

December 15, 1992

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: SENATOR DOLE
FROM: NINA OVIEDO 
SUBJECT: MISCELLANEOUS TAX COMMENTS AND TALKING POINTS

The following are some miscellaneous tax comments and talking points for your business meetings.

CLINTON ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

- Clinton's first major public event of the transition, the "Economic Conference," began Monday, December 14 and will continue through Tuesday, in Little Rock.
- Inevitably it's being billed as an economic summit but the fear of raising expectations has Governor Clinton calling the meeting a "retreat ... a lot of work."
- Originally, only one hundred business and labor leaders, and economists were expected to attend. In the end Clinton opened the doors and over 300 attended the forum.
- It is reported that the basic Clinton economic program will include a top-bracket tax increase, tax breaks for the middle class, investment incentives, job training and short term public works spending and other steps to spur the economy and cut unemployment.
- However, with signs of a recovering economy, it appears that Clinton may be reserving his flexibility on an immediate short term stimulus package. This became more obvious during yesterday's Conference meeting when Clinton seemed to emphasize that long term economic restructuring would be more important than short term fixes.

ANTICIPATED ITC LEGISLATION

- Fears that businesses may be deferring discretionary investments in capital goods until '93, prompted Chairman Bentsen and Rostenkowski to issue a joint statement on the effective date of possible investment incentive legislation.
- Consequently, they will recommend and support an effective date of December 4, 1992. It is reported that transition advisor, Robert Reich, indicated that the president-elect agrees with the proposed enactment date.

EXTENDERS

- There has no word from either Chairmen on extenders. No doubt that some extenders will be included in a stimulus package -- for example, Clinton backs a permanent R&D.
- The effective date on extenders -- whether retroactive or not -- will depend on revenue and administrative difficulties. With a retroactive date, some taxpayers may be faced with filing amended returns unless legislation can be enacted prior to March 15 -- the corporate filing date, or April 15 -- individual filing date.

SMALL BUSINESS PROPOSAL

- Secretary Brady recently released a small business tax reform initiative. It is aimed at reducing capital costs and administrative complexity for small businesses.
- The initiative includes: (also, attached is the NFIB's response):
 - Increasing section 179 to \$25,000 from \$10,000. The NFIB supports this proposal because it allows small businesses to avoid complicated depreciation rules.
 - Permits the expensing of \$2,500 of start-up expenditures. The NFIB supports this proposal because the section 179 expensing (above) only covers certain assets. This "start-up" provision will help with other expenses.
 - Provides relief from AMT. NFIB supports.
 - Simplifies inventory tax accounting rules. The NFIB would go further and instead of simplifying the rules would instead exempt small business from the accounting rules. (NFIB's suggestion may be going a bit too far; it would also be a matter of revenue loss.)
- The NFIB also suggests:
 - a capital gains cut -- similar to the Bumpers' proposal we used in the last tax bill for enterprise zones.
 - a zero tax rate for the first \$25,000 in small business earnings.
 - a simplified tax form.

NFIB

National Federation of
Independent Business

MEMORANDUM

TO: SHEILA BURKE
FR: JOHN MOTLEY
DT: DECEMBER 13, 1992
RE: NFIB'S COMMENTS ON TREASURY'S SMALL BUSINESS TAX
REFORM INITIATIVES

Enclosed is a copy of NFIB's plan for improving the lot of small business owners. You will see that it is very similar to Treasury's proposal.

Expensing

Section 179 expensing is very helpful to small business owners because it allows them to avoid complicated depreciation rules and just write off the cost of business expenses in the year incurred.

One of the problems with expensing, however, is that it only applies to certain assets. The Treasury proposal recognizes this fact by allowing start-up businesses to write off an additional category of business expenses. This change would be extremely beneficial to small business owners.

Alternative Minimum Tax

NFIB agrees that small business owners should not be subject to the AMT. For the small business community, the cost of complying with the AMT almost certainly outweighs the amount of revenue collected.

Accounting Changes

Although NFIB supports the accounting changes in the Treasury proposal, we encourage you to take a slightly different approach. Accrual accounting, LIFO, FIFO, the completed contract method of accounting, and the uniform capitalization rules should not apply to small business owners. NFIB supports allowing all small business owners to use cash accounting.

Suite 700
600 Maryland Ave. S.W.
Washington, DC 20024
(202) 554-9000
Direct Line (202) 554-0822
Fax (202) 554-0496



The Guardian of
Small Business

Suggested Additions to the Treasury Proposal

Small businesses would also greatly benefit from--

- * a capital gains cut similar to Senator Bumpers' seed capital proposal;
- * a zero rate for the first \$25,000 in corporate earnings;
- * simple S corporation rules; and
- * a simplified tax form.

PAGE TWO

12:20 PM Ar. Don Marron's Office
Paine Webber
1285 Avenue of the Americas - 14th Floor
212/713-2105 (Elaine Conte, Secretary)

12:30 PM Proceed to 38th Floor

ATTEND LUNCHEON MEETING -- 38th Floor

ATTENDEES:

Linda Wachner - Warnaco
George Klein - Park Tower Realty
Ezra Zolkha - Zolkha & Assocs, investments
Dick Voell -- Rockefeller organizations
John "Jack" Kennedy - CEO, Federal Paper Board Co.
Charles Jones - Chairman, Farrell Corp.
Paul Gunther - President, Paine Webber
Don Marron - Paine Webber

CONTACT: Chris Manion
212/713-2865

AFTERNOON FREE

RON: Waldorf Astoria

Thursday, December 17

8:10 AM Lv. Waldorf Astoria

DRIVER: Fortune Limousine Co.

8:30 AM Breakfast Meeting
Sky Club
Met Life Bldg.
200 Park Avenue - 56th Floor
212/867-9550

CONTACT: Ken Langone
(Secretary: Beth Nelson or Pam Goldman)
212/421-2500

ATTENDEES:

Adam Arnott - X-Air of New York
Arthur Bahr - GE Investment Corp.
Vincent Banker - Alex Brown
Frank Cahouet - Mellon Bank
Arthur Calcognini - Lombard World Trade
John Catsimatidis - Red Apple Companies
Patricia Chadwick - Chancellor Capital Mgmt.
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Norman Eig - Lazard Freres
Dale Frey - GE Investment Corp.
William Harnisch - Forstmann-Leff
Michael Hoben - Benefit Capital Mgmt.
Frank Houghton - Lynch & Mayer
Carl Jones - Invemed Assocs.
William Kearns - Shearson Lehman
Cristina Kepner - Invemed Assocs.
Kenneth Langone - Invemed Assocs.
David Marks - Allianz Investment
John Myers - GE Investment Corp.
Edwin McAmis - Skadden, Arps, Meagher Slate & Flom
Edward Rappa - RW Pressprich & Co.
Dan Sullivan - Sasco Capital
George O'Neill - Merriweather Capital
Julian Robertson - Tiger Management Corp.
David Schafer - Schafer Capital Mgmt.
Andrew Taussig - Frist Boston Crop.
Thomas Teague - Salem Nationalease
Peter Vlachos - Austin Investment Mgmt.
Matt Wanning - Red Apple Companies

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COFFEE/MEETING WITH TOM FOLEY

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MANIFEST: Senator Dole
Mark MillerPILOT: Dwain Gadway
CO-PILOT: Frank Leskauskas

MEAL SERVICE: Lunch

CONTACT: Dwain Gadway
914/462-6206

1:20 PM

Ar. Washington National
Signature Flight Support
703/549-8340

MET BY: Wilbert

1:40 PM

Ar. S-230

December 15, 1992

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: SENATOR DOLE
FROM: NINA OVIEDO *Nina*
SUBJECT: MAURICE "HANK" GREENBERG -- JAPAN REINSURANCE ISSUE

You are scheduled to attend a breakfast meeting Wednesday, December 16, 1992. Hank Greenberg, Chairman, American International Group (AIG) will be attending. Bob Lighthizer represents AIG.

You along with Senator Mitchell recently wrote Secretary Brady and Ambassador Hills regarding a proposed change in the Japanese tax law that could drive U.S. insurance companies out of the Japanese market. That letter prompted discussions by the Administration with the Japanese Ministry of Finance ("MOF").

According to Bob, the letter was instrumental in halting the proposed changes by the Japanese. No doubt that Hank will want to thank you for your efforts. Attached is a copy of the letter you wrote to the Secretary.

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 25, 1992

The Honorable Nicholas F. Brady
Secretary of the Treasury
1500 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20220

Dear Secretary Brady:

We are writing to request your attention to a proposed change in the Japanese tax law that could drive U.S. insurance companies out of the Japanese market. The Japanese Ministry of Finance ("MOF") is proposing to prohibit insurance companies from deducting premiums for reinsurance paid to their foreign affiliates.

This proposal is contrary to generally accepted international tax practice. Further, it violates the U.S.-Japan double taxation treaty which permits deduction for ordinary and necessary business expenses when paid to affiliated parties at an arm's length price.

Insurance companies (including Japanese companies) operating in foreign countries reinsure back to their home market affiliates and internationally. This is necessary to spread risk, utilize scarce capital efficiently and to obtain cost effective coverage for their own risk. Both the economics of the insurance industry and the regulatory scheme in most countries (including the U.S.) necessitate this way of doing business. The MOF proposal would have the effect of taxing the gross premiums of U.S. and other foreign companies while not doing the same thing to their Japanese competitors. It would effectively force these foreign companies out of the Japanese market or require them to cede large amounts of their business to their Japanese competitors. It thus discriminates against foreign insurance companies and unreasonably burdens and restricts U.S. commerce within the meaning of our trade laws. It also violates the prohibition on unreasonable or discriminatory measures in the U.S.-Japan Friendship, Commerce, and Navigation Treaty.

We hope that the Administration will review this matter and take action to explain to the MOF the consequence for U.S.-Japan economic relations of the implementation of this proposal. Time

is of the essence, because we understand that the proposal may be submitted to the final Japanese government tax committee in early December. It could thus become law in the beginning of 1993.

Sincerely,

George Mitchell

George J. Mitchell

Bob Dole

Bob Dole

FINAL
12/15/92

SENATOR DOLE SCHEDULE -- DECEMBER 15-17, 1992

Tuesday, December 15

6:00 PM Lv. Washington National
 via US Air Shuttle

PASSENGERS: Senator Dole
 Mark Miller

7:00 PM Ar. New York
 LaGuardia Airport

MET BY: Fortune Limousine Co. sedan

 CONTACT: Nat (owner)
 212/838-2622
 718/278-3590 (FAX)

 RON: Waldorf Astoria -- Tower
 Suite 42H (Dwayne Andreas's suite)
 212/355-3000
 (Separate reservation for Mark)

Wednesday, December 16

8:00 AM Lv. Waldorf Astoria

 DRIVER: Fortune Limo

 NOTE: JOE FOGG ASKS THAT YOU ARRIVE AT 8:00, SO
 THAT HE CAN VISIT PERSONALLY WITH YOU FOR 15
 MINUTES BEFORE THE BREAKFAST BEGINS.

8:15 AM Breakfast Meeting
 The Brook
 111 East 54th Street
 212/753-7020

 CONTACT: Joe Fogg
 212/703-8500)

 ATTENDEES:

 Maurice Greenberg - Chairman, AIG
 Charles Heimbold - President, Bristol-Myers
 Brian Little - Forstmann Little & Co. (Team 100)
 Joe Mondello - Nassau Co. GOP Chairman and
 New York GOP Committeeman
 Frank Richardson - President, Wesray Capital Corp.
 (Team 100, NY GOP Finance Committee)
 Joe Fogg - Morgan Stanley

EXTRA
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M E M O R A N D U M

December 7, 1992

TO: SENATOR DOLE
FROM: JIM MCMILLAN
RE: LABOR ISSUES - CLINTON AGENDA

Background

Clinton promised the labor unions everything during the campaign ranging from striker replacement to repealing the federal law permitting states to enact right to work laws. The problem for the President-elect is that much of what he promised is anti-business and anti-growth. Given that the focus of his first 100 days will be the economy and jobs (assuming the economy needs pumping), and given that he has four years, he is likely to move only on those legislative items which arguably do not harm the economy and save the more controversial items for later in his term. It is also expected that the labor agenda will be pursued primarily through the Labor Department from a regulatory standpoint. This approach would allow Clinton to focus his legislative agenda on the economy and jobs, rather than pushing anti-growth measures through the Congress.

Talking Points

- PRESIDENT-ELECT CLINTON PROMISED THE LABOR UNIONS JUST ABOUT EVERYTHING DURING THE CAMPAIGN FROM STRIKER REPLACEMENT LEGISLATION TO A 1.5% PAY OR PLAY PAYROLL TRAINING TAX ON BUSINESS.
- THE PROBLEM IS THAT MOST OF THESE INITIATIVES ARE INCONSISTENT WITH A PROGRAM TO STIMULATE THE ECONOMY AND CREATE JOBS.
- WHILE IT'S TOO EARLY TO TELL, YOU MIGHT SEE CLINTON PUSH SOME OF THE LESS CONTROVERSIAL MEASURES EARLY ON AND SAVE THE MORE CONTROVERSIAL ONES UNTIL LATER IN HIS TERM. FOUR YEARS IS A LONG TIME.
- IN ADDITION, I SUSPECT THAT YOU WILL SEE A LOT OF CHANGE IMPLEMENTED THROUGH THE REGULATORY PROCESS RATHER THAN THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS. REPUBLICANS HAVE BEEN WRITING THE REGULATIONS FOR 12 YEARS NOW, AND I THINK THE DEMOCRATS CAN HARDLY WAIT TO GET THEIR HANDS ON THE PROCESS.
- EARLY ON, I SUSPECT YOU WILL SEE FAMILY AND MEDICAL LEAVE LEGISLATION ENACTED. CLINTON HAS STRONGLY ENDORSED THE BILL. IN ADDITION, YOU WILL SEE A LOT OF STEPPED UP ENFORCEMENT WITH RESPECT TO OSHA, CHILD LABOR AND DAVIS BACON. I ALSO THINK YOU WILL SEE A LOT OF NEW REGULATIONS ON THESE AND OTHER LABOR PROTECTION MEASURES AS WELL.

December 7, 1992

TO: SENATOR DOLE
FROM: SHEILA BURKE
SUBJECT: CLINTON HEALTH CARE

The Clinton Health Care Transition Team is scrambling to put together a proposal for early introduction. They have set up a series of working groups each of which is focused on a different aspect of the problem as they see it. I have met with one member of the group and am scheduled to talk with the team leader, Judy Feder, later this week.

At the moment, they are talking among themselves with no apparent effort to include Republicans. Whether they will or not remains to be seen.

Needless to say, they are being pressed by their liberals to be as tough on cost controls and as broad in access expansion as possible. The Kerry, Riegle, Wellstone, Rockefeller group will continue to press for employer mandates (pay or play) and a strong Federal role in price controls and access. Senator Mitchell appears consumed by the desire to create a national cap on health care expenditures (global budgets) which is established and monitored by an outside commission. But more than everyone else, the conservative Democrats on the House side seems to have struck a cord when they started talking about "managed competition", a theme that Governor Clinton quickly embraced. Such a system would continue the private insurance system, though new Federal requirements and standards would be created. Such a system could work within some kind of limit on total nationwide expenditures on health care (global budget) if we went in that direction.

The basic plan would be to create a series of health insurance purchasing groups across the country. These groups would, through their joint purchasing power, be able to negotiate lower prices on services and reduce the administrative overhead experienced by all insurers -- their cost reductions would benefit the entire system -- and make insurance more affordable for individuals and small business.

It is unclear whether Governor Clinton would also press for mandatory coverage. He appeared, at least during the campaign, to be sensitive to the objections of small business to any new mandates or pay or play environment. He may want to see if he can get costs under control before pushing too hard.

None of these system changes, either the imposition of a limit on total health care expenditures, the creation of health insurance purchasing groups, small market insurance reform or employer mandates are easy to design or implement. Frankly, its hard to tell at this point how far he'll try to push us early on.

Now that the chances for something to pass appear more imminent, people are finally asking serious questions about how to do these things.

Change is in the air -- but the direction remains unclear.

M E M O R A N D U M

December 7, 1992

TO: SENATOR DOLE
FROM: JIM MCMILLAN
RE: BANKING ISSUES - CLINTON AGENDA

Background

Any major structural overhaul of the banking industry is unlikely to be attempted. FDICIA (pronounced FIE-DISHA) was passed in December 1991 and while it recapitalized the bank insurance fund and strengthened the regulatory oversight of the industry, broader reform attempts pushed by the Bush Administration to permit interstate branching and banking and to expand bank powers (such as authority to sell securities) failed miserably.

The big issue this Congress for the bankers will be regulatory relief. The implementing regulations for FDICIA are being finalized and banks are screaming at the new requirements and micro-management. Clinton has indicated some receptiveness to this issue.

In addition, as part of his so-called rebuild America program, Clinton wants to create a network of Community Development Banks designed to provide loans to low-income entrepreneurs and homeowners in the inner cities. This idea has merit, except to the extent it becomes another government sponsored enterprise with unfair competitive advantages over the banking industry.

Talking Points

- I KNOW THE BANKERS WANT TO SEE REGULATORY RELIEF NOW. I COULDN'T AGREE WITH YOU MORE AND WILL PUSH HARD ON THAT ISSUE NEXT YEAR.
- CLINTON HAS INDICATED SOME SENSITIVITY TO THE PROBLEM SO HOPEFULLY THE ISSUE CAN RECEIVE BIPARTISAN SUPPORT. REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS ALIKE HAVE SMALL AND LARGE BANKS IN THEIR STATES SCREAMING OVER THE REGULATORY BURDEN AND MICRO-MANAGEMENT FROM THE FDIC IMPROVEMENT ACT OF 1991.
- THE NEW ADMINISTRATION WILL HAVE TO PROVIDE FUNDING FOR THE RTC PRESUMABLY WITHIN THE FIRST FEW MONTHS OF THE NEW CONGRESS. THAT MIGHT BE A GOOD VEHICLE TO ATTACH A REGULATORY RELIEF BILL TO.
- KEEP IN MIND, HOWEVER, THAT ONE ISSUE YOU WON'T BE SEEING MUCH RELIEF ON IS THE COMMUNITY REINVESTMENT ACT (CRA) WHERE CLINTON WANTS TO DO MORE, NOT LESS. ULTIMATELY, WHAT MAY HAPPEN IS LESS PAPERWORK BUT ENHANCED ENFORCEMENT AND

COMPLIANCE MEASURES.

- ANOTHER BANKING ISSUE THAT CLINTON HAS SHOWN STRONG INTEREST IN IS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NETWORK OF SO-CALLED COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT BANKS TO LEND TO LOW INCOME BUSINESSES AND HOMEOWNERS IN THE INNER CITIES. THIS IDEA HAS MERIT, EXCEPT IF IT BECOMES ANOTHER GOVERNMENT SPONSORED ENTERPRISE THAT HAS UNFAIR COMPETITIVE ADVANTAGES AND UNFAIRLY COMPETES WITH THE BANKING INDUSTRY.
- FINALLY, AS TO MAJOR BANKING REFORM PROPOSALS SUCH AS INTERSTATE BANKING AND BRANCHING AND REPEAL OF GLASS STEAGALL, I DO NOT SEE ANYTHING ON THIS FRONT FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. THERE WERE A LOT OF BAD FEELINGS AFTER THE PASSAGE OF THE FDIC IMPROVEMENT ACT OF 1991 AND I DON'T SEE ANYONE RUSHING TO REKINDLE THOSE OLD BATTLE LINES ANY TIME SOON.

December 15, 1992

Senator --

Mira recommends these articles on Somalia/Bosnia/US
intervention from The New Republic.

JZ

THE NEW REPUBLIC

DECEMBER 28, 1992

INTO AFRICA

One of the most inflammatory debates of the last decade, a decade in which the United States often resorted to the use of force in its conduct of foreign policy, concerned the relation of strategic interests to moral values. Those who disapproved of American military interventions abroad deployed moral and strategic arguments, sometimes in tandem, sometimes alone. Those who supported them worked hard to find a happy overlap between the strategic and the moral, and there were some interventionists for whom the appeal to interests sufficed. But it is hard to recall a recent American intervention that was justified *solely* on moral grounds. Therein lies the genuine interest, and the genuine urgency, of the American intervention in Somalia. It is not, in any significant way, an affair of realism; and so it puts the question of idealism in foreign policy rather purely. Are there times and places in which moral considerations alone warrant the resort to American force? Are the Marines a right response to evil?

We believe that the answer is a firm and slightly complicated yes. The complications are obvious: the costs of responding to evil may themselves come to seem evil, it is not America's job to mend the world, the moral grounds of our action must be plain and persuasive to the American public, and so on. And yet, if it is not our job to mend the world, neither is it our

job to sit back idly before the spectacle of its worst suffering.

It is true that an idealist foreign policy will always seem inconsistent, or even hypocritical. If Somalia, then why not Liberia? And if Liberia, then why not Bosnia? Evil, after all, is a ubiquitous and multicultural thing. But it would be perverse if an exquisite sense of the pervasiveness of evil became a lofty excuse, a tragic-minded alibi, for inaction or even isolationism. The argument that we must not intervene in Somalia unless we also intervene in Liberia amounts to something like this: we'd love to save your life, but if we saved your life, we'd have to save everybody's life, and so we're going to have to let you die.

The very nature of moral action is that it does *not* save everybody's life, that it does not mend the world, except partially, locally, temporarily. (The attempt to mend it completely and forever is known as totalitarianism.) It is important, therefore, to understand that a moral objective, for all its grandeur, may be quite limited. Idealists are not always idiots.

Thus we need not delude ourselves, as we go into Africa, about the character of the place. We are intruding into a political culture that is essentially tribal and feudal, in which ancient prejudices and raw relations of power will matter more than notions of fairness or the-



ories of justice. The lives that we save in Somalia will continue to be lived in a brutal environment. We are not bringing Jefferson to Somalia, we are bringing food. We are not expressing our democracy, we are expressing our humanity. To be sure, our presence in Somalia will have an effect upon the political realities of the place, but the rearrangement of Somalia—except insofar as it involves the disarming of the brigands who stand in the way of the famine's relief—must not be our objective. We are not reforming, we are rescuing. And rescue, again, is almost always temporary. (The American action is called Operation Restore Hope, but pessimism about human nature is a much more compelling reason for decency than optimism.)

Intervening on moral grounds, in other words, need not be the sloppy, open-ended, woolly-minded, emotionally swelling exercise that its critics fear. A purely moral mission may be precisely and narrowly defined. Practical distinctions may be made. There is a difference, for example, between genocide and civil war. If a people wish to find a solution to some of their most painful contradictions by tearing themselves apart in a civil war, well, the sons and the daughters of Abraham Lincoln are in no position to cast a stone. In such civil wars, moreover, innocent people will die.

But famine and concentration camps are surely a different matter. (Famines are almost never natural disasters, almost always purposeful crimes.) Or so at least they had better be, for those who pretend to honor the lessons of the middle of this century. The genocide of the recent past may seem like an occasion for moral or historical or philosophical speculation; but in its own time genocide is an occasion for *policy*.

As is customary in debates about American military intervention, the ironies abound. It is a little annoying and a little amusing to watch Jesse Jackson discover a military adventure of which he approves. There are those on the left who oppose the intervention because it looks like imperialism and those on the right who support it because it looks like imperialism. (In *National Review* last week, Paul Johnson was having Kitchener fantasies. Didn't he see the movie?) But the biggest and the most disturbing irony of all may be found in the Pentagon, in the grounds of its own enthusiasm for Operation Restore Hope.

The enthusiasm of the eternally cautious Colin Powell for military action in Somalia appears to be owed significantly to the sense that it will be easy. He may be right, but he is confirming us in our own uneasy feeling that the Gulf war left the American military with some exceedingly odd standards for the use of American force. In brief, the Gulf war appears not to have ended the anxiety known as "post-Vietnam syndrome" but to have codified it. For if the standard for military intervention is that it be easy, that we enjoy overwhelming force in a featureless landscape with a monopoly of the air, then we are still paralyzed by the prospect of a fight. Operation Desert Storm may have been a war, but it was not exactly a battle. It was spec-

tacularly untypical (like the featureless, ungoverned, starving landscape of Somalia) of the conflicts that will broach the prospect of using our troops. It seems safe to predict that most of those conflicts will fall somewhere between the tangle of the Indochinese jungle and the turkey shoot of the Arabian desert.

Like Bosnia. It seems perfectly clear, at least to us, that the grounds for acting against politically induced famine and the grounds for acting against concentration camps are the same. The Serbian crimes against humanity, however, are occurring in a denser and more difficult strategic situation. The effort to stop them would be militarily more difficult, and it may result in American casualties. And so the Serbian army in Bosnia is now described in the same ridiculously inflated terms as the Republican Guards in Kuwait were once described—and by the same proud people, in and out of uniform, who never tire of insisting that the United States is the most powerful nation, the only superpower, on earth. Is the attrition of the Serbian forces from the air and from the sea, with the intention of drastically raising the costs of maintaining the concentration camps, and with the clear and limited objective of desisting when the United Nations or the Red Cross certifies that the concentration camps have been opened and destroyed, really beyond our means? And if the Bosnian agony is militarily harder than the Somali agony, it is politically easier. The political culture of Central and Eastern Europe countenances a disgraceful degree of savagery, but it is not only savage. An intervention against Milosevic's genocide would have the support of a significant number of Serbs, who are moved by conscience and by the liberal values of the (better parts of) the West. In Serbia, unlike in Somalia, rescue may be the spur of reform.

Just war is a war in which one is not only prepared to kill, but also to die. The justice of a military action says nothing about its costs. Like most Americans, we have no appetite for American casualties, but we are a little worried about officers and policy-makers who have no stomach for them either. And to pretend to the American people that military action in the name of our principles will be mostly clean and cost-free is to set them up for a colossal disillusionment (and to set the American military up for still another wave of popular revulsion).

Idealism in the foreign policy of a democracy makes special demands of its leaders. They must clearly define, honestly explain, eloquently persuade. They must seem not only strategically, but also ethically, authoritative. We do not expect anything in the way of analytic power or moral suasion from George Bush. (Suasion is, by contrast, Bill Clinton's hobby; and when he inherits Operation Restore Hope, his extraordinary skills in this regard will be put to the test.) Still, the feebleness of George Bush does not detract from the essential rightness of his endeavor. Yet another faraway people may remember him gratefully, even if his own people may be glad to see him go. •

tality rates, economic statistics, or whatever, proclaims a grim truth that the whole issue of race in America makes us afraid to utter: African culture, in a modern political sense, is simply dysfunctional, and requires adjustment in order to face the challenges of the twenty-first century. The time is long past when we can deceive ourselves with polite rationalizations, like the one offered the other day in *The Washington Post*, where it was pointed out that the Somalis are blessed with a rich oral tradition. An oral tradition usually implies the lack of a well-developed written tradition, on which the functioning of a modern bureaucratic government is based.

This is why the periodic call by the Friends of Africa for an African Marshall Plan or by the editors of *The Nation* for a "much larger developmental effort" is flawed. They forget that the billions of dollars of American aid was effective in postwar Europe precisely because there was a literate and relatively sophisticated bureaucratic tradition among those nations for absorbing and using the funds, with the minimum of corruption and mismanagement; so the aid didn't dissolve into the sand as it did in Haiti earlier in the century.

TransAfrica, a black American lobby, now tells us it is our responsibility to feed Somalia because it was we who created the Somali dictator Siad Barre, who in turn created the present situation. But this again is a gross distortion. Siad Barre is in part a natural summation of Somali political culture: of shifting armed clans that have always existed in a state of near anarchy. More significantly, he is also a partial consequence of the Carter human rights policy—which TransAfrica and like-minded groups no doubt supported—that resulted in the famous "superpower flip-flop" in the Horn of Africa in 1977: the Soviets got Ethiopia and we got Siad Barre and Somalia. Several years earlier Mengistu had emerged as the chief thug in the Ethiopian *Dergue* that had overthrown and murdered Haile Selassie. Henry Kissinger realized that Mengistu was looking for an alliance that would help him consolidate his power. Kissinger, and the Israelis too, were willing to sell him some weapons, because otherwise the Soviets were ready to give him arms and move into Ethiopia. The Carter people, repelled by Mengistu's human rights abuses, spurned him. The Soviets, however, understood what every experienced Africa hand did: that highland Ethiopians, whether Amhara, Eritrean, Tigrean, or Oromo, were the hardest-working, most efficient people of Africa. (What other African government could aspire to collectivizing millions and then actually be able to *do* it?) Somalia, a steamy, barely populated land mass, never could be anything but a strategic bit of real estate suitable for a landing strip. So the Soviets deserted Somalia for Somalia's historic enemy, Ethiopia, where the Soviets not only moved in but, for the first time in African history, exported a whole system of Stalinist collectivization, in which millions were moved out of ancestral villages and millions were starved. We had no choice back then but to accept Siad Barre and arm him against the Soviet

regime next door. Or would TransAfrica have preferred that the Soviets grab Somalia too?

But such things constitute a reality we are no longer able to confront. I suspect that Somalia will, like Haiti, slip back into chaos as it becomes apparent that there is no political process to restart there. By then, however, U.S. troops will have been replaced by multinational troops and enough months will have gone by so that this stark truth will be overtaken by other events and news stories—exactly like our famine relief effort of 1984, which propped up Mengistu long enough for him to perpetrate other famines, which received much less news coverage. All we will remember is that photograph of a Marine feeding that Somali child.

Rather than a policy of dishonesty and withdrawal, alleviated by an occasional invasion that makes us feel good, we need brutal honesty and realistic involvement, in order to help cultures into the modern world, not to help existing regimes stay in place. Private investment will go only where Western businesspeople are impressed with the local political culture. Eritrea is a good example. Its inhabitants have a solid, documented record of efficient and non-corrupt use of the famine aid they received. Eritrea, therefore, is the focus of outside investor interest. It also has a minimal hope for political stability.

Given the failure of large-scale aid projects and the very modest successes of smaller ones, it is time to scale back our goals in Africa and to encourage whatever business investment exists. In the final analysis, private investment will do more for the continent than government aid, and is the seed corn—not the fruit—of political normality. As one World Bank official told me, "How can you aid governments that loot their own treasuries?" And by investing only in places where the political culture either works or is on the mend, the international business community can positively influence the evolution of local values—let cultures be determined by the law of the free market. What else can you do when the political culture is in such crisis that it won't even let you feed the inhabitants, unless you send in the Marines? •

Anywhere but Bosnia.

WHY AFRICA?

By Patrick Glynn

The central challenge of American foreign policy since the end of the cold war has been to devise a strategy that fuses American democratic principles with geopolitical interests in the service of constructing a genuine world order. The Bush administration, largely supine since the Gulf war,

has been caught between two opposing public currents—an isolationist conservatism that eschews foreign entanglements unless vital interests are self-evidently at stake (as in the Gulf) and a vocal liberal humanitarianism reluctant to set limits to the U.S. capacity to intervene. The challenge has been to find a middle ground, a principle of selection that leads the United States to apply its diplomatic and military resources to problems central to the maintenance of world order, while avoiding endless entanglements around the globe. The effort to save lives in Somalia is laudable. But in choosing to intervene in Somalia, while eschewing further involvement in the Balkans, the administration has settled, in effect, on the worst of both worlds—an isolationist-tending foreign policy where intervention is generally shunned, and then chosen suddenly on criteria of military “ease” and sentiment.

The American desire to help Somalia is worthy enough. But it is far from clear whether the intervention will prove as easy or clean as the administration now suggests. Bush’s confidence in its manageability rests primarily on a narrow military calculation—i.e., the belief in the ability of American ground troops and airpower to intimidate local warlords now preventing the delivery of relief to the countryside. Yet even if U.S. forces succeed in protecting themselves and those they may embrace under their umbrella, the vast problems of this region will be far from solved. Somalia is only one small part of a huge arc of suffering—marked by drought, recurrent civil war, and massive refugee flows that extend through Sudan, Ethiopia, and parts of Kenya. Throughout this vast expanse, thousands starve, and the delivery of relief has repeatedly been impeded by violence and political struggle. In neighboring Sudan, for example, relief planes have been downed by government forces and relief areas bombed. It is difficult to see how in the long run the United States will be able to set either temporal or geographic limits on this new involvement.

Ironically, many of the problems cited by the administration in eschewing intervention in Bosnia apply with greater force to Somalia. The conflict between warring clans is entrenched and ancient. Outside powers that in the past sought to intervene—in this instance, Britain and Italy—met with frustration and failure. Indeed, in certain respects the troubles in Somalia are deeper and far more daunting than anything in Europe. Hunger in Bosnia is entirely the product of war; in Somalia it is primarily the product of drought and the presence of huge populations on arid, non-arable land. Solving this problem may require massive relocations. It certainly cannot be solved with mere relief.

Before the recent Balkan war, Bosnia enjoyed a history of political stability, ethnic tolerance, and relative economic prosperity, whereas the history of Somalia has alternated between civil war and severe repression. Moreover, in Bosnia there is democracy, a freely

elected government composed largely of Westernized, democratically minded politicians. In Somalia it is difficult to see who will rule, and it seems unlikely, to put it mildly, that any new government would remain democratic for long. In Bosnia there is a status quo ante to restore. In Somalia there seems no clear end to chaos.

The geopolitical significance of the two areas is hardly comparable. In the Balkans the United States confronts not only a blatant challenge to the international order—naked aggression and state-sponsored genocide by a sovereign government—but also the real possibility of a widened war that could embroil our NATO allies Greece and Turkey if, as seems likely, the Serbs begin large-scale “ethnic cleansing” in Kosovo. Failure to calm the Balkans is contributing to a growing sense of doubt and instability throughout Eastern Europe, where newly constituted democratic governments face danger from lurking anti-democratic forces. The massive refugee flows from the Balkan war are unsettling Western European democracies and sowing political instability—especially in Germany, where fears of broadening Eastern European chaos and the prospect of still more refugees are strengthening the appeal of the far right.

Almost as important, the indifference of America in the face of Serbian aggression has contributed to measurably diminished U.S. influence in Western Europe, where NATO and American security guarantees now seem increasingly irrelevant and where the French are pressing not so subtly to exclude Americans from a new “Europeanized” security structure. Inaction in Bosnia has also garnered ill-will in the Islamic world, where U.S. unwillingness to aid a Muslim population under attack by Christians is unsettling moderate governments linked to Washington (Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Turkey) and fueling Islamic fundamentalism. Then there is Russia and its periphery, where extreme nationalists find in the Serbian example an enticing lesson for their own irredentist ambitions. Behind the Balkan war, in short, lies the potential for a far wider explosion, affecting the very core of the Western economic and security system.

Successful intervention—short of ground troops—in the Balkans would do more than avert a humanitarian disaster that, in time, may seem every bit as pressing to American television viewers as Somalia does today. It would solidify the eroding American position in Western Europe. It would help stabilize Eastern Europe and provide a sobering lesson to extreme nationalists in Russia and elsewhere in the former Soviet Union. It would avert what may well be a wider war, with disastrous implications for NATO. It would help America’s relations with the Muslim world. Above all, it would show an American will to maintain order where disorder most clearly threatens the international system.

It’s not clear that such intervention would involve a greater risk than we are likely to incur in Somalia. The

Bosnians themselves have urged against the provision of ground troops. They have asked only for arms (which they are illogically denied through international sanction) and some form of air cover: certainly enforcement of the no-fly zone, possibly attacks on Serbian heavy equipment in Bosnia, with the further possibility of threatening attacks on military targets within Serbia itself. NATO air power is close at hand, and whatever other problems we may face in the Balkans, no one could deny that NATO can beat Serbia in the air. The goal of such an operation—obtaining a meaningful cease-fire and exerting continued military and economic pressure on Serbia so that U.N. troops can be inserted in Bosnia, the people fed and cared for, refugees resettled, and genuine negotiations begun—is hardly more nebulous than that of the Somali operation. And the effort to achieve it would accomplish far more than the Somalian operation in re-establishing U.S. pre-eminence and restoring a sense of world order.

Indeed, the notion that the Somalia operation is more manageable has depended from the start on finessing the question of its ultimate objective. In General Colin Powell's peculiarly American metaphor, the purpose of the operation is sending in "the cavalry ... straightening things out for a while," and then turning things over to the "marshals." Already such a clean exit looks difficult to achieve. U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, at whose urging Somalia became a world and U.S. priority, is now calling for a major effort by American forces to disarm warring clans—despite the absence of such a mandate in the U.N. resolution and Washington's manifest reluctance to pacify the country at large. Initially the White House spoke, absurdly, of withdrawing U.S. forces by January 20. Now Powell notes that troops may remain for several months and that there may even be a need for a lingering Marine presence offshore.

One wonders why the massive military ingenuity and diplomatic clout that the Bush administration has mustered to make Somalia look "easy" could not be applied to Bosnia. There the argument for dividing the labor with allies is far stronger and more credible. Numerous states as diverse as Germany, Austria, Turkey, and Saudi Arabia have demonstrated a strong interest in the problem. Indeed, many have already offered financial aid or military forces. And there are the resources of NATO. NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner recently expressed public regret that the alliance had not done more. The answer is that this putatively "realist" administration never understood the Balkan crisis or its strategic and moral importance. It has concluded its term by engaging in an act of quixotic idealist intervention, which will do nothing to preserve George Bush's new order, while ignoring the one region that could have proved its cornerstone.

PATRICK GLYNN is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute.

The Serbian homefront.

MOB RULE

By Charles Lane

BELGRADE

The economic collapse of Serbia may be the best thing that ever happened to Jezdimir Vasiljevic. "Boss Jezda," as he styles himself, still looks like the small-time hustler he once was. His fireplug frame is draped in an off-the-rack pinstriped suit that flops over his shoe tops. A gigantic gold watch dangles from his wrist. A cheap cigar juts from a face framed by what looks like a five-dollar wig—but is in fact Boss Jezda's own hair. These days, however, Boss Jezda epitomizes capitalism, Belgrade-style. He controls Jugoskandic Bank, one of the fastest-growing private financial institutions in Serbia, as well as a chain of factories, retail shops, and gas stations where smuggled petrol goes for eight German marks a gallon. His company sponsored the chess match in Yugoslavia between Bobby Fischer and Boris Spassky. The latest tightening of international sanctions, designed to crack down on petroleum smuggling to Serbia, doesn't scare Boss Jezda. "The only effect was to raise prices," he scoffs, stubbing out another cigar.

But Boss Jezda's company is hardly a sign of capitalist renaissance in the Balkans. Rather, it is yet another measure of how deep the rot runs throughout the increasingly isolated Serbian republic ruled by hard-line President Slobodan Milosevic. Jugoskandic and other private banks make their millions by offering interest rates of up to 14 percent per month on hard currency deposits. A million Serbs now derive their only steady income from these monthly payments—about \$100 to \$200 on a typical account. But in Serbia's bankrupt economy, there's no way (at least no honest way) the banks can make enough money to sustain such astronomical interest payments. They are officially sanctioned Ponzi schemes that Milosevic is using to drum up hard currency for his government and to buy "social peace."

Boss Jezda denies it, but diplomats say the banks were started with profits from arms and petroleum smuggling, and continue to launder funds generated by such activities. One of the banks, Defiment, employs a well-known paramilitary leader implicated in ethnic cleansing as its "security chief," according to a Western European embassy here. Other paramilitary leaders also swagger about the capital, such as the Serbo-Australian known only as "Captain Dragan" (he has office space a few floors down from Boss Jezda) and Zeljko "Arkan" Raznjatovic, whose "Tiger Brigade" was responsible for savage atrocities against Muslims dur-

ing the ethnic cleansing of eastern Bosnia.

Arkan operates out of an ice cream parlor in a wealthy neighborhood of Belgrade. There's no sign over the door, but you can tell the place is his by the gigantic socialist realist painting of Serbs marching under their tricolor banner—and the two muscular young men in trench coats pacing the sidewalk just outside. Arkan is a candidate for Parliament in the elections on December 20. He's running in Pristina, the capital of the heavily Albanian province of Kosovo. Arkan's campaign posters show him in a vintage Serbian chetnik military uniform, steely eyes gazing benignly, his hand resting on the shoulder of a little girl. "This is holy Serbian land," the poster says. Since the Albanians are going to boycott the vote in Kosovo, he'll probably win. Given the path-breaking role Arkan's men played in the ethnic cleansing of Bosnia, and the ever present threat that Milosevic is preparing to do the same in Kosovo, Arkan's appearance on the scene in Pristina is an ominous development. He's already opened a station for selling smuggled gas in the town; and he's getting into banking.

Everyone in Serbia knows that the banks are a scam. Yet most Serbs are too broke, too resigned, or too opportunistic to do anything but grab an attaché case and join the cash queue stretching for a hundred yards outside Yugoskandic's branch office on Marshal Tito Street. "The one thing I can't forgive Milosevic for is how he's legitimized organized crime here," a young medical student grumbles. "It's gotten so bad that if I see someone who has nice clothes and drives a pretty car, I don't even want to know them, you know?" In the next breath, she asks whether I think the banks can survive until March, when her \$125,000 six-month certificate of deposit is supposed to mature.

The atmosphere in Belgrade is so saturated by intimidation, ethnic hatred, absurd hopes, and outright lies that the public can almost be forgiven for being sucked in by the false promise of the private banks. The news on Belgrade Television, the only channel that reaches the entire republic (as well as Serb-held areas of Bosnia), is a nightly compendium of conspiracy theories, turgid speeches, and lurid rumors—all conveying the view that Serbia and its leader, Milosevic, stand alone against a vast, genocidal German-American-Croat-Muslim plan. Scenes of shells blasting houses in Sarajevo are accompanied by a narrative telling viewers that Serb troops once again were forced to respond to Muslim aggression. My favorite outrageous Belgrade T.V. report concerned the Serb babies whom Muslims fed to the lions at the Sarajevo zoo. I was amused, until I heard the story repeated verbatim by a 55-year-old woman standing in line outside the Yugoskandic bank. "That's why the Serbs had to kill the animals," she explained.

Belgrade's Museum of Applied Art currently features "The Genocide Museum," an exhibition of graphic photos of Serbs who have been hacked, stabbed, shot, and mutilated by Croats. A section downstairs is devoted to butchery by the fascist Croatian independent state during World War II. It displays black-and-white shots of bloated bodies washed up on the banks of the Sava

River, as well as lovingly exhumed bits of skin, teeth, and bone. Upstairs, contemporary horrors are presented in living color. The curators have included a picture of Pope John Paul II above a photo of Croatian President Franjo Tudjman. Croat atrocities, a sign says, "are backed up by the organized force of state, church, and party." Nearly every high school student in Belgrade has been brought to absorb the message that, as Svetlana Isakovic, the museum's director, puts it, "what's happening now is just a continuation of World War II."

Milan Panic, the 62-year-old prime minister of what's left of Yugoslavia, is the only remotely credible political force standing between Milosevic and uncontested power. Panic, who parlayed \$200 and a U.S. immigration visa into a vast pharmaceutical manufacturing fortune, returned to his native land at Milosevic's invitation last July. At the time, Milosevic thought Panic might help him clean up Serbia's image abroad. Instead, he got off the reservation. Waving his arms and expostulating in Serbian-accented English and American-accented Serbo-Croatian, Panic warns that only he can democratize Serbia and get the sanctions lifted. A good many Serbs, at least those in Belgrade who have access to independent T.V. and radio, have been listening.

The Panic-Milosevic showdown pits a quixotic, American-style liberal against a former Communist steeped in the sinuous political culture of the Balkans. Milosevic seems to be toying with his opponent. A month ago the Serbian president sent his goons to seize the Federal Interior Ministry, the one agency with any muscle that Panic conceivably could have used against him. Last week Milosevic cast the Panic campaign into limbo by arranging for the electoral commission to rule Panic ineligible for the presidency because he hasn't been a resident of Serbia for at least a year, as required by a law Milosevic quietly pushed through Parliament on November 3. Ever the democrat, Panic appealed to the Supreme Court, which happens to be headed by the same member of Milosevic's Socialist Party as the electoral commission. The court threw the matter back to the commission, which promptly ruled against Panic again. Panic appealed again, and this time Milosevic let him win.

There's little chance that Milosevic and his paramilitary minions will go quietly even in the unlikely event that they do lose the election. Milosevic still enjoys considerable popular support, particularly among the older generation who depend on his government for pensions and on Belgrade T.V. for information. But voters do have an alternative to both Milosevic and Panic. Boss Jezda is a candidate for president too. "I decided to run as a private referendum, to find out how many of my clients are ready to protect their income and myself," he explains. It's the kind of information a man needs when his business activities depend so heavily on the trust of his customers. "Besides," he adds, "I didn't want any of the other candidates hitting me up for contributions."

CHARLES LANE is Berlin bureau chief of *Newsweek*.

LEVEL 1 - 14 OF 20 STORIES

Proprietary to the United Press International 1992

December 13, 1992, Sunday, BC cycle

SECTION: Washington News

LENGTH: 758 words

HEADLINE: Clinton seeks mandate with conference

BYLINE: BY STEPHEN BUEL

DATELINE: LITTLE ROCK, Ark.

KEYWORD: CLINTON

BODY:

Bill Clinton's transition team released the guest list for his two-day economic conference Sunday as the president-elect prepared to crystallize the economic plans that won him the Oval Office.

As the 329 invited participants began registering for the conclave, set to begin Monday, Clinton spokesman George Stephanopoulos made the complete roster public for the first time and touted the group's diversity.

Noting participants were drawn primarily from the financial community, Stephanopoulos said a goal of the conference would be boosting confidence in the new administration by surrounding Clinton with respected business leaders.

Conference organizers did not break down the list by industry, but a assessment of invitees showed that medium-sized businesses and Fortune 500 companies had the greatest representation.

Financial institutions or insurance companies and foundations or public policy advocates appeared to be the next-largest contingents. Small-business owners, government and labor officials were the least represented.

Stephanopoulos painted the conference as a forum through which the president-elect and his team would add detail to Clinton's economic program while building consensus for its passage through Congress.

Los Angeles lawyer Mickey Kantor, the member of Clinton's transition board who organized the gathering, had pledged that the list would reflect a broad range of American voices, from policy insiders to everyday "stakeholders" in the American economy.

Participants ranged from titans of industry like Apple Computer president John Sculley and Hewlett Packard chief John Young -- both vocal Clinton supporters -- to Elena Hanggi, a Little Rock community activist.

Most of the participants were also supporters of the president-elect, although Little Rock's Hanggi has occasionally needled Clinton with criticism of his economic priorities in Arkansas.

Kantor's disclosure that the \$150,000 event is being paid for by the Democratic National Committee had raised questions about the extent to which the panelists represent a political cross section of the nation.

Kantor, by noting Saturday that "dozens of Republicans" would participate in the conference, appeared also to confirm that the vast majority would be Democrats.

Panelists will participate in twin introductory assessments of the U. S. and international economies, followed by five working sessions lasting two hours each. Topics for the working sessions were drawn from Clinton's economic plan, and include lifetime education, growth strategies, deficit reduction, the environment, new technologies and government reform.

Clinton was scheduled to serve as moderator for the gatherings, each of which is to feature 32 active participants.

Along with Clinton and other advisers, members of the public are also expected to ask questions. National Public Radio planned live coverage of the event and said it would provide a phone line for audience questions.

Kantor said formulating policy would take precedence over consensus-building at the conference. "It may have that effect," Kantor said of consensus-building, "but that's not it's purpose."

He said that in the case of complex policies such as Clinton's call for an investment tax credit, the president-elect hopes to come away from the summit with a detailed analysis of how to structure his proposal.

Others viewed the conference as an attempt by Clinton to build a mandate. As governor of Arkansas, Clinton had been known for using similar forums to make his programs look like they were developed with the help of others.

Prior to enacting a 1983 sales tax increase and a package of educational reforms which were considered key achievements as governor, Clinton created a statewide educational advisory panel and named his wife Hillary to lead it. Portions of the panel met in all 75 Arkansas counties, taking testimony from local school officials and other Arkansans.

By the time the deliberations were concluded, a statewide consensus had developed over the need to improve the state's educational system.

Clinton aides expressed similar goals for their economic conference.

"I think there will be a general consensus...out of this and some momentum toward real change," Kantor said.

"Most important, (business leaders) will see a president-elect, vice president-elect (and) members of the economic team connected to them and working with them in trying to bring change about."

LEVEL 1 - 20 OF 20 STORIES

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December 11, 1992

SECTION: NATIONAL DESK

LENGTH: 23560 words

HEADLINE: Economic Conference Participants -- Biographies (1 of 10)

CONTACT: Dee Dee Myers of the Office of the President-Elect, 501-399-7175

DATELINE: LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Dec. 13

KEYWORD: conference-bios

BODY:

Following is biographic information on those who have confirmed their participation in the Economic Conference here Dec. 14-15, based on information provided to the Conference Secretariat as of noon Saturday, Dec. 12:

Aaron, Henry J.

Washington, D.C.

Director of Economic Studies Program at the Brookings Institution; Former Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, Department of Health, Education and Welfare (1977-78); member, Institute of Medicine; V.P. of the National Academy of Social Insurance

Allaire, Paul A.

Stamford, Conn.

Chairman and C.E.O. of Xerox Corp. (since 1991); Started with Xerox in 1966; Member of Council on Foreign Relations, the Business Roundtable; the Business Council; and the Council on Competitiveness.

Allen, Robert E.

Basking Ridge, N.J.

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer-AT&T; Has served with Bell Telephone system since 1958; Boards: Bristol-Myers Squibb Company; PepsiCo; Federal Reserve Bank of N.Y., Wabash College; Member: Business Roundtable; Business Council; US-Japan Business Council.

Artzt, Ed

Cincinnati, Ohio

Chairman and CEO of Procter & Gamble since 1990; Director of GTE; Teradyne and Delta. Member of President Bush's Advisory Committee on Trade Policy and Negotiations; and Bush's Commission on Environmental Quality.

Avant, Clarence

Los Angeles

President and owner, Tabu Productions

Bailin, Michael A. Philadelphia
President of Public/Private Ventures since 1983; P/PV is a non-profit corporation dedicated to designing solutions to high dropout rate, illiteracy, teen pregnancy and youth unemployment, and helping public and private sector concerns to emulate successful programs.

Baird, Zoe Hartford, Conn.
Senior VP and General Counsel, Aetna Life and Casualty Company; Former Associate Counsel to the President of the United States (1980-81); Board of Directors, Southern New England Telephone Co.; Board of Advisors, Institute for Governmental Studies, UC-Berkeley; Board of Advisors, Yale Repertory Theater

Bakke, Dennis W. Arlington, Va.
President, C.O.O., Board member and co-founder of the AES Corp. -- builds, owns and operates cogeneration facilities; AES currently has 11 cogeneration projects in operation or construction, totaling over \$3 billion and producing approximately 2400 MW. Books: Creating Abundance -- America's Least Cost Energy Strategy (1984)

Barad, Jill Elikann El Segundo, Calif.
President and Chief Operating Officer for Mattel, Inc; Oversees U. S. marketing and sales efforts for all Mattel brands; Board member of Board of Trustees of Queens College Foundation, Governors of Town Hall of CA., Reebok International Ltd.

Barram, Dave Cupertino, Calif.
Vice President, Worldwide Corporate Affairs, Apple Computer

Bartz, Carol Sausalito, Calif.
President, Chairman and C.E.O., Autodesk Inc. (computer-aided design software); Former Vice President of Sun Microsystems

Beatty, Michael L. Houston
Executive VP, General Counsel, Member-Board of Directors, The Coastal Corporation; Former Professor of Law, Universities of Idaho and Wyoming; Responsible for corporate legal, federal and state political affairs

Bergsten, C. Fred Washington, D.C.
Director of Institute for International Economics since 1981; Chairman of Competitiveness Policy Council; Former Assistant Secretary of Treasury for International Affairs 1977-81; Latest book: America in the World Economy: A Strategy for the 1990s (1988)

Bertsch, Richard Choi La Palma, Calif.
Founder of L.A. Sound and Metrosound Manufactures and distributes car audio products; imports and exports electronics between the U.S., Korea and Mexico; Boards: Korean American Coalition, Korean Chamber of Commerce.

Bettridge, Thomas M. New York
Director of Targeted Investments, Office of the Comptroller of New York City; Target investment of 8 city employee pension funds (\$900 million) for housing and economic development.

Bieber, Owen Detroit
President, United Auto Workers; Major labor leader in auto industry.

Bildner, Allen I.
New Jersey Chairman of SME Co. Inc., investment and consulting firm, est. 1951; Former Chairman of Kings Super Markets Inc. and Food Marketing Institute; Founder-Director and Former Chairman of the New Jersey Food Council

Blinder, Alan S. Princeton, N.J.
Gordon S. Rentschler Memorial Professor of Economics at Princeton University; Former Deputy Assistant Director of the Congressional Budget Office (1975)

Blum, Barbara Davis Washington, D.C.
Chair, President and C.E.O. of Adams National Bank since 1983; Chair of the Economic Development Finance Corporation; Senior advisor to United Nations Environment Program, 1981-83; Former Deputy Administrator of E.P.A.

Bok, Joan Toland Westboro, Mass.
Chairman, New England Electric System (1984-present); Director,
Boards of Monsanto, John Hancock Mutual Life, Federal Reserve Bank of
Boston; Trustee: Urban Institute; Worcester Foundation for
Experimental Biology

Bonner, Cathy Austin, Texas
Executive Director, Texas Department of Commerce

Boutte, Alvin J. Chicago
President and Chief Executive Officer of Indecorp Inc.; Chairman
and Chief Executive Officer of Independence Bank of Chicago and
Drexel National Bank; Board Member of Better Business Bureau of
Metropolitan Chicago, Trust Inc.

Bowles, Crandall Fort Mill, S.C.
Executive VP of Springs Industries; Director of John Deere, Duke
Power, Wachovia Corp. and Springs Industries; Former member of
Charlotte Branch of Richmond Federal Reserve

Boyer, Ernest L.
President of the Carnegie Foundation (since 1979); Former U.S.
Commissioner of Education (Carter Administration); Former Chancellor
of S.U.N.Y. Books include: Ready to Learn: A Mandate for the Nation;
Scholarship Reconsidered; Campus Life

Braceras, Wilfred Miami
President, CEO, Member-Board of Directors -- Med-Care Home Health
New Jersey Chairman of SME Co. Inc., investment and consulting
firm, est. 1951; Former Chairman of Kings Super Markets Inc. and Food
Marketing Institute; Founder-Director and Former Chairman of the New
Jersey Food Council

Blinder, Alan S. Princeton, N.J.
Gordon S. Rentschler Memorial Professor of Economics at Princeton
University; Former Deputy Assistant Director of the Congressional
Budget Office (1975)

Blum, Barbara Davis Washington, D.C.
Chair, President and C.E.O. of Adams National Bank since 1983;
Chair of the Economic Development Finance Corporation; Senior advisor
to United Nations Environment Program, 1981-83; Former Deputy
Administrator of E.P.A.

Bok, Joan Toland Westboro, Mass.
Chairman, New England Electric System (1984-present); Director,
Boards of Monsanto, John Hancock Mutual Life, Federal Reserve Bank of
Boston; Trustee: Urban Institute; Worcester Foundation for
Experimental Biology

Bonner, Cathy Austin, Texas
Executive Director, Texas Department of Commerce

Boutte, Alvin J. Chicago
President and Chief Executive Officer of Indecorp Inc.; Chairman
and Chief Executive Officer of Independence Bank of Chicago and
Drexel National Bank; Board Member of Better Business Bureau of
Metropolitan Chicago, Trust Inc.

Bowles, Crandall Fort Mill, S.C.
Executive VP of Springs Industries; Director of John Deere, Duke
Power, Wachovia Corp. and Springs Industries; Former member of
Charlotte Branch of Richmond Federal Reserve

Boyer, Ernest L.
President of the Carnegie Foundation (since 1979); Former U.S.
Commissioner of Education (Carter Administration); Former Chancellor
of S.U.N.Y. Books include: Ready to Learn: A Mandate for the Nation;
Scholarship Reconsidered; Campus Life

Braceras, Wilfred Miami
President, CEO, Member-Board of Directors -- Med-Care Home Health
Services Inc.; Member, National Association for Home Care; American
Federation of Home Care; Associated Home Health Industry of Florida.

Bradbury, Curt Little Rock, Ark.
President, Chairman, and C.E.O., Worthen Banking Corp.; President,
Chairman, and C.E.O., Worthen National Bank of Arkansas

Brandon, William H. Jr. Helena, Ark.
President and Chief Executive Officer of First National Bank of
Phillips County (joined bank in 1964); President of American Bankers
Association; Former President of the Arkansas Bankers Association

Bravo, Facundo Howell, Mich.
President of Uniboring Co. Inc. (precision machining specialty
shop)

Briley, Martha Clark Newark, N.J.
President of Prudential Asset Management Company

Brimmer, Andrew F. Washington, D.C.
President of Brimmer and Co. Inc. (economic and financial
consulting company in Washington, D.C. Advisory committees: Bank of
America, BellSouth, Gannett, and United Airlines.

Britt, David V.B. New York
President and C.E.O. of Children's Television Workshop (CTW)

Brody, Kenneth D. New York City
Founding Partner, Petrus Partners (private investment firm)
Goldman, Sachs & Co (1971-91); Chair, American Federation of Aging
Research

Brooks, Frank B. Kenosha, Wis.
President and CEO, Brooks Sausage Co. Inc.; Former President and
CEO, Chicago Economic Development Corporation; Recipient, 1980
Finance Achievement Award, Black Enterprise Magazine

Browne, Robert S. Teaneck, N.J.
Former Staff Director, Subcommittee on International Development,
Finance, Trade and Monetary Policy, House Banking Committee; Founder:
Black Economic Research Center; Review of Black Political Economy;
Twenty-First Century Foundation; Emergency Land Fund

Bryan, John H. Chicago
Chairman and C.E.O. of Sara Lee Corporation (since 1976); Member
of the Business Roundtable and Business Council.

Bryson, John E. Rosemead, Calif.
Chairman and CEO, Southern California Edison Company; Served as
President, California Public Utilities Commission; Chair, California
State Water Resources Council; Director: Times Mirror Company, First
Interstate Bancorp; Chair: LA/Pasadena 1994 World Cup Bid Committee

Busch, August A III St. Louis
Chairman and President of Anheuser-Busch Co. Inc.

Burgess, Philip M. Denver
President of the Center for the New West, think tank est. 1989;
Focus: trade, technology, public service programs; Former executive
director of the National Policy Commission of the Democratic Party

Cabot, Louis W. Boston
Director Emeritus of the Cabot Corporation; Former Chairman of the
Brookings Institution (1986-92); Former Chairman of the Federal
Reserve Bank of Boston (1975-78); Sloan Commission on Government and
Higher Education (1977-80)

Carey, Ron Washington, D.C.
President, International Brotherhood of Teamsters; Teamster's
first democratically elected president (1992); Vowed to "rid the
union of mob influence"; Joined the Teamsters in 1956 as a UPS
delivery man.

Carpenter, Candice M. Washington, D.C.
President of Time-Life Video and Television since 1989; Former
V.P. of American Express, Travel Related Services for Direct
Marketing

Carroll, Milton Houston
Chairman and CEO, Instrument Products Inc.; Founder of this
Houston-based company specializing in oil field equipment, other
high-tech products; Commissioner, Port of Houston Authority; Past
Chair, Board of Regents, Texas Southern University

Carter, Barry E. Washington, D.C.
Executive Director, American Society of International Law;
Professor of Law, Georgetown University (on leave); Senior Foreign
Policy Advisor, Mondale/Ferraro '84; Senior counsel, Senate Select
Committee on Intelligence Activities; Books: International Economic
Sanctions: Improving The Haphazard U.S. Legal Regime (1988);
International Law (1991)

Carter, Gwendolyn C. New Orleans, La.
President and Owner, USA Travel; Licensed real estate agent;
Licensed tour guide; licensed practical nurse; President and founder,
Greater New Orleans Black Tourism Network Inc.

Castleman, Deborah R.
Engineer and policy analyst at RAND; Former satellite systems
engineer at Hughes Aircraft Co.; Clinton/ Gore campaign-science, space
and technological issues

Cephas, Derrick D. New York
New York State Superintendent of Banks since 1991; Chairman of NY
State Banking Board; a director of NY State Urban Development Corp
and NY State Job Development Authority; Formerly a partner at Breed,
Abbott & Morgan.

Chambers, Letitia Washington, D.C.
President of Chambers Associates Inc.; President, Coalition of
Publicly Traded Partnerships; Former Staff Director, Senate Labor and
Human Resources Committee (1979-80)

Chapman, Beverly M. Orlando, Fla.
President, Ashley's Productions DBA 3 C's Unlimited (consultants
on the Americans with Disabilities Act); Former President and C.E.O.,
SHARED Inc. (computer service company); Former Director of Technical
Training for Disabled Students at Valencia College; Former Exec.
Dir., Center for Independent Living in Central Florida.

Choquette, Paul Jr. Providence, R.I.
President of Gilbane Building Company (since 1981)

Cizik, Robert Houston
Chairman and C.E.O. of Cooper Industries Inc. (with Cooper since
1961, C.E.O. since 1975, Chair since 1983); Chairman of National
Assn. of Manufacturers

Clarke, Richard A. San Francisco
Chairman and CEO of Pacific Gas and Electric Company; Director of
BankAmerica Co.; Potlatch Co.; Pacific Conservation Services Co.;
Pacific Gas Transmission Co.

Claybrook, Joan B. Washington, D.C.
President, Public Citizen (since 1982); Former Administrator,
National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (1977-81); Books:
Retreat from Safety: Reagan's Attack on America's Health (1984);
Freedom from Harm: The Civilizing Influence of Health, Safety and
Environmental Regulations (1986)

Claytor, W. Graham Jr. Washington, D.C.
Chairman and C.E.O. of the National Railroad Passenger Corporation
(AMTRAK); Former Deputy Secretary of Defense, Acting Secretary of
Transportation, and Secretary of the Navy in the Carter
Administration.

Clemente, Lilia Calderon New York
Chairman and C.E.O. of Clemente Capital Inc., specializing in
Asia/Pacific Rim investments; President of First Philippine Fund, a
closed-end country fund listed in the NYSE

Clendenin, John L. Atlanta
Chairman and CEO, BellSouth; Largest of Regional Bell companies;
one of 25 largest US public companies; Board Member: Capital Holding;
Kroger; Coca-Cola; NYSE Past Chair, US Chamber of Commerce; National
Alliance of Business National President, Boy Scouts of America

Cloherly, Patricia M. New York
General Partner and Senior VP, Patricof & Co. Ventures Inc.
(since 1988); Former Deputy Administrator, US Small Business
Administration (1977-78); Founding President, Committee of 200
(organization of America's leading women entrepreneurs and corporate
executives); Chairs National Advisory Council on Small Business
Investment Company program.

Cole, Johnnetta B. Atlanta
President, Spelman College (since 1987); First woman elected to Coca-Cola Board of Directors; Founding Director, Points of Light Foundation

Collier, June M. Montgomery, Ala.
Chairman and C.E.O. of National Apparel Inc. (Largest manufacturer of chemical welfare protective clothing); Member of President's Industrial Policy Advisory Committee

Collier, Sophia Portsmouth, N.H.
Founder of American Natural Beverage Corp., Director of Ms. Foundation Trustee of Leadership New Hampshire

Collins, Susan M. Washington, D.C.
Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution; Associate Professor of Economics, Georgetown University; Former Associate Professor of Economics, Harvard University Senior Staff Economist, President's Council of Economic Advisers (1989-90)

Considine, Jill M. New York
Managing Director and C.A.O., American Express Bank Ltd. (since 1991); Former N.Y. State Superintendent of Banks (1985-91); Former boards: N.Y. State Urban Development Corporation, N.Y. State Mortgage Agency, N.Y. Job Development Authority.

Cooke, John F. Burbank, Calif.
President, The Disney Channel; Former President, Times Mirror Cable TV Boards include: Johns Hopkins University; Center for Civic Education; Constitutional Rights Foundation; National Science Center; Alliance for Children's Rights.

Cooper, Kathleen B. Irving, Texas
Chief Economist, Exxon Corporation (since 1990); Former Executive Vice President and Chief Economist, Security Pacific National Bank; Former President, National Association of Business Economists

Correnti, John D. Charlotte, N.C.
President and C.E.O. of the Nucor Corporation; Former General Manager of Nucor-Yamata Steel in Blytheville, AR; Boards: 1st National Bank of Blytheville, Arkansas College.

Corry, Charles A. Pittsburgh
Chairman and CEO, USX Corporation (since 1989); Member, Policy Committee, Business Roundtable; Member, Business Council Chair, Greater Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce; Member, Board of Trustees, Carnegie Mellon University

Cortes, Ernesto Austin, Texas
Director of the Industrial Areas Foundation for Southwestern U.S.; Created community organizations such as UNO in L.A., COPS in San Antonio, EPISO in El Paso and TMO in Houston.

Cox, Jr. Archibald New York
President and CEO, First Boston Corporation; Former Managing Director, Morgan Stanley International; Board Member: Securities Industry Association; Claremont McKenna College

Crandall, Robert L.
Chairman and C.E.O. of American Airlines (since 1985)

Cruz, Frank H. Los Angeles
Chairman, Gulf Atlantic Life Insurance Company; Former President, Latino Museum of History, Art & Culture; Former Vice-President, General Manager, Telemundo Group, Inc. (Spanish-language TV station with \$50 million operating budget).

Daley, William M. Chicago
President & Chief Operating Officer of Amalgamated Bank of Chicago Boards: Wheelabrator Technologies Inc., Oak Brook Bank, Special Children's Charities

Davis, Audrey Chicago
Carolyn Jordan and Associates.

De Pree, Max California
Chairman, Board of Directors, Herman Miller, Inc. (produces office furniture systems and health-care products); Boards: The Leadership Institute at U.S.C., Peter F. Drucker for Nonprofit Management; Author of Leadership is an Art and Leadership Jazz

Derr, Kenneth T. San Francisco

Chairman and C.E.O. of Chevron (since 1989); Worked for Chevron since 1959; Member: The Business Roundtable, Business Council, the President's Commission on Environmental Quality. Boards: Citicorp, American Petroleum Institute, the American Productivity & Quality Center

Donahue, Thomas R. Washington, D.C.

Secretary-Treasurer of AFL-CIO (since 1979); Chairman of the U.S. Special Trade Representative's Labor Advisory Committee; Former Assistant Secretary of Labor for Labor-Management Relations; Director: Muscular Dystrophy Association; Urban League; African-American Institute Chairman: USTR Labor Advisory Committee

Donaldson, William H. New York

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of New York Stock Exchange; Co-Founder of Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette Inc.; Former Undersecretary of State (Nixon Administration)

Dramis, Francis A. Fairfax, Va.

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Network Management Inc. (international information technology firm); Formerly of Salomon Brothers, Bell Laboratories, AT&T and American Transtech.

Duncan, Sandra Rhodes New Orleans, La.

President of Rhodes Enterprises (Funeral, Insurance, Limousine and Transportation)

Eddy, Jan Madison, Wis.

Owner of Joiner Software (now Wingra Technologies, Inc.); Founder, Office Solutions Inc.; Member: Governor's Science and Technology Council; Dane County Economic Summit Council

Edelman, Marian Wright Washington, D.C.

Founder and President of the Children's Defense Fund; Author: Families In Peril: An Agenda for Social Change; The Measure of Our Success: A Letter to My Children and Yours

Eisner, Robert Evanston, Ill.

William R. Kennan Professor of Economics, Northwestern University; Past President, American Economic Association; Author: Factors in Business Investment; How Real Is the Federal Deficit?

Elish, Herbert New York

Chairman, President and Chief Executive Officer of Weirton Steel Corp; Graduate Harvard Law School in 1957; Former Commissioner of Sanitation of New York City; Former Vice President of Citibank

Elisha, Walter Y. Charlotte, N.C.

Chairman and CEO, Springs Industries, Inc., Home furnishings and fabrics manufacturer, with HQ in S. Carolina; 43 plants in US and abroad, 1991 sales of \$1.9 billion, South Carolina's largest employer; Director: AT&T, Cummins Engine; Associates of Harvard Business School

Fallows, James Washington, DC

Washington Editor of The Atlantic Monthly; Former chief speechwriter for President Carter (1977-78); Books include: The Water Lords (1971); National Defense (1981); The System (1976); Inside the System (1977); More Like Us (1990); Looking at the Sun (in progress)

Fanjul, Alfonso West Palm Beach, Fla.

Chairman and CEO, Flo-Sun, Inc. (Agribusiness); Board Member: Penzoil; FPL Group (Florida Power and Light)

Farmer, Larry N., Sr. Mississippi

President and CEO of Mississippi Action for Community Education Inc.; Board member of numerous local, state and national boards

Farnsworth, Cherill Houston

President and C.E.O. TME, Inc. (healthcare)

Faux, Jeff Washington, DC

President of the Economic Policy Institute; Former co-director of the National Center for Economic Alternatives; Books include: Rebuilding America; New Hope of the Inner City

Fields, Craig I., Dr. Austin, Texas
Chairman and C.E.O., Microelectronics and Computer Technology Corporation, R&D consortium sponsored by over 50 companies active in information technology.

Fisher, George M.C. Schaumburg, IL
Chairman and CEO, Motorola, Inc. (since 1990); Chairman, US Council on Competitiveness; Member, Board of Directors, Japan Society of New York; Advisory groups: USTR; Secretary of Commerce; Board of Directors: American Express, 3M. Trustee, Urban League.

Fitzgerald, Duane D. "Buzz" Bath, Maine
President and C.E.O. of Bath Iron Works (since 1991), Bath is Maine's largest private employer and one of the nation's largest shipbuilders, Leading succesful conversion to non-military shipbuilding.

Flores, Irma San Antonio, Texas
President of Hospital Klean (janitorial company servicing military and government hospitals nationwide); Board of San Antonio Chamber of Commerce

Freston, Tom New York
Chairman and CEO, MTV Networks, MTV Networks operates four cable TV proqraming networks: MTV; MTV Europe; VH-1 and Nickelodeon; Board Member: Cable Advertising Bureau; Rock the Vote

Friedman, Robert E. Washington, DC
Chairman and founder of the Corporation for Enterprise Development; Books: The Safety Net As Ladder: Transfer Payments and Economic Development

Frost, Philip, M.D. Miami
Clinical Professor of Dermatology, University of Miami, School of Medecine; Chairman: Key Pharmaceutical, Vax Corporation, North America Vaccine; Board: Pan American Bank Corp, American Exploration Corp, Intercontinental Bank; Governor: American Stock Exchange

Fukushima, Glen S. Tokyo
Director of Public Policy and Market Development at AT&T Japan Ltd.; Former Deputy Assistant U.S. Trade Representative for Japan and China (1988-90); Former Director for Japanese Affairs, USTR (1985-88); Books include: The Politics of U.S. Economic Friction (in Japanese) (1992)

Galinsky, Ellen New York
Co-President of the Families and Work Institute; Books include: The New Extended Family: Day Care that Works; Beyond the Parental Leave Debate; The Preeschool Years; The Corporate Reference Guide to Work-Family Programs.

Gallup, Patricia Marlow, N.H.
President and CEO, PC Connection, Inc. Leading mail-order/direct supplier of personal computers, software and peripherals; Recipient, Governor's Excellence in Business Award

Garcia, Dr. David B. Austin, Texas
President and C.E.O. of SEA Pharmaceuticals; Former Department Head, Pharmaceutical Sciences, Radian Corporation

Gardner, Edward G. Chicago
Founder and Chairman, Soft Sheen Products, Inc. (5th largest Black-owned and operated company in the U.S.), World's leading manufacturer of ethnic health and beauty aid products.

Garten, Jeffrey G. New York
Professor of Finance and Economics, Columbia Univ. Business School
Director of International Fellows Program, Columbia School for International and Public Affairs Author of A Cold Peace: America, Japan, Germany, and the Struggle for Supremacy

Geffen, David Los Angeles
President, Geffen Records; Founder of three record companies, plus song publishing, feature film, Broadway theater productions; Real estate and fine art investor; Major contributor to AIDS research.

Geiger, Keith Washington, DC
President of National Education Association; Spokesperson, Campaign for New Priorities; Member, Education Policy Advisory Committee.

Georges, John A. Purchase, N.Y.
Chairman and CEO, International Paper (since 1985); Chairman of the Board, IP Forest Resources Company; Director: Warner-Lambert, Federal Reserve Bank of NY, NYSE; Member, President's Commission on Environmental Quality; Trustee: Drexel University

Georgine, Robert Washington, D.C.
President, Building and Construction Trades, AFL-CIO

Gerson, Ralph Northville, Mich.
Executive VP and Director, Guardian Industries Corp. Worldwide manufacturer of flat glass products, insulation materials, oil pumps, injection molded plastics; Former Director of Commerce, State of Michigan; Served as Counselor to Ambassador Robert Strauss (Mideast negotiations; OSTR); Vice-Chair, Hungarian-US Business Council

Glass, David Bentonville, Ark.
President and CEO, Wal-Mart Stores, Inc.

Goizueta, Roberto C. Atlanta
Chairman and C.E.O. of Coca-Cola Company (since 1981)

Goldmark, Peter C. Jr.
President of the Rockefeller Foundation (since 1988); Former director of the Port Authority of NY and NJ (1977-1985); Former New York State Budget Director (1975-1977)

Gordon, Ellen Center Harbor, N.H.
President, Tootsie Roll Industries, Inc.; Founding member and Chairman, the Committee of 200 Foundation.

Graves, Earl G. New York
President and C.E.O. of Earl G. Graves Ltd.; Publisher, Black Enterprise; Chairman and C.E.O., Pepsi-Cola of Washington, DC (Magic Johnson's partner); Former Administrative Assistant to Robert F. Kennedy

Gray, William H. III Reston, Va.
President and CEO, United Negro College Fund (since 1991); Former Member of Congress D-PA; Former House Budget Committee Chair; first African-American member of Congress to hold a position in House leadership.

Green, Margaret Kentucky
President, South Central Bell, Kentucky

Greenberg, Sanford Washington, D.C.
Inventor of Variable Speech Control (device for compression and expansion of human speech); Founding Director, The American Agenda; Former Member, White House Science Advisory Staff (Johnson Administration)

Greenspun, Brial L. Las Vegas, Nev.
President and Editor, Las Vegas SUN; Vice President of Prime Cable; President of Greenspun Management Enterprises, Inc. (athletic club, hospitality network, ShowBiz Magazine)

Greenstein, Robert Washington, DC
Executive Director of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities

Grieve, Pierson M. "Sandy" St. Paul, Minn.
Chairman and C.E.O. of Ecolab Inc. (cleaning, sanitizing and maintenance chemicals); Boards: US West, Norwest Corp., St. Paul Companies.

Grinstein, Gerald Ft. Worth, Texas
Chairman, President and C.E.O., Burlington Northern Inc. (since 1991); Former C.E.O., Western Airlines; Member: Business Roundtable

Grogan, Barbara Denver, Colo.
President, Western Industrial Contractors; Chair, Denver Chamber of Commerce.

Hager, Susan Washington, DC
President and Founder, Hager Sharp (a partnership programming consulting firm); National Advisory Council of U.S. Small Business Administration

Hammer, Katherine Austin, Tenn.
President and C.E.O., Evolutionary Technologies, Inc.

Handler, Sheryl L. Cambridge, Mass.
President, Thinking Machines Corporation; Founded corporation
which introduced Connection Machine supercomputer.

Hanggi, Elena Little Rock, Ark.
Past President, ACORN

Harris, Elmer B. Birmingham, Ala.
President and CEO, Alabama Power Company Boards: Business Council
of Alabama; Alabama Symphony Association; Samford University Board of
Trust

Hatsopoulos, George N. Boston
Founder, Chairman and President of Thermo Electron Corporation;
Board: Federal Reserve Bank of Boston 1982-1989

Hawkins, Wilbur F. Memphis, Tenn.
Regional Manager, Community Diversity Development, Tennessee Valley
Authority; Former Executive Director, Lower Mississippi Delta
Development Commission.

Hay, Jess Dallas
Chairman and C.E.O., The Lomas Financial Group (since 1965);
Former Boards: University of Texas, SMU, U.S. Chamber of Commerce;
Boards: Exxon, Southwestern Bell, Dial Corp.; Chairman, Texas
Foundation for Higher Education

Hayes, Charles A. Greensboro, N.C.
Chairman and C.E.O., Guilford Mills, Inc. Director, American
Textile Manufacturers Institute; Knitted Textile Assn.

Hayes, Johnny H. Gallatin, Tenn.
Commissioner, Tennessee Department of Economic and Community
Development; Former President, Newman, Hayes & Dixon (independent
insurance agency)

Hefner, Robert A. III Oklahoma City, Okla.
Chairman and CEO, GHK Company (independent natural gas exploration
and production); Founder, The Hefner Foundation (research on energy's
role in the economy)

Height, Dorothy I. Washington, DC
President, National Council of Negro Women; Initiated the sole
African American private voluntary organization working in Africa in
1975; conceived and organized the Black Family Reunion in 1986

Heisen, JoAnn Heffernan New Brunswick, N.J.
Treasurer of Johnson & Johnson (since 1991); Former Vice
President, Corporate Affairs at Primerica Corporation

Henley-Cohn, Betsy New Haven, Conn.
Chairman, Ansonia-Derby Water Coman Chairman, Joseph Cohn & Sons,
Inc., Atlantifc Floor Covering, Inc.; Member, Committee of 200 (top
business women in the U.S.)

Hiatt, Arnold Boston
Former Chairman of the Stride-Rite Corp. (1982-1992); Director of
Businesses for Social Responsibility Higher Education Coordinating
Council of Massachusetts

Hill, Jesse, Jr. Atlanta
Chairman and C.E.O., Atlanta Life Insurance Company (largest
African-American controlled financial institution in the U.S.);
Boards: Delta, National Services Industries Inc., Knight-Ridder;
Board of Regents of the State of Georgia.

Hill, Norman Washington, DC
President, A. Philip Randolph Institute; Previous service:
C.O.R.E.; March on Washington.

Ho, James K. San Francisco
Senior Advisor to the Mayor of San Francisco; Member, San
Francisco Airport Commission; Director: Chinese Chamber of Commerce

Hochberg, Fred Mt. Vernon, N.Y.
Lillian Vernon Corporation

Hoovestall, Yvonne D. Helena, Mont.
President, Greenway Enterprises, Inc. (institutional construction including U.S. embassies)

Houghton, Mary Chicago
President and Director, Shorebank Corporation (oversees commercial bank holding companies implementing community development strategies); Chair, Arkansas Enterprise Group; Director, Southern Development Bancorporation

Hubbard, Karetta B. Reston, Va.
Principal and Founding Partner, Hubbard & Revo-Cohen, Inc. (1984)
Consultant to governmental agencies concerning women and minority issues

Hubbard, Marilyn French Detroit
President and C.E.O., Marilyn Hubbard Seminars, Inc. (human resource management, training, and marketing); Founder and C.E.O., National Association of Black Women Entrepreneurs; U.S. S.B.A.'s first national Minority Owned Business Advocate

Hudson, Paul C. Los Angeles
President and C.E.O., Broadway Federal Savings (oldest African-American S & L west of the Mississippi; serving S. Central L. A.); Past President, Los Angeles NAACP; Boards: So. Cal. Edison, the 2000 Partnership, L.A. County Economic Development Corp.

Hurst, Robert L. Detroit
President, Michigan Bell Telephone (since June 1992); Member, Economic Club of Detroit; Board and Strategic Planning Committee, Detroit; Urban League; Chair, Henry Ford Hospital Board of Trustees.

Irving, Clarence L., Jr. (Larry) Washington, DC
Senior Counsel, Mass Media, House of Representative Subcommittee on Telecommunications and Finance; Former Legislative Director and Counsel to Rep. Mickey Leland.

James, Charles H. III Charleston, W.Va.
President of C.H. James & Co. (produce distributor); U.S. Dept. of Agriculture Minority Contractor of the Year 1988, 1989, 1990

Jahn, Richard A. Casper, Wyo.
Chairman, President and CEO, WESTECH (heavy steel fabrication); Board Member: Casper Area Economic Development Alliance; First Interstate Bank of Wyoming

Jenrette, Richard H. New York
Chairman and C.E.O., The Equitable Companies; Chairman of Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette; Member, the Business Roundtable

Johnson, Charles S. Des Moines, Iowa
Senior Vice President, Pioneer Hi-Bred International, Inc.; Co-chairman, Governor's Human Services Leadership Roundtable; Member, Governor's Commission on Health Care Cost Containment.

Johnson, James A. Washington D.C.
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Federal National Mortgage Association; Former Managing Director, Corporate Finance, Lehman Brothers; Past President, Public Strategies; Executive Assistant to Vice President Walter Mondale

Johnson, Robert L.
President and Founder, Black Entertainment Television (First black-owned company to be traded on the NYSE)

Johnson, Roger W. Irvine, Calif.
Chairman and C.E.O., Western Digital (since 1984); Chair, American Business Conference; One of the earliest Republican supporters of Clinton for President.

Jones, Clark Savannah, Tenn.
Owner, Jones Motor Company, Jones Ford Mercury, Nissan Owner, Jones Farms (cattle); Former President, Hardin County Chambers of Commerce

Jones, James R. New York
Chairman and C.E.O., the American Stock Exchange Former Congressman from Oklahoma; Boards: American Red Cross; Committee for Economic Development; Bryce Harlow Foundation; U.S.-Japan Leadership Council.

- Jones, Raymond Irving, Texas
Founder and President, FABRICated Technology, Inc. (military articles); Founder of Uni-Copy Corporation (retail distributor of copier and fax machines); Member: Dallas Citizens Council; Co-Founder, RMBD (Recycling Minority Business Dollars) DALLAS
- Jordan, Carolyn Chicago
Owner, Carolyn Jordan & Associates (construction/construction management); Executive Director, Metro Corporation (1979-81); Deputy Director/Director of Housing, Human Relations Commission (1975-79)
- Kamarck, Elaine Ciulla Washington, DC
Senior Fellow, Progressive Policy Institute; Books: "The Politics of Evasion;" "Putting Children First" (with William Galston); co-author of Mandate For Change.
- Kamsky, Virginia A. New York
Founder, President and C.E.O. of Kamsky Associates, Inc. (consulting firm representing multinationals in the Pacific Rim)
- Kanter, Rosabeth Moss Boston
Class of 1960 Professor of Business Administration, Harvard University; Editor, Harvard Business Review (1989-92)
- Kaplan, Ann New York
General Partner, Goldman, Sachs & Co.; Heads Municipal Finance Department's general banking activities in Eastern US; Boards: National Housing Conference; Citizens Housing Planning Council; Settlement Housing Fund
- Kelleher, Herbert D. Austin, Texas
Chairman, Founder, President and CEO of Southwest Airlines Co.; Chairman of Advisory Council-University of Texas College of Business Administration; Director; Better Business Bureau of Metropolitan Dallas, Inc.
- Kelley, Mary Frances Denver, Colo.
Director of Audit and Consulting, Strait-Kushinsky and Company (accounting); N.F.I.B. Board; Federal Reserve Board, Kansas City; U.S. Chamber of Commerce Small Business Council.
- Kempner, I.H. "Denny" III Sugarland, Texas
Chairman, Imperial Holly Corporation
- Kenmore, Ayse Manyas San Francisco
Managing Director, Equivest Partners Inc.
- King, Calvin Brinkley, Ark.
President, Arkansas Land and Farm Development
- King, Susan B. Corning, N.Y.
Senior Vice President for Corporate Affairs of Corning; Former Chair of the U.S. Consumer Product Safety Commission (Carter Admin.)
- Kistler, William New York
Managing partner of Kistler Investment Co. Co-editor and writer of lead essay for Buying America Back
- Koplovitz, Kay New York
Founder, President and C.E.O., USA Network (since 1980); Led industry-wide anti-drug initiative with the Partnership for a Drug Free America; Boards: Liz Claiborne Inc., General Re, the American Business Conference, and the New York City Partnership.
- Krugman, Paul R. Cambridge, Mass.
Professor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (since 1984); International Policy Economist, Council of Economic Advisors (1983-83); Books include: Currencies and Crises (1992); Exchange Rate Targets and Currency Bands (1992); The Age of Diminished Expectations (1990).
- Kumpuris, Andrew George Little Rock, Ark.
Private Practice of Cardiology; Medical Director of Coronary Care-Saint Vincent Infirmary Medical Center; Clinical Assistance Professor in Medicine-Univ. of Arkansas
- Kurtzig, Sandra Mountain View, Calif.
Founder and Chairman, ASK Group, Inc.; Board Member: Harvard Business School, Anderson Graduate School - UCLA

Kuttner, Robert L. Cambridge, Mass.

Co-Editor, The American Prospect; Former national staff writer, Washington Post; Former Executive Director, Carter (National) Commission on Neighborhoods; Contributing Columnist, Business Week; Contributing Editor, The New Republic; Commentator, NPR.

Lamb, Gary D. Iowa

President-Iowa Farmers Union; Former President, Tama County Cattlemen's Assoc., 1978-1982; Iowa Agricultural Liaison for Senator Tom Harkin 1984-1986; Member of Iowa Center for Agriculture Safety and Health

Landegger, George F. New York

Chairman of Parsons & Whittemore (manufacture of pulp and paper) Chairman, Georgetown University School of Foreign Service

Lane, Vincent Chicago

Chairman, Chicago Housing Authority National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing (Bush administration); Appointed to President's Commission on Model State Drug Laws

Lara, Edison R. Sr. Southgate, Calif.

President and Owner of Westside Distributors (Anheuser-Busch wholesaler); Former Regional Manager, Country Club Malt Liquor.

Lausell, Miguel D. Hato Rey, PR

Legal Practice and Public Policy Consultant (since 1986); Member, Governor's Economic Strategic Council (1990-92); Chairman, Board of Directors, Ponce Federal Bank of Puerto Rico; Author; DNC National Committeeman for Puerto Rico

Lawrence, Larry M. Coronado, Calif.

Chairman and CEO, Hotel Del Coronado Corporation.

Lee, Evelyn Salt Lake City, Utah

Co-owner, ONLY IN UTAH (conference planning and tours arrangement small business); Former Director, Economic and Industrial Development Division, State of Utah.

Levitt, Arthur New York

President, Levitt Media Company; Former Chair, American Stock Exchange

Lewis, Delano E. Potomac, Md.

President and CEO, C&P Telephone Company; Former Board Member: Catholic University; United Negro College Fund

Lewis, Drew Bethlehem, Pa.

Chairman, Union Pacific Corporation; Former Secretary of Transportation (Reagan Administration); Former Chairman, The Business Roundtable; Boards: American Express, AT&T, Ford, FPL Group, Gulfstream Aerospace, The Rockefeller Group

Lewis, Edward T. New York

Publisher and C.E.O. of Essence Communications, Inc.; Co-founded magazine for black women in 1970; Deputy Chairman, RNC 1980-81

Linton, Pam Burlington, Vt.

Founder, President and C.E.O., Pollution Solutions; Co-Chair, Businesses for Clinton in VT

Lites, Denise Ilitch Detroit

Senior Executive Vice-President, Little Caesar Enterprises, Inc.; Supervises Little Caesars Pizza's advertising and promotional campaigns; Founder, "Let's Grow Up Smart" (anti-substance abuse education program.)

Llewellyn, J. Bruce New York

Chairman and C.E.O., The Philadelphia Coca-Cola Bottling Company; Boards: Coors, C-Span, Essence, Manufacturers Hanover; Former President of Overseas Private Investment Corporation (Carter appointee); Former Chairman of Freedom National Bank (largest minority owned bank in U.S.)

Lopez, Franklin D. Puerto Rico

Former President, Puerto Rico chapter, Home Builders Association (1986-1988); Former State Chair, Democratic Party of Puerto Rico 1977-1980; Vice Chair, State Democratic Chairs Association

Lowe, Edward
 Chairman and CEO, Edward Lowe Foundation (dedicated to educational, other support for entrepreneurs); Inventor of Kitty Litter (current annual sales of \$500 million)
 Green Bay, Wis.

Lucassen, Sigurd
 General President, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America (elected 1988; re-elected 1991); Co-Founder, New Jersey Alliance for Action (labor-management group developing jobs through labor/management/gov't. cooperation)
 Washington, D.C.

Malcom, Shirley M.
 Head of Directorate for Education and Human Resources Programs of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS); AAAS Office of Opportunities in Science 1979-1989; Congressional Task Force on Women, Minorities and the Handicapped in Science and Technology; Boards: American Museum of Natural History
 North Carolina

Mankiller, Hon. Wilma
 Principal Chief, Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma; Leads second-largest tribe in US; First woman elected Principal Chief
 Tahlequah, Okla.

Mark, Reuben
 Chairman and CEO, Colgate-Palmolive Company (since 1986); With Colgate since 1963; Chair, Education and Youth Employment Committee, New York City Partnership; Founder, "From the Boardroom to the Classroom: Executives in Middle Schools" (program involving top executives with NYC middle school children and teachers); Co-Chair, School and Business Alliance of New York
 New York

Markusen, Ann R
 Director, Project on Regional and Industrial Economics at Rutgers University; Professor of Urban Planning and Policy Development; Books: Dismantling the Cold War Economy (1992), The Rise of the Gunbelt (1991); Regions: the Economics and Politics of Territory (1987)
 New Brunswick, N.J.

Mathews, Jessica Tuchman
 Vice President, World Resources Institute; Columnist for The Washington Post; AAAS, Congressional Office of Technology Assessment; Member, National Academy of Sciences; Co-founder and Member, Executive Committee, Surface Transportation Policy Project
 Washington D.C.

Matter, David M.
 President and C.O.O., Oxford Development Company; Chair, Pittsburgh Water and Sewer Authority
 Pittsburgh

McCabe, Eugene L.
 President and Chief Executive Officer of North General Hospital (newly-constructed, state-of-the-art hospital in Harlem.); Former regional director for Deleuw Cather/Parsons and Associates, a \$2 billion rail transportation joint venture.
 New York

McCammon, Molly
 Assistant, Fisheries and Resources, Alaska State Legislature; Specializes in fisheries, oil and gas, and oil spill legislation
 Juneau, Alaska

McClendon, Raymond J.
 Vice President of Pryor, McClendon, Counts and Co., Inc. (Largest minority investment banking firm in U.S.); Chairman of the National Association of Securities Professionals
 Washington D.C.

McCall, Jr., Hugh L.
 President and CEO of Nations Bank Company.
 Charlotte, N.C.

McEntee, Gerald W.
 International President of AFSCME; Vice President of AFL-CIO and member of it's executive council; Member of the DNC and the DNC's Labor Council; Co-Founder and Chairman of Economic Policy Institute
 Washington D.C.

McLarty, Mack
 Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Arkla, Inc.; Arkansas Industrial Development Commission Advisory Committee; Born in a town called Hope
 Little Rock, Ark.

Medlin, John G., Jr.
 Chairman and CEO, Wachovia Corporation; Past President, Advisory Council, Federal Reserve System; Past Chair, Governor's Council of Management and Development; Boards: BellSouth Corporation; RJR Nabisco, Inc. Trustee: Wake Forest University
 Winston-Salem, N.C.

Meehan, Diana M. Los Angeles

Creator, VU Productions (a partnership of women committed to producing non-fiction media on issues relating to women, children and family); Founder of the Institute for the Study of Men and Women at U.S.C.; Moderator, 1988 Great American Family Tour

Megdal, Dr. Sharon B. Tucson, Ariz.

Executive Director of Santa Cruz Valley Water District (Tucson); Former Member, Arizona Corporation Commission.

Miller, Lenore New York

President, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union; AFL-CIO Vice President; chairs AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee

Mills, Mary Ann Cambridge, Mass.

Vice President and Managing Director, Soapbox Trading Co. DBA The Body Shop (environmentally-conscious toiletries shops); Vice-President and Account Supervisor, McGrath/Power Associates (PR/consulting)

Mills, Olan II Chattanooga, Tenn.

Chairman, Olan Mills Inc.

Mobley, Dr. Sybil C. Ph.D. Tallahassee, Fla.

Dean, School of Business and Industry, Florida A. & M. University; Boards: Anheuser-Busch Companies; Champion International; Hershey Foods; Sears, Roebuck and Company; and Southwestern Bell.

Moore, Gordon E. Santa Clara, Calif.

Chairman, Intel Corporation (just recaptured majority share of computer chip industry)

Moores, John Jay Sugarland, Texas

Chairman JMI, Inc. (family investments); Chairman, Peregrine Systems (private software company); Founder BMC Software, Inc.

Mulloy, W. Patrick II Frankfurt, Ky.

Secretary, Finance and Administration Cabinet; Partner: Mulloy, Walz, Wetterer, Fore & Schwartz, Attorneys

Munnell, Alicia Haydock, Ph.D. Boston

Senior Vice President and Director of Research, Federal Reserve Bank of Boston; Advisory boards: World Bank, MIT, Economic Policy Institute and AEI; Co-founder of National Academy of Social Insurance

Munro, Don Hot Springs, Ark.

Chairman and C.E.O. of Munro & Company, Inc. (footwear)

Natori, Josie C. New York

President and Founder, Natori Company (since 1977); Former Vice President of Merrill Lynch (1971-1977); Boards: The Dreyfus Third Century Fund Inc., Manhattanville College, Phillippine; American Foundation, International Women's Forum

Nelsen, Virginia Bismarck, N.D.

Founder, Director and CEO, North Dakota Micro Business Marketing Alliance, The Alliance is a model product development and marketing project, showcasing rural North Dakota products.

Nusbaum, Karen Cleveland, Ohio

Executive Director of 9to5, National Assn. of Working Women; President of District 925/Service Employees International Union; Co-author of Solutions for the New Work Force

Nuzum, Janet A. Washington, DC

Member, U.S. Trade Commission; Former House Ways and Means Committee staff

O'Neill, Paul Pittsburgh

Chairman, and C.E.O. of Alcoa; Former President, International Paper Company; Deputy Director of OMB (1974-77)

Oliver, Audrey Rice San Ramon, Calif.

President, Integrated Business Solutions, Inc. (provides systems integration, software development, and hardware and software procurement to companies and government entities); Developed Minority/Woman Business Enterprise participation programs for a variety of public transportation and utility and transportation agencies. (1974-1984); Founded the Boot Broker, a specialty shoe store in Denver.

Ong, John D. Akron, Ohio

Chairman and C.E.O., BFGoodrich Company (since 1979); Transformed BFGoodrich from primarily a tire and rubber manufacturer to a major producer of specialty chemicals, plastics and aerospace components; Chairman, The Business Roundtable

Ono, Dr. Ruth M. Honolulu, Hawaii

Vice-President, The Queen's Health Systems; Boards: University of Hawaii, Hawaiian Electric, American Savings Bank

Orvis, Lacene E. Indiantown, Fla.

CEO, Caulkins Indiantown Citrus Co. and Via Tropical Fruits, Inc.; Agricultural Committee Chair, Florida Council of 100

Osborne, David Boston

Fellow, Progressive Policy Institute; Associate, Council of Governors Policy Advisors; Books: Reinventing Government (co-authored 1992); Laboratories of Democracy (1988)

Otero, Jack Washington, DC

Vice-President, AFL-CIO; President of Labor Council for Latin American Advancement (LCLAA); Vice President of the Transportation and Communications Int'l Union (TCU); DNC Vice-Chairman for Voter Participation

Parsons, Richard D. New York

Chairman and CEO, The Dime Savings Bank of New York, FSB; General Counsel/Associate Director, Domestic Council (1975-77); Board Member: Fannie Mae; Philip Morris; Time Warner; Metropolitan Museum of Art; Rockefeller Brothers Fund; Howard University

Patricof, Alan J. New York

Patricof & Co. Ventures, Inc.; Chairman of Entrepreneurs for Clinton/ Gore

Payne, JoAnn Arlington, Va.

Founder of the National Women's Business Enterprise Association
Arkansas native

Pearlman, Jerry K. Minneapolis

Chairman, President and CEO, Zenith Electronics Corporation; With Zenith since 1971; Board Member: Chicago Museum of Science and Industry; Northwestern University

Pearson, Harry L. Hartford City, Ind.

President, Indiana Farm Bureau, Inc.

Pennington, Hilary Challen Belmont, Mass.

Jobs for the Future (since 1984)

Perez, Jorge M. Miami

President & Majority Owner, Related Companies of Florida Inc.; Former Vice President and Director, Land Use and Market Services

Perrignon, Janine San Francisco

Vice President and Manager, SBA Lending, Commercial Bank of San Francisco; Board member, National Association of Government Guaranteed Leanders Regional; Member, U.S. Small Business Administration

Perrin, Cheryl Portland, Ore.

Senior Vice President, Public Affairs, Fred Meyer, Inc. (124 large one-stop-shopping stores; \$2.7 billion in sales/year); Oregon Governor's Recycling Markets Development Council; Boards: Portland Regional Tri-Met Rail Advisory Council; "Transportation 2000 Commission;" Portland Urban League; Oregon A.C.L.U.

Piper, Kathleen Yankton, S.D.

Vice President, Pied Piper Flower Shop; Yankton Area Chamber of Commerce; Vice Chair, Yankton County Democrats; South Dakota Youth Advocacy Project; Former Yankton County Commissioner

Poling, Harold A. Dearborn, Mich.
Chairman and C.E.O. of Ford Motor Company; Worked for Ford since 1951

Pollack, Ron Alexandria, Va.
Founding Executive Director, Families USA (a national advocate for families on affordable access to health and long term care); Former Dean, Antioch School of Law

Popoff, Frank Midland, Mich.
Chairman, President and C.E.O., Dow Chemical; Worked for Dow since 1959; Boards: American Express; Chemical Financial Corp.; Dow Corning

Porter, Michael E. Cambridge, Mass.
C. Roland Christensen Professor of Business Administration at Harvard Business School (since 1973); President Reagan's Commission on Industrial Competitiveness; Books include: The Competitive Advantage of Nations; Competitive Strategy: Techniques for Analyzing Industries and Competitors

Prestowitz, Clyde V. Jr. Washington, DC
President and Founder, Economic Strategy Institute; Former Deputy Assistant, Acting Assistant and Counselor to the Secretary of Commerce (1981-86); Books: Trading Places

Raab, G. Kirk San Francisco
President and C.E.O., Genentech, Inc.; Former President and C.O.O., Abbott Labs

Rainer, Bill Greenwich, Conn.
Co-founder and Managing Director, Greenwich Capital Markets (1981-88); Kidder, Peabody and Co., Inc. (1971-1981)

Ratner, Bruce C. Brooklyn, N.Y.
President and CEO, Forest City Ratner Companies (urban real estate developer in NY); Developed MetroTech Center (Gov. Clinton visited during N.Y. Primary); Former head, N.Y.C. Department of Consumer Affairs (1970-73); Former N.Y.C. Commissioner of Consumer Affairs (1978-82)

Reed, Dr. Howard C. Little Rock, Ark.
Former Professor, University of Texas, Graduate School of Business; Books: The Preeminence of International Financial Centers

Reed, John S. New York
Chairman and C.E.O. of Citicorp (since 1984); Boards: Philip Morris, Monsanto Company, The Rand Corporation

Renge, Beth San Francisco
Trustee and Chair, The Legacy Fund of the Japanese American Citizens League; Boards: Japan Society of Northern CA.; California Leadership

Riady, James T. Los Angeles
Chairman, The Lippo Group (a federation of Banking & Finance, Investment Banking, Property, Insurance, Information Technology, and Industrial companies); Former director of the Worthen Bank of Arkansas

Rice, Linda Johnson Chicago
President and C.O.O., Johnson Publishing Co., Inc.; Executive Producer, EBONY/JET Showcase; Boards: Continental Bank Corp.; Bausch & Lomb Inc.; Magazine Publishers Assn.

Rivera, Dennis New York
President, Drug, Hospital and Health Care Employees, Local 1199 (100,000 members); Co-Chair, National Benefit Plan for Hospital and Health Care Employees (largest self-insured health care plan in the U.S.; \$260 million/year); Co-Vice Chair, New York State Democratic Party

Roberson, Roger Champaign, Ill.
Chairman and CEO, PFT/Roberson Corp.; Chairman, American Trucking Associations; Owner: Roberson Farms, Inc. (farming); Canyon Leasing Inc. (trailer leasing); Roberson Equities Inc. (Student housing); Member: Illinois State Chamber of commerce; Department of Employment Security Advisory Board.

Satrom, Katherine North Dakota
Owner of Satrom Travel & Tour; Former Public Relations Director
for Mary College; Former employee to North Dakota Governor Arthur A.
Link

Sawhill, Isabel V. Washington, DC
Senior Fellow at the Urban Institute; Director of the Children's
Roundtable; Director of a multi-year assessment of the Reagan
Administration's domestic policy initiatives; Books include:
Challenge to Leadership: Economic and Social Issues for the Next
Decade

Schaffer, Matt Sandpoint, Idaho
President and C.E.O. of Schaffer Corporation (international
finance and marketing consultant); Former Senior Vice President for
Policy of U.S. Export-Import Bank (1977-80); Former Assistant to U.S.
Defense Secretary Harold Brown; Former Assistant for Foreign Policy
and Defense for Carter campaign and transition; Books include:
Winning the Countertrade War, New Export Strategies for America
(1989)

Schneider, Dr. Thomas J.
President of Restructuring Associates Inc. (management consultants
on strategic planning, organizational and labor problems, employee
stock ownership plans); General Partner in O'Connor & Hannan law
firm.

Schofield, Seth E. Pittsburgh
Chairman, President and C.E.O. of USAir, Inc.; Boards: Erie
Insurance Group, Pittsburgh National Bank; Washington Board of Trade
and Flight Safety Foundation; Board Chairman of the Greater
Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce

Schorr, Lisbeth B. Cambridge, Mass.
Lecturer in Social Medicine at Harvard; Member, Harvard Working
Group on Early Life; Director, Harvard University Project on
Effective Services; Books: Within Our Reach: Breaking the Cycle of
Disadvantage (1988)

Schwartz, Bernard L. New York
Chairman and C.E.O., Loral Corporation (since 1972); Books: The
Future of the U.S. Industrial Base, Foreign Ownership of U.S. Defense
Companies: Where Do We Draw the Line?

Sculley, John Cupertino, Calif.
Chairman and C.E.O., Apple Computer; Former President and C.E.O.
of Pepsi-Cola

Shah, Niranjana S. Chicago
CEO and Co-founder of Globetrotters Engineering Corporation
(program development for minority and small business economic
development); Licensed professional engineer overseeing federal,
state and local agencies

Shalala, Donna E. Madison, Wis.
Chancellor, the University of Wisconsin-Madison; Former President,
Hunter College; Former Assistant Secretary for Policy Development, U.
S. Dept. of Housing and Urban Development; Board Chair, Children's
Defense Fund; Boards: Committee for Economic Development, Spelman
College, The Brookings Institution, Carnegie Foundation

Shanker, Albert Washington, DC
President, American Federation of Teachers (since 1974);
President's Council on Competitiveness

Shapiro, Andrew L. New York
24-year-old graduate of Brown University; attends Yale Law School
Author, We're Number One!

Shaw, David New York
Managing Partner, D.E. Shaw & Co.; Founder, Stanford Systems
Corporation; Member, Board of Governors N.Y. Academy of Sciences

Shockley, Brenda Yvonne Los Angeles
Executive Director, Community Build, Inc. (a community-based
response to the L.A. riots; supported by Maxine Waters; focuses on
the economic causes of the riots); Former President, Drew Economic
Development Corporation (a non-profit group)

Shuman, Stanley S. New York

Roberts, Brian L. Philadelphia
 President, Comcast Corporation (third largest cable TV operator; cellular communication service; largest independent Muzak franchisee); Member of Board and Executive Committee, National Cable Television Association; Boards: Turner Broadcasting System; QVC Network; Viewer's Choice

Robertson, Sanford R. San Francisco
 Founding Partner, Robertson, Stephens & Company (investment banking and venture capital firm); Director: The Tech Museum of Innovation

Robichaux, Jolyn H. Chicago
 Retired President & Chief Executive Officer, Baldwin Ice Cream Co.; Commissioner, Chicago Economic Development Commission; Works as nutrition consultant and fund-raiser for community projects

Rohatyn, Felix G. New York
 Senior Partner, Lazard Freres & Co. (corporate mergers and acquisition); Chairman, Municipal Assistance Corporation for the City of New York (directed restructuring of N.Y. City's debt during fiscal crisis of mid-1970s)

Roldan, Hipolito "Paul" Chicago
 C.E.O. of the Hispanic Housing Development Corporation; Former developer of low-income housing in Brooklyn; 1988 recipient of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Fellowship (spent \$100,000 of his prize money to establish a scholarship fund to help Latinos enter the community development field)

Romero, Ed L. Albuquerque, N.M.
 Founder, Chairman and C.E.O., Advanced Sciences, Inc. (environmental engineering and waste management); The President's Hispanic Advisory Committee and the Advisory Committee for Trade Negotiations for the Department of State; Delegate to the Democratic Convention

Rosen, Jack Alpine, N.J.
 Chairman, President and C.E.O., Continental Health Affiliates (since 1976); President, Danro Corporation (Real estate); President, Hazel Bishop Company (Consumer products); Member, Advisory Committee, House Trade and Competitiveness Task Force on Economic Policy; N.J. Governor's Commission on International Trade.

Ross, Dennis M. Tampa, Fla.
 President and C.E.O., Jim Walter Corporation (manufactures building materials); Former Deputy Chief of Staff to Florida Governor Bob Graham

Ross, Doug Bingham Farms, Mich.
 President, Michigan Future, Inc. (citizen organization to rebuild Michigan's economy); Michigan State Senator (1978-82); Director, Michigan Department of Commerce (1984-89); President, Corporation for Enterprise Development (1989-91)

Rubin, Robert E. New York
 Co-Senior Partner and Co-Chairman, Goldman, Sachs & Co.; Member: SEC Market Oversight/Financial Services Advisory Committee; Board of Directors, NYSE; Board of Trustees, Carnegie Corporation; Chair, NYC Host Committee, 1992 Democratic Convention

Russell, Herman J. Atlanta
 Chairman and C.E.O., H.J. Russell & Company, (construction, property management, concessions, and communications third largest minority-owned business in the U.S.) Boards: Georgia Power; Citizens Trust Bank; Wachovia Corp.; Atlanta C.O.C.

Sanchez, Tony Laredo, Texas
 Chairman and C.E.O., Sanchez-O'Brien Oil & Gas Corporation (private gas and oil exploration and development)

Sandler, Marion O.
 President and C.E.O., Golden West Financial Corporation and World S&L Association; (Golden West is the nation's third largest thrift); Appointee, The Glass Ceiling Commission, 1992.

Sandner, John F. Chicago
 Chairman of the Chicago Mercantile Exchange

Executive Vice-President, Managing Director and Member, Executive Committee, Allan & Company, Inc. Investment Bankers; Longest-serving member, Financial Control Board for City of New York (monitoring agency born out of NYC 70's fiscal crisis).

Simmons, Adele Smith Chicago
President, The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation
President- Hampshire College (1977-1989); Member: Union of Concerned Scientists (trustee since 1983); President's Commission on Environmental Quality (since 1991)

Sloan, Daphne A. Cincinnati, Ohio
Executive Director, Walnut Hills Redevelopment Foundation, Inc. (since 1985, the non-profit corporation revitalizes historic buildings with public/private partnership financing; also owns and manages 300 low cost housing units.)

Smith, Frederick W. Memphis, Tenn.
Chairman, President and C.E.O., Federal Express (Nearly \$8 billion per year in revenue)

Solow, Robert M. Massachusetts
Institute Professor, MIT Alfred Nobel Memorial Prize in Economics for 1987

Sombrotto, Vincent R. Washington, D.C.
President, National Association of Letter Carriers; Chairman, AFL-CIO, Standing Committee on Community Services; AFL-CIO: Vice-president; Executive Council (since 1981)

Sparks, Willard R. Memphis, Tenn.
Chairman & CEO, Sparks Companies, Inc. (since 1977: agricultural research and consulting firm); Co-owner: Refco. Inc. (futures commissions merchants), Vining-Sparks IBG (general securities), Storage-USA (real estate)

Spence, Roy M. Jr. Austin, Texas
Founder and President of GSD&M Advertising; Developed marketing strategies for Wal-Mart, Fannie Mae, Chili's Restaurants.

Spero, Joan Edelman New York
Executive V.P., Corporate Affairs and Communications, American Express; Former U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Economic and Social Council (Carter Admin.); Books: The Failure of Franklin National Bank; The Politics of International Economic Relations

Stafford, Kathleen Thousand Oaks, Calif.
Treasurer, Amgen Pharmaceutical, Inc. (the largest independent bio-tech company in the U.S.); (Note: She has expressed concern that a reformed health care system will frustrate the development of innovative new biotechnology)

Stephens, Warren A. Little Rock, Ark.
President and C.E.O., Stephens Inc.

Stern, Paula Washington, D.C.
President, The Stern Group (economic analysis/trade advisory firm); Former Chair, ITC; Boards: Westinghouse, Scott Paper Co., Dynatech Corp.

Stewart, Caryl Burlington, Vt.
President, Vermont Development Credit Union

Stiritz, William P. St. Louis, Mo.
Chairman, President and C.E.O., Ralston Purina; Started with Ralston Purina in 1964; Native of Jasper, Ark.

Stith, Rev. Charles Boston
National President, Organization for a New Equality; Senior Pastor, Union United Methodist Church, Boston.

Strange, Marty Walthill, Neb.
Program Director and Co-Founder, Center for Rural Affairs (since 1973); Focus on sustainable agriculture, rural economic development, federal farm program; Book: Family Farming: A New Economic Vision

Sturdivant, Mike Glendora, Miss.
Chairman MMI Hotel Group (MS, FL, GA, LA); Managing Partner of Due West Plantation; Board: Millsaps College; Democratic candidate for Governor of Mississippi 1983 and 1987

Sturgill, William B. Lexington, Ky.

Founder and President, Golden Oak Mining Company, L.P.; 40 years in coal mining industry; Co-Founder and former Chairman of the Board, Kentucky Coal Association; Former Kentucky Secretary of Energy

Summers, Lawrence H.

Chief Economist, The World Bank; Nathaniel Ropes Professor of Political Economy, Harvard (on leave); First social scientist awarded the N.S.F.'s Waterman Award for outstanding scientific contributions; Fellow, American Academy of Arts and Sciences; Member, Brookings Panel of Economic Activity; Board of Advisors of the Congressional Budget Office; Books: Tax Policy and the Economy and Understanding Unemployment

Sweeney, John J. Washington, D.C.

International President, Service Employees International Union; Elected to fourth 4-year term in April 1992; AFL-CIO roles: VP; Member, Executive Council; Chair, Health Committee; One of four dissenting members of the Advisory Council on Social Security Report.

Swensen, Lee Denver, Colo.

President, National Farmers Union; Vice-President, International Federation of Agricultural Producers

Tarr-Whelan, Linda Washington, D.C.

President and Executive Director, Center for Policy Alternatives

Tashjian, Vicki Wilmington, DE

President, Tashjian & Company

Teerlink, Richard F. Milwaukee, Wis.

President and C.E.O. of Harley Davidson, Inc. since 1988 (worked for H-D since 1981); In 1986, helped lead Harley Davidson back to public ownership

Tellep, Daniel M. Calabasas, Calif.

Chairman and C.E.O., Lockheed Corporation; Joined Lockheed as principal scientist for the X-17 missile experiments in 1955.

Tese, Vincent New York

Director of Economic Development for New York State, appointed by Governor Cuomo in 1985; Commissioner of the State Department of Economic Development; Chairman of the State Job Development Authority and the State Science and Technology Foundation; Vice Chairman of the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey; Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of the NYS Urban Development Corporation

Thayer, Bennie L. Capitol Heights, Md.

Chairman and C.E.O. of the National Association for the Self-Employed (NASE represents 300,000 small business owners); C.E.O. of Diversified Concepts, Inc.; Former owner of 7-Eleven and N-a-Minit franchises; Former Chairman of the National Business League of Southern Maryland State Chairman and National V.P. for membership of Rainbow Coalition 1984-90

Thomas, Franklin A. New York

President of the Ford Foundation (since 1979); President, the Bedford Stuyvestant Restoration Corporation (1967-77); Former chair, Study Commission on U.S. Policy Toward Southern Africa.

Thompson, Jeff Norman, Okla.

21 year-old sophomore at Oklahoma University; President and Founder of Peripheral Outlet; Sells computer memory upgrades in 50 states and 20 countries; founded company in his parents' basement at age 15.

Thompson, Kathryn G. Irvine, Calif.

Chairman and C.E.O., Kathryn G. Thompson Development Company; Real estate, construction, development in Southern California

Tisch, Thomas J. New York

Managing Partner, FLF Associates (an investment partnership)

Tobin, James New Haven, Conn.

Sterling Professor of Economics Emeritus at Yale University (At Yale since 1950); Member of President Kennedy's Council of Economic Advisors; Member, National Academy of Sciences; Nobel Laureate in Economic Studies (1981)

Tomich, Rosemary California
 Chair and President of the Hope Cattle Company; Chair and President of Livestock Clearing Inc.; Owner of A.S. Tomich Construction Company; Senior Executive and Director of Continal Culture Specialists Inc.; Founding director of Palm Springs Savings Bank

Tompkins, Susie San Francisco
 Co-owner of Esprit de Corp.; Corporate advocate of AIDS awareness and environmental responsibility

Torano, Maria Elena Arlington, Va.
 President of META, Inc. (one of top 200 Hispanic businesses in the U.S.); Majority interest in METEC (asset management), largest Hispanic contractor to the Resolution Trust Co.; Member, Hispanic Congressional Caucus Institute; Chair of the National Hispanic Leadership Institute; a director of the U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce; Bush appointee to bipartisan U.S. Commission on Minority Business Development.

Trumka, Richard L. Washington, D.C.
 President of United Mine Workers of America

Tull, John Earle, Jr. Lonoke, Ark.
 Rice, soybean, corn and wheat farmer; cattle rancher; Active with Farmers and Ranchers for Clinton/ Gore

Tully, Daniel New York
 President and C.E.O., Merrill Lynch & Co. Inc.

Tyson, Donald J. Springdale, Ark.
 Chairman of Tyson Foods, Inc.

Uribe, Charles New York
 Chairman of AJ Contracting; Led construction of podium for 1992 Democratic National Convention, and 1984, 1980 and 1976; other projects include NY Public Library, The Rose Building at Lincoln Center, The Dreyfus Corporation

Vagelos, Dr. P. Roy Rahway, N.J.
 Chairman, President and CEO, Merck & Co., Inc. (since 1985); Former cellular physiologist and biochemist, National Heart Institute; Member, President's Commission on Environmental Quality; Advisory Committee on Trade Policy and Negotiations; Trustee, The Rockefeller University; University of Pennsylvania; Danforth Foundation.

Vindasius, Julia C. Pine Bluff, Ark.
 Executive Director of the Good Faith Fund/Southern Development Bancorporation GFF targets low income entrepreneurs in SE Arkansas; modeled after Grameen Bank of Bangladesh. Former Assistant to Mary Houghton of the Southshore Bank of Chicago.

Wachner, Linda New York
 Chair, Pres, and CEO of Warnaco Inc (leading US apparel company) Only woman CEO of a Fortune 500 company. Advisory Committee for Trade Policy Negotiations under Presidents Bush and Reagan Commission on Workforce Quality and Market Efficiency under Reagan Board of New American Schools Corporation (appointed by Bush)

Walsh, Michael H. Houston
 Chairman and C.E.O. of Tenneco, Inc. since 1991 (natural gas pipelines, farm and construction equipment, automotive parts, shipbuilding, packaging and chemicals); Former Chairman and C.E.O. of Union Pacific 1986-91; Former U.S. Attorney 1977-80

Walsh, Michaela New York
 Chairperson, C.E.O., and Trustee, Women's Asset Management, Inc.

Wardlaw, William Los Angeles
 General Partner, Freeman Spogli & Co.

Wexner, Leslie H. Columbus, Ohio
 Founder, Chairman and President, The Limited, Inc., 1963; Director and Member of the Executive Committee of Banc One Corporation, Sotherby's Holdings, Inc., the United Way of America and several other foundations

Wharton, Jr., Clifton R. New York
Chairman and CEO, Teachers Insurance Annuity Association and College Retirement Equities Fund (TIAA-CREF); With assets over \$112 billion, TIAA-CREF is the largest private pension fund in the US; Became first African-American to head a Fortune 100 service company; Former President, Michigan State University; Former Chancellor, State University of New York system; Former Chair, Rockefeller Foundation; Boards: Ford and N.Y.S.E.

Wheeler, Jr., Thomas W. Duluth, Ga.
President and Owner, Wheeler/Kolb Management Company; Has worked for 20 years in all phases of real estate with concentration in shopping centers, from regional malls to specialty centers.

White, Sr., Alan Stamps, Ark.
Chairman Emeritus, Alan White Company; Founder of small business (furniture and upholstery manufacturing); now employing 400 people with over \$20 million sales; Gov. Clinton appointee as delegate to Carter White House Conference on Small Business; early Clinton advisor on small business; Arkansas Federal Liaison Officer, NFIB; Former President, Southwest Manufacturer's Association

White, John

Whitman, Marina von Neumann Ann Arbor, Mich.
Distinguished Visiting Professor of Business Administration and Public Policy, University of Michigan; Former VP and Chief Economist, General Motors; Member, President's Advisory Committee on Trade Policy and Negotiations (since '87); Commission on Presidential Debates (since '87)

Wiley, Dr. William R. Seattle, Wash.
Director, Pacific Northwest Division, Battelle Memorial Institute (a private research company in Washington state); Among the Institute's programs is operating the Department of Energy's Pacific Northwest Laboratory.

Williams, Claudine Las Vegas, Nev.
Chairman of American Bank of Commerce; Nevada Commission on Tourism; Travel and Tourism Industry Advisory Council (Senate Commerce Committee); First woman inducted into the Gaming Hall of Fame

Williams, Jim Ocala, Fla.
Long time citrus grower; Former Deputy Secretary of Agriculture 1979-81; Former State Senator

Williams, Lynn R. Pittsburgh
International President, United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO (since 1983); Advocate of workplace participation initiatives, implementation of employee stock ownership plans, and the multi-company Career Development Institute.

Wilson, Barbara L. Boise, Idaho
Idaho Vice-President, US West Communications; Only Idaho officer for 14-state telecommunications corporation responsible for directing public policy strategies; Board of Directors: Boise Area Chamber of Commerce; Idaho Association of Commerce and Industry.

Wilson, Julius William
Lucy Flower University Professor of Sociology and Public Policy at the U. of Chicago; Director of the Center for the Study of Urban Inequality at the U. of Chicago; Books include: The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, The Underclass, and Public Policy

Wolf, Stephen M. Chicago
Chairman and C.E.O., UAL Corporation/United Airlines; Former Chairman, President and C.E.O. of Tiger International, Inc.; President and C.E.O. of Republic Airlines (1984-86); Continental Airlines (1982-83)

Woods, Emily New York
President and Designer, J. Crew; Became president at age 28.

Wunnicke, Esther C. Anchorage, Alaska
Co-Chair of the Governor's Oil Spill Commission Commissioner of Alaska State Commission for Human Rights Board of the Pacific Northwest Pollution Prevention Center; Former Commissioner of the Alaska Department of Natural Resources Manager, Alaska Outer Continental Shelf Office, Bureau of Land Management

Wynn, William H. Washington D.C.

International President-United Food and Commercial Workers,
International Union, AFL-CIO & CLC; Board Member: A. Philip Randolph
Institute, Americans for Democratic Action, Center for National
Policy and Citizens for Tax Justice

Yang, Linda Tsao Davis, Calif.

Linda Tsao Yang & Associates (financial consulting firm); Former
California Savings and Loan Commissioner; DNC delegate in '84, '88,
'92

Young, John A. Palo Alto, Calif.

Retired President & Chief Executive Officer, Hewlett-Packard Co.
Board of Trustees, Stanford University

Yzaguirre, Raul Washington D.C.

President and C.E.O, National Council of La Raza (since 1978);
Founder: National Organization for Mexican-American Services;
Hispanic Association for Corporate Responsibility

Zachary-Reed, Denise

Economist, Alaska Department of Revenue - Oil and Gas Audit
Division

Zagelow, Bill Odessa, Washington

President, Washington Wheat Growers; Board Member: National Wheat
Growers; U.S. Wheat Associates; Odessa Trading Co.; Odessa Memorial
Hospital Former Member, Rural Transportation Task Force

Zah, Peterson (Hon.) Window Rock, Ariz.

President, The Navajo Nation (first elected Pres. in the Navajo
nation's history); Former Chairman, Navajo Tribal Council; Former
Exec. Dir. of DNA-People's Legal Services; under his directorship the
DNA took several cases to the Supreme Court, helping establish the
rights of individual Native Americans and the sovereignty of Indian
Nations.

Bob Dole

SENATE REPUBLICAN LEADER

Contact: Walt Riker
(202) 224-5358



Issues Update:

Dole News Clips:

- Washington's Top Republican *Baltimore Sun*
- Bob Dole, Head Republican *The Economist*
- Bob Dole Steps Into New Role: Top Republican *The Christian Science Monitor*
- Bob Dole: On Clinton, Economy, The GOP *The Salisbury Post*
- A GOP Leader Who Almost Wasn't There *Washington Times*
- When Clinton Is Ready To Deal, Will Dole Be Ready? *National Journal*
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- What Would You Do To Revive The GOP? *USA Today*
- President Bush Praises Senator Dole's Leadership *Senate Republican Leadership Dinner*
- Paul Tsongas On Senator Dole's Economic Leadership *Former Candidate, Paul Tsongas*
- The Republicans: Bob Dole As National Party Leader *The American Political Report*
- What About Bob? *The McLaughlin Group*
- Congressional Cooperation *Lawrence Journal World*
- Idled Press Corps Finds Bob Dole To Pick On *Iola Register*
- Dole Needed To Guard The Door *Caney Chronicle*
- Chicken-Counting *Topeka Capital Journal*
- Meeting The Health Care Challenge *Emporia Gazette*
- Hail The Laughing Reformer *Washington Post*

I'm enclosing some information that may be of interest to you. We'll keep in touch,

Bob Dole

BALTIMORE SUN

November 22, 1992

Washington's Top Republican

By JOSEPH R. L. STERNE

In the eternal struggle for power on Capitol Hill, Senate Republican leader Robert Dole emerges as the clear winner of the Nov. 3 election.

His position has been enhanced, ironic as it may seem, because his party lost the White House and remains very much in the minority in both houses of Congress. He now stands poised to be the most visible and influential Republican on the Hill since the days of Everett McKinley Dirksen.

The election results liberated Bob Dole. No longer does he have to play loyal lieutenant to George Bush, the fellow who beat him in a bitter New Hampshire primary in early 1988. ("Tell him to stop lying about my record," Mr. Dole snarled as he fell victim to a typical Bush negative ad campaign.)

No longer does he have to champion the Reagan-Bush supply-side economics theories that have quadrupled the national debt. (The Kansas senator tells this joke: "A bus filled with supply siders goes over the cliff killing all aboard. That's the good news. The bad news is that there were three unoccupied seats.")

Not all of Bob Dole's acerbic cuts are directed at fellow Republicans. Not by any means.

Hardly had the Democratic president-elect time to savor the voting returns on election night when Senator Dole was on the air to declare that "57 percent of the Americans who voted in the presidential election voted against Bill Clinton, and I intend to represent that majority on the floor of the U.S. Senate."

He claimed the allegiance of Ross Perot voters, saying he concurred in their deficit-cutting agenda. A few days later, he said "there are things we can do, if we feel it necessary in the national interest, to slow things down. And we'll be pre-

Joseph R. L. Sterne is editor of the editorial pages of The Baltimore Sun.

pared to do that, based upon what develops." Provided his caucus holds together, he can filibuster or put legislation "on hold" until the Clinton administration is ready to deal.

Although the *New York Times* quickly huffed editorially at "Bob Dole's politics of rancor," such an interpretation misses the personal elation the senator must feel as the suddenly anointed chief spokesman for his party.

"I am sort of looking forward to a little different opportunity," he commented by way of understatement. Nor does it take into account a lifetime record in which Mr. Dole's instincts as a partisan battler often are subordinated to the timeless congressional practice of quiet accommodation.

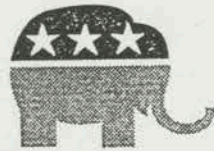
Two men who should know — former Senate Democratic leader Mike Mansfield and former Senate Republican leader Howard W. Baker — agree that Senator Dole's clout is enhanced as leader of a minority party on the outs.

"Not every Democrat in the Senate was happy when [Jimmy] Carter won in 1976," Mr. Baker told *The Sun*. "They were happier when the president was a member of the other party." That, he said, applies as well to Mr. Dole and today's Senate Repub-

licans.

Mr. Mansfield predicts that Senate Democratic leader George Mitchell will find his task more difficult and weighed down with more responsibility now that he has to steer an administration's agenda through to passage rather than oppose it.

Mr. Mansfield should know. He was Presidents John F. Kennedy's and Lyndon B. Johnson's majority leader during the turbulent Sixties. He said Mr. Dole's role is now very important as the "No. 1 Republican" and forecast that "he will act with



The election
results
liberated Bob
Dole.

more statesmanship than people expect."

This latter comment reflects Mr. Mansfield's relationship 30 years ago with Mr. Dirksen. At that time the colorful "wizard o ooze" enlivened Capitol Hill with his campaign to make the marigold the national flower, with his "Ev and Charlie" [Halleck and "Ev and Jerry" [Ford] Shows/cum press conferences in the Senate press gallery, and

his with memorable phrase that "the oil can is mightier than the sword."

Mr. Dirksen was indeed "Mr. Republican" in those days. He was the only man who could deliver the votes to pass landmark civil rights legislation in 1964 and 1965. And Mr. Mansfield himself poured enough oil on the Illinois senator to have him fulfill that role.

In the interval between Mr. Dirksen's death in 1969 and Mr. Dole's accession to the GOP leadership in 1985, two other Republicans served in that position — Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania and Tennessee's Mr. Baker.

Both men were were amiable, quiet and accommodating, seeking neither the showboat role of a Dirksen nor the point-man combative role of a Dole. Mr. Scott, a moderate and an intellectual, had to serve Republican presidents: Richard Nixon, who lacked the former characteristic, and Gerald Ford, who lacked the latter. Senator Baker had to deal with the Democratic Carter administration and, at severe cost to his presidential ambitions, dismayed the GOP right wing by pushing hard for the Panama Canal Treaty. Later, he suffered the usual eclipse when a member of his own party, Ronald Reagan, went to the White House.

Senator Dole's fate during the Reagan-Bush years was no better. An old-time conservative with a belief in a balanced budget, he had to go along with the supply-side, borrow-and-spend programs of these two Republican presidents.

Trying to reverse these policies, he had a big hand in the 1990 bipartisan budget agreement that put a cap on discretionary

***“The oil can is mightier
than the sword.”***

**EVERETT DIRKSEN
Senate minority leader**

spending. President Bush said during the past campaign that this agreement was a mistake; it's a good bet Senator Dole did not concur.

Now that he no longer has to look over his shoulder at the White House, how will Bob Dole operate as a relatively free agent?

He will often be unable to suppress the streak of anger that permeates his political persona. He will be meticulous, not condescending, in giving mention to Bob Michel, the genial House Republican leader on his way to retirement. He will cooperate with Bill Clinton when he thinks it is in the national interest, especially if the next president is as centrist as he professes to be.

But Bob Dole will be tough — and No. 1.

Since the election he has called for the pardoning of former Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger and others implicated in the Iran-contra scandal.

He has demanded an investigation of the special counsel's office conducting that in-

vestigation.

He was warned that if Mr. Clinton seeks to end the ban on homosexuals in the military by executive order it might “blow the lid off the Capitol.” He has told the president-elect to “slow down.”

And he has asserted that Republicans will look closely at Clinton nominees and be “very selective” in opposing any “bad legislation” coming from the White House. “We’re not going to be patsies and floor mats and rubber stamps.”

This is the stuff of the sound-bite and the quotable one-liner. But a searching look at the career of this 69-year-old Midwesterner, a man who fought his way up from humble beginnings and severe wounds in World War II, suggests that Mike Mansfield may be right — that with his new responsibilities Bob Dole will be more the statesman than people expect and will turn his party back to the center — a goal Senator Baker fervently endorses.

After Mr. Clinton met with congressional leaders Thursday, Mr. Dole said, “I’d give him credit for being realistic. I think he knows he’s got some constituencies out there that are going to have to hold their breath for a while.”

“We’re going to have a lot of areas of agreement, we’re going to have some areas of disagreement,” Mr. Dole said. “. . . But our common interest is in moving the country forward, about jobs, the economy, health care, deficit reduction, whatever it may be.”

Earlier in the week, at a party meeting in Wisconsin, Mr. Dole said, “The Republican Party must be the party of the the big tent. Let us be the party of inclusion.”

This is a code-language rebuff to the Pat Buchanans and Pat Robertsons of the party, the leaders of the nationalist right and the religious right who set a tone of exclusion at the GOP national convention in Houston last August.

It also may be the first bugle call for another run for the presidency. Bob Dole will be 73 in 1996, six months younger than Ronald Reagan was when he won a second term. He is as close to the center of the Republican Party today as anyone on the scene — a man who favors “lower taxes, lower spending, fewer regulations, less government and a strong and secure America.”

When asked the inevitable question, he says it is “too early to tell” but does not deny he is thinking about a 1996 presidential candidacy. This is smart politics. The higher his profile, the greater his potential, the more effective he will be as the country’s “Mr. Republican” until someone else comes along.

THE ECONOMIST

November 28, 1992

Bob Dole, head Republican

AT A tearful dinner on November 10th, a week after losing the election, George Bush did something rather noble. He turned to his host, Bob Dole, the Republican leader in the Senate and the man who ran a bruising campaign against him in 1988, and told him that he had earned the right to lead the Republican Party in the tough days that lay ahead.

In one sense this was nothing more than recognising the obvious. Of all the many Republican grandees already setting out their stalls as potential candidates for the presidency in 1996, or as candidates for the party's chairmanship in January, only one of them has a real job, and it is Mr Dole. Now that the run-off in the Georgia Senate race has gone the Republicans' way, Mr Dole controls a block of 43 seats in the Senate, two more than the number needed (under the Senate's strange rules of order) to block consideration of a bill. Where most other leading Republicans are calling their literary agents and looking for cushy billets in think-tanks, Mr Dole continues to enjoy his spacious, spruce quarters on Capitol Hill. Where others bluster, Mr Dole underlines whatever he says with a modicum of power.

And what he says is this: he is now the leader of the Republican Party. Moreover, "Nobody disputes that." At first glance, this is a little surprising. After all, Mr Dole is 69, a year older than Mr Bush (prompting one Republican to say that at the post-election dinner the president was "passing the torch to the same generation"). And Mr Dole does not easily fall into any of the three blocks of Republicans who are supposed to be battling for the party's soul. Although he says that many Christian conservatives are good Republicans, he is not about to let their narrow-minded leaders take over his beloved party. He is not a natural ally of "progressive conservatives" like Jack Kemp, Mr Bush's housing secretary, and Newt Gingrich, the Republican whip in the House of Representatives. As for those of the libertarian right—like Bill Weld, the governor of Massachusetts—who fondly remember their long-haired days, Mr Dole would probably turf them out of his office.

This distance from the factional fights within the party could, however, turn out to be Mr Dole's strength, especially if the deficit becomes a big political issue next year. Senate Republicans have traditionally been the most hawkish Washington group on the deficit. Some of them tried to persuade Ronald Reagan to take deficit reduction seriously in 1985, and Republicans like Warren Rudman from New Hampshire (who has just retired) staked their whole political career on the issue. Mr Dole supported them, and has long been prepared to consider raising taxes to reduce the deficit, sharply distinguishing himself from

younger Republicans in the House.

In taking this stand, Mr Dole is true to his roots. He comes from a modest background in Russell, Kansas, a town where everyone knows everyone else, and which boasts all the small-town virtues. It was here that Mr Dole was nursed back to health when he returned badly wounded from the second world war.

In places like Kansas, the deficit is an affront to traditional values of thrift and independence, which is one reason why Ross Perot did so well there. He won 27% of the vote statewide, and in Russell County Mr Bush beat Mr Perot by just 87 votes out of

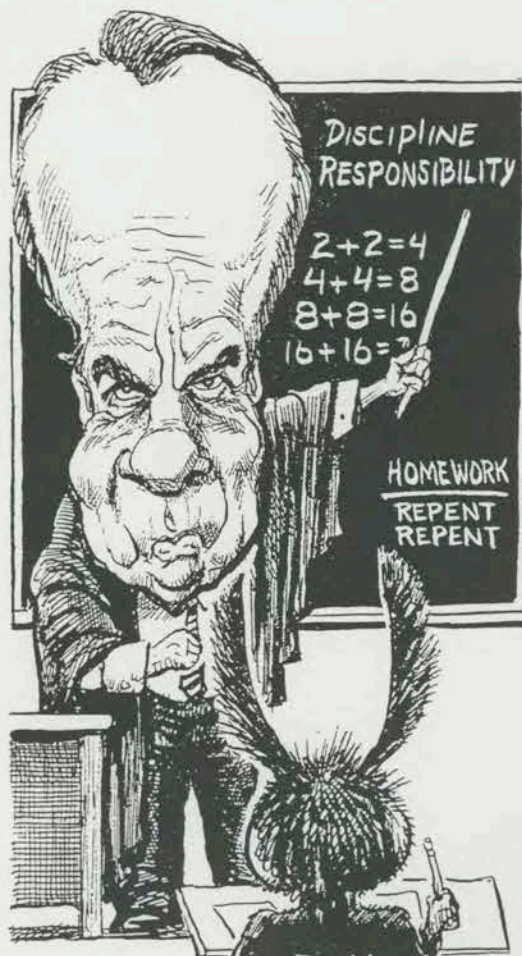
nearly 2,800 cast for the two men. Indeed, the Perot-Dole link goes deeper. They share similar folksy backgrounds, and both have an isolationist streak (though Mr Perot's is a lot deeper than Mr Dole's). Neither was exactly enthusiastic about the Gulf war. These points of contact could matter. If Mr Perot is seriously thinking of turning his 19% of the popular vote on November 3rd into something more lasting, the Republicans are going to have to provide someone to treat with him. Mr Dole is the obvious man.

In the shorter term, however, the central question is going to be not how Mr Dole deals with Mr Perot, but how he copes with Bill Clinton. Immediately after the election, Mr Dole seemed to relish the challenge, saying that he was going to fight for the 57% of the electorate who had voted against the Democrat. Later, during Mr Clinton's love-in with Washington, Mr Dole seemed to back away from such combativeness, leading some to think that he would settle for consensus.

Don't count on it. Mr Dole bites; he is a partisan Republican who has a little list of things over which he would relish a fight. It includes striker-replacement legislation, the family-leave bill ("a tax on business") and statehood for Washington, D.C. He knows that Mr Clinton's support in the country is not

overwhelming; indeed, he thinks that the Republican Party nationwide is in pretty good shape. And he knows that in 1994 the Democrats will have to defend twice as many vulnerable Senate seats as the Republicans. A bit of a fight in the next two years might prepare the ground nicely for a serious Republican run at the White House in 1996.

Yes, but by whom? Well, do not assume that the Republican majority leader thinks that his party's next presidential candidate should be anyone other than the senior senator from Kansas. Mr Dole always says that the three years he spent in hospital make him younger than he really is. Washington tends to dismiss such talk as the musings of yesterday's nearly-man. But the plain fact is that of all the Republicans in town, he is the only one who can look forward to both fun and power tomorrow.



THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

November 23, 1992

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Bob Dole Steps Into New Role: Top Republican

By Paul R. Wieck

ONCE elevated by the voters to the role of his party's top elected official, Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole (R) of Kansas, quickly found his voice and a new purpose in politics after a long season as the chief backup man for occupants of the White House. Early indications are that Senator Dole will thrive in his new situation.

Dole was quick to signal that he sees it as a dual role of Republican watchdog and chaperon to President-elect Clinton for the four years ahead, leaving the door open for the kind of partisan confrontation Dole excels at but George Bush disliked.

Dole told Senate Republicans at a post-election caucus that their strategy would be to help Clinton when he's right, fight him when he's wrong.

He quickly united Republicans behind him by giving voice to the partisan anger they feel over the release four days before the election of a new indictment of former Defense Secretary Casper Weinberger in the Iran-contra case, plus a memo which hurt President Bush at the end of the campaign.

Bush aides claim this stopped his surge in the polls and Dole wants an investigation of the timing of the indictment.

It was a master stroke, given the fact that a lot of conservatives, especially those around Jack Kemp, were writing off Dole and his colleagues as "the last gasp" of the moderate wing of the party.

Dole's decision to take a lead role imitates a similar move by Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell (D) of Maine, a mild-mannered but intensely partisan man who played a major but unheralded role in bringing down Bush over the last four years by reviving the memory of the GOP as "the party of the rich."

Senator Mitchell's predecessor as majority leader, West Virginia's Robert Byrd, refused to be a partisan leader. But, though he didn't telegraph his moves, Mitchell had no qualms about partisanship.

To label the GOP as the rich man's party, Mitchell led the filibuster that killed

a cut in the capital-gains tax in the fall of 1989. He called it a "tax cut for the rich" and enlisted the support of House Speaker Thomas Foley (D) of Washington in setting up a Greek chorus of lawmakers who repeated that slogan each time they looked a TV camera in the eye.

The label stuck and, over the next three years, Mitchell and his allies regularly reinforced it.

So did Bush. Every time the TV cameras zeroed in on Bush sitting in his golf cart dismissing the recession, or waving at reporters from his cigarette boat, Mitchell's "tax cut for the rich" resonated through the electorate's psyche.

What will Dole's Greek chorus chant?

If being the "party of the rich" is the soft underbelly of the GOP, certainly the Democrats' reputation of being the "tax and spend" crowd is their Achilles heel. Dole must have been turning the possibilities over in his mind when he told his fellow Republicans their strategy would be to back Clinton when he wants to do the right thing, fight him when he doesn't. And, as Dole envisions it, offer a Republican alternative.

It fits the script most people are reading from these days - a new president under pressure to come up with the new approaches to old programs he promised, but hampered by the demands of the special interests within his own party for a massive infusion of federal money into new urban programs, into education and AIDS research and, most important of all, into a costly new health-care plan.

Dole will enjoy befriending the beleaguered Clinton if he stands up to his party's special-interest groups. It would be the best of political theater: the understanding adversary who's anxious to stand shoulder-to-shoulder with the new, inexperienced president as his own followers tear at him. If Clinton caves in to the interest groups, Dole will have something to say about that, too.

Mitchell didn't try to convert his success as majority leader into tagging a bid for his party's presidential nomination. But Dole has hinted he hasn't ruled it out.

■ Paul R. Wieck is a Washington-based reporter.

The Salisbury Post

Serving historic Rowan County, North Carolina, since 1905

Sunday, November 29, 1992

Bob Dole: on Clinton, economy, the GOP

Bob Dole has some advice for President-elect Bill Clinton:

Don't worry about the economy. It may be on the way up, all on its own.

Dole, who has represented Kansas in the U.S. Senate since 1969, leads the Senate majority and will be the top Republican in Washington after the Bush administration leaves town.

Dole, 69, was in Salisbury last week to spend Thanksgiving with the family of his wife, Elizabeth "Liddy" Hanford Dole, president of the American Red Cross.

He took time to share some views on the Clinton administration, Bush's campaign, the economy and what Republicans can hope to accomplish over the next four years.

Here's an edited transcript of

"It's not just our role, in my view, just to stand up and say 'Well, we're against this.' If we don't have any ideas ourselves, we're out of business. So we'll be offering, hopefully, substitute, alternative plans."

— Sen. Bob Dole



his interview with The Post's Elizabeth G. Cook, Steve Bouser and Jim Hurley:

Q: How do you feel about the Clinton administration?

A: Well, I think they're right in a period now where it's pretty easy. But I think they're off to a pretty good start. I think he's doing the right things. He's been around

to touch base with Congress and he's got a pretty good transition team.

Warren Christopher and Vernon Jordan are high-class, good people, very knowledgeable.

Q: You emerged right out of the gate as sort of the spokesman, it seemed like, for the Republican Party. Do you intend to maintain that visible kind of a role?

A: It seemed to me that just the way things worked out I was more or less the spokesman, myself and Bob Michel (House minority leader).

And I want to make it very clear right up front what we thought we needed to do. We only had 43 of us in the Senate out of 100, but that's enough to make a difference from

time to time. So I'll probably be fairly busy the next year or two.

It's different when we don't have all the resources now we had when we had our administration. And of course, they control Congress as well as the administration. So it's going to be a more difficult job to come up with facts and figures, debating points and things of that kind. Before, we just called the Pentagon or get information or call White House, whatever. But there will be some opportunities along the way.

Q: Is there going to be a honeymoon period here for awhile?

A: I think it's on right now. And certainly there won't be any problem. I don't believe, in confirming all his cabinet posts. We try to do that fairly quickly. As he said during my visit with him, you know he hasn't been very specific yet.

He may want to wait until the end of the year to see what the economy does in last quarter before they start any big plans for short-term stimulus and it might add to the deficit a lot, which in my view, wouldn't be a very good way to go.

Q: Were you surprised about the election results?

A: Maybe a little. It didn't feel good to me. I'd been traveling a lot. In October, I was in about 25 states. I was running myself so we really had a lot of chances to see people in North Carolina and Georgia and Vermont, Alaska and everywhere we went. There just didn't seem to be the enthusiasm out there.

Q: What do you think happened to Bush? Did he do something wrong in the way he campaigned?

A: Maybe not the way he campaigned, but I guess if you have to go back and find something, it probably was just not recognizing, not being sensitive enough to the recession.

I think President Bush himself was getting the best advice you can get as a president and his economic advisers and everybody else say it's getting better, we can see the signs. But when you're out of work or lost your job or something like that, that's not very reassuring.

So maybe he was just a little late getting into that mode. And I think there was sort of a feeling out there, well, he doesn't care about us. That's not the case. I think President Bush is a pretty caring person. But that was the perception.

Obviously, the economy is what made the difference. And had we had this good economic news six months ago or three months ago, but that's too late.

Q: Some people suggest that Clinton has sort of lucked into a pretty good situation.

A: I think he gets a pretty good break right up front. Then, they're already some of them saying, "Well, it's because of Clinton." Well, it's not really true, because all these are things that happened in October before the election.

But there's still a lot of problems out there. We've still got a deficit out there to deal with. We had a meeting with the president-elect and my view was that

obviously, we're the minority party. There are not many of us but there are certain things we can do to influence legislation. And if he really wanted to deal with the deficit, he'd get a lot of help from Republicans, probably more than he'd get from some of his liberal Democrats.

Q: What do you think he ought to do about that?

A: Well, he was telling me, which he said publicly many times, he thinks he ought have a short-term stimulus package and a long-term deficit reduction package. If the economy is actually getting stronger, I'm not certain why he wants the short-term stimulus package because you're just going to add to the deficit.

And I don't know what he's going to have in that short-term stimulus package, maybe an investment tax credit, maybe some other things to help business.

But in the campaign, he never really mentioned much about anything except cutting defense. And there's one little program out there called the Honey Bee Program he mentioned and taxing upper income Americans. Those are sort of the pillars of his economic plan.

I'm not sure you're going to get there that way. Because you're going to have a lot of resistance to cutting defense too much more than Gen. (Colin) Powell and (Defense) Secretary (Richard) Cheney have recommended.

Q: Speaking of defense, where do you come down on the issue of gays in the military?

A: My advice to Governor Clinton was to go very slow on that. They ought to poll the people in the military. They're polling everybody nationwide, but they ought to poll the young men and women who serve in the armed forces. I think they'd have a very strong, strong reaction to that.

And I agree with General Powell. It's not a good idea.

If I were Clinton, I wouldn't go in and force all these hot buttons right now. I think I'd pick out, maybe fetal tissue research, which I happen to agree with, and go ahead and do that and do a couple others where he's got a pretty good support base out there.

Q: What about the gag rule (that keeps federally funded clinics from mentioning abortion)?

A: I think we can modify that to satisfy most everyone too.

Q: What will be the minority's main objective when Congress gets back in session?

A: I think first of all, we have to wait for specifics, find out precisely what he has in mind and we'll have, hopefully, constructive alternatives.

It's not just our role, in my view, just to stand up and say "Well, we're against this." If we don't have any ideas ourselves, we're out of business. So we'll be offering, hopefully, substitute, alternative plans. We may not have the votes. We may attract some votes.

We're not just going to try to cause a lot of mischief and make it very difficult for Clinton.

But keep in mind, a lot of people didn't vote for him. So they kind of hope that somebody's out there with some other idea. He got 43 percent, which means 57 percent voted for Bush or Perot. Obviously, the electorate was saying we didn't want Bush because he only got 38 percent, but they weren't much more excited about Clinton. So I think I said election night I'm going to reflect the views of the 57 percent that voted for Bush and Perot.

Some of the liberal papers and others went bonkers on that statement. The New York Times hasn't come back to earth yet, and The Washington Post.

But my view is that certainly you congratulate the president-elect, which I did, and you wish him well, but you just don't submerge all your attitudes and ideas and say, "Well, whatever he wants. We don't care how bad it is," because they're a lot of people out there on the other side and they're not all Republicans or Democrats or Independents or small business people who are worried about a big tax for health care. That's another hot button coming down the tracks.

But we had a good visit with Clinton and he understands. He never had to deal with many Republicans in Arkansas.... He talked about how he worked with Republicans and I said, "Yeah, but you didn't work with very many." In Arkansas, I think there are six state senators and 10 house members out of 100.

Q: The local Perot supporters say it's not over. They're staying together and they're still trying to organize. Do you think that Perot is going to have any kind of lasting effect on American politics?

A: I'm trying to get a meeting with Perot right now, just to sit down and visit. And I know him, not well but fairly well. And I tried to get him to endorse some Republicans running for the Senate. I don't think he did that. He told me he didn't want to have any adverse impact on the Republican Party.

I don't know. I think if the organization is going to continue, he's going to have to put some money into it. And he's put in now, what, about \$60 million? That's a lot of money. I don't know what his plans are. I think he's going to wait and see and certainly give Clinton some time to see what develops.

I think one thing to give him credit for was getting people to focus on the deficit. Maybe the medicine he prescribed nobody wanted, but at least he was talking about it and talking about your kids and your grandkids.

Q: Do you think there might be a place for him in the Clinton administration?

A: I don't know. They asked, I guess even before the election, and they sort of danced around it. But Perot's got a pretty good-sized ego and I don't know where you put

him. If he was sort of the economics czar, I think he might take it, but I'm not certain if he'd take anything else.

Q: You're being described as the guy who will be the most powerful Republican in Washington with the new administration. Are you going to run for president next time?

A: I don't know. I'm getting too old, maybe. But my view is you sort of take one thing at a time and see if we're effective. I may turn out to be a terrible leader. I've got to keep 43 Republicans pretty much together and we have different ideas and different philosophies.

Q: But you're not ruling out that possibility?

A: No. If I did, it'd be one term. I'd adopt the Perot strategy — do the hard stuff and get out. I'll take a look at it in a year or two and see how my health is.

Q: Fairly or not, you've been characterized in the past as the attack dog of the Republican Party. Is that going to be your style as the loyal opposition?

A: Senator (George) Mitchell and I have talked a lot about this. He's the Democratic leader and I'm the Republican leader. You've got to be a certain degree partisan or you're not going to be the leader if you can't get up and espouse the Republican view or he can't get up

and talk about the Democratic view.

Of course, he's got a different role. Now, he's got to defend Clinton like we had to defend our administration. So I've got the easy role. I get to go out there and take all the free shots.

My view is you've got to have a certain amount of that to rally the troops. I've had hundreds and thousands of letters from what I said on election night and just a lot of people are out there with tears in their eyes. When you lose, even though you're not the person that loses, if you're strongly identified with the Republican Party or Democratic Party, it's pretty sad out there.

So we're going to do a certain amount of that and we're going to bring in business people and others to consult with us and try to reach out and broaden the base of our party. We can't be an exclusionary party. We can't tell people they have to take a litmus test to be a Republican, whether it's on abortion or anything else. So I think there are some real opportunities to be a positive force. There are some times obviously, we just have to stand up and fight.

The Washington Times

December 2, 1992

DAVID KEENE

A GOP leader who almost wasn't there

In the days following the election, I must have talked to several dozen Republicans around the country. Most of them were still a little dazed. They had known in their heads that the Democrats were going to win on Nov. 3, but they all hoped, like the president himself, that when the voters actually had to choose they wouldn't risk turning everything over to the Democrats.

So when the results were announced they didn't know quite how to react. It was clear early that President Bush couldn't win and by mid-evening they thought they were witnessing a sweep that would leave their party powerless and, perhaps, rudderless once the new president took office.

It didn't turn out to be quite as bad as they had feared, of course, but it was bad enough. The network anchors interviewed Republican after Republican who hadn't been able to swim against the tide, Bush operatives who seemed to be in shock themselves and gleeful Democrats celebrating the demise of the GOP. As the evening wore on, Republicans sat gloomily in front of their televisions, their despair deepening.

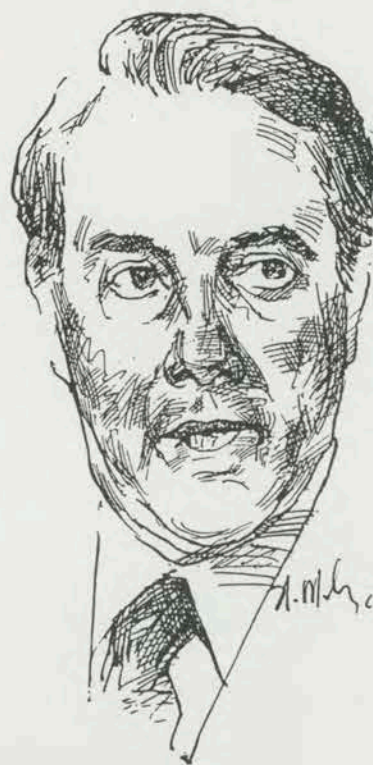
And then, according to virtually

everyone I talked to, a funny thing happened. The cameras focused on Bob Dole who had just been overwhelmingly re-elected in Kansas but already seemed prepared to unite and lead his colleagues during the impending Clinton era. He was calm, but made it clear that it wasn't over.

He reminded everyone that Bill Clinton was not receiving an overwhelming mandate, that the Republican message remained viable and that he and others weren't going to vanish or roll over for the Democrats. The message wasn't profound, but it cut through the gloom and gave Republicans hope when there didn't seem to be any.

In the days that followed, the Kansas was everywhere. He was on the Sunday programs, the radio and in every newspaper with the same message. He had been the majority leader under Republican Presidents and in almost hopeless minorities under Democrats, and he knew that, bad as it was, there was work to do and a fight to be fought. Republicans who had almost forgotten Bob Dole quickly rallied and began thanking their lucky stars that he was there when they needed him.

What few of them realized is that he almost wasn't there. A few years ago, Mr. Dole actually considered resigning his seat and then debated whether he really wanted to run for another term. He sensed that after losing what may have been his one real shot at the presidency in 1988



and realizing in the wake of the 1990 election results that he might never again lead a majority in the Senate that it was all going to be downhill for him.

Those were tough days for Bob Dole. He and George Bush had never been what you would call fast friends. Mr. Bush had snatched the GOP nomination from Mr. Dole in 1988 in a struggle that was as personal as any we have seen in recent years and no one could blame Mr. Dole if he resented him for it.

It was remarkable, then, to watch Mr. Dole in the Senate once his rival

moved into the White House. He carried the president's water more loyally than anyone who knew the two men would have dreamed possible. He fought for Mr. Bush's programs and defended him against a hostile Democratic majority. It was a performance that perhaps should have been expected from a man who had always seemed to be able to put his party's interests above his own, but few did expect it.

It couldn't have been easy, but he didn't quit. I suspect that distasteful as some of what he had to do might

have been, he knew it had to be done and that he could do it better than whoever might take his place.

During the four years of the Bush presidency, Mr. Dole and Mr. Bush seemed to develop a mutual respect for each other. The president's tenacity once he finally realized he was in political trouble coupled with Mr. Dole's unshakable loyalty led to the almost tearful exchange on the Hill a week or so after the election with both men openly admitting that they'll miss working with the other.

Bob Dole may never be president, but the immediate future of the Republican Party is in his hands. There will be a lot of talk over the course of the next few months about emerging presidential hopefuls and dozens of columns written about the fight for the soul of the GOP and the contest for the party chairmanship, but the leader who Republicans will look to is the one man in a position to stand toe to toe with a Democratic administration.

The good news from Bill Clinton's perspective is that Bob Dole won't let his partisanship override his patriotism. He and his colleagues are

already preparing to work with the new administration in areas where there is bipartisan agreement, but they will be a formidable force where agreement is lacking.

The GOP has a lot of able men and women waiting in the wings. There are Jack Kemp and Phil Gramm, both already cycling each other as they prepare for the next presidential contest. There are Bill Bennett, Dick Cheney and his wife Lynne and others like Trent Lott, Pete DuPont, Tommy Thompson, Bill Weld and John Engler. These are people with ideas, energy and a future. One of them might some day even make it to the White House.

But today the only national Republican with real clout is Bob Dole and in politics that's what it's all about. He's the one Republican Bill Clinton will have to deal with and worry about every day. When he half jokingly warned the president-elect that he intends to chaperon him on his honeymoon, the folks in Little Rock had to realize that he is the one guy who can ruin both the honeymoon and the marriage if they aren't careful.

Bob Dole may never be president, but the immediate future of the Republican Party is in his hands. The only national Republican with real clout is Bob Dole.

National Journal

November 28, 1992

WHITE HOUSE NOTEBOOK

WHEN CLINTON IS READY TO DEAL . . .

. . . WILL DOLE BE READY TO TALK?

Bill Clinton and Robert Dole. The 46-year-old disciple of John F. Kennedy with the aw-shucks grin and the 69-year-old partisan sniper with the perpetual scowl. If the President-elect is renowned for his talents as a charmer, it is hard to imagine a legislator less susceptible to charm than the Senate Minority Leader.

They met the other day, one-on-one, tête-à-tête, in Dole's chandelied suite just off the Senate floor, around the corner from the Ohio clock. No reporters were present, but the short visit apparently went well. Dole's account was diplomatically respectful of the President-elect—notably at odds with his posture toward candidate Clinton.

During the campaign, Dole, who suffered a crippling arm injury in World War II combat, obligingly inserted into the *Congressional Record* a six-page guide prepared by Bush-Quayle operatives on the zigs and zags of Clinton's military draft history. "Now, let me be clear," Dole said in a Senate floor speech in early September. "The fact that Bill Clinton avoided military service and did not go to Vietnam are not the issues here. The real issues now are trust, confidence and credibility—and on these critical standards Bill Clinton is flunking the test." A source who knows Dole said, yes, the Kansan harbored pretty intense feelings about Clinton's maneuverings to escape service.

President Bush, of course, said similarly snide things about the Arkansas governor. But Bush is history. Dole is now Washington's most important Republican—and that makes him a very important person in Clinton's life. Dole laid out the welcome mat in a typically flinty (and quotable) comment just after the election. "The good news for Bill Clinton is that he's getting a honeymoon in Washington," he deadpanned. "The bad news is that Bob Dole is going to be his chaperon." Dole also said that 57 per cent of the electorate voted against Clinton—and added, "I intend to represent that majority on the floor of the U.S. Senate." *The New York Times* returned fire with an editorial headlined "Bob Dole's Politics of Rancor."

Change-agent Clinton ostensibly came to Washington to change the culture in which people such as Dole thrive. The Doles—the Kansas Senator and his wife, Elizabeth H.—are practically an institu-

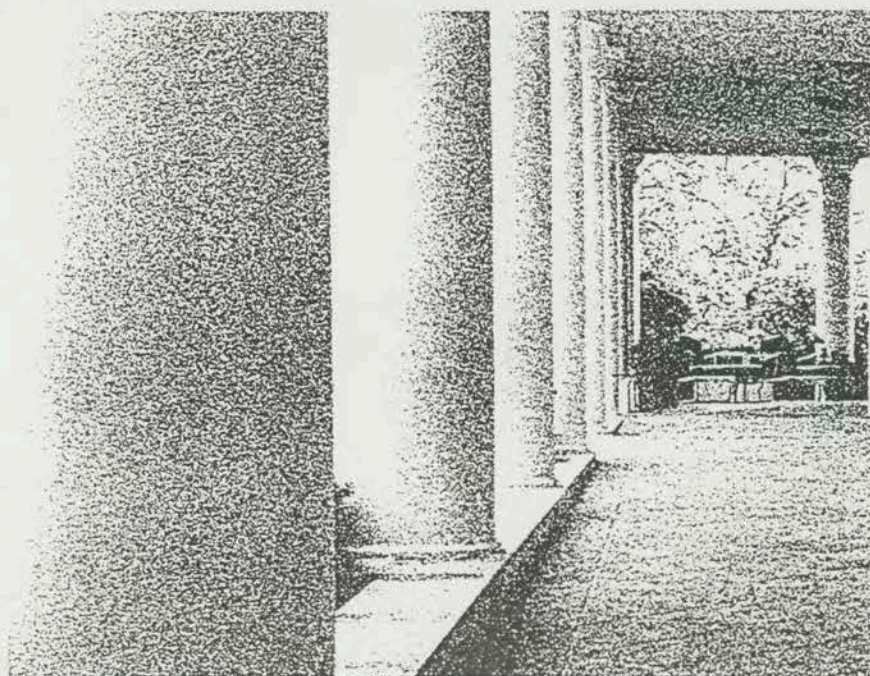
tion in this town. They've lived for years in a ground-floor apartment of the Watergate Hotel complex; they hobnob with a see-and-be-seen crowd of bigwigs from the political, financial and journalistic elites; they're insiders who enjoy all the perks of power—threads in the tightly woven fabric of establishment Washington. If not Clinton (who has already displayed an appetite for hobnobbing himself), then maybe one of his power-to-the-people buddies from the antiwar movement, such as transition-adviser Derek Shearer, will sooner or later take a swipe at Dole. Certainly Clinton hasn't had much experience with the Doles of the legislative world; in Arkansas, Republicans are about as numerous as seagulls.

But if there's potential for collision between Clinton and Dole, there is also potential for cooperation and compromise. Although Clinton didn't have to pay much attention to Republicans in Little Rock, he showed a flair for getting to yes with plenty of balky Democrats. That he's mindful of Dole's status was confirmed by his putting the Minority Leader on his short list of courtesy calls on his Capitol Hill pilgrimage.

And Dole, for all of his partisan fervor and irrepressible orneriness, is a true legislator. That is, unlike some of his colleagues, who have little appetite or talent

for the arduous task of shepherding a bill through Congress, Dole actually likes to legislate; it stirs his juices. He works very hard at it; he's good, very good, at it. In fact, some veteran Hill observers say nobody, all of the Democratic barons of the House and Senate included, is better. "A terribly complicated guy," a Republican admirer called Dole, "and probably the best legislator, in terms of putting together packages and steering them through." A Democratic source in Washington added, "Bottom line: He is more pragmatic than ideological."

Dole began legislating as a member of the Kansas House in 1951, when the President-elect was 5 years old. His record over the years is studded with impressive accomplishments, including numerous brokered deals with Democrats on politically contentious issues. Dole was a key player, for example, in one of the few occasions of meaningful, responsible bipartisan cooperation on fiscal matters over the past dozen years: the rescue of the near-insolvent social security system in 1983. He served on the President's bipartisan National Commission on Social Security Reform and, as Senate Finance Committee chairman, helped steer a compromise through Congress that included an increase in employer payroll taxes. Two years later, as Minority Leader, Dole championed a freeze in



social security benefits as part of a deficit reduction budget package.

If Clinton studies Dole's record, he'll find an old-fashioned, balance-the-budget, fiscal conservative. None of the Laffer curve stuff for Dole—not now and not when it was fashionable. After the election, Dole told the same good-news, bad-news joke he's been telling since early 1982 about devotees of supply-side economics—those who believe that the total tax take can be increased by cutting marginal tax rates and thus stimulating economic growth. The good news, Dole said, is that a busload of supply-siders just went off the cliff; the bad news is that there were three empty seats.

Of course, as a good Farmbelt Republican, Dole much prefers spending cuts to tax increases. A few months ago, the non-partisan Watchdogs of the Treasury Inc. presented him with a record 18th Golden Bulldog Award for efforts to cut spending and pare waste from the budget.

All this should be a red flag to Clinton, who these days is talking up a fiscal stimulus package of spending increases and tax cuts to revive the weak economy. Dole isn't likely to agree to any such package unless it also contains a credible component for reducing the deficit, according to Robert E. Lighthizer, Dole's former Finance Committee staff chief who is now a partner in the Washington

office of the New York City-based law firm of Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher and Flom.

Moreover, Clinton would be well advised to bring Dole early into the process of developing an economic package, Lighthizer said. "My sense is that if he [Clinton] puts together a Democratic package, and then calls Dole and says, 'Are you for it or against it?' then the odds of Dole and the Republicans being for it are extremely small. Our comment, when we were putting together legislation for the Reagan Revolution, was that if you want me in the plane when it lands, you better put me in the plane when it takes off."

Arithmetic perhaps suggests that Dole doesn't need to be taken *that* seriously. After all, Democrats hold almost 60 per cent of the Senate's seats. Why not just ram things past the Republicans and not care how bitterly they complain?

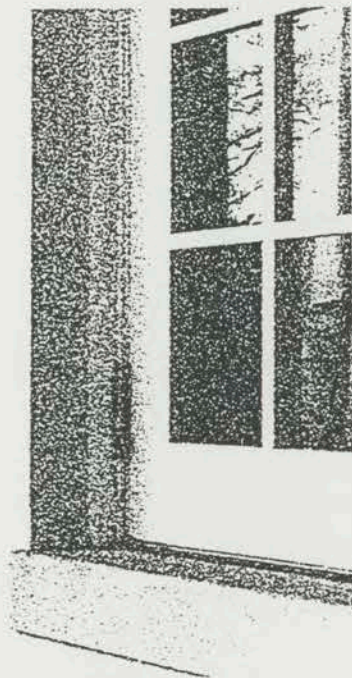
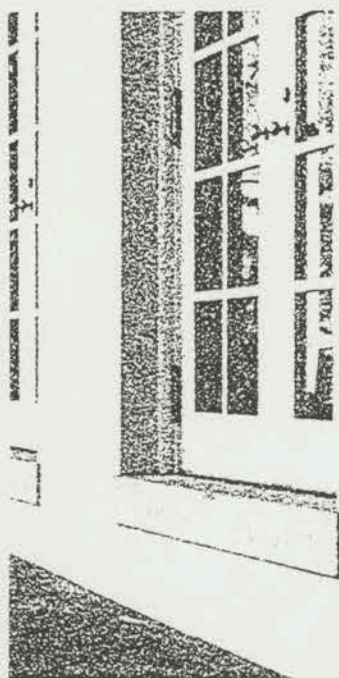
In the House, that strategy can and often does work. But the Senate's traditions and parliamentary procedures accord the minority much greater power than in the House. A single Senator can hold up a bill. It takes 60 Senators to shut off a filibuster. "We can talk about things a long time in the Senate," Will Feltus, staff director of the Senate Republican Conference, mused maliciously. "We can examine things very carefully."

Dole could actually prove very useful to Clinton in blunting what are likely to be sharp demands on the new President's time and energies by impatient-for-action Senate Democrats and interest-group lobbyists aligned with the Democratic Party. If he's having a tough time saying no to his friends—and this is by many accounts a big Clinton problem—he can instead say something like, "Bob Dole just won't go for that." A Democratic source, who admires the President-elect and wishes him well, said: "I do think he'll find that his worse problems are with the liberals in his own party. He might find it useful to form a coalition with moderate Republicans."

Lighthizer concurred. A skillful President could use Dole to "sand the edges off of the fringes" of the Democratic Party, he said. "I would put together a [fiscal] package with the moderate Democrats and the Republicans—and the fringe Democrats I would try to deal with in noneconomic ways"—with social policy initiatives that don't cost any money. When Dole headed the Finance Committee and was readying a package for floor action, he would say no to favor-asking Republican Senators by warning of the threat of liberal Democrat (and ace parliamentary obstructionist) Howard M. Metzenbaum of Ohio. Now Clinton may have the Republican equivalent of Dole's Metzenbaum in Dole himself.

Clinton needs to be wary of Dole and the Republicans, no doubt. Anger about Senate Democrats' election-year tactics to embarrass Bush runs through the Republican cloakroom. Senate Republicans haven't forgotten the treatment meted out to their former colleague, John Tower of Texas, whose nomination for Defense Secretary in 1989 ran aground on the shoals of Democratic talk about booze and broads. A Clinton nominee could run into a get-even buzz saw. And watch for Republican mischief when the resolution to raise the debt ceiling comes up early next year.

Don't expect the Dole bunch to stick their necks out. "It's their deficit now," Republican leadership aide Feltus, formerly communications director for the Bush-Quayle campaign, said of the Democrats. "They've got to show political leadership." Still, if three-plus decades of legislating offer any guide, when Clinton is ready to deal, Dole will be ready to talk. ■



U.S. News & WORLD REPORT

NOVEMBER 30, 1992

■ U.S. NEWS

Learning to play defense

On Capitol Hill, Dole and the Republicans reinvent themselves

Bob Dole, street-smart in the ways of Washington, is still sizing up his new adversary. When the Senate Republican leader first called to congratulate Bill Clinton, a staffer returned the call. (Strike 1.) Then the president-elect himself called. "I've followed your career and know you're tough," Clinton told Dole. "Lloyd Bentsen said you're tough and that I've got to be tough. But he also said you're a man of your word." (Home run.) "I hope I am," said Dole. "That's what it's all about around here." Dole's verdict: "Smart guy."

And so it begins: The president-elect makes his way to Capitol Hill, pointedly stroking leaders of the Republican minority while they politely vow to work with him. But just beneath the pre-inaugural glow lurks a loyal opposition-in-waiting, figuring out the best way to appear helpful while staking out fertile political territory. While the national Republican Party openly engages in philosophical fratricide as it picks a new chairman, the congressional wing hopes Clinton will provide reason enough to unite the GOP in Congress. "What's the alternative?" asks Sen. Alan Simpson, Dole's lieutenant. "We've got to sit down and sober up." To Trent Lott of Mississippi, a new member of the Senate's GOP leadership, the strategic essence is simple. "When Clinton does right, you commend him. When he does bad, you bash his brains out—and nobody can charge disloyalty." The political calculus:

■ **Reinventing Republicans.** Without a Republican president to follow, Dole & Co. have been "turned loose," as the leader puts it. But will the GOP members now turn on each other? The argument over the deficit, for instance, pits Dole's deficit hawks against House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich's supply-



Loyal opposition. Dole and Michel are the point men.

siders; the abortion conflict is also bound to surface, since all of the 28 newly elected women in Congress favor abortion rights. Dole is actively donning the mantle of Ross Perot, telling *U.S. News* that "I might consider it [the presidency] for one term to straighten [the deficit] out" if Clinton fails. For now, at least, leaders like Dole and Lott are happy to make the deficit the Democratic bogymen. "We're going to rub his nose in it," says Lott. "Now it's theirs."

■ **Follow the Tip O'Neill rule.** If Clinton wants to emulate Ronald Reagan's successful first term, Republicans figure they might do well to mimic former House Speaker Tip O'Neill—who happily gave Reagan "enough rope to hang himself," then went on to lead the Democrats to a 26-seat gain in the 1982 election. Some Republicans winced when Dole first attacked Clinton's meager mandate. ("You can't take the Freddy Krueger out of him," says one House Republican.) So Dole has toned down, partly out of self-interest. "You just can't be obstructionist," he says. "You won't have anybody with you then." The X factor: the Clinton-Dole relationship. Reagan and O'Neill were Irish pols, neither with much interest in specifics; Dole and Clinton are legislative deal makers, down to the details. But

if vulnerabilities surface, Dole will pounce.

■ **The laying of the markers.** Early olive branches aside, Republicans know they can't roll over. At an initial Senate GOP leadership meeting, Lott urged his colleagues to propose a set of alternatives on the issues they expect Clinton to push—campaign finance reform, parental leave, health care, even economic growth and the deficit. Republican presidential wannabe Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas told *U.S. News* he will offer his own plan to balance the budget in early January, based on Jimmy Carter's idea of "zero basing"—writing a budget from scratch each year—and that he expects to discuss it with Carter. Republicans already balk at public-works projects; Gramm complains that "\$20 billion for big-city political machines" is no reason to bust the spending caps. House Republicans say they will not vote to extend

the \$4 trillion debt this spring without first voting on a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced budget.

■ **When all else fails, filibuster.** For most Republican leaders, Clinton is a blank slate. Dole met him once at a governors' conference; House Minority Leader Bob Michel hadn't met him until last week. "How will he end the gridlock?" asks retiring Minnesota Rep. Vin Weber. "Does he honor his pledge to build a centrist party, or let the liberals rule?" Once Republicans figure Clinton out, they may be closer to finding their own political equilibrium. If the Democrats have to govern, the Republicans need to do more than just filibuster. Yet that may be their only practical tool as the opposition. In the Senate, the Republicans have more than the 41 votes needed to block legislation—but they know that if they overdo the urge, they could be blamed for creating gridlock.

And so they wait for Clinton to make the first move. Some advice to the president-elect from the loyal opposition: Paste a note on a mirror that says, "We all know what we have to do to get it right," urges Simpson. Then do it. That is what the voters ordered. ■

BY GLORIA BORGER

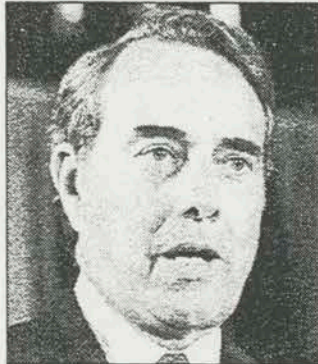
USA Today

November 19, 1992

What would you do to revive the GOP?

Bill Clinton's victory and Ross Perot's strong showing have forced Republicans to review what went wrong. Republican governors this week wrapped up such a postelection gathering in Wisconsin. USA TODAY's Sharon Shahid asked several party leaders where the Grand Old Party goes from here.

Offer alternatives and broaden party's base



By Tim Dillon, USA TODAY
Dole

Bob Dole is the Senate Republican leader from Kansas:

The Republican Party is not on life-support and does not need to be "revived."

The Republican Party was *not* wiped out at the polls on Election Day — we gained seats in the House, held our own in the Senate and made dramatic gains in state legislatures across America.

Faced with a Democrat in the White House and a Democrat majority on Capitol Hill, we should cooperate with the new administration when we feel it is in the best interests

of the nation.

When the Democrats steer off course, however, Republicans must do more than oppose and more than compromise. We must offer principled alternatives — Republican solutions — which we feel better address our nation's challenges.

These solutions must flow from our basic Republican principles of lower taxes, lower spending, fewer regulations, less government, individual empowerment and a strong and secure America.

It is those principles which brought us the White House in 1980

and which kept us there in 1984 and 1988. And it's those principles which will bring us back in the future.

At the same time, we must continue to broaden the base of our party. It doesn't take a wizard to determine that we're not going to win elections if we create litmus tests for party membership.

But don't get me wrong — while we must be inclusive, we can't lose our mainstream identity in the process. There is no appetite in America for a flavorless political party.

I'm confident our party's best days are yet to come.

PRESIDENT BUSH PRAISES SENATOR DOLE'S LEADERSHIP
SENATE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP DINNER
NOVEMBER 10, 1992

I am always going to be grateful to the Senate leadership. The support has been superb. ... But I want to single out Bob Dole, because this is a remarkable leader. It's well known that he and I went head to head in tough primary days long ago, but the beautiful thing is -- and I think it speaks, anybody that studies government can learn from all this -- here's a guy that took on this role of leader, and working with a President with whom he had done combat in the past, but subsequently we became again fast friends, but he never ever put his own personal agenda ahead of the agenda of the President. And that's kind of the way it ought to work when you have the White House.

But the lovely thing about it is the way he has conducted himself subsequent to, as Winston Churchill said, receiving the Order of the Boot that I have received. ...

I was watching Bob very carefully, and I've watched others, and the tendency when there's a defeat of this magnitude, of this hurtfulness and of this enormity, is to criticize, to find somebody to blame. And regrettably, some Republicans, and certainly many Democrats, have fallen into this marvelous second-guessing trap, figuring it all out and analyzing to the detriment of somebody else, and tearing down somebody in order to ooch yourself up a little with your wisdom. Not Senator Dole. From the minute the election results were in, he has been courageous in standing up against the common wisdom, saying nice things about the President, and Dan and Barbara, and all of this.

In addition, he has shown where the leadership really is now in this country in terms of party. It can be in Bob Michel over in the House, but because of the numbers, it's more apt to rest on Bob Dole's shoulders.

And I think people understand it, I think they respect the way he has assumed, without arrogance, without any kind of bitterness, a significant leadership role to hold our party together. So people can look to him, and look, of course, to the results that will be coming out of the Senate, and then under Bob [Michel's] leadership what'll come out of the House.

The idea that this Party has seen it's demise -- and I love these little analysts, these media that I tried to annoy, and failed -- to hear them analyze it all, you'd think that history had been indelibly writ, that the Party is out of here. I don't believe it for one single minute.

And the thing that I've admired and respected about Bob is the way he has, without arrogance, taken on this mantle of leadership that he has earned through his years as leader up here on the Hill, and said "Look, we're here to do battle, we're here to do what's right for the country. We're going to be with you when we think you're right, and we're going to stand on principle when we think you're wrong." And that's exactly the way it should be, and I can tell you, it's made it an awful lot easier for [Barbara and I] as we contemplate a future without politics, but look over obviously with some distress and some angst over what has transpired one week ago tonight.

So, Bob, there is no way that we can ever adequately say "thank you" to you, but you watch -- the country is going to say it in plenty of ways in the troubled and tough days that lie ahead. So, I am grateful to you.

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FORMER DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE PAUL TSONGAS ON SENATOR DOLE'S ECONOMIC LEADERSHIP

TSONGAS URGES CLINTON TO MAKE ECONOMY TOP PRIORITY

by the Associated Press

November 4, 1992

BOSTON -- Former Democratic presidential hopeful Paul Tsongas said Wednesday that Bill Clinton's political future hinges on how he addresses the nation's economic woes when he takes office in January. ...

The former Massachusetts senator said Clinton should immediately work for support in Congress so he can begin tackling the mounting federal deficit during his first months in office. ...

"If I were Bill Clinton, Job No. 1 would be: Reach out to (Senate minority leader) Bob Dole and cut a deal on the deficit," Tsongas told an audience of about 150. ...



CNN INTERVIEW WITH SENATOR PAUL TSONGAS

December 7, 1992

BERNARD SHAW: Last week, Republican leader Bob Dole of Kansas said that if those good economic figures had come out one month earlier, George Bush would have been reelected. What say you?

PAUL TSONGAS: Well, I think it would have been closer, and it wasn't all that much of a battle. **But the fact is what George Bush was never able to do, which by the way, Bob Dole was able to do, was to articulate to the American people an economic strategy.**

If you went out, and as you know, I was out continually, and you said to people, what is the George Bush economic strategy to bring this country back, nobody could answer that question. And I think what you saw in 1992 was a desperate call for change.

It's always been my view, and I've said this for years, if Bob Dole had defeated George Bush and become president of the United States, Bob Dole today would have been reelected.

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The American Political Report

THE REPUBLICANS: BOB DOLE AS NATIONAL PARTY LEADER

It's logical enough...and Dole's emergence in this role, based on his own national-figure status going back 16 years, the clout of the 42 or 43 GOP Senators he'll captain in 1993-94 and old foe George Bush's post-election willingness to anoint him, could be a larger-than-expected force in 1993-96 U.S. politics and policymaking. He'll move the deficit issue front and center, infuriate Jack Kemp and the supply-siders and keep in touch with Ross Perot...but there's very little chance that the Kansan himself can be the actual 1996 GOP nominee. Here are the key considerations and factors to watch:

1) The Senate as the Washington GOP Power Center: This, too, is logical. Under Dole, the upper house should have that role more clearly than at any point since 1951-52, when Truman was president and a Senate with 47 Republicans (out of 96) was the GOP's strongest base. Since then, during periods when the Democrats held the presidency, the Senate usually had *under* 40 GOPers...except after the 1978 elections when the number climbed to 41. But although then-GOP Senate Leader Howard Baker made the GOP weight felt, Dole is more combative by nature. Moreover, since the ranks of GOP senators are widely expected to grow from 42 or 43 to 46-48 in the 1994 mid-terms, that adds to the Senate GOP's current and potential clout. Parenthetically, Dole is also bolstered by the GOP's relative weakness in governors and in the U.S. House. Not only are both categories weak in overall numbers, but they lack rival national-level figures like Dole.

2) Dole as an Old Rather than New Republican: There's paradoxical strength in how Dole's politics look backward to the eras of Nixon, Ford and Reagan when the GOP presidential majority was coming of age. His Republican politics are the old variety, spurning the splintering new "isms" of Kemp, Quayle, Buchanan, Weld, Robertson et al. And he's the last big-name Republican who — to an extent — can transcend

these emerging divisions. Following Bush's collapse, Dole is also more acceptable than before to the GOP's Ford-Bush element. Finally, while Dole's new role won't attract young conservative intellectuals, he will attract some old Nixon-Reagan era strategists and politicians — from John Sears to Lyn Nofziger — who were contemptuous of Bush but may stay somewhat interested in a Dole-dominated GOP.

3) The Dole/Perot Axis: Score this as his third unique qualification. Dole brings to his new de facto GOP leadership position a better relationship with Perot than almost any other prominent Republican. Indeed, right after the election Dole talked about speaking for the 57% who voted against Clinton...Perotists and Republicans alike. For most GOPers, that'd be ridiculous because they don't share enough of Perot's views, but Dole does. Like Perot, Dole has broad populist, I-was-a-poor-boy, insult-the-lobbyists (Dole called them "Guccis" versus Perot's "alligator shoe" crowd), economic nationalist and neo-isolationist streaks. The two also have a particular overlap in their shared concern about the deficit. Dole's state was one of Perot's best on Nov. 3, and Perot carried 5 Kansas counties. Keep in mind also that back in the winter of 1990-91, when Perot was disgusted with Bush going to war to rescue the Emir of Kuwait, he took his concerns to Dole, who shared some of them. In short, Dole has credibility with Perot and sensitivity to Perot-type themes. More to the point, if Clinton neglects these issues, Dole is far better equipped than most Republicans to fill the gap.

4) Dole and the Deficit: The GOP senator's old image as a deficit-focused "root canal" Republican underscores the issue where Dole in particular — and GOPers in general — will make their biggest pitch for the Perot vote. Deficit reduction is the Perot theme that's least-controversial for Republicans, and it's sure to be a major pivot of GOP attacks on Clinton.

... If Clinton becomes vulnerable in 1993-94 — and it's premature to say — we'd guess that it wouldn't be on policy wonk issues but on gut issues and quasi-populist attacks that Dole can handle and Bush couldn't. ...

The McLaughlin Group

November 29, 1992

Panelists: *Fred Barnes, Jack Germond*
Morton Kondracke, Eleanor Clift

◆ ◆ ◆

JOHN MCLAUGHLIN: Issue three: What about Bob? Kansas Bob. Bob Dole, that is. The Kansas senator is back, and back big. As Minority Leader of the U.S. Senate, Dole is emerging as today's most powerful Republican. Dole is an old-time Republican, in the mold of Nixon-Ford, and a 24-year veteran of the Senate. This month he was reelected to a fifth term, with 64 percent of the vote. Dole's status as senior Republican statesman gives him the life and the heft to transcend the factions that are splintering the GOP, the factions of Kemp, Weld, Robertson, Quayle and Buchanan.

Then there's the Dole-Perot connection. Of all the eminent Republicans, Ross Perot gets along best with Bob Dole. Perot did very well in Kansas in the presidential election, coming in third with 27 percent of the vote. Perot carried five Kansas counties. Dole is close to Perot on many issues. Both hate lobbyists. They share economic nationalist and neo-isolationist outlooks. Both are deficit hawks.

If [the] President ignores any of these issues, Dole will be there, flanked by Perot, ready and willing to point out Clinton's campaign promises.

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MORTON KONDRACKE: As the most aggressive, one of the most funny, one of the most imaginative and outspoken, he will be a tough opposition leader for the Republicans."

MR. MCLAUGHLIN: Who is the leader of the Republican Party?

MR. KONDRACKE: He is. He is.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: Wait a minute. Do you agree that he is a leader?

JACK GERMOND: He is certainly the leader in Washington. He is certainly the leader by virtue of position. ...

FRED BARNES: President Clinton is going to need Bob Dole on a lot of issues, or else he's going to be brutalized by the left of his own party. Look, Bob Dole is the top elected official in the Republican Party. ...

◆ ◆ ◆

MR. McLAUGHLIN: The question is this. Does it serve the Republican Party better for Bob Dole to be a confrontational figure in the United States Senate and in the party? I ask you Fred Barnes.

MR. BARNES: Look, they're going to be both, depending on the issue. They'll cooperate on some issues and confront on others, depending on what Bill Clinton does. He holds the card.

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MR. McLAUGHLIN: Which is better for the Republican Party, a confrontational or a cooperative Bob Dole?

MR. GERMOND: I think it depends on the issue, and Dole is smart enough to know which ones are which.

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Lawrence Journal World

November 9, 1992

Editorials

Congressional cooperation

Over the weekend, a senior Democratic senator who is likely to play a significant role in the upcoming Congress and Clinton Administration was heard to say, "Bob Dole shouldn't be so negative. He and the Republicans should be supportive and helpful to Clinton. The country is in serious trouble, and we've got to work together."

If Dole had been present, he would have had every right to say, "Senator, why is it now important for me to cooperate and to help Clinton, be 'supportive' when the past record of Democrats in the Senate has been to fight George Bush every step of his presidency? Why are Republicans supposed to be cooperative and helpful when you and members of your party have been so critical and hostile to the Bush legislative efforts?"

It is difficult to understand why Clinton is supposed to have received a "mandate" when he captured less than 50 percent of the popular vote. Also, it is difficult to understand why now, all of a sudden, there is supposed to be cooperation and understanding and a joint Republican-Democratic effort to allow Clinton to move ahead, unopposed in his legislative agenda. Why is it just after the election that Democrats seem to suddenly be aware there are major and severe international problems while they spent the entire election period trying to make Americans think the only issue of any significance is the domestic "economy." Democrats said Bush's recognized skills and respect in international affairs should not be viewed as a significant election factor.

It is hoped Bob Dole will do a superb job as Senate minority leader and be helpful to the president when such a posture is called for. However, he should fight as hard and as effectively as possible to oppose the president when he attempts to turn this country into a socialistic society and when his policies would weaken Uncle Sam's military posture and respect in foreign countries.

If Dole and his fellow GOP senators are supposed to be helpful, cooperative and understanding now that Clinton is about to move into the presidency, why didn't the Democratic senators calling for such actions have the same motivation during the Bush years or the Reagan-Bush years?

It is almost a sure bet Democrats will try to picture Dole as being a negative, mean obstructionist, unwilling to help Clinton fight the nation's ills. Strange how they try to pin such a label on Dole, but the same actions for the past 12 years by Democratic leaders who fought Reagan-Bush legislative efforts were said to be operating in the best interests of the country.

With Clinton in the White House and Democrats enjoying large majorities in the House and Senate, Dole and his small band of Republican senators do indeed have a major task in trying to protect the "best interests of the country."

Iola Register

November 13, 1992

Idled press corps finds Bob Dole to pick on

Bill Clinton isn't talking. George Bush went fishing. With the White House empty, headlines are hard to come by. That's where Bob Dole came in handy to the Washington press corps this week.

Why not help the senator with some serious advice on how to be a political leader?

Sure. Unless one would rather teach Ross Perot how to make money or lead the Pope into deeper religious faith.

Sen. Dole, the pundits pontificated, shouldn't be so partisan. Really? What kind of party leader is non-partisan?

Dole is now the highest elected Republican public official in the country. Partisanship is his job.

Still the advice spills out: If Dole is too abrasive, too insistent on having his own way, then he won't be an effective leader in the Senate and will be ignored by the Democrats.

The operative words in these complaints are the superlatives. Dole won't be "too" anything. He'll turn in a balanced performance, as he always has in the House and Senate, and continue to be effective with the Democrats while he keeps Republican ranks focused.

No, he isn't perfect. Yes, he takes politics very seriously and doesn't try to hide the pain and frustration he feels when his party suffers defeat. Passion fuels Bob Dole's engine. Perhaps no one be-

comes a world-class competitor without it.

If he weren't a Republican of passion, a True Believer, he would not have been on Gerald Ford's ticket as vice-president, served as national chairman of the party or been encouraged to run for the presidency in 1984 and '88.

And if he had not mastered the subtle art of working with the opposition party while offering strong leadership to his own, then those best able to judge his skills and personality would not keep electing him to be their leader.

EDITORIALISTS do no harm by telling Dole how to be a better politician. He'll read their stuff and might even agree with a little of it. But it is instructive to observe that he's a lap ahead of these volunteer advisers.

By the time they told him to cool it, he already had.

"As the leading Republican," he said on Tuesday, "I want President Clinton to succeed and will work with him when his programs are in the best interests of the nation. Where we can't agree, I will offer constructive alternatives to help solve our nation's challenges."

Class A political statesmanship.

Republicans across the nation can rest easy. Bob Dole will give them intelligent, spirited leadership in the U.S. Senate for these next four years.

Caney Chronicle

November 11, 1992

Dole needed to guard the door

Bob Dole could well be the saving factor for conservatives in America.

With Bill Clinton moving into the White House and both houses of Congress controlled by Democrats, the country can expect to see every imaginable liberal cause pushed to the hilt over the coming few months and years. Already the voices are being heard from those who helped get Clinton elected, and one might get the feeling that we're in for majoring restructuring of laws, court cases and bureaucratic regulations.

Not so.

John Kennedy and Jimmy Carter both learned the hard way that the keys to the Oval Office don't open many doors on Capitol Hill. While Americans are excited about major changes in government, especially if new jobs are created in the process, they will still frown unapprovingly if homosexual rights, cart blanche abortion, mandatory unions, nationalized health care and hefty tax hikes are in the deal.

They will write letters or call their congressional representatives and senators when these programs and their price tags are announced, and daily battles will transpire up and down Pennsylvania Avenue.

That's where Dole will come in. Our senior Kansas senator has become the most powerful Republican in the nation, and nothing---good or bad---will make it into the law books without his nod. Sure, the Democrats have enough votes in both

houses to pass any bill they wish, but Dole has worked both sides of that senate aisle long enough to hold colossal influence in both parties. And, over the months to come when extreme measures are proposed, Dole will fuse conservative Democrats together with his block of Republican stalwarts to foil chances for passage.

Place one mark in the column against the argument for term limits. Without 24-year senate veteran Dole, the next four years could be an all-out rush to socialize, liberalize and of course, over-tax our nation. With the balance of powers---something Ross Perot apparently never studied in school---a president, whether conservative or liberal, cannot ram his proposals down the throats of congress. The checks and balances in our American system of governance will ward off extreme measures being enacted by a giddy albeit well-intentioned administration.

No doubt, Dole himself will be tempted to run for the presidency in 1996---and he would be an asset to the office. But he should waive his own political ambitions to remain stationed at the door of the Senate where even Bill Clinton must tip his hat upon entering.

So, let the proposals fly. Certain big changes are needed. But don't be surprised if the truly ludicrous stuff gets booted out, and rightfully so. After all, Bob Dole was in the trenches long before Bill Clinton was born.

-RMT

Topeka Capital Journal

November 7, 1992

Chicken-counting

Arkansas may be justly famed for poultry production, but if Bill Clinton had any inclination to count his chickens early, Bob Dole swiftly disabused him of that this week.

In half a dozen Wednesday interviews, the de facto head of the Republican Party was quick to note that Clinton "got some good news and some bad news last night. The good news is, he's getting a honeymoon in Washington. The bad news is, Bob Dole will be his chaperone."

The Senate Republican leader pointed out that 57 percent of the American voters cast their ballots against Bill Clinton Tuesday, and "I intend to represent that majority on the floor of the U.S. Senate. If Bill Clinton has a mandate, then so do I."

Does that presage confrontation rather than cooperation for a Clinton White House?

Dole says not necessarily.

"I will cooperate with the new administration if it advances the best interests of our nation, but Republicans will

offer common-sense alternatives on the most important issues confronting America: health care, the deficit and jobs," Dole said.

If a Republican wins the run-off in Georgia, the GOP will have 43 members in the Senate, matching Clinton's percentage of the popular vote. They should have about 173 House seats when the counting is over. And since they are no longer harnessed into George Bush's team, Bob Dole and House Republican leader Bob Michel are certain to pursue their own agenda.

The whole scenario raises interesting possibilities. Clinton repeatedly disavowed the liberal wing of his own party throughout the campaign. Is he now to kiss and make up, or will he try to fulfill his pledge to be "a different kind of Democrat"?

If the latter, where does this leave the GOP Bobbsey twins? Are we to see Dole making common cause with such ancient ideological adversaries as Howard Metzenbaum and Ted Kennedy?

Or will centrists Dole and Michel and an equally centrist Democrat chief executive build a bipartisan coalition to assure fundamental change in the way the government deals with its citizens?

Paul Tsongas of Massachusetts, former Democrat presidential hopeful, remarked the other day that, "If I were Bill Clinton, Job No. 1 would be: Reach out to Bob Dole and cut a deal on the deficit."

In the afterglow of the election, there was a hint that many Democrats expected a swift return to business as usual, now that they are safely back in control of Uncle Sam's candy stand. Clearly, it is up to Clinton to show them otherwise, for if he doesn't, Dole will.



Emporia Gazette

October 21, 1992

Meeting the Health-Care Challenge

By Bob Dole
U.S. Senator, Kansas

HEALTH care deserves to be Issue No. 1 in the national spotlight this year, right alongside the federal deficit. Both are the priority issues for America. No doubt about it, with an election year raging on, there's been no shortage of talk about health care. But what happens after election day, when all the talk and finger-pointing are over and it's time to address this priority issue seriously? There will still be 35 million Americans without health insurance; there will still be the skyrocketing costs of health care; and there will still be a long-term and catastrophic-care crisis.

That's why it's important to cut through all the political noise in this campaign year, so we can take a serious non-partisan look at serious, non-partisan solutions.

We can begin by building on the strengths of our current health-care system, still the best in the world. We have the best doctors, the best nurses, the best technology, and the best hospitals.

But all this good news doesn't mean we don't

have problems. America is spending a staggering \$800 billion per year on health care and still not getting its money's worth. The challenge is getting the best return on our investment, and that means increasing access to the highest quality, affordable health care for everyone.

While no one has the perfect plan, a reform bill I introduced more than a year ago has been picking up support and now has the most co-sponsors of any plan before the Senate. It would rely on free-market reforms to improve our current system, starting with relief for small business, malpractice reform, insurance reform, and greater use of managed care. In all, more than 95 million Americans would benefit from tax credits and tax deductions to help offset their health insurance costs.

It includes:

■ **Tax Code Reform** — One of the best ways to help low-income Americans purchase health insurance is through the use of refundable tax credits. We must increase the tax deductibility of health insurance premiums for individuals who purchase their own insurance and for the self-employed. For others, the cur-

rent tax code allows individuals only a meager — if any — deduction for health insurance, and that must change.

■ **Expansion of Community Health Centers** — Federal funding of these centers has proven extremely effective in delivering better health care to underserved areas of America. These local centers help provide basic essentials, including check-ups and immunization shots for children. Experts say 7.5 million Americans could be helped by such centers during the next five years.

■ **Promotion of Managed Care Programs** — Imagine the savings in your annual health costs if a professional could tell you which programs you need and which ones you don't? And which insurance plan is right for you? That's why I am encouraging more Managed Care Programs where special coordinators cut costs and duplication with the advice you need to make the right decisions for you and your family.

■ **Small Group Purchasing** — Statistics tell us that 80 percent of the uninsured work in small businesses. That's why it makes sense to target incentives — not mandates — to employers so they can join with other small businesses to obtain cost-effective health care benefits for their workers.

■ **Insurance Market Reform** — Insurance companies should be prohibited from calculating rates so that certain individuals can't get any coverage, such as those with pre-existing health problems. We must also address the continuing problem of "job lock," where a worker is locked into his job because he knows he won't be able to get insurance coverage if he leaves.

■ **Federal Preemption of State Mandates** — There ought to be a basic package of health-care coverage that is uniformly available in every state, instead of the present hodgepodge of insured and uninsured services. Some state mandates even provide coverage for non-basic services such as hair transplants, a policy that only jacks up costs. Federal preemption would permit insurers to offer the kind of basic service plans most Americans and small employers want and could afford.

■ **Medical Liability Reform** — In most states, malpractice insurance drives up the cost of

health care. Unfortunately, insured patients don't get much of a return on that extra investment; they get neither swift nor fair recovery. A single federal approach to medical malpractice insurance could go a long way toward fixing the problem.

Just as important as what my plan would do is what it wouldn't do: it wouldn't raise taxes or cripple small businesses with job-killing mandates and huge payroll taxes, and it wouldn't create new headaches with a system of government health insurance or a massive new bureaucracy to regulate prices and ration health care.

If enacted, the reforms listed above would not be insignificant — they would represent a major step forward. One year ago, this package would have been considered too ambitious, too hasty. Not anymore. The good news is consensus now seems to be at hand. And if all concerned parties will come to the table, we can do even more.

Finally, health-care reform won't be complete until we also address one of the most compelling problems facing us today — the extraordinary demand for affordable long-term care services. That's why two years ago I co-authored "Secure Choice" program, which would help make the right kind of quality long-term care available for more of our nation's seniors who suffer from the lasting effects of strokes, crippling arthritis, vision and hearing loss, Alzheimer's disease, or one of many other chronic conditions that render our loved ones incapable of taking care of themselves. I am hopeful that as the health-care debate continues to build momentum, this worthwhile solution to this important health-care challenge will get the attention it deserves.

The American public is entitled to first-rate health care at an affordable cost. The complete solution to our health problems may take several years. However, this should not be used as an excuse to do nothing in the short term.

The Washington Post

September 29, 1992

MARY McGRORY

Hail the Laughing Reformer

The last time I saw Joe Rauh in public he was, despite his age and infirmities, standing on the unforgiving marble floor of the U.S. Senate behind a red velvet rope. He was doing what he did best, lobbying for a cause, this time collaring senators to vote against the confirmation of Clarence Thomas. "I think we can stop him," he told me. "When they see . . ."

That was Joe. He never excused himself from any exertion on behalf of right. He never tired. And he believed all his long life (he died at 81 on Sept. 3) that if people were shown the facts and the reason, they would of course, choose to do the rational and progressive thing.

Sixty years in public life, with powerful evidence to the contrary, did not change his mind. He was highhearted to the end.

Almost everyone in Washington has memories of Joseph L. Rauh Jr. He was a synonym for courage and good cheer. He was a big, smiling, rugged, athletic type who loved life, the law, martinis, blondes—especially Olie, his wife of 57 years, and, like a teenager, Marilyn Monroe, the onetime wife of one of his most distinguished clients, playwright Arthur Miller. Rauh shattered the conservatives' stereotype of a liberal, a word that the Republicans have transformed into an epithet, although never for him.

On Sunday, Arthur Miller spoke at a memorial service for Rauh at the University of the District of Columbia, one of the innumerable institutions and causes that engaged Rauh's strenuous attentions.

"He lived the law," said Miller, "the law as the embodiment of the most sublime ideals of civilized people in their age-old wrestling match with their baser instincts, their prejudices and greed and vindictiveness."

Rauh successfully defended Miller against charges of contempt of Congress, during the McCarthy era, when Rauh was the boldest critic of the great defamer. He didn't scare easily, and perhaps more importantly, given the high concentration of posturers and stuffed shirts in town, he made light of his almost reflexive valor. He was a laughing reformer.

Katharine Graham, chairman of The Washington Post Co., told of Rauh's picketing of a local theater that excluded blacks in the '50s. She said it was dangerous; he said it was "a good way to walk off your dinner."

Another old friend, historian Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., called him "the sou

of the great contemporary guardian of the Constitution," and told of the conversion from college playboy to crusader. As a member of the Harvard basketball team, he encountered racism firsthand when a black team member was turned away at a New York hotel. Rauh led an exodus from the hotel—and spent the rest of his life in the vanguard of civil rights advocates and agitators.

Rauh was a passionate believer in the endless uses of democracy. All is possible was his unspoken motto. After the Senate Judiciary Committee rejected Richard Nixon's first Supreme Court choice, Clement F. Haynsworth Jr., they were extremely nervous about turning down his second, G. Harrold Carswell, and making it two in a row. But goaded by Joe—apostle of "why not?"—they sent him packing, too.

He also was involved in fighting union crime, the war in Vietnam, civil liberties abuses, and worked for District home rule. But tearful children and grandchildren testified that, miraculously, he always had time for them.

He never held back. In 1960, at the Democratic convention, much consternation on the left attended John Kennedy's choice of Lyndon Johnson. Only Joe grabbed his delegation's mike and roared into it—"Jack, Jack, don't do it." But in the White House, Johnson proved as fierce a civil rights advocate as himself; they worked hand in glove on the great rights bills of the '60s.

In 1982, he found another unexpected ally in the fight for equality, when voting rights renewal was up for a vote and Ronald Reagan outdid himself in circumvention: Reagan came up with a novel requirement, to prove "intent." For there to be no federal offense, the registrar had only to say he had no intention of depriving minorities as he moved polling places out of their reach.

Senate Republican leader Robert J. Dole (Kan.), without saying much about it, made common cause with his generation's most vociferous liberal to avert the travesty. Together, they worked out a bill that was beyond Rauh's wildest dreams. Dole drove it through the Senate. Rauh called Dole "superb," and said he could think of voting for him for president.

It was one more proof of what his whole life had proved: that to be liberal, as the dictionary says, is to be "open to new ideas."

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The Washington Times

Executive orders await signature

By Frank Green
COPLEY NEWS SERVICE

With strokes of a pen shortly after Inauguration Day, freshly sworn-in President Bill Clinton will turn many of his campaign positions into the law of the land — without congressional approval, without judicial oversight and without voter input.

It will all be in keeping with a tradition, dating to the dawn of the republic, that grants U.S. presidents wide latitude in conducting foreign policy and overseeing the operation of federal departments and officials.

It is called the executive order.

From George Washington to George Bush, presidents used their unilateral constitutional authority to do everything from appointing cronies to high-paying jobs to integrating the military.

Woodrow Wilson, for example, used the power in 1917 to give government executives the right to discharge anyone they considered a danger to the public welfare. Frank-

lin Roosevelt used it during World War II to relocate 110,000 Japanese-Americans to concentration camps. And in May, President Bush used his right of command to turn away Haitians seeking asylum.

Examples of executive orders awaiting Mr. Clinton's signature:

- An ethics code for administration officials.
 - Lifting of the so-called "gag rule" on doctors working in federally subsidized abortion clinics.
 - Revocation of the order requiring repatriation of Haitian boat people.
 - Appointment of a chairman of the federal Arts and Humanities Council.
 - Legalization of the importation of the morning-after birth control pill RU-486.
 - Revocation of the ban against homosexuals in the military.
 - A family-leave policy for federal officials.
- Walter Miles, a political science

professor at San Diego State University, said that in the realm of executive orders, "the president does what he thinks he can do until he's challenged."

Presidential discretion derives from Article II of the Constitution. The only checks against abuse of the executive-power clause include fleeting instructions, also in Article II, that the president "take care that the laws be faithfully executed." That has been generally regarded to mean that presidential orders can't directly contravene constitutional restraint or exceed the legal will of Congress.

Any disputes arising between the president and Congress over the limits of executive discretion, though rare, are mediated by the Supreme Court.

Up to 60,000 executive orders may have been issued by U.S. presidents, although only about 10,000 were recorded and transformed into law.

Most, according to Congressional Quarterly, were routine actions that

established executive agencies, modified bureaucratic rules or actions, changed decision-making procedures or bolstered federal statutes.

Before World War II, executive orders were used only sparingly to enact policy.

Franklin Roosevelt signed the most — 3,500 — nearly all dealing with matters of war.

Use of the power expanded greatly in the last 45 years, with about one-third of all recorded executive orders — 3,200 — coming in that period.

Mr. Clinton could quickly discover painful truths about the limits of presidential power in his first days in office. His stated intention to sign an order allowing the importation of RU-486, for example, might be challenged by Congress or the judiciary.

"The president can be told, 'You can't do that,'" said Frank Stites, a history professor at San Diego State University.

COLUMN RIGHT/
BENJAMIN ZYCHER

Even the Poor Profited in the Reagan Years

■ Liberals angling for Clinton largess are denying the record of Americans' gains in the '80s.

That Ronald Reagan is responsible for the problems of the inner cities is an argument now popular among the interest groups benefiting from federal spending. This trendy notion conflicts with a large body of inconvenient facts.

The Reagan Administration emphasized the fight against inflation rather than efforts for full employment. Wrong. The Reagan Presidency can take credit for both an employment expansion of more than 18 million and a reduction in inflation unprecedented in U.S. history. There exists no trade-off between inflation and unemployment, and the empirical experience is quite to the contrary. The 1970s brought sharp increases in both inflation and unemployment—remember stagflation? And can higher inflation—a debasement of the currency, a tax on lenders, and a subsidy for government—be consistent with the investment and job creation needed so desperately in U.S. cities?

The failure to promote full employment imposed heaviest losses upon minority youths. Wrong again. The unemployment rate for black teens fell from 38.5% in 1980 to 31.1% in 1990; the respective figures for white teens were 15.5% and 13.4%. Thus, the proportionate decline was far greater for black teens than for white teens. That outcome stemmed largely from the refusal of Ronald Reagan to approve increases in the federal minimum wage, a policy designed to subsidize the middle class at the expense of the poor by making many low-skilled workers too expensive to hire.

The rich got richer and the poor got poorer. Very wrong. Average real family income grew by well over 15% from 1982 to 1989; for the bottom fifth of the income distribution, the figure was almost 12%. More important was the upward mobility among all classes during the 1980s: Families earning more than \$50,000 (in 1990 dollars) went from less than 25% of all families in 1980 to 31% in 1990. The percentage of all families earning \$15,000-\$50,000 went down, as did the percentage of all families earning less than \$15,000. The fact is that all groups—except young black males—grew wealthier during the 1980s.

The real hourly wages of lower-skilled workers increased during the Reagan boom but fell relative to those of workers with greater skills. But that pattern was a worldwide phenomenon beginning in the 1970s, as the international character of

'The fact is that all groups—except young black males—grew wealthier during the 1980s.'

economic activity shifted relative wages in ways reflecting the global supplies of lower-skilled and higher-skilled labor. Is Ronald Reagan responsible for that?

The problem of homelessness is the result of severe cuts for public housing programs during the Reagan Administration. Oh, please. The total number of public housing units in the late 1980s was greater than at any time before, and the number of new units brought on line during 1985-89 exceeded by more than 30% the number for any earlier five-year period. Those units had been authorized in earlier budgets, but the actual outlays came later.

More important, the Reagan Administration substituted a large housing voucher program in place of public housing, so that the poor no longer would be forced to live in crime- and drug-infested public housing ghettos. The substitution of vouchers for public housing means that construction is undertaken by the private sector, so that construction costs no longer show up in the federal budget. Thus have federal budgets for "low-cost" housing declined sharply; but that is entirely beside the point.

Federal cuts in poverty programs, reflecting the decade of greed, battered the poor. What cuts? And what charity! Federal spending on poverty programs in 1991 dollars increased from \$140 billion in 1982 to \$180 billion in 1991, an annual growth rate of 3%. Total charitable contributions increased at the fastest rate in the postwar period, from \$80 billion in 1982 to \$126 billion in 1989, a growth rate of 7%. In truth, the 1980s was the Decade of Giving.

It is not concern for the inner-city poor that drives this dishonesty; it is instead competition for federal budget dollars. The latest player in the "blame Reagan" game is a group of RAND "senior analysts," mightily pursuing through a media campaign new research contracts from the Clinton Administration to replace those lost with the demise of the Cold War. Since the 1960s, the federal government has spent \$2.5 trillion on various urban and poverty programs, a growth pattern correlated almost perfectly with the rise of urban decay. And yet RAND's "senior analysts" actually are willing to argue that more federal spending will yield net improvement. What explains such silliness? That's easy: It's Ronald Reagan's fault.

Benjamin Zycher is vice president for research at the Milken Institute for Job and Capital Formation in Santa Monica. He was an economist at RAND and a senior staff economist at the Council of Economic Advisers during the Reagan Administration.



Mirko Ilic

Rape After Rape After Rape

WHAT is happening in Bosnia and Herzegovina to Muslim and Croatian women seems unprecedented in the history of war crimes. Women are raped by Serbian soldiers in an organized and systematic way, as a planned crime to destroy a whole Muslim population, to destroy a society's cultural, traditional and religious integrity.

The numbers are chilling: in October, the Ministry of Interior of Bosnia and Herzegovina estimated that 50,000 women and girls had been raped, and many impregnated on purpose. It is feared that since then the number has risen even further. The ministry collected and documented 13,000 cases.

Journalists and feminists have interviewed women in refugee camps in Croatia, and it is through their stories that the world has discovered the tragedy. In the civilized world,

the brothers Stankovic and Jorgovic.

I was raped and tortured too, because they knew that I am a wife of a leader of the Muslim party. My neighbor tortured me the most, the one my husband respected as his own brother. By the end of June, Chetniks brought another neighbor of ours and with a gun pointed at him they forced him to rape a 14-year-old girl. He stood trembling and stuttering with fear.

Then he turned to a Chetnik he believed was a leader and said: "Don't make me do it. I have known her since she was born — her father and I drank to her birth." They beat him in front of us until he died. It was an example to the other Serbs that there is no pity, that one must do what leaders order them to do.

In August, some prisoners were exchanged, including me and my sons. Many women and girls who were preg-

nant remained in the camp. They were transferred to a hospital and fed twice a day because, as the Chetniks said, they had to bear their offspring.

E.N., age 14, and her mother.

E.N.: That commander was big, fat, dirty old guy. He had gray hair with a white tuft at his forehead. He stank of brandy, really stank. He had a mask on. He nodded toward me and ordered me angrily to stand up. We went in one room; my legs trembled, I couldn't walk at all. He then pushed me but I trembled terribly and inside me everything trembled. I thought he would slaughter me and I couldn't even pray. He asked me crudely if I had ever had sex. "Please, don't" — I beg him. Then he pushed me, hit me and threw me on a bed, tore off my dress and hit me again. He put his hand over my mouth. I screamed

again. He hit me; he shouted at me.

The mother: I heard my child screaming. She called for help. I heard his grunting, his howling. My womb hurt as if someone is pulling it out. My mind darkened, but there was nothing I could do. My child was suffocating under his fist. I heard him: "Is it good, you dog?" He was more and more violent. He repeated the same question until she nodded yes. He asked if she wants more. I heard her pleading, "Please, don't." He went out of the room and said angrily to me, "Don't let anyone touch the little one."

In other rooms, my sister's daughters were raped in the same way. While this was going on, one Chetnik guarded me and my sister. We found

Three victims of Serbian soldiers tell their stories.

my sister's daughter unconscious and naked. My dress was torn apart and she had visible injuries on her body.

E., age 16.

The massacre after the attack on my village had been the greatest tragedy of my life. I did not know then that destiny had something even worse in store for me.

Several Chetniks arrived. One, a man around 30, ordered me to follow him into the house. I had to go. He started looking for money, jewelry and other valuables. He wanted to know where the men were. I didn't answer. Then he ordered me to undress. I was terribly afraid. I took off my clothes, feeling that I was falling apart. The feeling seemed under my skin; I was dying, my entire being was murdered. I closed my eyes, I couldn't look at him. He hit me. I fell. Then he lay on me. He did it to me. I cried, twisted my body convulsively, bled. I had been a virgin.

He went out and invited two Chetniks to come in. I cried. The two repeated what the first one had done to me. I felt lost. I didn't even know when they left. I don't know how long I stayed there, lying on the floor alone, in a pool of blood.

My mother found me. I couldn't imagine anything worse. I had been raped, destroyed and terribly hurt. But for my mother this was the greatest sorrow of our lives. We both cried and screamed. She dressed me. I would like to be a mother some day. But how? In my world, men represent terrible violence and pain. I cannot control that feeling. □

Journalists and feminists have interviewed women in refugee camps in Croatia, and it is through their stories that the world has discovered the tragedy. In the civilized world, rape is a crime. Mass rape is a method of genocide that should become a war crime and outlawed in all international conventions. The lives of tens of thousands of women have been destroyed; the world owes them at least that.

Here are accounts by three women. "E.'s" account will appear in the January-February issue of Ms. magazine. — SLAVENKA DRAKULIC

Z. N., age 40.

As soon as Chetniks [Serbs] came into our city, they selected women, children and the old people; men were taken to a concentration camp with an excuse that they were mobilized. They put hundreds of us in a school in Doboï and they turned it into a kind of camp. Our Serbian neighbors locked us in. I knew many; they used to visit our house. As soon as we entered a camp, "marticevic" [followers of Milan Martić, a Serbian leader] came in with guns and selected younger women and girls. They put them in the hall and told the Chetniks to do with the women what they pleased.

There was silence. Then the crazy, dirty, stinking Chetniks jumped at the women like animals; they tore off their clothes, pulled their hair, cut their breasts with their knives. They'd cut the belly of the women who wore the traditional Muslim baggy trousers. Those who screamed would be killed on the spot.

In front of a few hundred prisoners they raped and tortured women and girls for days. It was unbearable to watch girls being raped in front of their fathers. In the evening, after heavy drinking, the Chetniks would come in the hall with lamps. Stepping on us, they would look for girls, not older than 12, 13.

The girls cried, holding on to their mothers. As they were taken, pieces of their mothers' clothes remained in their hands. While doing that, the Chetniks would shoot at us. Later they would leave the girls' dead bodies in the hall, so we had to see them. We cried until morning. Then they would throw the bodies in the river.

Every day the same picture was repeated; they would rape and kill in front of hundreds of us. Once a young woman with a baby was taken in the middle of the hall. It was in June. They ordered her to take off her clothes. She put the baby on the floor next to her. Four Chetniks raped her; she was silent, looking at her crying child. When she was left alone, she asked if she could breast-feed the baby. Then a Chetnik cut the child's head off with a knife. He gave the bloody head to the mother. The poor woman screamed. They took her outside and she never came back. The biggest criminals in Doboï are Bosko Jeitić, Milenko Varnjes, Mico Tuca,

December 14, 1992
#3 ylh

SENATOR DOLE'S SCHEDULE - Week of December 13 - 19, 1992 Pg. 1

Sunday, December 13

7:25 a.m. lv. D.C. for Florida via commercial flight

RON: Seaview

Monday, December 14

2:45 p.m. lv. Seaview

3:45 p.m. lv. Ft. Lauderdale via private aircraft

5:15 p.m. ar. Asheville, NC

SEE SEPARATE SCHEDULE

8:00 p.m. lv. Asheville via private aircraft

9:00 p.m. ar. Washington Nat'l, Signature Aviation, met by
Wilbert

SENATOR DOLE'S SCHEDULE - Week of December 13 - 19, 1992 Pg. 2

Tuesday, December 15

10:30 S-230 mtg. w/Boyden Grey (Jim)

?? lv. Washington Nat'l via Delta Shuttle

?? ar. New York City, LaGuardia Airport

SEE SEPARATE SCHEDULE

RON: New York

Wednesday, December 16

in New York

RON: New York

SENATOR DOLE'S SCHEDULE - Week of December 13 - 19, 1992 Pg. 3

Thursday, December 17

in New York -- SEE SEPARATE SCHEDULE

12:15 p.m. lv. New York via private aircraft

1:15 p.m. ar. Washington Nat'l, Signature Aviation, met by
Wilbert

1:30 p.m. ar. The Capitol

Friday, December 18

10:30 S-230 mtg. w/Rick Smith

11:15 S-230 Kansas radio conference call (Clarkson)

SENATOR DOLE'S SCHEDULE - Week of December 13 - 19, 1992 Pg. 4

Saturday, December 19