

BOB DOLE

202-408-5117  
ID:202-408-5117

NOV 24 '93

16:21 No.011 P.01

MEMORANDUM

NOVEMBER 24, 1993

TO: SENATOR DOLE  
FROM: JO-ANNE

YOU ARE TICKETED ON THE FOLLOWING FLIGHT TOMORROW:

7:30 AM LV. WASHINGTON NATIONAL - AMERICAN #857  
9:58 AM AR. MIAMI

YOU ARE ALSO HOLDING CONFIRMED RESERVATIONS ON:

9:00 AM LV. WASHINGTON - AMERICAN 233  
11:59 AM AR. MIAMI

YOU ARE IN FIRST CLASS ON BOTH FLIGHTS.

IF YOU MAKE THE 7:30 FLIGHT, TELL THE AGENT AT THE GATE TO CANCEL YOUR RESERVATION ON THE 9:00 AM FLIGHT, AND GIVE THEM THIS LOCATOR IDENTIFICATION: Q Q J U T V

IF YOU ARE A NO-SHOW FOR THE 7:30 FLIGHT, SIMPLY GIVE THE AGENT AT THE TICKET COUNTER YOUR TICKET FOR THE EARLIER FLIGHT WHEN YOU CHECK IN FOR THE 9:00 AM FLIGHT -- AS YOU WILL NEED A BOARDING PASS FOR THE LATER FLIGHT AND WILL HAVE TO HAVE YOUR TICKET REVALIDATED.

IF ANY PROBLEMS, THE EMERGENCY AFTER-HOURS NUMBER FOR OUR TRAVEL AGENCY IS 1-800-524-4500. (I'LL BE HOME ALL EVENING, IF YOU NEED ME.)

PAGE THREE

Wednesday, November 24 (continued):

PROCEED TO FAMILY DINNER AT LOCAL RESTAURANT

RON: The Seaview  
305/866-4441  
FAX: 305/866-1898

Thursday, November 25 - Friday, November 15

PRIVATE

Saturday, November 27

7:00 PM

Dinner reservations for 7 made at Mark's for:  
Senator and Mrs. Dole  
John and Bunny Hanford  
Mrs. Hanford  
Dwayne and Inez Andreas

CONTACT: 305/893-6888

*Material for Monday*

*on Friday*

Sunday, November 28

PRIVATE

Monday, November 29

2:55 PM

Ar. Ft. Lauderdale International Airport  
Ft. Lauderdale Jet Center  
305/359-3200

3:00 PM

Lv. Ft. Lauderdale

AIRCRAFT: Sabreliner 65  
OWNER: Charter  
TAIL NO.: N 701 FW  
SEATS: 7

FLIGHT TIME: 2 hrs 10 mins

MANIFEST: Senator Dole  
Mrs. Dole  
Mrs. Hanford

CONTACT: Craig Ward  
AMR Combs  
1-800-232-JETS

PAGE FOURMonday, November 29 (continued):

5:10 PM Ar. Winston-Salem, North Carolina  
Smith Reynolds Airport  
Piedmont Aviation  
919/767-5562

MET BY: Former Governor Jim Martin

Don Angell  
Team 100/Event organizer  
919/712-0444 (O)  
919/998-8166 (H)

5:15 PM Lv. Smith Reynolds Airport

DRIVE TIME: 30 minutes

NOTE: Don Angell has arranged for car and driver to take Mrs. Hanford and Mrs. Dole to Salisbury and return Mrs. Dole to the airport.

5:45 PM Ar. Bermuda Village  
Advance, North Carolina  
919/998-6112  
919/940-2140 (FAX)

6:00 PM- ATTEND RNC EVENT  
7:30 PM

CROWD SIZE: 55 @ \$5,000 per couple  
(Individuals from across the country who are affiliated with the American Health Care Association)

HOSTS: Don Angell and Don Bedell

VIP's in attendance:  
Former Governor Jim Martin  
RNC Chairman Haley Barbour

CONTACT: Henry Barbour  
202/863-8720  
703/241-5820 (Home - from Saturday)  
Haley Barbour  
601/746-1969 (MS home, til Mon AM)

**PAGE FIVE****Monday, November 29 (continued):**

## PROGRAM:

6:00 PM Reception  
6:30 PM Roundtable Discussion  
7:30 PM Dinner is served - Senator Dole departs

NOTE: Haley Barbour will remain through dinner and return to Washington on later plane chartered by RNC.

7:30 PM Lv. Bermuda Village

DRIVE TIME: 30 minutes

8:00 PM Ar. Smith Reynolds Airport  
Piedmont Aviation  
919/767-5562

8:05 PM Lv. Winston Salem

MANIFEST: Senator Dole  
Mrs. Dole

FLIGHT TIME: 50 mins

8:55 PM Ar. Washington National Airport  
Signature Flight Support  
703/419-8440

November 23, 1993

TO: Senator Dole  
FROM: Vicki *Vicki*  
RE: RNC Event

You are scheduled to speak at an RNC fund raising event in Winston-Salem, North Carolina on Monday, November 29.

There will be about 55 people in the audience -- all are affiliated with the American Health Care Association (AHCA).

AHCA is a federation of 11,000 long-term care providers, mostly nursing homes. The association also publishes Provider magazine.

The group will be interested in hearing your views and predictions on health care reform, in general. More specifically, they will want to hear how long-term care will fit into the overall reform.

Last month, you reintroduced your "Secure Choice" bill, along with Senators Packwood, Durenberger, and Simpson. This bill is almost identical to the long-term care bill you introduced in the 102nd Congress.

AHCA has reacted very favorably to the bill, particularly in its creation of a public/private partnership to help with the purchase of private long-term care insurance.

I have attached a copy of your floor statement on "Secure Choice" and a brief summary of the bill.

The Chafee bill that was introduced this week includes two portions of "Secure Choice": The standards for long-term care insurance -- often known as consumer protection standards -- based on the National Association of Insurance Commissioners' model; and tax clarifications to make long-term care insurance premiums deductible.

In all likelihood the group will want to know if long-term care will be addressed through health care reform. Of course, no one knows for certain, but health care reform will probably address the delivery and financing of acute care first. The hope is that Congress will have success in controlling costs and increasing access on the acute care side first and then can use this as a model for long-term care. In the interim, "Secure Choice" goes a long way toward improving access to long-term care and putting long-term care services within the financial reach of many more seniors.

## *National Republican Gala Sponsors*

<i>Andy Adams</i>	<i>Chairman, National HealthCorp, Inc.</i>
<i>Don G. Angell</i>	<i>Chairman, Meadowbrook Management Company, Inc.</i>
<i>Gray Angell</i>	<i>President, Southeastern Personal Care, Inc.</i>
<i>Harvey Angell</i>	<i>CEO, Karell Capital Ventures, Inc.</i>
<i>Bruce Baldwin</i>	<i>President, American Health Care Association</i>
<i>John Barber</i>	<i>Executive Vice President, White Oak Manor, Inc.</i>
<i>Mike Barody</i>	<i>President, Southern Management Services</i>
<i>Don Beaver</i>	<i>Chairman/CEO, Brian Center Management, Inc.</i>
<i>Don C. Bedell</i>	<i>President, Health Facilities Management Corp.</i>
<i>Bill Benton</i>	<i>President/CEO, Health Equity Properties, Inc.</i>
<i>Gene Bishop</i>	<i>President, Health Service Centers, Inc.</i>
<i>Terry Cash</i>	<i>President, Magnolia Group, Inc.</i>
<i>Tom Cook</i>	<i>President, Healthcare Services Group, Inc.</i>
<i>Jim Durante</i>	<i>Chairman, Hallmark Nursing Center</i>
<i>Mark Hamister</i>	<i>President/CEO, National Health Care Affiliates, Inc.</i>
<i>Boyd Hendrickson</i>	<i>Executive Vice President, Beverly Enterprises, Inc.</i>
<i>Don House</i>	<i>Partner, House &amp; Blanco, P.A.</i>
<i>Tim Kincaid</i>	<i>President, Medimax, Inc.</i>
<i>Jeff McCain</i>	<i>Executive Vice President, Hillhaven Corporation</i>
<i>Jack MacDonald</i>	<i>President, Wilmac, Inc.</i>
<i>Dan Mosca</i>	<i>President, Advocate of North Carolina, Inc.</i>
<i>Joe Nichols</i>	<i>President, Hallmark Nursing Center</i>
<i>Jack Parks</i>	<i>Southeastern Sales Manager, Biggers Brothers, Inc.</i>
<i>Billy Prim</i>	<i>President/CEO, American Oil &amp; Gas</i>
<i>Mark Pulido</i>	<i>Chairman/CEO, Redline Healthcare Corporation</i>
<i>Bill Rogers</i>	<i>President, Southern Care Management</i>
<i>Mike Rogers</i>	<i>Regional Vice President, Redline Healthcare Corporation</i>
<i>Guy Smith</i>	<i>President, United Health, Inc.</i>
<i>Craig Souza</i>	<i>President, North Carolina Health Care Association</i>
<i>W. Stewart Swain</i>	<i>Exec. Vice Pres., Meadowbrook Management Co., Inc.</i>
<i>Bruce Tarwood</i>	<i>Legislative Council, American Health Care Association</i>
<i>Brett Waters</i>	<i>Sales Exec., Rollins, Hudig, Hall of the Carolinas, Inc.</i>
<i>Cliff Wyatt</i>	<i>Secretary/Treasurer, Nursing Home Services, Inc.</i>
<i>Don Wyatt</i>	<i>President, Nursing Home Services, Inc.</i>
<i>Paul Willging</i>	<i>Executive Vice President, American Health Care Assoc. Missouri Health Care Association PAC</i>

## *National Republican Gala*

*with special guests*

*Senator Bob Dole*

*and*

*Chairman Haley Barbour*

*November 29, 1993*

*Bermuda Village*

*Bermuda Run, North Carolina*

### *Special Guests*

*Elizabeth Dole*  
*Governor Jim Martin*  
*Senator Lauche Faircloth*  
*Senator Betsy Cochrane*  
*Chairman of the Davie County Commissioners, Carl Boon*  
*Henry Barbour*

### *Special Recognition*

*Shawn Angell*  
*Janell Healy*  
*Valerie and John Michelotti*  
*Jeanne and Bill Noakes*  
*Peggy Miller and Joe Rutigliano*

Paid for by the Republican National Committee  
and the Republican National State Elections Committee.  
Only those contributions which do not fall under the limitations  
and the prohibitions of the Federal Elections Campaign Act  
will be used by the Republican National State Elections Committee.  
Contributions or gifts to the Republican National Committee and the  
Republican National State Elections Committee are not deductible  
as charitable contributions for federal income tax purposes.

*A heartfelt thanks to all of you for your support of  
this successful event.*

*Don G. Angell*

*Don G. Angell*  
*Chairman*

*Reception, 6:00 PM*

*Photograph Opportunity*

*Panel Discussion, 6:45 PM*

*Dinner, 7:45 PM*

*Menu*

*Coquille St. Jacques*

*Beef Tenderloin en Croute Wellington*

*Pommes Parisiennes*

*Bouquetiere of Fresh Vegetables*

*Boston Lettuce and Belgian Endive*

*with Boursin*

*Swan Lake*

*Coffee - Friandises*

*Liqueurs*

*Program*

*National Republican Gala*

*with special guests*

*Senator Bob Dole*

*and*

*Republican National Committee*

*Chairman Haley Barbour*

*Don G. Angell, Master of Ceremonies*

*Don C. Bedell, Moderator*

*Welcome*

*Don G. Angell*

*Special North Carolina Welcome*

*Craig Souza, Pres. NCHCFA*

*Introduction of Guests*

*Don G. Angell*

*Panel Discussion*

*Moderator*

*Don C. Bedell*

*Panel Members*

*Andy Adams*

*Bill Benton*

*Gene Bishop*

*Tom Cook*

*Mark Hamister*

*Boyd Hendrickson*

*Tim Kincaid*

*Jack MacDonald*

*Jeff McCain*

*Mark Pulido*

*Guy Smith*

*Paul Willging*

*Dan Mosca*

*Invocation*

*Dinner*



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## National Republican Gala

with special guests

Senator Bob Dole

and

Chairman Haley Barbour

November 29, 1993

Bermuda Village

Bermuda Run, North Carolina

*[Faint, illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page]*

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as charitable contributions for federal income tax purposes.

November 23, 1993

## MEMORANDUM TO THE LEADER

FROM: SUZANNE HELLMANN

SUBJECT: BRIEFING MATERIALS FOR TEAM 100 EVENT IN NORTH CAROLINA

NOTE: The RNC put together a briefing book for you which is attached.

## POLITICAL CLIMATE

An August 13, 1993 poll taken by the Raleigh News and Observer, conducted 8/2-6 by the Independent Opinion Research and Communications Inc., indicated that NC Democrats may be in a "politically treacherous swampland...Only one in three voters identifies with Democratic philosophy ... and a strong anti-incumbent mood prevails in the state." Tested: Gov. Jim Hunt (D) and Pres. Clinton.

JOB PERFORMANCE	HUNT	CLINTON
Excellent	6%	4%
Good	41%	25%
Fair	36%	29%
Poor	12%	40%

## DFP PEOPLE

Rhoda Billings, Co-Chairman  
Lewisville, NC

Scott Wilson, Co-Chairman

Carolyn Bechtel  
Charlotte, NC

## DFP STAFF

Jerry Blackwelder, E.D.  
Bitty Grieser  
Scarlet Wellborn  
Janet Nickerson  
John Rothrock

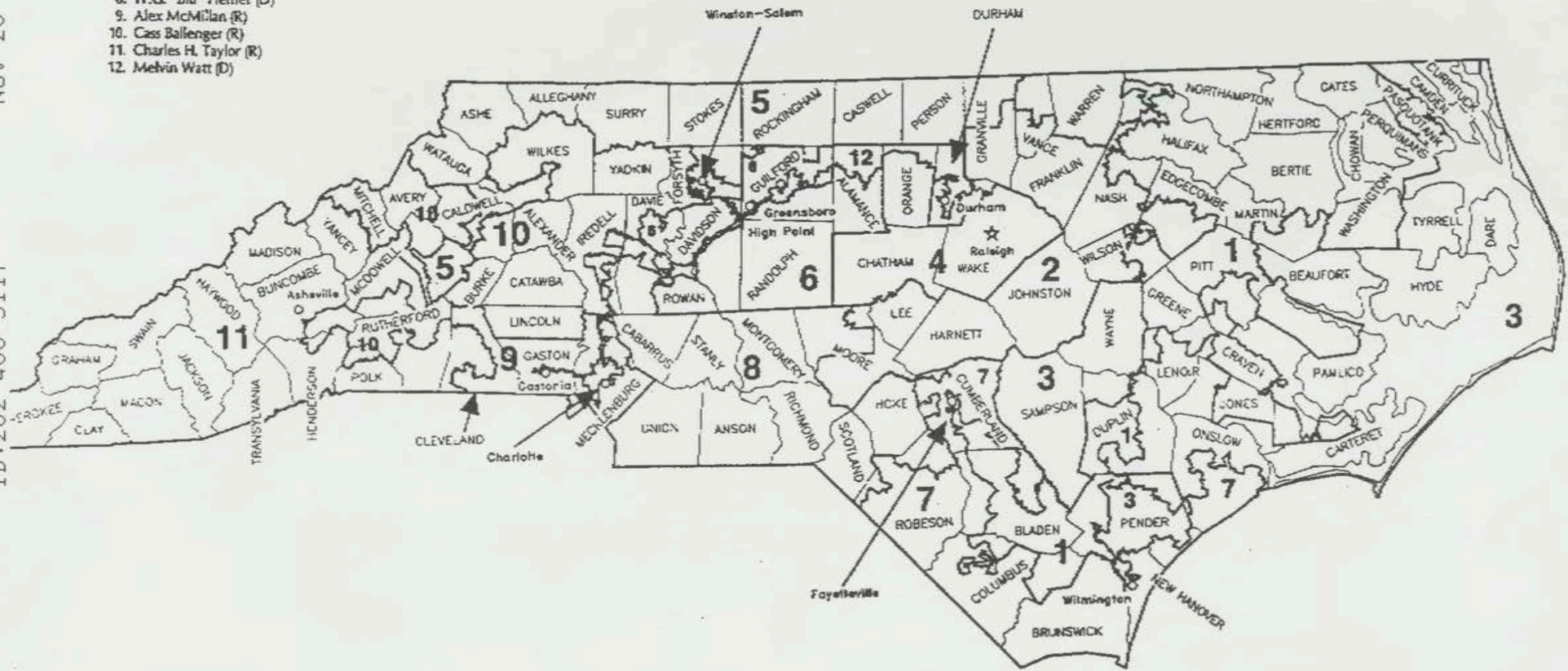
NOV 23 '93 18:17 No.014 P.03

ID:202-408-5117

BOB DOLE

**North Carolina**  
Jesse Helms (R)  
Lauch Faircloth (R)

- 1. Eva Clayton (D)
- 2. Tim Valentine (D)
- 3. H. Martin Lancaster (D)
- 4. David Price (D)
- 5. Stephen L. Neal (D)
- 6. Howard Coble (R)
- 7. Charlie Rose (D)
- 8. W.G. "Bill" Heimer (D)
- 9. Alex McMillan (R)
- 10. Cass Ballenger (R)
- 11. Charles H. Taylor (R)
- 12. Melvin Watt (D)



North Carolina - Congressional Districts

**NORTH CAROLINA  
 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE**

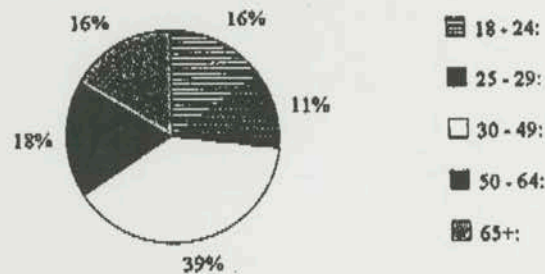
**Population Data**

Total Population:	6,628,637
Voting Age Population:	5,022,488
Total Population Voting Age:	75.8%
Black Voting Age Population:	1,007,856
Nonwhite Rank:	7
Black Voting Age Population:	20.1%
Nonwhite Rank:	8
Hispanic Voting Age Population:	52,769
Nonwhite Rank:	25
Hispanic Voting Age Population:	1.1%
Nonwhite Rank:	37
Asian Voting Age Population:	36,824
Nonwhite Rank:	20
Asian Voting Age Population:	0.7%
Nonwhite Rank:	36

**Voting Age Population Data**

18 - 24:	781,053
25 - 29:	572,875
30 - 49:	1,960,338
50 - 64:	903,881
65+:	804,341

**Voting Age Population Distribution**



**1992 Party Registration**

Republican:	1,217,114	31.9%
Democrat:	2,313,520	60.6%
Other:	286,746	7.5%
Total:	3,817,380	

Number of Counties:

100

**NORTH CAROLINA  
 1992 ELECTION SUMMARY**

**HISTORICAL PRESIDENTIAL PERFORMANCE**

	REP. VOTE	REP %	DEM. VOTE	DEM %	OTH. VOTE	OTH %	TOTAL	REGISTRATION
BUSH/CLINTON/PEROT:	1,134,661	43.5%	1,114,042	42.7%	357,864	13.7%	2,606,567	3,817,380
BUSH/DUKAKIS:	1,237,258	58.0%	890,167	41.7%	6,945	0.3%	2,134,370	3,432,042
REAGAN/MONDALE:	1,346,481	62.0%	824,287	38.0%	0	0.0%	2,170,768	3,270,933
REAGAN/CARTER/ANDERSON:	915,018	49.6%	875,635	47.5%	52,800	2.9%	1,843,453	2,774,844
FORD/CARTER:	741,960	44.4%	927,365	55.6%	0	0.0%	1,669,325	2,553,717
NIXON/McGOVERN:	1,054,889	69.5%	438,705	28.9%	25,018	1.6%	1,518,612	2,357,645
NIXON/HUMPHREY/WALLACE:	627,192	39.5%	464,113	29.2%	496,188	31.3%	1,587,493	1,858,987

**STATEWIDE ELECTION RETURNS**

	REP. VOTE	REP %	DEM. VOTE	DEM %	OTH. VOTE	OTH %	TOTAL
1992 SENATE:	1,297,892	50.3%	1,194,015	46.3%	85,948	3.3%	2,577,855
1992 GOVERNOR:	1,121,955	43.2%	1,368,246	52.7%	104,983	4.0%	2,595,184
1990 SENATE:	1,088,331	52.6%	981,573	47.4%	0	0.0%	2,069,904
1988 GOVERNOR:	1,222,338	56.1%	957,687	43.9%	0	0.0%	2,180,025

**STATE SENATE**

YEAR	SEATS	DEM	REP	OTH	NET
1992	50	39	11	0	-3
1990	50	36	14	0	1
1988	50	37	13	0	3

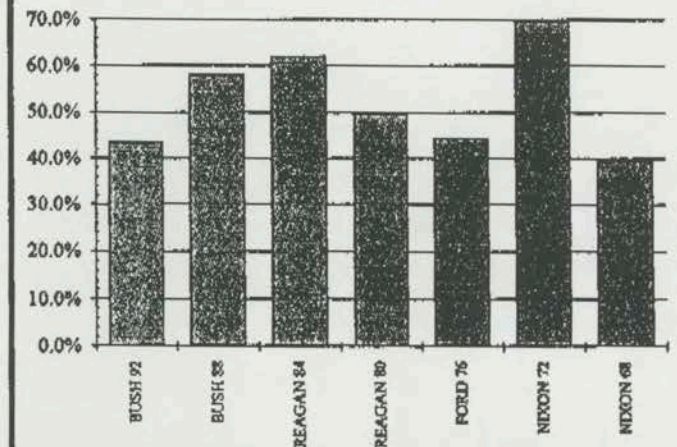
**STATE HOUSE**

YEAR	SEATS	DEM	REP	OTH	NET
1992	120	78	42	0	3
1990	120	81	39	0	-7
1988	120	74	46	0	11

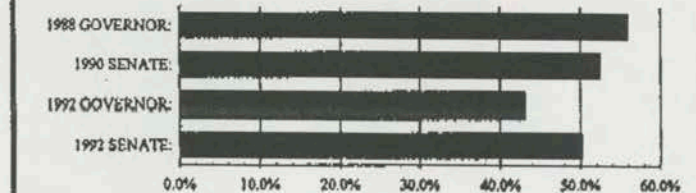
**U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

YEAR	SEATS	DEM	REP	OTH	NET
1992	12	8	4	0	0
1990	11	7	4	0	1
1988	11	8	3	0	0

**REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL PERFORMANCE**



**REPUBLICAN STATEWIDE PERFORMANCE**





**NORTH CAROLINA****Linda Shaw**  
**National Committeewoman****Present**

National Committeewoman, North Carolina, elected -  
May 30, 1992  
Board of Directors, Greensboro Convention  
Board of Trustees, North Carolina Museum of Art

**Previous**

Secretary, Guilford County GOP, 1973 - 1974  
County, District and State Executive GOP Committees - over  
29 years  
State Co-Chairman, Jim Gardner for Lt. Governor, 1988  
State Executive Committee, George Bush for President, 1988  
Director, Campaign '92, North Carolina State Party, 1991 - 1992  
State Steering Committee, Bush - Quayle, 1992

**Personal**

Spouse: Bob  
Children: Two

Post Office Box 8618  
Greensboro, NC 27419

(919) 632-1305 (o/h)  
(919) 292-5805 (o-pm)  
(919) 899-3815 (f)

**NORTH CAROLINA****Jack Laughery**  
**National Committeeman****Present**

National Committeeman, North Carolina, elected -  
August 16, 1988  
Member, North Carolina GOP Executive Committee, 1988  
Member, Board of Directors, International Republican Institute,  
1990 - ; Chairman, Nominating Committee  
Chairman, Hardee's Food Systems, Inc.

**Previous**

Nash County Finance Chairman, Governor Martin, 1984, 1988  
Member, Nash County Finance Committee, Senator Jesse  
Holms, 1986  
Governor's Task Force on Abused Children, 1984, 1986  
Governor's State Advisory Budget Committee, 1984 - 1992  
Member, Bush Primary Election Committee, 1988  
Finance Chairman, North Carolina Victory '88  
Member, George Bush Southern Steering Committee, 1988  
Delegate, North Carolina GOP Convention, 1988  
Member, Presidential Personnel Advisory Committee, 1989  
North Carolina State Finance Chairman for Lt. Governor  
Gardner, 1991 - 1992  
Southeastern U.S. Finance Chairman, Bush - Quayle '92

**RNC Activity**

Alternate Delegate, Republican National Convention, 1988  
Committee on Arrangements and Subcommittee Chairman of  
Security, Republican National Convention, 1992  
Sergeant at Arms, Republican National Convention, 1992

(cont.)

**NORTH CAROLINA****R. Jack Hawke**  
**Chairman****Present**

Chairman, North Carolina Republican Executive Committee,  
elected - January 31, 1987  
Member, North Carolina Republican Executive Committee

**Previous**

Campaign Manager, Gardner for Congress  
Campaign Manager, Steele for Congress  
Campaign Manager, Martin for Governor, 1984  
Candidate for Congress, 4th District, 1970, 1972  
Administrative Assistant, Congressman Jim Gardner  
Deputy Secretary, North Carolina Department of Transportation  
Federal Co Chairman, Coastal Plains Regional Committee  
State Goals and Policy Board  
Southeast Manpower Development Commission

**RNC Activity**

Member, Committee on Call, Republican National Convention,  
1988, 1992  
Delegate, Republican National Convention, 1988

**Personal**

Spouse: Grace  
Children: Five  
Education: B.S., Drew University; J.D., Duke University

1410 Hillsborough Street  
Post Office Box 12905  
Raleigh, NC 27605

*(cont.)*

# SCHEDULE OF EVENTS

## ADVANCE, NORTH CAROLINA

### NOVEMBER 29, 1993

Haley Barbour, Chairman  
Republican National Committee



Final 11/23/93 5:30pm

**THE TRIP OF HALEY BARBOUR  
TO  
ADVANCE, NORTH CAROLINA**

November 29, 1993

Monday, November 29, 1993

11:40 am DEPART Jackson International Airport via American Airlines flight  
#4432 en route to Nashville International Airport.

Flight time: 1 hour, 30 minutes

Time change: None

Meal service: None

1:10 pm ARRIVE Nashville International Airport and proceed to connecting gate.

1:56 pm DEPART Nashville International Airport via American Airlines flight  
#4791 en route to Greensboro, North Carolina.

Flight time: 1 hour, 40 minutes

Time change: 1 hour ahead

Meal service: None

4:36pm ARRIVE Piedmont Triad International (Greensboro) Airport and proceed  
to car for boarding.

4:45 pm DEPART Piedmont Triad International (Greensboro) Airport en route to  
Bermuda Village, Advance, North Carolina.

Transportation: Don Bedell (Team-100 member)

5:00 pm (15 mins) **(Taped) Radio Interview / WSJS-AM (in the car) \*\*to be confirmed**  
Reporter - TBD  
OPEN PRESS

5:45 pm ARRIVE Bermuda Village (Retirement Community).

Highway 801

Advance, North Carolina 27006

PHONE: (919) 998-6112

FAX: (919) 940-2140

**ADMINISTRATIVE TIME: 15 minutes**

**Monday, November 29, 1993**

6:00 pm      **Reception with American Health Care Association**  
(30 mins)    *Living Room of the Club House*  
CLOSED PRESS

6:30 pm      **Roundtable Discussion (55 attendees)**  
(60 mins)    *Dining Room of the Club House*  
CLOSED PRESS

7:30pm      **Dinner served (Roundtable Discussion continues)**  
(45 mins)    CLOSED PRESS

8:15 pm      *Event concludes. DEPART Bermuda Village en route to Piedmont  
General Aviation, Smith Reynolds Airport.*

*Transportation:      Don Angell (Team-100 member)*

8:45 pm      *ARRIVE Peidmont General Aviation, Smith Reynolds Airport and proceed  
to plane for boarding.*

8:55 pm      *DEPART Smith Reynolds Airport via Private plane TBD en route to  
Signature Aviation, Washington National Airport.*

*Flight time:    45 minutes*

*Time change: None*

*Meal service: None*

9:40 pm      *ARRIVE Signature Aviation, Washington National Airport and proceed to  
car for boarding.*

9:50 pm      *DEPART Signature Aviation, Washington National Airport en route to  
residence.*

*Transportation:      Mark Mascarenhas*

10:00 pm     *ARRIVE at residence.*





November 21, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR JOANNE COE  
FROM: HENRY BARBOUR  
DIRECTOR, TEAM 100  
SUBJECT: NOVEMBER 29 DINNER

---

JoAnne, here's a line-by-line of Senator Dole's schedule to North Carolina and Washington from Florida on November 29.

**Monday, November 29**

- 2:45 p.m. Sen. Dole is met by pilots at FBO Ft. Lauderdale Jet Center (Int'l)  
Pilots: Captain Harry Ratchford and Lowrey Rudder  
Plane type: Saber 65 Tail # N701FW (seven seater)
  - 3:00 p.m. Depart Ft. Lauderdale International Airport (2 hour flight)
  - 5:10 p.m. Arrive Smith Reynolds Field Airport, Winston-Salem  
Piedmont General Aviation  
Met by: Don Angell (Team 100 and Event Organizer) and former North Carolina Governor Jim Martin  
Ride with Angell and Martin to event (Angell has arranged transportation for Mrs. Dole's mother to Salisbury)
  - 5:50 p.m. Arrive Bermuda Village  
919-998-6112
  - 6:00 p.m. Reception
  - 6:30 p.m. Roundtable Discussion
  - 7:30 p.m. Dinner begins (Senator and Mrs. Dole may leave at this time - Haley will stay until 8:15 pm when event concludes)
  - 8:10 p.m. Depart Smith Reynolds Field Airport, Winston-Salem (45 min. flight)  
Piedmont General Aviation (same plane as earlier)
  - 8:55 p.m. Arrive Washington National  
Signature Flight Service
- For your information:**
- 8:15 p.m. Event Concludes
  - 8:55 p.m. Haley departs Smith Reynolds Field Airport, Winston-Salem  
Piedmont General Aviation
  - 9:40 p.m. Haley arrives Washington National  
Signature Flight Service

JoAnne, please call me at 863-8720 or 703-241-5820 this weekend with any questions.  
Thanks.

Radio WSJS-AM

H1th Care Event

November 21, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR     HALEY BARBOUR  
FROM:                 HENRY BARBOUR *Henry*  
                          DIRECTOR, TEAM 100  
SUBJECT:             NOVEMBER 29 DINNER

---

Haley, you and Senator Dole will be the special guests at a dinner hosted by Team 100 members Don Angell and Don Bedell in North Carolina on Monday, November 29. Attendees are from across the country and affiliated with the American Health Care Association. There will be a reception (with photos), roundtable discussion of long-term health care issues and a dinner. You and Senator Dole will not make formal remarks from a podium, but rather participate in a discussion moderated by Don Bedell prior to dinner. Attendees will have an opportunity to ask questions and have you and Senator Dole respond.

The following is the outline of the event:

Event:                 Reception/Discussion/Dinner  
Date:                 Monday, November 29  
Time:                 6:00 p.m. reception  
                          6:30 p.m. roundtable discussion  
                          7:30 p.m. dinner begins  
Location:             Bermuda Village, Advance, NC (12 miles west-Winston Salem)  
                          919-998-6112 (phone) 919-940-2140 (fax)  
Attendees:            approximately 55 people, including former NC Governor Jim  
                          Martin and possibly Senator Lauch Faircloth.  
Ticket Structure:    \$5,000 per couple  
Dress:                 Business attire  
Transportation:      Don Bedell and A.D. Buffington of Jackson, MS (Hillcrest  
                          Health Center) will meet you as you deplane in Greensboro and  
                          drive you the approximately 50-60 minutes to Bermuda Village.  
                          You should arrive at Bermuda Village about 5:45 p.m., and I'll  
                          meet you then (Kirk is not attending). Senator Dole will fly in  
                          on a private plane and be transported from Smith Reynolds  
                          Airport (30 minutes) to Bermuda Village. You and I will fly  
                          back separately from Senator Dole, since he will depart early.

- Y Andy Adams - 615-890-2020 (Fayline, Sec.)  
11-19 - Will be in Monday - call back  
  
National HealthCorp, Inc. Chairman  
Guest \_\_\_\_\_  
  
Arrival: ?
- Y Harvey Angell - 312-855-0930  
Karell Capital Ventures, Inc. CEO  
Guest Jarell Healy  
  
Bermuda Village - YES  
Arriving Greensboro United #638 - 4:30 PM - Airport pickup
- Y Bruce Baldwin - 813-443-0443  
American Health Care President  
Guest Mike Barody Southern Mgmt. Services President
- Y Barber, John - 803-582-7503  
White Oak Manor, Inc. \_\_\_\_\_  
Guest Isabel  
  
Bermuda Village - YES  
Driving from Spartanburg
- Y Don Bedell - 314-471-1276 (Judy, Sec.)  
Health Facilities Mgmt. Corp. President  
Guest Brad Bedell (son)  
  
Bermuda Village - NO  
Flying in and out in own plane on Monday
- Y Bill Benton - 722-8182  
Health Equity Properties, Inc. Pres. CEO  
Guest none  
11-19 (will call if brings guest)
- Y Jim Bethune - 659-3700 (Brett Waters & Naomi ?)  
Rollins, Hudig, Hall of the Carolinas Pres. & CEO  
Guest \_\_\_\_\_  
  
11-19 Call on Monday  
11-22 Called, will let know

- Y Tim Kincaid - 212-751-3030  
Medimax, Inc. President  
Guest Frank Macy  
  
Bermuda Village - YES  
Arriving Greensboro - Cont.#1622 - 10:50 AM Airport Pickup
- Y Jeff McCain - 206-572-94901  
Hillhaven Corp. Exec. Vice President  
Guest none  
  
Bermuda Village - YES  
Arriving Greensboro - Delta #1710 - 3:50 PM
- Y Jack MacDonald - 703-481-9318  
Wilmac, Inc. President  
Guest none  
  
Bermuda Village - YES  
Will be driving, no pickup - 11-22, gave directions to BV
- Y Dan Mosca - 919-831-4767  
Advocare of North Carolina, Inc. President  
Guest Diane Landrath-Schmidt  
  
11-19 Left message - called back, will drive in and home that night
- Y Jake Parks - 800-624-5244 ext. 681  
Biggers Brothers, Inc. Southeastern Sales Manager  
Guest \_\_\_\_\_  
  
Don Angell to call
- Y Billy Prim - 919-679-7000  
American Oil & Gas Pres./CEO  
Guest Debbie Prim  
  
11-19 Left message  
11-22 confirmed
- Y Mark Pulido & Mike Rogers - 919-380-9617 (Daffney)  
Redline Healthcare Corp.  
Mark Chairman/CEO Mike Regional VP  
  
11-22 - left message, will call back

- Y Gene Bishop - 404-993-9000  
Health Service Centers, Inc. President  
Guest Sherry Bridges  
  
Left message 11-19  
11-22 Left message
- Y A.D. Buffington - 601-939-7350  
Hillcrest Health Center, Inc. President  
Guest \_\_\_\_\_  
  
11-22 Left message - he will call back
- ? Cash, Terry -
- Y Tom Cook - 800-523-2248  
Healthcare Services Group, Inc. President  
Guest Brian Waters  
  
Bermuda Village - YES  
11-19 Will call Monday - will be coming from Philadelphia and  
may rent a car, coming in around 10:00 AM)
- Y Jim Durante & Joe Nichols - 518-346-6121 (Roberta)  
Hallmark Nursing Center \_\_\_\_\_  
Cannot attend, but sent check  
Guest Bill and Beverly Rogers
- Y Mark Hamister - 716-881-4425 (Linda Tabor, Sec.)  
National Health Care Affiliates, Inc. Pres. & CEO  
Guest \_\_\_\_\_  
  
Will call  
11-22 will call back
- Y Boyd Hendrickson - 800-666-9996 ext. 8405  
Beverly Enterprises, Inc. Exec. Vice Pres.  
Guest none  
  
Flying in King Air around 4:30 PM - Winston-Salem airport pick  
up - will call back on time  
Bermuda Village - YES
- Y Don House - 765-1130  
House & Blanco, P.A. Partner  
Guest Ray

Y Guy Smith - 414-347-4206 (Kathleen, Sec.)  
United Health, Inc. President  
Guest none

Bermuda Village - YES  
Arriving Greensboro ? (will call)

Y Craig Souza - 919-782-3827  
NC Health Care President  
Guest Diane Landrath-Schmidt

Bermuda Village - YES  
Driving

Y Bruce Yarwood - 202-898-2828 Legislative Council  
Dr. Paul Willging Executive VP  
American Health Care Association

Bermuda Village - YES 2  
(Multi-facility mtg. cancelled in Greensboro)

Y Missouri Health Care Association PAC - \$5000

Y Don G. Angell - Vera

Y Gray Angell - Christie

Special Recognition:  
Valerie Michelotti - John  
Peggy Miller - Joe  
Jeanne Noakes - Bill  
Janell Healy  
Stewart Swain - Pam  
Shawn Angell

Special Guests:

Gov. Jim Martin - Dottie  
Senator Betsy Cochrane - Joe  
Chairman Carl Boon - Helen

Senator Bob Dole (Libby?) & Admin. Asst. ? \_\_\_\_\_  
Chairman Haley Barbour  
Henry Barbour

Don Beaver  
Brian Management, Inc. Chairman/CEO



# X-raying the Clinton Plan

Published by the Republican National Committee

## Issue 5

## Government Rationed Health Care

Issue 5 of "X-Raying the Clinton Plan" continues to examine the 1,300 page plan -- focusing on the global budgets and premium caps of Title VI. This issue will discuss how the Clinton social planners designed a system that allows government bureaucrats in Washington to ration health care.

The Clintons claim their plan doesn't have a global budget. Mrs. Clinton says "the term 'global budget' is really a misnomer because there is not any intention to, in any way, budget every health expenditure ..." (Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee, 9/29/93) They can call it whatever they want, but the fact is **Title VI** of the Clinton plan empowers the National Health Board to set a national limit on health care spending and to enforce that limit through stringent price controls. The National Health Board alone has the power to distribute this fixed amount of health care spending to regional alliances -- the government-run health care monopolies each state is required to establish. The National Health Board arbitrates a zero-sum game. By definition, if one alliance is allowed to spend more, another alliance will have to spend less. No decision of the politically-appointed National Health Board is subject to any judicial or administrative review. (Sec. 5232)

Global budgets and price controls will take the finest health care system in the world in the wrong direction. As Congressional Quarterly recently stated, "it is widely expected that aggressively ratcheting down on spending ... will inevitably result in rationing of health-care services. That could translate into patients having to travel farther for treatment and wait longer to get it." (*Congressional Quarterly*, 10/30/93)

**Rationing Alert #1:** The surest sign that the Clinton plan explicitly rations health care is that Clinton proposes to create a whole new set of crimes for trying to buy health care outside "the system." (Sec. 5401 -5438) As Dr. Glen C. Griffen, editor of *Post Graduate Medicine*, writes "when people are free to choose their doctors and the care they get in a free-market system, there are no bribes. But when care is rationed in a government-run health care system, bribes become a problem." (*Washington Times*, 11/15/93)

### The National Health Board Sets a Global Budget

Despite what the Clintons want you to believe, under their plan, the National Health Board decides how much the United States will spend on health care. Here's how they do it. The National Health Board estimates how much they think the Clinton health care plan would cost.

Sec. 6002 (2) ... The Board shall first determine the amount of total payments made for items and services included in the comprehensive benefit package



(determined without regard to cost sharing) in the  
United States in 1993

The Board then adjusts that figure by a statutorily defined inflation rate. (Sec. 6001 (a)(3)) Whatever the politically appointed Board says the plan will cost in 1996 becomes the global budget. (Sec. 6002 (a)(1)) Many observers, however, believe the Clinton Administration has severely underestimated the true cost of their government-run health care program. For example, the Clinton health care plan assumes the average family premiums for its gold-plated comprehensive benefits package will be \$4,360. (The President's Report to the American People, pg. 112) But, according to Foster Higgins, a health benefits consulting firm, in 1992 the national average family premium was \$5,300. (*LA Times*, 9/23/93) And a health benefits expert at Foster Higgins says the Clinton plan is "covering things no Fortune 500 company covers." (*Christian Science Monitor*, 9/24/93)

The global budget ceiling is adjusted each year for inflation under a formula set by statute (Sec. 6001 (a)(3)) -- which mandates zero real growth in health care spending by 1999. But the Clinton plan, with its purchasing monopolies, greatly expands government's role in health care spending. When was the last time more government meant greater efficiency and lower costs? In fact, government's expanding role in health care is a major reason health care costs have risen so rapidly. In 1965, government accounted for 26.5% of total health care spending. By 1992 that figure increased to 45.4%. Since 1990, the federal government's health care costs have increased 48.4%, but the private sector has managed to limit its cost increases to just 25.7%. (Employee Benefits Research Institute, 11/93) The facts show government has been unable to control spending just at the time the private sector is starting to get a handle on health care costs. As one study on health care costs recently concluded, "the historical experience with government health programs gives ample reason to doubt that expanding the role of government will be consistent with the goal of slowing the upward spiral of health costs." (House Budget Committee, Minority Staff, May, 1993)

No industrialized country -- even ones that explicitly ration care -- has achieved the types of savings that Clinton mandates. The Clinton health care plan mandates that there will be zero real growth in health care spending in the United States by the year 1999. The Canadian system is growing at 4.8% above the inflation rate and the British system is growing 4.07% above the inflation rate. (Energy and Commerce hearing, 9/28/93) -- No wonder Patrick Moynihan, the Democratic Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee doesn't believe Clinton's numbers can pass "a reality check." (Senate Finance Committee hearing, 9/30/93)

**Rationing Alert #2:** The Clinton global budget figure-- how much government says we can spend on health care -- underestimates how much money is needed to deliver the gold-plated benefits package to every American. That will lead to rationing of health care. As David McIntyre of Blue Cross/Blue Shield of Arizona stated "premium caps and global budgets are price controls. These limits will likely lead to rationing, reduced services and an erosion in the quality of care. What's more, they will be driven by politicians' political budget priorities." (*Arizona Republic*, 10/1/93)

demand for health care services as the population ages." (Bill Dudley, *St. Petersburg Times*, 10/17/93) If an alliance still does not stay within its premium target for a year, the Board penalizes the alliance by reducing that alliance's premium target amount for the next two years to make up for the excess spending. (Sec. 6001(d))

If it costs the federal government more than expected to pay for the biggest new entitlement of all, too bad for the regional alliance. The federal government's obligations are capped (Sec. 9102), but the regional alliance still must provide the comprehensive benefits package to those individuals:

SEC. 1001. Entitlement to Health Benefits. -- (A) In general. In accordance with this part, each eligible individual is entitled to the comprehensive benefit package under Subtitle B through the applicable health plan in which the individual is enrolled consistent with this title.

SEC. 1323 ... Each regional alliance shall assure that each regional alliance eligible individual who resides in the alliance area is enrolled in a regional alliance health plan and shall establish and maintain methods and procedures, consistent with this section, sufficient to assure such enrollment.

If federal payments are insufficient, individuals and employers in the region make up for the shortfall. But if the amount of money that can be spent in that region is capped, how else can the shortfall be made up without some form of rationing?

### *New Technologies are Limited and Miracles Rationed*

Limiting the rate of growth of health care spending through government imposed price controls will lead to less technological innovation. Timothy McBride, an assistant professor of economics at the University of Missouri-St. Louis says technology accounts for between 1 and 1.5 percentage points of medical inflation. (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 9/26/93) Other economists estimate that "technological progress -- genetic research, new surgical techniques, drugs to cure rare diseases -- accounts for about half the rate of increase in health care costs." (*Seattle Times*, 9/25/93) But by 1999 the Clinton plan does not allow for any medical care specific inflation. So where is the money going to come from that is needed to create the modern medical miracles? That doesn't seem to concern the Clinton administration.

Secretary of Labor Robert Reich made clear the Clinton plan hopes to move away from costly life-extending technologies. At a recent hearing he stated "our system of fee for service, our system of technology at any cost, although it may be in some cases people keeping a few people's lives -- keeping a few people living longer -- it overall is an extremely expensive way of doing things. There are few incentives on anybody to economize. And I hate to say it, but we will all die of something." (House Education and Labor Committee, 10/14/93)  
**Let's hope the Clinton plan dies first!**

POLITICAL

## North Carolina

This Political Brief was prepared on November 23

### Elected Officials Profile

- Democrats control the Senate 28 to 11.
- GOP has 42 of 78 House seats.
- Dem. Gov. Jim Hunt replaced GOP Gov. Jim Martin in 1992 race. Hunt was Gov. from 1976-84.
- No specials planned for the rest of the year.
- Congressional Delegation - Senate - Jesse A. Helms (R) re-election in '96 ('90 election results: Helms 53%, Harvey B. Gantt (D) 47%), Lauch Faircloth (R) re-election in '98 ('92 election results: Faircloth 50%, Terry Sanford (D) 46%, three others 3%); House - E. Clayton (D-01), T. Valentine (D-02), M. Lancaster (D-03), D. Price (D-04), S. Neal (D-05), Howard Coble (R-06), C. Rose (D-07), B. Hefner (D-08), Alex McMillan (R-09), Cass Ballenger (R-10), Charles Taylor (R-11), M. Watt (D-12).
- 1992 Presidential results Bush 43.5%, Clinton 42.7%, Perot 13.7%
- All State wide offices are up in 1996
- Filing deadline is February 7, 1994
- Primary is May 3, 1994

### In The News

- Sens. Jesse Helms and Lauch Faircloth were among 10 Republicans and 28 Democrats opposing the NAFTA. (AP Wire 11/20)
- Republican Alex McMillan joined Democrats Clayton, Hefner, Lancaster, Neal, Price, Rose Valentine and Watt in voting for a compromise version of the Brady bill. The measure passed on a 238-187 roll call. Republicans Ballenger, Coble, and Taylor opposed the bill. (AP Wire 11/23)
- Reps. Valentine (D) and Republicans Ballenger, Coble McMillan and Taylor voted against legislation to renew extended jobless benefits. Democrats Clayton, Hefner, Lancaster, Neal, Price, Rose and Watt voted in favor of the legislation. The measure passed 320-105 on roll call. (AP Wire 11/23)
- Martin Lancaster (D-03) joined Republicans Cass Ballenger, Howard Coble, Alex McMillan and Charles Taylor in voting 'yes' for the \$90 B spending cut package proposed by Reps. John Kasich (R) and Tim Penny (D). Democrats Clayton, Hefner, Neal, Price, Rose, Valentine, and Watt voted against the measure. The measure was rejected 219-213 on roll call. (AP Wire 11/23)
- State Republican Chair R. Jack Hawke and other Party officials have threatened to sue over the eavesdropping allegations involving Governor Jim Hunt's campaign (News & Observer 11/12). On Thursday 11/12, Republicans signaled that they will continue to press questions about whether Hunt and his campaign were involved in the illegal eavesdropping and recording of the GOP gubernatorial candidate's phone conversations last year. On Wednesday 11/10, two of Hunt's former law partners pleaded guilty to reviewing notes and a tape made from conversation intercepted by a Hunt supporter. Hawke said that "for over a year now, the state of North Carolina has been experiencing political coverup of immense proportions, a coverup of illegal activity that in my opinion goes all the way to the Governor's office" (News & Observer 11/12). Since the allegations first broke 6 days before the 1992 election, Hunt has maintained that he and his campaign were not involved and that he had no knowledge of any wrongdoing.
- Newly re-elected Charlotte Mayor Richard Vinroot (R), who "has a resume any consultant would love," is mentioned by The CHARLOTTE OBSERVER's Morrill as a possible candidate for gov. -- or even senate should Jesse Helms (R) decide not to run -- in '96 (11/7).

November 23, 1993

**MEMORANDUM FOR CHAIRMAN HALEY BARBOUR**

**THROUGH:** SCOTT REED  
ROBIN CARLE

**FROM:** TOMMY HOPPER

**SUBJECT:** NORTH CAROLINA/ RFR REPORT

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**STAUS OF NORTH CAROLINA REPUBLICAN PARTY:**

The North Carolina Republican Party is facing serious financial difficulty. Expenditures are several thousand dollars a month more than contributions. There are political problems as well, evidenced by the fact that organizational events and meetings have been cancelled for lack of attendance. One problem is the lack of statewide opportunities; there are no races for governor or U.S. Senator next year. However, the lack of statewide races spells huge opportunities for the party in legislative and congressional races. With voter turnout likely to be very low next year, the elections could literally be like a series of special elections. The state party could make the difference in those contests with the right plan, and that plan could in turn give the party a program to sell and a reason for people to give. We will be working with them in the coming weeks to help develop that kind of plan and giving technical support to help implement it.

The party has generated some publicity lately over "scannergate", an electronic eavesdropping scandal in which Hunt associates and a Democrat activist have pleaded guilty to misdemeanor charges. Democrat activist Bev Smith monitored cellular phone conversations involving '92 GOP gubernatorial nominee Jim Gardner, and Hunt associates Phil Carlton (a former NC Supreme Court Justice) and Charles Lane admitted to reviewing Smith's notes. The big question is whether Hunt knew. Smith's boyfriend says he did. Hunt and the others deny that the governor had any knowledge. Civil lawsuits are likely once the criminal investigation is over.

**NORTH CAROLINA CANDIDATE AND CAMPAIGN STATUS:**

There are no races for governor or U.S. Senate in 1994.

1994 Congressional Races: Filing Deadline: Feb. 7, 1994  
Primary Date: May 3, 1994: Run-off May 31, 1994

## **U.S. Congressional Races:**

### **NC-2: Area around Raleigh, half of Durham, part of Chapel Hill, Rocky Mount**

This seat is now open with Rep. Tim Valentine's (D) recent announcement that he will not seek reelection. '92 results: Bush 45%, Clinton 40%, and Perot 14%. Possible Democrat successors that have surfaced are NC School Superintendent Bobby Etheridge, state Sen. Wib Gulley, and Rocky Mount mayor Fred Turnage. The most serious Republican candidate is former ambassador and Helms protege David Funderburk. The Club and Funderburk aren't on the best of terms right now, but they would probably not work against him. Also announced are attorney Larry Norman and Ted Stone. Ex-Hardee's executive Gene Arnold has also been mentioned.

### **NC-3: Outer Banks and coastal plain, Greenville, Elizabeth City, New Bern**

Incumbent Martin Lancaster won 54% to 43% in 1992, after outspending GOP nominee and state Senator Tommy Pollard by \$548,584 to \$236,233. Lancaster keeps up with constituent service, particularly for the military, which is a significant influence. Some of the nation's biggest military bases are in the area, including Camp LeJeune, Fort Bragg, and Seymour Johnson Air Force Base. '92 results: Bush 47%, Clinton 39%, Perot 15%.

The likely Republican challenger is Walter Jones, Jr. His father was a Democrat congressman for many years in the first district; much of the old first is in the new third district. Walter Jr. served in the legislature as a Democrat and was part of the governing coalition before he switched parties. He has worked hard for Operation: Switch in NC. He currently lives in the first district, but will move. If Jones decided not to run, '92 nominee Tommy Pollard might, but Pollard will probably not run against Jones in the primary.

### **NC-4: Most of the Research Triangle**

The fifth district would be difficult for a Republican to win. Bush barely defeated Dukakis in '88, and Clinton won with 47% to Bush's 39% and Perot's 14% in '92. This was probably Clinton's best performance in a southern majority white metro area. Congressman David Price suits the area and is generally popular.

There will likely be two Republican candidates. Raleigh Police Chief Fred Heineman, who recently switched parties and just last Friday announced his retirement as chief. He is from New York City. The second likely candidate is Robb Romaine, who is backed by Paul Shumacher and David Minor.

#### **NC-5: Northern edge of the state including about half of Winston-Salem**

One time Wake Forest football player and successful Winston-Salem businessman Richard Burr won 46% against incumbent Stephen Neal in 1992, after being outspent \$517,594 to \$188,130. Burr gave Neal his most serious challenge since Neal first won in the Watergate year of 1974. Burr hasn't announced but is running again. '92 results: Bush 43%, Clinton 43%, Perot 13%.

#### **NC-8: Textile mill towns along I-85 east of Charlotte and Sand Hill counties**

Rep. Bill Heffner (D) was elected in 1974, but only in 1976 did he win by more than 60% of the vote. This is primarily due to the large Republican vote in the textile areas which comprise nearly two-thirds of the district ( Bush beat Clinton 44% -42% ). In addition, Heffner's age ( mid-60's ) has fueled speculation that he might retire soon; he faced primary opposition in '92 for the first time. Heffner's '92 GOP opponent Coy Privette, founder of the Christian Action League, received just 37% of the vote, but was outspent \$594,617 to \$108,332. Privette may run again. Also interested in running is state legislator Robert Brawley, who is seen as a serious contender. There are several other individuals considering the race.

**PEROT ACTIVITY:** None known.

#### **STATE AND LOCAL ENVIRONMENT:**

The environment is difficult for the GOP, since there are no major statewide offices up and the party is having difficulty raising funds and generating interest. As it is everywhere, crime is a major issue and the party is encouraging candidates to use it. The eavesdropping scandal is making headlines, as reported in the state party status section.

#### **RED ALERTS:**

Chairman Hawke was angry that he found out about the RNC fundraiser from Don Angel. This has already been reported to the Chairman's office. ED Effie Pernell also says Jack wrote three letters which were never answered. The state party has also made a few requests for speakers which we've been unsuccessful in getting for them. And Senator Dole will apparently be unable to do anything for the party while he's there. So, if Jack Hawke is at the event, I'm sure he'll bring this up. On the positive side, we are currently working on two more speaker requests. We are also spending some time there next week helping draft plans and train finance staff. Tony Hammond, the Missouri ED, will spend the entire week there next week.

CLIPS



News  
Observer

11-12-93

# GOP leader accuses Hunt of cover-up

State Republican Chairman R. Jack Hawke and other party officials threaten to sue over the eavesdropping allegations involving the governor's campaign.

BY VAN DENTON  
AND JOSEPH NEFF  
STAFF WRITERS



Carlton

Lane

Republicans signaled Thursday that they will continue to press questions about whether Gov. Jim Hunt and his campaign were involved in the illegal eavesdropping and recording of the GOP gubernatorial candidate's phone conversations last year.

The day after two of Hunt's former law partners pleaded guilty to reviewing notes and a tape made from conversations intercepted by a Hunt supporter, state GOP Chairman R. Jack Hawke accused Hunt of being involved in a coverup.

"For over a year now, the state of North Carolina has been experiencing political coverup of immense proportions, a coverup of illegal activity that in my opinion goes all the way to the governor's office," Hawke said at a news

conference.

Hawke's accusation was accompanied by threats of lawsuits, references to Watergate and other indications that Republicans hope to bring down the Democratic governor with what members of both parties have called "Scanerngate."

Since the allegations first broke six days before the 1992 election, Hunt has maintained that he and his campaign were not involved and that he had no knowledge of any wrongdoing.

Hawke acknowledged that he has no direct evidence of Hunt's involvement, but he said Hunt's assertions are too far-fetched to be believed.

"I can tell you that I can prove

SEE EAVESDROP, PAGE 14A

# EAVESDROP

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1A

as much standing here today about Jim Hunt as they could about Richard Nixon the day he left office." Rowe said "I think he knew it, I believe he knew it."

"I've been in politics for 30 years and I have argued for dozens of candidates and there is not one candidate I worked for who would have stood by and not gotten to the bottom of this when it happened."

Hunt was on his firm in Wilson on Thursday and unavailable for comment. Rachel Perry, his spokeswoman, dismissed Smith's charge as political spin tactics.

"The governor said a year ago and as he will say a year from now — he knew nothing about this activity," Perry said Thursday. "The campaign had no knowledge and information about this until Howie can first get into the and any innuendo he wants to do today. But that won't change the facts."

### What did Hunt know?

A year ago, people were sure what to make of the story about political spying and eavesdropping when it broke. It was out of a bid to fight control by Gov. Hunt and Republican Lt. Gov. Jim Gardner of Rocky Mount.

Now it's clearer.

**Eavesdropping.** A former Democratic activist has pleaded guilty to monitoring cellular phone conversations involving Gardner and his top campaign staff members.

And two of Hunt's friends, former law partners and major supporters, reviewed Smith's notes and at least one tape recording. Phil Carlton and Charles Lane pleaded guilty Wednesday to violating federal eavesdropping laws.

But the big question still hanging over Hunt is a variation on Howard Baker's famous question about Nixon during Watergate days: "What did he know, and when did he know it?"

Perry says Hunt was misled by the answer, that he learned of the eavesdropping only after it was made public by Gardner's campaign and by Smith's eavesdropping on Roy Lively.

"We announced that question over and over again for the last year," she said.

By way of bringing the story to an end, the guilty pleas have fueled more speculation about what Smith heard, what information he gave to Carlton and Lane, and whether it benefited the Hunt campaign.

**What did Hunt know?** Lively says Hunt told Smith to contact her about eavesdropping in

early 1992 when he spoke to her at a Rocky Mount Chamber of Commerce reception Hunt denies having had this conversation.

Lively also contends that Smith called Carlton at his home Sept. 25, 1992, to talk about some of the tapes she had made. Perry confirms that Hunt was at Carlton's home that day — preparing for a debate with Gardner — but says he knew nothing about Smith's phone call.

Who in the Hunt campaign received political intelligence from the eavesdropping operation? Carlton says he doesn't think he passed on any information to the campaign.

But Carlton himself had an important, if informal, role in the campaign. At Carlton's house that day Hunt engaged in a mock debate — with Carlton playing the part of his opponent, Gardner.

Is it possible that the information went to Carlton and Lane, but not Hunt?

Did the Hunt campaign receive any unfair advantage because of the eavesdropping? Carlton and Lane say no. But Gardner folks are convinced that the Hunt campaign benefited from the information gleaned from the eavesdropping.

Former Suggs Gardner's campaign treasurer, said Thursday that during the campaign he was surprised at the Hunt campaign's ability to respond with such effectiveness to what we were doing.

Suggs cited an Oct. 13, 1992, fund-raising letter in which Hunt sought money to respond to a Gardner advertisement attacking Hunt for having tried a convicted murderer — an advertisement that never ran.

"Jim Gardner and I discussed that ad on the telephone," Suggs said. "I'm sure Jack Rowe discussed that ad with him. I'm sure Chris Gardner discussed that ad with him on the telephone."

"We talked about a specific script. We talked about what we would do with the ad. However, we never ran it, and we never ran it. That ad never appeared anywhere in any form, yet Hunt put out a direct mail piece saying it was already out."

Perry said it was widely known that Gardner was attacking Hunt for the commission. She said The Charlotte Observer reported a month earlier that Gardner paraded to use the issue to portray Hunt as soft on crime. She says the location of an ad in the fund-raising letter was a mistake.

"That was an error," said Perry who was the Hunt campaign's press secretary. "That's not any aspect of any kind of illegal activity."

### What might be next?

Hunt sides hope the story will end here, but that doesn't appear

## A "Scanbergate" chronology

**Oct. 28, 1992:** Jim Gardner's campaign says Beverly V. Smith, a supporter of Jim Hunt, monitored cordless and cellular phone calls involving Gardner and passed the information on to two of Hunt's former law partners, Phil Carlton and Charles Lane. Gardner's campaign staff gives the FBI a tape recording and a sworn affidavit by Raymond H. Lively, Smith's former boyfriend, and releases a copy of the tape and a manuscript to reporters.

**Oct. 29, 1992:** Hunt denies knowledge of the alleged eavesdropping, saying "I think it is a 15-minute smear tactic by an opponent who is behind in the polls."

**Oct. 30, 1992:** Carlton and Lane issue a statement saying Lively's affidavit is "misleading and false." They deny any wrongdoing and decline to answer questions from reporters.

**Nov. 2, 1992:** Lively is subpoenaed to testify before a federal grand jury.

**Nov. 2, 1992:** Hunt wins an unprecedented third term as governor, defeating Gardner, 53 percent to 43 percent.

**Nov. 16, 1992:** Based on a warrant filed by Smith, Lively is arrested and charged with trespassing on her property Nov. 1 and 2. The warrants had been filed two weeks earlier, but Nash County deputies waited until the eve of Lively's grand jury testimony to arrest her.

**Nov. 17, 1992:** Grand jury proceedings begin. Lively and Keith Werner, a Nash County collector and attorney, testify.

**Jan. 19, 1993:** Prosecutors require Samuel W. Johnson, a partner of Payne & Spruill, to lead to the case when Lively says Johnson, like Carlton and Lane, received written reports from Smith Johnson topics before the grand jury.

**Jan. 28, 1993:** Lively is accused of trespassing on Smith's property.

**August 1993:** The FBI asks Jack Rowe, the state GOP chairman, to identify voices on a cell tape. Rowe asks U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno to appoint a special prosecutor.

**Oct. 25, 1993:** Smith pleads guilty before a federal magistrate to intentional interception and monitoring of cellular phone conversations. She is scheduled to be sentenced Jan. 26 by U.S. Magistrate Alexander B. Damon. Her maximum punishment is a \$5,000 fine and one year of probation.

**Nov. 18, 1993:** Phil Carlton and Charles Lane plead guilty to similar infractions, admitting that they reviewed tape recordings and written summaries based on the intercepted telephone conversations. Carlton, Lane and Hunt reiterate that Hunt knew nothing about the eavesdropping.

Continued on the next page

### Hitch

Gardner has kept silent in public but Suggs said he may choose to speak in federal court when Carlton and Lane appear for their sentencing. Then the state civil suit that Suggs and Suggs promise will be filed once the criminal case is concluded.

Carlton and Lane, partners in one of the state's most influential law firms, also could make more news as their conduct is scrutinized by the N.C. State Bar, the state agency that prosecutes attorney conduct.

The Bar's Rules of Professional Conduct prohibit lawyers from committing "a criminal act that reflects adversely on the lawyer's

honesty, trustworthiness or fitness as a lawyer in other respects."

The rules also state: "A pattern of repeated offenses, even ones of minor significance when considered separately, can indicate indifference to legal obligation and professional standards."

"Generally speaking, we take notice of criminal convictions of attorneys and notify the chairman of our grievance committee," said L. Thomas Lunsford II, chief executive of the N.C. State Bar. "We are not going to ignore that which is widely known."

Rob Christensen contributed to this story.

NEWS

# Around the South

## Spy scandal snares N.C. Democrats

**Who knew what? Three of Gov. Jim Hunt's allies were involved in illegal spying on his opponent. Hunt insists he knew nothing about it.**

By Chris Burritt  
STAFF WRITER

**T**he North Carolina governor's race is finally heating up a year after Democrat Jim Hunt handily defeated Republican Jim Gardner.

Hunt is embroiled in a political spying incident, dubbed "Scannergate," that already has brought down three fellow Democrats. Two are close allies and former law partners of the governor.

Hunt denies that he was involved, but state Republicans are screaming cover-up.

The culprits evaded the spotlight last year on car telephone conversations involving Gardner, his campaign staff and state GOP Chairman Jack Hawke. Republicans say they gained political advantage by listening in on discussions of campaign strategy.

The incident is embarrassing to Democrats and could help Republicans in state elections next year and, possibly, in the governor's race in 1996.

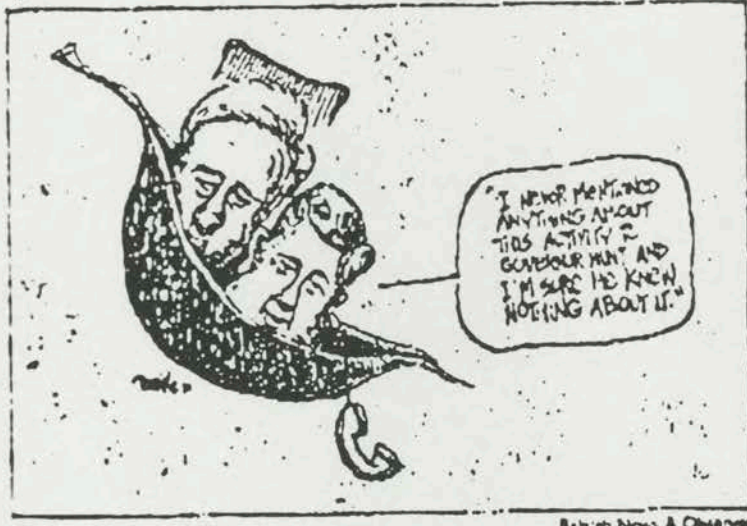
"Anytime you get one of these 'gates' wrapped around your political persona, it's a problem," said Thad Boyce, a political science professor at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Last year's race for governor was never considered close, with Hunt defeating Gardner, a former lieutenant governor, 53 percent to 43 percent.

Now Hunt, who had a clean record during two terms as governor in the 1970s and '80s, is being lampooned in political cartoons in state newspapers for, in deeds he says he didn't even know about.

"I really, really regret this. But there is no cover-up," Hunt said last week after Phil Carlton, a former state Supreme Court justice, and lawyer Charles Lane pleaded guilty to reviewing notes and tape recordings of the illegally monitored cellular phone calls.

Beverly Smith, former head of the Nash



Peas in a pod? A newspaper cartoon by Dwane Powell pokes fun at the relationship between Gov. Jim Hunt (left, whom Powell always draws with a comb) and close Hunt associate Phil Carlton, who recently pleaded guilty in an eavesdropping scandal.

Raleigh News & Observer

*"As crazy as it sounds, the same Watergate questions apply here."*

**EDDIE WOODHOUSE**  
Republican Party spokesman

County Democratic Party, earlier admitted in federal court that from spring 1992 to Oct. 26, 1992, she used a scanner to snoop on the phone calls.

Now Democrats are hoping that what started as a scandal in the Raleigh News & Observer, or called "a covert, sleazy operation" will quietly fade away.

"Democrats don't take it too seriously," said Al Boyce, press secretary for the state Democratic Party.

But Republicans aren't about to let it quietly fade away.

"How much did Hunt know? When did he know it?" asked Eddie Woodhouse, a spokesman for the state Republican Party. "As crazy as it sounds, the same Watergate questions apply here."

Federal prosecutors are investigating the case, and Carlton and Lane are expected to appear before a federal grand jury.

Hawke has threatened to sue the Democrats involved, a move that would help

keep the issue alive heading into next year's congressional and state elections.

"If you know Jack Hawke, you know he will use (the incident) to the widest extent he can," said Harry Martin, a former state Supreme Court justice who was appointed by Hunt and served with Carlton. "If it were reversed, I'd expect the Democrats to use it to the best extent they could."

Although both of North Carolina's U.S. senators, Jesse Helms and Leach Faircloth, are Republicans, the state is generally a Democratic stronghold. The Democratic Party easily controls the state Senate and House, and eight of North Carolina's 12 U.S. representatives are Democrats.

What gains Republicans will make in upcoming elections will depend largely upon whether Hunt is proved to be involved in "Scannergate." If he is not, Democrats can rest easy, Harry Martin said.

"If the facts are out, by 1996 this will be a dead issue as far as the governor's race is concerned," he said.

Boyle, the UNC professor, added that the incident alone won't get Republicans elected, because most voters are more concerned about crime, drugs and schools than dirty politics.

On the downside, he said, it "makes people more cynical. People say, 'Politicians are all alike. Look at what they do to win.'"

# Scanner scandal calls for Hunt friends' candor

Not often do I receive calls from the governor. In fact, when Jim Hunt rang me up at home out of the blue last Sunday afternoon, he pushed my career grand total to one.

And what did the governor want to talk about? Crime, for one thing. He spent several minutes telling me how he wants to make public housing projects safer and what he thinks should be done about the proliferation of guns. His bottom line on that score seems to be stiffer penalties for people who commit crimes while armed, although he says he'd be "happy to cut the number of guns if we can figure out how to do it."

That wasn't the first topic on the agenda, though. No sooner had we exchanged a few pleasantries than he remarked, without prompting, how terribly he felt for his two allies Phil Carlton and Charlie Lane, who a couple of days before had admitted their involvement in a phone snooping operation during last year's campaign against Jim Gardner.

"And I understand the impact on me," Hunt said.

He sounded sincere, and I believe he was. But now that I've thought about the conversation and reviewed our news stories, my question is whether he really does understand the impact.

Because if he does, it seems he would move more aggressively to put out the fire by insisting on full disclosure of what took place. The flames are modest now, but a fellow named Jack Hawke is getting paid good money by the state Republican Party to try to fan them into a conflagration.

What GOP chairman Hawke would love to show, of course, is that the governor and his pals are lying when they insist that Hunt was never told of the eavesdropping and that none of the illicitly obtained information was used in his campaign.

Personally, I think it's entirely

believable that Hunt was kept in the dark, even by his close friend and adviser Carlton. The former Supreme Court justice had to know this was a



**STEVE FORD**

steazy game, and it makes sense that he would have shielded Hunt from any guilty knowledge.

For those with suspicious minds, though, it's not difficult to discern the makings of a cover-up.

Neither Carlton nor Lane has been adequately forthcoming about details of the scheme, which centered on a Hunt loyalist in Nash County who monitored and took notes on cellular phone calls between Gardner campaign figures.

Hunt's former law partners have ducked public questions ever since the eavesdropping was disclosed a week before last fall's election. They maintained a public posture of innocence right up until they entered guilty pleas to infractions of federal law. Both are acknowledged illegally reviewing notes that summarized the overheard calls. Carlton also says he listened to a tape.

Shortly after the snooping allegations broke, Hunt told reporters he had not sought to determine if they were true because he had been too busy campaigning. "You ask Phil Carlton," he said at the time, "if Phil Carlton has been involved, he'll tell you."

Sorry, governor, but it wasn't that simple.

One principal in the case — Raymond Livesey, estranged friend of scanner operator Beverley Smith and the person who spilled the beans — claims that Smith once was urged by Hunt himself to keep up the good work. The governor has denied that — but in

the case of Carlton and Lane, at least, Livesey's accusations proved hard to shake.

Gardner's ex-campaign manager points to an October 1992 letter in which Hunt asked supporters for money to help counter a Gardner ad. The twist is that the ad was discussed by phone, but it never ran.

I asked Hunt about that coincidence. He replied that it was "absolutely untrue" that any information from overheard calls had figured in the fund-raising letter.

His explanation was intriguing: "We had folks close to Gardner who had some input to our campaign." He mentioned Charlotte as a locale, and said one source was a "person who's not living now." (The next time Hunt calls, I'll be sure to ask him who the spy was.) During a civil trial, he said, information about what his campaign knew would be produced if necessary. That's not inconceivable, since Hawke has been threatening to sue.

A candidate is entitled to make use of contacts in the rival camp. But if that's how Hunt was getting sensitive inside information about his opponent, now is the time for him to spell it out so the public won't be tempted to believe more sinister scenarios.

And now that Carlton and Lane have struck their plea bargains, with expressions of remorse, it's certainly time for them to submit to public questioning about this whole episode. Even if they're worried about a suit, they owe as much to the governor.

Perhaps if they will give us a candid account of their actions and reasoning, then Hunt will be able to lay this business to rest and devote his full attention to making North Carolina a better state — a task for which he is eminently suited.

# The Charlotte Observer

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## Editorials

# Politicians who listen

■ In the two decades since Watergate, here's what some politicians have learned about campaign ethics: Nothing.

**T**o those familiar with running political campaigns in an era of electronic information overload, listening in on telephone conversations of opponents — even the often-petty chitchat that infects every campaign — may seem like harmless intelligence gathering.

It's not. It's wrong and always has been. If there is a soul in politics who can honestly claim ignorance of that fundamental principle of decency, not to mention the law, then he or she must have been hibernating for 25 years.

That's what so disappointing about Wednesday's admission by Phil



Carlton

Carlton that he listened to a tape and read summaries of an opponent's conversations. Mr. Carlton is a respected former N.C. Supreme Court justice and secretary of crime control during Gov. Jim Hunt's first term. He is no stranger to the law.

But Judge Carlton and attorney Charles Lane pleaded guilty in federal court this week to reviewing summaries of conversations involving Mr. Hunt's 1992 gubernatorial campaign opponent, Lt. Gov. Jim Gardner. Judge Carlton and Mr. Lane were law partners with Mr. Hunt before his election a year ago.

A longtime political ally and adviser to Mr. Hunt, Mr. Carlton faces up to year's probation and a \$5,000 fine for the misdemeanor, regarded as an infraction. Earlier, a former Hunt administration aide Beverly Smith,

pleaded guilty to eavesdropping on the phone calls of Mr. Gardner's son and others, including Mr. Gardner himself, with a scanner.

Federal prosecutors say they have no evidence that Judge Carlton or Mr. Lane had any illegal or commercial intent when they violated federal law on cellular telephone communications. Both Judge Carlton and Mr. Lane said they never used or passed on any information to Mr. Hunt or his campaign.

There are several troubling things about this case. For one, the transcripts underscore the tawdry tone of the Gardner campaign. That does nothing to restore public confidence in the political system.

For another, the accusations against Mr. Hunt's former partners have created a cloud of suspicion over the 1992 election. While there is no evidence that Gov. Hunt knew about the eavesdropping, Republican opponents are pushing hard to make political and legal trouble. State GOP Chairman Jack Hawke is threatening to sue, which may lead some citizens to conclude that the case is really about partisan politics and the next election.

Still, it's hard to understand how anyone could be unaware that dirty tricks like spying on the opposition — let alone bugging conversations between father and son — are abhorrent. In the wake of the Watergate scandal two decades ago, ethical campaign practice codes have been drafted by the boxcar load, but some politicians seem to have missed the point.

It's not just that it's illegal, or even that it's simply wrong. The worst part is that it undermines what we prize most about our system of democracy: free elections.



## THE NEWS & OBSERVER

FRIDAY NOV. 19, 1993

*I advise and enjoin those who direct the paper in the tomorrows never to advocate any cause for personal profit or preferment. I would wish it always to be "the tocsin" and to devote itself to the policies of equality and justice to the underprivileged. If the paper should at any time be the voice of self-interest or become the spokesman of privilege or selfishness it would be untrue to its history.*

— from the will of Josephus Daniels, Editor and Publisher 1894-1942

# Clinton moves forward

President Clinton's success on the free trade agreement has helped him show people the big ideas that his presidency stands for. Many issues still ahead fit the same compelling theme of facing up to change.

**T**he instant analysis of the House vote for the North American Free Trade Agreement holds that President Clinton has finally caught on to the art of wrapping his policies in big terms. Thus, the reasoning goes, he won in large measure because he gave NAFTA an important context, turning it into a referendum on hope vs. fear, future vs. past, progress vs. status quo.

It's a bit of overstatement to say that Clinton employed this technique for the first time. There was plenty of similarly heartfelt vision in his economic speech to Congress and his address on health care. And as he proceeds with new momentum on these and other items on the national agenda, it would be good to remember that they are, like NAFTA, interconnected parts of the same overriding goal.

That is, they all seek to help this nation come to grips with unstoppable changes in the world.

Sure, a lot of rhetoric is being thrown around: making change our friend, competing and winning, governing for tomorrow, not yesterday. But there's also reality behind the words, and they help us get a sense of where Clinton thinks the nation should be headed.

So he is right on NAFTA. Its approval sends a signal that the United States is prepared to take its place in the global economy, not pull back into itself and hope the world will go away.

At the same time, the country won't profit from all this new worldwide competition and opportunity if real needs are neglected here at home.

The exciting possibilities of free markets don't mean much to people who can't get medical coverage, who aren't trained for good jobs or who can't find their way off welfare. Clinton speaks of embracing change, but that doesn't mean standing by and letting folks get clobbered by it; rather, it means finding ways to help people adjust to and shape their circumstances. It means putting the resources of government to productive use.

Doing that won't be easy. Getting NAFTA through the House required old-fashioned cajoling and hard choices. So will passing health care reform, finding money for worker retraining, overhauling welfare, reshaping government to be more efficient and bringing the budget closer to balance.

In each case, coalitions will shift and players will change. Some, out of self-interest, will want to keep things as they are. Polls will show Clinton up one week, down the next. That's the price paid by any leader who takes on uncomfortable issues, and those that lie ahead are going to bring out disagreements as deep as any that have been stirred by the trade agreement.

But he will prevail if, just as with NAFTA, the nation stays focused on the big picture.



## THE NEWS & OBSERVER

TUESDAY, NOV. 23, 1993

*I advise and enjoin those who direct the paper in the tomorrows never to advocate any cause for personal profit or preferment. I would wish it always to be "the tocsin" and to devote itself to the policies of equality and justice to the underprivileged. If the paper should at any time be the voice of self-interest or become the spokesman of privilege or selfishness it would be untrue to its history.*

— from the will of Josephus Daniels, Editor and Publisher 1894-1948

# Clinton's poor coverage

President Clinton had a valid complaint in his angry criticism of the media in an interview with Rolling Stone magazine. He hasn't always gotten due credit for his accomplishments.

**P**resident Clinton, who is said to have a rather short temper, let it fly a couple of weeks ago during an interview with Rolling Stone magazine. It started when the publication's respected national editor, William Greider, suggested that he tends to back down on critical issues and said that one of the president's own supporters wondered what he was "willing to stand up for and die on."

Clinton's reaction is perfectly understandable. "I have fought more damn battles for more things here than any president in 20 years, with the possible exception of Reagan's first budget and not gotten one damn bit of credit from the knee jerk liberal press and I am sick and tired of it and you can put that in the damn article."

To which it is tempting to add, "Damn right."

Certainly many broadcast and print journalists have turned in perceptive, balanced reports on the Clinton presidency. But many of Clinton's successes have been glossed over when the media allowed itself to become overly transfixed by the minutiae of politics. For instance by the time the national service bill got through Congress, many seemed only to notice that it was a good deal less than the president had originally proposed. Never mind that it was a major new domestic program and the fulfillment of one of his big campaign themes "opportunity, responsibility community."

It was a similar story with a lot of the coverage of the budget plan, relaxation of the ban on gays in the military, proposed reform of campaign finance laws and so on. The focus too often has been solely on how compromises have reduced the scope of the original plans rather than on real achievement.

The problem in part is that some coverage is simply superficial: Who's up? Who's down? Who won? Who lost? On the TV front, there's a lack of any compelling personality to counter Rush Limbaugh — or even George Will. And some top Washington journalists are so afraid of seeming less than objective that they lean over backward to be snidely skeptical.

Of course, the Clinton administration did bumble a bit in the beginning and it hasn't consistently put forward the best case for itself. This may be changing, though, as shown by its smart handling of the North American Free Trade Agreement and its role in ending the American Airlines strike. Clinton's resolve on the treaty has earned favorable notice, and the same level of commitment will be required for the difficult matters still ahead.

Every president seems to gripe about not getting a fair shake from the press. But Clinton does have a point. Cynical, shortsighted coverage helps to create a cynical, shortsighted electorate. That's not good for the president, the media and, most of all, the public.

THE NEWS & OBSERVER  
FRIDAY, NOV. 19, 1993

# NORTH CAROLINA

## Raleigh woman chosen for ambassadorship

Jeanette Hyde, who has worked hard for the Democrats and has friends in high places, is nominated as envoy to Barbados and three other island nations.

By HOA CHASTRACK  
Staff Writer

RALEIGH — President Clinton on Thursday nominated Jeanette Hyde, a Raleigh civic leader and Democratic Party activist, to be U.S. ambassador to Barbados and three other Caribbean nations.



Jeanette Hyde is a longtime Democratic Party activist and a board of Vice President Al Gore's and Gov. Jim Hunt's

regional responsibilities with comparable duties for 16 small countries.

But before she can be called Madama Ambassador, Hyde must be confirmed by the Senate. Her confirmation hearing may not occur until early next year.

"I basically feel very fortunate that the president has the confidence in me," Hyde said to an interviewer. "I feel very fortunate that I am in the position to give public service in any capacity. I feel my background professional and my background and my background of public service will assist me."

Hyde declined to discuss any ambassadorial duties involving her husband or the region before her Senate confirmation hearing.

Hyde spent several years in Raleigh attending a school for diplomats in Washington. She and her husband, retired insurance executive Wallace Hyde, made a career move to Harrison last

spring to introduce themselves to the country.

The Hydys are longtime power brokers in Tar Heel Democratic politics. She is close to numerous Democratic politicians, including Gov. Jim Hunt.

Central to her nomination was her friendship with Vice President Al Gore, who has been an overnight friend of the Hydys' Wood Hills home.

The Hydys were among Jan. 6's chief North Carolina hosts during the former Tennessee governor's unsuccessful effort to cap the Democratic nomination for president in 1992. Hyde was a co-chairman of the "Women's Campaign" last year along with House Speaker Jim Cooper and former state Attorney General Larry Thurston.

After her election, Mrs. Hyde said she was interested in an ambassadorship to Greece, Cyprus or Romania, but among other countries she speaks Greek

Mrs. Hyde, a native of Hampdenville, is a former school teacher and social worker. In recent years she has been active in numerous charitable causes such as the N.C. Child Advocacy Fund.

After Clinton's victory last year, Hyde led her social image by joining the Outward Bound program and teaching a 1200-foot mountain in Costa Rica.

She is a founder and a member of the board of directors of The Blue Trust and Trust Co. She served on the state board of Transportation during Hunt's previous terms and currently is serving on the N.C. Central Transport Authority. She is a former owner of several retail stores in Fayetteville.

She would be the first U.S. ambassador from Raleigh since American Dierks, the founder of The News & Observer, was an ambassador to Havana under Franklin Roosevelt.



# Super Tuesday leads to a primary jam in March

Move over, Super Tuesday. Here comes another version of March Madness.

In March of 1996, the hyped-to-the-hilt college men's basketball tournament will be joined by a dizzying series of presidential primaries. The winners of the Democratic and Republican nominations may well be effectively decided at about the same time that the NCAA hands out its championship trophy.

Only a year has passed since Americans voted for a change by ousting George Bush and entrusting the White House to Bill Clinton, and the next election seems a long way off. Still, without fanfare or even attention outside of two states, the presidential nomination process has been transformed once again.

At the end of September, the governor of Ohio signed legislation shifting his state's primary from May to mid-March in a move designed to give the Midwest a stronger hand in selecting presidential nominees. A week later, the governor of California signed legislation moving the primary of the nation's most populous state from early June to late March.

The iron law of unintended consequences makes it impossible to say with certainty what these two states have wrought. Yet it's not too early to examine the worrisome prospect that nominees will be locked in before candidates and voters know each other well. Democratic voters will know Clinton, of course, but Republicans may have a large field to scrutinize.

After the 1984 presidential election produced a landslide for Republican Ronald Reagan over Democrat Walter Mondale, Southern Democrats had a bright idea. Schedule primaries across

the region on the same day in March, they figured, and the South would end up with more influence over the selection of a Democratic nominee. Super Tuesday was thus born.

In 1988, however, Super Tuesday proved more of a boost for Republicans than Democrats. Bush swept the South en route to capturing the GOP nomination. Meanwhile, both Michael Dukakis and Jesse Jackson — neither of them a favorite of Super Tuesday's creators — scored well enough in the South to keep their candidacies



PERRY  
GUILLORY

going. Bush beat Dukakis in another Republican general-election landslide.

In 1992, Super Tuesday had been slumped down. Georgia moved its primary ahead a week, and North Carolina went back to its traditional early May primary. But Texas and Florida remained a part of the regional event, which helped propel Clinton of Arkansas to the Democratic nomination.

When they created Super Tuesday, Southern Democrats contributed to a process known as "front loading" — that is, loading delegate selection at the front of the primary schedule. Now, Ohio and California have intensified "front loading" with a vengeance.

Unless Democrats and Republicans find a way — and that's unlikely — to produce a more sensible schedule before 1996, March will be so packed with big-state primaries as to give a decided advantage to the well-known, well-financed and most telegenic.

First, as usual, will come the Iowa caucuses and the New Hampshire

primary, events in small, atypical states where candidates will hope to get a sling-shot effect for March Madness. Early March will feature Super Tuesday-South, though Massachusetts also conducts its primary on the same day. In mid-March, Ohio will join Illinois and Michigan for Super Tuesday Midwest.

On the last Tuesday in March, California will stage its primary, which, because the state is so large and so rich in delegates, qualifies for Super Tuesday-West. What's more, for Republicans — as distinct from Democrats — California is a winner-take-all state, meaning that the victor of the GOP primary wins the whole delegation, not just a proportionate share. California will be followed, in the first week of April, by New York.

In the face of this transformation, what should North Carolina do? By the time New York votes a full month before the North Carolina primary, candidates almost surely will have gained sufficient delegates to clinch the nomination. Thus, the temptation may arise to rejoin Super Tuesday. But that would only add to the madness of March, and not ensure North Carolina any special attention from presidential candidates.

For now, it's prudent for North Carolina to sit tight and watch for further developments. After all, the state has grown comfortable with having its primaries for state offices on the first Tuesday of May. And, retaining a May presidential primary may perform a useful function on the chance — albeit relatively slight — that March Madness doesn't produce a clear winner. As the nation's 10th largest state, North Carolina could be positioned for the final sorting out.

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FRIDAY, NOV. 19, 1993

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