope" for the children of the 21st century, who he said may be able to enjoy a nuclear-free world. Bush said the pact promises a "future

free from fear" of nuclear war and vindicates the insistence by former president Ronald Reagan and himself that the nations go beyond "freezing the arms race in place" to true reductions.

The treaty provides for a two-thirds reduction in the nuclear weapons arsenals of the two countries and amounts to halving the number of warheads permitted by the START I agreement.

But beyond that, it will fundamentally change the global strategic situation, because by the year 2003 all land-based missiles with multiple warheads must be eliminated, a move experts say will contribute substantially to nuclear stability because these missiles have been looked on as the greatest threat to a preemptive strike.

The START I pact took nine years to negotiate and required a reduction of 25 to 35 percent in the number of long-range nuclear warheads on both sides.

Today's agreement goes significantly further, bringing down to 3,000 to 3,500 the total number of warheads on each side. When the reductions are complete in 10 years, the U.S. long-range nuclear arsenal would be back to the levels of the

1960s and the Russian arsenals to the levels of the 1970s.

The final negotiations, officials here said, allowed the Russians to retain some of their 154 silos that house the giant, land-based SS-18 missiles, which are to be scrapped, but the silos must be rendered incapable of holding those missiles.

Russia will be allowed to convert some of its multiple-warhead SS-19 missiles to single warheads, and the United States will be allowed to convert some of its strategic B-1 bombers to nonnuclear use and then back again one time. The Russians will be able to inspect the B-1 arsenal.

Somalis Protest U.N. Visit

Faction Turns Away Secretary General

By Keith B. Richburg
Washington Post Foreign Service

MOGADISHU, Somalia, Jan. 3—U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali was forced to cancel plans to visit the U.N. headquarters in Somalia today after the compound was surrounded by hundreds of angry, sign-waving Somalis who pelted the building with rocks and grapefruit and derided the secretary general on placards as "the father of famine and death."

The protesters, organized by one of the capital's two principal warlords, ripped down a U.N. flag at the besieged Mogadishu compound and hoisted a Somali flag in its place as several senior U.N. officials—including Undersecretary James Jonah—hunkered down inside.

Boutros-Ghali, who was making his first visit here since the U.N. humanitarian effort was launched, was whisked by helicopter from the tightly guarded international airport here to a U.N. food distribution center on the outskirts of the capital, to the American Embassy compound now serving as U.S. military headquarters and then back to the airport.

In his four hours on the ground, the secretary general was never able to set foot in Mogadishu beyond the airport and the embassy, both of which are now under the control of thousands of U.S. troops.

It marked an embarrassing reception for Boutros-Ghali, following a similar greeting Thursday in Sarajevo, the besieged capital of Bosnia, where residents called him "killer" and accused the United Nations of prolonging their ordeal.

In a hastily rearranged news conference—at the airport instead of

the U.N. compound—Boutros-Ghali called the protesters "marginal elements" and said: "They don't represent the feeling of the Somali people. They represent those who don't want peace in Somalia."

The protest was organized by the political faction led by warlord Mohamed Farah Aideed. On New Year's Eve, Aideed had organized a boisterous welcome for President Bush, underscoring how Somalia's most powerful faction considers the United States an impartial arbiter, while viewing the United Nations and Boutros-Ghali as having a "hidden agenda" to turn Somalia into a U.N. trusteeship.

The embarrassing reception for Boutros-Ghali also underscored the difficulty the United States can expect in keeping to its stated intention to begin withdrawing from Somalia, possibly this month, in favor of a strengthened U.N. force.

Many Somalis have insisted that

U.S. troops must remain here for several months, declaring that only Washington has the clout and public trust to mediate among the country's warring factions. Even U.S. officials here are now saying that once the American military begins turning over operations to the United Nations it may be necessary to keep a large American presence here as part of the U.N. force to lend it credibility.

At the news conference, Boutros-Ghali was asked how the United Nations could hope to take over from the Americans in providing security for Somalia when it could not even control the streets in front of its own compound. Boutros-Ghali replied that the U.N. troops at the scene, mostly Pakistanis, could have cleared the roughly 700 protesters away, but "we want to avoid any kind of confrontation with the population."

Reporters on the streets with the protesters, and some trapped inside the compound with the U.N. officials and staff, said demonstrators had blocked all the narrow streets leading to the compound's main gate, and cars trying to reach it were forced to turn around.

At one point, a U.N. security guard in the compound fired three shots into the air trying to disperse the crowd, but he was restrained by a U.S. Marine, according to a reporter inside. Outside, the shots seemed

only to incite some members of the crowd, who thought they were being fired on. Marines later helped some U.N. officials and reporters escape through a hidden back gate.

Somali bitterness toward the United Nations runs deep, derived from what is perceived as its neglect of this country following the fall of the Siad Barre regime in January 1991. When the United Nations sent an envoy here, Algerian diplomat Mohammed Sahnoun, he publicly criticized the world body's performance.

Boutros-Ghali reprimanded and later replaced Sahnoun, who, in his six months in the post, had become widely appreciated here. His replacement, Iraqi diplomat Ismat Kittani, has run into trouble in his first weeks. His meeting with Aideed has been called a "disaster" by some of Aideed's advisers, who say Kittani spent the first few minutes criticizing Aideed for ignoring proper protocol in arranging the venue.

Boutros-Ghali is a former minister of state for foreign affairs in the Egyptian government, and Egypt is held in disdain here for having supported Siad Barre's dictatorship until

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Cairo cut military aid in the late 1980s.

Egypt was co-host of a 1991 conference in Djibouti that named Aideed's longtime rival, Ali Mahdi Mohamed, as Somalia's interim president. Thus, Egypt—and by extension, Boutros-Ghali—is seen by many of Aideed's supporters as being biased and incapable of playing a mediating role.

Shortly after Bush made his surprise offer to send U.S. combat troops to this war- and famine-wracked nation, Boutros-Ghali was quoted as telling an interviewer that a U.N. trusteeship might have to be established here. Aideed's people describe that as a recolonization.

Aideed's ready acceptance of the American troop offer, after he had previously balked at allowing more U.N. peace keepers into the country, was seen as the warlord's way of trying to undercut the United Nations and bring America in as a political mediator.

Within days of the first U.S. Marines' arrival in Mogadishu on Dec. 9, Aideed and Ali Mahdi made their first public peace after 18 months of

open warfare, in talks brokered by U.S. envoy Robert Oakley. That breakthrough was described as another setback for the United Nations, which had failed to bring the two warlords together.

The secretary general met with Gen. Robert Johnston, commander of the U.S. intervention forces here, and said the United Nations and the United States appeared to be in agreement on disarming Somalia's factions and on a timetable for U.S. troops to withdraw in favor of a U.N.-led force.

The secretary general also had words of condolence for a U.N. Children's Fund worker who was assassinated late Saturday in the southern port city of Kismaayo. Sean Devereux, 28, of Surrey, England, was shot twice in the back and the back of the head by an unknown assailant.

Devereux was among relief workers who singled out Kismaayo's local warlord, Col. Omar Jess, as responsible for the massacre of scores of Somali intellectuals and elders just before U.S. troops arrived there. The Children's Fund has said it will pull its foreign staff out of Kismaayo.

Starving Somalis Face Ultimate Survival Test

As Malnutrition Leaches Cells' Needs, the Human Body Rations Remaining Glucose

By David Brown
Washington Post Staff Writer

BAIDOA, Somalia—Nuriyo Isaaq Aadan's numbers may not look like a success story, but in Third World medicine nobody pays much attention to the numbers.

When she arrived here Nov. 2 at a "therapeutic feeding center" run by the Irish relief organization Concern, the year-old Somali girl weighed 12 pounds. She had a fever, pneumonia and bloody diarrhea. Her 20-year-old mother, Barrey Aliyow, who was still breast-feeding her, had pneumonia and malaria.

On Dec. 12, when she was weighed again, Nuriyo had gained about a pound.

Nuriyo has not been weighed in January,

but in many respects it will hardly matter what the scale reads this time.

Now, the girl sits on her mother's lap, taking the breast when she wants to, turning to face visitors and occasionally smiling. The light in this stucco-wall room is dim, but her features are visibly that of a child, without the anxious, aged look of the near-dead. Her skin is gaining back the color and texture of health. Her calves are beginning to regain the delicate curve of functioning muscle.

Every part of Nuriyo's body—virtually every cell—is on an immensely complex journey back from starvation, of which weight gain is but a single measure of recovery. On straw mats in eight dirty, teeming rooms around Nuriyo, dozens of children are following the same road.

Somalia's famine has left at least 300,000 dead and threatens millions more. In November at this center for the severely malnourished—one of three Concern runs here, in addition to four less-intensive feeding stations—there were 684 children registered. Of that number, 198 were new admissions, and during that month, 59 died. In December things improved: There were 120 new admissions and 35 deaths.

Starvation is the ultimate test of human survival. More astonishing even than the defenses called up by trauma or infection, the body's adaptation to the absence of enough food is a miracle of biological decision-making.

The withdrawal of nourishment affects every bodily organ. Linked in a delicate web of common poverty, each organ must survive if all are to do so. At the same time, there is a strict pecking order determining which organs are nourished first and best, and which are the first to suffer from food deprivation.

All living things need energy and raw materials to survive and procreate. For human beings, the two most important sources of energy are glucose—a sugar—and fat. The raw material, in turn, is protein—composed of chains of amino acids—which makes muscle, blood, internal organs and the scaffolding for bone. Protein also forms the myriad enzymes that act as catalysts to make the body work. Needed in smaller, but no less essential, quantities are the vitamins, minerals and miscellaneous compounds the body must acquire in premade form because it cannot form them on its own.

"Protein-energy malnutrition," as slow starvation is called, classically has been divided into two types.

One is marked by a relative lack of protein and abundance of energy. It is called kwashiorkor, a word used by the Ga tribe of what is now Ghana that means "the sickness the older child gets when the next baby is born." The birth of a child means the older sibling can no longer take breast milk, the primary source of protein. If grains and starches are substituted, and no new source of protein is found, the child may have enough glucose to burn calories but will lack the protein necessary for growth and normal organ function.

Children with kwashiorkor typically are listless. They often have puffy faces and swollen limbs, signs that their tissue has developed edema, or fluid outside of cells. As the rapidly dividing cells of the digestive tract are unable to rebuild themselves for want of protein, bacteria multiply in the normally bacteria-free small intestine, forming gas that distends bellies in the paunch often seen on malnourished children.

The more common form of protein-energy malnutrition is marasmus, in which both protein and calories are wanting. In its early stages, children are anxious and fussy. Eventually the body wastes to skin and bones.

The line between kwashiorkor and marasmus is arbitrary at best, and all starving people have features of both. However, the starvation one sees in Somalia generally lies closer to the marasmus end of the spectrum.

The appalling thinness of the victims of Somalia's famine has occurred because, in time of want, muscle is the great storehouse of human energy.

Muscle is built of protein, and, like all protein, it can be broken down into its constituent amino acids. Similarly, the body can reformulate amino acids derived from muscle into proteins that serve more "essential" purposes.

The decision of which physiological functions are "essential," and which are not, has two clear extremes of priority. The storage of fat is the most expendable task. The maintenance of the brain—an organ that depends far more than any other on a constant supply of glucose—is the most important.

In between lie the rest of the body's functions.

Among the first functions set aside when a body becomes malnourished is the capacity to reproduce. Menstruation stops, puberty is delayed, and the hormones that stimulate sexual activity and capacity diminish in the bloodstream.

The concentration of a class of hormones called somatomedins, which stimulate the synthesis of muscle and cartilage, likewise falls off, stopping skeletal growth. The body produces less thyroid hormone, which functions as the main accelerator for the body's functions. Resting temperature and heart rate fall, further conserving energy.

As a starving person does less work, the body needs less oxygen. Anemia—a reduction of hemoglobin, the bloodstream compound that carries oxygen to the blood—develops as a way of sparing the expense of synthesizing unnecessary hemoglobin and other blood components.

In addition, most of the visceral organs shrink to some extent. This includes the heart, which has less of a body to support and whose "output" of blood per unit of time consequently falls.

In many ways, the most pernicious damage happens to the immune system.

A decline in immunity initiates a spiral in which the body is constantly asked to fight a war when it can barely survive at peace. Particularly impaired is "cell-mediated immunity," which is responsible for defense against viruses and the killing of bacteria. Diseases such as measles that are rarely fatal in the healthy have killed millions of malnourished children worldwide. The defensive chemical usually released in response to bloodstream bacterial infection weakens, making the starving easy victims. In those who do not die of acute illnesses such as pneumonia, chronic infection—particularly intestinal parasites—inevitably arises, worsening the debilitation.

Eventually, the body's ability to maintain its inner structure breaks down. Because there is insufficient energy or protein, acid accumulates, minerals shift, water concentrates in places it shouldn't, and the intricate system of biological stability col-

Aadan arrive at Concern's therapeutic feeding center, they get one cup of oral rehydration solution—a simple mixture of water, salt and sugar—every two hours for a day. Then—or sooner, if they can tolerate it—they get half-strength "recovery milk"—a protein, carbohydrate and vitamin powder that is

mixed in water—for eight days. They then move on to full-strength recovery milk supplemented with fortified biscuits.

The children are fed eight times a day. Patience and diligence, not technology and brilliance, save their lives.

When Nuriyo came here, she would not eat or drink. She was fed by a nose tube, which her mother often took out after feedings despite the nurse's plea to leave it in. After five days, she was able to drink on her own. She was given Vitamin A, treated for her pneumonia with antibiotics, and received three days of antimalarial drugs and a course of medicine to kill intestinal parasites.

Then one day, she rounded the crucial corner beyond which the body allows itself to want more without the expectation that it will be disappointed.

"Now she wants to eat," said Margaret Reilly, the 32-year-old Irish nurse who runs the center. "There's no fighting anymore."

The most pernicious damage happens to the immune system.

lapses. The actual "cause" of death is rarely known, and hardly matters.

If the road to death by starvation is full of hazard, the road back to relative health is not without its dangers as well.

Severely malnourished people rarely have any appetite, and their capacity for eating is actually quite small. Food often stimulates vomiting and diarrhea, worsening the

dehydration that usually accompanies their wasting. A sudden intravenous load of protein can cause large volumes of fluid to shift into the bloodstream, precipitating congestive heart failure.

As a rule, "resuscitation" of the severely malnourished relies on the body's ability to do the right thing, however slowly. It is intentionally low-tech medicine. Sustenance is given by mouth whenever possible. If a person cannot or will not drink, he is fed with a rubber tube fed through the nose into the stomach. Only as a last resort are nutrition and fluid given intravenously.

When severely malnourished children such as Nuriyo Isaaq

NATIONLINE

FROM USA TODAY'S NATIONAL NEWS NETWORK

New governor gets his 'day' — 16 of them

Although no one in Delaware voted for Dale Wolf to become governor, he was sworn in to that office Sunday. "What a day, what a day," said Wolf — who will be governor for all of 16½ days. The new governor had been lieutenant governor since 1989 and fills the top job left vacant by Michael Castle, who was elected to Congress and will be sworn in Tuesday. Castle's elected successor, Thomas Carper, will be sworn in at noon on Jan. 19.

FLIGHT 007 REVELATION: The last important defector of the Cold War, former Soviet air force captain Alexander Zuyev, gave a new reason for the 1983 downing of Korean Airlines Flight 007. Appearing on CBS's *60 Minutes*, Zuyev said Soviet pilots shot down the plane to cover up to Moscow the fact that key warning radar on the Kamcharka Peninsula had not been repaired. Without the radar glitches, Soviets could have intercepted the civilian Korean plane two hours earlier and forced it to land. Instead, Soviet missiles downed the plane, killing 269 aboard. Zuyev's information about tactics helped U.S. pilots in the gulf war because the Soviets trained Iraqi pilots.



By Bill Ingram, Birmingham Post via AP

SUNDAY CHAT: Indicted Alabama Gov. Guy Hunt talks with Norma Hatsfield during lunch at the Vestavia Primitive Baptist Church, where he delivered a sermon Sunday.

GOVERNOR'S SERMON: Alabama Gov. Guy Hunt, charged last week with stealing \$200,000 from his 1987 inaugural fund, delivered a 50-minute sermon at the Vestavia Primitive Baptist Church in Vestavia Hills, Ala. Hunt, a preacher before becoming governor, didn't refer directly to his personal problems. "Our souls are made to soar above the cares of this world," he said.

VETERINARIAN JAILED: New Jersey veterinarian Stanley Zukowski injected his five children with animal anesthetic, police said. Zukowski, of Mercerville, was arrested and charged with attempted murder as he tried to board a plane at the Baton Rouge airport. The children, ages 5 to 11, were in critical to guarded condition at a local hospital, police spokesman Kevin Cavell said. Cavell said Zukowski was angry that his former wife won custody of the children.

PORN TRIAL: The former commander of Goodfellow Air Force Base is to go on trial Tuesday in San Angelo, Texas, over transmissions from his home computer inquiring into "porn palaces" and child pornography. Col. James Maxwell Jr. is believed to be one of the first people to face charges under an updated federal law against child pornography that specifically prohibits transmission by computer as well as mail. Military authorities have charged him with two counts of conduct "unbecoming an officer and gentleman."

BRUTAL ATTACK: Christopher Wilson, 31, was in critical but stable condition at a Tampa hospital after being kidnapped, robbed, doused with gasoline and set afire New Year's Day. Police say Wilson, who is black, said three white men attacked him. His money was taken, and robbery is considered the motive. Wilson's girlfriend says he told her the men used a racial slur several times.



NASA via AP
TOUTATIS: Two-chunk asteroid flew close to Earth

SPACE PHOTOS:

NASA scientists got their best look yet at the kind of object that may have wiped out the dinosaurs and someday could threaten humanity when they took radar pictures of the asteroid Toutatis, which flew close to Earth last month. The new photographs are 100 times more detailed than the best previous images of Earth-approaching asteroids, astronomer Steven Ostro said.

ALSO ...

► **ROBOT MISSION:** NASA has scrubbed an attempt to send a robot into an Antarctic volcano but said Sunday the mission opens the way for similar exploration of the moon and Mars. A fiber optic cord to the robot was severed.

► **MOVIE BOMB:** Officials in Dallas are looking for the person who put a pipe bomb, found Saturday under a seat in a movie theater where *Malcolm X* was to be shown.

► **SMITH ACQUITTAL:** Millionaire yachtsman E. Newbold Smith and three others were acquitted by an Alexandria, Va., jury Thursday of conspiring to kidnap Lewis du Pont Smith, Smith's son, because of his link with the organization of political maverick Lyndon LaRouche.

Nutritionist Jean Mayer, 72, dies

Tufts University Chancellor Jean Mayer, a renowned nutritionist who served as an adviser to three U.S. presidents and set up the nation's first school of nutrition, died Friday in Sarasota, Fla. He was 72. Also:

► Five-term Congressman Ross Bass died Friday at his home in north Miami. He was 75. The Tennessee Democrat also served two years in the Senate.

► New York City Public Library president Timothy Healy, a Jesuit scholar and former president of Georgetown University, died Wednesday in Newark, N.J. He was 69.

► Lionel Linder, editor of *The Commercial Appeal* in Memphis, was killed New Year's Eve in a car crash police say was caused by a drunken driver. He was 60.



AP
MAYER: Advised three presidents

Written by Sean McNamara. With: Steve Marshall

TRANSITION

USA TODAY
JANUARY 4, 1993

AN UPDATE ON THE INCOMING ADMINISTRATION



By Lou Krasky, AP

BACK TO WORK: President-elect Clinton leaves Renaissance Weekend in Hilton Head Island, S.C. With him are retreat organizer Phil Lader and his wife, Linda.

Clinton enters final pre-inaugural stretch

By Bill Nichols
USA TODAY

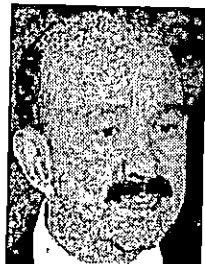
LITTLE ROCK — After six days of government policy heaven and South Carolina beachfront sun, President-elect Clinton today begins a transition stretch run in which he'll name his White House staff, meet the president of Mexico and fine-tune his legislative agenda.

Clinton came home late Sunday afternoon from his annual New Year's trip to Renaissance Weekend, an informal series of seminars, lectures and panel discussions attended by about 1,500 people on Hilton Head Island.

Away from the policy discussions, Clinton also jogged along the beach, golfed, played touch football with daughter Chelsea, took bicycle rides with his wife, Hillary, and enjoyed the use of a loaned \$2 million beach house.

But like all holiday vacationers, Clinton now faces some tough and familiar realities. Clinton, armed with detailed options and briefing papers from most of his transition policy teams, must begin giving definite focus to his administration's crucial early days, particularly in the economic area.

One tangled and difficult issue, the North American Free Trade Agreement, on which Clinton was accused of waffling during the presidential campaign, will be the prime subject of his meeting Friday in Austin, Texas, with Carlos



By Elise Amendola, AP
SALINAS: Supports trade agreement

Salinas de Gortari, the president of Mexico.

Salinas is an enthusiastic supporter of the trade agreement, which would eliminate most tariffs and restrictions between the United States, Canada and Mexico. Clinton backs the pact, which must be ratified by Congress, but only in conjunction with legislation that would somehow require environmental controls and fair labor practices in Mexico.

Clinton will also round out his White House staff, having so far named White House economic and national security advisers. *The New York Times* reports today that Princeton economist Alan Blinder has been offered a seat on the Council of Economic Advisers.

Clinton's already named Thomas "Mack" McLarty, an old friend, as chief of staff. Campaign and transition communications director George Stephanopoulos likely will retain that job in the White House. Likewise for campaign and transition press secretary Dee Dee Myers. Campaign director Bruce Lindsey, perhaps Clinton's most trusted adviser and a constant presence during the most sensitive transition staffing discussions, will be a White House counselor without portfolio.

Tonight, Clinton attends the Little Rock premiere of a Disney Channel movie, *The Ernie Green Story*. Green, a Clinton campaign aide and former assistant Labor secretary, was one of the black students who integrated Little Rock Central High School in 1957.

CONFIRMATION HEARINGS: President-elect Clinton's choices for his Cabinet will face confirmation hearings almost as soon as Congress convenes this week.

The Cabinet appointees can't be confirmed until after Clinton is inaugurated Jan. 20. But Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, D-Maine, is moving to expedite the process in hopes that the Senate will be ready to vote soon after the new administration takes office.

"I don't know if there will be any controversy over any of the nominees," Mitchell said last week. But Republicans, still smarting over Senate Democrats' rejection in 1989 of the late John Tower, President Bush's initial choice for Defense secretary, are scrutinizing the nominees' records.

The first hearing begins Wednesday, for Commerce Secretary-designate Ron Brown. Hearings begin Thursday for House Armed Services Committee Chairman Les Aspin, Clinton's choice for Defense; former Denver mayor Federico Pena for Transportation; and Harvard professor Robert Reich for Labor.

Republicans are expected to question Brown, outgoing Democratic Party chairman, about his business dealings and lobbying — including foreign clients — as partner in a Washington law firm.

Among the clients Brown represented was the government of Haiti when it was headed by dictator Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier. Brown has repeatedly said he didn't work for the Duvaliers, but the Republic of Haiti. Brown's firm was paid \$12,500 a month by Haiti's government until 1986, when the Duvaliers were forced to flee the country.

POOL SHOTS: Clinton continues to chafe over the scrutiny he gets from the small group of reporters — the traveling pool — that follows him most closely. On Hilton Head Island, S.C., Clinton bristled during his first jog when a boom microphone was held overhead while he talked with Tom Schneider, a Maryland businessman and longtime friend.

FAMILY AFFAIR: Congressional kids, not their moms and dads, are supposed to be the focus tonight of a party to welcome the new Congress. It could be quite an event if everyone shows up. The House Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families calculated that the 435 members of the new House have 1,019 children. The two biggest congressional families both are new to Capitol Hill: Rep.-elect Marjorie Margolies Mezvinsky, D-Pa., is the mother of 11 children (five are adopted, four are stepchildren) while Rep.-elect Roscoe Bartlett, R-Md., is the father of 10. The party is part of an effort to create a congressional schedule that allows members more time with their families.

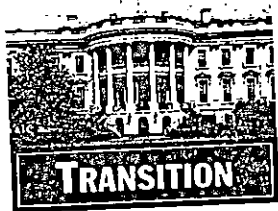


USA TODAY
BROWN: Will face tough questions

Jockeying for Sub-Cabinet Posts Intensifies

Now that President-elect Clinton has chosen his Cabinet, jockeying for the "real" jobs—at the assistant secretary and deputy levels—is reaching new heights, or lows, depending on one's point of view.

A Senate aide, who is not among the job-seekers, recently observed: "It's cannibalism out there," as



thousands of long-aging Democrats vie for the senior policy positions throughout the government.

Meanwhile, the choice for the coveted job of solicitor general—the government's advocate at the Supreme Court—is likely

to be made fairly soon, transition sources say, given the new administration's interest in putting its stamp quickly on cases already before the high court.

The list of candidates seems to have expanded of late, Washington sources say, with the inclusion of veteran New York litigator and First Amendment expert Floyd Abrams and another prominent New York lawyer, Conrad K. Harper, who recently ran the New York City bar association. American Bar Association president Talbot D'Alemberte of Florida also is a contender. Harvard Law School Prof. Laurence H. Tribe, Duke Law School Prof. Walter Dellinger, Washington attorney Joel Klein and D.C. federal appeals Judge Ruth Bader Ginsburg also are being eyed for the job.

Then there are all those White House jobs, hundreds of them, with a dozen or so generally thought to be very plum. One lawyer working on the transition and believed to have an inside track on the White House counsel's job is Washington attorney James Hamilton, a legal counsel to the transition who has been in charge of vetting of potential nominees.

But another source, asked about Hamilton, said, "One thing I can tell you is that the White House counsel is going to wear a dress to work every day."

The senior White House jobs—including chief of staff and national security adviser—have gone to



ZOE E. BAIRD

white men, and most likely communications director and congressional liaison will too. That will increase pressure on Clinton to search for minorities and women in many of the remaining key jobs to make his White House, like his Cabinet, look "more like America," the phrase often employed by Clinton to describe the makeup of his administration.

Washington attorney Jamie S. Gorelick, on Hilton Head Island, S.C., last

week with the Clintons and a close friend of attorney general-designate Zoe E. Baird, is being mentioned as a candidate for a number of senior jobs, including White House counsel, general counsel at the Depart-

ment of Defense, or a deputy or associate attorney general.

Just Another Day at the Beach

■ Does this guy ever take a break?

At the Renaissance Weekend on Hilton Head Island, Clinton shook hands with the thousand or so invitees going into the Hyatt Hotel ballroom for dinner on Wednesday evening.

After dinner, he attended a reception for the oldest and newest members of the 12-year-old gathering at a little bar called Hemingway's, in an open area off the corridor from the ballroom.

The president-elect was spotted there holding forth for several hours on serious policy issues, shaking every hand and talking with small groups of people. A few hundred people were there for the opening, but the numbers dwindled to about 15 or 20 by the end. "Everybody else got tired and went to bed," one participant said. Clinton was there well past 1 a.m.

But by 7 a.m. Thursday, Clinton was jogging on the beach.

Wirth May Be Offered Post at State

■ Outgoing Sen. Timothy E. Wirth (D-Colo.), having lost what once appeared a sure bet to be secretary of energy, may not be out of the Clinton administration picture. There is talk in Washington that Wirth may be offered another job, perhaps at the State Department as assistant secretary for oceans and international environmental and scientific affairs—not a traditionally high-profile job but something that, in the Clinton administration, could be an important post. But such a job may not be inducement enough to keep Wirth from going to the private sector.

Looking Out for Chicago's Daley

■ Transition sources say Clinton also will be looking hard to find a senior job for a Democratic heavy hitter, Chicago bank president William Daley, who was rejected for the job of secretary of transportation. There are still a substantial number of important banking-related and other jobs to be passed out. For someone who patterns himself after John F. Kennedy, stiffing a Chicagoan named Daley—William is the brother of Mayor Richard M. Daley and son of the late Kennedy stalwart Mayor Richard J. Daley—does not bode well for 1996.

Transiting Out

■ Meanwhile, former White House aide David Carney, who left there to be the political field director of President Bush's reelection campaign, will become chief political operative of the National Republican Senatorial Committee headed by Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.).

David Bates, who traveled the byways of Iowa and New Hampshire with Bush in 1979 on Bush's first run for the presidency and again in 1988 and 1992, is returning to his home state of Texas. Bates, who was an assistant commerce secretary and Cabinet secretary at the White House, is moving to San Antonio, where he will be vice president and general counsel to a biomedical company.

—Al Kamen and Ann Devroy

Easy Sailing Seen for Most Cabinet Picks

GOP Likely to Target Domestic Policy Posts

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

When it comes to confirming President-elect Clinton's Cabinet appointees, the Senate Republicans' bark may be worse than their bite.

Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) set off nervous vibes in Little Rock, Ark., a couple of weeks ago when he disclosed that he had launched a coordinated effort to collect information on Clinton nominees. The operation Dole asked Sen. Trent Lott (R-Miss.) to run was immediately named a "hit squad" and there was talk that the Republicans would be as tough on Clinton's choices as the Democrats were four years ago when they refused to confirm John G. Tower, President Bush's first choice for secretary of defense.

But with confirmation hearings starting this week—Clinton wants his Cabinet sworn in on Inauguration Day—interviews with Dole, Lott and other key Republican senators suggest that the grilling will be selective and, in most cases, non-threatening.

"We don't have a hit team," Dole said in a pre-Christmas interview. "We're not in the business to try to block everybody, and we couldn't if we wanted to. Obviously, most of the nominees will sail right through."

"But we are going to make a record and ask certain questions of every nominee. . . . It will just be the normal process, and if something pops up, we'll pursue it. But you start out with the general view that the president is entitled to have his people on board, unless there is some glaring reason not to."

Lott, in a telephone interview last week, took a similar tone. While he

has been receiving "lots of 'Did you know?' calls from private individuals, politicians and members of the press," the Mississippi senator said, "I don't think there's anything monumental" turning up. "I'm not prepared to say any of them have any real problems. I think most all of them will go through fairly easily."

Early indications are that there will be smooth sailing for the economic team—led by Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (Tex.), the choice for Treasury secretary, and Rep. Leon E. Panetta (Calif.), picked to direct the Office of Management and Budget—and the national security team, led by transition director Warren M. Christopher for secretary of state and Rep. Les Aspin (Wis.) for defense secretary.

The more likely targets are in the domestic departments, especially Ronald H. Brown at Commerce, Donna E. Shalala at Health and Human Services, Robert B. Reich at Labor and Jesse Brown at Veterans Affairs.

Senate Minority Whip Alan K. Simpson (R-Wyo.) said that when

he was asked at a Cody Kiwanis Club meeting about the Clinton appointees, "I told them that Bentsen is an ace, Panetta is a double-ace, Les Aspin will keep us steady on course, and Christopher, to me, was the most impressive man in the Carter administration."

Sen. Pete V. Domenici (N.M.), ranking Republican on the Budget Committee, said: "I don't think there will be any real knockdown and drag-out fights. . . . Essentially, they'll go through pretty smoothly."

Sen. Dan Coats (R-Ind.), a member of the Armed Services and Labor and Human Resources committees, said: "Republicans are pretty pleased about the foreign policy and national security appointments. The social and domestic policy areas may be where conflict arises."

In particular, Coats pointed to Shalala, now chancellor of the University of Wisconsin at Madison, as "the appointee who may raise as much interest and controversy as any."

"I expect she'll be confirmed," he said, "but there will be questions raised" about her policies at the university and her "apparent lack of experience with welfare and health policy."

"A lot of parents—Clinton voters as well as people from the religious right—are concerned about 'political correctness' standards changing the curricula their youngsters are taught or the state creating a campus environment where anything goes," he said.

Coats also said "concerns have been raised" among conservatives by the outspoken abortion-rights views of Joycelyn Elders, the head of the Arkansas public health department and Clinton's choice to be surgeon general. That post will not be vacated by incumbent Antonia C. Novello until June, so the hearings may be delayed.

Lott mentioned Shalala and Reich, the Harvard professor tabbed to head the Labor Department, as likely targets for questioning. "Reich has been a prolific writer" on economic and social policy, he said, "and probably has said some things that he wishes he hadn't."

Dole said that Ronald Brown, the Washington lawyer-lobbyist and chairman of the Democratic National Committee for the past four years, has a "background that sort of jumps out at you. With all his activities, you know there will be questions."

Lott also mentioned Brown as someone "who needs to be asked how he'll handle all his business and professional relationships," and complained that the hearing on the Commerce appointee has been set for Wednesday, one day after Congress convenes. "That's pushing it," Lott said. "I hope they're not trying to ram these things through."

Simpson, a member of the Veterans Affairs Committee who has

often clashed with the veterans lobby, said he called Jesse Brown, a top official of the Disabled American Veterans (DAV) organization, and warned him, half-humorously, that "in 18 months, the professional fund-raising veterans will have you on the griddle."

But Simpson also said he intends to question Brown closely at confirmation hearings for the VA post about the "bureaucracy and staff expenses" of the DAV, adding, "They've got a pension system and trust fund for themselves that you wouldn't believe."

Dole and others expressed doubts, however, that the hearings would venture into the personal lives of the nominees, as happened with Tower, the former Texas senator who was subjected to lengthy questioning about his alleged alcohol abuse and treatment of women.

"People who were very close to Tower haven't forgotten," Dole said. "But I don't think you apply 'a Tower test' or any other test to every nominee. That would be a rather long, arduous process."

Simpson said: "Some on our side will say, 'They did it to us, so we'll ask this guy what he did when he was 24.' There will be some of that. There will be some groups keeping score that will want us to do that. But we can't be using anonymous charges from FBI files the way they did against John [Tower]. I hope we'll have no more of that."

And Coats offered a reason—not very flattering to Clinton—why his appointees may not face the same kind of questioning that Tower did.

"A lot has changed in attitudes toward character questions of people who hold office in the last four years," Coats said, "and no one has broken the barrier more than Bill Clinton did." Referring to Clinton's success in surviving questions about his marital fidelity, Coats said: "This is a different day. If these rules didn't apply to Clinton, why should they apply to others?"

It Would Reduce Atom Arsenals About 75%

By SERGE SCHMEMANN
Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Jan. 3 — With a flourish of oratory and a dash of wistfulness, Presidents Bush and Boris N. Yeltsin signed a treaty today calling for the most significant rollback yet in the formidable nuclear arsenal of the cold war.

The signing ceremony in the richly embellished St. Vladimir Hall of the Grand Kremlin Palace was the centerpiece of a two-day "working visit" that also marked Mr. Bush's last curtain call in the East-West drama that defined so much of his presidency.

The new Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, known as Start II, called on the two nuclear giants to eliminate almost three-quarters of their 20,000-odd nuclear warheads by 2003, scrapping some of their most threatening weapons. President Yeltsin called the treaty "the core of the system of global security guarantees." [Excerpts from the press conference, page A8.]

A Major Threat Removed

The process includes the total elimination of the most formidable weapon yet concocted, the multi-warhead land-based missile. These missiles, which can each launch many separately aimed nuclear warheads, form the backbone of Russia's arsenal. A senior American official declared that in bringing these weapons to an end, "once and for all" the treaty would eliminate "that dreaded thing called the first strike."

The treaty, to be completed in two phases, also calls for deep cuts in missiles launched from submarines and bombers, the main pillar of America's nuclear deterrent.

Though by far the most extensive of any disarmament treaty ever signed, the bulk of Start II was negotiated in a mere six months, compared to the decade it took for each of the earlier strategic arms limitation treaties, known as SALT, and the first strategic arms reduction treaty. The speed of the feat seemed to show what the treaty itself termed as "the new realities that have transformed the political and strategic relations between the Parties."

'Centuries-Old Dream'

Neither President skimped on hyperbole in prepared statements read before aides and reporters who had witnessed the signing.

Mr. Yeltsin said: "It is not every century that history gives us an opportunity to witness and participate in an event that is so significant in scale and consequences. The treaty signed today represents a major step toward fulfilling mankind's centuries-old dream of

Resistance in Moscow

The commentary further noted that despite Mr. Yeltsin's assurances to the contrary, the conservative Russian Parliament could also balk at ratifying a treaty that many conservative Russians might view as lopsided in favor of the United States.

There were other dramas that the summit pomp also failed to conceal.

First was the fact that Mr. Bush has only numbered days left in his presidency.

In 17 days, the treaty he signed and the American-Russian relationship that took shape under him would be passed on to President-elect Bill Clinton.

Both presidents stressed that Mr. Clinton had endorsed their efforts, and Mr. Yeltsin announced that he had sent a letter to the next American President urging that they meet "in a neutral place" as soon as possible after the inauguration.

A Good-Bye for Bush

But Mr. Yeltsin made a point of paying a warm tribute "to my colleague and friend, George," and there were some who thought they spotted a misting of Mr. Bush's eyes when the burly Russian turned to him and said, "Spasibo, George" — "Thank you, George."

That note of farewell weaved through Mr. Bush's entire trip, first in Somalia, where the President spent New Years with troops bringing relief supplies, and this evening in Paris, where Mr. Bush was to dine with François Mitterrand, the French President.

On his arrival in Moscow from Somalia, Mr. Bush was joined by his wife, Barbara, by James A. Baker 3d, his former Secretary of State, and by Brent Scowcroft, his National Security Adviser, giving the proceedings the air of a last reunion.

The ornate trappings of past summits were scrapped in favor of a low-key "working meeting" that included only one relatively restrained banquet and the signing ceremony. The only unofficial activity was a brief tour of the Kremlin by the two Presidents and their wives, during which they dropped in on one of the series of annual children's New Years' spectacles.

Santa Backs the Treaty

As the leaders walked in, Grandfather Frost — the Russian Santa Claus — intoned, "Today, children, a wonderful treaty will be signed, which will make all our lives easier."

But with Russia closed down for a long New Years' weekend, during which no newspapers were published, many Russians were barely aware that the American president was in their midst.

One who was was Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the last Soviet president. A senior aide to Mr. Gorbachev, Anatoly Chernyayev, expressed dismay to Reuters that Mr. Bush totally ignored his former partner in détente, especially now that the American had "nothing to lose."

But Mr. Bush seemed more keen to claim a new garland than to delve in the past. "Today the cold war is over, and for the first time in history, an

Yeltsin's side, as the Russian President reported that he had "assured" Mr. Bush that the new prime minister would continue "on the same road of reforms."

The first question to Mr. Yeltsin by a Russian reporter highlighted another problem he faces, the resistance the increasingly hard-line Parliament might show to ratifying the treaty.

Moscow's Hard-Liners

Die-hard Communists and far-right Russian nationalists resent what they perceive as Mr. Yeltsin's kowtowing to the West and have actively resisted his foreign policy, including his disarmament efforts.

"I am not going to conceal from you

that a certain part of the deputies are against the treaty," Mr. Yeltsin said. But he insisted they were a minority, and that the treaty would be approved.

Both presidents went to some length to claim that the treaty was fair to both sides. Senior American officials noted that it included concessions not considered before, like letting the Russians peek at sections of the B-2 bomber to see how many nuclear bombs it could carry.

The reductions called for in Start II are to come in two phases: the first within seven years after the treaty goes into effect, and the second by 2003 — or sooner if the United States can help Russia pay the costs of eliminating strategic weapons.

Strongest U.S. Sult

But Russian critics were certain to decry the total loss of their vaunted SS-18 missile, which can carry up to 10 independently targeted warheads, while America gets to keep a portion of its submarine-based missiles.

Mr. Yeltsin protested that even after the reductions, Russia would have 3,500 warheads, more than any power other than the United States. "This is a powerful shield, which is capable of defending Russia in case of an unexpected aggression from any side," he declared.

"May I simply add that we do not view this as a one-sided treaty at all," Mr. Bush said. "We view it as balanced and I think that history will record it as such."

Ukrainian Praises Pact

Even more worrisome was the position of Ukraine. Like Belarus and Kazakhstan, the other republics with nuclear missiles stationed on their territory, the Ukrainian Government has agreed to observe the first Start treaty and to transfer nuclear weapons to Russia for dismantling. But the Ukrainian Parliament has so far failed to ratify Start I, demanding that it first receive ample compensation and security guarantees against Russia.

The Ukrainian President, Leonid M. Kravchuk, who has repeatedly assured Western and Russian leaders that Ukraine will come through, issued a statement today hailing Start II as a "momentous event."

But Mr. Kravchuk gave no date for his Parliament to take up disarmament. Instead, he called for negotiations with Russia on "a wide range of technical and financial questions" related to the nuclear weapons.

American President has set foot in a democratic Russia," he declared.

Standing on the Tank

He then heaped praise on Mr. Yeltsin, "for your unwavering commitment to democratic reform and for the history you've written since the heroic day in August '91 when you climbed atop that tank to defend Russia's democratic destiny."

That kind of tribute was one reason Mr. Yeltsin had pushed for the summit meeting at the start of a new year. He had concluded the last one with a humiliating drubbing at the Congress of Peoples' Deputies in December, when he was forced to jettison Yegor T. Gaidar, a market-oriented economist, as his chief of Government and to

name in his stead a conservative manager, Viktor Chernomyrdin.

Mr. Chernomyrdin sat impassively alongside Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoi, another political thorn in Mr.

Continued From Page A1

disarmament."

Mr. Bush said: "We meet at the beginning of a new year and at a moment that is also a new era for our two nations and for the world. We stand together today in this great city at the threshold of a new world of hope, a widening circle of freedom for us and for our children."

But the first reaction in the Russian media was a warning not to "pop champagne corks yet." In its report on the summit meeting, the Russian television news program noted that the Ukrainian Parliament seemed to be moving further from ratifying the first Start treaty, a prerequisite for the new one to go into effect.

A Last Treaty Of the Kind

2-Power World Fades,
As Do Old Certainties

By STEVEN ERLANGER

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Jan. 3 — If nostalgia enveloped George Bush on his 25th and probably final foreign adventure as President, there was also some nostalgia for the old sureties of traditional arms control.

Given its very sweep, the second Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, known as Start II, is likely to be the last agreement of its kind. It represents both the triumph and the limit of two-way negotiations on arms control in a world that is no longer bipolar.

The Soviet Union may have been a totalitarian menace, but its military commanders — especially in comparison with the military commanders in some of the world's current trouble spots — were responsible professionals who knew the dangers of the weapons they brandished or faced, and who could largely be expected to keep to the letter of the agreements they signed, however long or hard the negotiation.

New Cast of Nuclear Powers

There was no fuss then about ratification by parliaments or any need to assuage the wounded pride of new states, like Ukraine, that woke up as nuclear powers and started to like the way it looked in the mirror.

Each difficult, incremental treaty on the road to Start II felt momentous — not because arms were reduced in any meaningful way, but because the gap of ideology and misperceptions crossed by the superpowers was so cavernous and the rope across it seemed so thin.

The treaty is a legitimately momentous agreement, around which President Bush, President Boris N. Yeltsin and their speech writers did their best

Continued on Page A9, Column 1

A Last Treaty of Its Kind As Bipolar Order Fades

Continued From Page A1

to spin flourishes of oratory about peace, children, trust and brotherhood. But there was a curious lack of moment.

In part, this odd fact was caused by the haste of negotiation, and in part by Russia's impoverished condition, as an imploded empire reaching for aid and acceptance. Russia's diminished status seemed to intensify Mr. Bush's, as a lame-duck President who kept checking his watch when he wasn't checking his tears.

But there is a deep, underlying sense that the new world is not only more complicated, but also considerably more volatile than the old. The end of the cold war straitjacket has meant the start of conflicts based on old nationalisms and economic rivalries, just as the collapse of the old fears of mutual assured destruction and nuclear holocaust has made the world safe for conventional war.

Disagreement Over Serbs

As much as Mr. Bush and Mr. Yeltsin talked of cooperation and partnership, they clearly have their disagreements over how to deal with Serbian aggression in the former Yugoslavia. Russian conservatives and some nationalists say they feel that Mr. Yeltsin has already betrayed their "Serbian brethren," let alone old Soviet allies in Iraq, Syria, Cuba and elsewhere.

The shelling over Mogadishu, Somalia, while Mr. Bush spent Friday night on an American naval vessel offshore was a reminder of the limits of relief intervention and feel-good gestures that Russian-American amity cannot solve. In Cambodia, where Washington and Moscow brokered a peace treaty through the United Nations Security Council, the Khmer Rouge's blatant defiance of that treaty and their continual kidnapping of United Nations peacekeeping troops promises a future renewal of horrors that could make Serbian behavior seem civilized.

The disclosures of Iraq's long and secret efforts to develop chemical and nuclear weapons, despite intermittent international inspections and despite the fact that Baghdad has signed treaties that should have banned such programs, is a reminder of the actual value of treaties designed to stop the spread of arms. The behavior of Western companies that knowingly sold advanced machinery to Iraq that could be used for weapons-making raises questions about how former Soviet companies and their skilled scientists will act in a free-market system with porous border controls.

Future Tasks Cited

Senior American officials here spoke of the future tasks of arms control, pointing to the Chemical Weapons Convention, scheduled to be signed shortly in Paris, and the effort to extend the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty beyond 1995.

But they also understand how difficult Start II will be to ratify and carry out, even assuming that Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan follow through on their pledges to become non-nuclear states. According to a study by the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard, the American and Russian side each employs over a million people to build, field and maintain its nuclear arsenal. Dismantling these structures will present fundamental political, economic and environmental problems. Dismantling the weapons themselves, plus thousands of tactical nuclear weapons, is full of dangers.

The Harvard study estimates that the Russians will have to destroy 100,000 metric tons of liquid rocket propellant, which explodes on contact with air, let alone safely transport, store and protect the highly prized nuclear material in all those warheads.

Washington has promised direct financial and technical aid to Moscow and Kiev for these purposes, but the cost of dismantling these arsenals in safety is likely to be shocking, diplomats suggest, far in excess of the initial American installment of \$800 million.

Democracy as Arms Control

One senior American official said wilyly that "democracy is the best form of arms control," arguing that democratic nations do not start wars.

But it is always possible, as Foreign Minister Andrei V. Kozyrev of Russia made clear last month in his stunning mock speech in Stockholm, that the

A new world
both more
complicated and
more volatile.

Russian Government may one day end up in the hands of extreme nationalist, anti-Western politicians or military men who will treat Start II much as President Saddam Hussein of Iraq treated his solemn commitments.

Another American official cautioned that there were limits to Washington's ability to influence events here or even to control how Russia carries out the treaty signed with so much hope here today.

"Both the financial obligations and the willingness to undertake the task are responsibilities that Russia and the other parties are accepting themselves," he said. "It is the Russian people and their leadership in this present instance who want to put some of the worst and most destabilizing aspects of the nuclear age behind us and accept that responsibility. We can help, but we're by no means the principal actor."



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Yeltsin Faces Test In Ratifying Treaty

Resistant Legislature Must Approve Pact

By Michael Dobbs
Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, Jan. 3—The ink had hardly dried on the treaty slashing the nuclear arsenals of Russia and the United States when President Boris Yeltsin threw himself into a task that no Russian leader has ever been confronted with before—selling the treaty to an often hostile legislature.

"As president and commander in chief, I can state with complete certainty that the document we have just signed will strengthen—not weaken—the security of Russia," Yeltsin declared, clearly anticipating a stream of accusations that he has agreed to give away Russia's most powerful weapons without securing adequate concessions in return.

The spectacle of a Russian leader defending himself from his domestic critics reflects the stunning political changes that

have taken place here in two years and the transformation in superpower relations.

In the past, it was always the U.S. Congress that presented the last hurdle to ratification of arms control treaties. In the case of the second Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, it is the Russian legislature that is likely to have the final word.

Communist and nationalist members of the Supreme Soviet, or standing parliament, already have served notice that they regard the treaty as a sell-out to the United States and will vigorously oppose ratification. Some are even predicting that Yeltsin's determination to seal the START II agreement could contribute to his eventual removal from office.

"The Americans are simply wiping their feet over the sovereignty of Russia with this agreement," said Iona Andronov, an influential member of the in-

ternational relations committee of the Russian parliament. "Signing this treaty will push Yeltsin to his end," predicted Sergei Baburin, who heads a hard-line nationalist faction in the parliament. "If he signs it, it will mean that the sense of rationality has deserted him."

Most political observers believe that the Supreme Soviet will eventually endorse the treaty, despite the vociferous opposition of old-line politicians who control roughly one-third of the legislature's seats. At a Kremlin press conference, Yeltsin predicted that the "healthy majority" of lawmakers would support the treaty, which he depicted as the diplomatic event of the century.

"Of course, some deputies are against the treaty. But they are against anything positive that is taking place in Russia. Their position is one of complete negation. These

are the same people who support Iraq and its aggression—so you can see what kind of people they are," the president said.

These legislators are outraged that Russia is giving up its entire armory of heavy land-based SS-18

missiles, each equipped with 10 warheads capable of hitting targets in the United States. The United States, by contrast, will be allowed to keep the core of its nuclear submarine force and its Trident II missiles, which also are equipped with multiple warheads.

Independent Russian analysts have also expressed concern about the need for Russia to restructure its strategic forces along the American model, with priority now being given to sea-based missiles where Washington has traditionally enjoyed superiority. They predict that Russia will end up with a strategic nuclear mix very similar to that of the United States—50 percent sea-based missiles and 25 percent land-based, along with 25 percent manned bombers.

"The United States has a tangible superiority in anti-submarine warfare," argued Vladimir Belous, a Russian strategic analyst, in a recent article for the newspaper *Nevaisimaya Gazeta*. "That is why the shifting of the center of gravity of the Russian strategic weapons from land to sea is an unjustified concession to the United States."

Several last-minute concessions

to Moscow appear designed to reassure centrist legislators that Russia will not suffer militarily or economically as a result of giving up its SS-18s.

The treaty allows Russia to keep 90 SS-18 silos to house the less powerful SS-25 missile, as long as they are partly filled in with concrete. On the other hand, Russian inspectors will for the first time also be allowed to inspect the bomb bays of the top-secret B-2 "Stealth" bomber to ensure that agreed warhead limits are respected.

Heading off criticism that Russia will be faced with a huge bill for dismantling the warheads, Yeltsin said that the cost of maintaining, servicing and operating the present nuclear force would be even greater. He added that Moscow and Washington had agreed to share new technologies for disarming nuclear weapons.

For Yeltsin, the military drawbacks of the treaty are outweighed by its political advantages, and he appears to be banking that START II will provide the framework for a "partnership" with the United States and encourage the Clinton administration to provide financial support

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for Russia's economic reforms. The treaty should also contribute to his own image as an international peace maker.

"On balance, this treaty is likely to help Yeltsin," said political analyst Igor Klyamkin. "It will be opposed by the national patriots, but these people are already critical of every step that Yeltsin takes. But the political and military elite seems ready to go along with it. On the popular level, Yeltsin can make the argument that less weapons means more bread."

In stressing the scope of the START II treaty, which goes far beyond any agreement previously negotiated between the nuclear powers, Yeltsin was effectively stealing the laurels of his long-time political rival, Mikhail Gorbachev. Gorbachev's aides complained that both Bush and Yeltsin had failed in their public remarks today to recognize the contribution made by the former Soviet president.

The biggest threat to the ratification of START II in the Russian parliament is the ambiguous position of Ukraine, whose parliament has so far failed to ratify the original START treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States.

Protocols to that agreement provide for the dismantling and transfer to Russia of all 176 missiles on Ukrainian territory.

In a statement released today, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk reiterated a pledge by Ukraine to become a nonnuclear state and ratify START I. But the Ukrainian parliament is still seeking formal security guarantees from the West and a larger U.S. contribution to the cost of dismantling the warheads beyond the \$175 million already earmarked by the Bush administration.

2 Leaders Warn Serbs On Talks

Bush, Mitterrand Set To Press for Flight Ban

By William Drozdiak
Washington Post Foreign Service

PARIS, Jan. 3—President Bush and French President Francois Mitterrand warned today that they will press for the use of force to drive Serb warplanes from Bosnian airspace if new peace talks among warring factions in the former Yugoslav republic break down.

Stopping here briefly on his way home from Moscow, where he signed the START II treaty, Bush urged opposing sides in the bloody nine-month-old Bosnian conflict to solve their differences at top-level discussions that began Saturday in Geneva. "It is very important that the diplomatic effort now underway succeed," Bush told reporters following a two-hour meeting with Mitterrand. "A diplomatic answer is absolutely essential at some point in time, the sooner the better, to stop the suffering and to stop the killing."

In the absence of an agreement in Geneva, Bush said he expects the U.N. Security Council to authorize military enforcement of a ban on Serb military flights in Bosnia "fairly soon." He added, however that "there is still some diplomatic work left to be done."

France and Britain are concerned about the safety of the 7,400 troops they have sent to Bosnia under the U.N. flag to help deliver humanitarian aid to beleaguered civilians, and both had argued that Western attacks on Serb planes would leave these troops exposed to revenge attacks by Serb ground forces.

Lately, however, both governments have begun speaking bluntly about the need for foreign intervention to halt further aggression by Bosnian Serb militia forces—by far the most powerful in the republic's three-sided fratricidal war and the only one equipped with warplanes.

Bush stressed that the United States "was very sensitive to the fact that other countries have [U.N.] troops on the ground" and said that "we would not precipitously, on a unilateral basis, do anything that would put these troops further in danger."

In his New Year's address to the nation, Mitterrand called for a new U.N. mandate to use force to clear Bosnian airspace of Serb aircraft, and he urged the United States and

France's European allies also to adopt a tougher stand. Today, he appeared more pessimistic than Bush about a negotiated peace, saying, "it's clear that a purely diplomatic approach has not worked" and that "if required, other measures of another kind could be taken."

Despite serious tensions over trade and defense policy that roiled relations between Paris and Washington in recent years, Bush and Mitterrand have maintained a warm personal rapport, and today's encounter—the last before Bush steps down Jan. 20—was designed to celebrate that friendship.

"We have an old relationship that goes back to the first days of my [presidency]," Mitterrand said of Bush, who was vice president when Mitterrand was first elected. "We have always held confident relations, and no debate . . . has altered this relationship."

Bush, too, commented on the "close relationship" he has had with the French leader, saying: "I have valued the personal interchange that I have had with President Mitterrand over the years. I will never forget it, his kindness, his courtesy."

In Geneva, meanwhile, U.N. and European Community mediators expressed cautious optimism that progress is being made in a new round of

Bosnian peace talks that U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has described as perhaps the last chance for a negotiated settlement in the shattered republic.

Alija Izetbegovic, president of Bosnia's Slavic Muslim-led government, set the tone by engaging in a face-to-face discussion with Radovan Karadzic, leader of Bosnia's Serb nationalist faction and a man he has publicly described as a murderer and a war criminal.

Spokesmen for both Izetbegovic and Karadzic have rejected a proposal for a "new" Bosnia made by conference mediators Saturday that calls for 10 largely autonomous Bosnian provinces plus a "neutral" cap-

ital of Sarajevo, a mostly Muslim city that has been under Serb siege since last April.

But British diplomat David Owen, cochairman of the conference along with former U.S. secretary of state Cyrus Vance, described the proposal as simply "a talking paper" and said "the whole idea is in the framework of people who have to live together in the future." Owen rejected the idea that the plan carves up the republic along communal lines among Serbs, Muslims and Croats, and added: "There will always be some provinces where somebody is in a minority; that's a fact of life."

Special correspondent John Parry in Geneva contributed to this report.

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JANUARY 4, 1993

Kohl's Vice Chancellor Resigns

Free Democrat Moellemann Caught in Influence-Peddling Scandal

By Marc Fisher
Washington Post Foreign Service

BERLIN, Jan. 3—Germany's economics minister and vice chancellor, Juergen Moellemann, quit today after admitting he used his official letterhead to promote the business of his wife's cousin.

Moellemann, a former public relations man and relentless self-promoter who has parachuted out of airplanes to attract press attention, is the fifth minister to resign from Chancellor Helmut Kohl's government in nine months. As economics minister, Moellemann was in charge of the ambitious but frustrating drive to retool the economy of ex-communist eastern Germany.

Contrary to his previous statements in a scandal that has dominated German attention throughout the holiday season, the minister conceded today that he signed a letter to the heads of Germany's major supermarket chains asking them to consider a "clever product" invented by his relative. The product is a plastic chip that supermarket customers could use in lieu of a coin as a deposit for renting shopping carts.

Press reports also have revealed that Moellemann recently used his ministerial stationery to ask local officials to let a faith healer continue working because, Moellemann said, it would allow "many people to take hope and win confidence in difficult times."

Moellemann insisted today he had done no wrong, describing the supermarket letters as "mistakes" caused by overwork. In a two-month period early last year, the minister said, he had been presented with 3,645 letters, invitations and other documents, among them the letters pushing his cousin's chips. Before today, Moellemann had contended that the letters were sent on pre-signed stationery without his knowledge.

Today, he admitted signing the letters because the chips would have been produced using handicapped labor. He added, "It would have been better not to have sent the letters."

Moellemann never won broad popularity in Germany, consistently landing toward the bottom in surveys of public rankings of government leaders. Not a single top official, even within his own Free Democratic Party, came forward in the last two weeks to defend him.

The weekly *Der Spiegel* reports in its Monday edition that Moellemann's likely successor is Birgit Breuel, head of the Berlin-based *Treuhand*, the agency created to sell off east German state-owned enterprises.

Kohl accepted Moellemann's resignation in a curt statement with hardly any of the usual niceties about a minister's contributions. The chancellor has said he plans a thorough mid-term shuffle of his cabinet later this month. His postal minister, Christian Schwarz-Schilling, quit two weeks ago, saying he could no longer be part of a government that refused to do anything to halt war in the former Yugoslavia.

The opposition Social Democrats welcomed Moellemann's departure and said it showed that Kohl's coalition is "completely worn out."

Moellemann's resignation paves the way for Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel to take over as leader of the Free Democratic Party, the junior member of Kohl's coalition and the swing party in the precarious calculus of German electoral politics. Moellemann, 47, had been expected to oppose Kinkel.

As economics minister, Moellemann threatened to quit if the government did not drastically reduce subsidies paid to major industries. The subsidies were not sharply cut but he stayed in office.

Mitterrand, Bush align Bosnia stand

THE WASHINGTON TIMES
JANUARY 4, 1993

By Patrick McDowell
ASSOCIATED PRESS

PARIS — The United Nations could move quickly to enforce a no-fly zone over former Yugoslavia if peace talks between warring factions fail, President Bush and President Francois Mitterrand of France said yesterday.

After two hours of talks, the two leaders emphasized that the peace conference under way in Geneva should be given a chance to succeed.

"A diplomatic answer is absolutely essential at some point in time, the sooner the better, to stop the suffering, to stop the killing," Mr. Bush said at a news conference with the French president.

Mr. Mitterrand said: "It's clear that a purely diplomatic approach has not worked. If required, other measures of another kind could be taken, but this should not lead us to precipitate matters."

A resolution to enforce the U.N. ban on Serbian flights over Bosnia-Herzegovina can be pushed through the United Nations "fairly soon," Mr. Bush said at the Elysees Palace. But he added, "There's still some diplomatic work left to be done."

Of the negotiations now taking place in Geneva, Mr. Mitterrand said: "We are very cautious. We would prefer by far a diplomatic solution. It's a crucial time on the diplomatic approach."

Mr. Bush said the United States is very sensitive to the fact that others have troops on the ground in the for-

mer Yugoslavia," adding: "We would not precipitously, on a unilateral basis, do anything that would put these troops further in danger."

Mr. Mitterrand agreed, despite his call last week for new action in Bosnia, torn by civil war since its Muslim-led government broke from Serbian-dominated Yugoslavia in February. He said the United Nations should expand its peacekeeping force in formerly Yugoslav Macedonia and in Kosovo, a province of Serbia with an ethnic Albanian majority.

"This must be strengthened in order to be effective," he said.

The two men met as Mr. Bush stopped over on his return to Washington from a summit meeting in Moscow, where the question of military intervention in the former Yugoslavia also was on the agenda.

For Mr. Mitterrand, the meeting was a chance to say "au revoir" to Mr. Bush, with whom he has enjoyed cordial relations despite differences over trade and defense policy.

"We have an old relationship that goes back to the first days of my entry to the Elysees, and we have always held confident relations, and no debate ... has altered this relationship," Mr. Mitterrand said. Mr. Bush was vice president when the French president was first elected.

Mr. Bush also spoke of their "close relationship."

"I have valued the personal interchange that I have had with Pres-

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President Bush and French President Francois Mitterrand talk to the press.

BUSH

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ident Mitterrand over the years," he said. "I will never forget it, his kindness, his courtesy."

He said he was confident that his successor, Bill Clinton, will "place the same high priority on the U.S.-French relationship."

Mr. Bush, on the last scheduled foreign trip of his presidency, met with Mr. Mitterrand at his request. The French president has been among the strongest supporters of the U.S. drive to enforce a no-fly zone over besieged Bosnia.

The United States, France and Britain warned Serbia last week that the international community may use force to stop the fighting in Bos-

nia and prevent a wider Balkan war.

France has accepted the U.S. view that Serbian aircraft violating a U.N. Security Council ban on military flights over Bosnia should be shot down, despite fears that the Serbs may launch revenge attacks against 7,400 French and British troops in the region.

Mr. Mitterrand told France in his New Year's address that if the Geneva round of peace talks fails, the United Nations should be ready to enforce the ban and to secure access to prison camps and the besieged "martyr city" of Sarajevo.

The meeting could help the two leaders bring pressure on Bosnian leaders negotiating in Geneva and bridge their differences over the U.S. proposal to enforce the flight ban by bombing Serbian airfields.

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Clinton's Diversity Trap

The foreboding that mars the joyous inaugural season for some of Bill Clinton's most astute advisers stems from the reason Bruce Reed, widely advertised as most likely to become the new president's domestic policy chief, probably won't get the job.

Reed, the transition co-chairman for domestic policy, would seem a natural. He is associated with the Clinton-favored Democratic Leadership Council (DLC) and its think tank, the Progressive Policy Institute (PPI). This centrist apparatus is credited with helping pull the Democratic Party back from the left brink and push Clinton over the top for the presidency.

But suddenly, Reed is ruled out for the policy job. "Not a chance," a transition official told us. Why? "Wrong gender." With white men already named as national security adviser and national economic adviser (a new post), Clinton feels constrained to name a woman to the third policy post in the White House—for diversity's sake.

This quest for diversity has made Clinton's Cabinet selection—a business that is messy under the best of conditions—the most difficult we have seen in party transitions back to 1952. Steadfast Clintonites inside the transition, who declined to be quoted by name, are amazed at how a quota system—though they do not call it that—took hold.

But it doesn't end there. Counting

numbers of women, blacks and Hispanics persists into the picking of White House staff and sub-Cabinet members. Clintonites are sympathetic to what the president-elect is up to: If no effort is made, the logic goes, he will end up with a Cabinet looking mighty like Warren Harding's all-male, all-white "best minds in the country."

"The thing that surprised me," a Clinton adviser confided, "is that he let diversity take control of the situation." The private assessment of supporters who see Clinton essentially as a progressive centrist ranges from "disappointing" to "horrible." Two selections—secretary of transportation and attorney general—dramatize the perils of diversity.

William Daley, a Chicago lawyer-banker who was Clinton's Illinois campaign chairman, seemed set for transportation. He was eliminated at the last minute when the green lobby vetoed Rep. Bill Richardson, whose mother is Hispanic, for secretary of interior. "The governor really felt another Hispanic was needed in the Cabinet," a transition source told us. With Richardson out of the Cabinet, the call for transportation secretary went to former Denver Mayor Federico Pena, neither a transportation expert nor a close associate of Clinton, bumping Daley.

"I really believe he [Clinton] has bought some long-term grief," an adviser to the president-elect told us. Daley, a political pro, has said nothing unfavorable. But he is reported by Clinton aides to be personally upset. Reared in the rough school of Chicago politics as the son of the late Mayor Richard J. Daley and the brother of current Mayor Richard M. Daley, he knows the old dictum: Don't get mad, get even.

Even if Daley does not get even, his rebuff shows how lightly Clinton seems to value the "Reagan Democrats" now that the election returns are in. The Cabinet contains no traditional urban Catholic typified by the Daley organization. Bill Daley has been an intrepid warrior in preventing a hemorrhage of whites from his ancestral party in Chicago, a drain that started when his father was kicked off the Illinois delegation in 1972 but was stemmed when his brother was elected mayor in 1989.

The most improbable Cabinet choice was 40-year-old corporate lawyer Zoe Baird as attorney general. She lacks either of the usual rival claims for the job: a close relationship with the president or an impressive judicial resume. Clinton supporters consider the selection bizarre but understand why it was made.

Clinton determined from the start that he would name a female attorney general. When U.S. Appeals Court Judge Patricia Wald, his first choice, said no, he was in a quandary. When Clinton's late telephone call pleading with Wald to change her mind failed, he turned in desperation to someone he hardly knew.

The problem faced by the president-elect is the problem encountered at the local level in affirmative action for firefighters: When carried to an extreme, diversity wars against excellence. It is never too late for so skilled a politician as Bill Clinton to turn back, but he shows no sign of doing so.

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DONALD LAMBRO

Distorted economic numbers

President Bush will turn over the reins of power to Bill Clinton this month in large part because Americans believed the economy had stopped growing and we needed a change in policy.

Mr. Bush insisted throughout the campaign that the recession had ended and that the economy was in a slow but steady recovery, but not many voters believed him. He had lied to the American people when he promised "no new taxes," and many voters concluded that they had no reason to trust him again with their economic welfare.

But, in fact, Mr. Bush had been

The 1992 election is now history, but it has taught the Republicans a valuable lesson about how national economic statistics can be distorted to achieve political ends.

Donald Lambro, chief political correspondent of The Washington Times, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

telling the truth about the economy, as the past two months of economic data now show. Nationally, the economy grew at a 3.4 percent rate in the third quarter of 1992 and many fore-

casters now believe that fourth quarter growth may be between 3 percent and 4 percent.

While this rate of growth is modest compared with past recoveries and while many states did not enjoy such growth, it is evidence that the economy was in fact slowly getting back on its feet.

As the presidential campaign raced through October toward its Nov. 3 finish, retail sales were already bouncing back. Factory production was slowly rising. Housing starts were up and people were buying homes again, thanks to the lowest interest rates in 20 years. Sales of existing single-family homes shot up by 5.8 percent in November, their highest level in almost six years.

Yet by Election Day the state of the economy was still being perceived by many Americans as dead

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in the water. That was the way Mr. Clinton and the Democrats had relentlessly characterized it throughout the year. That was the bleak picture portrayed night after night on the network news shows. And that reinforced the dark mood of pessimism and insecurity that was at loose across the land.

But this wasn't the only disinformation that was being mass marketed in the year just past.

Throughout his campaign, Mr. Clinton maintained that American industry had lost the ability to compete in world markets; that American workers had lost their competitive edge; and that Americans overall were being paid less than they had been, compared with other industrial nations of the world.

Absolutely none of this is true.

The United States leads the world in export sales and import purchases. And Americans are far and away the leader in per capita purchasing power (the only really credible and accurate measurement of comparative income standards).

Among the top five world exporters, the United States leads them all, selling \$421 billion worth of goods in 1991. Germany is second, with \$403 billion in exports; Japan is third, with \$314 billion; France is fourth, with \$216 billion; and Britain is fifth, with \$184 billion.

Among the top five global importers, the United States leads with \$509 billion in purchases, followed by Germany, \$390 billion; Japan, \$236 billion; France, \$232 billion; and Britain, \$209 billion.

In short, even with its weakened economy the United States remains the largest trader in the world, with nearly \$1 trillion a year in imported and exported goods.

Throughout his campaign, Mr. Clinton parroted traditional Democratic economic rhetoric by characterizing the United States as economically deficient because we ran a trade deficit, while Germany and Japan had trade surpluses.

To the uninitiated, this sounded like the U.S. economy was going down the tubes fast, while our trading partners were outcompeting us. In truth, our trade deficit is really a sign of America's much higher living standard and its economic strength, allowing us to buy not only what we make here at home but what importers have to sell as well.

The U.S. "standard of living is higher than in both Germany and Japan," says the Heritage Foundation's economic analyst Bryan Johnson. "In fact, both of these countries sacrifice a higher standard of living by keeping their markets more closed to foreign goods than America does."

And what about our relative economic well-being as workers and consumers? Are we becoming poorer while those in the major industrial nations are passing us by?

A lot of specious numbers were thrown about in the campaign about wages and incomes, but the only comparison that is really accurate is one that compares the per capita purchasing power of each country, taking into account exchange rates, inflation and other currency differences.

Americans lead the world in purchasing power as well, at \$20,998 per capita, followed by Germany, with \$14,507; Japan, \$14,311; France, \$14,164; and Britain, \$13,732.

The 1992 election is now history, but it has taught the Republicans a valuable lesson about how national economic statistics can be distorted to achieve political ends. Those who are able to effectively define the state of the American economy will almost always win — whether it's true or not.

B.J. CUTLER

As President Bush leaves office, it is clear that one charge made against him — that he lacks the "vision thing" — is a bad rap.

When his stay in the Oval Office is assessed, it will be seen he had the energy, determination and, yes, vision to achieve three of the most sweeping arms control treaties in history.

In November 1990, Mr. Bush and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev played key roles in agreeing to make drastic cuts in the numbers of troops, tanks, cannons and warplanes deployed in Europe.

That accord's importance cannot be overestimated. It left Moscow lacking the conventional forces to accomplish what the United States and its allies had long feared: a massive, lightning invasion of Western Europe.

B.J. Cutler is foreign affairs columnist for Scripps Howard News Service.

Bush's vision wins at the arms table

In July 1991, Mr. Bush and Mr. Gorbachev signed the first strategic arms reduction treaty, or Start I. This trail-blazing document committed the superpowers to slashing their intercontinental nuclear warheads by about one-third.

A year later the Soviet Union and Mr. Gorbachev were gone. But Mr. Bush and President Boris Yeltsin slogged on toward a safer world. In June 1992, they agreed in principle to leapfrog Start I by cutting nuclear warheads by two-thirds.

On Dec. 29 in Geneva, Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger and Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev hammered the general principles into an agreement for Mr. Bush and Mr. Yeltsin to sign at their

Moscow summit.

Start II, if implemented, will do more than reduce each side's 10,000-or-so warheads to 3,500 for the United States and 3,000 for Russia. It will eliminate the most dangerous weapons, huge land-based missiles with multiple warheads.

These missiles, such as the American MX and the Russian SS-18, are feared as first-strike weapons because each can hurl 10 warheads with devastating accuracy. They keep both sides on hair-trigger.

Intentionally or not, Mr. Bush did President-elect Bill Clinton a favor. Conservatives in the Senate, where

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CUTLER

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Start II will go for ratification, are more likely to swallow concessions made by a GOP chief executive than by a Democrat they suspect of dovishness.

Mr. Bush and Mr. Eagleburger did have to make major concessions to induce the Russian generals to give up their strategic force's core, the multiple-warhead missiles in silos.

Nevertheless, Start II is on balance advantageous to Washington. The Navy gets to keep 1,728 largely invulnerable submarine-launched warheads, a field in which the United States is superior.

The real fight to ratify the treaty won't be in the Senate but in the Russian Parliament. That body is packed with nationalists, hardliners and "former" communists who dislike the United States and distrust their foreign minister. They frequently accuse Mr. Kozyrev of "selling out" Russia.

Kozyrev did have Defense Minister Pavel Grachev sitting at his elbow when he came to terms with Mr. Eagleburger. This may provide him with cover when the Russian right starts blasting at him.

Start II has one thing going for it that may prove decisive. Economically stumbling Russia no longer can afford to staff and maintain a nuclear force that was excessive even in the Cold War. Mr. Yeltsin knows this. It helps explain why he grabbed for a treaty now, rather than waiting months for Mr. Clinton to assemble his arms control team.

Mr. Bush won't be remembered as the education president, environmental president and re-elected president, as he wished. But disarmament president he was, which is an honorable title.

ADA Signs In

Proponents of the Americans With Disabilities Act have consistently argued that fears about it are overblown — that it can be narrowly applied, at reasonable cost, to assist people who haven't gotten a fair shake in life.

American business is watching closely and still wondering, with most of the action taking place in the job market. But there's also a flip side of enforcement, the customer complaints, with cause for concern.

Take last week's filing by the Justice Department against Becker CPA Review, a California-based firm that prepares 10,000 people a year at 130 locations for accountancy exams. Since 1987, Becker has offered hearing-impaired students scripts of its presentations (which themselves use visual aids) and other accommodations at no extra charge.

On Dec. 7, Becker received word from Justice's civil rights division that it was expected to provide sign-language translation for a would-be enrollee in its Washington, D.C., program. The student made initial contact with Becker last June via a translator request from the National Center for Law and the Deaf, a legal-advocacy arm of Gallaudet University. He then attended a few introductory sessions, and there were discussions of how the matter might be resolved, but he dropped the class.

Not much followed until Justice's

demand for action (within three weeks) arrived last month. The company argued for time and also said that because of frequent lecture references to printed and projected materials that occupy the eye, a "signer" was likely to confuse the presentation. (The student had brought his own translator to one of the sessions he attended and found it did help.)

In addition, although Becker didn't stress this point, the expected cost of the sign-language service was \$5,000-\$9,000 for a course whose tuition is \$1,000-\$1,200. (Two translators must be hired, the firm figures, because working too long without a break subjects them to carpal-tunnel syndrome.) Becker sought to offer alternatives, but the government lawyers were insistent.

On Christmas Eve, the deadline for complying, Becker capitulated. A long-distance legal battle was something it didn't need. The following Monday, however, Justice filed its civil complaint seeking penalties and damages for ADA violations.

The government won't discuss the case, but maintains it tries to work complaints out and has succeeded with everyone but Becker. Yet the circumstances of the action and (of course) an accompanying press release suggest exactly the kind of run-and-gun enforcement of complex legislation that every enterprise in America fears it will be subject to.

Asides

Grain of SALT

President Bush is going out in style, pardoning Iran-contra defendants, following troops to Somalia and holding a summit meeting with Boris Yeltsin to sign a Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty.

As longtime skeptics about SALT,

we hope this agreement's the last one. No treaty between adversaries will really limit arms; now that the U.S. and the Yeltsin government are friends, no treaty's really necessary. Indeed, the main result of the new one seems to be keeping a lot of missiles around until 2003. Come then, we hope Mr. Yeltsin's still in charge.

Eleanor Holmes Norton

It's Not a 'Power Grab' by Democrats

The District's slow boil, a reaction to our outcast status in the American democracy, has quickened. When you are third per capita in federal income taxes paid to a government that gives you no vote, boiling is understandable. Out of this most obvious of injustices, our nation was indeed founded.

Washingtonians live in the proud capital of a great democracy, but we give more and get least. We are lowest in America's democratic hierarchy. We are lower than the 50 states and four "possessions." Unlike the other four territories, whose residents pay no federal income taxes, our laws and our locally raised budget are supervised and changed by Congress at will.

Understandably, therefore, on the way to statehood, I feel a special obligation to seek increased empowerment for the District wherever I can legitimately find it. Thus, last summer, I asked for the right to vote in the House Committee of the Whole and later submitted a legal memorandum to demonstrate that the House of Representatives could grant it.

The Committee of the Whole is the working committee of the House, where most of the work gets done. Yet its work is no more final than that of standing committees, such as Public Works and Judiciary, where delegates have long had the vote. This is why the other delegates also have asked for the vote on the House floor. As the House has given delegates the vote in other committees, it can and should do so in its largest committee.

A number of self-anointed constitutional "experts" and others have rushed forward in the pages of *The Post* and elsewhere. They have taken a complicated quest for democratic empowerment and tried to reduce it to a "power grab by the Democrats."

I first raised it publicly two years ago. The law professor in me has been struggling to get this idea down on

paper ever since, although frankly, it didn't take a rocket scientist or even a lawyer to figure it out. However, the House Democrats refused to take my word for it, insisting instead on a formal outside legal opinion before the caucus voted this month to recommend delegate voting in the Committee of the Whole.

Yet a Republican conspiracy theory has the Democrats scheming to reduce by five the 10 votes won in November, although Democrats have far more than enough votes to control the house. The "power grab" conspiracy is belied by my legal memo, submitted last September considerably before the November elections gave the Republicans a few new seats.

Delegates should be able to vote in the Committee of the Whole because it is not the constitutional House of Representatives but an advisory body created to allow the House more flexibility than is possible using the constitutionally mandated procedures of the House. For example, the Committee of the Whole operates with half the quorum mandated by the Constitution and is not even explicitly authorized by the Constitution. Therefore, nothing done in the Committee of the Whole is final until the full House acts.

Moreover, a proviso to delegate voting will allow a revote in the small number of instances where delegate votes are the margin in determining which matters reach the full House. This means that there is no possibility that delegate votes can unconstitutionally invade formal House proceedings, which the delegates do not seek. I am quick to concede that I don't yet meet the constitutional requirements for full voting membership in the House. What my constituents do meet each and every day is each and every obligation of citizenship and statehood.

A vote in the Committee of the Whole would give the District a vote

on most matters, several steps up from being confined to debating while other members vote on *your* laws. In a body that professes reverence for tax-paying Americans, giving a vote to a jurisdiction that ranks higher than almost all others in taxes per capita to the federal treasury might pass as a form of penance. Still, the vote on final passage of bills would continue to be denied the District because only states may vote in the constitutionally prescribed proceedings for full members.

The die was cast not by the Democratic Caucus in 1992, but by the first House (in which several of the Framers of the Constitution served) in 1791, when they created a separate body in which to do business. If delegate voting in smaller committees is constitutional and if votes taken with a smaller quorum in the Committee of the Whole are constitutional, then delegate voting in the large Committee of the Whole is also constitutional.

I would advise Republicans and others not to trouble this "House" of cards. For if the Committee of the Whole requires what the Constitution demands for votes in the formal House, we'd better prepare for many late night sessions because everything the House has done since 1791 has been unconstitutional.

The United States was born in racism, but not in colonialism. The Founders of this country never intended to create a nether land of democracy.

That, however, is what has happened. In the golden age of the spread of democracy—led by my country and yours—there is some extra democracy that still needs to be dispensed here at home for the delegates and for our self-respect as Americans committed to as much consent of the governed as possible.

The writer, a Democrat, is the District's delegate to the House of Representatives.

Liz Carpenter

Note Well, White House Staff

In the Bible, it is stated: And Jacob leaned on his staff and died (Hebrews 11:2).

This can happen to presidents too.

Every four years or more, a new staff arrives at the White House who can make or break the only person the people actually elected to serve there.

Self-importance—a common Washington ailment—sets in between election and inauguration, and it strikes first at the horde of men and women who find themselves inside the 18 acres with a White House job, perhaps a car, access to the White House Mess, access to the ear of the president himself and the eye of everyone in the White House press room—which is located, one should be reminded—on the original site of Thomas Jefferson's outhouses.

How can one avoid the pitfalls of arrogance, ambition and downright obnoxiousness? That is the question if President William Jefferson Clinton (of the bus-riding Clintons) is to remain accessible to America.

It is a vigilant president who will go the length Jefferson was willing to go when he and his Commissioner of Buildings and Grounds, Benjamin Latrobe, looked over the unfinished Capitol building and seriously discussed creating a room to be called The Chamber of Impeachment. A substitute today might be to walk newcomers through an art gallery of White House crooks and rogues who have brought the roof down on their bosses.

This is the same Jefferson who arrived at his own inaugural by foot instead of carriage, simply walking over from his boarding house, Conrad and McMunn's, on Capitol Hill, and who employed—and paid from his own pocket—a White House staff of only three to run the country. (One of these was Meriwether Lewis, who was privy to the maps of the west that were being shown to the president and

who persuaded his boss to let him set out with William Clark to discover the Pacific Northwest on what might be termed the first White House junket.)

So, William Jefferson Clinton, we have some warnings for your staff. If the climate of your bus trips is to remain alive, your staff must help you make it happen. Promises were made, and they must be kept. Here are some do's and don'ts the new Clinton staff should apply to avoid the failures of the past.

DO:

Remember that you are not the boss. FDR once had to remind his aide, James Rowe, "It just so happens, Jim, that I am the president."

"You are not the boss."

You are there because the public was convinced that President Clinton could do a good job. Help him do it.

Remember you are not the first nor will you be the last to work at the White House. Ask yourself, "Do I want to be remembered as John Hay and John Nicolay—the duo assistants who served Lincoln without ego or jealousy—as Woodrow Wilson's Joe Tumulty, as FDR's Harry Hopkins, Louis Howe and Sam Rosenman, as Ike's Jim Hagerty, JFK's Ted Sorensen and Larry O'Brien, as Lyndon Johnson's Harry McPherson, Bill Moyers? Or will I be included in the gallery of H.R. Haldeman, John Erlichman, Michael Deaver and Oliver North, who left shadows on the White House?"

Return all phone calls before you leave the office, even if you have to return them at lunch when callers won't be there.

Be inclusive. If you happen to be a member of the staff who harkens back to the days when politics was a man's world, remember this is

not an all-white, all-male country. Be alert and keep America alert to the problems, the promises and the possibilities of the real America.

Nourish your sense of humor; it will help others find theirs.

Think things through and speak up honestly. Sycophants are parasites and do no service to their president.

DON'T:

Get carried away with the trappings of office. I recall a West Wing staffer who wore his White House badge to restaurants.

Speed breathlessly through the halls like a town crier, delighting in gossip.

Be a lens louse, stepping behind the president for the photographs.

Be a car telephone junkie. There are at least a dozen other cars who can hear your conversation, your name-dropping and whatever secrets you are sharing.

Lie to the press, if your job is the press. Know how to stall, or confess ignorance without lying. You don't have to carry it to the extreme LBJ did when, in a fit of exasperation, he said, "I have only authorized one person to speak for me, and he is to say, 'I don't know.'" More truthful was his statement, "The only leak in the White House is me."

Claim credit for lines in presidential speeches.

Engage in back-biting. Be a merry band of brothers and sisters.

Try to be a White House celebrity by being conspicuous about your importance. The late Edward Bennett Williams, longtime Washington lawyer, claimed he could survey a national convention or an inauguration and spot the people who would be calling him to get them out of trouble.

Fail to enjoy the White House and add to its history by your performance.

Forget that the loop can become a noose.

The writer was a press secretary to Lady Bird Johnson.

George Soros

A Social Safety Net for Russia

I take exception to Deputy Treasury Secretary John Robson's skeptical views on Western aid to the former Soviet Union. [op-ed, Dec. 27]. The seemingly endless decline and disintegration of the post-Soviet economy could still be reversed, even at this advanced stage, but only with Western help. To be effective, the help should take the form of an internationally financed social safety net, distributed directly to the unemployed and needy in the form of hard currency—dollar or Deutsche mark bills.

Given the fact that the minimum wage in Russia is \$6 a month, the cost of such a scheme would be well within the range of an IMF program: I believe \$10 billion a year would be sufficient for the entire former Soviet Union. The benefits would be incomparably greater because the scheme would have several multiplier effects and would set into motion a virtuous circle.

The most important benefit would be the introduction of a hard currency. The ruble has never served as a full-fledged currency, and incipient hyperinflation has only made matters worse. In the absence of a medium of exchange, the economy functions largely by barter. And in the absence of a store of value, there is large-scale capital flight. Insofar as hard currencies are used in internal transactions or hoarded, they need to be imported, draining an already depleted economy. Introducing a hard currency into general use would remove these handicaps, in addition to bringing direct benefits to the recipients.

The social safety net would also provide a powerful incentive to shut down loss-making enterprises. A large number of enterprises operate with negative value added, but they are kept going because their workers need to be paid. If they were paid by foreign assistance, the factories could be idled and the raw materials and energy that go into production could be sold for more than the output. That would be another multiplier effect.

The introduction of a hard currency would deprive the government of its ability to finance the deficit by printing money. This may be considered a negative because in the first instance it would accelerate hyperinflation, but the opposite is true. Unable to finance its deficit, the government would be forced to balance its budget. Given the benefits of the assistance scheme, this would no longer be impossible. The internationally financed transfer payments would go to reduce the deficit both directly and through the multiplier effects. With a social safety net in place, commodity subsidies could also be reduced; people could be asked to pay more for bread and oil. At the same time, tax and customs and excise revenues could be protected by levying them in hard currency. This would create the preconditions for balancing the budget and stabilizing the currency.

Whether the government would take advantage of this opportunity is open to question. The beauty of the scheme, though, is that it would work even if the government continued to founder. And if the government did seize the opportunity, it could work wonders. The self-reinforcing loop of disintegration and despair could be reversed and replaced by a virtuous circle. If that happened, the inflow of

private investment and domestic capital creation could set the economy on a growth path.

One other issue needs to be mentioned: The breakup of the Soviet Union into 15 independent states has had a devastating effect on production and trade, because Soviet industry was highly concentrated and without alternative sources of supply. The introduction of a hard currency could go a long way toward re-establishing trade among the newly independent states.

Many of these advantages could be secured by simply recognizing a hard currency as legal tender, but that would be inconceivable without the scheme proposed here. The social safety net makes radical currency reform, with all its attendant benefits, palatable. It is an offer that would be hard to refuse.

Now that the Gaidar government has fallen, the introduction of a hard currency becomes the only hope for currency reform. Yegor Gaidar tried to stabilize the ruble and failed. His successors will not even try. Hyperinflation is already built into the economy, but its implications are not properly understood. When it is actually experienced, there will be an attempt to reimpose wage and price controls. That attempt is bound to fail, but the consequences would be disastrous. The commands of the central government would be resisted, and the country would take a great step toward

civil war, anarchy and chaos. The fact is that a reform-minded government may not be able to do much good, but a hard-line or "patriotic" government can do a great deal of damage. Once introduced, the scheme would serve as a powerful lever against a change of government in the wrong direction; no government can replace \$10 billion at the current exchange rate.

Of course, if the scheme were implemented, the exchange rate might

Taking Exception

fall. But that is a problem that would arise only after hyperinflation had been brought under control and the domestic currency stabilized. By that time, the government ought to have the resources to take care of its own needy and unemployed.

Where is \$10 billion to be found? The obvious place is the International Monetary Fund, because the IMF has a mandate from the Group of 7 that it has been unable to fulfill. Since a conventional IMF scheme would be doomed to failure, it is time to try an unconventional one. There is only one major obstacle: The IMF is prohibited by its charter from treating one country differently from the others. But there are ways of circumventing this obstacle. For example, a special facility could be established for countries that have broken into many pieces.

An intergovernmental arrangement among the G7 might also be feasible. They would jointly guarantee a \$10 billion loan to the successor states of the Soviet Union. One country—the United States or Germany—could volunteer to provide the cash that would be distributed, and the other countries would agree to share the burden if and when the banknotes were exported. The cost would be substantially less than \$10 billion.

In sum, even if the scheme failed to generate a virtuous circle, at least it would discourage the Russian government from moving in the wrong direction. With a functioning currency, and without too much hindrance from the government, the economy could be expected to show some improvement eventually. The aid would not be wasted as it would be if it were given to the government directly. It would serve a humanitarian purpose, and it would cost much less than what is likely to be expended if nothing is done to prevent the descent into a black hole.

Considering the alternative, this scheme is definitely worth pursuing.

The writer is principal investment adviser to the Quantum Fund and is president of the Soros Foundation network, which has offices throughout central and eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

Folksiness at the White House

Bill Clinton has invited 50 un-famous, un-rich Americans to lunch in Washington on the eve of his inauguration this month — another sign he means to be a President with an ear for what's on people's minds. But he is not the first to cast a populist image at the outset of his Administration. What counts is what he does in the Oval Office.

Jimmy Carter introduced America to the South's easy informality with nicknames; he took the oath of office as "Jimmy," not "James Earl." And then, leaving the inaugural platform at the Capitol, the new President proceeded to walk down Pennsylvania Avenue hand-in-hand with his wife — the very image of a regular fellow. He even took questions on an "Ask President Carter" call-in broadcast with Walter Cronkite, years before Ross Perot teamed up with Larry King.

The best-known example of Presidential folksiness was, of course, Andrew Jackson's first inauguration, and quite unintentional. He had planned a

dignified White House reception for invited guests. But his popularity as the first common man to be elected President drew thousands of uninvited admirers who raised havoc until they were finally lured outdoors by moving the punch bowls to the lawn. Jackson escaped through a window.

Mr. Clinton enters the Presidency with a Secret Service entourage that will prevent any such mob manifestations. But he has already popped into McDonald's enough times to make his common touch seem natural — in marked contrast to George Bush's feigned taste for pork rinds.

Now the whole world waits to see how Bill Clinton links the symbolism of mixing it up with ordinary folks at lunch with the reality of being President. The folks of the well-entrenched Washington Establishment — members of Congress, bureaucrats, lobbyists and their bosses, diplomats and their prime ministers — are looking to mix it up with *him*.

Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

Peeping Tom Lives

WASHINGTON

When President William Jefferson Clinton is briefed by the Secret Service about the security available to him, he will be shown a "secure" scrambler telephone on which he can talk to other heads of government.

Only one problem: Western intelligence agencies were shocked last year to learn that conversations between world leaders had been intercepted and overheard by unauthorized persons. At this moment, it may be that there is no such thing as a 100 percent secure diplomatic or military line.

On a better-known level of eavesdropping, Federal investigators looking into the Bush campaign's penetration of the Clinton passport file discovered a more extensive case of privacy invasion: Foreign Service officers in the State Department Operations Center were routinely, perhaps for years, listening in on their superiors' conversations routed through Op-Center's switchboard.

With neither party to the call giving permission to listen in, that intrusion would violate section 2510 of Title 18 of the U.S. Criminal Code. (That case is being buried at the Public Integrity Section of the Department of Justice, lately the graveyard of power-abuse investigations.)

A third example of the way technology is being used to endanger the privacy of personal communication and records: Six people who worked for the Perot campaign wondered why their detailed personal credit ratings, assembled by Atlanta's Equifax credit-reporting organization,

**Needed:
new laws
against
data
rape.**

had been obtained by a consumer leasing company for no commercial reason. "A hacker situation," an Equifax man told The Dallas Morning News, but the F.B.I. is now trying to discover who was checking out these political volunteers and why.

Snooping has become a pernicious habit with government officials, a lucrative industry for technocratic compilers of dossiers and a titillating way of life for too many nosy people.

The record of every single telephone call you make is controlled not by you but by companies eager to cooperate with the I.R.S. Your use of credit cards offers a map to snoopers of where you go and what you spend. Your mortgage application tells marketers what you own. Your driver's license application reveals your weight to diet clubs and your cable TV contract tells the world of your interests. You have been stripped of the power, once sacred to Americans, to tell the world to mind its own business.

What can we do to defend ourselves against the relentless penetration of our "personhood," in Justice Sandra Day O'Connor's apt word, by govern-

ment spies routinely listening to our conversations and commercial demons of demography rifling through our records?

We can start by teaching each other that eavesdropping — which always has been a reprehensible act — is all the more wrong now that wearing a wire or planting an FM bug to entrap is so easy. A White House Conference on privacy and fair information practices could place this moral concern in a bully pulpit.

The sneaky business of secret taping, with its potential of embarrassment or extortion, should be outlawed; Federal and state legislation is needed to stop any recording when either party is unaware of being taped. Then we should set a thief to catch a thief: the technology of surveillance should be blunted by cheap, portable electronic defense.

Data rape is a sleeper issue; I don't know when Americans will awaken to our personal vulnerability. Canadians already have an example of the national harm that stealing of signals can do: in Canada's recent referendum on federation, an illegally intercepted call on a cordless phone, publicized at the end of the campaign, caused the defeat of the unity proposal.

That's why Prime Minister Brian Mulroney calls eavesdropping "an insidious invasion" and is pressing for fines and jail terms for those who divulge the contents of a cellular call. "In a technologically advanced age, I cannot think of a more lethal threat to civil liberty than electronic snooping," Mr. Mulroney tells me. "If one person tapes another without permission, the release of that information should be a crime."

That libertarian attitude up north is what we should adopt here. Never has personal privacy been so vital a component of human liberty. We have been losing to the computer, the recorder and the eavesdropper by default; time to fight back. □

Farming the System

By Osha Gray Davidson

Finally, after a Presidential campaign in which farm policy went virtually unmentioned, Representative Mike Espy of Mississippi, President-elect Bill Clinton's choice for Secretary of Agriculture, acknowledged the obvious: The world has changed dramatically since our agriculture policies were crafted nearly 50 years ago. Mr. Espy neglected to add that American farm programs are in desperate need of a complete and radical overhaul.

U.S. farm policies are hopelessly outdated, exorbitantly expensive and environmentally and socially devastating. But they endure, thanks to the lobbying efforts of agribusinesses able to make hay from society's devotion to that fast-disappearing icon, the family farmer.

Unless Mr. Espy and Mr. Clinton are serious about reforming the Agriculture Department, we will soon have a two-tiered farm structure more commonly associated with the third world.

We are already dangerously close to having such a system. Seventy percent of our growers live on small "hobby farms," which account for less than 10 percent of total national farm receipts. More than a third of

Osha Gray Davidson is author of "Broken Heartland: The Rise of America's Rural Ghetto."

farm produce comes from just 1.4 percent of our largest "superfarms," those with sales of \$500,000 or more a year. In between, the mid-sized family farms are being squeezed out. Instead of Thomas Jefferson's independent yeoman, today one in three farm workers is a hired employee earning an average of \$5.36 an hour.

Driving this trend is a Federal farm policy that directs lavish subsidies — an estimated \$13 billion in 1992 — to the largest farms. Despite the perception that these payments are needed to save the family farmer, 73 cents of every farm program dollar ends up in the pockets of 15 percent of the nation's superfarms. Advocates for these policies argue that the largest farms should receive the largest Government payments because their size allows them to capture economies of scale. This is plain wrong. Economies of scale are already captured by mid-sized family farmers. The larger growers simply capture more profits — often less efficiently.

The resulting concentration of farmland in the hands of a few powerful growers has grave consequences for many rural communities. A 1986 Congressional study of counties dominated by superfarms found "a few wealthy elites, a large majority of poor laborers and virtually no middle class." Poverty rates in these rural ghettos rival those of our worst inner cities. Farm workers and their families often live in crumbling shacks or battered trailers. Many children miss school to work beside their parents in fields regularly sprayed with hazardous farm chemicals.

For too long the Agriculture Department has ignored these impoverished communities, most of which are in the South and West. Now these conditions are spreading into formerly prosperous communities in the nation's heartland.

As Vice President-elect Al Gore points out in "Earth in the Balance," our farm policy also courts environmental disaster. For example, despite a glutted market, farmers are paid a subsidy for every bushel of corn they produce. This encourages even the

Agriculture policy is dangerously out of date.

most conscientious growers to plow highly erodible land and to use enormous amounts of fertilizer and pesticides, polluting limited ground water.

Our new farm policy should encourage farmers not to grow more, but to grow more efficiently. And such a policy should take environmental and social costs into account. We pay to clean water polluted by farm chemicals. A more rational policy would hold farms responsible for environmental costs, perhaps by adding a tax to the price of toxic chemicals.

Where Federal subsidies are appropriate, they should be directed to mid-sized farms instead of to super-

farms. Research and education and outreach programs, which cost \$1 billion a year, should be redirected along similar lines.

Even the best farm policy can promise only limited benefits to the country's 60 million rural residents, a majority of whom no longer depend on food production for their livelihood. Perhaps Mr. Espy's greatest challenge will be to redirect the department's resources to serve the needs of all rural residents, not just those engaged in agriculture. As former co-chairman of the House Rural Development Task Force, Mr. Espy has the right résumé for the job.

The original mission of the Department of Agriculture was to make "two blades of grass grow where only one grew before." That may have worked once, but no more. Our public policies must adapt to new realities — despite pressure from special interests more intent on farming the system than on being stewards of the land. □

Note to Readers

The Op-Ed page welcomes unsolicited manuscripts. Because of the volume of submissions, however, we regret that we cannot acknowledge an article or return it unless it is accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped envelope. If manuscripts are accepted for publication, authors will be notified within two weeks.

PAUL CRAIG ROBERTS

Bent on vengeance at any price

We have to hand it to President Bush for flushing out special prosecutor Lawrence Walsh with his pardon of Caspar Weinberger and five other Iran-Contra victims.

Mr. Walsh's vindictive announcement that he would retaliate by making Mr. Bush "the subject of our investigation" speaks volumes to the unprofessional and unethical behavior that defines Mr. Walsh and his entire six-year enterprise.

However many licks Mr. Bush takes from this episode, Mr. Walsh has emerged as a power-mad, deranged figure, bent on pursuit at any price.

The Wall Street Journal has compared him to the mad Captain Ahab.

The Washington Post, which normally hates Republicans with a passion, editorialized that "Lawrence Walsh did his own record in this lengthy case an injustice in saying the pardons stood for the proposition that the well-connected go free. Mr. Bush was right that these were not venal acts, and that all six of those he pardoned for acts in the line of what they perceived as duty have paid a price."

Even the New York Times abandoned Mr. Walsh.

In a front-page story, the newspaper that seldom misses an opportunity to scream for a Republican head concluded that Mr. Walsh's misguided prosecutions had trivialized the Iran-Contra affair.

At issue was the question of whether the Arms Export Control Act and the Boland Amendment had been violated.

However, Mr. Walsh and his trigger-happy gang of lawyers just wanted victims to convict on any charge for the pure fun of it. They ended up charging Oliver North, the principal figure, with accepting a gift of a home security system.

As the New York Times noted, this offense "was so far from the heart of the matter as to obscure rather than illuminate what the fuss over the Iran-Contra affair was all

misconduct — including his avoidance of District of Columbia income taxes by falsely claiming his hometown as his work station, his violation of court rules and his violation of federal contracting guidelines — have discredited forever the office of special prosecutor.

It is ironic that Mr. Walsh and his gang built a stronger case against themselves than against their targets. Their arrogance did them in but so, too, did the unaccountable nature of the office.

Prosecutors who have unlimited budgets and can fish forever in people's lives searching for an offense

are inherently abusive and unacceptable in a democracy.

If real wrongdoing occurs in the executive branch, Congress has the impeachment option.

Mr. Walsh failed in the end because he and his team tried to criminalize the exercise of judgment in interpreting laws by those charged with running the government.

Regardless of its economic and military might, a government is paralyzed when it is filled with people fearful of making judgments that could later be used against them.

The liberals abandoned Mr. Walsh because the last thing they want is a government that does nothing.

Government cannot be separated from the exercise of discretionary power, which is why conservatives prefer limited government.

No one exercises greater discretion than regulatory bureaucrats, who routinely stretch statutes far beyond the elasticity that Col. North and his cohorts applied to the Boland Amendment. Yet courts have given great deference to the regulators' interpretation of laws.

We even have massive wetlands

regulations without any statutory basis, and we have quotas despite their strict prohibition by the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

When British unions wanted to disrupt the national transportation system, they did not need to strike; they simply "worked to rule."

By carefully observing every rule in the book, they could paralyze the system by staying on the job. Similarly, the way to throw the military into turmoil is to "go by the book."

Would we think better of executive branch officials if they had lost the Cold War by working to rule?

Paul Craig Roberts, an economist at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, is a columnist for The Washington Times and is nationally syndicated.

about."

Mr. Walsh's operation was so obviously partisan and devoid of integrity that it became an embarrassment to the Democrats who were its beneficiaries.

The second indictment of Mr. Weinberger, timed to influence the outcome of the presidential election, was the straw that broke the camel's back.

When consulted by Mr. Bush, both House Speaker Tom Foley and House Armed Services Chairman Les Aspin said they would not criticize the pardon.

Mr. Walsh is finished, and his own

ALSTON CHASE

In 1961, President John F. Kennedy appointed Arizona Rep. Stewart Udall as secretary of the Interior. Throughout his term, Mr. Udall displayed leadership that has not been seen in the job since.

Mr. Udall appointed a persuasive administrator — George Hartzog — to run the National Park Service, an agency within Interior. He embraced the famous Leopold Report, which defined the mission of the National Park Service and remains policy today. He commissioned the Robbins Report, a study of park science by the National Research Council, which spurred reform of that agency's research efforts. And he played a pivotal role in the creation of the Wilderness and Endangered Species Acts.

Now President-elect Bill Clinton has nominated another Arizonan, Bruce Babbitt, as secretary of the Interior. Environmentalists, who lobbied hard for Mr. Babbitt, are ecstatic. But will this second Arizonan — currently president of the League of Conservation Voters — be another Stewart Udall?

Conditions facing Mr. Babbitt are both similar to and different from those that greeted Mr. Udall. Now, as then, there is a need for change. The Park Service is a mess. In 1992, two prestigious reports — one by Harvard's Kennedy School, the other by the National Research Council —

Alston Chase is a nationally syndicated columnist specializing in environmental issues.

Pressure to push an agenda

called for drastic reforms of that agency. The Bureau of Land Management and the Fish and Wildlife Service — other Interior agencies — also need reorganization. Mr. Babbitt should adopt the "three R's" — rethink conservation, revise laws and reform Interior.

But political conditions have changed since Mr. Udall's day. In 1961, the pressure was for change, whereas Mr. Babbitt is expected to restore the status-quo ante — reviving pre-Reagan-Bush conditions, replacing politically incorrect Republican environmental ineptness with professional Democratic bureaucracy building.

In 1961, the environmental movement was small and poor, and the earlier secretary created environmental policies from scratch. Now it is a juggernaut, part of the permanent government of congressmen and congressional staffers, lobbyists and media gurus whose interest is to keep power in Washington. This alliance pursues an "M&M" (more and more) agenda — strengthening existing laws and providing more appropriations for the agencies that administer them.

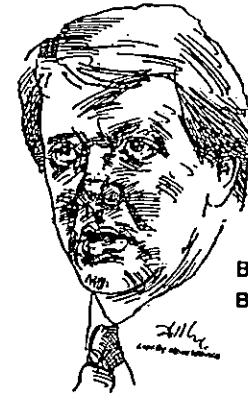
Mr. Clinton's environmental appointments are victories for this permanent government. His nominee to run the Environmental Protection Agency, Carol M. Browner, a former staffer of Al Gore, ensures that the vice president will keep his bread-

To succeed, he must make the permanent government work for him, not vice versa. He must choose competent outsiders, not career bureaucrats.

and-butter issues, ozone depletion and global warming, on the front burner.

Mr. Clinton's choice for Agriculture secretary, Rep. Mike Espy of Mississippi, is the king of Southern fried pork, whose major achievements are the Mississippi River Corridor Study Commission and National Catfish Day, honoring an industry in his district. Mr. Espy seems an unlikely figure to reorganize the Agriculture Department, nor is he apt to lead the National Forest Service (a division of Agriculture) out of the wilderness, although both steps are badly needed.

Likewise, through his League of Conservation Voters connection, Mr. Babbitt is closely allied with the Beltway crowd. Endorsing conven-



Bruce Babbitt

tional M&M strategy, the league's agenda calls for higher grazing fees on public lands, a stronger Endangered Species Act, more law enforcement, more wilderness for "ecosystem" or "ancient forest" protection, more federal land acquisition and more money for the Fish and Wildlife Service.

As secretary, therefore, Mr. Babbitt faces pressure to push this agenda. And while its goal — preservation — is desirable, the M&M strategy won't achieve it.

You do not improve bad laws by "strengthening" them. The Endangered Species Act fails to save species, not because it is weak, but because it is based on poor science. Ecosystem legislation would prohibit precisely those management

techniques — such as restoration ecology and the "new forestry" — needed to keep forests healthy. Given Interior's dismal record as a land manager, more federal stewardship will not further the cause of biodiversity.

Instead, those laws and the agencies that administer them must be overhauled. So far, reform hasn't occurred because neither Democrats nor Republicans wanted it. Jimmy Carter simply joined the "Park of the Month Club," adding federal lands at a dizzy pace. Messrs. Reagan and Bush never understood environmentalism, and their clumsy attempts to have the Interior Department serve Western economic interests were sandbagged by career bureaucrats, environmentalists and media pundits, who called such efforts "political meddling."

But Mr. Babbitt may succeed where his immediate predecessors failed. Those who know him like him. He is one of the few politicians who actually reads books. He understands public lands and has a sense of history. In Arizona, he pioneered ground-water and land-management reform. He picks competent assistants.

To succeed, he must make the permanent government work for him, not vice versa. He must choose competent outsiders, not career bureaucrats, for key positions and should clean house in the senior executive service, putting reformers in place. And he must sometimes say "no" to environmentalists. If he does, he could be Arizona's second great gift to conservation.

WILLIAM BUCKLEY

Now that we have taken care of the nuclear bomb threat, our national problems are reduced. They are (primarily) education, race relations and health.

The first and third of these have been fruitfully explored, and as tends to happen, the republic awaits the word from the president of the United States on what should be done to reform education — because public education is a documented mess.

The New York Times on Dec. 30 carried a touching story. It is of a young man with three boys and an infant daughter. The boys are 11, 9 and 7. And Dave and Robin Guterson are undertaking to educate them at home.

This is legal in the state of Washington where teacher certificates are not required of parents. However, the children need to submit to the same tests given to public school students. The Gutersons are having no problem whatever with this: Their boys are getting substantially higher grades than their contemporaries in public schools.

William F. Buckley Jr. is president and editor at large of National Review and a nationally syndicated columnist.

Learning at home . . . successfully

aries in public schools.

There is a nice irony here because Mr. Guterson teaches at a public high school. He doesn't find this in any sense paradoxical: He will do the best he can at the school he teaches in, but he knows that better training can be done at home. He is so confident that his little home school is if not the universal answer to the problem at hand, a partial answer to it, that he has written an extended essay, published as a book by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, called "Family Matters: Why Homeschooling Makes Sense."

I write with special sympathy for the Guterson model inasmuch as I am myself a product of home schooling (until age 15). There were 10 of us, and life at home was as "Life With Father" in the famous play, the father in question having a mad-dog enthusiasm for learning everything from Latin to how to construct ship models inside glass bottles.

It is Mr. Guterson's point that the whole enterprise can be conducted on a modest scale, that the notion that expensive tutors need to be hired is incorrect. And he makes the

They "argue that government has not solved the problem because government is the problem."

further point that at about age 13, the boy or the girl should be given the option to go to an institutional school, in the event the child hungers for a broader social experience. But he is not apprehensive at the moment, given that his children are gregarious and engage in sports and other social activity with their contemporaries.

The idea is breaking out all over because of the common concern over schooling: Look to the private sector. John Chubb and Terry Moe published their seminal work under the auspices of the Brookings Institution in 1990. Their book is called "Politics, Markets and America's Schools," and the foreword speaks in

simple words about the book's findings. The authors "argue that government has not solved the education problem because government is the problem. They contend that the political institutions that govern America's schools function naturally and routinely, despite everyone's best intentions, to burden the schools with excessive bureaucracy, to inhibit effective organization and to stifle student achievement."

Is America responding to the challenge? We have the nuclear Guterson unit, but we have also the grand design of the Whittle organization, which lured Benno Schmidt from the presidency of Yale University to launch a network of schools-for-profit designed to give us back what the public schools have taken from us.

The proposition that satisfactory schooling can be had only at an institutional unit requires us to deplore the illiteracy of George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Woodrow Wilson, Theodore Roosevelt, Thomas Edison, Albert Einstein, Margaret Mead and Pearl Buck, all of whom were educated at home.

We face the problem of Bill Clinton. He is much more afraid these days of the teachers' unions than he is of Boris Yeltsin. Early on, Mr. Clinton showed an intelligent and innovative interest in reforming education in Arkansas. But by the time Pottomac Fever got hold of him, he collapsed back into the old cliché, that we must not encourage vouchers or private education or choice in schooling on the ground that to do so would damage the public schools.

Damaging the public schools would be the greatest exercise in redundancy imaginable, on the order of revisiting Hiroshima one day later and dropping a few hand grenades.

One needs therefore to hope that such initiatives as suggested by Mr. Guterson and the Brookings Institution, and Whittle, and Polly Williams of Milwaukee, the black leader who has struggled valiantly for choice and vouchers, will affect the public mood sufficiently to bring on the reforms so manifestly needed. Mr. Clinton might tip his hand by awarding Mr. Guterson a Medal of Freedom.

Names & Faces

Chelsea Visits Sidwell

■ Chelsea Clinton further fueled the intense speculation about Where She'll Go to School here by touring the upper Northwest campus of Sidwell Friends yesterday, along with her mother and a Secret Service detail. The 12-year-old's visit on the last day of the private school's two-week hiatus was brief, said Headmaster Earl Harrison, who declined to add anything more. The school was attended by the three sons of Marian Wright Edelman, the president of the Children's Defense Fund and a close friend of Bill and Hillary Clinton.

Di, Living a Little

■ More royal romping. Princess Diana was pursued by a legion of reporters and photographers while she vacationed with her two sons on the Caribbean island of Nevis. Diana, who separated from Prince Charles last month, arrived on the sunlit shores three days ago. The princess and her sons, Prince William, 10, and Prince Harry, 8, have spent much of their time playing in the surf.

The *paparazzi* caught a glimpse of the



Diana, frolicking.



Chelsea Clinton: A future with Sidwell Friends?

royals racing from one beach to another in a convoy of a dozen four-wheel-drive vehicles.

The threesome is expected to return to London on Wednesday.

The Critics' Choices

■ Clint Eastwood's "Unforgiven" was chosen Best Picture of 1992 by the National Society of Film Critics. The film, which Eastwood directed and starred in, also won prizes for Best Director, Best Screenplay (David Webb Peoples) and Best Supporting Actor (Gene Hackman).

The Best Actor award went to Stephen Rea for "The Crying Game;" Best Actress to Emma Thompson for "Howards End";

and Best Supporting Actress to Judy Davis for "Husbands and Wives."

Manhattan Macaroni Date

■ Woody Allen and Soon-Yi Previn, chaperoned by Woody's sister, Letty Aronson, were spotted dining last Tuesday night at Felidia on East 58th Street, according to Newsday.

Both Woody and Soon-Yi ordered bruschetta and pasta; he had the penne, she had tortellini. He drank white wine; she had red.

End Notes

■ Lefthander magazine has named President-elect Clinton its Lefthander of the Year. Also honored: entertainers Whoopi Goldberg, Jerry Seinfeld and Billy Ray Cyrus, tennis player Martina Navratilova and baseball player Ken Griffey Jr. . . .

Ezra Taft Benson, 93, president of the 8.4-million-member Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and agriculture secretary during the Eisenhower administration, was hospitalized with pneumonia Thursday. Benson is in serious but stable condition . . .

The first Elvis stamp has been sighted—and a bit prematurely. A woman bought 60 Elvis stamps at a post office in Amarillo, Tex., on Wednesday. A postal employee said the office received the Elvis stamps that day, but it wasn't until the next day that a letter arrived saying the stamps shouldn't yet be sold. The 29-cent commemorative stamp wasn't supposed to be available until this week, when the Postal Service formally releases the stamp in Memphis, home town of the rock-and-roll icon. It will be released nationwide at noon Friday.

—Compiled from staff and wire reports by Marla Harper

THE RELIABLE SOURCE

Lois Romano's column will resume next week.



THE PRESIDENT

daily
1/4/92

RZ

This is outstanding.

Please save for my records.

I have asked Ede holiday to get other Cab officers to prepare same thing.

GB

*Nancy -
log outgoing
note to
Leman*



THE PRESIDENT

Jan 4, 1993

Dear Lamar,

That paper you
sent me is outstanding.
I know we've got a
fine record on education

thanks to your leadership -
I just could never
get it to resonate - The
press refused to give
credit - but all that is
history.

What a fantastic job
you've done - Most Sincerely,
C. B. Bunt

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 29, 1992

DEC 29 P6:07

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: EDE HOLIDAY *Dac for*
SUBJECT: Correspondence from Secretary Alexander.

Attached are a letter and a speech from Secretary Alexander.

Attachments

THE SECRETARY OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON

MR. PRESIDENT —

K3 YOU THINK ABOUT
WHAT YOU HAVE ACCOMPLISHED —

12/24/92

Man

Lamar Alexander

MR. PRESIDENT -

Thank you very much for

presenting us at Christmas

with THE AMERICANS. Dave

Borah is one of our greatest

treasures about our country.

Very sincerely

December 24, 1992

WHAT WE WERE DOING WHEN WE WERE INTERRUPTED

BY LAMAR ALEXANDER

U.S. Secretary of Education

When the dust settles and the history books are written, President Bush's leadership in education will be among his most significant and lasting contributions.

My definition of Presidential leadership is the one George Reedy, Lyndon Johnson's press secretary, used in his book, Twilight of the Presidency. Reedy said that a President, aside from his commander in chief responsibilities, should do three things: (1) See a few urgent needs, (2) Develop a strategy to meet each of those needs, (3) Persuade at least half the people he is right.

By this standard President Bush did for education what a President can uniquely do--he helped to set a national agenda and make things happen. Because he did this for the most part in bi-partisan partnership with the nation's governors, the agenda he has helped to set will be the American education agenda for the rest of this century.

MORE WAS GOING ON THAN YOU THOUGHT

That agenda begins with the six National Education Goals, established in 1989 in Charlottesville by the President and all the Governors. Next, in April, 1991, came the AMERICA 2000 strategy to mobilize the country, community by community, toward those goals. By December 1992, more than 2700 communities in every state were working together on the goals in the monthly AMERICA 2000 Satellite TV Town Meetings.

In addition to the AMERICA 2000 community effort, the President's agenda includes a series of truly radical initiatives designed to create a framework within which parents, business leaders, teachers and others within the community can more easily change the schools to help them fit today's families. These initiatives are (1) a new set of national standards in core curriculum subjects including sciences, history, English, geography, arts, civics, and foreign languages, (math is already done) (2) a voluntary national examination system geared to those new standards, (3) a new generation of thousands of start-from-scratch, "break-the-mold" or charter schools (4) giving teachers more autonomy and flexibility in their classrooms by waiving federal rules and regulations, and (5) a GI Bill for Children to give middle- and low-income families \$1000 scholarships to spend at any lawfully operated school of their choice, thereby giving those parents more of the same choices wealthy parents already have.

AN AGENDA FOR THE REST OF THE CENTURY

This agenda will not disappear with the arrival of a new Administration. President-elect Clinton helped write the National Education Goals. A bi-partisan National Education Goals Panel of Governors, Members of Congress and Administration officials has been created to monitor progress toward the goals until the year 2000. Forty-four states, including Arkansas, have created their own AMERICA 2000 state efforts. The Goals Panel will continue the monthly AMERICA 2000 Satellite Town Meetings. The AMERICA 2000 Coalition of more than 80 non-profit organizations and business groups from bankers to nurses to the Boy and Girl Scouts has been formed to help communities succeed.

Seven task forces creating the new national academic standards are funded and are scheduled to complete their work by 1994-95. States and the private sector, stimulated by the Goals Panel, already are working on new performance-based achievement tests geared to the

standards. The New American Schools Development Corporation has raised \$50 million to fund 11 design teams who will help communities create break-the-mold schools; more than 200 more design teams which were not funded have announced their intention to continue their work. California, and Minnesota have passed charter schools legislation. Charter school initiatives have been or will be introduced in Arizona, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, and Tennessee.

Congress did not approve the President's proposal to relieve the inflexibility of federal rules on classroom teachers, but it almost certainly will do so in 1993. In the meantime, states such as Ohio and Texas have moved ahead of the federal government in getting government off the backs of teachers. Neither did Congress approve the President's GI Bill for Children, but the idea remains powerful, commanding 70 per cent support in public opinion surveys, and, I think, inevitable. Giving tax dollars to parents instead of to schools as a way to change schools and help pay for the changes will be hard to suppress permanently.

Finally, federal spending and program priorities have been rearranged to focus on the National Education Goals and the President's larger agenda for change. For example, Head Start is one of the most powerful aids to Goal One, that all children should arrive at school ready to learn. As a result, during the four Bush years, funding for Head Start more than doubled, making the program available to all eligible four-year-olds whose parents want them to participate. Two billion dollars in federal funding was refocused on math and science, especially teacher training, a critical element in helping reaching the higher standards envisioned by Goals 3 and 4. A new \$100 billion five-year Higher Education Act increased to record levels the number of grants and loans available to college students and the funding for them. These grants and loans help support Goal 5 workforce training objectives.

Congress did not approve the President's proposal for large new increases in federal spending that would have supported his agenda for change. The President had recommended spending over half a billion dollars during the next three years to help communities retool the first 535 "break-the mold" schools. He also proposed a half billion dollars to begin giving federal scholarships to parents under the GI Bill for Children. Ironically, these two programs--for "break-the-mold schools" and the GI Bill for Children--were the largest new proposals for federal spending to help local schools since 1965 when the Chapter I program began. This could have been the beginning of two entirely new long-term methods of using federal funds to help pay for local schools, namely, funds to help redesign and retool thousands of New American Schools and funds to give hundreds of thousands of families dollars to spend at schools that serve the children who need help the most. Yet, ironically, these two proposals (which were supported in Congress by conservatives) were defeated by those who insist that what schools mainly need is more money from the federal government! The problem seemed to be that the new federal money threatened to bring with it more change than those in charge of our schools could stomach. Even without enactment of these two proposals, federal spending for education during the Bush presidency increased more rapidly than state and local spending. And in 1992, President Bush advocated more new federal discretionary dollars go into the relatively tiny Education Department than into any other department.

MORE CHANGE THAN THOSE IN CHARGE COULD STOMACH

Whether this much change really is necessary is still--ten years after A Nation at Risk--the central issue. On one side are those who believe that polite changes to the existing structure plus a lot more money will do most of what needs to be done in education. The view of President Bush, most Governors of both political parties, and a growing number of Americans is that we must

construct an entirely new and radically different education system over time--as well as rethink community and family responsibilities toward children--if those children are to be able to learn enough to live work and compete in the world the way it is today and will be tomorrow.

That difference of opinion crystallizes the issue which is at the core of most of the school debate: Who shall have control? For example, creating break-the-mold schools transfers more control of school structure, standards and policy to the community-at-large. So does the process of setting national academic standards and examinations geared to those standards. The 541 organizations in Washington with "education" in their names have thus far persuaded Congress not to transfer to classroom teachers more control over the spending of federal dollars. To be more precise, the president of the National Education Association in a National Public Radio debate refused to go with me to ask Congress to give his own teacher-members more freedom to spend federal dollars in the way they think best helps children in their classrooms.

The biggest control arguments of all are whether to involve private companies in the management of some schools or school functions, and whether to transfer to parents more control of which school their child attends. All of these efforts would restrict the control now enjoyed by unions, government bureaucracies, local educational monopolies, Congress, Congressional staff aides, and the 541 lobbying groups in Washington. The proposed shifts of control would generally give more power to parents, classroom teachers, community groups, the private sector and citizens at large. Today's school debate is primarily about who should have control of an enterprise that now spends more than the nation does on defense, and that most Americans believe has more to do with our future than any other subject: the education of our children.

These proposed changes of control would produce truly wrenching

changes in the system of American education. That's why the prospect of the changes produced enormous resistance within the education community, especially during the 1992 Presidential elections. It had become obvious that if the President were re-elected, he would have insisted on his agenda during the 1993 reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Because of the respect Americans generally have for their educators, this resistance within the educational community created widespread skepticism about the President's policies within the community at large. So despite the fact that rhetoric for "real change" was a dominant theme in the 1992 elections, the specific education changes advocated by the President turned out to be more change than most Americans were comfortable with. About the only thing all those arguing seemed to agree upon was that these changes, if they were enacted, would produce schools that by the end of the decade would only faintly resemble the schools we have today.

To understand more fully why we still believe such radical changes are necessary, how and where the movement to cause these changes began, and where it had advanced when the voters interrupted the President in November, 1992, it is useful to step back to the early 1980's and to the publication of A Nation At Risk.

A NATION A RISK: 1983

In 1980 I was Governor of Tennessee. I recall the Democratic legislative leaders coming to my office to talk about their resolution creating a commission to look at our state's education system.

I asked them, "Will this be just another resolution and commission or, will we take this seriously and appoint the best people and do what they say we need done?"

We agreed it was time for a serious look at education. Together we appointed a bi-partisan commission of the state's most outstanding citizens and legislators. One year later, this commission produced a sweeping blueprint for change. Based upon that work, in January, 1983, I proposed a ten-point "Better Schools Program."

It was into this environment that the U.S. Education Department's report, "A Nation At Risk," appeared in March, 1983. This report triggered a national alarm about what our children knew and were able to do. I know that in our state the report helped galvanize support for more change in our schools, as well as our attitudes, than most had thought was possible.

The elements of Tennessee's "Better Schools Program" were like those which began to appear in state after state: a focus on basic skills and the core curriculum, new kinds of assessments so we could know what children were learning, computers in the schools, alternative schools for disruptive children, Governor's schools in the summer for gifted children, across-the-board teacher pay raises as well as a new career ladder to pay teachers more for teaching well, higher admissions standards at universities, centers and chairs of excellence at the universities, expansion of community colleges and new focus on workforce skills, and tax increases to pay the bill for the new initiatives.

The National Education Association fiercely opposed the career ladder (although the American Federation of Teachers was open to it). I vetoed all teachers pay raises one year and promised to veto such raises every year in order to force passage of the career ladder. For two years, I spent more than half my time working to enact these legislative reforms. It was my first lesson in how real change in the educational system can be difficult even for a single-minded Governor.

THE GOVERNORS' YEAR OF EDUCATION: "TIME FOR RESULTS"

Governors in almost every state were learning the same lessons. By 1985-86 interest in school reform had grown so that the nation's governors did something they never had done before; they devoted an entire year to a single subject--education. I was chairman of the National Governors' Association that year. Bill Clinton of Arkansas was the vice chairman. All of us had become convinced that, in the midst of a world of change, American education seemed to be stepping forward briskly along the same old ruts. So we sought to change the agenda.

The agenda of the seventies had been mostly desegregation and more money. The agenda that the Governors sought to make the national education agenda of the future is reflected in the following seven questions that we asked:

- o Why not pay teachers more for teaching well?
- o What can be done to attract, train, and reward excellent school leaders?
- o Why not let parents choose the schools their children attend?
- o Aren't there ways to help poor children with weak preparation succeed in school?
- o Why are expensive school buildings closed half the year when children are behind in their studies and many classrooms are overcrowded?
- o Why shouldn't schools use the newest technologies for learning?
- o How much are college students really learning?

The governors divided into seven task forces to consider these questions. We issued our answers and recommendations in 1986, calling it "Time for Results: The 1991 Report," because we pledged to follow the progress on answering those seven questions for five years. I said at the time, the major premise of the report was, "The Governors are ready for some old-fashioned horsetrading. We'll regulate less, if schools and school districts will produce better results."

LEADERSHIP: SETTING THE AGENDA, MAKING THINGS HAPPEN

Governors began to discover that if they set a limited education agenda, presented their arguments in a compelling way, and leaned into it with everything they had for as long as they were in office, they could wear everyone else out. They also found that governors, with the exception of a few business people like Ross Perot in Texas, were really the only individuals with sufficient authority to build coalitions powerful enough to challenge the educational establishment, which was at first surprised by and then generally resistant to many of the changes that the Governors and business leaders proposed.

By the time of the 1988 presidential election almost every governor was describing himself or herself as an "education governor." State spending for elementary and secondary education had nearly doubled during the previous decade. George Bush announced in the midst of his campaign that he intended to be the "Education President."

In 1988 George Bush was elected President. I had become President of the University of Tennessee. Shortly after his election during a meeting of university presidents, I remember the President asking, "If we have the best colleges, why not the best schools?" In that meeting we discussed the possibility of an education summit. I suggested keeping the summit small, limiting it to the

chief executives of our nation, the President and the governors. I also reminded the President of George Reedy's advice about seeing a few urgent needs, developing strategies to reach them, and working hard to persuade at least half the people that he is right.

Reedy's formula was the kind of agenda setting leadership the Governors had been practicing during the 1980's as they worked through state-by-state solutions to the seven questions we had asked ourselves in "Time For Results." It would become the basis for the same kind of leadership when in October, 1989, the Governors and the President committed themselves to six ambitious National Education Goals and to trying to move the country toward them by the year 2000.

THE SUMMIT AND THE NATIONAL EDUCATION GOALS

The summit at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville went remarkably well. Terry Branstad of Iowa, the Chairman of the Governors that year, appointed Governor Clinton of Arkansas and Governor Carroll Campbell of South Carolina to lead the effort. Working with the President's representatives they came up with the first National Education Goals. The goals were bi-partisan, comprehensive and direct. They spoke to students of all ages and to issues inside and outside the classroom. The Governors pledged to go home and go to work moving their states toward the goals.

The goals declared that, by the year 2000:

1. All children in America will start school ready to learn.
2. The high school graduation rate will increase to at least 90%.
3. American students will leave grades four, eight, and twelve having demonstrated competency in challenging subject matter including English, mathematics, science, history, and

geography; and every school in America will ensure that all students learn to use their minds well, so they may be prepared for responsible citizenship, further learning, and productive employment in our modern economy.

4. U.S. students will be first in the world in science and mathematics achievement.
5. Every adult American will be literate and will possess the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in a global economy and exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.
6. Every school in America will be free of drugs and violence and will offer a disciplined environment conducive to learning.

It could be said that after a decade of unprecedented school reform America backed into its goals for the reforms. At the beginning of the 1980's, we would have done well to consider guitarist Chet Atkins' advice, "In this life you have to be mighty careful where you aim because you're likely to get there." We finally took the advice, but only after going in circles for a while.

AMERICA 2000

I was President of the University of Tennessee in December, 1990, when the President telephoned to ask me to be the Education Secretary. To be specific, I was chairing a fairly arcane session on assessment (all sessions on assessment are, to put it charitably, arcane) at Alex Haley's farm when the phone started ringing. First it was John Sununu. Then it was Howard Baker, to whom Sununu had talked. Then the President was on the line asking if I would take the job.

Having had a few hours to collect my thoughts, I asked the President two questions: "First, may I develop a strategy to help

the country reach the six National Education Goals and would you then either change or approve the strategy, but at least give me my marching orders? Second, may I then, subject to your OK, recruit a team of men and women capable of carrying out such an ambitious undertaking." The President said yes to both questions.

So on January 16, 1991, the same night the United States began bombing Baghdad, a few of us met in the Tennessee mountains to consider how the federal government could, in partnership with the governors, accelerate America's effort to reach the National Education Goals by the year 2000. The group included among others, former Xerox Chairman David Kearns, Vanderbilt Professor Checker Finn, former New Jersey Education Commissioner Saul Cooperman, Dennis Doyle, and University of Tennessee vice-presidents Michael Nettles and John Rudley.

That process continued during the next several weeks and involved dozens of others--for example, Columbia University professor Diane Ravitch, ALCOA Chief Executive Officer Paul O'Neill-- until March 18 when the U.S. Senate confirmed my nomination. On March 19, our proposal for an AMERICA 2000 strategy was at the White House. On March 21, we met with President Bush, and on April 18 he presented his strategy to the nation at a special East Room ceremony.

Not only did the President keep his promise to quickly approve a strategy, he allowed me to recruit a really first class "President's education team" to carry out the strategy, and in some cases he participated in the recruiting. David Kearns' willingness to come to the Department as the Deputy Secretary signaled a seriousness of purpose that helped to attract others such as Diane Ravitch to head research, Carolynn Reid-Wallace from City University of New York to head postsecondary activities, and IBM executive Don Laidlaw for human resources and management. Washington D.C. attorney Jeff Martin became General Counsel, White House Director of Cabinet Affairs Steve Danzansky came as Chief of

Staff, and Vanderbilt University Associate Vice-Chancellor for News and Public Affairs Leslye Arsht became Director of Communications. Former Labor Secretary Ann McLaughlin was elected President of the private New American Schools Development Corporation. Former U.S. Chamber of Commerce President Ed Donnelly founded and chaired the non-profit AMERICA 2000 Coalition.

In addition, we found a large number of talented men and women already working at the Department who liked the boldness of what we were planning and who especially liked all the Presidential attention. Once the President mistakenly referred to the Education Department as "The Department of Energy." He wasn't that wrong. Lights at the Department were burning most nights until 10 p.m. as we focused on how to mobilize such a huge, diverse country toward such ambitious goals.

COMMUNITY BY COMMUNITY

The AMERICA 2000 strategy, precisely defined, is a partnership between the President and the Governors to help America move community-by-community toward the six National Education Goals by the year 2000. The President was determined that the strategy would be as bi-partisan as the formulation of the goals themselves had been. Democratic Governor Donald Schaefer of Maryland endorsed AMERICA 2000 the day it was announced. The President and Mrs. Bush traveled to Grand Junction, Colorado in June, 1991, to help Roy Romer, the chairman of the Democratic Governors Association, kick off Colorado 2000, the first of 44 such state efforts. I recall Democratic Governor Ben Nelson of Nebraska, an enthusiastic architect of Omaha and Nebraska 2000, rising at the governors' meeting with the President at the White House in February, 1992, and saying, "Mr. President, when you talk about AMERICA 2000 please remember to refer to it as a partnership with all the Governors, not just as your program."

The President asked every community to become an AMERICA 2000 community by doing four things:

- 1) Adopt the six National Education Goals.
- 2) Develop a community-wide strategy to achieve them.
- 3) Design a report card to measure results.
- 4) Plan for and support a New American School.

By December 1992, more than 2300 communities were working on this challenge. More than 2700 communities were meeting monthly in the AMERICA 2000 Satellite TV Town Meeting.

Some of the President's other proposals for change--notably giving families more choices of all schools, including private schools--proved to be controversial, but did not interfere with the AMERICA 2000 community efforts. Teachers were involved in every community effort. For example, the Minnesota Education Association joined the Minnesota Business Council and Governor Arne Carlson in launching Minnesota 2000. "We'll all get on the train and have these arguments while we're moving down the tracks," I would tell people. "It won't help the children if we stand around in the train station arguing." For the most part, most people got on the train and the trains began to slowly move down several tracks at once.

There are four broad tracks to AMERICA 2000:

- 1) For today's students: better and more accountable schools.
- 2) For tomorrow's students: a new generation of break-the-mold, New American schools.

3) For the rest of us (yesterday's students/today's work force): a nation of students.

4) Communities where learning can happen.

In the Fall of 1991, I recall a discussion with one school board member in New Hampshire who said, "I'm disappointed in AMERICA 2000. There are not enough details about what to do."

A Concord principal to whom I told this story later in the day said, "That's exactly why AMERICA 2000 will work. It leaves to the communities and the teachers the opportunity to fill in the details. It creates a framework within which we all can operate; sometimes that is the hardest thing to do for ourselves."

MORE CONSENSUS THAN MEETS THE EYE

The acrimony from teachers unions and others over proposals for school choice and private sector involvement tended to obscure the fact that there had developed a strikingly broad consensus about many of the underlying issues on school reform. At least this consensus existed outside Washington, D.C.

There was consensus about Problem Number One: Too many people still believed, "The nation's at risk, but I'm OK." There was also growing consensus among those who participated in the reforms of the 80's that, in retrospect, the reforms looked too timid, too slow, and very expensive given the (lack of) results.

There seemed also to be consensus about why schools needed to change. First, standards were higher. Today's auto workers have to know and be able to do more than yesterday's. Governor Romer often spoke of Americans prepared to pole vault 15 feet with bamboo poles at a time when the rest of the world is jumping 19 feet with

fiberglass poles. Second, children are growing up differently. It is harder today to be a teacher, a student, or a parent. Families and communities and schools are unprepared for this and are literally overwhelmed. Third, the schools themselves are designed for our great-grandparents' times, out-of-date, literally in a time warp, too often stymieing teachers and boring children. In inner cities where parents work until 6 p.m. we still send children home at 3 p.m. to empty houses and give teachers summer vacations to bring in the crops. And fourth, all of us of all ages need to go back to school. Most of us can't do a child's seventh grade math homework.

In the 101 communities I visited during the last 18 months I found some other generally held working assumptions.

- o Made in Washington is not the solution. Federal recipe books just don't help children in distant classrooms. Congress itself is so dominated by Washington interest groups and so removed from classrooms that its solutions aren't much help and sometimes get in the way.

- o "It takes an entire community to educate one child." This African proverb is the favorite motto for AMERICA 2000 community efforts. I never visited a classroom that was more dangerous than the community in which it existed.

- o All children can learn to reasonably high standards. Most Americans deep down don't really believe this, but the most inspiring efforts in American education today are teachers trying to prove this is true.

- o Changes in technology will drive many other needed changes. One hundred years after the invention of the telephone most teachers don't have easy access to one. At countless schools I have been inspired by dedicated teachers, but I often left feeling

they had been issued a Model T Ford to compete in the Indianapolis 500.

o We are wasting assets and hurting children when we close school buildings. Almost all break-the-mold school designs have schools open all day, all week, all year. Families choose the times and places and schools their children will attend; the school fits the needs of the family.

TRAINS MOVING DOWN THE TRACK

The short report card about progress along the new education agenda would say:

o The National Education Goals. Don't underestimate them. As Arianne Williams, a fourth grader at the Cog Hill Elementary School said at the kickoff of New Orleans 2000, "These are not the President's Goals, these are not the Governor's goals, they are the nation's goals."

o The AMERICA 2000 community effort. Forty-four states, 2300 communities working to reach the goals, 2700 communities meeting monthly in the satellite TV town meeting.

o New National Standards by 1994-95. The task forces are organized and funded. The Nationals Goals panel now includes members of Congress in its consensus about the need for standards. This will be the most comprehensive rethinking ever of what we teach.

o A Voluntary National Examination System. Not as much progress, but nevertheless inevitable. No test maker who wants to stay in business will ignore the new standards, and the Goals Panel will let teachers, school boards, and parents know whether the new tests are really geared to the new higher standards.

o Break-the-Mold Schools. Hold your reins tightly. Nothing will be more powerful in the 1990's than state laws and school boards deciding to give teachers and others the opportunity to start from scratch to design completely new schools and academic programs. Watch California, Minnesota, Pittsburgh, North Carolina, New Jersey. The New American Schools Corporations design teams are working with hundreds of school districts. The private Edison project is planning 1000 new schools. "Break-the-mold schools" are not a few experimental schools; this is renewing the entire system over time by starting over, thousands of different times.

o Getting government off teachers' backs. States are loosening the rules so teachers can teach. The federal government will catch up soon.

o Giving families more choices of all schools. My prediction: choice won't even be an issue at the end of the 1990's. Once America designs thousands of very different new schools and academic programs we won't assign children to them will we? The schools will attract the child. And to make it fair for all families, the federal and state government will have to begin to give scholarships to middle- and low-income families so their children will have more of the same choices wealthy parents do. This new consumer power will help change the schools and pay for the changes.

o Involving the private sector in education. If you are dubious about this, my suggestion is go to Baltimore, where a courageous superintendent, Walter Amphrey, has hired a private company to help operate nine inner city public schools. For the same amount of money spent in other Baltimore schools, this public-private partnership is putting two teachers in every classroom, new computer equipment in every school, an individualized education program for every child, and telephones on teachers' desks. And the schools are clean. Why do we only use our most creative

private sector minds when we want to put missiles down smokestacks?

MY EDUCATION IN PUBLIC

During the last 18 months I have visited more than 101 communities, in virtually every state, California 20 times. I have received more of an education in this job than I had expected. I am not a professional educator. I became interested in my own education because my parents, who were teachers, and my community valued education. As Governor, I found that if I wanted to move my state, nothing was more important than improving the schools, colleges and universities. I next found myself as President of our state university because I did not think Tennessee would succeed without continuing to develop a first class public university. I felt privileged to be invited by President Bush to be Education Secretary because I agreed with him: if we want to change America, we must change our schools and our attitudes about education.

Most of my time in this job was spent not with politicians, but in the schools. You can learn about a community in this way. You can learn a lot about America's future by getting to know its children. I had not expected to find myself at 3 p.m. on a street corner in East Los Angeles with Evelyn Lucero, the principal of Hollenbeck Middle School, watching to discourage gangs from forming as children left school. I did not really know much about the lives of those children until I met them and read their book of poems, "Adios A La Mañana" ("Farewell to the Morning"). Every American should have the experience I had watching teachers in P.S. 25 in the Bronx helping children from South America learn about George Washington by reminding them about Simon Bolivar. You should have a chance, as I did, to work with Octavio Visiedo, the Dade County (Miami) Superintendent as he developed his "Project Phoenix" after Hurricane Andrew to create 50 new schools that are the best in the

world, including high schools open 20 hours a day, elementary schools in hospitals, schools managed by the private sector--any school with high standards that shows promise of helping children the way children are growing up today.

Education has become America's national worry. Creating the best schools in the world for our children is becoming the movement of the 1990's as civil rights became the movement for the 1960's. Gallup surveys show that Americans rate having the best education system far and away first in importance to our country's next 25 years. Response to this concern is coming from all quarters. Business Roundtable executives have committed to 10 years of priority for our schools. The U. S. Chamber of Commerce is involved in at least 1000 communities with AMERICA 2000 community efforts. The nation's math teachers have taught the country how to create higher standards in essential subjects. The President of the United States invited the New American Schools Development Corporation Board to Camp David for its first meeting. The Advertising Council has launched a campaign to remind us to "Keep the Promise." Ohio jelly maker Tim Smucker, told me, "Not one person turned me down when I asked them to be a part of Orrville 2000, and I have asked 400 different people."

Each day since the opening of school this fall I have presented an "A Plus for Breaking the Mold" award to some school or community that is taking risks to help children. I have done this because I am convinced that by the time our fifth graders, the Class of 2000, are seniors, our schools should be as different as the children themselves will be. If we want to paint a picture of what America itself will look like in the year 2000, the most accurate picture will be a picture of those schools and those children.

###

THE NEW CONGRESS

In 1993 Congress will be considering the five-year renewal of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. In plain English, this means that Congress will be setting federal rules that will govern 110,000 local schools until the end of the century.

In order to do that wisely, here is what I believe a member of Congress should vote for:

- o **Support for a new generation of American schools.** School reform has been piecemeal. Communities need to begin comprehensive reforms in education, including the development and implementation of thousands of "break-the-mold" or charter schools.
- o **World Class Standards and voluntary national tests.** Setting goals for performance in education is essential to the reform of education. Developing World Class Standards of achievement in core subject areas, and encouraging voluntary national examinations to determine progress in reaching these standards will be essential to reaching the national goals for education.
- o **Cutting red tape--getting government off the backs of teachers and principals.** This includes developing a broad waiver authority for the U.S. Secretary of Education, as well as providing flexibility in Federal rules and regulations to States and localities in exchange for high program performance and accountability.
- o **New options for teacher training and certification.** Educational reform will not happen without the outstanding teaching, leadership, and support of our Nation's teachers. Retraining should be available to teachers and school leaders

to update subject knowledge to meet the highest standards as well as increase administrative expertise in facilitating reform.

- o **Giving families more choices of all schools.** Choice is a key component of educational reform. Every parent and child in the United States should have more educational options open to them. The GI Bill for Children would provide additional funds to give middle- and low-income families more of the same choices of all schools that wealthier families already have.

- o **Encouraging the private sector to help improve schools--**The rich, creative American private sector is constantly at work helping to create the best colleges and universities in the world. It should be just as hard at work for our schools.

###

JAB REMINDER

You wanted to talk w/POTUS re: call
you received from Strom Thurmond.

1/4/93

Mr. President:

Jim Baker took call from
Strom Thurmond. He wants
to bring a constituent in
for photo op. Baker has
discouraged him; but he
is persistent. Do you
want to do it? Time is
running out.

Yes ☒

No ☐

RZ

*3 minutes
Max*



THE PRESIDENT

January 4, 1993

RZ

photo op department:

Ask Brady to bring those 2 Treasury guys
over some time... This PM>

GB

by

Invite Lamar Alexander
for a lunch -
maybe with one other
Cabinet officer
Watkins
or Carla

1/4/93
passed on
to Kitchy
Supr

not
available
today

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Coerte Felske
Club Lane
Quogue, New York 11959



THE PRESIDENT

Jan 4, '93

Dear Coerte -

Thanks for your letter.
There's something great about
real friendships. Your Dad
& I have such a friendship
and, with me, that counts
for a lot.

I'm so glad you
were here -

Good luck

Ly Bush

cc: R.Zamaria ✓
1 copy, in/out

December 21, 1992

Coerte Felske
Club Lane
Quogue, NY 11959

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

Dear President Bush,

I have had a few thrills in my life but none compare to meeting you and Mrs. Bush at the White House last week.

As you can imagine, I have heard all the stories about the Yale team, its accomplishments, and most certainly, about you and Mrs. Bush. I can't tell you what a source of pride you have been for my father over the years. Just one look on the wallspace of his office would tell you.

As a young American I have always been proud to have you as our leader and our photograph together is truly something I will cherish the rest of my life.

I wish you and Mrs. Bush the happiest of holidays.

Warmest regards,

Coerte V.W. Felske

The "Duke's" son.

The Honorable Griffin B. Bell
King and Spalding
191 Peachtree Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303-1763



THE PRESIDENT

Jan 4, 93
(just back)

Dear Griff -

Thank for the
spirit of Golf and for
your letter which included
information on the Foundations.
Thanks most of all

for helping me with
that damned special
prosecutor - vindictive
soul that he appears to
be.

I'm sure will be talking
before you get this. Sincerely

cc: (in & out)
✓ Rose Zamaria (lcc)
Charles Free (Book taker
for the Pres' Houston
Office)

Griffin B. Bell
191 PEACHTREE STREET, N.E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303-1763
404/572-4600

December 22, 1992

Handwritten:
file
OK

Dear Mr. President:

Thanks very much for my visit to the White House last week and for an enjoyable evening.

I am enclosing some information on fees paid to Foundation Trustees. The range runs up to \$100,000 per annum for a chairman (said to be the Duke Foundation). Membership on one or two foundations, plus the Pennzoil Board (understandable because of your past association with a predecessor company), and an occasional speech or lecture should suffice for your commercial endeavors. This kind of activity would certainly not lessen the image of the Presidency.

Please let me know if I can help you in any way in getting adjusted to civilian life or in future endeavors. Hopefully you can visit Sea Island in 1993 and we will be in touch about that.

Mary joins me in sending warm wishes to you and Barbara for the holiday season and for the new year. Meanwhile, we are enclosing a book for use in your new home.

Yours sincerely,

Griffin Bell

Enclosure

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

Book title:

The Spirit of Golf

Board Compensation (Tables 2.31 to 2.40)

The overwhelming majority of foundations and co board members--74.3% or 583 of 785 do not (Table 2.31). Almost all of those that do compensate board members are independent and private operating foundations: 13.5 percent of that group compensate some members and 26.2 percent compensate all members of their boards. Among independent and private operating foundations, the practice is more frequent in the larger asset groups. Only a handful of corporate or public foundations compensate board members and no community foundations reported doing so.

Through the 1980s, 25 to 33 percent of all types of foundations reported compensating some or all board members. In 1990, 27 percent reported paying compensation to some or all members of the board.

Table 2.31. Percent and Number of Grantmakers That Compensate Board Members for Their Board Service

Grantmaker Type and Asset Group (in millions)	<u>Compensate Some</u>		<u>Compensate All</u>		<u>Do Not Compensate</u>		Number of Respondents
	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	
Community							
\$100 & Over	0.0	0	0.0	0	100.0	16	16
\$50 to \$99.9	0.0	0	0.0	0	100.0	12	12
\$10 to \$49.9	0.0	0	0.0	0	100.0	46	46
Under \$10	0.0	0	0.0	0	100.0	122	122
All	0.0	0	0.0	0	100.0	196	196
Corporate							
\$100 & Over	5.3	1	5.3	1	89.5	17	19
\$50 to \$99.9	2.5	1	10.0	4	87.5	35	40
\$10 to \$49.9	14.3	1	28.6	2	57.1	4	7
Under \$10	5.0	1	5.0	1	90.0	18	20
All	4.7	4	9.3	8	86.0	74	86
Independent and Private Operating							
\$100 & Over	21.7	18	48.2	40	30.1	25	83
\$50 to \$99.9	19.1	9	25.5	12	55.3	26	47
\$10 to \$49.9	13.6	21	27.3	42	59.1	91	154
Under \$10	8.2	15	15.4	28	76.4	139	182
All	13.5	63	26.2	122	60.3	281	466
Public							
\$100 & Over	0.0	0	0.0	0	100.0	1	1
\$50 to \$99.9	0.0	0	0.0	0	100.0	2	2
\$10 to \$49.9	0.0	0	12.5	1	87.5	7	8
Under \$10	7.7	2	7.7	2	84.6	22	26
All	5.4	2	8.1	3	86.5	32	37
All							
\$100 & Over	16.0	19	34.4	41	49.6	59	119
\$50 to \$99.9	9.9	10	15.8	16	74.3	75	101
\$10 to \$49.9	10.2	22	20.9	45	68.8	148	215
Under \$10	5.1	18	8.9	31	86.0	350	350
All	8.8	69	16.9	133	74.3	789	789

*Rec'd
12/30/92
after departure*

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. David Fay
Executive Director
United States Golf Association
Golf House
Far Hills, New Jersey 07931

CC: (all outgoing)
Rose Zamaria (1cc) ✓

Please send six golf balls
and article to Mr. Fay
along with the Christmas card.

Just back from Russia Jan. 4th

Dear Dan -

When I read the attached article
I felt real sorry for you; so here's some
more ammo.

We wish you a merry Christmas

filled with the love

of family and friends

and a 1993 blessed

with peace on our earth.

We're beginning to shift gears now
I hate not to have finished the
back nine; but mentally both Barbara
& I are thru Texas, thru privacy,
thru friends. That's you -

All Best Ag Bush



1992

THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH

Bunkered in the rough

Today I will take up the subjects of bunkers and rough, two things that have always caused more pain for Americans than deficits, recessions or jobless statistics.

First of all, there wouldn't be a deficit if I had stayed home last summer and bought golf balls instead of going to Switzerland and spending 5 trillion dollars on beef fondue, which is an experience whereby you stick little pieces of raw meat in a pot of boiling oil, and is almost the same thing as eating dinner.

Second of all, there wouldn't be a recession if every country club member had paid his dues on time and had bought as many golf balls as I have over the past four years. There are times when you have to spend your way through these things.

Third of all, the jobless figures would drop drastically, I am quite sure, if all surfers and other MTV watchers would stop collecting unemployment checks and get jobs as caddies.

Now for the important stuff.

A bunker, or sand trap, has no place on a golf course. A bunker has no function other than to encourage slow play, unless you want to count the increasing cost of dry cleaning.

Early golf courses had no bunkers. They are strictly a man-made invention, and the larger ones, such as those that stretch across an entire dairy farm, were the invention of a demented man named Robert Trent Jones.

I once asked Trent why he would arrange cross bunkers on a par-5 hole that were designed to catch my tee shot, then my second, then my third.

"To protect par," he said.

To which I replied, "If golf was meant to be played in the sand, why don't they sell Foreign Legion caps in the golf shops?"

I know this much: If Mary Queen of Scots had ever seen her golf ball come to rest in

what appeared to be a sand trap, she would have beheaded six knights, four bishops and three pawns. This not only would have discouraged future bunkering, it would've stopped the game of chess in its tracks.

Not that Mary Queen of Scots invented golf. As we know, golf was invented by the French, Dutch, Romans and Chinese, all in the same moment. This was shortly before the dawn of creation and only five years after the British Open.

Bunkers, of course, are a fact of life these days, so you ought to know how to handle them properly.

The best method is to bend over, reach down, pick up the ball and throw it out in the fairway. In my regular game, this can be done without penalty.

If you insist on experimenting with a sand shot, however, having read all of the instruction tips, never try one into the wind, not without wearing a deep-sea diving helmet. It's a sure way to go blind in both eyes.

I would also caution you to ignore all this closed-face and open-face advice you may hear from a pro in regard to the sand wedge. With a closed-face sand wedge you are only going to drive the ball deeper into the earth, and with an open-face sand wedge you are only

going to blade the ball into the bulkhead, from which it is likely to bounce back and hit you in the chest.

There are those who prefer to chip or putt out of sand, believing it to be safe all around.

Chipping out of fluffy sand is fine, if you like pecking away at dust, advancing the ball an inch forward at a swing and registering 27 strokes on a simple par 3.

And putting out of hard sand is fine if you enjoy knocking the ball across the green and into a pond. That's if there's no lip on the bunker. If there's a lip to the bunker, you're only going to drop the ball into a layer of sod from which it can only be extracted by a curious geology professor.

As for rough, it is even more useful than bunkers. Rough is not even a relative. Indeed, what is the real rough when you have condos on both sides of the fairway on both sides?

Rough can even be dangerous. Among your own friends, how many know any better, how many have you seen someone go into with a 5-iron and come out with a dislocated wrist or dislocated elbow?

Besides that, how many have you seen an opponent get into the rough and come out with a dislocated elbow?

I have long believed that rough is basic part of the game, meant to be allowed to



sional golf internationally. I've felt for years and consistently taken the position that it would do more for golf with amateurs in the Olympics. For amateur golfers around the world to aspire to play in the Olympics would be a great thing. Not that this [the Atlanta Olympics with pros] won't be."

Contrastingly, Berman's counterpart on the LPGA Tour, Charles Mechem, sees the Olympics as an unprecedented opportunity for exposure on the same stage with the men before an estimated audience of four billion viewers worldwide. This clearly overrode the fact that Augusta's membership does not currently conform to the LPGA's antidiscrimination policy requiring equality of women members.

By opening the club's doors to the Olympics, Stephens has opened it to re-examination and scrutiny. Although members were not allowed to play the course, Augusta has never had a woman member. The club took in its first black member, Ann Townsend, in 1990. Stephens says the simple fact that the club's position against any type of discrimination has always been the same. But it is widely believed that the club will have to do some accommodating state-ments to accept a larger membership to

as chairman in 1991, clearly one of these could be the winners the g a

deal with. The official line is that "This will be an Olympic event, conducted by them, on our course." As for commercialism and the TV presentation, "It's not our call," he says.

But it's not that simple. The Masters and Augusta National have stood as an antidote to the rampant commercialism that infected the game in the 1980s. The modern Olympic Games represent just



David Fay says the USGA's position has changed with the pros' involvement.

the opposite—commercialism run amok. How does Stephens reconcile the two? "We assume it will be conducted within the boundaries of good taste and decorum," he says. "I'm sure Billy Payne will not exceed those boundaries. If we feel it's necessary we could at least discuss it with him."

As Stephens speaks, one gets the definite impression these points are still to be negotiated. Although Payne said ticket sales will be handled through the Atlanta Committee, Stephens says he wants to have a hand in controlling them, drawing on the existing Masters patron list. And while it may appear the

USGA and R&A officials will determine the setup of the course, Stephens says the club's people will do it.

The Augusta National Golf Club is usually closed in summer and reopens in October, but an exception will be made for the Olympics. Stephens says the club is convinced it can get the golf course in shape for the two-week period in July and August 1996. "We have three years to experiment," he says. The rough will come into play much more than it does during the Masters, when it is virtually nonexistent.

Presuming the Olympics does go through, one thing is certain: The format will be a 72-hole, individual stroke-play competition for men and women. Three players will be selected from every country—with the U.S. selection system to be decided by the appointed "committee."

America's two leading lights, Davis Love III and Fred Couples, are taking decidedly different views of it all. "We already have the Ryder Cup, the Walker Cup, the World Cup—how many times do you represent your country?" says Love. "I really lost my feeling for the Olympics this summer. I wasn't real thrilled with basketball and the Dream Team. It was silly."

Couples, however, says he'll make an effort to be on the team. "You're going to have to. Some guys aren't going to want to change their schedules, but when it comes down to it, they'll do it," he says.

At this point the Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games has only petitioned the IOC to include men's and women's golf in 1996. The IOC must still vote on whether to accept or reject "Atlanta's gift," with a final verdict due this summer. "I can't see any real negatives to golf in the Olympics," David Fay says. "It won't pull away from the Masters or U.S. or British Open or even the PGA Tour. I guess the question is more, how much of a positive impact will it have?" ■