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Patty Presock

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Following Page

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD

July 16, 1992

	TIME PLACED	DISC	NAME	ACTION
OUT ~~INC~~	5:40 AM PM	5:50	Mrs. Barbara P. Bush Residence, Kennebunkport, Maine 207-967-8990	Tlkd-ok 5:42 AM
OUT ~~INC~~	9:14 AM PM	9:22	Secretary Samuel K. Skinner Office, Washington, D.C. White House Signal 7-2287	Tlkd-ok 9:15 AM via YANKEE ZULU
OUT ~~INC~~	10:10 AM PM	10:27	Conference Call: Secretary Samuel K. Skinner Office, Washington, D.C. Secure Voice x7120	Tlkd-ok 10:12 AM via Secure Satellite
OUT INC	AM PM		Mr. Marlin Fitzwater Office, Washinton, D.C. Secure Voice x7130	
OUT ~~INC~~	10:31 AM PM	10:39	Mr. Henry Ross Perot Office, Dallas, Texas 214-788-3001	Tlkd-ok 10:37 AM via Secure Satellite
OUT ~~INC~~	10:50 AM PM	11:14	White House Press Filing Center Jackson Hole, Wyoming 307-739-9294	Tlkd-ok 11:12 AM PA System used via Secure Satellite
OUT ~~INC~~	AM 1:06 PM	1:20	Secretary Samuel K. Skinner Office, Washington, D.C. White House Signal 7-2287	Tlkd-ok 1:14 PM
OUT ~~INC~~	AM 1:30 PM	1:54	Mr. George W. Bush, Jr. Office, Dallas, Texas 214-891-3131	WCB 1:33 PM Tlkd-ok 1:46 PM
OUT ~~INC~~	AM 2:00 PM	3:58	Mr. Peter O'Donnell, Jr. Office, Dallas, Texas 214-742-7211	WCB 2:05 PM Tlkd-ok 3:50 PM
OUT ~~INC~~	AM 2:06 PM	2:11	General Brent Scowcroft Office, Washington, D.C. White House Signal 7-2260	Tlkd-ok 2:06 PM
OUT ~~INC~~	AM 7:23 PM		Mr. Henry Ross Perot Office, Dallas, Texas 214-788-3001	PRESUS Cancel 8:33 PM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD

July 16 , 1992

	TIME PLACED	DISC	NAME	ACTION
OUT	AM		Mr. Tom Luce Residence, Dallas, Texas 214-520-0337	PRESUS Cancel 8:33 PM
INC	7:23 PM			
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

PRESIDENT BUSH — JULY 16th, 19 92

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--- Thursday --- July 16, 1992 ---

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--- THE DAILY BRIEFING ON AMERICAN POLITICS ---

Updated Each Morning At 11:50

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282 North Washington Street, Falls Church, VA (703) 237-5130

MAKE THAT JUST HAM, NO ED

Perot plate increasingly empty with Rollins entourage exit; Volunteers unfazed by shakeup, prefer the "old" Perot anyway. (#3)

FISHING (NEWS) HOLE (#4)

No word from WY on Bush-Baker, but talk abounds. Also: Reagan reported to give GOP convention keynote.

AND BACK IN NEW YORK CITY ...

Clinton speech prep for tonight's acceptance. (#5) Reviews of Day Three almost universally positive:

CUOMO (#8): "Powerful ... sentimental ... rich ... cunningly skewered Bush." Clinton's Stephanopolous: "All that we could have hoped for."

PRIMARY CLASS: Kerrey reaches to Perotistas, Tsongas continues econo-warnings.

AND THE BAD BOY: No mention of Clinton in quick Brown speech. No endorsement -- but no attack, either. (#9)

PA SEN: BOOST FOR SPECTER (#13)

Leading black Dem endorses.

SPOTLIGHT

FOLLOW THE BOUNCING BILL

N.Y. DAILY NEWS/HOTLINE Goeas-Lake nightly poll shows 3 BIG trends. (#14)

TRIAL HEAT: Clinton has moved, even pre-speech:

	7/13	7/14	7/15
CLINTON	35%	40%	41%
BUSH	31	31	30
PEROT	24	20	19

Last night's numbers were virtually duplicated in the W. POST/ABC study. (#15)

FAVORABLE/UNFAVORABLE: Pollster Celinda Lake (D) says the best news is that Clinton's positives have gone up and his negatives down, nightly. CBS data shows the same trend. (#16)

PEROT COLLAPSE: In 3 days his unfavorable rating has soared: 35% -- 37% -- 45%.

Pollster Ed Goeas (R) says the shoe is now on the other foot: Can Bush move his net negative ratings?

========== QUOTE OF THE DAY ==========

"I will spend the next 30 years of my life with my wife saying, 'I told you so.'"
-- Ed Rollins, WASHINGTON POST, 7/15. (#3)

THE APN BULLETIN BOARD

FROM TODAY'S GREENWIRE: AG Sec. Madigan says spotted owl extinction is inevitable.

FROM TODAY'S DAILY REPORT CARD: Mad over busing plan, school board members recalled in LaCrosse WI election.

FROM TODAY'S ABORTION REPORT: Justice Thomas requests DoJ response to RU-486 case; Thomas decision could come today.

FROM TODAY'S AMERICAN HEALTH LINE: GOP legislators criticize Gov. Wilson's proposal to cut $2.2B from health programs.

HOTLINE/DATABASE INDEX

WHITE HOUSE '92
ELECTORAL SCOREBOARD: No electoral majority in latest polls. (#1)
THINKING THREE-WAY: A preview of a possible House vote. (#2)
PEROT: Rollins quits over "irreconcilable differences." (#3)
BUSH: Fish story grows over Baker as trade bait. (#4)

DEM CONVENTION
CLINTON ACCEPTANCE SPEECH: What to look for. (#5)
LAST NIGHT: Fronting for the comeback kid. (#6)
CLINTON: Standing room only for Clinton gala. (#7)
CUOMO: "Step aside Mr. Bush, you've had your parade." (#8)
BROWN: The not ready for prime time player. (#9)
GORE: Well received among delegates and press. (#10)
GOP SURROGATES: Yankee go home. (#11)

SENATE WATCH
AL: Sellers asks for probe for Shelby & Gore. (#12)
PA: Dem breaks ranks, endorses Specter. (#13)

POLL UPDATE
N.Y. DAILY NEWS/HOTLINE: Clinton 41%, Bush 30%, Perot 19%. (#14)
ABC/WASH. POST: Clinton 42%, Bush 30%, Perot 20%. (#15)
CBS: Clinton favorables up, unfavorables down. (#16)

TV MONITOR (#17)

CORRECTION: Yesterday's HOTLINE mistakenly attributed a column referring to Gore as an Army journalist ("In this year of contempt for journalists, 'war service' as a journalist might be regarded as something less than honorable draft dodging") to columnist Paul Greenberg. It should have been attributed to W. TIMES' Wesley Pruden.

? ? ? ? OVERLOOKED ? ? ? ?

ROLLINS A SOLE SACRIFICE OR IS GOP WITCH-HUNT ON?

On NBC's "Meet the Press" 6/28 he said operatives from the Reagan campaign and "three or four of the top-level people in the [Reagan] White House" were ready to come on board with Perot. (From the HOTLINE database, 6/29).

*1 ELECTORAL SCOREBOARD: NO ELECTORAL MAJORITY IN LATEST POLLS

The Scoreboard is The HOTLINE's weekly compilation of 3-way trial heat data from state polling. The sample size/make-up, question wording, margin of error and pollster all vary widely. The number of electors is listed after each state. The symbol (++) indicates who is ahead beyond the margin of error, with (+) indicating a leader within the margin.

NOTE: All polls pre-date the Democratic convention and Rollins leaving Perot; most pre-date Clinton's selection of Gore; most pre-date Perot's slippage in recent national polls; some even pre-date the full strength of the Perot effort. New polls replace last week's data in CA, GA, IN, IA, SC, TN and TX. Please note also that the lead in 30 states with 412 Electors is within the margin of error.

STATE	BUSH	CLINTON	PEROT	POLLSTER/DATE/MARGIN OF ERROR
AL (9)	++43%	26	22	Davis/Penfld, 5/26-6/1, +/-4.5%
AK (3)	30	19	++41	Dittman Research, 6/4-9, +/-4.5%
AZ (8)	30	21	++49	O'Neil Assoc, 6/2-7, +/-5%
AR (6)	28	++41	22	Mason-Dixon, 5/18-19, +/-3.5%
CA (54)	29	+31	28	PMR, 7/8-11, +/-3.5%
CO (8)	30	20	+32	Talmey-Drake, 5/26-6/2, +/-4%
CT (8)	+29	25	26	HART. COURANT, 6/27-7/1, +/-5%
DE (3)	+30	17	22	ARG, 6/12-7/2, +/-5%
DC (3)	25	++41	11	ARG, 6/12-7/2, +/-5%
FL (25)	31	22	+34	Mason-Dixon, 5/29-31, +/-3.5%
GA (13)	++36	28	22	Mason-Dixon, 7/3-5, +/-3.5%
HI (4)	22	16	++33	ARG, 6/12-7/2, +/-5%
IA (7)	+31	25	27	PMR, 7/3-6, +/-3.5%
ID (4)	33	13	++42	Tarrance (R), 6/10-11, +/-4%
IL (22)	28	+30	29	ST. JNL-REGISTER, 7/1-5, +/-3.5%
IN (12)	+33	21	27	HTLN sources (R), 7/6-8, +/-3.5%
KS (6)	34	18	34	Sen. Dole (R), 5/14-16, +/-4%
KY (8)	++41	27	23	ARG, 6/12-7/2, +/-5%
LA (9)	+27	24	21	Loyola Univ., 6/19-22, +/-4%
ME (4)	26	19	+34	ARG, 6/12-7/2, +/-5%
MD (10)	27	+29	28	Mason-Dixon, 6/3-5, +/-3.5%
MA (12)	26	+28	23	KRC/WBZ-TV, 6/24-26, +/-5%
MI (18)	31	24	+33	DETROIT NEWS, 6/2-4, +/-4%
MN (10)	30	23	++40	Mnpls STAR-TRIB, 6/7-14, +/-3%
MS (7)	+31	21	19	ARG, 6/12-7/2, +/-5%
MO (11)	23	20	+29	POST-DISP./KMOX, 6/13-21, +/-4%
MT (3)	23	17	++42	Univ/MT, 5/13-21, +/-4%
NE (5)	36	11	36	WORLD-HERALD, 6/9-11, +/-4.6%
NV (4)	+40	11	34	ARG, 6/12-7/2, +/-5%
NH (4)	+29	25	26	ARG, 6/12-7/2, +/-5%
NJ (15)	++39	24	24	Bergen RECORD, 5/20-29, +/-4.5%
NM (5)	31	27	+32	Zia/KOAT-TV, 5/27-6/1, +/- 4.1%
NY (33)	+33	28	32	WABC-TV, 6/25-28, +/-4%

NC (14)	+30	25	28	OBSERVER/WSOC, 6/22-29, +/-5%
ND (3)	+33	17	30	Univ of ND, 6/1-2, +/-4%
OH (21)	26	18	+32	Werth Assoc, 6/17-22, +/4.5%
OK (8)	++40	18	25	ARG, 6/12-7/2, +/-5%
OR (7)	31	21	+42	OREGONIAN/KATU, 5/4-7, no M/E.
PA (23)	23	19	+27	Mlrsville U., 6/28-30, +/-4.5%
RI (4)	20	19	++32	Brown Univ, 6/7-11, +/-4%
SC (8)	+37	33	18	Mason-Dixon, 7/7-9, +/-3.5%
SD (3)	++38	16	27	ARG, 6/12-7/2, +/-5%
TN (11)	30	++40	13	Mason-Dixon, 7/10-12, +/-3.5%
TX (32)	27	22	+34	HOUSTON POST, 7/5-9, +/-4.5%
UT (5)	32	10	+38	S.L. TRIBUNE, 6/2-3, +/-4%
VT (3)	+33	21	28	Becker Inst., 5/7-9, +/-5%
VA (13)	33	20	+35	Mason-Dixon, 6/6-8, +/-3.5%
WA (11)	29	20	+35	KOMO-TV, 5/8-12, +/-5%
WV (5)	32	+35	22	Garin-Hart (D), 6/22-23, 4.5%
WI (11)	29	15	+37	ARG, 6/12-7/2, +/-5%
WY (3)	++43	11	25	ARG, 6/12-7/2, +/-5%

ELECTORAL COLLEGE TOTALS: (270 electors needed to win).

ALL	STATES	ELECTORS	OUTSIDE M/E	STATES	ELECTORS
Perot	21	230	Perot	7	36
Bush	20	174	Bush	7	59
Clinton	8	123	Clinton	3	20
Tie	2	11	Tie	2	11
			Too close to call	32	412

*2 THINKING THREE-WAY: A PREVIEW OF A POSSIBLE HOUSE VOTE

A ROLL CALL study of the 359 House Members seeking re-election, asking them how they might vote should the election go to the House in the absence of an Electoral College majority, finds "the race in the House will be much closer than it seems at first glance." Members were asked, "If the Presidential election is thrown to the House, how do you plan to vote?" Of the 301 who responded, 207 (127D and 79R) were uncommitted, "but often gave hints in their answers"; 47 (29D and 18R) would go with their CD; 35 (17D and 18R) said they would vote for their party's nominee; 5 (3D and 2R) said they would go with their state; 4 (all D) said they would vote for the national popular vote winner; and 4 (2D and 2R) said they would "vote their consciences." State-by-state analysis shows "Likely Clinton" (4): AR, HI, MA, WV; "Leans Clinton" (16): VT, NY, MD, NC, SC, GA, AL, MS, LA, TN, MO, IL, MI, MN, OR, WA; "Likely Bush" (1): WY; "Leans Bush" (7): UT, AZ, NM, WI, NE, FL, DE; "Leans Perot" (1): AK; "Likely Split" (4): NV, KS, NH, RI; "Toss Up" (17): CA, ID, MT, ND, SD, CO, OK, TX, IA, IN, OH, KY, PA, VA, NJ, CT, ME (7/13 issue).

LIFE WITHOUT PEROT: Germond & Witcover write the concern among Dems is Perot "will go into a slide before Bill Clinton has given voters who can't swallow President Bush enough reason to switch to him as a way of expressing their dismay. They would like it better if Mr. Perot's stock held up for a few weeks, then declined late in the campaign to 15 percent or less -- the point at which polling experts believe he hurts" Bush more than Clinton (Balto. EVENING SUN, 7/15). ABC's Jeff Greenfield notes a "reason for caution": "In state after state, delegates tell us, yes, Clinton can win, if Perot hits at about 15-20% of the vote,

most of those votes they think will come from Bush. In fact, a lot of the Democrats' biggest concern, is that Perot's recent troubles may mean that he'll fade too fast or skip the race altogether. In other words, for all the hoopla, a lot of Democrats think that in a two-man race, Bush still probably would win" (7/15).

*3 PEROT: ROLLINS QUITS OVER "IRRECONCILABLE DIFFERENCES"

Perot co-chair Ed Rollins resigned 7/15, "saying his advice is being ignored by the strong-willed" Perot, and that "Perot's present course will doom his ... candidacy." Hamilton Jordan will assume Rollins' duties, becoming the full manager. But one top aide said Perot "is never going to give up 100% control." Perot chair Tom Luce "scrambled" to keep at least 10 key employees, who came with Rollins, on board. But Rollins' deputy Charles Leonard, advance man/ex-Quayle handler Joe Canzeri, and GOP media man Tony Marsh all followed Rollins out. Rollins "said he still supports Perot," and will vote for him. One top Perot aide: "Image-building goes against the movement that got Perot where he is." Many reports featured quotes from local volunteers such as the following CA backer: "If he had [Jordan and Rollins] packaging him, he'd be slick Ross Perot. ... I'd rather have him be honest and from the heart" (Chen/Jehl, L.A. TIMES, 7/16). W. POST's Isikoff reports Rollins was "forced out" after Perot "rejected Rollins' advice." POST's list of those departing with Rollins: Leonard, Canzeri, Jim Howell, Sal Russo, Marsh, Sawyer-Miller's Peter Schecter and ad man Bob Barkin. Rollins' aides "were asked to sign statements pledging their silence. ... Shortly after the announcement, Perot security officials entered the offices of the departing Rollins staff members, shut down their computers and disconnected their telephones." One Rollins aide: "It was like a SWAT team descended on the office. It was the most paranoid situation." One aide reportedly saw Rollins in tears in his office after the press conference (7/16).

FALLOUT: Many reports also echoed DALLAS MORNING NEWS' Jackson: "The bad publicity may be starting to affect Perot in the polls, which no longer reflect a statistical dead heat." Pat Caddell, who has advised Perot: "He runs the real risk of not only being humiliated, but being viewed as letting down the very people he has portrayed as putting trust in him" (7/16). ATLANTA CONSTITUTION's Smith: "The professional force behind [Perot] fell apart ... in the latest, and potentially disastrous embarrassment" for Perot. REUTERS reports top Perot aides, including Rollins, told Perot he'd have to announce "within two weeks or face the collapse of his candidacy." Bush-Quayle spokesperson Torie Clarke: "It's part of ... the meltdown of the Perot candidacy." Clinton spokesperson Dee Dee Myers: "This may be a sign of it falling apart." Ex-WH CoS John Sununu: "I bet somebody he wouldn't last until the end of July" (7/16). Luce "suggested Rollins' sense of urgency was misplaced": "We're going to continue on the course of action we were on. We've said from the beginning this is going to be an unconventional campaign ... driven by millions of volunteers who worked hard to put it where it is today. Most things in July will be forgotten in October and November" (ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH, 7/16). RNC chair Rich Bond: "The beginning of the end" (USA TODAY, 7/16). Herblock cartoon depicts Rollins and others jumping overboard the S.S. Ross Perot. Observer: "I understand he runs a tight ship" (W. POST, 7/16). NEWHOUSE's Nesbitt: "Perot's attempt to stiffen his ... bid with professional political muscle blew up

... raising questions about whether [he] can mount a serious bid for the [WH]." GOP analyst Kevin Phillips: "He's quite right not to want handlers, but it is foolish not to listen to people who have been someplace he hasn't" (7/16). W. TIMES header: "Perot loses Rollins" (7/16). All this comes as AUSTIN AMERICAN-STATESMAN reports Austin businessman John Opincar is forming a splinter group for disaffected Perot volunteers (7/16).

TV REAX: ABC's Morton Dean: "Will Perot stay in the race? One insider said, 'I don't think there's any doubt about that.'" David Brinkley: "Running your own campaign is somewhat like trying to be your own dentist" (7/15). NBC's John Cochran: "It was always going to be a tough fit at best ... and it didn't work." NBC's John Chancellor: "It looks as though Perot will continue with as few professionals as possible ... and try to get back to his Lone Ranger mode. It worked before, maybe it will work again" (7/15). David Gergen: "There's a sense that Ross Perot may be falling apart ... disintegrating." Mark Shields: "The demise of Ross Perot, if in fact that candidacy either evaporates or fails, causes great consternation among these [NYC] Democrats" (PBS, 7/15). NBC's Tom Brokaw: Perot "has decided to go back to what got him into politics in the first place ... to do it just his way. We still have not seen the end, nor can we in any way anticipate what may happen with the Perot campaign" (7/15). CNN's Ken Bode: "It's very bad. ... Nobody thought that somebody with Rollins' wide experience would leave a campaign this quickly" (7/15). TIME's DALLAS MORNING NEWS' Leubsdorf: "I think there's a feeling of having squandered his last month" ("M/L," 7/15). CBS' Bill Lagatutta: "Oddly enough, Ross Perot may choose to use this ... to his advantage: To show the nation he is not going to be handled by professionals. Or, as other analysts may try to suggest tonight, this could be the beginning of the end of the Ross Perot campaign" (7/15). Wm Bennett: "I would not be surprised to see Perot, in Perot style, pick up his marbles and baseball bats and gloves and say, my numbers are going down ... I'm going home" ("Crossfire," CNN, 7/15). DNC chair Ron Brown: "The first vote on Ross Perot was cast today. It was cast by Ed Rollins, and the vote was no" (CNN, 7/15). NEWSWEEK's Joe Klein: "It makes [him] seem less professional, less credible, less a trusted candidate" (CBS, 7/15). Clinton, leaving convention floor: "I think you have to assume it's a three-person race" (CNN, 7/15). ABC's Jeff Greenfield: "Some sources in the Perot campagn are beginning to suggest that he may not enter the race at all. He's reported to have said that he's just not having fun anymore." TX columnist Molly Ivins: "Ross Perot has done this in the past, he's talked big and then walked away." Clinton strategist James Carville: "We're now in July and still no one knows what he stands for, and what he's telling people is I don't know what I stand for either, but I have some experts working on it" ("Nightline," ABC, 7/15). THIS A.M. -- NBC's Lisa Myers said Rollins had given Perot an "ultimatum": "Either let him deliver the world-class campaign he was promised, or he was gone" (NBC, 7/16). CBS' Scott Pelley: "Rollins was far from alone inside the campaign ... but in the end, only one vote mattered --Ross Perot's" (7/16). Bob Beckel: "He got one of the best people possible in Ed Rollins, and then he wouldn't listen to him" (CBS, 7/16). Fred Barnes: It's not just that he won't spend the money; now it's three times they've put off him announcing his candidacy." Beckel added, "If the disaffected can't stand to vote for Bill Clinton, I don't think they vote for George Bush; I think they stay home" (CBS, 7/16). NBC's "Close

Up" segment looked at the campaign, asking "Will Ross run?" NBC's Tim Russert on whether Perot will now listen to his advisers: "No one knows -- no one really thinks so" (7/16). Mario Cuomo: "It does seem that he has not been able to figure out the political game ... I'm not at all sure he can stay in" (ABC, 7/16). Susan Estrich: "Running for president is no place for amateurs. ... It's a much shorter trip back from Perot to Clinton than it is from Perot to Bush" (ABC, 7/16).

SHERRIE: Many reports noted Bush strategist Charles Black's assertion that ex-WH public liason chief Sherrie Rollins could have her old job back. Black: "She's a victim in all of this." Ed Rollins said Sherrie, on vacation, told him over the phone "something about 'I told you so'" (USA TODAY, mult., 7/16).

JERRY: Ex-Carter aide Gerald Rafshoon, who also quit the Perot campaign recently, offers a WASH. POST op-ed on "Why I Left Perot." He faults Perot's temperament and character, while admitting Perot "is not any of the things that some of his hysterical critics have said he is." But Rafshoon says he now supports Clinton (7/16).

CALVIN: Rev. Calvin Butts, Perot's NY co-chair, "made a rare attack on a fellow black leader," Rep. Charles Rangel (D-NY), who had called Perot a "white cracker." He "denounced" Rangel's attack, and "suggested that social and economic conditions" in Rangel's CD "had declined substantially during Mr. Rangel's tenure in Congress" (Sims, N.Y. TIMES, 7/16).

VEEP WATCH: NBC's John Cochran: "Perot reportedly has also had trouble lining up a" VP: "The latest name mentioned is Bill Moyers" (7/15). Moyers, in his commentary with the CNN panel, again stressed the disconnect between voters and the two parties, and took issue with Cuomo's charge that the S&L scandal was a GOP problem, citing Dem "fingerprints" as well (CNN, 7/15).

CANCEL ALL MY APPOINTMENTS: Perot has scrapped his upcoming appearances in MN and VA; the campaign says he will devote the time to his "platform" formulation. L.A. TIMES notes Joe Canzeri, who left with Rollins, was in charge of advance (7/16).

*4 BUSH: FISH STORY GROWS OVER BAKER AS TRADE BAIT

No definitive word from WY, but fishing metaphors abound. "Bush's campaign prays for a prize catch" (Lee, USA TODAY, 7/16). Bush-Quayle chair Robert Mosbacher: "Let's just see what gets caught" (USA TODAY, 7/16). The scenario "making the rounds" has Baker taking leave from State, making Dep. Sec/State Lawrence Eagleburger acting chief, and going to the WH -- "effectively becoming CEO of both the [WH] and campaign operations" (USA TODAY, 7/16). "The question, insiders say, is whether Bush will ask. Most believe he will." W. POST's Devroy outlines GOP guesswork about the nature of a Bush "fresh start" announcement, reinvigorating the campaign, possibly during the GOP convention (7/16). NEWSWEEK's Ann McDaniel, on Bush and Baker: "The question is whether ... they have sort of a sibling rivalry. George Bush doesn't want to ask Jim Baker to come back. He wants to prove he can do it on his own. The question is whether Bush feels desperate enough ... to pop the big question." David Broder: "The interesting thing is that these Democrats have almost forgotten that Bush is in the race. And all the conversation here is about Clinton and Perot" (CNN, 7/15). NBC's Jim Miklaszewski: "Now the biggest fish Bush could land would be Baker himself" (7/16).

ONE MORE FROM THE GIPPER: W. POST's Ann Devroy reports that Ronald Reagan will give the GOP keynote address at the Republican

National Convention 8/17, opening night in Houston. "This is to be foreign policy night, with Reagan's task to remind voters that the Evil Empire collapsed on the Republican's watch" (7/16).

GORE STRATEGY: W. TIMES' Bedard reports, "Picking up where its whisper campaign against [Clinton and Perot] left off," the Bush team has "turned its lips" to Al Gore. "But the whisper campaign won't be echoed by any public attacks." GOPers "plan to return fire" only from Clinton; surrogates on the campaign trail "are questioning Mr. Gore's credentials and directing reporters to Gore associates who have an unflattering view" of Gore, hoping to "undermine [his] image ... as a popular Democratic moderate, brainy legislator and environmentalist" (7/16).

FLOYD BROWN UPDATE: "Despite President Bush's efforts to stop him," Presidential Victory Cmte chair Floyd Brown "forged ahead" with his Gennifer Flowers phone line ad. The Bush team "went to unusual lengths ... to disassociate themselves from Brown's work and to block his efforts," having filed a complaint with the FEC and threatened a suit against Brown. Bush-Quayle general counsel Bobby Burchfield: "This guy is a political leper who is much more damaging to us than to our opposition." While the NV-based phone line is back in operation, the ad promoting it is not currently on the air (Houston/Ostrow, L.A. TIMES, 7/16).

Balto. SUN editorial: "If Willie Horton has now been transmogrified into a boomerang capable of wounding the politicians who exploited his crimes in 1988, this is a morality tale worth telling" (7/16).

*5 CLINTON ACCEPTANCE SPEECH: WHAT TO LOOK FOR

Clinton, on his task tonight: "The people of America who are looking at me ... need to know clearly when the speech is over, who I am, what I believe in, what I want to do as president and what I want them to do" (PBS, 7/15). "Aides say Clinton is planning to cite Bush's diplomatic failures -- including U.S. policy that contributes to the current slaughter of Serbian forces in Bosnia ... While the Democratic convention and voter surveys stress domestic economic decline as the driving issue this election year, Clinton advisers believe national security has a way of quickly dominating the political scene" (Sloyan, N.Y. NEWSDAY, 7/16). "The fact is that the candidate voters will see tonight is one of the best speakers in politics today -- and arguably the best speaker the Democrats have put up since 1968" (Nagourney/Nichols, USA TODAY, 7/16). BOSTON GLOBE's Oliphant writes, "It's a good bet that Clinton's presence and style [tonight] will be fantastic" (7/16). ORLANDO SENTINEL's Crawford calls the nominee's acceptance one of two possible "turning points" in a campaign -- the debates being another: "According to the cliche, Clinton must give 'the speech of his life' tonight. But the cliche applies" (7/16). DNC Chair Ron Brown: "Clinton doesn't need to address the character issue. The American people want to get on with the discussion of the real issues." Dem pollsters Geoff Garin & Peter Hart: The speech "needs to be the foundation from which the rest of the campaign is set. He also needs to begin demonstrating that he's not controlled by the special interests." Gloria Steinem: "He needs to make clear that we and he represent the majority of this country." Rep. Jose Serrano (D-NY): "He's got to remind us that the Cold War is over, communism is dead, and the only real threat to this country is within our border." Sen. Tom Harkin (D-IA): "He has to enunciate a very populist economic message if he wants to recapture some of the people back from Perot." Rep. Maxine Waters (D-CA): "He needs to reassure us all he's hearing us, that cities will be a priority." Gov. Roy Romer (D-CO): "The more frank his remarks are, the better they will be received" (USA TODAY, 7/16). Walter Mondale said Clinton must get the "Reagan Democrats" which cost him the '84 election: "We've lost that vote and he must get it back by emphasizing jobs, jobs, jobs -- and be specific about how he will create them" (Miller, COX, 7/16). ATLANTA CONSTITUTION's Baxter: "If you don't talk about anything else, talk about jobs and rebuilding the economy. Make it clear it's not only the poor you're speaking of, but families who live on cul-de-sacs and own two or three cars. Give them a reason to believe you know how to get things rolling again. ... Point out that Republicans have been talking about law and order for 24 years now, and they still haven't delivered any" (7/16). Newark STAR-LEDGER's John Farmer: "His task is nothing less than to reintroduce himself to a national audience willing ... to give him a second chance" (7/16). Clinton campaign manager David Wilhelm: "He needs to get people to say: 'Wait a minute. This guy is a lot different from the public image.' He must bridge together the gap between image and substance. They should come together in this speech" (Frisby, B. GLOBE, 7/16). Dem strategist Tad Devine: "He needs to put some meat on the bones of change" (N. Y. POST, 7/16). Balto. SUN's Jack Germond: "He must introduce himself to many voters who will be forming their

first impressions of him. At the same time, he must hope to persuade others that he is more acceptable than they may have imagined from all the alarums and excursions over Gennifer Flowers, his draft status, and the question of when and how he smoked marijuana" (7/16). AEI's Norm Ornstein: "The key to this speech is to tie his background to why he wants to be President. It must look ahead to what he would do for the country and where he sees the country four to eight years from now" (Clifford, N.Y. NEWSDAY, 7/16). NBC's Andrea Mitchell: "Now [Clinton's] challenge is to pull together a party that has a long tradition of splitting apart. ... Holding this coalition together won't be easy, except for one thing -- liberals and conservatives are all sick of losing" (7/15). Mark Shields: "Explain who Bill Clinton is." David Gergen: "We've heard the first echo of that in Mario Cuomo's speech" (PBS, 7/15). S.F. CHRONICLE's Yoachum & Roberts contend Clinton must "address several seemingly contradictory political goals." 1) "Assure his natural base of middle-class, predominantly white suburban voters that he is serious about leading the [Dems] back to the political center." 2) "Energize the more traditional party constituencies ... and convince them that his moderate policies are worth working for." 3) "Reach out to independents and disenchanted voters in both parties." 4) And "above all else," present a "compelling story that describes his roots and values" (7/16). SCRIPPS HOWARD's Thomasson suggests he must "overcome the 'Slick Willie' image" and convince voters he's an "exciting candidate who appeals to a broad base of the electorate" (W. TIMES, 7/16). Raleigh NEWS & OBSERVER's Ferrel Guillory suggests "He must deliver a speech that gives Americans a strong sense of himself and his aims, and thus propels his general-election campaign" (7/16). NBC's Bryant Gumbel: "It figures to be a confident Bill Clinton who gives his speech tonight" (7/16).

PREPARATION: Clinton "has watched videotapes of past acceptance speeches, studied and in some cases memorized the words of Lincoln, Roosevelt and Kennedy, and perused a 20-inch stack of memos from advisers about what they think he should say and subjects they hope he avoids. ... If Clinton's speech is a hit, the three aides considered his principal speechwriters will get their names attached to it in some accounts: Paul Begala, David Kusnet and Bruce Reed." Reed, downplaying: "Clinton is a better speechwriter than any of us." Clinton has spoken from a prepared text "no more than 10 times during this campaign year. ... Anyone seeking to gauge the power of the speech by the number of times it is interrupted by applause would be measuring the speech exactly the wrong way. When Clinton is at his best he mesmerizes his audience into silence" (Maraniss, W. POST, 7/16). "Clinton in recent weeks has read several books touching on political oratory, including a new biography of Harry Truman," a new books of essays by political columnist Molly Ivins, "and Gary Willis' new books on Lincoln's Gettysburg Address" (Lauter, L.A. TIMES, 7/15). BOSTON GLOBE's Oliphant notes the coaching of media consultant Roy Spence, and calls it a "metaphor for a formative moment in the life of a nominee, when he must understand that everything he has accomplished up to this moment means nothing; that he either takes himself, his ideas, his politics to a higher level or flops" (7/16). Clinton spent most of the day yesterday in his hotel room "finishing the speech on favored yellow pads and practicing before staff and friends" (Milligan, N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 7/16). Clinton has watched tapes of previous acceptance speeches -- Bush and Dukakis '88, Reagan '80 and '84 -- and

Martin Luther King speeches (Raleigh NEWS & OBSERVER, 7/16). In order to continue on the path of telling the American public about himself, "a 14-minute video produced by Harry Thomason and his wife, Linda Bloodworth-Thomason, longtime friends of Clinton who created the CBS television series 'Designing Women'" will be shown. "The film, made from 10 hours of footage and 1,000 pages of text, will tell Clinton's life story. But in the speech Clinton is also expected to tell how he overcame never knowing his real father, living with an alcoholic stepfather and working his way through Georgetown University and Yale Law School" (Frisby, B. GLOBE, 7/16).

*6 LAST NIGHT: FRONTING FOR THE COMEBACK KID

"Whooping approval for an end to 'the politics of decline, decay and deception,' the Democratic National Convention ... enthusiastically embraced" Clinton as its nominee (Robinson, BOSTON GLOBE, 7/16). "When Ohio put him over the top at 10:53pm EDT, glittering confetti rained from the ceiling ... the band played and delegates danced in the aisles" (Boyd/Fiedler, KNIGHT-RIDDER, 7/16). W. POST's Walsh reports, "in a moment filled with drama and emotion," Clinton then walked with his family from a nearby Macy's to the Garden "where he acknowledged the electrified cheers" of the convention. Their arrival set off a "wild scene of pandemonium." Clinton embraced his mother, Virginia Kelley, and younger brother, Roger, and then moved to the podium. He acknowledged he had broken tradition appearing on the third night, but made reference to a similar convention appearance by JFK in '60: "32 years ago another young candidate who wanted to get this country moving again came to the convention to say a simple thank you. ... I want to also thank you all for being here and loving your country. And when I come back tomorrow I will be the Comeback Kid" (7/16). Balto. SUN headline: "Clinton recalls Kennedy" (7/16). N.Y. DAILY NEWS header: "Bill pulls a JFK in victory" (7/16). N.Y. TIMES' Toner calls the walk from Macy's, seen by the convention crowd on the Garden's TV screens, "an extraordinary piece of street theater" (7/16). W. POST's Balz & Broder: "In that symbolic act, Clinton not only energized the hall but also took control of the convention and the party" (7/16). RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH notes, Clinton "becomes the first candidate in history to receive the call of his party in Macy's notions department" (7/16). WASH. TIMES' Moss compares Clinton to a "kid who couldn't wait until Christmas to open his presents" (7/16). Clinton also expressed his thanks to Cuomo for his nominating speech, referring to him as the "magnificent Mario Cuomo" (W.S. JOURNAL, 7/16).

REVIEWS: Last night, "past controversies were mere rumbles in the distance as Democratic delegates, almost ecstatically, celebrated his nomination. Their enthusiasm, at least for the moment, appears to be shared by the electorate" (Robinson, BOSTON GLOBE, 7/16). HOUSTON POST's Gravois writes the nomination gave Clinton the "last laugh on pundits who repeatedly wrote his political obituary during the primaries" (7/16). As he prepared for his speech tonight, Clinton "seemed to have achieved the dominance that had eluded his three unsuccessful predecessors" (Leubsdorf, DALLAS MORNING NEWS, 7/16). COPLEY's Condon notes the convention victory came "ten months after he announced his candidacy in Little Rock, 19 weeks after he was almost buried in a flurry of allegations in [NH] and 43 days after he clinched the nomination in [CA]" (7/16). USA TODAY's Wolf: "Democrats traveled back to the future ... honoring the fallen Kennedys

before staking their claim to the White House with a glistening shower of confetti upon another new generation candidate" (7/16). N.Y. DAILY NEWS front-page: "IT'S HIS PARTY" (7/16). N.Y. POST front-pager: "BILL!" (7/16). SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER's Connelly: "The once-fractious party displayed its unity to the nation last night" (7/16). ATLANTA CONSTITUTION's May & Cummings: "The night's events signaled a changing of a generational guard and a re-emergence of moderate and Southern Democrats at the highest levels of party leadership" (7/16).

TV COVERAGE: PBS' Robin MacNeil: "The Democrats ... hand their destiny to Bill Clinton." David Gergen: "He is now a celebrated figure" for Dems "because they do smell victory." (PBS, 7/15). CNN's Gene Randall: "The Clinton campaign is convinced it hit a major league home run tonight. ... A Clinton campaign official said Bill Clinton was nearly speechless reacting to Mario Cuomo's nominating address tonight" (7/15). Sen. Harris Wofford (D-PA): "This party has had less quarrels -- I have been to twelve conventions -- than any convention I've been at" ("Crossfire," CNN, 7/15). CBS' Bob Schieffer: "Whatever the reason, this convention is working for Bill Clinton. It is accomplishing just what he hoped it would. It is giving people outside the hall a more favorable impression of Bill Clinton." GOP analyst Kevin Phillips: "I think the news for George Bush from this convention is bad news. This is the first convention that we've seen taking place during a ... Republican incumbent [admin.], where the Democrats really smell victory." NEWSWEEK's Joe Klein on the similarity between Clinton's current lead and Dukakis' in 1988: "There's a difference, though. Michael Dukakis was a conscientious objector after his convention. He wanted to make policy, not war. Bill Clinton is ready to go to war" (CBS, 7/15). Wm Bennett on Clinton and Gore as "liberals": "This is not Mike Dukakis sitting in a tank" ("Crossfire," CNN, 7/15).

CLINTON, GORE ON AIR: In a PBS interview, Clinton said Jackson "gave a great speech. ... I look forward to working with him." On Brown: "I don't mind having differences with people against whom I ran ... but I think it's clear that we all have to know what the difference between us and President Bush is. ... What we have to recognize though, all of us is, that no one can let his or her personal interest get in the way of the larger purposes for which we are gathered here" (7/15). Gore on the Admin.'s response to negative economic figures: "What was their reaction? A new plan? A shift in our response? No, the top strategist was quoted publicly as saying, this means we're going to have to run a meaner campaign" ("Larry King," CNN, 7/15). Clinton on attacks on his AR record: "The Bush/Quayle people kill me. Their argument is, the President is not responsible for anything that happens in America, but a governor's responsible for everything that happens in his state. ... If you look at Arkansas since I've been governor, income has gone up, jobs have increased, education has improved. If you look at America since Bush has been president, the worst economic growth in the last 50 years. That's a big difference" (CBS, 7/15).

THE TOPPER: Cleveland PLAIN DEALER's Diemer profiles OH Dem chair Eugene Branstool, who announced the "decisive" 144 votes for Clinton. Branstool: "For a guy from a small town in Ohio being able to cast a vote to elect a president, yeah, I got to say that's exciting" (7/16).

MORE LIVES THAN ELVIS? Hollywood producer/friend Linda Bloodworth-Thomason, suggesting Clinton may the ultimate

"Comeback Kid": "You can't kill Bill. He'll be dead when he's embalmed, and even then I'd suggest an airtight casket, to be on the safe side" (N.Y. TIMES, 7/16).

*7 CLINTON: STANDING ROOM ONLY FOR CLINTON GALA

PASSING THE HAT: Imitating GOP fundraising methods, the DNC tonight will hold its "first-ever fundraising gala held in conjunction with the party convention" (Fritz, L.A. TIMES, 7/16). The party initially expected to raise $2.5 million, but Clinton's recent surge has raised the projected take to $3.4 million (Pertman, BOSTON GLOBE, 7/16). N.Y. TIMES' Labaton reports that the Clinton campaign is turning away "scores of contributors with checks in hand," because they have already sold enough tickets to fill the ballroom to capacity (7/16). Nonetheless, L.A. TIMES' Fritz finds that Clinton "still is trailing President Bush in the crucial competition for campaign dollars" (7/16).

ON THE "BILL WAGON": The Teamsters union endorsed Clinton yesterday and promised to put at least $4 million behind the campaign, "the first time in 20 years the nation's second-largest union has backed a Democrat" (Mulligan, N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 7/16). Teamsters Pres. Ron Carey said a telephone survey of members two weeks ago found that 66% back Clinton. Carey said that "Perot was a factor" but was hurt by his refusal to state a position on the striker replacement bill (Taylor, WASH. TIMES, 7/16).

ABORTION COMMOTION: N.Y. POST's Orin reports that a 1986 letter from Clinton to the AR Right to Life -- made available to the press by "Republican operatives" -- stated, "It is the public policy of the state of [AR] to promote the health, safety and welfare of every unborn child." POST: "But Clinton gave a very different impression of his stance" in an April debate. Clinton spokesman Parker "yesterday insisted the 1986 letter does not contradict Clinton's position because he has always been personally opposed to abortion" (7/16). After a phone conversation with Gore, PA's pro-life Gov. Bob Casey "cast his delegate ballot for Bill Clinton, ending months of refusing to endorse the Arkansas governor." When asked if the vote meant the governor is now at peace with the Clinton campaign, Casey aide Tony May responded, "There are different kinds of peace, but yeah" (Baer, PHILA. DAILY NEWS, 7/16). A federal judge ordered marshalls to arrest Operation Rescue activists who confronted Clinton with a fetus Tuesday, in violation of a court injunction (L.A. TIMES, 7/16).

MANDELA: Clinton met with anti-apartheid leader Nelson Mandela yesterday; Mandela emerged from the meeting "full of praise for the Democratic Party as a friend of the ANC" (Taylor, W. TIMES, 7/16). Mandela: "He was very, very supportive of us. He supports our struggle, without reservations." DALLAS MORNING NEWS' Crawford: "Jackson adviser Frank Watkins declined to say how Jackson felt about the Clinton-Mandela meeting." Watkins: "Apparently Governor Clinton has a strategy of putting a certain distance between himself and the Rainbow Coalition, from cities, from labor unions, and Reverend Jackson said he will respect the strategy." "A Jackson confidante" told the MORNING NEWS, "Mr. Clinton is convinced that he has to distance himself from Jesse to win. And to be quite honest, Jesse really doesn't care if Mr. Clinton calls him" (7/16). NEWHOUSE's Tilove: "The precipitous decline in black participation in the primaries this year -- which has the Democratic strategists worried about turnout in the fall -- was directly attributable to Jackson's absence. If Clinton should be elected with strong black support, Jackson

could be a hero to the party. But if Clinton loses and the turnout is low, Jackson could be blamed if he is viewed as not campaigning hard enough" (7/16). Columnist Carl Rowan: "Clinton's game plan is to have ... Jackson emotionalize into a crusade the disinherited and deprived of all races -- the people he spoke for so movingly Tuesday night -- and get them to the polls." At the same time Clinton and Gore will "work to disabuse" voters of the notion that the Dems are the "tax and spend" party. "This is a sort of shotgun political marriage, with Jackson the reluctant partner, but a marriage without which the Democrats would face another defeat" (N.Y. POST, 7/16).

BLACK VOTERS: W. POST's Cooper writes about the new black leadership, including northern mayors and southern officeholders, who "are preparing to turn out black voters so that the Clinton-Gore ticket will be less actively dependent" on Jesse Jackson's support (7/16). CQ's Beth Donovan also reports on the new generation, and the "next wave of black Democratic leadership" under Reps. William Jefferson (D-LA) and Mike Espy (D-MS) (W. TIMES, 7/16). According to Rep. John Lewis (D-GA), black House members and congressional candidates met yesterday to strategize on attracting the black vote to the Dem ticket in November. The ticket "stands to get a boost" from the creation of 12 majority black districts in eight states. Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies' David Bositis: "Clinton and Gore will be more palatable to black voters in the South than in northern urban areas" because Southern blacks tend to be more conservative than those in the "West or Northern urban areas." Rep. Craig Washington (D-TX) speaking in Harlem: "I don't know how it'll play up here. The people I know about are in Oklahoma, Texas, Florida -- southern blacks" (W. POST, 7/16). OH Rep. Louis Stokes, who controlled three "favorite son" delegates plus his own vote, threw the votes to Clinton last night. Cleveland PLAIN DEALER's Luttner writes that Stokes "had hoped to bring a delegate bloc to New York with some bargaining power. But given Clinton's strength here, he had little leverage" (7/16). Clinton promised to meet with Stokes, leader of a large campaign organization in Cleveland (W. TIMES, 7/16).

NO MORE FLOWERS: At a meeting with the MO delegation yesterday, Clinton aide Betsey Wright discussed Gennifer Flowers' allegations "at length." Wright: "We're not going to allow another liar to make the splash that Gennifer Flowers made. This is a secure candidate, and these kinds of lies are not going to get in our way." Wright said she is often asked if there are other Gennifer Flowers. Wright: "There are lots of Gennifer Flowers. Unfortunately, there are lots of women who seem to think that it's OK to completely fabricate lies and try to make fame and fortune at the expense of this man" (Mannies, ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH, 7/16).

WHO IS BILL CLINTON? Headline over N.Y. TIMES editorial: " Can Bill Clinton Be Trusted?" (7/16). A N.Y. TIMES bio piece by Gwen Ifill focuses on the candidate's "tenacity" and "persistence" (7/16). PHILA. INQUIRER carries a L.A. TIMES bio under the headline "Time and again, Clinton bounces back" (7/16). USA TODAY's Nichols compares two views of Clinton: "Natural leader" and "Political chameleon" (7/16).

*8 CUOMO: "STEP ASIDE MR. BUSH, YOU'VE HAD YOUR PARADE"

"In a powerful and sentimental nominating speech intended to unify the ranks of the [Dems] and propel [Clinton] to the White House, Cuomo appealed to the consciences of Americans while

blistering the policies of George Bush. ... The address was rich with imagery ... and rich too, with appeals to tolerance, diversity and fairness" (Fielder, KNIGHT-RIDDER, 7/16). Cuomo "gave the party's left wing some of the old religion, but he also made pragmatic concessions to the new, more moderate direction" of Clinton (Crabill, Bergen RECORD, 7/16). He brought the convention "to fitful life with a speech that nominally nominated Bill Clinton and cunningly skewered George Bush" (Shales, W. POST, 7/16). Cuomo "regained his stature with a speech that supplies the cement and steel to complete the bridge" (McAlary, N.Y. POST, 7/16). "The power of [the speech] stemmed from the metaphors he used to illustrate the failures of the Bush and Reagan years" (Sack, N.Y. TIMES, 7/16). BOSTON GLOBE's Robinson writes, "Employing the oratorical intimacy for which he is known, [Cuomo] painted a portrait of a nation peopled by failed executives who are paid millions, and millions of high school dropouts who end up on the streets, without jobs, without training, without health care, without hope" (7/16). "Dozens of speakers over the last three days have decried the Reagan/Bush era, but Cuomo laid it out in simple language" (Arnold, NPR radio, 7/16).

WHAT HE SAID: On "lives of pain": "It's a terrible tragedy. Not only for our children. But for all of America. They are not my children perhaps. Not yours either. But Jesse is right: they are our children. We should, we should love them. That's compassion." On the direction of the U.S.: "The ship of state is headed for the rocks. The crew knows it. The passengers know it. Only the captain of the ship -- President Bush -- appears not to know it. I am here tonight to offer America a new captain with a new course before it is too late." On "politics of inclusion": "Surrender that Democratic principle, and we might as well just tear the donkeys from our lapels, pin elephants on instead, and retreat behind ivy-covered, where, when they detect a callous on their palms, they conclude it's time to put down their polo mallet." On Clinton: "It's time for a change -- someone smart enough to know; strong enough to do; sure enough to lead. The Comeback Kid. A new voice for a new America" (mult., 7/16).

REAX: Clinton, when asked if Cuomo's speech was "a tough act to follow": "It's a great act to follow" (Lewis, HEARST, 7/16). CBS' Susan Spencer: "The question may be whether Bill Clinton can match this speech" (7/15). "It was a lesson in public speaking and the convention ate it up" (Newman, N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 7/16). MS delegate Sam Sullivan: "We're a long way from [NY] and down in [MS] we only hear bits and pieces of what [Cuomo] has to say. But tonight we heard it all and it's the greatest thing I've heard since I've been here." Rep. Charles Schumer (D-NY): "He gave everyone in the room ... a reason to unite behind Bill Clinton" (N.Y. NEWSDAY, 7/16). Clinton communications dir. George Stephanopolous: "It's all that we could have hoped for" (N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 7/16). FL delegate/Clinton brother-in-law Tony Rodham: "Cuomo knows what Jerry Brown doesn't. This is Bill Clinton's convention" (KNIGHT-RIDDER, 7/16). CNN's Ken Bode: "This was a very good stroke for the Clinton campaign, because Mario Cuomo and Bill Clinton have had a very prickly relationship in the past. ... Getting this glorified endorsement of Bill Clinton was a very smart thing to do" (CNN, 7/15). NEWSWEEK's Joe Klein: "We always knew that Mario Cuomo was a great orator. But he proved something else tonight that we didn't know about him before: He was a good

soldier" (CBS, 7/15). CBS Charles Kuralt to Dan Rather "several minutes" after the speech: "I'm still in the glow of that Cuomo speech." ABC's David Brinkely: "He's still the best." ABC's Peter Jennings: "Well, he sure does it well, doesn't he" (W. POST, 7/16). NBC's Tom Brokaw: "The Italian-American prince of the Democratic party. ... One of the poets of American politics. ... A very enthusiastic speech." NBC's John Chancellor: "[He] did exactly and precisely what this convention needed for Bill Clinton. ... That was some speech." Mark Shields: "Cuomo is a great trial lawyer, tonight he was a great character witness. He made a great case for Bill Clinton." David Gergen: "For the first time in my memory, someone who's a true heavyweight in the [Dem] party, got in the ring and spoke up for Bill Clinton" (PBS, 7/15). NBC's Tom Brokaw: "Whatever happens in Bill Clinton's life, if I were him I think I'd have that made into a wallet sized video tape and take it around and show it to people and say, 'Did you see what Mario Cuomo had to say about me'" (NBC, 7/15). Cuomo on his speech: "This is the easiest case [for Clinton/Gore] I ever made. ... Everything I said, I meant" (CNN, 7/15).

WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN: The speech "gave diehard Cuomo fans a wistful glimpse of what might have been" (Nelson, N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 7/16). "His words were made even more poignant to his audience by the knowledge that he might have been the nominee" (Goldberg, N.Y. NEWSDAY, 7/16). He "rekindled in some the dreams of what might have been" (Fielder, KNIGHT-RIDDER, 7/16).

WHAT RIVALRY? "As Jesse Jackson did before him, [Cuomo] swallowed his personal and ideological doubts about the [Dem] ticket ... and talk[ed] up Bill Clinton" (Dowd/Rich, N.Y. TIMES, 7/16). "Despite earlier concerns about his loyalty by Clinton campaign officials," Cuomo gave a "gracious and moving speech that made a straightforward case for the candidate" (Goldberg, N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 7/16). The address "left no doubt that he was fully behind the Clinton campaign, defying skepticism of some political insiders" (Dicker/McKenna, N.Y. POST, 7/16). "The hall was aflood with ironies, and the strange bed-fellow rule of politics was fully operative" (Lewis, HEARST, 7/16).

WHO'S COUNTING: Cuomo mentioned Clinton's name 28 times in 27 minutes (Beneson, N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 7/16).

WHO'S WATCHING: CBS carried Cuomo live, ABC waited until Cuomo was done then cut into its regular program with a taped version, and NBC did nothing. Of course PBS, CNN and C-SPAN carried it live.

ON THE STREET: A kid shouted to Cuomo as he walked down 42nd St. toward the Garden: "Yo, Mario. How come you didn't want to get elected?" Cuomo: "Who said anything about not wanting it? I just elected not to run" (Lupica, N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 7/16).

THIS A.M.: Fred Barnes: "A speech like that roused the crowd; a speech like that isn't going to win the election." Bob Beckel: "Cuomo did Clinton a big favor last night; he did not go too far to the left" (CBS, 7/16). NBC's Andrea Mitchell: "[Cuomo gave Clinton] the best political present he could possibly offer -- a compelling nominating speech that hit every note Clinton could have wanted ... embracing Clinton fully" (7/16). ABC's Mike Schneider: "The nominee may have a hard time topping his nominator" (7/16). Cuomo: "This is one of the most cohesive conventions I've ever witnessed -- we're very, very strong behind Clinton and Gore." Cuomo, on the difference between '88 and '92: "In 1988 there were no real issues for the

American people, they didn't know how weak the economy was because they weren't unemployed yet ... so superficialities prevailed. Mike Dukakis was beaten by Willie Horton and Boston Harbor. You can't do that kind of thing this year ... because the issues are so well known. All of America knows we're in deep trouble." Asked if liberals feel left out now, Cuomo responded, "I don't think this platform is moderate; I don't think it moves backward. It is committed to investing in people." Asked if he wishes he was running, Cuomo said, "It wasn't difficult to be a supporting player this year and not a candidate ... It would have been nice to run for president, but I can't, so I'll do the next best thing: I'll make the person president, if I can, to the extent my effort counts, who I think is best for the country, and that's Bill Clinton" (ABC, "GMA," 7/16).

*9 BROWN: THE NOT READY FOR PRIME TIME PLAYER

Under header, "What Jerry didn't say mattered the most," N.Y. POST's Garcilazo & Kranes write, "The unconventional Jerry Brown did the unexpected last night. He didn't bash Bill Clinton and Al Gore. But he didn't mention them, either. ... For most listeners, the speech was a letdown" (7/16). KNIGHT-RIDDER's Trounstine & Cannon write, "It could have been worse." CA delegate/filmmaker Oliver Stone: "He didn't emphasize the differences between himself and Clinton. It was sort of like joining the team." CA delegate Tim Carpenter: "It was a great speech. He didn't say the 'C' word, which you were all looking for" (SAN JOSE MERCURY NEWS, 7/16). HOUSTON POST's Kiely writes, "Call it the unendorsement. But then, what else did you expect from the unpolitician?" (7/16). NBC's Tom Brokaw: "Brown achieved what he wanted, a moment in the spotlight. ... [He] is a politician with more than nine lives." Mark Shields: "He spoke the truth. ... He ran a campaign that credit must be given." David Gergen: "To not mention Bill Clinton ... shows exactly why the Clinton people weren't too terribly enthusiastic about putting him up" (PBS, 7/15). Brown used the speech "to hammer away at the themes that dominated" his campaign. He also "avoided a hostile convention reaction by steering away from any criticism of Clinton" (Cohen, Newark STAR-LEDGER, 7/16). While he "stopped short of endorsing, ... he seemed to shorten the distance between himself and party leaders" (Stahl, DALLAS MORNING NEWS, 7/16) Brown: "I intend to fight for the party and its ideals tonight, tomorrow, and forever. ... As we join together, no obstacle will stand in our way." The words "suggested a continued Brown political reform effort beyond" the '92 campaign (Witcover, Balto. SUN, 7/16). Brown did use the speech to attack both Perot and Bush. On Bush: "President Bush and his allies give us government of, by, and for the privileged." On Perot: "Let's not get fooled by the false populism that comes to us out of the concentration of wealth and power we're sworn to oppose. Outside of advertising, there's no such thing as a billion dollar populist. Mr. Perot, we can afford to pay for our own democracy. We don't need you to lend it to us" (Boren, SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER, 7/16). BOSTON GLOBE's Nolan also notes that Brown, who has survived three presidential campaigns, "has been regarded by many delegates here as New York's most notorious 54-year-old juvenile delinquent" (7/16). N.Y. NEWSDAY's Kasindorf noted, Brown spoke for 19 minutes and 52 seconds, which was under the 20 minute limit. Brown's name was placed in nomination by campaign mgr Jodie Evans. 15 year-old Kelly Aldrich seconded the nomination (7/16).

USA TODAY editorial on Brown's money out of politics campaign: "Brown's ideas are worth preserving -- whoever espouses them" (7/16).

KATHLEEN: KNIGHT-RIDDER's Trounstine writes, CA Treas. Kathleen Brown (D) "is winning rave reviews for her adroit performance here, while her brother Jerry is earning a reputation as an eloquent but petulant agitator" (7/15).

*10 GORE: WELL RECEIVED AMONG DELEGATES AND PRESS

"Judging by the reception" Gore has received at the convention, most delegates think he's a "fine choice." AEI's Norman Ornstein called Gore's reception the "more uniformly positive than I have ever seen." N.Y. NEWSDAY's Saul notes, "If there is any discomfort about Gore among the delegates, it involves his seeming attempts to be all things to all people." Gore has been making appearances before small groups this week, which have been "carefully orchestrated by the Clinton campaign" (7/16). In a column criticizing the press for engaging in "shameless boosterism" of Gore this week, Mona Charen writes, "Mr. Gore is a good choice, but hardly the paragon he's been painted. ... When the week of hoopla is over, the question will remain: Is this the ticket that can overcome the Democratic Party's weakness, demonstrated by five defeats in the last six presidential elections?" (W. TIMES, 7/16).

BOOM OR BUST? Clinton's pairing with Gore "marks a coming of age for America's baby-boomers and a risk for Democrats. ... Surveys have consistently shown Clinton running poorest among voters in his own age group, a pattern that has held up since his selection of Gore." Dem pollster Celinda Lake: "This is a ticket that reflects (baby boomer's) own ambivalence about themselves." CA pollster Mervin Field: "There's almost an automatic response among people to have doubts about someone of their own generation" (Barabak, SAN DIEGO UNION-TRIBUNE, COPLEY NEWS, 7/16).

FLIP-FLOPPING: L.A. TIMES' Fritz reports that Gore, who "professes to be strongly" pro-choice, expressed opposition to it as recently as 1987, saying it is "arguably the taking of human life." In an '87 letter to a constituent, Gore wrote: "Let me assure you that I share you belief that innocent human life must be protected an I am committed to furthering this goal." Gore "flatly denied" his position had ever changed, but acknowledged he has "long opposed" federal funding for abortions (7/16). The Ad Hoc Cmte in Defense of Life criticized his "U-turn" on the issue (release, 7/15). Though Gore and Tipper have been "publicly identified with a national crusade for warning labels on sexually explicit" music, L.A. TIMES' Fritz reports Gore received "generous contributions from the recording studios during his 1990 Senate campaign and Tipper has helped the industry to defeat music censorship legislation in several state legislatures." Fritz contends it is "evidence" of what Gore's critics see as his "habit of presenting himself as a man of principle while at times trimming his views to conform with political expediency" (7/16).

TOO MUCH GREEN? In NY yesterday, Bush domestic policy advisor Clayton Yeutter labeled Gore an "environmental extremist," saying he advocates "preservation at any cost" of old growth forests. Yeutter also "denounced" Gore for criticizing Bush at the Earth Summit for refusing to sign the species preservation treaty and weakening an agreement on global warming. Yeutter criticized him for "going to a foreign country and

advocating positions contrary to the interests of his country" (Connelly, SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER, 7/16). Ironically, W. TIMES' Bedard reports campaign and admin. officials "said they want to ignore Gore in public attacks because drawing too much attention to [him] would divert and muddy the attacks on Clinton." One admin. official: "We won't return Al Gore's fire. He covers up Clinton's weaknesses on the environment and the military" (7/16).

*11 GOP SURROGATES: YANKEE GO HOME

MA Gov. William Weld (R), "smarting from reports of political influence peddling, skipped a trip" to NY 7/14 where he had planned to attend a GOP news conference to attack the Dem ticket. "Weld said the demands of the state budget and a slate of possible vetoes required his presence at home." Dems were quick to respond to his decision, "calling it a major embarrassment for the governor and an admission that published reports about the fund-raising activities of his aides had hit home." They also said it "suggested that the party was dissatisfied with his performance at an anti-Bill Clinton event last week in Little Rock." Clinton MA convention coordinator Ellaine Guiney: "Sending someone out who's in the middle of a fund-raising scandal is probably not their best ambassador." Dem consultant Michael Goldman noted Dems had "stayed up most of the night preparing press releases and statements to counteract whatever he was going to say": "About 80 percent of our delegates said they were ready to cancel whatever they were going to be doing this afternoon to come and hold 'Welcome to New York' signs for him" (BOSTON HERALD, 7/15).

TX: State GOPers used the Capitol podium 7/14 to "criticize" Clinton as a "career politician who has failed his state." They also criticized Richards for "leaving the state to participate in the convention without having resolved funding for Texas schools." Richards has taken more than a dozen of her top staff members and two dozen former campaign supporters to the convention with her (AUSTIN AMERICAN-STATESMAN, 7/15). Bush TX Victory Cmte chair Rob Mosbacher, Jr.: "We're going to remind Texas voters that behind the pretty pictures and speeches in New York is nothing more than a career politician who has done little or nothing for his own state" (SAN ANTONIO EXPRESS, 7/15). Referring to Richards convention address, Mosbacher: "She is quick to attack what she sees as the president's faults, but she does not have a [clue] what to do about the critical problems facing the state especially the mounting public education crisis." Richards plans to vacation abroad after the convention and will not return to TX until the end of the month (AUSTIN AMERICAN-STATESMAN, 7/15).

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========== SENATE WATCH ==========

*12 ALABAMA SENATE: SELLERS ASKS FOR PROBE FOR SHELBY & GORE

Businessman Richard Sellers (R) has asked for a Senate Ethics Cmte investigation of Sen. Richard Shelby (D): "For several months, Sellers has tried unsuccessfully but very publicly" to get AG Jimmy Evans (D) "interested" in the story of alleged conflict of interest charges concerning Shelby and Mobile exec. Bart Chamberlain (Fox, BIRMINGHAM NEWS, 7/14). Sellers has "repeatedly accused" Shelby of taking a large contribution from Chamberlain after Shelby had offered an amendment "that sought to relieve" Chamberlain of a $26M fine by the Energy Dept. The fine was levied in 1987, after Chamberlain and a partner "skirted federal price regulations" during the '70s oil embargo. In a letter to Ethics cmte chair Terry Sanford (D-NC), Sellers asked "whether Shelby misled other senators when he submitted the Chamberlain amendment." Shelby "denied any wrongdoing in connection with the fine." The letter also sought to link Sen. Al Gore (D-TN) with Chamberlain. Gore has "acknowledged being one of seven" congressional Dems who purchased a "17-acre Caribbean hide-away" in the Bahamas. The purchasing firm was named Douglas & Chamberlain, Ltd, and Sellers asks, "if the company name is coincidental" with the name of Chamberlain's firm, Douglas Oil Co. But a '91 FORBES magazine report notes Rep. Robert Mrazek (D-NY), who "put the island deal together," named Douglas and Chamberlain Ltd. after "two Confederate heroes." Sellers "said he was not making accusations" against Gore, but simply "raising questions" for the cmte to investigate (Bryant, BIRMINGHAM POST-HERALD, 7/14). Shelby spokesman called Sellers' charges a "last-ditch effort to put some life into a campaign that never was" (BIRMINGHAM NEWS, 7/14).

*13 PENNSYLVANIA SENATE: DEM BREAKS RANKS, ENDORSES SPECTER

State Sen. Hardy Williams (D), "considered the dean of black politics in Philadelphia," broke party ranks 7/14 and endorsed Sen. Arlen Specter (R-PA). Specter is "counting on cracking the traditional coalition, including labor, blacks and Jews, that a Democrat needs to win statewide election." Specter at a 7/14 news conference: "No Democrat can be elected in [PA], regardless of their record ... without the support of the African American community." Backers of women's activist Lynn Yeakel (D) "minimized" Williams' endorsment, noting "his influence has declined in recent years" (Gorenstein, PHILA. INQUIRER, 7/15). Williams criticized Yeakel for "patently lacking" a civil rights record and for having a "'suspect' commitment to equal rights." Yeakel manager Eva Gladstein: "We're very happy with the very strong support we have among African American officials." Williams "shrugged off" a report that he agreed to back Specter after receiving assurances that the jobs of 15 friends and family members with Philly's Housing Authority would be protected: "The guy called me and I laughed at it. I certainly would like to have some patronage. That'd be great. I'm not a party chairman or anything like that, but if I had patronage I would love it." Specter deined the report (Daughen, PHILA. DAILY NEWS, 7/15).

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LL UPDATE ==========

*14 N.Y. DAILY NEWS/HOTLINE: CLINTON 41%, BUSH 30%, PEROT 19%
500 registered voters, surveyed 7/15 by The Tarrance Group (R) and Greenberg/Lake (D), margin of error +/- 4.5%, NY DAILY NEWS (Convention edition, 7/16). Three-day Combined and comparison results refer to similar national samples surveyed 7/13 and 7/14 (HOTLINE 7/14-15); Three-day combined m/e +/-2.8%. Key: WOM HOM = Females in the home; WOM EMP = Females in the work place.

	7/15	7/14	7/13	THREE-DAY COMBINED	7/15 GOP	DEM	IND	MEN	WOM HOM	WOM EMP
Clinton	41%	40%	35%	39%	20%	65%	31%	40%	41%	41%
Bush	30	31	31	31	51	11	22	31	32	28
Perot	19	20	24	21	20	16	25	23	11	19

TWO-WAY	7/15
Clinton	48%
Bush	38

	FAV/UNFAV 7/13	7/14	7/15	THREE-DAY COMBINED
Clinton	48/37	49/36	50/35	49/36
Bush	38/52	40/52	39/53	39/52
Perot	37/35	35/37	34/45	35/39

QUESTION: "Do you feel that the issues discussed at the Democratic National Convention pertain to real people, like yourself, or to special interests?"

	7/15	GOP	DEM	IND	BUS	CLI	PER
Real people	41%	36%	50%	34%	26%	59%	29%
Special interests	31	40	23	25	42	19	43
Neither/unsure	28	24	28	41	32	22	27

QUESTION: "Regardless of how you are planning to vote for as president, who do you believe will win in November?"

	7/15	GOP	DEM	IND	BUS	CLI	PER
BUSH	40%	54%	29%	29%	77%	4%	1%
CLINTON	35	22	50	31	22	65	-
PEROT	6	7	2	12	32	25	26

*15 ABC/WASH. POST: CLINTON 42%, BUSH 30%, PEROT 20%
1001 adults surveyed 7/10-14; margin of error +/-3.5% for full sample, +/-4% for registered voters (RVs), +/- 4.5% for likely voters (LVs); ABC release to HOTLINE 7/15; WASHINGTON POST 7/16). ABC reported on the likely voter totals (7/15); the POST reported the registered voter totals (7/16).

	LVs 7/14	7/8	6/28	6/7	RVs (770) 7/14	7/8	6/28	6/7	ALL 7/14	7/8	6/28	6/7
BUSH	28%	35%	29%	30%	30%	33%	28%	30%	30%	34%	29%	30%
CLINTON	45	30	33	26	42	30	33	26	41	30	31	25
PEROT	20	30	30	38	20	30	31	36	20	30	31	36

	ALL	GOP	DEM	IND	MEN	WOM	WHT	BLK	NE	MW	SO	WE
BUSH	30%	63%	9%	26%	31%	29%	33%	15%	32%	28%	30%	31%
CLINTON	41	11	72	31	37	44	36	69	41	40	46	31
PEROT	20	19	13	34	25	16	22	11	15	24	19	24

	BUSH VOTERS			CLINTON VOTERS			PEROT VOTERS		
	ALL	RVs	LVs	ALL	RVs	LVs	ALL	RVs	LVs
Strong support	51%	55%	59%	55%	57%	57%	60%	64%	68%
Not as strong	33	31	30	32	30	30	28	25	19

TWO WAY RACE (estimate based on 2nd choice of Perot voters)

LVs:	7/14	7/8	6/28	6/7 PRE	PEROT ALL:	4/26	4/9	1/27
BUSH	32%	47%	36%	40%	BUSH	49%	43%	51%
CLINTON	50	44	42	45	CLINTON	42	38	38

*16 CBS: CLINTON FAVORABLES UP, UNFAVORABLES DOWN
616 adults, including 467 registered voters (RVs), surveyed 7/14 and 7/15 AM, margin of error +/- 4%,

IMPRESSIONS OF BILL CLINTON

	7/15	7/11	6/20	5/30	4/23	3/29	ALL	GOP	DEM	IND
Favorable	29%	20%	16%	15%	24%	26%	29%	11%	47%	22%
Unfavorable	24	31	40	40	41	40	24	39	11	27

DOES CLINTON HAVE STRONG LEADERSHIP QUALITIES? Yes 58%, No 22%
COMPARED TO MOST IN PUBLIC LIFE DOES CLINTON HAVE ...
More honesty and integrity 11%
Less honesty and integrity 11
About the same 70
DOES HE SAY WHAT HE BELIEVES OR WHAT HE THINKS YOU WANT TO HEAR?
Believes 30%, want to hear 57%
WILL HE TRY TO BRING AMERICANS TOGETHER? Yes 64%, No 21%
COMPARED TO PREVIOUS PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, IS THIS YEAR'S ...
More important 68%, Less important 1%, About as important 30%
CAN CLINTON AND GORE UNDERSTAND THE NEEDS OF PEOPLE LIKE YOU?
Can 58%, Cannot 21%
ARE CLINTON AND GORE DIFFERENT FROM DEM CANDIDATES IN PAST?
Different 41%, Typical Dem candidates 44%
IS THAT GOOD OR BAD? Good 85%, Bad 8%
DOES U.S. NEED A YOUNGER GENERATION TO LEAD THE COUNTRY?
Yes 45%, No 50%
OPINION OF DEMOCRATIC PARTY? Favorable 59%, Not favorable 31%

QUESTION: "Regardless of how you intend to vote, which Presidential candidate is more likely ato make the changes in athe politiacal system that you would like to have made?"
BUSH 15%, CLINTON 41%, PEROT 30%

========== TV MONITOR ==========

*17 THIS MORNING: ABC's "Good Morning America" hosted NY Gov. Mario Cuomo; Michael and Kitty Dukakis, and Susan Estrich and Bay Buchanan on the WH race. CBS "This Morning" hosted Rep. Maxine Waters (D-CA) and Rep. Dave McCurdy (D-OK); Dukakis and Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D-TX); Bob Beckel and Fred Barnes; and columnist Molly Ivins on "The Bubba Vote." NBC's "Today" examined the Dem Party's move to the center with the DLC's Sen. John Breaux (D-LA), Jesse Jackson, and ex-House Speaker Tip O'Neill; hosted Molly Ivins, BOSTON HERALD's Howie Carr and David Jackson of the DALLAS MORNING NEWS, and USA TODAY's Debbie Howlett; DNC chair Ron Brown and RNC chair Rich Bond, and Clinton's mom Virginia Kelly. CBS and NBC both interviewed Hollywood producer Linda Bloodworth-Thomason (7/16).

LAST NIGHT: NBC, CBS and CNN led with Ed Rollins' resignation. ABC led with the new ABC/W. POST poll. PBS' "MacNeil/Lehrer" led with Clinton and focused on "Clintonomics" with Clinton adviser/Progressive Policy Inst.'s Rob Shapiro, New School's/ex-Jesse Jackson adviser David Gordon, and Urban Inst.'s Isabel Sawhill. CNN's "Larry King Live" hosted Gore and Sen. Bill Bradley (D-NJ). "Crossfire" hosted hosted ex-Drug Czar Wm Bennett and Sen. Harris Wofford (D-PA). ABC's "Nightline" examined the effect of Ed Rollins' departure on Perot, with Molly Ivins and James Carville (7/15).

LATER: Arsenio Hall on Jesse Jackson's "keep hope alive" chant: "That's all well and good, and I was moved by it all, but as long as Quayle is vice president, we should be chanting 'Keep Bush alive, keep Bush alive" ("Arsenio Hall," 7/15). Dennis Miller: "You see that's the problem with the Republican party, they look at AIDS activists, women, homeless American Veterans as kooks, and Dan Quayle as a normal guy." On Brown: "Jerry Brown hoped to be nominated for president tonight in a populist revolt amongst the delegates. Barring that, Brown hopes to picked up in central Arizona by the mother ship." Miller added, "Brown will be allowed to speak at Madison Square Garden tonight, if he confines himself to the remarks, 'popcorn, peanuts, soda'" ("Dennis Miller," 7/15).

RICHARDS: Letterman to guest TX Gov. Ann Richards: "Are we looking at the end of the Republican reign, here now?" Richards: "I think the phrase is: 'Stick a fork in them, they're done.'" Richards on whether it was appropriate to put a woman on the '92 ticket: "I didn't think it was. There are not many of us that are prepared to be president, and I think when you choose a vice president it should be someone who is prepared to take over ... there are a lot more women in the pipeline coming up." Letterman: "Before the acceptance speech, or at some time when Clinton and Gore are in the Garden together, will you drop by the dressing room and say 'ok boys, don't screw it up,' will you give them one of those?" Richards: "I've already done that" (NBC, 7/15).

FROM THE CONVENTION FLOOR: Selected Letterman campaign button slogans: "I'm old enough to remember the last time we won"; "Clinton in '92, 11,000 Americans can't be wrong"; "I'm bored stiff"; "Perot, I mean Clinton in '92"; "Hey Koppel, nice hair!"; "Another Stripper for Tipper"; "Arrest me, I'm a Kennedy"; "Please stop staring at my chest, Gov. Clinton" ("Late Night," NBC, 7/15).

TOP TEN SIGNS YOU WON'T BE RE-ELECTED PRESIDENT:

10. At fund-raising dinners guests ask you, "Can we have some more butter please?"
9. Whenever you use phrase, "if I'm re-elected" in speech, crowd bursts into 10 minutes of uproarious laughter.
8. Wife keeps reassuring you she can get work as a mall Santa.
7. Quayle's on your ticket.
6. When you ask your campaign manager advice, he shrugs and says, "Beats me."
5. Carvel turns their President Bush cake into "Bushy the Whale."
4. Instead of "four more years" supporters chant "six more months."
3. Your pinhead son loses three billion dollars in savings and loan scandal.
2. Your State of the Union address is pre-empted by a "Who's-The-Boss-A-Thon."
1. "Other" beats you in polls.

========== TV SOUNDBITE ==========

"In a world of thin-skinned politicians,
Bill Clinton is an admirable aberration."
-- Mario Cuomo, to the convention, 7/15.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

News Summary

OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992
6:00 A.M. EDT EDITION

NATIONAL NEWS

DEMOCRATS PICK CLINTON AS THEIR CANDIDATE -- Bill Clinton won the Democratic presidential nomination Wednesday night, climaxing a long, rough campaign.
(UPI, Washington Post, Boston Globe, Washington Times, New York Times)

FACTORY OUTPUT FELL 0.3% IN JUNE IN SIGN OF STALL -- Industrial production fell 0.3% in June, the Fed said, another sign that the economy's muted rebound was stalling last month.
(Wall Street Journal)

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

OFFICIALS PLEDGE TO LIMIT U.S. NUCLEAR TESTS TO SIX YEARLY -- The Bush Administration has promised to limit the number of nuclear tests to six a year.
(AP)

U.S. WARNS IRAQIS TO END STANDOFF WITH U.N. INSPECTORS -- The Bush Administration Wednesday warned that Iraq was "putting at risk" the cease-fire that ended last year's Persian Gulf War by keeping a U.S.-led team of U.N. inspectors from searching for suspected weapons-related documents in Baghdad's agricultural ministry.
(Washington Post, New York Times)

NETWORK NEWS (Wednesday evening)

CONVENTION -- The Democratic Party is about to nominate Bill Clinton, while in Texas some of the internal strife in the Ross Perot campaign has broken out into the open.

ECONOMY -- There were new figures from the government which indicate the economic recovery has slowed to a crawl.

BOSNIA/HERCEGOVINA -- Another effort to end the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina has failed.

NATIONAL NEWS.....A-1

INTERNATIONAL NEWS...A-9

NETWORK NEWS.....B-1

This Summary is prepared Monday through Friday by the White House News Summary Staff.
For complete stories or information, please call 456-2950.

**DEMOCRATS PICK CLINTON
AS THEIR CANDIDATE**

NEW YORK -- Bill Clinton won the Democratic presidential nomination Wednesday night, climaxing a long, rough campaign that brought him from near obscurity to a possible three-way race for the White House.

With Ohio casting 144 votes for the 45-year-old governor, Clinton went over the 2,145 needed for the nomination. The final vote was Clinton 3,362 to Brown's 596 and Tsongas' 209. The convention then voted by acclamation for Clinton.

"It is not a matter of wanting Bill Clinton," Mario Cuomo said in beginning his nomination speech. "It is much, much more than that. We need Bill Clinton because he is our only hope for change from this nation's current disastrous course."

Cuomo went through a series of instances where he said President Bush and the Republicans had failed the country and stressed to Democrats that they were the ones who needed to look out for the common man. He pointed out America was even ready to turn to Ross Perot for change. **(David Wiessler, UPI)**

Clinton Celebrates Democratic Nomination With Unconventional Victory Walk To Garden

NEW YORK -- Bill Clinton won the Democratic presidential nomination Wednesday night and in a moment filled with drama and emotion strode with his family through the streets of Manhattan to Madison Square Garden where he acknowledged the electrifying cheers of the Democratic National Convention.

Mario Cuomo recalled that Democrats have called for change but in three successive elections have failed to persuade the voters to trust them with the country's future.

"This time we cannot afford to fail to deliver the message - not just to Democrats but to the whole nation," he said. "Because the ship of state is headed for the rocks. The crew knows it. The passengers know it. Only the captain of the ship -- President Bush -- appears not to know it," Cuomo said.

(Edward Walsh, Washington Post, A1)

Democrats Joyously Tap Clinton To Take Battle To Bush In Fall

NEW YORK -- Whooping approval for an end to "the politics of decline, decay and deception," the Democratic National Convention on Wednesday night enthusiastically embraced Bill Clinton as its presidential nominee....

Gov. Cuomo decried what he termed the Republican inclination to spend billions to bail out failed savings and loans, to wage wars and repair damage from earthquakes and hurricanes while ignoring other human needs.

"If we can do all this for these spectacular catastrophes, why can't we find the wealth to respond to the quiet catastrophes that every day oppress the lives of thousands, that destroy our children with drugs, that kill thousands with terrible new diseases like AIDS, that deprive our people of the sureness of adequate health care, that stifle our future?" Cuomo demanded. "Bill Clinton says that we can, and we should, and we will."

Paul Tsongas had little to say about Clinton but was venomous in his treatment of President Bush and the effects of 12 years of Republican leadership. "We have had 12 years of leadership that spoke to self, not community, was greedy, not giving," Tsongas said. "They encouraged us to squander, not preserve, to consume, not enhance. They took our differences and sought to exploit them for their own political purposes."

Tsongas said of Bush and Ronald Reagan: "They told us we could have it all. They told us it was morning in America. They lied." **(Walter Robinson, Boston Globe)**

Clinton Handed The Torch

NEW YORK -- Bill Clinton Wednesday night basked in the tumult of victory as Democrats anointed him as their candidate to take on President Bush in November and challenge the Republicans' 12-year lock on the White House.

Mario Cuomo, in a passionate speech that hit Bush as much as it praised Clinton, nominated Clinton on the third night of the 41st Democratic National Convention.

"So step aside, Mr. Bush," Cuomo said. "You've had your parade. It's time for change -- someone smart enough to know, strong enough to do, sure enough to lead. The Comeback Kid. A new voice for a new America."

Sen. Kennedy said, "With Bill Clinton, it is time to reject the politics of slash and burn -- the evil politics that makes the face of Willie Horton more important in a national campaign than the face of a hungry child."

Sen. Kerrey concluded his remarks by saying, "The truth is, George Bush is a President from the past -- who spent his whole life training to be commander of the Cold War -- a President who now clings to power, but has no larger purpose -- a President whose only important domestic program is his own re-election."

Rep. Hamilton said, "The President has had his chance to develop an American foreign policy for the post-Cold War world. He has failed to do so. It is now Bill Clinton's turn."

(Jennings Moss, Washington Times, A1)

Democrats Give Clinton Their Blessing; Cuomo Hails 'New Voice For New America'

NEW YORK -- The Democratic National Convention sent Bill Clinton into the battle for the presidency Wednesday night, after Mario Cuomo made a powerful case for the man who might have been his rival and declared that the nation could not afford another Democratic defeat.

The heart of Cuomo's speech was an indictment of 12 years of Republican rule, which he asserted had rocked the middle class, devastated a generation of urban children, ravaged the economy with policies akin to Herbert Hoover's and left the nation angry and yearning for change. **(Robin Toner, New York Times, A1)**

TSONGAS REMINDS DEMOCRATS OF HARD CHOICES

NEW YORK -- Paul Tsongas, recalling the themes that made him a contender but not the winner in the race for the Democratic nomination, urged his party not to ignore fiscal discipline and hard choices as it seeks to restore the nation.

"Yes, it is our profound responsibility to return this country to the path of social justice and environmental protection," Tsongas said in an address to the Democratic convention Wednesday. "But it is also our responsibility to return this country to the path of economic growth and fiscal discipline."

Turning his attack to the Republicans, Tsongas said President Bush "has shamefully ignored these realities. He has run away from the hard choices."

"His record is generationally immoral. It violates the legacy of our ancestors. It violates the promises to our children. It is spiritually bankrupt," he said. Tsongas predicted improvements for minorities, women and others "next year under Bill Clinton," but "never under George Bush." **(Robert Shepard, UPI)**

EARLY 'BUMP' PUSHES CLINTON INTO LEAD

NEW YORK -- Surging support for Bill Clinton during the first days of the Democratic National Convention has propelled Clinton past President Bush and a faltering Ross Perot, a new Washington Post/ABC News Poll shows.

The survey found Clinton was the choice of 42% of the 770 registered voters questioned, up 12 percentage points in a week. Bush was favored by 30%, while Perot was the choice of 20% of the voters questioned, down from 30% in a week. Among those most likely to vote, Clinton was the choice of 45%, Bush was favored by 28% and Perot trailed with 20%. The poll has a margin of sampling error of plus or minus 4 percentage points.

Perot's decline suggests that Clinton and the Democrats are succeeding in winning back party members who had supported the Texas billionaire.

Some observers say that Bush may expect a healthy bounce after the Republican convention in Houston next month -- a bump that may again come at Perot's expense.

(Richard Morin, Washington Post, A8)

ROLLINS, TOP AIDES LEAVE TROUBLED PEROT CAMPAIGN

DALLAS -- Ross Perot's campaign co-manager Edward Rollins and most of the political professionals that Rollins brought into Perot's crusade for the presidency were forced out Wednesday after Perot rejected Rollins's advice about how to revive his slumping campaign.

Rollins, who appeared with campaign chairman Tom Luce at a news conference here, described his departure as a resignation and as a "mutual decision" arising out of "irreconcilable differences" between himself and Perot over how to run the campaign.

Rollins had been privately urging Perot to adopt an aggressive campaign strategy that would have included television advertising, starting this week, and the release of detailed policy statements showing where Perot stands on key issues. But after four days of intense discussions, Perot refused to agree, concluding he did not want to mount a "traditional" campaign, sources said.

Some campaign aides Wednesday suggested that Perot may even decide to drop out of the race. At the news conference, Luce said, "I don't think Mr. Perot's plans have changed one iota."

(Michael Isikoff, Washington Post, A1)

Rollins Resigns As Perot Campaign Co-Manager

DALLAS -- Ed Rollins resigned Wednesday after a brief, unhappy tenure as co-manager of Ross Perot's unannounced presidential campaign in the latest in a string of embarrassments to hit the strong-willed billionaire's candidacy....

Rich Bond said: "I think this is the beginning of the end of the Perot candidacy. My educated guess is that Ross Perot ultimately will not seek the presidency in 1992."

GOP sources said that Rollins was dismayed at Perot for his remarks to the NAACP. "He told Perot in strong language that you can't run this campaign out of your hip pocket," said one source close to Rollins.

Also Wednesday, former arms-control negotiator Paul Nitze said he "didn't find any comfort" in Perot's views and expected to be dropped as a volunteer adviser on foreign affairs. Nitze said Perot and his advisers were developing a faulty foreign policy.

(Scott McCartney, AP)

WHITE HOUSE SAYS DOOR OPEN FOR SHERRIE ROLLINS

NEW YORK -- Sherrie Rollins, the former White House aide who quit her post when her husband went to work for Ross Perot, will get her job back if she wants it, Charles Black said Wednesday. "She's a victim in all this," Black said of Ms. Rollins. "She's a good person. She'll get her job back."

Ms. Rollins was vacationing in Bali, Indonesia. **(AP)**

GOP AIDES BATE BREATH AS BUSH AND BAKER FISH

Bush-Quayle campaign officials spent the day Wednesday in Virginia courting Pat Robertson and his army of Christian Republican voters, and in New York trying to get out a contrary word on the new Democratic ticket. But their minds remain on Wyoming, where, they are convinced (without any facts to bolster that certainty), President Bush will ask Secretary Baker to shelve diplomacy for politics.

According to a knowledgeable campaign official, an army of Republicans in the Administration and outside has told Bush and Baker in recent weeks that Baker needs to put aside diplomacy temporarily and return to the White House, not the campaign. Their thesis is that an incumbent campaign must be run out of the White House, not out of campaign headquarters. And they say it is clear that Sam Skinner's six-month reorganization of the White House staff has not produced the intended results.

Campaign sources speculate that if Bush asks, Baker would not resign as secretary of state but would instead ask the President to name Undersecretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger as acting secretary and have Baker "loaned" to the White House as a counselor to Bush. Under such a scenario, Baker could be back at Foggy Bottom on Election Day.

A Republican who advises the campaign said some in Bush's circle are discussing a "fresh-start" effort that would have Bush name a new domestic team for a second term. Many Republicans have suggested Bush fire Secretary Brady and Richard Darman as a symbol of concern for economic policy, but he has ignored that advice for a year and there is no sign he is more amenable today.

(Ann Devroy, Washington Post, A6)

GOP WHISPERS WAITING FOR GORE

JACKSON HOLE, Wyo. -- Picking up where its whisper campaign against Bill Clinton and Ross Perot left off, the Bush-Quayle re-election campaign has turned its lips to Al Gore. But the whisper campaign won't be echoed by any public attacks.

Following the 1988 strategy that had George Bush and Dan Quayle attacking only Michael Dukakis, the Republican candidates plan to return fire only from Clinton, Administration officials said. A senior Administration official said the public statements from the White House and campaign won't even mention Gore.

But surrogates on the campaign trail are questioning Gore's credentials and directing reporters to Gore associates who have an unflattering view of the lawmaker. The goal is to undermine the image of Gore as a popular Democratic moderate, brainy legislator and environmentalist.

Consider these recent comments: "He's not very deep," an Administration official said. "He's very concerned about his image. It's style over substance," an Administration political adviser said.

Campaign and Administration officials said they want to ignore Gore in public attacks because drawing too much attention to the senator would divert and muddy the attacks on Clinton.

(Paul Bedard, Washington Times, A1)

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TEAMSTERS BACK DEMOCRATS FOR FIRST TIME SINCE 1976

NEW YORK -- The Teamsters Union, which has 1.41 million U.S. members and backed the Republicans in the past three elections, said Wednesday it was endorsing Bill Clinton.

"Bill Clinton is our best hope for getting this country moving again," Teamster president Ron Carey said in a statement. "Many Teamsters supported George Bush and Ronald Reagan, who promised 'jobs, jobs, jobs.' The Republicans failed to deliver. Now the Reagan-Bush Democrats are coming home," he said.

A poll conducted for the union found that three-quarters of its members thought the nation was "on the wrong track." Two-thirds of the 712 members polled also thought that the union should endorse Clinton. **(Reuter)**

THE WOMEN WITH A TICKET TO RIDE

NEW YORK -- Hillary Clinton was making the scene Wednesday morning at a private breakfast at the Regency Hotel when she was approached by a fat man, extending his hand. "Hi, I'm Roger Ailes," the man said, and Clinton's eyes got wide.

But Mrs. Clinton recovered quickly, reaching to hand Ailes a plastic bag. "Here, have some cookies," she said. "I baked them myself."

The incident is an apt metaphor for Hillary Clinton's energetic campaign to transform her troublesome public image....

The Clinton campaign is bracing for a coordinated attack on Hillary. While President Bush's strategists insist they have no such plans, they can cite chapter and verse on Clinton's record as a lawyer and legal theorist who has written extensively on children's rights issues. They talk about her personal liabilities as though she were Bill Clinton's Dan Quayle.

"She's an absolute minus," claimed a senior Bush operative. "If you listen to her closely, it's clear that she's an extreme liberal and way beyond the mainstream. Her philosophy is that government knows best, and she wants to inject the government right at your kitchen table." **(Lloyd Grove, Washington Post, C1)**

RUNNING FINDS ITS PLACE ON ROAD TO THE WHITE HOUSE

The Democrats, who have sweated 12 years without a jogger in the White House, are making their 1992 run with Bill Clinton and Al Gore striding shoulder to shoulder.

Wearing the nylon shorts for the Republicans: President Bush, who's covered many a mile on the Washington footpaths.

Torie Clarke was quoted recently in the New York Times as saying Clinton and Gore look like they "have been bellying up to the Twinkie bar too much." **(Gary Mihoces, USA Today, 11C)**

QUAYLE PANEL REBUFFED ON EPA DISPUTE

A federal appeals court has some bad news for Vice President Quayle's White House Council on Competitiveness: There's a limit to how much you can push the bureaucracy around.

A three-judge panel Tuesday overturned an EPA regulation allowing incinerator operators to burn lead-acid batteries from cars and trucks.

The EPA originally wanted to ban battery burning, but the OMB rejected the proposal. EPA then appealed to Quayle's council. The council refused to support the ban, and the EPA then abandoned the idea, the three-judge panel noted.

The court sent the proposed rule back to the agency, saying the EPA had neglected to "adequately explain its reasons for not imposing a ban." The agency now must change the regulation or give a more complete explanation that can pass muster in court.

(AP, Washington Post, A7)

THOMAS COULD ACT TODAY ON ABORTION PILL CASE

Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas Wednesday postponed judgment for at least one day on whether to allow a California woman to take an unapproved French abortion drug called RU-486 that was confiscated by federal officials.

Thomas had been asked Tuesday night by abortion-rights activists to overturn an appeals court action denying the drug to Leona Benten, 29. The RU-486 pills were seized by U.S. authorities on July 1 at JFK Airport in New York. Benten, who is 7 1/2 weeks pregnant, sought to bring the pills into the country from Britain in contravention of FDA policy.

Thomas, the justice who oversees cases from the 2nd Circuit, where the original suit was filed, Wednesday asked the Justice Department to provide him with an opinion on the case by Thursday morning. No decision is expected until later Thursday at the earliest.

(Malcolm Gladwell, Washington Post, A3)

A DEADLINE TO DELIVER POSTAL CUTS

Newly appointed Postmaster General Marvin Runyon has given 42 of his top officials 30 days to explore ways to "restructure and reduce postal overhead, starting at the top. Everything is on the table for consideration," he said in a statement.

In addition, Runyon placed a hold on all U.S. Postal Service construction projects as part of his effort to trim the agency's projected $2 billion deficit.

The real estate "pause" will give Runyon a chance to review the construction projects, said spokesman Frank Brennan. The agency had allocated about $579 million for construction this year. Board of Governors Chairman Norma Pace said in an interview that the review might result in a "delay or postponement" of some of the projects "given the fact that our revenues are off course."

(Shari Rudavsky, Washington Post, A21)

FACTORY OUTPUT FELL 0.3% IN JUNE IN SIGN OF STALL

Industrial production fell 0.3% in June, the Fed said, another sign that the economy's muted rebound was stalling last month.

It was the first decline in five months. Some of the factors behind the decline aren't likely to be sustained, however, analysts said, so it's possible production could pop up again this month.

Part of the decline was blamed on a 3.2% drop in coal production, which was temporarily halted by the nationwide rail strike. Also, because of inventory cycles, production of autos and trucks tumbled 3.6% after a string of monthly increases.

(Lucinda Harper, Wall Street Journal, A2)

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OFFICIALS PLEDGE TO LIMIT U.S. NUCLEAR TESTS TO SIX YEARLY

The Bush Administration, fighting a congressional plan to suspend nuclear testing, has promised to limit the number of such tests to six a year.

In two letters to congressional leaders, the Administration also pledged to conduct tests only to check the safety and reliability of U.S. nuclear weapons and not to provide data for the development of future weapons.

"The Administration continues to believe that a modest nuclear testing program remains essential for continued confidence in our significantly reduced nuclear deterrent," said a July 10 letter from Secretary Cheney, Brent Scowcroft and Secretary Watkins.

The three expressed strong opposition to bills that would impose a one-year moratorium on U.S. testing. The House has already passed such a bill and the Senate has 52 supporters for a similar measure. A vote in the Senate could come next month.

A senior U.S. official said a test ban no longer is essential to achieving arms control because stockpiles of nuclear weapons will be sharply reduced under recent U.S.-Russian agreements. "We've gone for the weapons directly," the official said.

(Ruth Sinai, AP)

U.S. WARNS IRAQIS TO END STANDOFF WITH U.N. INSPECTORS

The Bush Administration Wednesday warned that Iraq was "putting at risk" the cease-fire that ended last year's Persian Gulf War by keeping a U.S.-led team of U.N. inspectors from searching for suspected weapons-related documents in Baghdad's agricultural ministry.

The implicit U.S. threat of renewed military action against Iraq escalated the 11-day-old dispute between Iraq and the U.N. Security Council over the inspection demand.

Iraq signaled its continued defiance in a letter received Wednesday by U.N. Secretary General Boutros-Ghali. In the letter, Iraqi Foreign Minister Ahmed Hussein called for annulment of U.N. resolutions authorizing international inspections and other punitive measures against Iraq.

A U.S. official said the Bush Administration has opened discussions with Britain and France on what military steps might be taken if Iraq fails to allow the inspection of its agriculture ministry. The official said the principal option being considered is aerial bombardment -- presumably by planes from several nations -- of an Iraqi building already slated for destruction under U.N. rules because of its past ties to Iraq's development of weapons of mass destruction. **(Jeffrey Smith, Washington Post, A14)**

-More-

U.S. Warns Iraqis On Hindered Team

The Bush Administration warned Iraq Wednesday that it was violating the Persian Gulf War cease-fire agreement by barring a U.N. inspection team from searching for documents stored in a Baghdad ministry.

"As we've seen many, many times throughout this process, going back over a year now," Richard Boucher said, "Iraq has made various disclosures and allowed certain things to be destroyed, allowed certain things to be inspected, allowed certain things to be documented, and then has tried to stop the process." He said Iraq was playing a game of "cheat and retreat."

(Barbara Crossette, New York Times, A7)

ENVOY SAYS BAKER WILL SEEK COMMITMENTS DURING VISITS

JERUSALEM -- Amb. William Harrop said Wednesday that the Bush Administration has a strong interest in approving loan guarantees denied to Israel because of the building of Jewish settlements in Israeli-occupied Arab lands.

He told reporters that Secretary Baker will urge Arab and Israeli leaders during his Middle East visit next week to agree to "confidence-building measures" in advance of the next round of peace talks.

Harrop gave no details of what Baker had in mind for "confidence-building measures." But Israeli newspapers reported Wednesday that Baker is likely to ask Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin to commit to elections soon for Palestinians in the occupied territories. Palestinians, in turn, would be asked to stop anti-Israeli violence during the talks.

Rabin said elections for a Palestinian legislature are "inconceivable," reiterating that the self-rule council Israel envisages would handle administrative matters and not defense or foreign affairs.

(AP, Washington Post, A14)

CANADIANS HAVE SECOND THOUGHTS ABOUT NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE

OTTAWA -- Canadians are having second thoughts about the ambitious plan to link North America in a continent-wide free trade zone, but Prime Minister Mulroney is determined to press ahead with negotiations.

Analysts said Canada, where the unpopular Conservative government must face elections by the autumn of next year, is dragging its heels in the final stretch.

On Tuesday, Premier Bob Rae of the populous province of Ontario demanded the federal government pull out of the NAFTA talks. He blasted the U.S. over reports this week that the U.S. Customs Department has started preliminary audits of two Canadian-based automobile manufacturers to find out if they meet North American content rules. "I don't think there is a better or fairer way to describe these actions... than as systematic trade harassment," Rae said of the U.S. investigations of car plants.

A recent Gallup poll showed that only 28% of Canadians are in favor of a free trade deal with the U.S. and Mexico, down from 35% last year.

(Robert Kozak, Reuter)

NAMIBIA ASKS U.S. HELP IN DISPUTE OVER SEAPORT

Prime Minister Hage Geingob of Namibia said Wednesday he has asked the U.S. to use its influence with South Africa to speed up negotiations over Walvis Bay, a disputed deep-water port on the Atlantic Ocean.

Geingob told Washington Post editors and reporters he had made the request in a meeting Monday with Secretary Baker, but has not yet received a substantive response. Negotiations between South Africa and Namibia about the strategic port began in March 1991, but are "in limbo," the prime minister said.

A State Department official said Wednesday the U.S. has raised issues regarding Namibia with South Africa in the past and seems likely to comply with Namibia's request. The official said Namibia is considering taking its problems with South Africa over Walvis Bay to the U.N. or another international forum if South Africa does not show sufficient movement on the issue.

During Wednesday's interview, Geingob said Namibia, like a number of small countries in Africa, is "very frustrated" about feeling ignored by the U.S. and other major powers in the post-Cold War era. Now in the Cold War's aftermath, Namibia has been careful to meet "all the requirements of being democratic," including a much-praised constitution, a multiparty system and a free press, Geingob said. "I would have thought that countries such as the United States would want to support the ideals that human beings are free and endowed with certain liberties," he said.

(Don Oberdorfer, Washington Post, A16)

PERMANENT U.N. PRESENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA SOUGHT

UNITED NATIONS -- Nelson Mandela urged the Security Council Wednesday to open the way for a permanent U.N. presence in South Africa by sending a special representative there to begin "continuous monitoring" of whether the white minority government is instigating violence against blacks.

Mandela spoke at the opening of an emergency council debate about the June 17 massacre of at least 42 blacks in Boipatong township. The council appears virtually certain to agree to the request for a special envoy, and Secretary General Boutros-Ghali is expected to name Cyrus Vance. However, whether such a mission will be a foot in the door for a permanent U.N. presence, as Mandela and the ANC hope, is not clear.

U.S. Amb. Edward Perkins, taking a position that was echoed by most European governments, skirted the question of a permanent U.N. presence and stressed instead the Bush Administration's view that the most important thing is to speedily resume negotiations between the de Klerk government and black groups on a new constitution.

Perkins pointedly referred to the special envoy's proposed task as a "goodwill mission," and said the U.S. policy "is to do all it can to further the negotiating process. We believe that also should be the policy of the Security Council."

(John Goshko, Washington Post, A1)

CHENEY SAYS U.S. NOT PREPARED TO SEND TROOPS TO BOSNIA

FAIRBANKS, Alaska -- Secretary Cheney said Wednesday the U.S. remained cautious in its approach to the Bosnian conflict and reiterated that Washington was not prepared to send ground troops into Yugoslavia.

"We have to be cautious when it comes to using U.S. ground troops," Cheney told reporters at a news conference. "We are working diplomatically and militarily, but we are not prepared to descend thousands of ground troops into Yugoslavia," he said. "We do have to be cautious when we possess the kind of power we possess."

Cheney said the circumstances differed dramatically from last year's Gulf War. "In the Gulf, it was a clear case of aggression," he said. "In Yugoslavia, who is the enemy? How would we identify our military mission? Who would we fight? The Bosnians? The Serbs? We don't know." **(Reuter)**

WESTERN NAVAL FORCES COOPERATE IN WATCH ON YUGOSLAV COAST

BERLIN -- Warships from eight NATO nations, including the U.S., will begin patrolling the Yugoslav coast Thursday in the latest Western attempt to weaken the ability of Serbia and the new Yugoslav state it controls to promote aggression in neighboring Bosnia-Hercegovina.

A NATO flotilla of six ships including the guided missile frigate USS Jack Williams will be positioned in the southern Adriatic Sea, while a separate monitoring force of similar size assembled by the nine-nation Western European Union will patrol the Strait of Otranto at the mouth of the Adriatic. Both forces will be under Italian command.

A NATO statement said the ships are under orders only to watch for possible violations of the U.N. trade embargo against Serbia and Montenegro but not to stop any vessels. Patrol craft crews will not board any ships approaching the coast but will seek to determine their cargo and destination through radio contacts. The patrol fleets will be supported by 10 search helicopters and radar surveillance planes, the statement said.

The new pressure against Belgrade comes as a new EC attempt to jump-start long-stalled peace talks among the warring Bosnian factions appeared to be making no headway. EC mediator Lord Carrington had little promising to say about the new round of talks, beyond the fact that representatives of Bosnia's Serb, Muslim and Croat communities had assembled in London. Bosnian Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic has said already that he will never speak directly to the leader of Bosnia's militant Serb minority, Radovan Karadzic. **(Marc Fisher, Washington Post, A18)**

-End of A-Section-

(Wednesday evening, July 15)

CONVENTION

ABC's Peter Jennings: We begin tonight with the ups and the downs of politics. Here in Madison Square Garden tonight, under the guiding hand of a very professional Clinton campaign, the Democratic Party is about to nominate Bill Clinton, while in Texas some of the internal strife in the Ross Perot campaign between professionals and amateurs has broken out into the open. One of the two professional campaign managers hired to run the Perot campaign for the presidency, Ed Rollins, has been given his walking papers, and we will have a report on that a little later in the broadcast. But we're going to start with one of the essential props of politics and, on occasion, journalism. The delegates at the convention here in Madison Square Garden have been waiting anxiously in celebrating tonight to see whether their man, Bill Clinton, is going to get what they call a convention bounce -- a bounce in the polls from all the convention attention. The answer is a resounding yes. And the caution is it doesn't always last. In just a week governor Clinton's popularity rating has gone up 15 points. The latest ABC News/Washington Post poll shows Clinton at 45%, George Bush down 8 points from a week ago at 28% approval, and Ross Perot down to 20%. That caution I referred to is based on history. Four years ago Michael Dukakis was 12 points ahead of Mr. Bush when the Democratic convention came to an end. Come November, Mr. Bush won 40 states, which is why we begin pointing out that polls aside, Bill Clinton, who will officially be the nominee in a matter of hours, has an enormous task ahead of him.

ABC's Jeff Greenfield says before the Clinton team begins fighting over office space in the White House, it's time for a reality check, staring in Ohio. Ohio is where Democrats used to go to win the White House; it's image is rust belt, blue collar. But like so many other states, Ohio is actually more suburban middle class. These suburbs are so Republican that in 1988 George Bush would have carried Ohio even if he hadn't won a single vote in the city of Cleveland.
(TV coverage of President Bush shaking hands as he walks onto the speaker's platform.) (ABC-Lead)

CLINTON ON THE ECONOMY AND THE BUSH CAMPAIGN TEAM

CBS's Dan Rather to Clinton in an interview: ...It's reliably reported the Bush-Quayle committee plans to use your own state statistics to criticize your ability to lead. One of their campaign themes is developing to be, if you do for the country what you did for Arkansas, America will be in even deeper trouble than it is now.

Clinton: The Bush-Quayle people kill me; their argument is the President's not responsible for anything that happens in America, but a governor's responsible for everything that happens in his state. I mean, it's an absurd argument. If you look at Arkansas since I've been governor, income has gone up, jobs have increased, education has improved. If you look at America since Bush has been president -- the worst economic record in the last 50 years. There's a big difference; Arkansas is going in the right direction and America is going in the wrong direction.

Rather: ...Ross Perot. Late word is he says he may have a decision in two or three weeks whether he is going to get in the race.

Clinton: ...I would be the sole beneficiary [if Perot doesn't run] of the famous Republican hit machine, and all the bile and venom and the negativism that they can spew out would be all directed against me and not some against Mr. Perot.... (CBS-10)

NBC's Andrea Mitchell says Mario Cuomo recently put Bill Clinton on the spot by suggesting that he will have to raise more taxes to pay for what he's promised. In an interview with NBC and PBS today, Clinton said he won't.
(Clinton: "I don't think so. And I'll tell you why. The difference between my program and the Republican program, which has not produced growth, is that my program is tied to investment.")
(NBC-2)

CUOMO'S CONVENTION SPEECH

CBS's Bill Plante says Clinton told Dan Rather in an interview today what he expects from Mario Cuomo's speech.
(Clinton: "First, I want him to be a clear a voice -- a conscience for the Democratic Party. Second, I want him to continue to explain to people what's like to have been a governor in this country over the last 11 years -- what it has been like for him, what it has been like for me, what it has been like even for the Republican governors -- to have the federal government say to you every year: 'Do more with less money; you balance your books; we'll forget about you.'")
There's good news for Clinton tonight from a CBS News poll conducted last night and this morning. For the first time since January more people have a favorable than an unfavorable view of him. And the number of people who now believe he has leadership qualities has gone way up. It's now a sizeable majority. On the other hand, you could say that if he didn't get at least that out of this convention, it would hardly be worth having.
(ABC-4, CBS-3)

TEAMSTERS' UNION/CLINTON

Rather reports the Teamsters' Union is endorsing Bill Clinton.
(CBS-2)

TEXAS DEMOCRATIC DELEGATES

Jennings says there is a clear link between the Perot, Clinton and Bush campaigns, particularly in big states like Texas.

ABC's Lynn Sherr asks Bob Slagle, Texas State delegate chairman, if Bill Clinton can pull it out without Perot in the race in Texas.

(**Slagle:** "Yes, I think he can. I think that Ross Perot had already done us a significant favor when he got into the race because he gave people who had voted for Bush but felt that he had a failed policy on economics, education, jobs -- it gave them an avenue to move immediately to other than a Democratic avenue. As a consequence now, two-thirds of 70% of Texas think that George Bush should not be reelected president. It's a whole lot easier for them to move from Perot...to Bill Clinton, who has developed policies, than it is to move back to George Bush, who they regard as a failed president.") (ABC-3)

SUBURBAN VOTE

Rather says part of the strategy emerging from this Democratic convention is a theme that the Clinton-Gore ticket is middle of the road and it can be sold in the land of the shopping malls. Are the voters out there in a mood to buy it. Correspondent Mark Phillips went to Chesterfield, MO, to sample the suburban vote.

Phillips says a backyard barbecue becomes a political grilling.
(**Susan Clark:** "I think four more years of a heartbeat away from Quayle is ridiculous.")
(**Joe Clark:** "I like a lot of the things Quayle has had to say lately.")
The world away of the suburbs -- once a Republican bastion. Now Republican workers are finding George Bush a tougher sell.
(**Gloria Dickmann, Republican activist:** "We're having to talk a little more -- revvv up a little more.")
Joe buys it.
(**Joe Clark:** "He's a tough man, and I think with the right support he can do it.")
Susan doesn't.
(**Susan Clark:** "I don't buy that. I do blame Reagan and Bush for the past 12 years, and I do think it is Bush.") (CBS-4)

ROLLINS LEAVES PEROT CAMPAIGN

NBC's Tom Brokaw: We do have a major political story tonight, but it's in the campaign of Ross Perot. On a night when Bill Clinton is preparing to come here to Madison Square Garden to at least acknowledge his nomination as the Democratic presidential candidate, the Ross Perot campaign has trouble at the top in Texas. One of the big-name political handlers Perot brought in from the outside has resigned.

NBC's John Cochran reports Ed Rollins left.
(**Rollins:** "It's a basic difference of when to get this thing started and how to get it finished.")
The White House thinks it may help George Bush because Ed Rollins was a Ronald Reagan conservative; the feeling was that Rollins might be able to take along some Reagan conservatives into the Perot camp. Now that won't happen, they hope. (NBC-Lead)

Rather: It's a big night here for Bill Clinton -- the night he officially gets the Democratic presidential nomination, but the big political story at this hour is in Dallas, where a key player in the Ross Perot campaign has quit. (CBS-Lead)

ECONOMY

Jennings says there were some new figures from the government today which indicate the economic recovery has slowed to a crawl. Industrial production went down last month by 0.3%. It's the first drop in five months. (ABC-9)

Brokaw says business inventories increased 0.1%. That indicates continued consumer caution. (CBS-8, NBC-6)

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA/PEACE TALKS

Jennings reports another effort to end the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina has failed. There were supposed to be peace talks in London today, but the Bosnian foreign minister refused to sit in the same room with the leader of the Serbian militia. Meaningful talks, he said, cannot be held at gunpoint. (ABC-13)

MANDELA/U.N.

Jennings reports Nelson Mandela told the U.N. Security Council today that the South African government is using state terrorism to block a multiracial democracy. He called for a special representative to investigate the continuing violence in his country. (ABC-12)

NBC's John Dancy reports Bill Clinton supported Mandela's call for a special U.N. envoy to investigate last month's massacre. The U.S. has been working behind the scenes to see the Security Council session doesn't get out of hand and do more harm than good; the aim here is to get talks between blacks and whites in South Africa going again. (NBC-4)

Rather reports Nelson Mandela criticized President Bush for lifting sanctions against South Africa. And Mandela said that Bill Clinton thoroughly supports the struggle of South African blacks. (CBS-5)

TIME WARNER/POLICE/RAP SONG

CBS's Ron Allen reports police from across the country converged on Hollywood today. They're trying to publicly humiliate Time-Warner for continuing to sell the song "Cop Killer." They're boycotting Time-Warner's products. President Bush labeled "Cop Killer" sick.
(President Bush in a recent speech: "...sick.")
Some police officers think police should be listening to the music's frustration, not just the words.
(Ronald Hampton, National Black Police Association: "It ought to be a wake-up call for law enforcement and politicians in this country to begin to change the way police officers do their jobs.")
(CBS-6)

POPE

Jennings reports Pope John Paul II is doing well after undergoing surgery. Surgeons removed a tumor from his colon. Preliminary tests indicate it was benign. The doctors also removed the Pope's gallbladder when they discovered he had gall stones.
(CBS-7, NBC-9, ABC-11)

-End of News Summary-

1:30 P.M. EDT/11:30 A.M. MDT NEWS UPDATE

PEROT (Dallas/UPI) -- Texas billionaire Ross Perot announced that he will not enter the race for the White House. Perot thanked the thousands of volunteers who have worked in his campaign but said that it was clear with a "revitalized" Democratic Party that the race would be thrown into the House and he could not win. Perot indicated he would ask the volunteers to continue with their signature gathering to represent the level of discontent in the country.

DUKAKIS/CLINTON (New York/AP) -- Bill Clinton has shown he can take "a thousand punches" but he had better be ready for more, Michael Dukakis said. "Beware. Beware," the losing candidate of four years ago said on ABC's "Good Morning, America." "What 1988 tells us all is that when President Bush and the people around him start coming at you, you can't sit there and take it," said Dukakis. "You have got to turn those attacks into a character issue on George Bush."

NAFTA (AP) -- U.S. and Mexican negotiators have tentatively agreed on health and safety standards for food products that would move across the Rio Grande under a North American free-trade agreement, officials say. Sources in Congress and the Bush Administration said that negotiators appeared to have settled on the question of food safety and health standards in advance of a July 25 meeting of chief negotiators.

ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS (Jerusalem/AP) -- Israel's housing minister said he has ordered officials to stop signing contracts for housing in Jewish settlements, but that he had not decided what to do about projects already under way. The order by Benjamin Ben-Eliezer came as Secretary Baker prepared to tour the region next week. Rep. Wayne Owens (D-Utah) said during a visit to Israel that he was confident the [U.S.] loan guarantees could be approved within six weeks, now that a more moderate Israeli government is in office.

BOSNIA (London/Reuter) -- Bosnia's Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said he had ordered Serb commanders to call an immediate halt to the siege of the eastern Bosnian town or Gorazde. Karadzic, in London for E.C.-sponsored peace talks on Bosnia, told reporters he had sent a letter to mediator Lord Carrington informing him of his action. "I have given the order to the army commander to put all groups under control and stop firing immediately, even if the Moslems continue to fire," Karadzic said.

RAMOS/U.S. RELATIONS (Manila/Reuter) -- Philippine President Ramos said he was confident relations with the U.S., which cooled during the administration of Corazon Aquino, would be stronger under his government. "With the new Administration there are many opportunities for this relationship to be improved," said Ramos.

HOUSING STARTS (Reuter) -- Construction starts on new homes and apartments fell moderately in June after a big rise in May, the Commerce Department said. The annual rate of starts of new homes declined by 3.2 percent to a seasonably adjusted annual rate of 1.17 million units after a jump of 11 percent in May.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Jackson Hole, Wyoming)

For Immediate Release July 16, 1992

The President today recognized Derrick Thomas, of Independence, Missouri, as the 832nd Daily Point of Light for the Nation. Mr. Thomas, an All-Pro outside linebacker for the Kansas City Chiefs, devotes his time to providing exceptional care for children and youth, helping them develop good character and values.

After a brush with the law at age 14, Derrick Thomas was sent to the Dade County Marine Institute. There he learned the value of self-discipline, positive thinking, and teamwork.

In 1990, having established a successful career in professional football and eager to create opportunities for at-risk children to build their self-esteem, Mr. Thomas founded the Third and Long Foundation. On the Saturday before each Chiefs home game, and one Saturday each month during the off-season, the Derrick Thomas Reading Club gathers children ages 9 to 13 to read and discuss difficulties they may be having in school. Mr. Thomas himself reads stories and newspaper articles with 58 children from low-income neighborhoods, then facilitates smaller group discussions. He prefers to work directly with those children who have had the greatest disciplinary problems and reading difficulties.

Through the Third and Long Foundation, Derrick Thomas has mobilized other volunteers for service, including fellow Chiefs Kevin Ross and Chris Martin. He has developed close relationships with many of the youth, encouraging their social and academic development. The Reading Club enables Mr. Thomas and other players to serve as role models and motivators while encouraging children to improve in fundamental skills.

The President salutes Derrick Thomas for exemplifying his belief that, "From now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others."

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FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT: Miah Homstad (202)456-6266

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Jackson Hole, Wyoming)

For Immediate Release July 16, 1992

The President has announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be Members of the President's Committee on the National Medal of Science:

EDWARD A. FRIEMAN, of California, for a term expiring December 31, 1993. He would succeed David R. Challoner. He will be designated Chairman. Since 1986, Dr. Frieman has served as Director of the Scripps Institute of Oceanography in La Jolla, California.

EDWARD C. STONE, JR., of California, for a term expiring December 31, 1994. He would succeed Roland H. Carlson. Currently, Dr. Stone serves as Director of the Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Pasadena, California.

GEORGE H. HEILMEIER, of California, for a term expiring December 31, 1994. He would succeed Carl O. Bostrom. Currently, Dr. Heilmeier serves as President and Chief Executive Officer of Bellcore (Bell Communications Research) in Livingston, New Jersey.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Jackson Hole, Wyoming)

For Immediate Release July 16, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN TELEPHONE CALL

From Secretary Baker's Ranch
Boulder, Wyoming

11:10 A.M. MDT

THE PRESIDENT: This is the President. I just called Ross Perot. On a very personal basis, I congratulated him. I told him I understood how difficult a decision it must have been. I told him that he had really and truly energized an awful lot of people.

Obviously, I told him I would welcome his support and the support of all those who have been out there working for him. I congratulated him on the excitement that he brought to the race, particularly the way he energized the volunteers. It is rather significant and certainly unique to these times what he was able to do, encouraging these volunteers.

Now we will make it clear to all those Perot supporters that we share many of their same principles and that we want their support and that we welcome them warmly into our campaign. As I say, we share those principles. We need their help bringing about the implementation of these principles.

Many of the Perot supporters were basically conservative people; they were people that are worried about the values of family; that were worried about the economy and the need to get these deficits under control; the need to do something different about the neighborhoods. And so I believe that we will have an opportunity to make clear to these people that they should feel at home with us as we start the campaign after the Republican Convention.

END 11:13 A.M. MDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Jackson Hole, Wyoming)

For Immediate Release July 16, 1992

TEXT OF A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND THE PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE OF THE SENATE

July 16, 1992

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

Consistent with the Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution (Public Law 102-1), and as part of my continuing effort to keep the Congress fully informed, I am again reporting on the status of efforts to obtain compliance by Iraq with the resolutions adopted by the U.N. Security Council.

Since the events described in my report of May 15, 1992, the Iraqi Government has provided what it terms a "full, final, and complete" disclosure of its programs for weapons of mass destruction (WMD). The Iraqi report, which reached the United Nations 2 months after it was originally promised, is now under review by the United Nations Special Commission on Iraq (UNSCOM) and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). The preliminary assessment of these organizations is that the Iraqis have provided little new information. The Iraqis also have provided the United Nations with a "Compliance and Monitoring Report," which aims to satisfy the requirement of U.N. Security Council Resolution 175 for a list of all sites subject to long-term monitoring. UNSCOM is assessing this report.

As of July 1, UNSCOM and IAEA have conducted 38 inspections in all four weapons categories. From May 26 to June 4, the 12th nuclear inspection team oversaw the destruction of three buildings at the al Atheer nuclear weapons fabrication facility. It also inspected uranium enrichment sites at Tarmiya and Ash Sharqat to prepare for the destruction and the rendering harmless of utilities and ventilation systems during the 13th inspection in July. The Iraqi Government continues to refuse IAEA requests for records detailing foreign suppliers of its nuclear weapons program.

A small Chemical Destruction Group entered Iraq on June 19. This team will spend several months in Iraq establishing a base and overseeing the long-term destruction of Iraqi chemical agents and weapons at the Muthanna Establishment. The operation will be run by a large multinational group, including two Americans. UNSCOM estimates the operation will take 12 to 18 months to complete. A second combined chemical and biological weapons team was in Iraq from June 26 to July 4 conducting inspections and destroying dual-use chemical production equipment.

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From May 14 to 22, the 11th ballistic missile team inspected five sites, completed verification of Iraqi destruction of SCUD missile production and launcher components, and verified the destruction of missile production equipment. The 12th ballistic missile team is in Iraq from July 9 to 17 to inspect undeclared sites.

We view with particular concern the refusal by Iraqi authorities to grant immediate access by UNSCOM inspectors to the Agricultural Ministry in early July. The President of the U.N. Security Council has characterized this refusal as a material and unacceptable breach of Resolution 687. We are resolved that Iraq must not be allowed to defy the Security Council and evade its responsibilities under this resolution.

Continued Iraqi intransigence with respect to compliance with the relevant U.N. Security Council resolutions led UNSCOM to initiate a program of aerial surveillance of WMD activity in Iraq on June 21. Utilizing UNSCOM's German helicopters, two to three flights will be flown per week, with five to six sites covered on each flight; this program will provide more immediate and accurate information about Iraqi facilities. We strongly favor this aggressive approach by UNSCOM, which will broaden UNSCOM's ability to find suspect sites as well as conduct long-term monitoring.

UNSCOM continues to face a shortage of funds. U.S. efforts to alleviate this problem will result in payment of approximately $30 million for UNSCOM by the end of July. Discussions are ongoing with other nations regarding contributions by them to UNSCOM.

Since my last report, there has been further progress at the U.N. Compensation Commission concerning preparations for the processing of claims from individuals, corporations, other entities, governments, and international organizations that suffered direct loss or damage as a result of Iraq's unlawful invasion and occupation of Kuwait. The Governing Council of the Commission held its sixth session in Geneva from June 22 to 26 and has scheduled further meetings in September and December. (A meeting tentatively set for November has been cancelled.) At its June session, the Council approved the final part of the rules of procedure (the first three parts were approved in March). The entire set of rules was then issued as a Council decision. The rules provide a practical, nontechnical system for processing claims. The Council also decided that members of the Allied Coalition Armed Forces who were prisoners of war and mistreated in violation of international humanitarian law, including the 1949 Geneva Conventions, are eligible for compensation in accordance with the claims criteria previously adopted.

The Council continued its discussion of the "embargo loss" issue and agreed on a statement for the record promising that the issue of priority of payments would be considered. Also during the session of June 22 to 26, the Commission released to governments the form for corporate claims (Form E). The Council also reviewed the draft form for claims from governments and international organizations (Form F). The Executive Secretary reported that the $2 million loan from the Kuwaiti Government has been received, and the Commission has received another $1 million as a result of the U.S. contribution to the United Nations for activities under Resolution 687. The financial impasse of the past several months, however, has cost valuable

time in developing computer software and other key projects. Now that operating funds have been received, the Secretariat will press ahead and try to recover as much lost time as possible. On June 26, the United States filed its first set of 200 claims with the Commission; altogether 10 governments filed claims by the end of the week. Meanwhile, the Department of State distributed to potential U.S. claimants the form for claims of individuals over $100,000 (Form D) and continued to collect and review small claims.

In accordance with paragraph 20 of Resolution 687, the Sanctions Committee continues to receive notice of shipments of foodstuffs to Iraq. The Sanctions Committee also continues to consider and, when appropriate, approve requests to send to Iraq materials and supplies for essential civilian needs. Iraq, in contrast, has for months maintained a full embargo against its northern provinces. Iraq has also refused to utilize the opportunity under Resolutions 706 and 712 to sell $1.6 billion in oil, most of the proceeds from which could be used by Iraq to purchase foodstuffs, medicines, materials, and supplies for essential civilian needs of its civilian population. The Iraqi authorities bear full responsibility for any suffering in Iraq that results from their refusal to implement Resolutions 706 and 712.

Through the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), the United States, Kuwait, and our allies continue to press the Government of Iraq to comply with its obligations under Security Council resolutions to return all detained Kuwaiti and third-country nationals. Likewise, the United States and its allies continue to press the Government of Iraq to return to Kuwait all property and equipment removed from Kuwait by Iraq. Iraq continues to resist full cooperation on these issues and to resist unqualified ICRC access to detention facilities in Iraq.

Mindful of the finding of the U.N. Security Council in Resolution 688 that Iraq's repression of its civilian population threatens international peace and security in the region, we will continue to monitor carefully the treatment of Iraq's citizens in concert with our Coalition partners, and together we remain prepared to take appropriate steps if the situation requires. To this end, we will continue to maintain an appropriate level of forces in the region for as long as required by the situation in Iraq.

I remain grateful for the support of the Congress for these efforts, and I look forward to continued cooperation toward achieving our mutual objectives.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Jackson Hole, Wyoming)

For Immediate Release July 16, 1992

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GEORGE BUSH

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Jackson Hole, Wyoming)

For Immediate Release July 16, 1992

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK, 1992

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BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

When Americans first observed Captive Nations Week in 1959, repressive communist regimes had overtaken nations from Central and Eastern Europe to mainland China and overshadowed many others with the very real threat of expansionism. Three years earlier, forces of the Soviet Union had brutally suppressed a popular movement for freedom in Hungary; some 16 years before that, the Soviets had invaded Poland and achieved the forcible annexation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. In 1959, the United Nations had only recently ended its efforts to thwart communist expansionism below the 38th parallel in Korea, and a communist-led insurgency had already begun to threaten South Vietnam. At a time when millions of people were enslaved by Soviet domination or subjugated by proxy, at a time when countless others were terrorized by the threat of communist aggression and subversion, Americans paused during Captive Nations Week to reaffirm our commitment to liberty and self-government and to express our solidarity with all those peoples seeking freedom, independence, and security.

Today, 33 years after our first observance of Captive Nations Week, millions of people who suffered under Soviet domination and communist rule are free. The Iron Curtain and its most despised symbol, the Berlin Wall, have fallen -- toppled by courageous individuals who would no longer stand the denial of their fundamental human rights. Today we celebrate the existence of a free and unified Germany, as well as the independence of the Baltic States, Central European countries, and 12 new states that replaced the U.S.S.R. In Afghanistan and Angola, where bloody civil war against Soviet-supported, Marxist-Leninist regimes left thousands dead and millions of others homeless, chances of achieving lasting peace have reached their highest level in years.

As we celebrate the hope of peace and freedom in these and other once-captive nations, we also remember the many courageous, freedom-loving men and women who resisted tyranny and oppression -- often at great personal cost. These include the thousands of dissenters who risked imprisonment, exile, and death in order to demand rights that we Americans enjoy: freedom of religion, speech, and assembly, as well as the right to a fair trial and to protection against unreasonable searches and seizures. They include prisoners of the gulag who remained devoted to liberty despite suffering hunger, torture, and long periods of solitary confinement; and they include selfless religious leaders such as Father Jerzy Popieluszko of Poland, Cardinal Josef Mindszenty of Hungary, and Cardinal Josyf Slipyj of Ukraine, who inspired countless others by their unshakeable belief in the God-given rights and dignity of the human person. From broadcasters at the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, who pierced the Iron Curtain with words of hope and truth, to freedom-fighters in Nicaragua and other

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(OVER)

Latin American countries who led popular resistance to local despots and to political and military interference from Cuba and the Soviet Union -- the men and women whom we remember this week never lost their faith in freedom and in the inevitable triumph of liberty and justice.

As we recall all those who labored and sacrificed to hasten the demise of imperial communism and to liberate the world's captive nations, we must also remember those peoples who remain subject to regimes that continue to deny basic human rights in stark violation of both the letter and the spirit of international human rights agreements, as well as fundamental standards of morality. The United States will continue to speak out against egregious human rights violations in Cuba and elsewhere, and we shall continue to warn the world's newly emerging democracies against another kind of subjugation: the tyranny of ethnic hatred and nationalist rivalries. History has shown how these evils can produce their own form of captivity: a vicious cycle of violence, political repression, and economic stagnation and loss. As this observance of Captive Nations Week reminds us, freedom and peace are precious blessings that require the faith, the will, and the wherewithal to preserve and strengthen them.

The Congress, by Joint Resolution approved July 17, 1959 (73 Stat. 212), has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation designating the third week in July of each year as "Captive Nations Week."

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GEORGE BUSH, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning July 12, 1992, as Captive Nations Week. I call on all Americans to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities in celebration of the growth of liberty and democracy around the world and in recognition of the need for continued vigilance and resolve in the defense of human rights.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this fifteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-two, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and seventeenth.

GEORGE BUSH

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THE WHITE HOUSE

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(Jackson Hole, Wyoming)

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GEORGE BUSH

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MATERIAL FORWARDED TO THE PRESIDENT
July 16, 1992

ACTION

1. Personnel Selection -- Mary Ann Bertles Stewart, rank of Ambassador during her tenure as U.S. Representative to the U.N. Children's Fund

2. Disaster Declaration/Denial for the Republic of the Marshall Islands

3. Recommended telephone calls to Senator Orrin Hatch and Congressman Bill Gradison re the NIH Reauthorization Bill

4. President Bush's Responses to the Teen News Questionnaire

5. H.R. 5412 - An Act to authorize the Transfer of Certain Naval Vessels to Greece and Taiwan. (to Skinner to take to WY.)

6. Transmission to Congress of the Social Security Totalization Agreement with Luxembourg. (to Skinner to take to Wy.)

7. Ratification of Amendments to Convention of November 1928, Concerning International Expositions. (to Skinner to take to WY.)

8. Letters to William Hudnut re his views on abortion; Francis J. Skrobiszewski re Polish-American Enterprise Fund; H. P. Goldfield re his support; and Fred Meyer (to Skinner to take to WY.)

CLASSIFIED

INFORMATION

1. Jan Naylor memo re Andrew Falkiewicz

2. Copy of the Report to Congress on the Status of Efforts to Obtain Compliance by Iraq with U.N. Security Council Resolutions. (to Skinner to take to Wy.)

3. Porter memo re Utah Environmental Issues (to Skinner to take to WY.)

4. Porter memo re Public Opinion on the Outdoors and the Environment (to Skinner to take to WY.)

5. CEA numbers -- Merchandise Exports and Imports in May (to Mil Aide/WY)

PRESIDENTIAL MOVEMENTS

LOCATION Boulder, Wyoming DATE 16 July 1992

TIME	MOVEMENTS	
1425	Depart Baker Ranch via Motorcade	(LOW KEY)
1449	Arrive Detachment 489	(LOW KEY)
1518	Depart Detachment 489 via Motorcade	(LOW KEY)
1545	Arrive Baker Ranch	(LOW KEY)

V daily P.

THE WHITE HOUSE

MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE

DAILY PRESS CLIPPINGS

Thursday, July 16, 1992

Mrs. Bush	(in folder)
Secretary Skinner	West Wing
Marlin Fitzwater	West Wing
Constance Horner	West Wing
Carol Powers	West Wing
Patty Presock	Residence
First Lady Detail	Staircase
Karen Connell	Room 58 OEOB
Shirley Green	Room 94 OEOB
Anne Griffith	Room 98 OEOB
Diana Kellogg	Room 157 OEOB
Gregg Petersmeyer	Room 100 OEOB
Marguerite Sullivan	Room 268 OEOB
Carolyn Washington	Room 268 OEOB
Benita Somerfield	hold one copy
Ann Brock	
Julie Cooke	
Joan DeCain	
Laurie Firestone	
Jane Moore	
Susan Porter Rose	
Sally Runion	
Peggy Swift	
Anna Perez	
Sondra Haley	
Jean Becker	
Jay Suchan	(plus originals)

The Washington Times

PAGE A4 / THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

Convention Commentary

By Suzanne Fields



Tipperware, crow, and Hillary, too

Hillary's baking cookies now, but she's having to eat a little crow with the chocolate chips.

Since she emerged in New York at the Democratic convention prepared to stand by her man, she's been transformed.

Instead of the abrasive woman who drew attention to herself as an aggressive lawyer with lots of ideas about enabling children to sue their parents, she now dashes around Manhattan with daughter Chelsea trailing behind. It's show and tell time, to demonstrate how she and Tipper have so much in common.

She wants us to imagine that all she and Tipper talk about are whether the chocolate-chip cookies should be made with vegetable shortening or butter, whether their girls are wearing their dresses too short.

"I feel as if I have a real partner here," she told congressional wives of her new friendship with terrific Tipper, the full-time mom. "She is someone who sees the world as I do, and she has children the same age as my daughter."

Hillary has put on feminine pastels, attends teas and ladies' luncheons, and coquettishly asks women to vote for her cookie recipe over Barbara Bush's recipe in the Family Circle magazine candidates' wives' bake-off.

"Ordinarily I might not pay much attention to this," she says with a Southern softening of vowels worthy of Scarlett O'Hara (but not of Melanie Wilkes). "But I think our honor is at stake."

By contrast, Mrs. Gore is considerably more hesitant in speaking and less polished in presenting herself as a political wife and mother — the result, no doubt, of spending more time in the car pool than in the public eye.

When Tipper told congressional wives about her "new friend," she looked shy and nervous. "I'm very proud to have my voice join hers." She could barely be heard above the rattle of teacups.

While the image makers count on the Tipperwareapproach to give the Democrats an edge in the "family values" debate, it has its risks. They can't have it both ways, pushing the political empowerment of women at the same time they're urging Hillary to get a saving facelift, to trade her briefcase and running shoes for the Laura Ashley look.



Barbara Bush

Radical feminists are naturally enraged that Hillary's makeover is but another crude example of the backlash against them. Her new pastels reflect a pale, neutered version of her radical self. If Hillary is to play Harriet, will Bill become Ozzie?

Traditional homemakers aren't likely to be happy, either. Having been "hillaried" by her flippant remarks, why shouldn't they resent being patronized now? They'll see the new-and-improved Hillary as a merely cynical gesture.

It's hardly coincidence that Vanity Fair, the magazine of the bad and the beautiful, runs a vicious portrait of Barbara Bush as the grotesque granny of the year. She may knit, make needlepoint and bake cookies, but she's "a woman so fiercely calculating she puts Nancy Reagan to shame." (Isn't that what makes radical feminists run to Hillary?)

George Bush is down in the polls, but Barbara is up, up, up. When Barbara was depressed anticipating her "empty nest" in the late 70s, she blamed feminists. "Suddenly women's lib had made me feel my life had been wasted." When she became second and then first lady she rediscovered the family as the source of her strength.

While the media is having lots of fun trying to promote a catfight between Tipper and Hillary the national debate behind the choices of these women is a profound and serious one.

Baby boomers who rebelled against the old-fashioned values of family life are now having babies of their own.

Women in growing numbers are deciding to spend more time with their children, to teach them what Harriet taught her children about the virtues of honesty, integrity, fairness, hard work and personal responsibility.

First ladies often become flashpoints for reflecting the dominant role of women of their time. This political campaign, just now beginning in earnest, suggests once more that woman's work is never done.

The Washington Times

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992 ★

First lady urges seniors to volunteer

SCARBOROUGH, Maine — Barbara Bush urged older Americans yesterday to take the gifts life has given them and keep using them.

The first lady said 5 million senior citizens engage in some sort of volunteer work. But she said there are more than 43 million senior citizens and many more opportunities for them to help others.

She spoke at a conference organized by Sen. William S. Cohen of Maine, ranking Republican on the Senate Special Committee on Aging. The conference is aimed at demonstrating how the vast experience of older Americans can be channeled in ways to help the public good.

Mrs. Bush said older people have the time, experience, wisdom and patience to help in many ways.

From wire dispatches and staff reports

CAPITAL LINE

USA TODAY'S BRIEFING ON WASHINGTON

U.S. will reduce underground N-tests

The Bush administration has told Congress it plans to reduce U.S. underground nuclear tests to six a year, but has rejected calls to suspend them. In two letters to congressional leaders, the administration also vowed to conduct tests only to check the safety and reliability of nuclear weapons.

"The administration continues to believe that a modest nuclear testing program remains essential for continued confidence in our significantly reduced nuclear deterrent," said a July 10 letter from Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, national security adviser Brent Scowcroft and Energy Secretary James Watkins.

The three expressed strong opposition to legislation that would impose a one-year moratorium on U.S. testing.



CHAFEE: Retaliates for 'SOB' remark

TOWN MEETING CLASH: Sen. John Chafee, R-R.I., threatened a Vietnam veteran at a Pawtucket, R.I., town meeting after the man criticized the senator for failing to co-sponsor a bill that would have raised veterans' benefits. "Don't you talk to me like that or I'll tear you apart," Chafee said at the Tuesday night meeting after Harold Prew called the senator a "son of a bitch." Chafee then yanked Prew's hat over his eyes.

"He needs his $35,000 pay raise but tells me my $1,000 is too much," said Prew, who suffered nerve damage in Vietnam. The bill would allow veterans with at least 20 years of service who are collecting disability to receive full retirement benefits. Said Chafee: "I can't vote for something just because someone will complain if I don't."

OLDER CONTRIBUTORS: First lady Barbara Bush says older Americans have the time, experience, wisdom and patience to serve the public in many ways. Bush spoke at a Scarborough, Maine, conference organized by Sen. William Cohen of Maine, ranking Republican on the Senate Special Committee on Aging. The conference is aimed at demonstrating how the vast experience of older Americans can be channeled into activities for the public good.

SPOTTED OWL: The government can do nothing to prevent the threatened spotted owl from becoming extinct in the ancient forests of the Pacific Northwest, Agriculture Secretary Edward Madigan told an American Farm Bureau gathering Tuesday. Madigan also joked that the 1992 GOP platform would include a farm plank calling for "More money, higher income, more markets. String all the environmentalists up." The comments came as President Bush toured California's Sequoia National Park in an effort to highlight his commitment to the environment.

IRAQ TRANSFER: The Dutch corporation Delft Instruments N.V. and four employees were charged with illegally selling U.S. military night-vision devices to Iraq from 1988 through 1990, the Justice Department said. It said a four-count grand jury indictment alleges that the transfer of the high-tech prototypes violated U.S. arms export control laws.

NEWSDAY, TUESDAY, JULY 14, 1992



* * *

HILLARY'S COOKIES: A while back, Family Circle magazine asked Hillary Clinton and first lady Barbara Bush for their chocolate-chip cookie recipes. Since then, readers have been voting for their favorite. No results at the magazine yet, but right now, Hillary is the winner in Manhattan. Democrats arranged for an Upper West Side bakery to produce 6,000 of Hillary's entry and are distributing samples to delegates. With a cookie comes a ballot — and a plea that Democrats throw their weight behind the party favorite.

* * *

LOS ANGELES TIMES / WASHINGTON EDITION

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992



SUSAN FARLEY / Newsday

Alma Brown, left, wife of Democratic Chairman Ronald H. Brown, joins Hillary Clinton, center, and Tipper Gore, wives of Gov. Bill Clinton and Sen. Al Gore, to have lunch at the Hudson River Club.

Hillary Clinton Stresses Children's Issues

■ Family values: Her theme has been that GOP administrations have let America's youngsters down.

By STEPHANIE GRACE
TIMES STAFF WRITER

NEW YORK—While Gov. Bill Clinton has kept a relatively low profile during the week of the Democratic National Convention, his wife, Hillary, has been wowing delegates from key states and constituencies with a mixture of passion, humor and a delivery any political pro would envy.

Her message has family values written all over it; she has been pushing hope for children, renewed faith in the political process and, yes, home-baked chocolate chip cookies.

Clinton's consistent theme is that the Reagan and Bush administrations have let America's children down. At one stop, she quoted from an old African proverb: " 'It takes a whole village to raise a child.' Well, it's time for America to understand that."

At another event, Clinton promised that any program her husband introduces would pass what she described as the "Chelsea test," named after her 12-year-old daughter. "What we want for the children and families of America is what we want for our own family," she told members of the Asian Pacific Caucus.

To each audience, she has offered a distinctly tailored message: To the Massachusetts delegation, she applauded former Sen. Paul E. Tsongas' political courage. To Illinois delegates, she reminisced about learning to "really understand politics" as a child in Chicago. To New Yorkers she said she considered surviving the city's predatory press during the primary season a "rite of passage."

Speaking to Texas delegates in a sweltering hotel ballroom, she said Texans and Arkansans share many things, including an appreciation for central air conditioning. "That's another lesson we will bring to the country," she told the cheering crowd.

But she was at her best at an address to the African-American Caucus on Tuesday afternoon, where she was introduced as "an Eleanor Roosevelt" for her long career as a civil rights and children's advocate. Clinton paid an emotional tribute to 79-year-old Rosa Parks, whose refusal to give up her seat on a Montgomery, Ala., bus in 1955 sparked the civil rights movement. Parks attended the caucus meeting.

"I often wonder, if I had been called, would I have answered? Rosa Parks made that stand on faith—it's that kind of faith we need more of. We all owe a debt of gratitude to this woman."

Despite the kinder, gentler image Clinton has been working hard to project, her harder edge showed through in a few unscripted moments. When boisterous Brown delegates interrupted her address to the California delegation Monday morning with chants of "Let Jerry speak," she shot back, "You know, I've never known Jerry not to speak when he wants to speak. He's always speaking, near as I can tell."

But her main mission remained to solicit help in turning out the vote for her husband over President Bush and presumed independent candidate Ross Perot in November's general election, and for her own chocolate chip cookie recipe over Barbara Bush's in a national magazine's "Bipartisan Bake-Off."

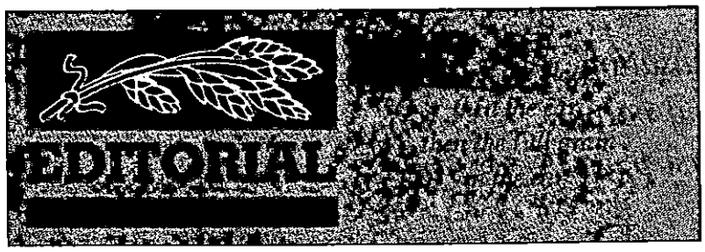
Samples of "Clinton's Chips," baked by a New York bakery, and pre-printed ballots were available at events, and she worked the pitch into some of her speeches.

"I did not seek to be engaged in the great cookie contest," she told audiences. "But the honor of the Democratic Party is at stake."

Delegates gave the candidate's wife and her cookies rave reviews, and said they had no qualms about casting their ballots without tasting the competition first.

Thursday, July 16, 1992

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR



Cookies vs. Careers

WHEN Hillary Clinton joked about passing out homemade cookies at the Democratic convention this week, the gesture probably served as a lighthearted atonement for her earlier dismissive comments about women who "stay home and bake cookies." But it also appeared to be part of a calculated political strategy to soften an image some voters have found threatening. Goodbye bright, aggressive career woman. Hello pastel suits, shorter hair – and cookies.

A strange contradiction exists in this year's campaigns. If analysts are right, this could be the Year of the Woman in politics. More female candidates are running for national office, and more are expected to win. Opinion polls show that women are being viewed as "agents of change."

But this is also the Year of the Wife – the political wife – with controversy swirling around the appropriate role for a first lady. Americans appear to be applauding the intelligence, ambition, and assertiveness of women who are seeking congressional seats. They are amused by such eccentricities as the admission by Texas Gov. Ann Richards that she would like to ride a motorcycle. But when it comes to first ladies, voters apparently still want a traditional, supportive wife. No career women or "agents of change" need apply.

Which leaves Mrs. Clinton, a Yale graduate, lawyer, and longtime activist, in an awkward position. As one way of turning what is being called "the Hillary factor" into an asset for her husband's campaign, she is promoting her favorite cookie recipe. She has also admitted publicly that she wants to win a recipe contest conducted by Family Circle magazine that would pit Barbara Bush's culinary skills against her own in a "bake-off."

This softer, gentler ploy harks back to an earlier time, when smart women were routinely advised to downplay their intelligence. But the pretense, however comforting it might be to voters, serves no one well. It diminishes the gains women have made in recent decades, both in the workplace and at home.

Presidential campaigns are not won in the kitchen. Popularity contests among candidates wives' shouldn't have to be conducted there either, pitting recipes against résumés. True equality for women will be closer at hand when future first ladies are able to reflect the diversity of women's lives in the '90s by wearing their careers – and their intelligence – on their designer sleeves without having to minimize or apologize for their abilities.

O'Malley & Collin INC.



Early and often Hillary Clinton urged Illinois delegates on Tuesday to vote for *her* chocolate chip recipe in a bake-off with Barbara Bush. The kinder, gentler, more pastel Hillary heaped praise on the mayor and Chicago's unique political history, which prompted Channel 5's Dick Kay to ask Daley later about reports of ballot-box stuffing in the cookie contest. The mayor, who sometimes doesn't see the humor in jokes about Chicago, giggled and said, "I don't know how many times I did (vote.) And that dead person that walked by? He voted five times."

A BLAND-NEW HILLARY ISN'T MAKING WAVES

IN STEP WITH THE PROGRAM: *The Clinton campaign has apparently told Hillary to keep her strong opinions to herself.*

BRIGHTER than sunshine, smoother than silk, more bland than cream cheese: This is the story of my week with Hillary Clinton.

It was quickly apparent that Mrs. Clinton, chastised for a few off-the-cuff remarks earlier in the campaign, would be dutifully toeing the line at her appearances before delegations and caucuses.

And to really make sure that no news would break out, she was kept at a safe distance from most of the press, barely acknowledging questions shouted her way.

Always poised and cheerful, she was trotted out for appearances' sake at key spots: the California delegation (rife with Jerry Brown supporters), the Massachusetts delegation (full of Paul Tsongas supporters), the all-important Texas crew, the Asian-Pacific Americans caucus, and the Black caucus.

She assured them all of their value, and underscored the importance of making changes in government, of using grass-roots support to bring her husband into the Oval Office.

Her remarks were extemporaneous, tailored to the specific audience and, of course, warmly received.

Though well spoken, her speeches were ethereal and vague, lacking zingers and zaps, mostly devoid of concrete examples, and only rarely showcasing her quick wit.

"This campaign, for all of us, has been a learning experience. We've learned a lot about our country, a lot of about what's at stake for our future, and I feel so positive about where we're going together," was typical of the remarks she made to the heat-stroked but happy Massachusetts delegation (which killed time waiting for her by singing choruses of "Oh, What a Beautiful Morning" — *"C'mon, second verse!"*).



MARIANNE GOLDSTEIN

It was quickly apparent that Mrs. Clinton would be dutifully toeing the line . . .

"I hope that all of you will not only support [Bill Clinton's] vision for America but will go out and talk to your friends and neighbors about why this election is so important to the future of all of us," she told a similarly sweltering crowd at the Asian-Pacific Americans caucus at the Waldorf-Astoria Tuesday afternoon.

Hillary Clinton is now a First Lady-in-waiting, somewhat akin to being a Miss America-in-training. But isn't there some middle ground between cream cheese and, say, picante sauce?

There might be, later on in the campaign, explained Harriett Woods, president of the National Women's Political Caucus.

"I think it's fair game during a campaign for a spouse to have to be as careful as a campaign manager in not creating any kind of diversion or misstatement that can take away" from campaign themes, Woods told me.

"I would hope that this is her own decision of how she'll present herself; maybe she is tentatively trying to find the right balance . . .

"She is, I think, someone who the majority of American women can identify with — without becoming a diversion," said Woods.

"If I were to give advice to the campaign, I would tell them to give her the reassurance to add her own strengths to the ticket in a way that allows her to be herself — and to help her define the perameters."

It's hard to stand by as so dynamic a voice is being muffled. One hopes that her militancy is being held in check only until the election, for if she moves to Washington it would be refreshing to have a First Lady who cares more about whether children are eating or have homes than whether they learn how to read.

In Fairness to the Candidate's Wife

By ALBERT R. HUNT

"If the wife comes through as being too strong and too intelligent, it makes the husband look like a wimp."

—Richard Nixon on Hillary Clinton

NEW YORK—With Hillary Clinton, this year's presidential contest will feature the most controversial wife at least since Eleanor Roosevelt.

Critics, mainly from the political right, paint the 44-year-old wife of the Democratic presidential nominee as a devout left-winger, whose cold, calculating ruthlessness would have a Rasputin-like influence on a President Clinton.

This portrait, according to the most candid assessments from both those who know her best and knowledgeable campaign insiders, is nonsense. But it resonates with the public. In last week's Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll, Mrs. Clinton is viewed positively by only 22% of voters and negatively by 30%: she does just as poorly among women as among men.

The pounding against Mrs. Clinton has been ferocious. Human Events, the provocative weekly paper, has dubbed her the "Evita Peron of American politics." The cover piece of the current issue of the American Spectator is entitled "Boy Clinton's Big Mama." It accuses her of everything from filing her 1991 tax return under her maiden name after supposedly taking her husband's following his gubernatorial defeat in 1980, to seeking to undermine the American family by pitting children against their parents. (Most of these charges concern legitimate issues; by contrast, some of the private stuff being circulated against Hillary Clinton is full of nothing but hate and venom.)

Under scrutiny many of the more substantive charges don't hold up very well. Most are based either on writings that date back to her law school days or on grants made by groups in which she served as one of many board members. For example, she once wrote that under certain circumstances children ought to have greater legal rights to separate from their parents. But she said this should be only in extreme cases. Indeed there are situations ranging from child abuse to abandonment where this hardly seems a radical view.



Hillary Clinton

Within the Clinton campaign, where not everyone is charmed by her style, knowledgeable insiders nevertheless say she is no radical.

"I have never seen her push any kind of ideological agenda," says top political strategist James Carville. "My guess is she's pretty much a mainstream Democrat who feels very strongly about children's issues." That Mr. Carville, a plain-talking Louisiana Cajun who is appealingly anti-establishment, has such positive feelings about Hillary Clinton also undercuts the contention that she relates only to the cultural elite.

Longtime friends are adamant that her personal image is equally inconsistent with the real person. "What I know about Hillary is that she is one of the warmest, most caring and most loving people that I have ever known," says Washington lawyer and civil rights activist Vernon Jordan who has been a friend for almost two decades. "That has not come across to people."

In an episode that strikes at the heart of several Hillary myths, Mr. Jordan tells a story about being with the Clintons shortly after Bill Clinton's crushing defeat for governor in 1980. "Early one morning she was cooking me and Bill grits and I told her she had to start using her husband's name. She understood."

To be sure, Mrs. Clinton has brought on some of her own problems. Her admirable defense of her husband after sleazy charges of infidelity was offset by her tasteless questioning of George Bush's monogamy in a subsequent interview. And angered by some petty charges against her legal ethics, she displayed intellectual arrogance by retorting, "I could have stayed home and baked cookies and had teas."

There's no doubt that Hillary Clinton has a sensational mind. There's absolutely no doubt that she has used her talents in a diversity of very constructive ways. For six years she was chairperson of the Children's Defense Fund, a highly effective and respected liberal children's rights organization.

She also was a director of Wal-Mart. It's hard to imagine the late Sam Walton putting some radical, out-of-touch leftie on his board. "She wasn't on the board just because she was the governor's wife," says John Huey, who just co-authored Mr. Walton's autobiography. "He had a lot of respect for her. He really listened to her."

She has influenced her husband both during his 12 years as governor and during this campaign; no doubt this influence would persist if he gets to the White House. But the most successful liberal and conservative presidents of this century—Franklin D. Roosevelt and Ronald Reagan—had smart, assertive wives.

Finally, conservatives who rail against the influence of a strong spouse ought to look at some of the leading lights of their own camp who are married to exceptionally intelligent, strong-willed women: Irving Kristol, Dick Cheney and the publisher of this newspaper to name just a few. Does Richard Nixon think any of these men are wimps?

In what promises to be a very tough and close contest over the next 100 days, voters will discover some compelling reasons to vote for Bill Clinton and some compelling reasons not to vote for him. But his wife is clearly on the plus side of that ledger.

Mr. Hunt is the Journal's Washington bureau chief.

Hillary Clinton's image undergoes a change

By Mimi Hall
USA TODAY



By Eileen Colton, USA TODAY

WOMEN'S WORLD: Politicians' wives pose for photographers after lunch at the Hudson River Club. From left: Alma Brown, Hillary Clinton, Tipper Gore and Matilda Cuomo.

NEW YORK — The pastel suits have become a staple. The adoring gaze appears perfected. The vague talks about issues and plugs for chocolate-chip cookies are by rote.

Hillary Clinton came to New York to redefine her image as a supportive wife to presidential candidate Bill Clinton — a concession, it seemed, to an outcry among some voters.

But as hundreds of women's right activists and dozens of women candidates here lobby for power and clout, some are left wondering whether the outspoken Hillary Clinton they knew and loved several months ago is gone for good.

"It's a sad double-standard that we have when we look at the spouses of presidential candidates and expect them to somehow be different than female candidates," says Kitty Dukakis, wife of 1988 Democratic presidential nominee Michael Dukakis.

Eleanor Smeal of the Fund for the Feminist Majority says the Clinton campaign is making "a mistake" by remaking Hillary Clinton.

Clinton "is educated and knows issues and is serious," Smeal says. "And we need serious leadership from women."

Hillary Clinton says that she hasn't changed at all in response to criticism of her outspokenness early in the campaign. A lawyer, lobbyist and corporate board member, she says she's always acted as a surrogate for her husband.

But both liberal and conservative observers say the change is pronounced.

"They have retrained her," says Beverly LaHaye of the conservative group Concerned Women for America. "It's a very wise political move because the way she really is ... is very unappealing to voters."

But Ellen Malcolm of EMILY's List, a group that raises money for Democratic female candidates, says there are many sides to Hillary Clinton.

"The real Hillary Clinton is a woman who has supported her husband's career and raised a family and had her own career," Malcolm says.

At the same time, she says, the would-be first lady should speak out forcefully on the issues because she "is a wonderful role model for women."

Joan Mondale, wife of former vice president and presidential candidate Walter Mondale, offers this reminder: "You can't please everybody."

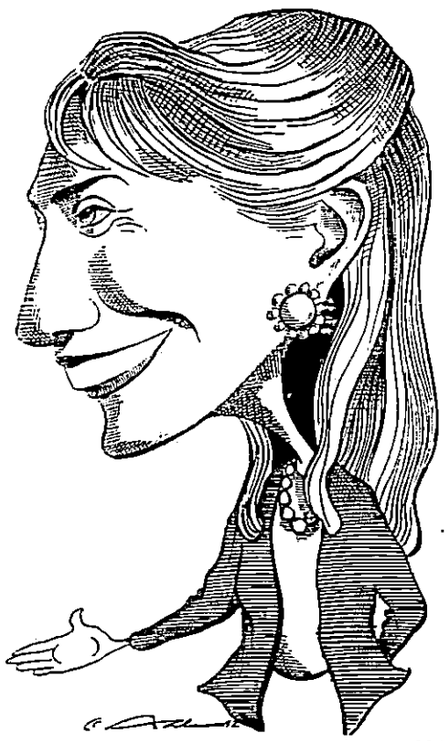
The role of a candidate's wife is "ambiguous," adds Elizabeth Holtzman of New York, one of six Democratic female Senate candidates to have made it through the primaries.

"Generally, the president's wife has been seen simply as a homemaker and not someone who has independent stature," Holtzman says. But she doesn't feel Hillary Clinton has buckled to pressure to tone down.

"It's not a question of abandoning anything," she says. "It's presenting to Americans a whole, rounded picture."

Contributing: Judy Keen

Hillary's problem



DOROTHY AHLE ILLUSTRATION

ELLEN GOODMAN

NEW YORK

It's the tail end of a killer day and Hillary Clinton settles into a sofa at the Intercontinental, looking remarkably alert and limp free, drinking spring water straight out of a plastic bottle.

The day broke 15 hours earlier with a sheaf of headlines declaring that the campaign was manufacturing a "gentler, kinder" Hillary. Family Circle featured a political bakeoff between Hillary's and Barbara's chocolate chip cookie recipes. More than one story talked about the "two sides" of the candidate's wife: heads up she's a lawyer, heads down she's a wife. And Republicans were comparing Hillary Clinton at the stove to Mike Dukakis in a tank.

The candidate's wife had spent the day at the Texas caucus, the Emily's List luncheon, a powwow for congressional wives (dubbed "power wives" on the schedule) and eight other stops, where she offered everything from a wave to a 25-minute speech without notes. At the Women of Color reception, not surprisingly, the woman in my row offered this piece of high praise with a kicker, "Isn't she great! (Pause). "Gee, I wish she were running for the Senate."

Now, at Madison Square Garden, six female Democratic nominees for the Senate were speaking and everyone was talking about the year of the woman. Women had become the symbols of change in the political process. But what about wives?

Is it actually easier for a woman to be the candidate this year than the candidate's wife? Have we come that far? Or not so far?

Hillary answers that with a knowing but cautious, "Maybe." We knew what it was to be a wife, she agrees. Over the past decades, we've learned what it is to be an independent woman. But we haven't yet figured out what looks like to be strong, independent and wifely – especially First Wifely – all at the same time.

"I thought I understood that before this race was under way," says Hillary Clinton, who comes across as comfortable and thoughtful. "That's what I was living. I thought that with some stops and starts and changes along the way trying to get it all straight, I was a very lucky person because I had a profession that I valued, a marriage that I thought was a partnership in the best sense of the word and gave me a lot of personal satisfaction.

"I thought I understood how to walk through that minefield of defining myself and striking the balance between my own needs and family needs that we all struggle with all the time."

Now this mother, wife and lawyer finds the controversy that has followed her from conservative Arkansas to the national stage "suprising" and even "bewildering." Hillary had, to be sure, a rocky introduction to the American public. Her image was flanked by Flowers and cookies, Tammy Wynette and Betty Crocker.

But much of the Hillary Problem is another case study about men, women, change. And this time also marriage. As Hillary says, "I thought we [women] were beginning to develop a framework for that kind of life we could lead, still married, still committed to family, still engaged in the outside world. And I've just been surprised, I guess, by the assumptions that bear little resemblance to how all of us – not just me – make our way through this uncharted terrain."

Where do we still get lost in this terrain? At the White House door? In the territory marked partnership? At the women's caucus Tuesday morning, Bill Clinton tells the audience of women, "We have to say that building up women does not diminish men."

Harvard Business School's Rosabeth Kantor says our trouble is with teams as much as with mates. "We don't understand teams in America. We have this idea there has to be one leader, one CEO. So we can't help comparing couples. We can't see it as *both/and.* It's *either/or.*"

But more acute is this disparity between our view of marriage as a merger – two people as one – and our view of what is means to be a successful individual. It's not easy for women to be seen or to feel both professional and coupled.

We have few models of "two-someness," as Sissela Bok once described it, relationships in which men and women remain two but together. As Hillary Clinton knows well, "We're all trying to work this out. We're all trying to find our way and we don't have a common language." In the era of public partnership marriages, she says, "I may be on the front line."

Frontlines are notoriously unsafe places. Cookies or not, there is no makeover in the making. A whole generation lives on these frontlines now. Hillary Clinton has just become the most visible resident.

Ellen Goodman is a Globe columnist.

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

[redacted]

NEW YORK POST

Founded by Alexander Hamilton in 1801

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Hillary's no 'Stepford wife'

We confess to doubts about whether Hillary Clinton's enthusiasm for chocolate-chip cookie baking will continue past November, no matter who wins. But the face Hillary is presenting to the American people — that of a woman and mother who isn't alienated from nurturing activities like cookie baking — is not to be scoffed at. By adopting this posture, Mrs. Clinton — an able corporate attorney and legal theorist — is making a genuine contribution to the ongoing "family values" debate.

In New York, to be sure, terms like "family values" draw condescending stares and dismissive comments. Elsewhere in America, however — as the Clintons know — the concept matters.

Indeed, Hillary Clinton got herself into the cookie mess early on — by mocking the notion that she should have "stayed home and had teas and baked cookies." The comment was taken as a shorthand slap at women who don't pursue their own careers. Now comes the frantic cookie baking and other signs of a New Hillary. We spy an effort to soften the image. And that's fine with us.

The "creation" of a New Hillary suggests nothing more than an awareness that the American family is in crisis — and that the crisis isn't helped by a culture that scorns women who delay or interrupt their working careers in order to devote their time to family life.

The crisis, of course, turns not on working mothers, but on absent fathers, on children born out of wedlock and on the growing number of "latch key" kids who grow up in day care and at the mall.

Today, one in four American children is born out of wedlock. (Thirty years ago, the figure was one in 20.) Some 22 percent of America's kids are being raised without fathers. Moms who are around, say, to bake cookies play a vital role in keeping families together and in civilizing the next generation.

We know hardline feminists are upset that Hillary is paying any sort of tribute to mothers who bake cookies. Some complain that she has been transformed into a "Stepford wife" — a female robot who exists to give her husband pleasure. But in our view, mothers who devote themselves to their families and homes are very far from robots.

If the Democratic Party realizes that America's children are better off being raised by two parents (of different sexes) — and that "alternative" life styles don't all provide equally good arrangements in which to raise children — that, in our view, is no tragedy.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

Style

The Women With a Ticket to Ride

Hillary Clinton's New Image: Fresh From the Oven

By Lloyd Grove
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, July 15—Hillary Clinton was making the scene this morning at a private breakfast at the Regency Hotel when she was approached by a fat man, extending his hand.

"Hi, I'm Roger Ailes," the man said, and Clinton's eyes got wide.

"So *you're* Roger Ailes," she managed to say, finding herself face to face with the notorious Republican attack master, a principal architect of the negative media strategy that eviscerated Michael Dukakis in 1988.

But the wife of this year's Democratic nominee recovered quickly, reaching to hand Ailes a plastic bag.

"Here, have some cookies," she said. "I baked them myself."

The incident—recounted by a surprisingly charmed Ailes a few hours after it happened—is an apt metaphor for Hillary Clinton's energetic campaign to transform her troublesome public image.

Absent this week at the Democratic National Convention is the abrasive, ambitious yuppie-in-a-headband, who once insisted that she's "not some little woman standing by her man like Tammy Wynette" and who seemed to show contempt for those who "stayed home, had teas and baked cookies."

That image has been replaced by one of a loyal helpmate and attentive mother—who confides to this week's People magazine the joys and challenges of raising 12-year-old Chelsea, and gushes in the New York Times about "cry[ing] at the Fourth of July when kids put crepe paper on their bicycle wheels"—and friend to children everywhere. The headband, too, is gone.

See CLINTON, C2, Col. 1



BY CORI WELLS BRAUN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Hillary Clinton and Tipper Gore are aiming for the high ground of "family values."

1 of 5

New Image for Hillary

CLINTON, From C1

On Thursday night, when Bill Clinton accepts the nomination, his wife will cap a week of carefully selected media contacts (highlighted by a series of off-the-record meals at which she's been wowing normally unwowable reporters) by standing by her man in Madison Square Garden.

She may even bring those ubiquitous cookies.

"I did ask her how long it took her staff to teach her to bake those cookies, and she laughed," said Ailes, who has spent much of convention week trashing her as a wife who would be co-president. "I found that she was attractive in person and had a better sense of humor than I expected. . . . I think she's an effective campaigner."

But if Ailes too has fallen under her spell, it's only up to a point.

"I suspect," he said, "that those are still liberal cookies."

The severity of Hillary Clinton's image problem—which she has been working determinedly to fix, before GOP strategists get the chance to exploit it—was pointed up early this month by a Washington Post/ABC News poll that produced startling statistics for a politician's wife. Of those interviewed, 26 percent held an unfavorable view of her, compared with 30 percent who were favorable (with 43 percent giving no opinion).

Clinton's weak positives pose an ominous contrast not only to the popular Barbara Bush's (73 percent favorable, 16 percent unfavorable), but also to Nancy Reagan's and Rosalynn Carter's when they were First Ladies and objects of continual controversy. However, the large number of voters who have no opinion of Clinton also present her with a considerable opportunity.

"I want people to know me in all the dimensions of my life," Clinton told PBS correspondent Judy Woodruff on Tuesday, in one of very few interviews she agreed to do this week. "There is so much more that I have in common with most women in this country than what separates us," she added.

Those who know Clinton—a tough-minded and occasionally impatient woman who has had to rein in a tendency toward brusqueness—have little doubt that she's a willing participant, and probably the principal choreographer, of her remake.

Senior Clinton campaign adviser Susan Thomases, a close friend, said that in April Hillary commenced a round of interviews with women's magazines such as Family Circle, Ladies Home Journal and Working Woman—all monthlies whose August issues are just now coming out.

"You should know Hillary's mother [Dorothy Rodham] was a committed Ladies Home Journal reader," Thomases said, "and Mrs. Rodham talked about the role those magazines played in her life when she was a young mother. This was something Hillary was familiar with, not something she had to be told about."

Thomases said the "most successful" of the magazine pieces appears in the August issue of Working Woman—headlined "The First Lady With a Career?"—and today she ordered 1,000 copies of the magazine to be distributed at the women's caucus.

Thomases disputed that Clinton is singing a new tune, but when asked if she'll revive a popular line from the primary campaign—"Buy one, get one free"—Thomases said bluntly, "No."

In her PBS interview, Clinton claimed that the Republicans have made "a calculated political decision . . . to go after me." As evidence, she cited Richard Nixon's comment in January that her outspoken style made her husband "look like a wimp," and suggested that the former president was paying her back for her role as a House Judiciary Committee lawyer during the 1974 impeachment proceedings.

In recent weeks, her past as a lawyer and a children's rights advocate has come under a harsh spotlight from ideological conservatives, notably in the August issue of the American Spectator, in an article headlined "The Lady Macbeth of Little Rock." The article portrays Clinton as a doctrinaire feminist and liberal who funneled grant money to left-wing groups as the director of a charitable foundation in 1988, likened the American family to "marriage, slavery and the Indian reservation system" in a 1982 issue of Harvard Educational Review (a reprint of an essay written in 1974), and has argued repeatedly that children should have standing to sue their parents.

"The writings attacked in the American Spectator," Thomases said, "are very old and taken out of context. . . . I don't think it has much staying power."

Still, the Clinton campaign is bracing for a coordinated attack on Hillary, and senior aide Betsey Wright said, "We'll respond to that if they do it in ads."

While President Bush's strategists insist they have no such plans, they can cite chapter and verse on Clinton's record as a lawyer and legal theorist who has written extensively on children's rights issues. They talk about her perceived liabilities as though she were Bill Clinton's Dan Quayle.

"She's an absolute minus," claimed a senior Bush operative. "If you listen to her closely, it's clear that she's an extreme liberal and way beyond the mainstream. Her philosophy is that government knows best, and she wants to inject the government right at your kitchen table."

This operative, who asked not to be named, enumerated a litany of potential vulnerabilities, including her now-notorious cookie comment ("it showed her to be a sarcastic, looking-down-your-nose sort of person") and her obvious interest in policy-making ("the American people dislike the notion of powerful spouses pulling strings").

"She doesn't complement her husband on the campaign trail," said a second Bush strategist, who also asked for anonymity. "I know where Bill Clinton stands on the issues, but I do not know what kind of husband he is. I do not know what kind of father he is. And she is not helping me learn."

But that observation was made last week, before Hillary Clinton's star turn in People magazine.

Staff writer Lois Romano and polling analyst Sharon Warden contributed to this article.

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The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

Style

The Women With a Ticket to Ride



Tipper Gore, Putting the Family First

By Jacqueline Trescott
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, July 15—Tipper Gore is sitting in a stiff-backed chair in her hotel room, trying to describe the day she saw her son, Albert III, get hit by a car and fly 30 feet in the air. The words don't come, stuck in a deep, airless tunnel of emotions. Her blue eyes cloud with tears and she blinks quickly. "It is still a little painful," says Gore.

Her husband has written very movingly of his fear that day, how their lives were reordered as the youngest of their four children was almost killed.

"I think he spoke for me too," she says, slowly shaking her head.

The accident three years ago altered everything from political views to personal time. The family members devoted themselves to Albert, now 9 and fully recovered. Gore decided not to repeat a run for the presidency this year and accepted the vice presidential slot, which was sanctioned by the convention tonight, because the campaign would disrupt only three months of their lives. The ordeal and the recovery, which included the parents keeping a 24-hour vigil at Albert's bedside, led Tipper Gore to decide on family leave policy as one centerpiece of her speeches during the campaign.

"It changed our lives, to say the least," she says. "It was a traumatic experience, and the first task was to make sure Albert was mending and healing. We all did that, his sisters, everyone. It just caused me to completely change my priorities. The most important thing was the health and welfare of my children, it always had been, but this was a

See GORE, C2, Col. 1

1 of 5

Gore's Choices

GORE, From C1

most profound experience. Everything else stopped."

As the American public tries to decide how and if it connects with the Democratic ticket, it is examining the Clintons and the Gores as both a prototype and a reflection of family life in the 1990s, as examples of the choices women have today, and for ideas about how to deal with pressing social issues. For many, the foursome presents test cases of the consummate art of juggling independent interests in fast-track marriages that will now be conducted in the toughest of all spotlights, a campaign and perhaps an administration. A question yet to be answered is if Tipper Gore's campaign to get record companies to label music that contained sexually explicit lyrics, an effort that earned *her* the label of "cultural terrorist" from some critics, will be a drawback for the Democrats.

"Tipper provides a nice counterpart to Hillary [Clinton]. Her priorities are different," says pollster Peter Hart, a Democrat. However, Ladonna Y. Lee, a Republican consultant, warns not to put too much weight on Tipper Gore's importance. "The reality of Tipper Gore in this campaign is she is the vice president's wife. People don't vote for the vice president's wife."

When the Gores arrived in New York Sunday night, they went straight from the airport to a rousing party for the Tennessee delegation. Even though Al Gore is one of the few politicians who shouldn't have to introduce his spouse anywhere in the country because her name recognition has been higher at times than his, he did it anyway: "Before I close I want to introduce to you the person who is the most important person in my life, and I read just about as much on her as I did on me when people were trying to say, 'Why is this a good idea?' Let me introduce to you the woman I love, Tipper Gore."

Gore, who will be 44 next month, stepped to the microphone and seemed to beam at her husband and the crowd at the same time. She has a stunning panoramic smile. She spoke about friendship. "That is what this campaign is going to be about, reaching out and joining hands across America for people who want a better life, a better economy," she said rapidly.

Gore, who has undergraduate and graduate degrees in psychology, has chosen to build her life around raising her children and acting as sounding board for her husband, while speaking out on obscenity in rock lyrics, on homelessness, on mental health of children, on the use of alcohol and drugs by young people and on teenage pregnancy. Her inclusion in the campaign may seem to be too good to be true in an election year in which the Republicans have gotten a jump-start by showcasing family values and they don't do anything about it. Bill Clinton and Al Gore will be talking about ways we can strengthen our families in an agenda they intend to enact in the first 100 days of a Clinton administration," Tipper Gore says.

"The Republicans talk about family

In the hotel sitting room, the air conditioning is going full blast. The scene around her is purposeful but relaxed. Her first appearance in Madison Square Garden is planned for Thursday night. She laughs that she has turned much of her life over to the convention schedulers, but she doesn't need any briefing on her issues. "Families and parents need the opportunity to take a family leave when their employer can't afford to do that in order to be with an injured or needy member of their family," she says. "We feel very strongly about that, since my husband was able to be with our son for a month when he was hospitalized. We have a powerful understanding of the fact that other families need to have that opportunity."

Part of her time here has been spent getting to know Hillary Clinton. "I think we reflect mainstream American women," says Gore, a woman of modest height, trim build and shoulder-length blond hair. She didn't wince or take it personally when she heard Clinton's now infamous remark about baking cookies. "I completely understood what she meant, particularly from one who has been misunderstood by the press. She was just talking about the fact that women today are going to have to be balancing careers," she says.

Her best-known crusade was prompted by her concerns after listening to the conversations and music and watching the videos that were part of the world of Karenna, 18, Kristin, 15, Sarah, 13, and Albert III. Seven years ago, it was hard not to hear about Tipper Gore as a founder of the bipartisan Parents Music Resource Center (PMRC). A Senate panel, which included her husband, gave a full hearing to the issue of music lyrics; witnesses included Frank Zappa, Twisted Sister's Dee Snyder and John Denver. They all protested that her movement smacked of censorship. Gore's group, in conjunction with the national PTAs, succeeded in getting the music industry to voluntarily place warning labels on records.

Even two years ago, when the fireworks had largely died down, some rock journalists and record industry executives were still steaming. "It's a right-wing political agenda. She carries so little weight with anybody," said Mike Green, president of the National Academy of Recording Arts and Sciences in Burbank, Calif. Green now says the early effort of the PMRC was misguided but that he has seen some signs that Gore is modifying her stands. To further reevaluate Gore, Green says, he would like to have strong statements from her on "the decimation of music education in this country, the strangling of the National Endowment for the Arts, and environmental causes. At this point I don't think she is an asset in the entertainment industry, but if she quickly addresses those three issues she will be."

Danny Goldberg, [illegible] vice president of Atlantic Records, was one of Gore's most outspoken critics, asking in 1988 during the senator's presidential bid, "How can I support a Democratic candidate whose wife sounds more like Jimmy Swaggart every day?" He now says, "She had the spotlight on this issue and she didn't milk it." He says that more recently she came out against some pending state laws in 1990 that would have made it illegal for minors to buy albums with the voluntary labeling. "I could go in and say, 'Even Tipper Gore thinks this is a bad idea.' She was sincere because she was willing to alienate the cultural right."

What hurt her most, Gore says, was being boxed into a narrow image.

"Just to be stereotyped as a prudish, book-burning person when I am not at all like that and have great respect for the First Amendment" was a low point, she says. She is pleased that some of her former critics are revising their views—one aide present during the interview has a statement ready from one critic giving his new position. What enabled her to endure "those dark days" was the support of her husband, who said, "Honey, you are right, don't worry about it."

Gore's personal story is one of strong continuity. She has always lived in the same house, she has loved the same man since she was 16, and her children attended the same public elementary school she

did. A native of the Washington area, she was raised by her mother and grandparents and grew up in the Tudor-style house her grandfather built in Arlington in 1938. "Mrs. Stumpf, who is a member of our church and a neighbor, and was the crossing guard when I went to Oak Ridge and I was on patrol and went to patrol camp—she was still a crossing guard with my children," says Gore, proving that Washington can have its small-town touchstones.

At St. Agnes High School in Alexandria—then all-girls, now merged with a boys' school—she played field hockey, basketball and softball and was a drummer in her own band. Her taste in music was rock-and-roll, not Gilbert and Sullivan. On the night Al Gore graduated from St. Albans in 1965 he met Mary Elizabeth Aitcheson, who had always been called "Tipper," and telephoned her for a date the next day.

"I thought he was sexy, serious, smart and funny. Funny is real important with me, a sense of humor helps you get through life," she says. They have been apart twice, during his first year at Harvard, and six months after their marriage in May 1970 when he went to Vietnam.

In her college years she marched against the war, for civil rights and for Eugene McCarthy. She worked at the Nashville Tennessean as a photographer until her husband was elected to the House of Representatives in 1976.

Gore's friends paint a portrait of someone they envy for her compassion, understanding and focus.

"She is someone I would like to end up in a foxhole with. She can cut through the fluff of things. She has a good sense of humor and she looks for what is best in each issue," says Sally Nevius, an active Republican in Washington who was one of the founders of PMRC.

Sometimes they don't believe what they see. Once, Carmala Walgren, a close Washington friend, was visiting when the senator called to say he was on his way home. Gore got up, combed her hair and put on her lipstick. "You mean you still do that?" asked Walgren. (Gore and Walgren, whose husband, Doug, was a representative from Pennsylvania, had founded the Congressional Wives Task Force that held forums on one issue for a full year.) Another day, Walgren was flabbergasted at a picture she saw of a family that wasn't quite normal. "Here I am the mother of three boys who scream in terror at the sight of a green vegetable. Sarah comes in and says, 'Mom, there is no spinach.' Tipper was sort of apologetic, saying, well, that's the only vegetable she eats."

In both the public and private arenas, says Nancy Hoit, the director of children's issues for Al Gore in 1988, Tipper Gore is a practitioner of "straight-line thinking." "She wants to know what is the problem, who can we talk to, what do we do, let's get started," says Hoit. "It is not, 'Gee whiz, this is bad, let me think about this problem.' It is, 'Who can we talk to and how can we change the system?' "

Gore has demonstrated this approach in how she reorganized the family after Albert's accident, and how she takes a conversation, especially one with her children, and cycles her feelings into action.

She tells one story now. "I was like everyone else, turning my eyes away from a homeless person if I would see them," she says. One Wednesday afternoon in the early 1980s, she was returning from lunch at the Capitol with her children. A couple of blocks away, they saw a woman who was wrapped in rags, rocking back and forth, talking to herself. The children peppered their mother with questions, finally asking, "Can't we take her with us?" She said no, but thought, "They are right in their childhood innocence." She organized Families for the Homeless, devoted to fund-raising and education and bringing together "other people who had been where I was before my children got a hold of my heart."



AGENCE FRAN

Wives of the Democratic leaders last night: from left, Alma Brown, Hillary Clinton, Tipper Gore and Matilda Cuomo.

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THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

Life

The Washington Times

Tipper yields spotlight to her new friend Hillary

By Judith Colp
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

NEW YORK

For a woman with fervent views and high name recognition, Tipper Gore, wife of Democratic running mate Al Gore, has kept her head down during convention week.

Mrs. Gore has accompanied her "friend" Hillary Clinton to a few events but has spoken only briefly — at a Monday tea for congressional wives.

Through her Arlington-based Parents' Music Resource Center, Mrs. Gore, 43, became a household name by crusading for parental warning labels on pop music containing explicit lyrics about sex, drugs and violence.

In an interview with the Associated Press, Mrs. Gore admitted reluctantly that her children listen to rap music at home and said she doesn't understand why some consider her a right-winger.

"I'm a Democrat, I've always been a Democrat," she said. "Democrats are talking more forcefully about issues that concern parents and families."

Katherine Moore, an aide to Mrs.

see TIPPER, *page B2*



AP

Tipper Gore is apt to get a lukewarm reception from rappers and their fans.

1 of 2

TIPPER

From page B1

Gore, said her boss has kept busy this week meeting people, giving interviews and managing her four children at the hotel.

"It hasn't been a light schedule," Ms. Moore said. "There are dresses to be gotten for [tonight, when Mr. Gore accepts the nomination] and she is spending time with her husband."

Mrs. Clinton, Mrs. Gore and some of their children enjoyed a Broadway play, "The Secret Garden," yesterday after attending a luncheon in Mrs. Clinton's honor at the Hudson River Club sponsored by Alma Brown, wife of Democratic National Chairman Ron Brown.

"I think [Mrs. Gore] is very dynamic, and having a teen-age daughter I agree with her stand on [record] labeling," said luncheon guest Karen Brady, wife of Jim Brady, chairman of the Louisiana Democratic Party.

The Gores will join the Clintons in launching the general election campaign with an old-style bus tour through eight states in six days — New Jersey, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri.

Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Gore will accompany their husbands on the first leg of the trip, which begins tomorrow — the morning after the Democratic National Convention ends.

■■■

Earlier yesterday, Mrs. Clinton visited the Massachusetts delegation, which is stocked with supporters of former Democratic hopeful Paul Tsongas, and paid tribute to their candidate.

"The role of Paul Tsongas in this campaign cannot be underestimated, and will not be," Mrs. Clinton said. "The intelligence and the commitment he brought sets an example not only for those who are Tsongas supporters, but for everyone, and especially for Bill and me.

"I don't know if any state has ever dominated a night of a convention like this," Mrs. Clinton said.

2 of 2

Women turn anger into political capital

By Sharman Stein
and Teresa Wiltz

Watching Carol Moseley Braun address the Democratic National Convention on television in her south suburban home, Beth Feldt said she felt a wave of pure, unrestrained elation.

She thrust her fist in the air and cheered Braun on: "Yeah!"

Feldt's visceral response was a far cry from the feelings shared by many women watching a panel of white, male senators grill Anita Hill during the confirmation hearings of Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas last autumn.

Fists, then, shook with anger—an anger that is believed to have played a major role in helping 16 Democratic women, including Braun, become the party's nominees for Senate seats. Those candidates, in turn, have played a big part in turning this year's convention in New York into a celebration of Democratic women.

The convention has given many women a feeling of empowerment and hope, although it is accompanied in most cases with a healthy dose of skepticism.

"Politics are politics," Francine Corter, a 48-year-old sales tax clerk, said as she snuck a quick smoke outside her Rolling Meadows office building. "If they can't get votes one way, they'll get them another way. It's been a long time since the Democrats have come into power and they want votes."

The push and pull between optimism and cynicism was typified Tuesday by the responses of two co-workers in a downtown high-rise. One woman told of having tears in her eyes as Braun spoke Monday night; the other scoffed at the convention's "Year of the Woman" theme, saying, "It's all superficial."

Braun's speech was one of nine addresses by women showcased at the convention Monday, including a keynote speech by former U.S. Rep. Barbara Jordan. Braun also is one of 113 Democratic women running for Congress this year. On Tuesday, the Democratic presidential candidate, Bill Clinton, reinforced the convention's theme by appearing before the Democratic Women's Caucus.

Something seems to be happening, but whether it's a movement or a blip, manipulation or reconciliation, is unclear.

"The sentiment at the grass-roots level is a wait and see kind of thing," said Jamillah Muhammad, 50, director of resource and program development for Operation PUSH.

"This is a very good year for women. We are pregnant with something. We're about to give birth to something. We don't know what, but we feel good about it."

Women may not vote as a bloc or think as one, but it is difficult to find one who wasn't affected by the Thomas hearings.

The hearings, along with Braun's victory, aided by the votes of Republican women, have energized Feldt, who lives in Homewood.

"I do think the Thomas hearings did something for us," said Feldt, 40, a homemaker and voice-over talent for radio, TV and films. "The visual impact of seeing all these white guys who didn't know what they're talking about—these guys didn't have a clue.

"When Braun won the primary, it really was so exciting, just to see somebody like me up there . . . in a position to do something. That's thrilling. Role models do mean something."

Women's issues, particularly abortion rights, are high on the list of Erin Fender, an 18-year-old University of Colorado sophomore. She said she is encouraged by the number of female candidates.

"They're good role models," said Fender, who is working in a Rolling Meadows floral shop for the summer. "A man can say, 'I see the problems.' But a woman knows what's going on."

Then again, some women wonder whether the role of role model or keynote speaker is enough.

Corter, a Democrat, noted that the two top Democratic candidates, Clinton for president and Sen. Al Gore for vice president, are men.

"There's not a woman running," Corter said. "If you need to get the job done, get a woman to do it."

Stephanie Hutchinson, 26, an accounting assistant, calls herself an independent. She said she voted for George Bush in 1988 and is disappointed with his term. She paid close attention to the first night of the Democratic convention, and was disappointed by that, too.

"I think it's the same old Democratic Party, and they're going to say what they think they need to say to get elected," said Hutchinson, who lives on the base at Great Lakes Naval Training Center.

"It's still a men's club. Until they get more women involved, they're not going to understand. Maybe if a man becomes a woman and then gets politically involved, they will begin to understand a little."

Jenny Senungetuk, 22, a receptionist at a North Side animal clinic, said she's "pretty cynical at the whole thing."

"I would have to see a woman in a big position, like vice president," she said. "That's what it would take. Everything else seems like all talk; it doesn't mean anything. Abortion, economics, health care, these are the important issues."

And, of course, there are women, such as Republican Kathy Sebo, who do not share the views of the Democrats' leading women candidates.

"I'm so sick of women's rights, and I'm a woman," said Sebo, 42, a supporter of abortion rights. "The Democratic party is picking up the whims of a new generation of women to get votes."

Fran Culler, a Republican and a Wheaton city council member who has been watching the Democratic convention, said, "I'm very moved."

But Culler said she doesn't feel empowered by the emphasis on women this year; she already felt that way, having held leadership roles in the local League of Women Voters, the Wheaton Chamber of Commerce and the city's Exchange Club.

"I've always felt comfortable with the role I've played," she said. "I never needed anything like that to feel empowered."

Neither does Shuby Dewan, who teaches political science and Indian history at the College of Du Page.

"I have always felt that I had a lot of power," she said. "It have always thought that being a woman and a minority has always worked for my benefit because people never forget me."

Yet recent political events have encouraged her about the future for all women.

"I think this is the beginning of the recognition of something that should have been recognized, should have been tapped into years ago," she said. "It is definitely a sign of a new age."

Tribune reporters Angela Bradbery and Stanley Holmes contributed to this story.

CONVENTION 92 COMMENTARY

For women, an agenda of change

LORETTA McLAUGHLIN

NEW YORK

Women candidates are dazzling the convention with the fire and force of their speeches. While others, whose job is to start the drum roll leading up to the presentation tomorrow of the top-of-the-ticket candidates, meander from issue to issue, the women know exactly why they are here.

They are clear-minded as well as single-minded on their issues – from abortion rights to civil rights, day care to welfare, pay and promotion equality, and protection from sexual harassment.

As they seek political equity for women in Congress, they *are* the cause they represent. They know that what they do and say here, and how many of them win their fights, will change the course of political history.

"We will succeed in 1992," said Barbara Mikulski (D-Md.), the first Democratic woman elected to the US Senate "in her own right," as she puts it, "and American politics will never be the same again."

Nor, she declared, will a woman who comes before the US Senate ever again "be assaulted for telling the truth." Anita Hill, though not here in person, is ever-present for the Democratic women running for the US Senate who electrified Madison Square Garden on Monday night.

In Illinois, said Carol Moseley Braun, her African-American family "sometimes despaired that better days would ever come. But, as St. Augustine tells us, hope has two lovely daughters – anger and courage. Our anger is directed at the way things are, and our courage is to change them."

Living up to her name, Barbara Boxer of California raised her fist, pledging, "I will fight to protect every woman's right to choose and fight anyone who tries to take us back to the days of darkness. I will fight them. When we women open the doors of the Senate, all America will walk in with us."

As they seek political equity for women in Congress, the women candidates know that what they do and say here, and how many of them win, will change the course of political history.

Paired with Dianne Feinstein, also of California, the two women are expected to win, making California the first state exclusively represented by women in the Senate. "This is not about gender, but an agenda," Feinstein held, "an agenda of change."

Conceding that her campaign is "like a pebble in a slingshot" against the political might of Robert Dole, Republican leader in the Senate, Gloria O'Dell of Kansas insists the biblical analogy is apt: "His number is up."

But it was Lynn Yeakel of Pennsylvania who brought down the house when she promised to put her opponent, Republican incumbent Arlen Specter, "out of work. I can no longer stand by after this senator humiliated American women with his shameless performance last fall [badgering Anita Hill during hearings on the confirmation of Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas]."

"In 112 days, Pennsylvanians will retire Arlen," she said. "We all have a lot to do. Let's get on with it."

Loretta McLaughlin is editorial page editor of the Globe.

POOL REPORT #7

July 16, 1992

Press Availability
(Pinedale, Wyoming)

You guys heard the press event so here's some color. He spoke at Pinedale Seismic research facility six miles outside Boulder, population 75. It is a center where they do research and testing for monitoring of nuclear testing treaties. The President stood on a mat under a patch of sage brush in front of the foot hill of the Wind River Mountains. The head of the facility Captain Michael Hines said the event had been arranged "out of the blue two to three hours ago." The President looked tanned and relaxed wearing a western style shirt. He later took off his tie. "For them I had to wear my tie" he said gesturing to reporters. He posed for pictures with state troopers, airforce personnel, White House staff and reporters. He said he had climbed the mountain this morning "gasping a little for air...it was fun." He said yesterday they ate the fish caught, but today they released them. The bus ride was about two hours long.

Ruth Marcus
Washington Post

Patty —
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To FYI
Patty + the folks

6 July '92

THE SECRETARY OF ENERGY

Dear Mr. President -

What a ~~fabulous~~ two days the Watkins clan (19 of us...) had at Camp David last week! Every one of your superb staff there treated us like royalty; and of course, we took full advantage of all recreational activities.

You and Barbara are so thoughtful and kind to have allowed

(over)

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - George Bush Handwriting

us to share that special retreat"
with you. We'll never forget this
unique and wonderful experience, nor
will our children and grand-
children, more importantly.

Thanks again and may God
Bless the greatest first family
in our nation's history -

Affectionately,

Sheila & Jim W.

IMMEDIATE

UNCLASSIFIED

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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WHITE HOUSE FOR PHILIP BRADY
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E.O.: 12356: N/A
TAGS: PGOV, VT
SUBJECT: POPE TO LEAVE HOSPITAL IN 10 DAYS

1. POPE JOHN PAUL II IS RECOVERING QUICKLY FROM HIS JULY 15 OPERATION FOR THE REMOVAL OF HIS GALL BLADDER AND A TUMOR DESCRIBED BY HIS SURGEON AS "THE SIZE OF AN ORANGE." THE SURGEON, DR. CRUCITTI, DESCRIBED THE POPE HAS HAVING THE THE PHYSICAL CONDITION "OF A TWENTY YEAR OLD." ALTHOUGH ALL INITIAL TESTS INDICATE THE TUMOR IS BENIGN. FURTHER INVESTIGATIONS ARE BEING PERFORMED TO BE CERTAIN.

2. THE POPE IS EXPECTED TO LEAVE THE HOSPITAL WITHIN TEN DAYS AND CONTINUE HIS CONVALESENCE IN THE MOUNTAINS, WHERE HE HAD BEEN SCHEDULED TO GO THIS WEEK BEFORE THIS PROBLEM AROSE. ASSUMING THERE ARE NO COMPLICATIONS, THE POPE SHOULD RESUME HIS ROUTINE IN LATE SEPTEMBER, FOLLOWING THE TRADITIONAL PAPAL SUMMER STAY IN CASTEL GANDOLFO OUTSIDE OF ROME. MELADY

BT

#2609

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - George Bush Handwriting

UNCLASSIFIED

Need via Baker
Meadows 7-16
on my calls
to Media re T. Noble
Soon

CPB

7-

From the desk of

George Bush

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - GEORGE BUSH HANDWRITING

CAMP DAVID

and we welcome
him to our
campaign -
we share the same
principles and we
need his help
in bringing about
~~the~~ ~~for~~ the
implementation of these
principles

CAMP DAVID

Just called
Pers - personal
basis -

congrats - energize -
H & people.
Told him I'd welcome
+ all his supporters
Congrat him

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - GEORGE BUSH HANDWRITING

CAMP DAVID

on the excitement
brought to the
room - May be
energized volunteers

We will now
make clear to all
those volunteers
that we share
many of the same
principles

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - GEORGE BUSH HANDWRITING

called Ross Perot
congrats on energizing
so many people
sense of excitement
welcome his support
share principles

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - GEORGE BUSH HANDWRITING

6/16/92

MR. PRESIDENT:

RE: ELVIS MASON. have you decided when you might invite him.

YES_____

NO_____

When he and I talked he said he would be available July 20, (21 and 22 were out,) but 23rd and 24th were clear. Presently, he is in Philadelphia at a company he owns. He mentioned the possibility of Camp David.

RZ

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o M. E

Mrs. B. ~ ?

o

OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTOGRAPH 16 JUL 92 P033670-03A DV



OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTOGRAPH 16 JUL 92 P033670-22A DV

DATE: July 16 92

DAILY NEWS CLIPS

The Washington Post

The Washington Times

The Wall Street Journal

USA Today

The New York Times

Office of Media Affairs

The Washington Post
THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

Ali Sarwar Naqvi

Don't Blame Pakistan

The failure of U.S. nuclear nonproliferation goals in the case of Pakistan is not a result of the administration's leniency toward Pakistan, as Sen. John Glenn suggests [op-ed, June 24]. Rather, it reflects administration and congressional disregard of the nuclear programs of India—and of Israel and South Africa.

John Glenn is a crusader for nonproliferation, but his single-minded focus on Pakistan's nuclear program is seen there as quixotic and misguided.

Alarmed by the Indian nuclear explosion in 1974, Pakistan embarked upon a nuclear program of its own soon afterward. Because of its close relationship with the United States and, more specifically, because of the Symington and Glenn amendments of 1976 and 1977, Pakistan exercised enormous self-restraint. When the Pressler amendment was adopted in 1984, Pakistan altered its self-restraint guidelines to meet the new law.

The U.S. administration's alleged indulgence of Pakistan through these years was motivated by the larger factor of virtual Soviet annexation of Afghanistan. Had Pakistan not made it almost impossible for the now-defunct state to expand its sphere of influence toward its southern flank, and had the Soviets not suffered unbearable economic and military attrition in Afghanistan, the Soviet Union might still be alive.

The nuclear programs of the various other countries earlier mentioned would also have existed, except, of course, Pakistan's.

It is well-known to the administration and to those in Congress who look at all the facts that Pakistan is a strong advocate of nuclear nonproliferation. It has made the following proposals:

Taking Exception

- Establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia, a proposal which has been endorsed repeatedly by the U.N. General Assembly since 1974.
- In view of India's opposition to such a zone, a proposal in 1978 that Pakistan and India issue a joint declaration denouncing the acquisition or manufacture of nuclear weapons.
- A proposal in 1979 for a system of bilateral inspection of all nuclear facilities on a reciprocal basis, simultaneous acceptance of International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards and simultaneous accession to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.
- A proposal in 1987 for a nuclear nonproliferation agreement in South Asia under the United Nations.

The government of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif inherited in 1990 a situation in which the United States had abruptly stopped some $600 million in annual economic and military assistance because of the Pressler amendment. He knew that Pakistan's nuclear program in 1990 was (and remains) at the same level as that of October 1989, when a presidential certification had been made for the Pressler amendment. He felt that denial of certification and the subsequent aid cutoff was unwarranted.

To resolve this misunderstanding, the prime minister made a major proposal for regional nuclear nonproliferation on June 6, 1991. One of his ideas called for a five-nation conference on nuclear concerns regarding South Asia, as originally suggested to Pakistan and India by the Bush administration in the fall of 1990. At the same time, the chairman of the Pakistan Senate was sent to Washington to explain Pakistan's intention to freeze its nuclear program until a nuclear proliferation regime was established in the region. It was also explained that further action by Pakistan would necessarily depend upon parallel action by India. This was a realistic and rational position reflecting the principle of mutual nuclear restraint.

Contrary to insinuations made by Sen. Glenn, there is no duplicity and discrepancy in what Pakistan is saying, and there is no difference in the knowledge or information about its nuclear program in the U.S. administration and Congress.

Sen. Glenn's article looks backward. He must apply his enormous political weight and zeal to persuade India to accept the U.S. initiative for a five-nation conference. The present situation is woefully imbalanced: Sanctions have been applied against Pakistan, which has a record of substantive action toward nuclear restraint, but no pressure is being brought to bear upon India, which hypocritically refuses even to acknowledge the reality of a nuclear program that it started in 1974 and continues to this date.

To add insult to injury, some elements in Congress are focusing on the perfectly legitimate commercial sale of military spare parts to Pakistan. Achieving this short-sighted objective would cripple the operational functioning of the Pakistan armed forces and might impel the government of Pakistan to pursue other military purchases and resume development of its nuclear program.

The writer is deputy chief of mission at the Embassy of Pakistan.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

Richard Cohen

Political Muzak

NEW YORK—Just before the Democratic National Convention started, some of the highways leading into Manhattan from the airports were cleaned. Highways not leading from the airport were not. This deception, this tux of a highway system rented for the visitor but not for the resident, has nevertheless attracted no attention. It is, therefore, a fitting symbol for the convention itself. At least on television (most homes tuned elsewhere the first night), it too attracted little attention.

It's a cliche, of course, that nothing much is being done here. The presidential nominee, Bill Clinton, was chosen via the primaries. The vice presidential nominee, Albert Gore Jr., was selected by Clinton. For the average American, those two selections are the only business of what, after all, is a nominating convention. The rest—adoption of the party platform and a rhetorical assault directed at the other party—is of almost no interest, especially if it's on television opposite the All-Star baseball game.

But this convention has a blandness that not even the lack of news can explain. It has to do, I think, with the studied attempt of Clinton and others to adhere to the middle of the road, to be so resolutely moderate that neither the imagination nor the emotions are stirred. Clinton himself has called his approach "beyond liberalism and conservatism"—a Shakespearean "neither a liberal nor a conservative be." But where that is exactly is not yet clear. It may well be a place called "The Muddle."

Richard Nixon's sage advice to his fellow Republicans to first solidify the party's right-wing base has some application to the Democratic Party as well. In both major parties, political energy—not to mention ideas—usually flows from the fringes. At this convention, Jesse Jackson and, to a lesser extent, Jerry Brown represent that fringe. Both of them are distinctly unhappy. Jackson's speech to the convention was muted compared to previous ones he has delivered, and only by implication did he endorse Clinton. "President Bill Clinton," he called him. We'll see if he works hard to make that phrase a reality.

Jackson is a partially spent figure—diminished in clout from previous conventions and looking a bit tired. But the themes of his speech—unemployment, racial equality, worker safety, the plight of the underclass—are some of the classics of liberalism. They were the ones that most stirred the audience and that enabled the television cameras to capture the occasional tear rolling down the occasional cheek. These are the sparks that fire the engines of Democratic liberalism. Clinton had better be careful he does not diminish them.

In both parties, political energy flows from the fringes.

In due course, the polls will show Clinton coming out of the convention with the traditional "bump"—a lift in the polls. But moderation in all things is hardly stirring. Moreover, it can sometimes produce jarring rhetoric. The convention speech of Georgia Gov. Zell Miller, the one speech reportedly vetted by the Clinton camp, contained a phase hardly designed to please liberals: "Bill Clinton is a Democrat who has the courage to tell some of those liberals who think welfare should continue forever, and some of those conservatives who think that there should be no welfare at all, that they are both wrong." No doubt. But it is nevertheless odd to hear liberals bashed at a Democratic convention by a speaker purportedly speaking for the nominee.

The upshot is that the Clinton camp has provided this convention with none of the raw meat that liberals and other Democrats need to roar. "Infrastructure" or something like it is hardly a stirring call to arms. To be sure, the Democratic left has nowhere else to go. George Bush is out of the question, and so is Ross Perot. Indeed, Perot's plunge in the polls is partly a function of Democratic disaffection. The more they learn about the man, the more they find something they don't like. And anyway, Clinton's record has been more liberal than his rhetoric. His true love, after all, is government.

Bill Clinton is two things: A gifted politician and so thorough a one that, sometimes, the former cancels the latter. His penchant to avoid controversy, to hug the middle of the road, to be whatever his audience of the moment wants him to be—to be, in short, both pro-choice and, it seems, personally uncomfortable about abortion—is hardly the stuff of a stirring anthem. In his speech to the convention, the one for which the networks will forsake their regular programming, he has got to define himself—to reach beyond policy and programs to the very music of politics.

So far, it's been mostly Muzak.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

David S. Broder

Fractured Generation

NEW YORK—This is a different kind of gamble the Democrats are taking this year—a gamble on a generation that has yet to produce a political leader who inspires national confidence.

In nominating the baby boomer ticket of Bill Clinton, 45, and Albert Gore Jr., 44, the Democrats have certainly broken with their past. Whether they have secured their future is another question altogether.

A dozen years ago, at Democratic National Convention time in New York, I was happily signing copies of my newly published book, "Changing of the Guard," describing this new generation of politicians. Among the many profiled there were Clinton, the newly elected governor of Arkansas, and young congressman and Vietnam veteran Al Gore.

It was not difficult to discern the promise in their successful early careers. But my judgment about the timing of their generation's rise to the top was way off-base. "In the 1980s," I wrote, "the custody of the nation's leadership will be transferred from the World War II veterans, who have held sway for a generation, to a new set of men and women."

Instead, two more World War II vets—Ronald Reagan and George Bush—were elected to the presidency. If Bush wins reelection in November, the domination by men who were in uniform during that war will be truly extraordinary, extending from Dwight D. Eisenhower's election in 1952 almost to the end of the century.

Every baby boom politician was forced to make choices that separated him from millions of his contemporaries.

My guess is that voters keep turning back to people who were shaped in that era because it was the last time that Americans as a whole united their energies in a national effort that achieved all its goals. Whether they were supreme commanders like Eisenhower, war heros like Kennedy and Bush, officers on routine duty like Nixon and Ford, or men whose time in uniform let them pursue their own careers, like Johnson and Reagan, they all were part of an experience in which the entire nation shared and took pride.

Reagan at the Normandy commemoration and Bush at the Pearl Harbor ceremonies showed how even the latest presidents in this series have been able to identify themselves with events that remain powerful symbols of national sacrifice. The linkage helps them build bonds of trust across the inevitable regional, ethnic, economic and partisan differences in this diverse society.

The political leaders who came along too late for World War II have had a devil of a time finding any such bonds with their own generation—let alone their elders. Four years ago, Bush reached across the generation gap and selected Dan Quayle as his running mate, only to find that Quayle got low approval scores, especially among other 40-somethings. Quayle has not solved the problem of winning public trust and confidence; indeed, the polls show a decline in his standing.

The Democrats meeting here would like to believe that is a problem peculiar to Quayle. They think they can exploit his weakness by presenting two men of his own age who, they hope, can engender trust as easily as they can spell potato.

Experience suggests the problem may be tougher than that. Consider what has happened to other Democrats of the new generation such as Gary Hart and Joe Biden, whose presidential ambitions were derailed by character questions—to say nothing of the baggage Clinton himself carries into the November election. Think of Michael Dukakis in 1988. Think, too, of the many other Democrats of that generation who have failed in bids for nomination: Paul Tsongas, Bob Kerrey, Tom Harkin and Jerry Brown this year; Dick Gephardt, Jesse Jackson, Bruce Babbitt and Gore in 1988. And think of such Republican presidential wannabees as Jack Kemp and Pete du Pont.

All of these men were badly damaged by charges that raised questions about their character. They were accused of flip-flopping inconsistency, pandering to special constituencies, riding pet hobby-horse issues, having questionable values or just seeming strange. When these questions were raised, all of them found they had less of a reservoir of trust than they had hoped.

The reason may well be, as my Washington Post colleague E.J. Dionne Jr. has suggested, that the experiences of the '60s and early '70s, which shaped them, were so divisive for the nation. The political and social upheavals of that time—the struggles over civil rights and the Vietnam War, the revolution in relations between men and women, parents and children—widened the gaps in American society.

Whether they dove into all these movements, as Bill Clinton did, or resisted them all, as Dan Quayle did, or sampled selectively, as was the case with Al Gore, every one of the new generation politicians was forced to make choices that separated him from millions of his contemporaries.

As Clinton told me in a long interview for "Changing of the Guard," "The election can still be won by a more progressive candidate if you can persuade people you've got a center core they can understand and relate to and trust."

That is exactly the challenge he and Gore now face.

The Washington Post
THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

Hobart Rowen

Dinosaur Management

NEW YORK—Economic growth, which has eluded the Bush administration, is now the top priority on everyone's list. But economic growth means different things to different groups.

The Clinton-Gore platform states that "Democrats in 1992 hold nothing more important for America than an economy that offers growth and jobs for all." While pledging to "honor business as a noble endeavor," to be supported with greater investment opportunities, Clinton and Gore also argue that "economic growth will not come without a national economic strategy to invest in people."

A group of Democratic liberals and progressives push for even more dramatic efforts. They have formed a Citizens Transition Project, which will prepare an advisory book for the next president-elect.

Their main goal: to make sure that the beneficiaries of economic growth are the middle class and the poor, reversing the upward distribution of wealth that took place in the Reagan-Bush years. There is less sympathy for the business sector in this left-of-center group of Democrats than shown by middle-roaders Clinton and Gore.

"Federal policies should stop treating plant and equipment as essential, but workers as disposable, something our successful global competitors understand is self-defeating," says Mark Green, chair of the project.

In Munich, at last week's Economic Summit, Bush administration officials wistfully spoke of the desirability of greater economic growth and urged other members of the Group of Seven rich nations to boost their economies, because American economic growth depends heavily on exports.

The administration's concept of growth was carefully outlined in a speech at an international conference in Toronto by Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady on June 1—an address that didn't get the attention in the American press that it deserved.

Brady specified two critical elements of sustained economic growth, the first being "the will and the capacity to restructure." That means the acceptance as normal of job cutbacks (such as those recently announced by GM, AT&T, IBM and others), in expectation that other companies, using new technologies, will expand.

Brady's second "critical element" for economic growth is that it must be accompanied by low inflation. He gave the impression that over the past decade the United States had successfully achieved economic growth on these terms, while acknowledging "problems . . . that could adversely affect our competitive position in coming years.

Then, in Munich, Brady told an interviewer for PBS's "Nightly Business Report": "My view is that we've made the corrections in the United States that are necessary for good, solid, steady growth."

But the fact is that the United States under Bush has not made the kind of adjustments in its domestic economy that stimulate solid growth. To be fair about it, Bush and Brady have consistently pushed the Federal Reserve Board to lower interest rates to stimulate economic activity, but the Fed has been too slow to act. From time to time over the past two years, Brady has questioned not only the Fed's good sense, but its patriotism.

Brady conceded in the Toronto speech that industry's "restructurings" are unsettling. But it's more than that. "Restructurings"—huge and permanent reductions of the work force—are largely a product of dinosaur thinking on the part of American management.

Daniel Friedman, a retired naval research engineer, pointed out in a letter to me: "GM's failure to anticipate and adapt to changing customer needs and [to] the Japanese concentration on quality is an example of . . . lack of leadership. When disaster finally struck, a large number of firms initiated massive restructuring. . . .

"Not only has this failure of management resulted in the current high unemployment rate, but proposed future layoffs will overhang the employment scene for years to come."

In the first quarter of 1989, as Bush came into office, the economic growth rate was 2.5 percent. Three years went by before there was another three-month period—2.7 percent in the first quarter of 1992—that hit or topped 2 percent.

Even counting that first quarter result in 1989—a residual of the Reagan administration—the annual average growth rate in the Bush years has been a miserable 0.6 percent.

The bulk of even that tiny advance can be attributed to exports. The advantage given American exports by a cheap dollar in the last couple of years accounts for almost the entire addition to the gross national product: Without exports, stagnation and recession would have been even worse, and that 0.6 percent growth would have become a negative number.

So it's no wonder that at Munich, Bush and Brady were hoping that the Germans would lower interest rates, stimulating an economic recovery in Europe that would boost imports from America. How ironic that America must push a mercantilist, export-led growth policy—the same drive for which Japan has been persistently condemned!

The Democrats in convention here, moderate to liberal, seem to sense that beyond exports, America needs domestic economic expansion to produce real economic growth and jobs—the pattern that Bush and Brady demanded of our G-7 partners in Munich, but which they have failed to produce in America.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

"I UNDERSTAND HE RUNS A TIGHT SHIP"



For the Record

From remarks by former President Jimmy Carter on the "MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour" July 14:

Judy Woodruff: . . . As you know, Jesse Jackson and some other spokespeople—no one really speaks for all of black America, of course, but people who speak for the leadership, I guess you would say, of the civil rights movement as it exists today—are saying: wait a minute, we're being taken for granted. What Bill Clinton has done is he's distanced himself from us in an effort to reach out to the moderate middle. What about us?

President Carter: I think that's a mistake that is made by many news reporters to equate the African American community with Jesse Jackson. Jesse Jackson is a powerful spokesman who's attractive and who puts himself forward, and he's a master at projecting himself as the primary spokesperson for the black community. That's not accurate.

You know, when I ran in 1976 and 1980 as a southern governor, with similar credentials to those of Bill Clinton, in spite of a very strong challenge from Ted Kennedy, where the Kennedys' name has been magic in the African American community, I got 85 percent of the black vote in this country.

And so I think that most Americans who happen to be black look at the candidates and say which one will be best for me and my children, and not listen to leaders, whether it's the mayor of a great city or a member of Congress or Jesse Jackson to tell them how to vote.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

The Democratic Nomination

THE ONLY people Mario Cuomo should have disappointed in the speech he delivered last night were first, Republicans and second, those Democrats and other general kibitzers who believed he would give Bill Clinton a lukewarm nomination. It was a killer. So too were some of the accompanying speeches. And so was the rouser delivered by Jesse Jackson the night before.

Most of the people Bill Clinton bested and/or confounded by his stamina and success over the past several months were magnanimous about his candidacy (we wish the governor and his campaign had been more magnanimous about letting the antiabortion and onetime anti-Clinton governor of Pennsylvania speak: Imagine the counterfuror if the Republicans deny a pro-choice figure of comparable seriousness a chance to speak in Houston). The news is that for the most part, the Democrats in convention and their leaders from the various segments of the party have not just come together but have come to see the man who won their prolonged primary contest as the embodiment and agent of their national agenda.

It is a tribute in large part to Gov. Clinton's own strengths and smarts. It is also a tribute to the competence and drive of Democratic chairman Ron Brown. But, importantly, it is as well, in considerable measure, a gift from the guys at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. For although the Democrats may still disagree till dawn about some of what they are for, they know well enough what they are against. The last 12 years are their script. It is not just that they want to win again, though of course they do. The wings of the national party—its left and center, in particular—are united in the view that whatever might be right, the enormous national self-indulgence of the Reagan-Bush years was wrong, demonstrably bad for the country and in the end a betrayal of not only the poor but of precisely the middle class, whose interests those administrations claimed to serve. The centrists are said to have ousted the left from control of the party this year, and you know all the signs of that, from ticket to platform. But at this point it matters less than it might have at another time, because right now there's plenty of grist for both mills.

Conventions, unless they are disasters like the Democratic firefight of 1968, almost always give a lift: The party and the ticket get a surge up in the polls, and this is happening out of New York right now. It doesn't necessarily last, as everyone knows. Still, this time around there does seem to be a remarkable confluence of interest in getting the Republicans out and the Democrats in. The strongest voices in the convention to date have been those of the wing of the party supposedly supplanted. They spoke on behalf of the 1992 Democratic candidacy and case, we thought, with a remarkable degree of comfort, not to mention conviction.

Israel's Move

TAKING OVER as Israel's prime minister, Yitzhak Rabin spoke with urgency and a rare eloquence to Israelis and Palestinians alike. Israelis he warned against being left behind by the global "movement toward peace, reconciliation and cooperation." Palestinians he addressed as "our foes today and partners in peaceful coexistence tomorrow," advising them to shed their longtime "delusion" and to take up the "fairest and most viable" proposal for limited self-rule that he is about to make to them in order to move along the road to a broader regional peace.

Mr. Rabin is setting out to negotiate quickly the disposition of land, the West Bank and Gaza, that Israel captured when he was chief of staff in the war of 1967. In the intervening 25 years Israelis found that holding this land and moving in the direction of annexation stirred more resistance, inside and outside the occupied territories, than they could comfortably manage. Hence now Mr. Rabin's fresh mandate and evident intention to seek ways to accommodate the Palestinians who, notwithstanding Israeli settlement, make up most of the people living in these territories. His toughness on general security and terrorism gives him the requisite political license. An early test of wills and political skills took shape yesterday on the West Bank.

The omens are good. Israelis and Palestinians have their mutual suspicions and their factions that equate compromise with loss and peril. But they also both have a leadership and popular majority desperate for relief from the burden of endless confrontation. The United States under George Bush is lending a helping hand, and his Democratic challenger—Ross Perot's position can only be guessed at—would come under pressure to move toward the Bush policy if he were elected. Most other interested countries are cooperating.

Prime Minister Rabin is 70 and has taken part in all of Israel's wars. He cannot fail to understand that Israel needs not a propaganda triumph, not a holding or stalling operation, not a further collision with its American patrons, certainly not a climb toward a war that could be the most fateful the region has ever known, but a breakthrough, first with the Palestinians and then with other Arabs. The initiative is his, the response will be theirs. That is how they all will be judged.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

Who's Buying This Stadium Deal?

BACK WHEN Gov. Wilder and Redskins owner Jack Kent Cooke were secretly putting together their design for the upheaval of Alexandria, they envisioned a raw power play: Proceed on a straight-ahead schedule, and let the chips fall where they may. But a lot of Virginians with some influence of their own aren't about to buy the stadium proposal for Potomac Yard—and buyers they certainly have to be. The governor seemed to believe—and may still—that he could whistle for a special session of the General Assembly at which members would whoop at a chance to spend $130 million in taxpayer money to spread the red carpet for Mr. Cooke.

Not so fast. For a long list of reasons, state senators and delegates from Northern Virginia are not exactly falling in line behind their generous governor. And their coolness should highlight for lawmakers elsewhere around the state the financial, legal and symbolic risks in voting to enrich an already financially blessed team owner with state revenues for a stadium the region would rather do without. How many state legislators who have agonized over tough recession-driven cuts in state programs are ready to spend money on a sports complex project that also would turn over hundreds of acres—some of it on the Potomac Yard site, some of it private land that would be condemned for parking—for Mr. Cooke's use?

Even if the lawmakers were to conclude it's worth all this for bragging rights as the home state of the 'Skins, there are all sorts of other reality checks in the way. Unless stomped on by the state, Alexandrians have a zoning say in all this, and they're saying no at this point. How safe, easy or wise would it be to put a stadium under the flight paths in and out of National? How environmentally awful is the Potomac Yard site, and what federal reviews and possible objections loom?

Across the water in the District there is a home for a stadium—in a city that has enjoyed hosting the team and that stands ready to keep doing it. Washington is the place.

Biting the Bullet on Bullet Loans

THE WASHINGTON area is on the brink of another real estate calamity. If disaster strikes, there shouldn't be any difficulty rounding up the usual suspects. This new wave of bankruptcies and foreclosures can be traced to the imprudent performance of bankers and real estate developers in a sour economy—specifically, to a singularly risky lending measure known as "bullet loans."

Post reporter Kirstin Downey has detailed the scope of the problems being caused by this once-popular form of real estate financing. Essentially, in the mid-1980s banks started extending open-ended short-term construction loans to commercial real estate developers on the dubious assumption that the loans would later be replaced by cash-rich, long-term lenders such as insurance companies and pension funds. Remember, this was the go-go era in banking, when little thought was being given to the possibility that the good times could ever stop rolling.

Hundreds of these short-term loans are now coming due, and the bankers and developers are finding that their assumptions were off-base. Long-term lenders, already chock full of bad loans from the first wave of foreclosures and bankruptcies, aren't willing to take over the bankers' loans. Developers lack the capital to carry the loans themselves. So bankers are left with the distasteful choice of becoming owners and managers of foreclosed properties or filling their already sour loan portfolios with more costly renegotiated real estate loans.

It's not as if the banking industry didn't know better. Until the '80s, bankers would hardly have considered making short-term commercial real estate loans without being covered by a firm loan commitment from a long-term lender. Sky-high interest rates in the mid-'80s, however, caused the pension funds and insurance companies to shy away from issuing these takeout commitments. Instead of prudently scaling back their construction lending, the bankers continued to finance construction of office buildings, hotels and other commercial properties on a false hope.

Unless new and unexpected sources of capital emerge and there is a strong recovery, this already battered region could be in for more trouble. The government is no idle bystander. Bullet loans threaten already weakened federally insured banks *and* the deficit-ridden Bank Insurance Fund. Whether the area economy takes a serious hit will depend in part on the regulatory and accounting judgment that federal examiners make about the financial condition of the banks and their bullet loans.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

Thomas Could Act Today On Abortion Pill Case

By Malcolm Gladwell
Washington Post Staff Writer

Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas yesterday postponed judgment for at least one day on whether to allow a California woman to take an unapproved French abortion drug called RU-486 that was confiscated by federal officials.

Thomas had been asked Tuesday night by abortion-rights activists to overturn an appeals court order denying the drug to Leona Benten, 29. The RU-486 pills were seized by U.S. authorities on July 1 at John F. Kennedy International Airport in New York. Benten, who is 7½ weeks pregnant, sought to bring the pills into the country from Britain in contravention of Food and Drug Administration policy.

The FDA prohibits the importation of unapproved drugs, except in certain cases involving therapies for terminally ill patients.

Benten sued, and a U.S. District Court judge in New York ruled in her favor Tuesday, finding the FDA policy illegal. After Justice Department lawyers successfully obtained the order blocking the District Court ruling Tuesday night, Benten's attorneys asked Thomas to lift the stay.

Thomas, the justice who oversees cases from the 2nd Circuit, where the original suit was filed, yesterday asked the Justice Department to provide him with an opinion on the case by this morning. No decision is expected until later today at the earliest.

The case has taken on a special urgency because RU-486 is recommended only for women less than eight weeks pregnant, which gives Benten until Saturday to safely use the pills. The drug is taken in repeat doses, which prevent a fertilized egg from attaching itself to the uterine wall. Women taking RU-486 must then see a doctor for follow-up injections to complete the treatment.

Benten has said she is frightened of a surgical abortion. She had one in 1983.

"She's very anxious about this," said Janet Benshoof, president of the Center for Reproductive Law and Policy, the abortion-rights group that sponsored Benten's trip to Britain and brought the lawsuit on her behalf. "To take the pill at home would be a gift from God."

Should Thomas refuse to act, the center has the option to take the case to the full Supreme Court.

The case has attracted national attention because it marks the first attempt, outside of clinical studies, to let American women abort their fetuses by non-surgical means. Although widely available in Europe, RU-486 has not been approved in the United States because its manfacturer—the French pharmaceutical firm Roussel-Uclaf—has declined to do the safety tests necessary to win FDA approval.

The intention of Benten's lawsuit is not to win formal approval for RU-486, but to make it available for personal importation in the same way the FDA currently permits imports of small quantities of drugs for certain terminally ill patients, such as those with cancer and AIDS.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992



Gerald Rafshoon

Why I Left Perot

Three months ago I flew to Dallas to meet Ross Perot and his closest advisers. I was impressed. Perot's two key aides, Tom Luce and Morton Meyerson, were men of obvious drive and intelligence. As for their boss, he came across to me the same in person as he had on television—as a can-do, plain-spoken businessman ready to run an unorthodox grass-roots campaign and then follow it up with an equally unorthodox grass-roots presidency.

Perot fired up my hopes for some of the same reasons he was catching the attention of millions. Like many disillusioned Democrats, I worried that my party was too mired in the constituency politics and special interest kowtowing of the past. I was worried at the time that our candidate had been so badly damaged by personal allegations during the primary process that he would be too weak to reform the party, let alone the country. (I no longer have such worries, but that's another story). I was eager to see George Bush get licked. And I was captivated by the seeming candor, sincerity and outsider's zest of the bantam billionaire from Texas.

The Perot candidacy also reminded me of an earlier presidential campaign—the one that brought me into politics. In 1976 Jimmy Carter bucked the odds, braved the dismissals of the Washington and press establishments, promised a fresh approach to national problems from top to bottom and argued that "the people should run the government, not the other way around."

Like Jimmy Carter, I thought, Ross Perot was nonideological, essentially moderate, pragmatic, southern but free of racial prejudice, a staunch defender of traditional values who nevertheless advocated governmental change. A lot of the same people who rang doorbells for Jimmy Carter were circulating petitions for Ross Perot 16 years later. Hell, the two men even looked a little bit alike. And on top of everything else, Perot was tough. If there were times when he was a little too abrupt and blunt for my tastes, I chalked this up to his being a nonsense nonpolitician more interested in getting things done than in winning Mr. Congeniality awards.

So I signed on—not as a top honcho like my old friend Hamilton Jordan but simply as an informal adviser. I wrote memos, gave advice, went to Dallas a few times to sit in on meetings. I defended Perot in Washington to friends who had sincere and severe doubts about him.

The main advice I had to give was simple. It was Rule One of any campaign strategy for any candidate: Define yourself before others define you.

That didn't happen. Instead, as the weeks slipped by, Perot began to be defined by a series of news stories—stories about his penchant for investigating people, about the hardball politics he has played in connection with his business dealings, about how he ran his companies in an authoritarian way.

Perot's answer to all this was to smile, to deny, to question the motives of his interviewers and of the sources of the stories, and to blame it all on "Republican dirty tricks."

Some of the stories probably were inspired by Republican opposition research. But opposition research is not a dirty trick. It's a legitimate political technique, part of the rough-and-tumble, give-and-take process of getting information to the public. In any case, most of the stories weren't inspired by the Republicans at all. Some were important and consequential, some were trivial or incomplete, but just about all were the product of standard journalistic enterprise. They showed not that the press was out to "get" Perot but that it was taking him seriously as a potential president.

Perot, however, didn't see it that way. When Tim Russert of NBC's "Meet the Press" asked him for details of how he would get the budget deficit under control, he complained that he hadn't been told the question would come up. When Katie Couric of NBC's "Today Show" asked him to clarify some differences between what he's been saying lately and some previous statements, he became contemptuous of her and said, "The good news is that the American people understand me."

When asked about his membership in Dallas country clubs that have no black or Jewish members, he claimed that his sole reason for joining the clubs was to give his daughters a safe place to swim—even though he has two swimming pools at his own home.

I began to wonder why he insisted on going out of his way to tell little untruths like the swimming alibi. And I waited for him to start defining himself—to go on the air with his own message, telling the American people where he stands on the problems he has so correctly identified.

It didn't happen. Instead, he kept doing the same things—booking himself on talk shows, attending rallies of his signature-drive supporters, ridiculing legitimate criticisms, promising answers in the future.

Slowly, reluctantly, I've come to the conclusion that Perot's refusal to do anything more than he's been doing tells us as much about him as any number of position papers or carefully prepared TV spots. And what it tells us is that he is not temperamentally qualified to be president.

His appearance before the NAACP convention—his first venture in speaking before an audience not organized by his own campaign—was especially revealing. It was, in campaign jargon, a "defining moment."

The problem was not, as journalistic shorthand would have it, that Perot committed a "gaffe" when he referred to the audience as "you people." Nor was it that he somehow showed himself to have racist tendencies; I am convinced he has none.

The problem was arrogance—and lack of imagination. The tone of the entire speech, not just the "you people" line, dripped with condescension. Perot seemed incapable of putting himself in the shoes of people different from himself. And in a country as wildly diverse as this one—so diverse that no person and no group can truly be "typical"—a president must be able to see himself and the world through the eyes of others.

Perot has an office building in Dallas bursting with people ready and eager to help him get his message across, without compromising it, to all varieties of audiences. He chose to ignore them, insisting that he knew better. This bodes ill for the kind of presidency he would run.

Ross Perot, I've come to believe, is not the answer. The idea behind his candidacy—the need for real change—is right. But temperamentally and in terms of his understanding of the country, he's the wrong man for the job.

The driving force behind the Perot campaign was never Ross Perot the person. It was always the desire of millions of Americans for change, their yearning for a decisive break with the politics of gridlock, cynicism and hopelessness. At first Perot seemed to understand this. He no longer seems to. Self-involved and self-absorbed, the self-proclaimed nonpolitician is playing a cruel joke on his followers. Having promised them a "world-class campaign," he has given them only himself. What started as a movement is degenerating into a cult of personality.

One final point. It is worth noting that Ross Perot is not any of the things that some of his hysterical critics have said he is. He is not a fascist, not a potential dictator, not an evil man. He does not threaten the Constitution the way the incumbent does with his support of no fewer than five amendments, all of them damaging or trivializing.

Perot, I am convinced, is motivated by a genuine desire to change America for the better. I still believe he would make a better president than George Bush. But in an election that will turn, as all presidential elections do, on character, Bill Clinton would be better than either of them.

The writer was media adviser to President Jimmy Carter.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

Self-Described 'Reformer' Gingrich Feels Lash of Anti-Incumbent Fever

By Kenneth J. Cooper
Washington Post Staff Writer

SMYRNA, Ga.—Newt Gingrich—just another incumbent?

For the second-ranking Republican in the House, that's hard to accept. "I'm the most systematic reformer in the modern Congress," he boasts.

But Gingrich finds himself in the uncomfortable position he likes to put others in, defending his practices in Washington. The anti-incumbent attack is coming from a little-known challenger in Tuesday's Republican primary who accuses Gingrich of complaining about congressional privileges like House Bank overdrafts and free mailings—even while taking advantage of them.

"I look at Newt Gingrich as going to Congress with a lot of good conservative ideas, but along the way he's become just another congressman in the lost world of Washington," said Herman Clark, a former state legislator and Gingrich's opponent in a suburban Atlanta district.

Clark, 50, has put Gingrich on the defensive and planted hopes in Democratic hearts that the House Republican whip will lose. But many observers expect Gingrich to prevail, because of his better-financed campaign and identity as the only Republican in Georgia's congressional delegation.

Gingrich, 49, said he was angry at Clark for waging a "mean and nasty" campaign. The seven-term lawmaker sounded like a philosopher-congressman in one response to Clark's charge of hypocrisy.

"There is a great paradox in American political culture, and that is: How can you be both a populist and Republican whip? How can you be for dramatic change and go to White House meetings?" he said. "That's a perennial paradox."

This year, some voters have decided that just being in Congress is something to hold against Gingrich or any other incumbent.

"Everyone's that's got an I [for incumbent] before their name is going to get an X," said Earl Wall, a retiree who lives in Smyrna, an Atlanta suburb, meaning incumbents will not get his vote.

This year, though, Gingrich lacks an incumbent's advantage of familiarity. He has never represented any of his reapportioned district, the partisan handiwork of Georgia House Speaker Tom Murphy (D), who saw to it that Gingrich's current district south of Atlanta was erased.

The new 6th Congressional District stretches across five suburban counties north of the city and is centered in prosperous Cobb County, where a cluster of shops and offices is known as "the platinum triangle." Incomes average $55,000 in the overwhelmingly white district and nearly two-thirds vote Republican.

In this sophisticated, white-collar territory, Clark's charge of hypocrisy has stuck with some voters.

A Clark ad, broadcast on radio and television, ridicules Gingrich for his 22 overdrafts at the House Bank, his former limousine use and his 1989 vote for congressional pay raises in exchange for a ban on speaking fees for lawmakers. The ads are sung to the tune of "Old McDonald Had a Farm," the children's jingle.

"Here a check, there a check, everywhere a bounced check," runs the refrain.

"It's really a tacky thing to do," said Smyrna insurance executive Ellen Clark, no relation to the challenger, referring to the advertising. "But it summed it up."

Gingrich tried to take the edge off the attacks by giving up his leased limousine and Capitol Police driver, who made more than $60,000 last year. He relinquished the perquisite in the spring after Rep. Gene Taylor (D-Miss.) announced a move to take away the Lincoln Continental, and Clark made the arrangement a campaign issue.

Gingrich also promised not to use the congressional frank to send free mass mailings to his reapportioned district although he could legally do so. During the last election cycle, his $170,000-plus in franked mailings topped the Georgia delegation.

Clark has vowed, if elected, not to ever use the franking privilege for any mass mailings, which he calls "congressional junk mail." He would frank responses to constituent mail.

Gingrich has described his 22 overdrafts at the House Bank as relatively few, compared to top abusers of the defunct, unchartered facility. He casts himself as courageously pushing for disclosure of members' overdrafts—despite knowing he had some.

He also has tried humility, telling a Smyrna coffee klatch: "I occasionally make mistakes. . . but I try not to repeat the mistake. . . . It's true. I'm a human being."

But Gingrich has defended his support for raising congressional pay.

"President Reagan thought it was necessary. President Bush thought it was necessary. Chief Justice [William] Rehnquist thought it was necessary. Common Cause said it was the most important ethics vote in 10 years," Gingrich said.

"I suffered a $3,000 drop in my total compensation because I earned more when I was allowed to make [paid] speeches," he added.

As the only Republican in Georgia's congressional delegation since 1987, Gingrich has become something of a GOP icon around the state.

Juana Cobielush of Smyrna called him "a wonderful Christian man" who "has backbone."

"What can Herman Clark do for us that Newt isn't already doing for us?" said Bill Byrne, a Republican candidate for the Cobb County Commission.

But Clark argues that Gingrich has not done much for his current district or metropolitan Atlanta.

"What can he get passed? Because of the vicious attacks on Democrats, he can't build coalitions to get good, effective, conservative legislation passed," Clark said.

A Gingrich campaign tabloid credits him with bringing federal help to control noise at Atlanta's airport and increase veterans benefits. It also cites private or state aid for cleaning up a toxic waste site, acquiring a rhinoceros for the Atlanta zoo and establishing a reading program for youngsters.



ATLANTA NEWSPAPERS—MARLENE KARAS

Gingrich's opponent takes campaign to rush hour.

The tabloid says it tells voters "even more about Newt Gingrich the newspapers haven't told you," a veiled reference to the dominant Atlanta Constitution's endorsement of Clark. The afternoon Atlanta Journal has backed Gingrich.

Clark has also drawn endorsements and campaign contributions from what are unusual donors in a Republican primary race—the National Education Association and International Association of Machinists, for instance. The Sierra Club and League of Conservation Voters also have supported Clark.

Democratic strategists in Washington have watched the race closely and spread word of Clark's attacks on Gingrich.

Public Citizen, founded by Ralph Nader, recent began making $40,000 in independent expenditures for television advertising that, like Clark, accuses Gingrich of being a hypocrite. Another small group called Clean Up Congress has canvassed against Gingrich, citing his record on the environment and campaign finance.

Gingrich has outspent Clark nearly 7 to 1, has organized a larger campaign team and has appeared far ahead in campaign polls. After moving into the new district, Gingrich has built a network of Republican activists.

Clark has depended more on hustle and savvy, placing low-cost ads on area movie theater screens and staging rush-hour "traffic blitzes," when he holds a sign and waves at commuting motorists from the roadside. Many give a bemused smile, a wave or a honk of the horn.

Gingrich nonetheless said he feared "massive" last-minute independent expenditures by labor unions and Democratic voters who choose Republican ballots in a state where there is no party registration.

The Washington Post
THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

LETTER FROM THE BUSH-QUAYLE CAMPAIGN

GOP Aides Bate Breath as Bush and Baker Fish

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

Bush-Quayle campaign officials spent the day yesterday in Virginia courting televangelist Pat Robertson and his army of Christian Republican voters, and in New York trying to get out a contrary word on the new Democratic ticket. But their minds remain on Wyoming, where, they are convinced (without any facts to bolster that certainty), President Bush will ask his old political friend James A. Baker III to shelve diplomacy for politics.

Bush, staying at Baker's remote ranch five miles from the nearest highway, said fishing is the only item on the agenda. But Republican campaign insiders, White House officials and others who have watched Bush's political stall think they know better.

According to a knowledgeable campaign official, an army of Republicans in the administration and outside has told Bush and Baker in recent weeks that Baker needs to put aside diplomacy temporarily and return to the White House, not the campaign. Their thesis is that an incumbent campaign must be run out of the White House, not out of campaign headquarters. And they say it is clear that Chief of Staff Samuel K. Skinner's six-month reorganization of the White House staff has not produced the intended results.

While Baker has expressed to all his preference to permanently retire from direct campaign politics, he has also told associates that if the president asks, he would go. The question, insiders say, is whether Bush will ask.

Most believe he will, but some—including a handful who know Bush best—remain convinced that the president, as one put it, "is into denial. He thinks he can do it with the team he has and without the drastic move of having to ask Baker to come back."

Campaign sources speculate that if Bush asks, Baker would not resign as secretary of state but would instead ask the president to name Undersecretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger as acting secretary and have Baker "loaned" to the White House as a counselor to Bush. Under such a scenario, Baker could be back at Foggy Bottom on Election Day.

For the record, the White House, the campaign and the State Department are sticking to the story that nothing is happening on the Baker front. But the same was true in 1988, when officials at the Treasury Department said Bush had not asked Baker to leave his Cabinet post to head the campaign. One day that summer, Bush did ask, and then the story changed. Baker took over as campaign chairman at the GOP convention.

Asked why Baker does not offer on his own to help at such a critical time for Bush, the secretary's spokesman and adviser, Margaret Tutwiler, said yesterday, "That would be the height of arrogance, to presume the president needs you." Asked if Baker would resign or take a leave of absence, Tutwiler said, "I do not answer hypothetical questions."

Bush aides said this week that pressure to move Baker, coming from Campaign General Chairman Robert A. Mosbacher among others, is dismissed by the president as part of the "cycle" of campaigns and that he alone will decide if he needs Baker's help to win.

Bush aides suggest that the focus this week on the fishing trip in Wyoming is "phony" because Baker and Bush talk a dozen times or more a week on average and need no secluded retreat to hatch their plots. They guess that if a deal is cut, it will become known in some extravagant public announcement heralding a "fresh start." That would most likely happen during the Republican convention or afterwards, rather than in the midst of the Democratic convention.

A Republican who advises the campaign said some in Bush's circle are discussing a "fresh-start" effort that would have Bush name a new domestic team for a second term. The team would be in charge of assembling and helping him push through Congress a domestic package, particularly in the economic area, as a dramatic sign that a second Bush term would differ from the first. Many Republicans have suggested Bush fire Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady and Office of Management and Budget Director Richard G. Darman as a symbol of concern for economic policy, but he has ignored that advice for a year and there is no sign he is more amenable today.

In the meantime, the Bush campaign and White House have laid out for the president an ambitious schedule of campaign appearances in 13 states over the next three weeks, combined with $6 million in new campaign advertising and some in-town assaults on Congress to try to limit the boost the Democratic ticket gets coming out of its convention. Candidates historically take a jump in public opinion polls during and shortly after their nominating conventions; Michael Dukakis led Bush by 17 in polls after the 1988 Democratic convention.

There is no sign that Bush's message on the campaign trail is likely to change from its current defense of his record on all issues and blame on the Democratic Congress for failing to pass some of his programs. The president's advertising message is meant to bolster his defense of his record.

Former president Ronald Reagan has been pulled out of retirement for one task, giving the keynote address on Aug. 17, the GOP convention's opening night in Houston. That is to be foreign policy night, with Reagan's task to remind voters that the Evil Empire collapsed on the Republicans' watch because Reagan and Bush fought for a strong defense and that everyone in America is better off for it.

The Washington Post
THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

Art of Acceptance: Speech Can Ring in the New or Ring in the Ear

By E. J. Dionne Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK

The prattle often heard during a political convention—that the party's quadrennial gathering produces little of consequence—misses one central point: The climax of the convention, the nominee's acceptance speech, can be the opening act in shaping public policy.

Just ask George Bush: American politics, and his own political fortunes, would be completely different had he not uttered six simple words four summers ago at the Republican National Convention in New Orleans: "Read my lips: No new taxes."

Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, who delivers his acceptance speech tonight, has virtually cleared his schedule to prepare for the moment. He and his staff understand that when acceptance speeches are good, they can set the tone for a whole campaign and the theme and policies of the administration that follow. An acceptance speech can serve as the definitive summary of the issues that a candidate plans to emphasize—Bush's 1988 speech did this well—and can shake, even uplift, people's assumptions about what a new administration might be about.

RHETORICAL QUESTIONS

But a mistake in an acceptance speech can haunt a candidate right through November. A second-rate acceptance speech is often a sign that a candidate and his aides lack a clear idea of what their campaign should be about—or have the wrong idea altogether.

Consider former vice president Walter F. Mondale, the 1984 Democratic nominee. Mondale thought President Ronald Reagan's budget deficit was disgraceful, and that the American people would respect a candidate who articulated what he saw as a perfectly obvious truth: that taxes would have to go up.

It was a memorable moment. "I mean business," Mondale told cheering Democrats in San Francisco. "By the end of my first term, I will reduce the Reagan budget deficit by two-thirds. Let's tell the truth. That must be done—it must be done. Mr. Reagan will raise taxes, and so will I. He won't tell you. I just did."

Mondale's admirers will always see his candor in 1984 as a sign that whatever his failures, he was willing to speak his mind. Politically, the line was a disaster. The Republicans hung the "tax-and-spend" label on Mondale—especially the tax part—and Mondale won only his home state of Minnesota (narrowly) and the District of Columbia.

Mondale's line also had a broader impact on public policy. Having taken a clear stand for taxes and having lost, Mondale scared Democrats for years about the tax issue. He also unleashed a new debate wherein Democrats decided that taxes on their middle-class constituents were too high. And so today Bill Clinton insists that he will raise taxes only on the rich—and give the middle class a little something back.

Context Can Be Everything

Barry Goldwater made a different sort of mistake in 1964, and it was also at a convention in San Francisco, a city whose beauty seems to cloud political judgment.

FROM POLITICS TO POLICY

NEW FRONTIERS, NEW DEALS, NEW COVENANTS . . .

"Read my lips: No new taxes."
—George Bush, New Orleans, 1988

"I would remind you that extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice! And let me remind you also that moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue."
—Barry Goldwater, San Francisco, 1964

"I pledge you, I pledge myself, to a new deal for the American people."
—Franklin D. Roosevelt, Chicago, 1932

"But the New Frontier of which I speak is not a set of promises—it is a set of challenges. It sums up not what I intend to offer the American people, but what I intend to ask of them. It appeals to their pride, not their pocketbooks—it holds out the promise of more sacrifice instead of more security."
—John F. Kennedy, Los Angeles, 1960

"For two years, I have stood for all the people against a vote-hungry, free-spending congressional majority on Capitol Hill. Fifty-five times, I have vetoed extravagant and unwise legislation; 45 times, I made those vetoes stick. Those vetoes have saved American taxpayers billions and billions of dollars. I am against the big tax spender and for the little taxpayer."
—Gerald R. Ford, Kansas City, 1976

"In 1932, we were attacking the citadel of special privilege and greed; we were fighting to drive the money changers from the temple. Today in 1948, we are the defenders of the stronghold of democracy and of equal opportunity. The haven of the ordinary people in this land and not of the favored classes or the powerful few."
—Harry S. Truman, Philadelphia, 1948

THE WASHINGTON POST

If you think Democrats are good at tearing each other apart, think of what happened at the Cow Palace. Moderate and liberal Republicans felt Goldwater conservative forces were hijacking the party. In a sense, they were absolutely right, because Goldwater's legions were entirely successful and later made Ronald Reagan president. The moderates wanted a clear attack on people they saw as "right-wing extremists," especially members of the John Birch Society.

Acceptance speeches are usually a time for healing. But the utterly outspoken Goldwater didn't budge and his words on the subject are still remembered.

"I would remind you that extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice!" Goldwater declared. "And let me remind you also that moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue!"

In principle, many might agree with what Goldwater said. But in politics, context can be everything, and moderate-to-liberal Republicans defected to Lyndon B. Johnson, helping him build his landslide victory.

Other nominees have had better luck with their acceptance speeches, few more heroically than Franklin D. Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy. Both "The New Deal" and "The New Frontier" were christened in acceptance speeches.

Roosevelt's reference was particularly appropriate, because the nation found itself mired in deep depression and most voters preferred any kind of deal to the one they had.

Roosevelt minced no words—and in the process, he offered one of the most stringent attacks on laissez-faire economics ever to come from a mainstream politician.

"Our Republican leaders tell us economic laws—sacred, inviolable, unchangeable—cause panics which no one could prevent," Roosevelt said. "While they prate of economic laws, men and women are starving. We must lay hold of the fact that economic laws are not made by nature. They are made by human beings."

And at the end of his speech, his promise: "I pledge you, I pledge myself, to a new deal for the American people." He said, "Let us all here assembled constitute ourselves prophets of a new order of competence and of courage. This is more than a political campaign; it is a call to arms. Give me your help, not to win votes alone, but to win in this crusade to restore America to its own people."

Capturing the Nation's Mood

Kennedy's acceptance speech in Los Angeles in 1960 is widely regarded by speechwriters as being, along with Roosevelt's, one of highest forms of the art. Arkansas Gov. Clinton's wordsmiths have studied it as an address that fully captured a nation's restlessness and desire for change.

Kennedy was fond of the apt quotation by poets and statesmen, from the ancient Greeks, Scripture and literature.

Kennedy consciously put himself in the Democratic tradition. "Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom promised our nation a new political and economic framework," he said. "Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal promised security and succor to those in need."

Then came the themes that came to define Kennedy. "But the New Frontier of which I speak is not a set of promises—it is a set of challenges. It sums up not what I intend to offer the American people, but what I intend to ask of them. It appeals to their pride, not their pocketbook—it holds out the promise of more sacrifice instead of more security."

"But I tell you," Kennedy declared, "the New Frontier is here, whether we like it or not."

Bush Expected to Lay Blame

President Bush in his convention speech next month is expected to try to lay a lot of the blame for the country's unhappiness at the feet of a Democratic Congress. It's been tried before, with some success by Harry S. Truman in 1948, and with less success by Gerald R. Ford in 1976.

Truman's 1948 comeback campaign was based on an attack on the "do-nothing Republican Congress." The whole line of attack can be found in his acceptance speech in Philadelphia. On issue after issue—housing, labor, prices, health care—the Republicans, Truman insisted, had sabotaged his policy.

What they were trying to do—and here he had a point—was roll back the New Deal. "In 1932, we were attacking the citadel of special privilege and greed; we were fighting to drive the money changers from the temple," he said. "Today in 1948, we are the defenders of the stronghold of democracy and of equal opportunity. The haven of the ordinary people in this land and not of the favored classes or the powerful few."

Truman won and—Bush take note—the Democrats took back Congress.

Ford gave a pretty good speech in 1976 attacking Congress. Unfortunately, the country blamed Richard M. Nixon back then a lot more than the House and Senate.

Still, Ford tried, giving a Trumanesque populist lilt to a conservative program.

"The plain truth is that the great progress we have made at home and abroad was in spite of the majority who run the Congress of the United States," Ford said. "For two years, I have stood for all the people against a vote-hungry, free-spending congressional majority on Capitol Hill. Fifty-five times, I have vetoed extravagant and unwise legislation; 45 times, I made those vetoes stick. Those vetoes have saved American taxpayers billions and billions of dollars. I am against the big tax spender and for the little taxpayer."

Ford lost narrowly to Jimmy Carter, whose own well-crafted acceptance speech spoke more to what the country saw as the point: the loss of faith in government bred by the Watergate scandal.

And speaking of Watergate, Clinton, who will try to reconstruct his own image at the convention tonight, might take a quick look at Nixon's 1968 acceptance speech in which he sought to transform himself into (dare one say it?) a kinder and gentler figure.

The conclusion of that speech involved two children. The first was a child caught in the web of welfare dependency, a system "that feeds his stomach and starves his soul. It breaks his heart. And in the end, it may take his life on some distant battlefield."

The conclusion was obvious. "I see another child tonight. He hears a train go by. At night he dreams of faraway places where he'd like to go. It seems like an impossible dream. But he is helped on his journey through life. A father who had to go to work before he finished the sixth grade sacrificed everything he had so that his sons could go to college. A gentle Quaker mother with a passionate concern for peace, quietly wept when he went to war but she understood why he had to go. . . .

"And tonight he stands before you, nominated for president of the United States."

It may be a little maudlin for Democratic tastes, but Clinton might note that it worked for Nixon. Then again, Democrats rarely look to Richard Nixon for inspiration. Count on New Frontiers, New Deals and New Covenants.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

Rollins, Top Aides Leave Troubled Perot Campaign

By Michael Isikoff
Washington Post Staff Writer

DALLAS, July 15—Ross Perot's campaign co-manager Edward J. Rollins and most of the political professionals Rollins brought into Perot's crusade for the presidency were forced out today after the Texas billionaire rejected Rollins's advice about how to revive his slumping campaign.

Rollins, who appeared with campaign chairman Tom Luce at a news conference here, described his departure as a resignation and as a "mutual decision" arising out of "irreconcilable differences" between himself and Perot over how to run the campaign.

Rollins had been privately urging Perot to adopt an aggressive campaign strategy that would have included television advertising, starting this week, and the release of detailed policy statements showing where Perot stands on key issues. But after four days of intense discussions, Perot refused to agree, concluding he did not want to mount a "traditional" campaign, sources said.

"I didn't want to stay every day being frustrated not being on the air," Rollins said at the news conference. "It's been at an impasse for the past several days. I came to work this morning assuming this was going to be my last day."

Luce announced that Hamilton Jordan, White House chief of staff under President Jimmy Carter, will stay on as sole manager of the Perot campaign. Jordan also has been frustrated with the direction of the campaign, according to sources, who said he told friends recently that he might leave.

The departure of Rollins, who served as manager for Ronald Reagan's 1984 reelection race, came as the Perot campaign has been reeling from missteps and internal dissension in recent weeks. Within the past several days, Perot dismissed a television advertising executive recruited by Rollins and, according to campaign aides, erupted in fury over news reports of turmoil within his organization and the cool reception his speech received at the NAACP convention Saturday.

A new Washington Post-ABC News Poll found Perot in third place in a contest with President Bush and Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton. Perot was the choice of 20 percent of the voters questioned, down from 30 percent in a week.

Some campaign aides today suggested that Perot may even decide to drop out of the race. At the news conference, Luce said, "I don't think Mr. Perot's plans have changed one iota."

He refused to discuss when Perot will formally declare for the presidency or begin a television advertising campaign.

Tonight, Perot canceled a Friday trip to Minnesota and a Saturday rally at the College of William & Mary in Williamsburg, Va. "As far as I know, the decisions [to cancel the trips] have only to do with the fact that we have lost the advance [team] and we're

See PEROT, A8, Col. 1

PEROT, From A1

going to have to reorganize," said senior Perot aide Jim Squires. "If we're going to continue, we need Perot's presence" in Dallas over the next few days.

Perot hired Rollins and Jordan on June 4, promising supporters that they would deliver "a world-class campaign. . . . We better have some people around who have done this before."

The end for Rollins began last Friday when, sources said, Rollins and Jordan presented Perot with what amounted to an ultimatum—a set of three options, saying that Perot must choose one of them over the weekend.

One option, sources said, called for Perot to "turn over" the campaign to Rollins and Jordan and adhere to their advice. Another option was for Perot to "continue what you're doing" and, they predicted, watch his candidacy collapse in the polls. The third option was to get out of the presidential contest.

By 6 p.m. Sunday, Luce got back to them with Perot's decision. "I'm not dropping out" and "I'm not stepping aside," Luce reportedly quoted Perot as saying. Rollins's response, the sources said, was, "There is no middle ground," a stand that Rollins's aides understood as a threat to quit.

On Monday, Luce and senior campaign adviser Morton Meyerson sought to smooth matters over by asking Rollins, Jordan and their staffs to produce a memo outlining their ideas for a campaign strategy.

For about an hour that afternoon they brainstormed in a conference room on the second floor of Perot's headquarters here, producing a plan that called for launching an aggressive advertising campaign beginning this weekend and the naming of a running mate by the first week in August.

By Tuesday, news stories about turmoil in the campaign infuriated Perot, who believed the news accounts stemmed from leaks by Rollins and his aides.

When Rollins and his aides received no response to their memo, they assumed their fate was sealed.

Today, Luce sought to play down the disagreements, saying they were over minor tactical differences. Perot had always promised to run an "unconventional" campaign, Luce said, adding that "most things in July will be forgotten in October and November with regard to timing issues."

The decision that Rollins should leave was reached early in the afternoon today. Within minutes, the word had spread among Rollins's senior aides that more than a dozen political professionals who had been hired by Rollins within the past few weeks would be leaving with him, sources said.

Those departing include deputy campaign manager Charles Leonard; field representatives Joe Canzeri, a former Reagan White House aide, and Jim Howell; media advisers Sal Russo and Tony Marsh, both from California; Peter Schechter, a vice president at Sawyer/Miller, a public relations firm; and Bob Barkin, an advertising design executive.

Some members of Rollins's staff said today they were furious over the way Rollins had been treated, noting that Perot did not meet with them. Perot "has just dynamited himself," said one Rollins aide.

According to sources, Luce and Meyerson told Rollins they planned to offer "generous" financial settlements to the departing staff members and would request they not talk about any aspect of the campaign with the news media or write about their experiences. Some staff members pledging their silence, sources said.

Luce declined to discuss the terms of the departure agreements.

Safeguards were taken to secure the computers of those departing in order to prevent them from taking campaign secrets, one source said.

EDWARD J. ROLLINS
. . . urged detailed policy statements

Shortly after the announcement, Perot security officials entered the offices of the departing Rollins staff members, shut down their computers and disconnected their telephones.

"It was like a SWAT team descended on the office," said one staff member. "It was the most paranoid situation."

Rollins, apparently distraught over the day's developments, was seen crying in his office shortly after the news conference, one associate said.

Rollins cut his long ties to the Republican Party when he joined the Perot campaign. His wife, Sharrie Rollins, resigned her job on the White House communications staff, saying she continued to support Bush's reelection.

"I will spend the next 30 years of my life with my wife saying, 'I told you so,' " Rollins said, half-jokingly, at the news conference.

Republican National Committee Chairman Richard N. Bond, who had tried to talk Rollins out of joining Perot, said tonight that it was his "educated guess" that Perot never will formally declare his candidacy.

Ronald H. Brown, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, told the Associated Press, "The first vote on Ross Perot was cast today by Ed Rollins and the vote was 'No.' "

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Added Clinton spokeswoman Dee Dee Myers, "This may be a sign of it falling apart."

Perot campaign volunteers around the nation were shocked by the news from here, but most tried to put the best face on it by saying Rollins wasn't needed for their grass-roots movement, which is trying to get Perot on the ballot in all 50 states.

Carylon Cepaitis, chairman of the Perot effort for a 10-county area around Grand Rapids, Mich., said Perot doesn't need the slickness Rollins and his ad executives bring to an election.

"I don't think he needs a handler," she said. "This campaign is bigger than Rollins. . . . The commercialism is unnecessary, and ineffective. A lot of people don't trust it anymore. . . . We'd much rather deal with the real person," meaning Perot, rather than with a layer of hired professionals who massage his image.

Rod Matson, Perot's Montana coordinator, said that when Rollins and Jordan recently joined the Perot campaign, "I never heard anybody say, 'I can support him now that he's got professional political advisers.' But I have heard many times, 'I thought this is a grass-roots effort; why do we need Rollins?' The strength of the campaign is in the grass roots."

Other Perot volunteers, particularly those with experience in politics, said they were shaken by the news.

"Our first reaction is we're disappointed," said Martha Landau, assistant media director for Virginians for Perot, who formerly did media work for federal agencies. "I was very excited when Rollins and [advertising executive] Hal Riney came in. . . . Maybe Perot's going to do it himself." But Landau brightened, saying, "It's Mr. Perot's game, and whatever he thinks is best is best. We feel he must have a plan."

Staff writers John Mintz and Ann Devroy in Washington contributed to this report.

THE CONVENTION "BOOST"

Since 1964, support for presidential candidates has increased by an average of 6 percentage points after the party's convention. Here's how much each candidate's support increased after his party's convention, based on presidential preference polls conducted immediately before and after the conventions.

YEAR	CANDIDATE	Before Convention	After Convention	Election Result
1964	Johnson (D)	69%	69%	61%
	Goldwater (R)	21	34	39
1968	Humphrey (D)	39	42	50
	Nixon (R)	47	61	50
1972	McGovern (D)	41	39	38
	Nixon (R)	65	66	62
1976	Carter (D)	60	68	50
	Ford (R)	35	43	48
1980	Carter (D)	36	48	41
	Reagan (R)	55	67	51
1984	Mondale (D)	44	50	41
	Reagan (R)	56	58	59
1988	Dukakis (D)	53	59	46
	Bush (R)	47	53	53

Average Gain: 6%
Average Democratic Gain: 5%
Average Republican Gain: 8%

■ *If Ross Perot drops out of the presidential race, the Democratic candidate Bill Clinton wins (as of July 15)*

Q. If Ross Perot does not run for president, for whom would you vote?
(Registered voters)

George Bush	Bill Clinton	Wouldn't vote	Other candidate	Don't know
33%	47%	2%	3%	15%

SOURCE: Washington Post–ABC News Poll data from a national telephone survey of a random sample of 770 registered voters, conducted July 10–15 by ICR Survey Research of Media, Pa. Margin of sampling error is plus or minus 4 percentage points. Other data are from Gallup and Harris surveys compiled and analyzed by James E. Campbell, Lynna L. Cherry and Kenneth A. Wink of Louisiana State University.

THE WASHINGTON POST

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Early 'Bump' Pushes Clinton Into Lead

Poll Shows Support for Democrat Up 12 Points in Past Week as Backing for Perot Ebbs

By Richard Morin
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, July 15—Surging support for Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton during the first days of the Democratic National Convention has propelled the Democratic candidate past President Bush and a faltering Ross Perot, a new Washington Post-ABC News Poll shows.

The survey found Clinton was the choice of 42 percent of the 770 registered voters questioned, up 12 percentage points in a week. Bush was favored by 30 percent, while Perot was the choice of 20 percent of the voters questioned, down from 30 percent in a week. Among those most likely to vote, Clinton was the choice of 45 percent, Bush was favored by 28 percent and Perot trailed with 20 percent. The poll has a margin of sampling error of plus or minus 4 percentage points.

Perot's decline suggests that Clinton and the Democrats are succeeding in winning back party members who had supported the Texas billionaire.

As recently as a month ago, Perot, an independent, was the choice of half of all Democrats interviewed, and even beat Clinton among members of the Democrat's own party. Today, Perot was supported by only one of eight Democrats questioned, while seven of 10 Democrats favored Clinton.

But for Clinton, these numbers can and likely will change. Clinton, who was nominated tonight, still must avoid a late-convention disaster. Public opinion also will be shaped by news media assessments that quickly follow the fall of the gavel on Thursday.

The history of post-convention "bumps" is replete with big bounces for candidates who go flat well before November.

Just four years ago, Michael S. Dukakis left Atlanta with the Democratic nomination and a 17-percentage point lead over Bush in some polls. Just a few weeks later—and after Bush's own post-convention bounce in the polls—Dukakis trailed Bush.

Post-convention bumps have occurred in 12 of the past 14 conventions. In an attempt to examine the phenomenon, The Washington Post is conducting a series of surveys before, during and after the Democratic convention.

The results of the first poll, completed July 8, captured public opinion before the start of the convention. The latest survey, conducted Friday through today, found support for Clinton had increased dramatically, particularly during the first two days of the convention. A post-convention survey will measure the size of the convention bump for Clinton.

The polls suggest that much of the bump may occur even before the convention ends, and that the flood of publicity that immediately preceeded the convention's opening may play a critical role in shaping the size of the eventual bump.

Since 1964, a nominee's support in the polls has increased an average of 6 percentage points after his convention, according to an analysis of Gallup and Harris polling data directed by James Campbell, a Louisiana State University political scientist and a leading authority on the post-convention bump.

In four of the past 14 conventions since 1964, Campbell found, the increase has topped 10 percentage points. But should it hold at current levels, Clinton's 12-point bump will not be the largest ever recorded.

The modern record is held by Richard M. Nixon in 1968, when his support increased by 14.1 percentage points after the GOP convention.

Campbell and others argue that the bump is a useful statistical thermometer to measure the relative health of a party entering the fall campaign season. It is also a convenient way to gauge the success or failure of conventions—a time when some political scientists say a quarter of all voters make up their minds.

Researchers report that some small portion of the bounce does not vanish in the days or weeks after the convention, but can linger to Election Day. "The convention bump is not merely a convention blip," Campbell and his colleagues reported. "The way a candidate comes out of his convention is of some real consequence to the ultimate election outcome."

The bump occurs for all the obvious reasons. Conventions have become choreographed shows, designed to place the party, its platform and particularly its nominee in the most favorable light possible. "We should not be surprised that undecideds or those with weakly held preferences are swung by the convention in favor of the party's nominee," Campbell said.

The latest Post-ABC News poll suggests that is what happened during the first days of the Democratic convention. The survey found that 72 percent of all self-described Democrats support Clinton, up from 56 percent in a survey completed last Wednesday. At the same time, Democratic support for Perot fell from 29 percent last week to 13 percent.

Only twice since 1964 has the bump been a bust. In 1972, support for George McGovern declined from 41 percent to 39 percent. It is the only time in 28 years that there has been a negative bounce, not unexpected after a convention Campbell described as being "highly controversial, contentious and disorganized."

Some observers say that Bush may expect a healthy bounce after the Republican convention in Houston next month—a bump that may again come at Perot's expense.

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Western Naval Forces Cooperate In Watch on Yugoslav Coast

By Marc Fisher
Washington Post Foreign Service

BERLIN, July 15—Warships from eight NATO nations, including the United States, will begin patrolling the Yugoslav coast Thursday in the latest Western attempt to weaken the ability of Serbia and the new Yugoslav state it controls to promote aggression in neighboring Bosnia-Hercegovina.

A NATO flotilla of six ships, including the guided missile frigate USS Jack Williams, will be positioned in the southern Adriatic Sea, while a separate monitoring force of similar size assembled by the nine-nation Western European Union will patrol the Strait of Otranto at the mouth of the Adriatic. Both forces will be under Italian command.

A NATO statement said the ships are under orders only to watch for possible violations of the U.N. trade embargo against Serbia and Montenegro—Serbia's subordinate ally in the new Yugoslav union—but not to stop any vessels. Patrol craft crews will not board any ships approaching the coast but will seek to determine their cargo and destination through radio contacts. The patrol fleets will be supported by 10 search helicopters and radar surveillance planes, the statement said.

The two defense alliances agreed to set up the patrols last week in an attempt to restrict the Belgrade government's access to weapons and other war materiel it is believed to be funneling to Serb militia forces that have seized most of Bosnia in a powerful three-month-old offensive. Nearly 8,000 people have been killed in the fighting and 1.5 million left homeless—most of them Slavic Muslims, Bosnia's largest communal group.

Western diplomats said that any move to add interdiction to the patrol plan would have to come from the U.N. Security Council. U.N. authorization also would be required for any expansion of the current international relief effort in Sarajevo, the besieged Bosnian capital, or any other Bosnian city where civilians have been isolated by Serb forces.

The new pressure against Belgrade comes as another attempt by the European Community to jumpstart long-stalled peace talks among the warring Bosnian factions appeared to be making no headway.



The EC's mediator, Lord Carrington, had little promising to say about the new round of talks, beyond the fact that representatives of Bosnia's Serb, Muslim and Croat communities had assembled in London. Bosnian Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic, who represents the republic's Muslim-led government, has said already that he will never speak directly to the leader of Bosnia's militant Serb minority, Radovan Karadzic. "What kind of people can slaughter a child?" Silajdzic asked at a news conference in a reference to Serb shelling of civilian areas in Bosnia.

Silajdzic told reporters after 90 minutes of talks with EC mediator Jose Cutileiro that the first thing that had to happen in Bosnia was an end to the killing, the Reuter news agency reported. Silajdzic said he had also proposed that there be equal representation in Bosnia's government for its communal groups.

There was no immediate response

In Bosnia tonight, heavy fighting continued north and east of Sarajevo, where tank-backed Serb forces pressed a four-day-old offensive to establish undisputed control of a broad swath of territory stretching from Serb-held regions in neighboring Croatia eastward to Serbia.

Serb forces also stepped up their bombardment of Gorazde, a refugee-packed town 30 miles east of Sarajevo that is the area's last Muslim stronghold. Gorazde—whose prewar population of 20,000 has been more than tripled by refugees fleeing the Serb advance—has been under sporadic attack for weeks, and journalists there say many of its buildings have been reduced to rubble.

Telephone lines to Gorazde have been severed, and the town has been able to communicate with the outside world only through short-wave radio broadcasts. One such broadcast today said: "Gorazde will cease to exist without immediate help from outside."

Special

The Washington Post

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Serb Shells Hit Crowd In Stadium

CROATIA, From A1

sands in the face of a new Serb offensive, some of them swimming for their lives across the Sava River boundary that separates Bosnia from Croatia.

A policeman here said there was no doubt the shells were fired from Serb positions across the river and were aimed at the stadium. "The Serbs knew they were there," the officer said.

Since most of the refugees had been combatants in Bosnia's three-month-old factional conflict, they were being held at the stadium for repatriation by Croatian authorities, in accordance with an agreement between the two republics.

Local officials said that the first two or three Serb shells, which landed just outside the stadium, triggered panic among the refugees and set off a stampede for the exits. Police fired shots into the air in an attempt to regain control, local officials said, but the next dozen shells landed seconds later, and square on target.

The stadium is less than a mile from an underground shelter where Croatian Vice President Mate Granic was briefing a delegation of two dozen diplomats, relief workers and journalists who came here for a first-hand look at the worsening refugee crisis spawned by the Bosnian war. In the midst of his presentation, a loud "thump" of incoming artillery overhead raised worried eyebrows around the room; minutes later, several of Granic's aides rushed in with word of the carnage.

"It was 100 percent intentional," Granic said, describing the stadium attack as part of the overall Serb offensive to secure undisputed control of northen Bosnia. Granic also used the occasion to renew Croatia's call for U.N. military intervention to stem the Serb tide in Bosnia and for international financial support to help Croatia deal with the hundreds of thousands of Bosnian refugees streaming across its borders.

Croatia—a cash-strapped nation of 4.5 million people that just lost a territorial war with its own well-armed Serb minority—has threatened to close its borders to further Bosnian refugees because it cannot afford the $60 million monthly cost of housing and feeding the 660,000 already here. Nearby Western countries, such as Italy and Austria, have refused to accept Bosnian refugees and are offering only limited financial aid to Croatia.

Officially, the civil war in Croatia stopped seven months ago, with a U.N.-monitored truce. But in border towns like Slavonski Brod, the terror and bloodshed have increased since Serbs began waging war next-door in Bosnia. There are now about 35,000 refugees in Slavonski Brod, and Serb mortar attacks on and around the town have become daily occurances.

Local officials said 70 civilians have been killed here since March, including five children who lost their lives when a Serb mortar round slammed into a playground. After today's attack, the Bosnians being held at the stadium were allowed to leave town in a dispirited, ragtag caravan. Some of them shuffled along on foot, others rode in dusty cars or on farm carts pulled by tractors.

"The Croatians want us to go back to Bosnia," said Vedid, a 36-year-old Muslim policeman who said he feared he would be shot if he returned to his home. "But we don't have anywhere to go. The Serbs are in the towns with heavy weapons."

As he stopped outside the hospital where doctors were trying to save the lives of his compatriots, Vedid glanced at the passing Bosnians and said he had no idea where they were going. They were just heading out of town, away from the war.

Serb Shelling Hits Crowd Of Refugees in Stadium

Cross-Border Fire Traps Fleeing Bosnians

By Peter Maass
Special to The Washington Post

SLAVONSKI BROD, Croatia, July 15—The blood-letting in Bosnia spilled over the border into Croatia today as a salvo of Serb artillery shells fell on a stadium packed with Bosnian refugees, killing at least eight and wounding scores more.

"People were torn apart, the wounded were screaming for help, there were bodies all over the ground," said Darko Jankovic, a photographer who arrived at the stadium moments after 15 shells fired from nearby Serb-held Bosnian territory crashed into it.

"It was a mess. Everybody was trying to get out, some of them carrying the wounded," said Marko Cenic, a stunned refugee who was among the 3,000 crowded into the stadium here. Cenic, who was slightly wounded by a shell fragment that sliced into his knee, used terse phrases to describe the scene around him—a severed leg, a mutilated arm, bodies in blood.

A doctor at Slavonski Brod hospital said at least 35 of the wounded were in serious to critical condition, nine of them with severe head injuries. "It was a bloodbath," the doctor said. "The shells smashed right into the middle of the stadium. They were blown to pieces."

Most of the refugees were members of Bosnia's Slavic Muslim-led defense forces or draft-age Muslim men routed from their homes by powerful Serb militia forces seeking to secure control of most of the former Yugoslav republic. Over the past week, the outgunned Muslims have been fleeing here by the thou-

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■ *Germany sends destroyer to join NATO Yugoslav blockade. Page A18*

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Clinton Celebrates Democratic Nomination With Unconventional Victory Walk to Garde

Cuomo Hails 'Captain With a New Course'

By Edward Walsh
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, July 15—Bill Clinton won the Democratic presidential nomination tonight and in a moment filled with drama and emotion strode with his family through the streets of Manhattan to Madison Square Garden where he acknowledged the electrifying cheers of the Democratic National Convention.

At the climax of a night filled with displays of Democratic unity and attacks on the past 12 years of Republican rule in Washington, the 45-year-old Arkansas governor, his wife Hillary and his daughter Chelsea entered the convention hall shortly after 11 p.m., setting off a wild scene of pandemonium.

He moved across the convention floor, greeting delegates by name, smiling and waving and expressing his thanks for the successful end to his long and sometimes painful quest for the nomination.

At the place of the Arkansas delegation on the convention floor, Clinton warmly embraced his mother, Virginia Kelley, and his younger brother, Roger Clinton Jr., before he moved toward the podium.

With a hand-held microphone in his left hand, Clinton said he realized he had broken convention tradition by appearing on the night of his nomination.

"But 32 years ago another young candidate who wanted to get this country moving again came to the convention to say a simple thank you," Clinton said in a reference to John F. Kennedy, whose presidency inspired him and many of his generation to enter politics.

"I want to also thank you all for being here and loving your country," he said. "And when I come back tomorrow night I will be the Comeback Kid."

The Clinton family, surrounded by Arkansas supporters and New York police, walked about a block from an Arkansas delegation party in nearby Macy's department store.

"I feel very gratified," he said as he moved toward the convention hall. "I feel incredible and moved by what's happened tonight."

At the Arkansas delegation party a few moments earlier, the exuberant Clinton danced with his wife and hugged his daughter and when a scene of the party was flashed on a large television screen inside the convention hall, the delegates erupted in a chant: "We want Bill, we want Bill."

At 10:53 p.m., Ohio put him over the top, its 144 Clinton votes giving him more than the 2,145 votes needed for the nomination. With that, the Garden was filled with foot-stomping music and cheers, a shower of colorful, glittering metal stars filled the hall and the convention that Clinton and his campaign staff have controlled from the start was his in every respect.

The moment was well planned by the Clinton staff which sought to energize the convention and Demo-

See CONVENTION, A9, Col. 1

■ *Other convention and political stories, Pages A8-A13.*

CONVENTION, From A1

crats watching on television across the country for a tough campaign that New York Gov. Mario M. Cuomo, in a rousing speech nominating Clinton, declared would bring "a new captain with a new course" to to nation's highest office. Harry Thomasen, one of Clinton's production advisers, said the campaign had been working much of the week behind the scenes to determine whether the dramatic march to the convention hall could be accomplished amid the clogged streets of the city.

As the roll was called Clinton and his family celebrated at the Arkansas party. It was the climactic moment of a night filled with demonstrations of Democratic unity and a relentless assault on what Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) called "12 years of wintry indifference" by Republican administrations in Washington.

Before the vote that would give him the nomination, the final acts in Clinton's long quest began to unfold as two of his vanquished primary rivals, Sen. Bob Kerrey (D-Neb.) and former Massachusetts senator Paul E. Tsongas, voiced their support and the convention delegates paid an emotional tribute to one of the party's fallen heroes, Robert F. Kennedy.

It was Cuomo, the prickly New Yorker who has feuded often with his Arkansas counterpart, who took center stage just as a prime time television audience tuned into the convention to hear his fiery nominating speech calling President Bush the architect of "the politics of decline, decay and deception" and Clinton "a new voice for a new America."

Cuomo's speech provided the 5,000 Democrats who packed the Garden with what one delegate called "a new level of excitement" here. "It's Mario Cuomo who touches on the things that all of us Democrats believe," said Shaun Dale, 41, a delegate from Seattle. "He gave us the feeling that Bill Clinton is ready to do that too."

Clinton and his aides were also encouraged today by fresh evidence that the "bump" that the nominee could expect from the four-day convention was already taking place as President Bush remained burdened with negative economic news and the independent candidacy of Ross Perot was struck with renewed internal turmoil. A new Washington Post-ABC News Poll showed that in less than a week Clinton had surged into at least a temporary lead in the three-way race, winning support of 42 percent of all registered voters compared with 30 percent for Bush and 20 percent for Perot.

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TONIGHT IN NEW YORK

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION SCHEDULE

5 p.m.

- Call to order
- Tribute to former representative Morris K. Udall (Ariz.) by Rep. Butler Derrick (S.C.)
- Speakers
  - Florida state Rep. Daryl Jones
  - American Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker
  - Alabama state Rep. Yvonne Kennedy, majority floor leader
  - Florida state Rep. Ann McKenzie
  - National Education Association President Keith Geiger
  - Idaho Attorney General Larry Echohawk
  - Arkansas Health Director Joycelyn Elders
  - Virginia Gov. L. Douglas Wilder
  - Baltimore Mayor Kurt Schmoke
  - New Jersey Gov. Jim Florio
  - Sen. Harris Wofford (Pa.)
  - House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (Mo.)

8 p.m.

- Nomination of vice-presidential candidate
- Roll call of states

9 p.m.

- Acceptance speech by vice-presidential nominee

10:15 p.m.

- Acceptance speech by presidential nominee

NETWORK COVERAGE

- ABC* and CBS 9-11 p.m.
- NBC 9:30-11 p.m.
- PBS 8-11 p.m. NBC will join with PBS during early evening coverage.

* Coverage on "Nightline"

CABLE COVERAGE

- CNN
  5:30 a.m.-1 a.m., including talk shows and recaps.
- C-SPAN
  Uninterrupted gavel-to-gavel coverage, without editing, commentary or commercials.
- Comedy Central
  9-11 p.m.

THE WASHINGTON POST

DELEGATE VOTE

DEMOCRATS NOMINATE BILL CLINTON FOR PRESIDENT ON FIRST BALLOT

CLINTON	3,372*
BROWN	596
TSONGAS	209
OTHERS	74

* 2,145 votes were needed to nominate
SOURCE: Associated Press

For the Democrats gathered here, the only openly discordant note was the stubborn refusal of former California governor Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr. to endorse Clinton. Nominated for president by his campaign manager, Jody Evans, Brown strode to the podium at 8 p.m. to deliver an angry, 20-minute attack on "the influence of power and money" that he said is wielded by the nation's corporate and political elites. But Brown, who fought Clinton to the end of the primary process and beyond and refused offers of prime time television time to speak if he would endorse Clinton, did not mention his rival's name as he pledged "to fight for the party and its ideals."

In contrast, Tsongas called for Clinton's election to end what he called the "generationally immoral" policies of the Bush administration. Social and racial justice, environmental protection and economic growth will come "never under George Bush," Tsongas declared, but will be achieved "next year under Bill Clinton."

The Bush record, he added, "violates the legacy of our ancestors. It violates the promise to our children. It is spiritually bankrupt. George Bush must go."

But along with the endorsement, Tsongas indirectly recalled his differences with Clinton over economic policy and particularly Clinton's call early in the primary campaign for a middle-class tax cut. "Using scarce resources to provide a tax cut instead of creating jobs is not fairness," he said. "Creating a job so that men and women can provide a decent living for their families—that my fellow Democrats is fairness."

Cuomo, blaming 12 years of Republican rule in Washington for the "fading of the American dream" also referred to Perot without naming the Texas billionaire.

"After 12 years, Americans are disillusioned, angry and fearful," he said. "The people showed it with the quick embrace they gave to the sudden appearance on television of a provocative, wealthy businessman who said he'd like to be president. Before he told anyone what he would do or how he would do it, he used one word and applause broke out all over America—change."

Cuomo, who rose to national prominence with his keynote address at the 1984 Democratic National Convention, recalled that Democrats have also called for change but in three successive elections have failed to persuade the voters to trust them with the country's future.

"This time we cannot afford to fail to deliver the message—not just to Democrats but to the whole nation," he said.

"Because the ship of state is headed for the rocks. The crew knows it. The passengers know it. Only the captain of the ship—President Bush—appears not to know it," he said.

Cuomo's speech was a widely anticipated event not only because of his gifts as an orator but because of is sometimes stormy relationship with Clinton. But regardless of their differences in the past, Clinton could hardly have asked for a more rousing nominating speech as thunderous cheers rolled across the convention hall.

Invoking the nickname that Clinton coined for himself after the attacks he endured during the New Hampshire primary—"the Comeback Kid"—Cuomo recalled the hardships of Clinton's early life and praised him for "an extraordinary strength of character."

"And with each new challenge he has grown wiser and stronger as he demonstrated with his remarkable resiliency and unflappability in the recent bruising primaries," Cuomo said. And recalling the triumphant parades here and around the country to welcome back Persian Gulf War veterans when Bush was at a peak of popularity, he added:

"So step aside, Mr. Bush. You've had your parade. It's time for change. It's time for someone smart enough to know, strong enough to do, sure enough to lead."

The comments of Gayle Rogers, a delegate from Kentucky, typified the reaction to Cuomo's speech: "He touched every heart at the convention," she said. ". . . .Bill Clinton has got to pull from his gut to give the best speech he has ever given. Mario Cuomo is a tough act to follow. He said what needed to be said."

Shaun Dale, 41, a Jerry Brown coordinator from Seattle, said, "You get caught up in the emotion of his style. I think he makes people wonder why we're not nominating Mario Cuomo tonight. In the nation, every time Mario Cuomo gets a national forum he affects people. Many Americans might have started the election season thinking they could support Mario Cuomo. I hope they'll respond to his endorsement of Bill Clinton."

Joan Stalder, a Tsongas delegate from Bethesda, said, "I think Gov. Cuomo is a wonderful speaker and he had a powerful message. I liked it when he said the economic situation is like a boat going off course and the Republicans expect it to right itself or drift back on course. That was excellent. And when he talked about Clinton's upbringing and his struggle and that he'll remember that and put peoples' needs first."

Carol Blad, 57, from Van Nuys, Calif., a Clinton delegate, said, "These are very committed people. There's a high level of excitement, tempered by the fact that this is not our goal; our goal is the election. I thought I'd be going crazy by this point in the convention but I'm not, because I'm thinking about what I have to do when I get back home. This has got to happen. I'll probably quit my job and do this full time. I'm so concerned."

Waring Howe, Jr., 36, an attorney from Charleston, S.C., said, "The excitement is higher than all the expectations. That's attributable to strong confidence, a strong sense that the man we're nominating is going to be president. The polls are starting to bear that out."

The roll call began at 10:08 p.m. and by special arrangement the first votes were cast by Clinton's home state of Arkansas and announced to the convention by his mother, Virginia Kelley. The District cast all its 31 votes for Clinton; Virginia cast 94 votes for Clinton and 3 for Brown, and Maryland cast 83 votes for Clinton and 2 for Tsongas.

While the Garden rocked to the cheers of thousands of Democrats, the enthusiasm of the party faithful did not entirely wipe out the memory of Clinton's rocky road to the nomination or diminish the difficulty of the task he faces in the three-way race between now and November.

When the year began, Clinton was considered the unofficial front-runner for the nomination before a single vote was cast. He had shown early fund-raising prowess, had rounded up an impressive list of endorsements and seemed to many the best prepared of the five Democrats who sought their party's nomination.

But then the real campaign was engaged in New Hampshire, where Clinton was hit by charges of marital infidelity, questions about his draft status during the Vietnam War and suggestions that he was not trustworthy. "Slick Willie," the tag applied to him by his Arkansas critics, became the national rallying cry of those who sought to block Clinton's road to the nomination and perhaps the White House.

But Clinton survived New Hampshire, where he finished second to Tsongas, just as two months later he survived a second brutal assault in this city and won the April New York primary. He proved to be a tough and remarkably resilient campaigner, qualities the Democratic nominee is likely to need in abundance in the fall battle with Bush and Perot.

Anticipating a Republican attack on Clinton's character, the Democrats continued tonight to trumpet their devotion to mainstream American values and to praise their nominee as a man of strength and vision.

A parade of Democrats took to the podium to voice those themes and assail the Republicans for neglecting the poor and undercutting the economic security of middle-class American families.

"I saw his strength as he weathered the storms," Kerrey said of his one-time rival for the nomination. Calling Bush "a president from the past," Kerrey condemned the economic policies of the 1980s as "folly" that "crushed the optimism of millions of people while concentrating our wealth in the hands of the very few as it has never been concentrated before."

Like many of the delegates who cast their votes for him tonight, Clinton traces his political roots to the presidency of John F. Kennedy and just before his name was placed in nomination by Cuomo the assembled Democrats recalled that era with the emotional tribute to Kennedy's brother, Robert. A film, introduced by his son, Rep. Joseph P. Kennedy II (D-Mass.), retraced Robert Kennedy's life, his quest for the 1968 Democratic presidential nomination and his assassination during that campaign, five years after his brother was murdered.

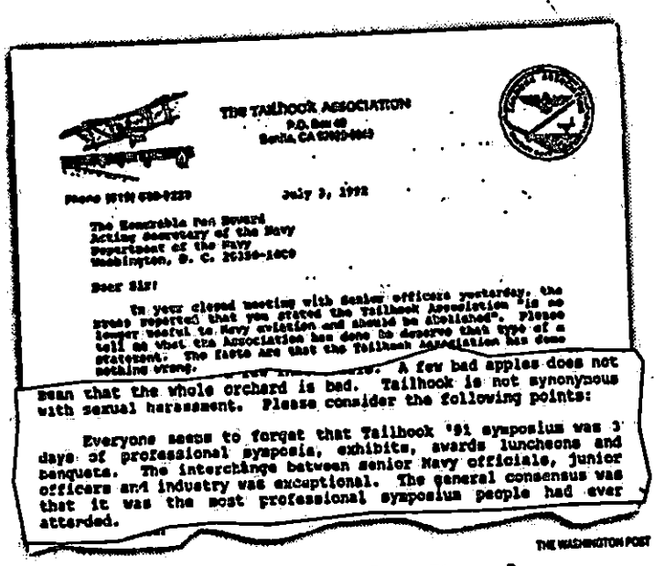
Then the last surviving Kennedy brother, Edward, appeared before the cheering crowd with an appeal to "trust and speak to the best instincts of our people."

Twelve years ago in the same convention hall, Edward Kennedy transformed the dispirited 1980 Democratic National Convention as he conceded his primary defeat to President Jimmy Carter and declared that "the dream shall never die." But that was his last appearance on the stage of presidential politics and tonight the newly remarried Massachusetts senator seemed content in his role as a supporting player as the torch of leadership of his party was passed to a new generation.

Staff writers Richard Tapscott, David Maraniss, Richard Morin, David Von Drehle and researcher Mark Stencel contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992



THE TAILHOOK ASSOCIATION
P.O. Box 40
Santa, CA 92693-0040

Phone (619) 688-9229 July 3, 1992

The Honorable Fob Howard
Acting Secretary of the Navy
Department of the Navy
Washington, D. C. 20350-1000

Dear Sir!

In your closed meeting with Senior officers yesterday, the press reported that you stated the Tailhook Association "is no longer useful to Navy aviation and should be disbanded". Please tell me what the Association has done to deserve that type of a statement. The facts are that the Tailhook Association has done nothing wrong. A few bad apples does not mean that the whole orchard is bad. Tailhook is not synonymous with sexual harassment. Please consider the following points:

Everyone seems to forget that Tailhook '91 symposium was 3 days of professional symposia, exhibits, awards luncheons and banquets. The interchange between senior Navy officials, junior officers and industry was exceptional. The general consensus was that it was the most professional symposium people had ever attended.

THE WASHINGTON POST

Tailhook at Battle Stations Amid Fusillade of Criticism

By John Lancaster
Washington Post Staff Writer

If ever there were an organization in need of a new image, it's the Tailhook Association.

A private group of active-duty and retired aviators, the association was the sponsor of last year's infamous Tailhook convention in Las Vegas, where at least 26 women were assaulted by drunken junior officers.

As soon as the scandal became public last fall, the Navy severed its official relationship with the group, and earlier this month Navy Undersecretary J. Daniel Howard dealt the Tailhookers another body blow: He publicly called upon the organization to disband and said it would be "inappropriate" for any active-duty officer to continue serving as a member of the board or "in any other senior position" with the group.

But Tailhook—created "to foster, encourage, study, develop and support the aircraft carrier," according to its stationery—is not taking Howard's attack quietly. In a letter to Howard, board chairman W.D. Knutson asserted that Tailhook "has done nothing wrong" and should not be blamed for the misconduct at its convention.

"Everyone seems to forget that Tailhook '91 symposium was 3 days of professional symposia, exhibits, awards luncheons and banquets," the letter said. "The interchange between senior Navy officials, junior officers and industry was exceptional. The general consensus was that it was the most professional symposium people had ever attended."

Knutson said in his letter that the association "deplores the reported misconduct and sexual harassment as much as the Navy and we have stated so many times."

Held annually in Las Vegas since 1963, the Tailhook convention was a highlight on the Navy calendar, and it is clear that many of the young carrier pilots who flew there at taxpayer expense were lured by more than "professional symposia." A Navy inspector general report on last year's convention found that excessive drinking and other misbehavior had gone on for years without interference from senior officers.

"That organization has been in existence for a long time," Howard said in his July 1 address to 300 senior Navy and Marine officers. "The problems associated with it have been around for a long time. There have been efforts over the years to fix those problems, but all of those efforts have ultimately failed."

But Knutson, in his letter of July 3, struck a defiant tone. "The carrier landing is the one event that separates naval aviators from all other aviators in the world," he wrote. "As long as there are carriers and carrier flight crews the Tailhook Association has no thought of disestablishing. We are here to serve."

A Deadline To Deliver Postal Cuts

By Stuart Rudavsky
Washington Post Staff Writer

Newly appointed Postmaster General Marvin T. Runyon has given 42 of his top officials 30 days to explore ways to "restructure and reduce postal overhead, starting at the top."

"Everything is on the table for consideration," he said in a statement.

In addition, Runyon placed a hold on all U.S. Postal Service construction projects as part of his effort to trim the agency's projected $2 billion deficit.

Runyon's moves came a week after he took over the Postal Service's top job and the Board of Governors asked him to review agency spending and reduce costs.

The real estate "pause" will give Runyon a chance to review the construction projects, said spokesman Frank Brennan. The agency had allocated about $579 million for construction this year.

Board of Governors Chairman Norma Pace said in an interview that the review might result in a "delay or postponement" of some of the projects "given the fact that our revenues are off course."

"We may just put those projects into motion that are actually needed," she said. "There's only so much you can do with a credit card."

Pace also said the agency will review whether it has too many managers. "We're looking at how many people we have to perform certain functions," she said. "Can we get the same job done with fewer administrators?"

Although Pace said the agency has no firm plans to lay off employees, "We would like to reduce the number of managers we have, and we would like to do that with attrition."

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The Words Were Cuomo's but the Moment Was Clinton's

By E.J. Dionne Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, July 15—When the planners of the 1992 Democratic National Convention settled on New York as the site for their conclave, many in their ranks had a dream dancing in their heads: Wouldn't it be nice to have Mario M. Cuomo nominated for president in the home town he so zealously extols?

It was an idea whose time never came, and tonight, one of the most talked-about non-candidates in American history placed in nomination the name of a fellow governor with whom he had feuded publicly and competed fiercely for the accolades that go to successful chief executives.

His speech brought down the house.

The banter around the convention had it that Cuomo would have trouble mentioning Bill Clinton's name much more than once. But Cuomo, as he likes to do, confounded the punditry and mentioned Clinton no fewer than 32 times, the first coming in his second sentence.

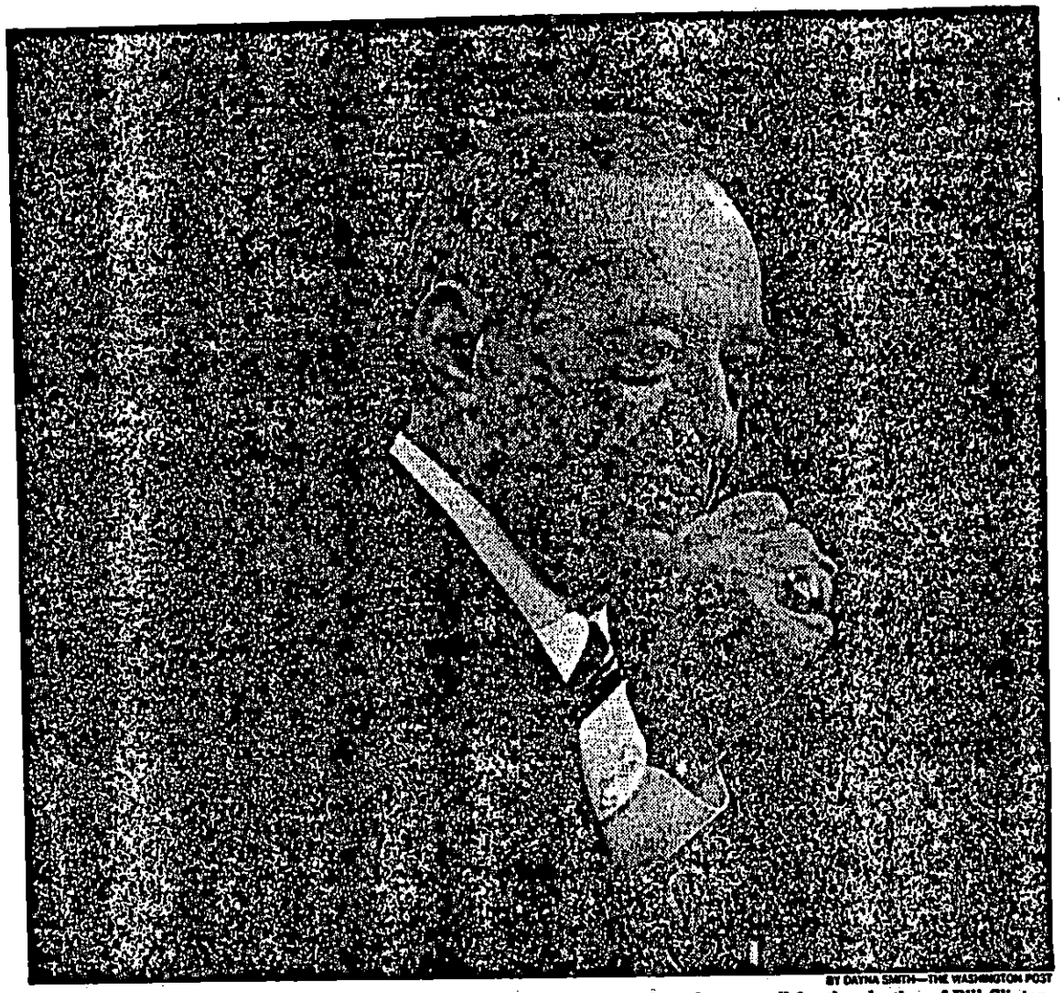
Mere arithmetic could not measure the fervor this trial lawyer brought to his case. With Whitmanesque flourishes, Cuomo spoke of the joyous parades a Clinton victory would bring and the "proud songs, happy songs" that a grateful nation would sing when the Arkansas governor provided "a new voice for a new America."

The Clinton high command was ecstatic. When James Carville, one of Clinton's top lieutenants, was asked amid the crush on the convention floor whether Cuomo could have said anything differently, Carville grinned broadly and said: "There's two things I don't do: criticize Michelangelo's paintings or Mario Cuomo's speeches."

Jim Ruvolo, the former Ohio state chairman, praised Cuomo for making "a nominating speech," not an acceptance speech. "He ran the gamut of emotions as only he can do," Ruvolo added.

Even Jerry Brown's delegates praised Cuomo—though some were still not ready to give their hearts to Clinton. "He's a great orator," said Bill Barry, a Brown delegate from New Jersey. "I just don't care for the brand of soap he was selling."

Absolutely no one doubted that Cuomo, who had transfixed the 1984 Democratic convention with his keynote address, had the ability to reach the rhetorical summit. The questions about whether he would were personal: How did he really feel about Clinton? How would a man who might well have been nominated himself feel about furthering the ambitions of a young, energetic southern moderate whose aides had once spoken openly about how they relished the prospect of campaigning against Cuomo as a relic of the old liberalism?



BY DAYNA SMITH—THE WASHINGTON POST

Mario M. Cuomo buried past feuds and his own ambitions last night to make a fervent call for the election of Bill Clinton.

In relentlessly building his case against President Bush, Cuomo no doubt made some delegates wonder whether his would have been the voice more likely to transform a nation. New York state Sen. Kemp Hannon, a Republican, said Cuomo might well have been wondering that himself.

Since Cuomo reluctantly announced last December that he would not seek the presidency, Hannon said, the governor has seemed less interested in state issues than in matters farther afield. "When he talks about Bush's failures, I have a sense of real passion, of his mind engaging, of real inventiveness, of his usual rhetorical skills," Hannon said. "As Bush has come down in the polls, he's felt a greater sense of 'I could have been a contender.' "

Then there are the public flaps between Clinton and Cuomo. Cuomo, who is sensitive to anti-Italian prejudice, was not pleased when the transcripts of Clinton's conversations with Gennifer Flowers showed her saying, "I wouldn't be surprised if he didn't have some Mafioso major connections," and Clinton allegedly replying: "Well, he acts like one."

And almost exactly a year ago, Clinton and Cuomo feuded over whether New York City was the right place to hold this convention. Clinton called the choice of New York "a risk."

Clinton later backed off, saying that coming here might be "a risk worth taking" and "a good opportunity." But that did not immediately satisfy Cuomo, who shot back publicly. "He could not have said such a stupid thing," Cuomo told USA Today. "You better call him. Tell him Governor Cuomo was shocked .... If you make me answer his quotes, he's a dead man. He'll be laughed out of every major city in the country."

The two men later made up—Clinton apologized profusely for the "Mafioso" business. But associates of Cuomo have often spoken—although almost never for attribution—of his doubts about Clinton. One longtime Cuomo associate said the New York governor, a staunch death penalty foe, wondered whether Clinton's support for capital punishment had more to do with ambition than conviction, and wondered also whether this was part of a broader pattern.

Cuomo insistently, and sometimes angrily, denies he has any problems at all with Clinton. Last April, during the rough New York primary battle between Clinton and former California governor Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr., Cuomo was the picture of even-handed politeness and dismissed his past quarrels with Clinton as "stupid little interpersonal exchanges."

Tonight, Mario Cuomo used his eloquence to try to bury the feuds—and in the process, put Clinton in his debt. Carville expressed the entire Clinton campaign's relief that Cuomo gave absolutely no hint of his own ambition. "When he stepped up," Carville said, "it was a clear sign that this was Bill Clinton's convention."

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

Quayle Panel Rebuffed on EPA Dispute

Associated Press

A federal appeals court has some bad news for Vice President Quayle's White House Council on Competitiveness: There's a limit to how much you can push the bureaucracy around.

A three-judge panel Tuesday overturned an Environmental Protection Agency regulation allowing incinerator operators to burn lead-acid batteries from cars and trucks.

The EPA originally wanted to ban battery burning, but the White House Office of Management and Budget rejected the proposal. EPA then appealed to Quayle's council. The council—which has won frequent praise from industry—refused to support the ban, and the EPA then abandoned the idea, the three-judge panel noted.

The court sent the proposed rule back to the agency, saying the EPA had neglected to "adequately explain its reasons for not imposing a ban." The agency now must change the regulation or give a more complete explanation that can pass muster in court.

The ruling "sets some limits on the ability of the Competitiveness Council to bully EPA and other agencies that are trying to carry out the nation's health and environmental laws," said David Doniger of the Natural Resources Defense Council.

Doniger's group and the states of New York and Florida sued the EPA over the regulations last year.

The White House Council on Competitiveness was created in 1989 and is chaired by the vice president. The Cabinet-level group reviews proposed regulations for their costs and economic effect, and has been widely criticized in Congress as an industry tool used to limit federal controls on business.

The court did uphold the council's rejection of an EPA proposal requiring incinerator operators to recycle some wastes.

The council said that rule would have cost too much, and the EPA then abandoned that idea as well. The court said the EPA adequately supported its decision to drop that provision.



BY LUCIAN PERKINS—THE WASHINGTON POST

Clinton responds to Madison Square Garden cheers.

Party Cements Case for Change

Energized Democrats Field A Candidate and a Theme

By Dan Balz and David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writers

NEW YORK, July 15—There was no mistaking tonight how the Democrats plan to challenge President Bush and likely independent candidate Ross Perot. As the saying goes, they put it down where the goats can get it.

In an evening of rich political oratory, a succession of speakers led by New York Gov. Mario M. Cuomo crystallized the Democratic case against 12 years of Republican rule and prepared the table for Bill Clinton to accept his nomination Thursday night and begin his general election campaign running at full tilt.

NEWS ANALYSIS

But it was Clinton himself who symbolized just how eager he and the Democrats are to get moving, marching through the streets of New York to Madison Square Garden to thank his enthusiastic supporters half an hour after receiving the nomination. In that symbolic act, Clinton not only energized the hall but also took control of the convention and his party.

Clinton's appearance in the Garden capped a night that was skillfully orchestrated to showcase not only the case for the Democrats but

See MESSAGE, A10, Col. 1

The Washington Post

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Democrats Coalesce Behind Clinton And Campaign's Case Against Bush

MESSAGE, From A1

also the nominee himself. From Cuomo's soaring and searing rhetoric to the testimony of Clinton rivals Paul E. Tsongas and Bob Kerrey to the words and symbols of the Kennedys, the Democrats sought to rally voters fearful about the economy and alienated from the political system and persuade them to look at Clinton with a fresh eye.

A makeshift banner in the hall trumpeted the latest polls indicating that the American people were already looking and liking—but Democrats have seen that before. In 1984 and 1988, post-convention polls showed the Democratic nominees in front, but they lost by landslide margins.

Even the news that Perot's campaign was in disarray was a dubious blessing. Democratic strategists have come to believe increasingly that Clinton's chances are better in a three-way race.

But tonight they weren't worried about those problems; instead they were making the case for themselves. This is no ordinary election, they said. The economic problems that afflict the country are more than a cyclical downturn. The stakes in November have rarely been greater. As Cuomo said of Clinton, "He is our only hope for change from this nation's current disastrous course."

And—in lines that drew the loudest cheers in Madison Square Garden—they underlined the importance of the next president's appointments to the Supreme Court, saying personal freedom is at stake.

Emphasizing the classic "time for a change" theme of opposition parties, the Democratic orators portrayed their youthful ticket of Clinton and Sen. Albert Gore Jr. of Tennessee as the people who would lead the nation from the bygone era of the Cold War into a new time of domestic reform.

Playing off the memories of the parades that celebrated the victory in the Persian Gulf War that once seemed to guarantee Bush's reelection, Cuomo said: "Step aside, Mr. Bush. You've had your parade."

The convention hall was filled tonight with people ready to heal old wounds within the party. Every Democratic presidential nominee from 1972 forward was on the scene and openly acknowledged. Cuomo reached out to Jesse L. Jackson and Clinton's campaign did the same by asking Rep. Maxine Waters of California to second the Arkansas governor's nomination, as she had done four years ago for Jackson.

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy gave his blessing to the nomination, as he has done every four years since his own bid failed in 1980. But it was the memory of Robert F. Kennedy, Clinton's personal hero, and his efforts to bind the races that was invoked in a film biography shown early in the evening.

"He has sought to heal, to oppose hate, to reach across the divide and make us whole again," the surviving Kennedy brother said of Clinton.

Kerrey reached out to the alienated voters, from those who flocked to Perot's banner to those who earlier rallied behind the nomination bid of Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr., asking them to trust the Democratic Party.

Brown was not as gracious to his successful rival—or to the party—when he finally got his 20 minutes on the podium. Never mentioning Clinton, the former California governor made it clear that he thought the Democratic Party would still need cleansing after November.

Four years ago at their convention, the Democrats treated Bush with scorn for his wealth and privilege; tonight they savaged his and Ronald Reagan's economic record and warned the voters of the consequences of four more years.

If in the past their appeals appeared more often aimed only at the poor or the dispossessed, tonight's repeated references to "working families" and the "middle-class families . . . in such terrible jeopardy" signaled the party's determination to win back the voters who have deserted them over the past 20 years.

In a convention that so far has emphasized the triumph of party moderates in the nomination fight, tonight's featured speakers—Cuomo, Kennedy and Tsongas—were a reminder of Clinton's need to attract Northeast ethnics. Cuomo began the appeal when he said, "He was born in Hope, Arkansas. The accents, even the colors may have been a tint different, but the feelings were the same that many of us experienced on the asphalt streets of some of the nation's great cities."

After months of sniping and sparring with Clinton, Cuomo delivered for the Arkansas governor tonight, marrying his sharp and sarcastic attack on the economic record of the Republicans with unexpected generosity toward the party's nominee, saying he wants "to march in a victory parade behind Bill Clinton" for a new America.

A few hours later, the parade began, down Seventh Avenue fom Macy's department store to the Garden and into the hall, where a blizzard of silvery confetti rained down on the delegates. For the Democrats, it was Christmas in July.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

Permanent U.N. Presence In South Africa Sought

Mandela Makes Plea to Security Council

By John M. Goshko
Washington Post Staff Writer

UNITED NATIONS, July 15—African National Congress President Nelson Mandela urged the Security Council today to open the way for a permanent U.N. presence in South Africa by sending a special representative there to begin "continuous monitoring" of whether the white minority government is instigating violence against blacks.

Mandela, leader of South Africa's largest anti-apartheid organization, spoke at the opening of an emergency council debate about the June 17 massacre of at least 42 blacks in Boipatong township. The ANC accused President Frederik W. de Klerk's government of complicity in the killings and broke off the talks on reconciliation begun two years ago by Mandela and de Klerk.

"We urge the council to request the [U.N.] secretary general to appoint a special representative who should move speedily to investigate the causes of the violence," Mandela said, and "should provide the council with information for further measures to end the violence, including continuous monitoring of the situation."

The council appears virtually certain to agree to the request for a special envoy, and Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali is expected to name former U.S. secretary of state Cyrus R. Vance. However, whether such a mission will be a foot in the door for a permanent U.N. presence, as Mandela and the ANC hope, is not clear.

South African Foreign Minister Roelof "Pik" Botha, who will speak Thursday, is expected to say that his government would welcome a "goodwill" visit by a U.N. envoy but will not permit what it regards as U.N. interference in its internal affairs.

See NATIONS, A16, Col. 1

Mandela Seeks Permanent U.N. Role

NATIONS, From A1

A draft resolution circulated last night with the backing of the United States and its allies seeks a middle ground that "condemns the escalating violence" and calls on South African authorities "to take all necessary measures to stop immediately the violence and protect the life and property of all South Africans."

But the draft says only that a special representative should discuss with all parties "measures which would assist in bringing an effective end to the violence and in creating conditions for negotiations leading toward a peaceful transition to a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa."

That appears to fall short of the U.S. ambassador Edward Perkins, taking a position echoed by most European governments, skirted the question of a permanent U.N. presence and stressed instead the Bush administration's view that the most important thing is to speedily resume negotiations between the de Klerk government and black groups on a new constitution.

Perkins pointedly referred to the special envoy's proposed task as a "goodwill mission," and said the U.S. policy "is to do all it can to further the negotiating process. We believe that also should be the policy of the Security Council."

permanent U.N. presence sought by the ANC and its allies. In his speech and in a news conference, Mandela argued passionately that such a presence is the only way to thwart what he charged is the Pretoria government's use of security forces to help the ANC's chief rival, the Zulu-dominated Inkatha Freedom Party of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, gain control over black townships. The ANC charges that the Boipatong massacre was committed by Zulus living in a nearby hostel for transient workers.

In South Africa, ANC supporters fought today with police in Cape Town and in Pietermaritzburg, the capital of Natal province, news agencies reported. The state-run South Africa Broadcasting Corp. said a policeman was stabbed in the Pietermaritzburg clash when protesters tried to occupy the city hall. The broadcast service said two people were killed when alleged ANC supporters attacked a house in Mooi River in Natal.

At his news conference, Mandela dismissed as "a smokescreen" the measures announced by the de Klerk government Tuesday to defuse the crisis. These steps call for disbanding of two army battalions and a police force accused of violence in the townships, new restrictions on carrying dangerous weapons and efforts to phase out the worker hostels or eliminate their potential to serve as breeding grounds for violence.

While de Klerk is seen in the United States and Europe as a moderate, Mandela said the South African president is determined to perpetuate white minority rule through violence aimed at weakening the black democratic movement and by giving whites a veto over the black majority in any new constitution. The ANC insists that constitutional change requires clear majority rule.

Referring to the speech that Botha will make to the council, Mandela said, "However sweet [his words] may sound, they represent the system of white minority rule which the Security Council has declared null and void." In discussing alleged government complicity in the violence, Mandela said, "Either de Klerk has lost control of the security forces, or they are doing exactly what he wants them to do."

The only solution, he said, is for the council to establish a monitoring mission with "enough staff, as well as resources to carry out its mission."

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

U.S. Warns Iraqis To End Standoff With U.N. Inspectors

Allies Consulted on Possible Military Action

By R. Jeffrey Smith
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Bush administration yesterday warned that Iraq was "putting at risk" the cease-fire that ended last year's Persian Gulf War by keeping a U.S.-led team of United Nations inspectors from searching for suspected weapons-related documents in Baghdad's agricultural ministry.

The implicit U.S. threat of renewed military action against Iraq escalated the 11-day-old dispute between Iraq and the U.N. Security Council over the inspection demand.

Members of a team led by U.S. Army Maj. Karen Jansen have been camped outside the ministry headquarters since July 5, shortly after they received a tip that the ministry was housing documents relating to Iraq's production of ballistic missiles. They have endured a series of public protests against their presence that U.S. officials say were staged by the Iraqi regime.

Past disputes over U.N. inspections have been settled without force when Iraq eventually capitulated under international pressure. But Iraq signaled its continued defiance in a letter received yesterday by U.N. Secretary General Boutros-Boutros Ghali.

In the letter, Iraqi Foreign Minister Ahmed Hussein called for annulment of U.N. resolutions authorizing international inspections and other punitive measures against Iraq. The resolutions were accepted by Iraq under the cease-fire negotiated at the close of the gulf war that ousted Iraqi forces from Kuwait.

The letter came several days after Iraq said it would boycott U.N.-sponsored meetings intended to designate its official border with Kuwait. Iraq has also expressed renewed resistance to a U.N. plan for monitoring and allocating profits from future Iraqi oil sales.

Britain's U.N. ambassador, David Hannay, said Iraq was embarking on a "collision course with the council," according to Reuter news service.

A U.S. official said the Bush administration has opened discussions with Britain and France on what military steps might be taken if Iraq fails to allow the inspection of its agriculture ministry. The official, who spoke on condition he not be identified, said the principal option being considered is aerial bombardment—presumably by planes from several nations—of an Iraqi building already slated for destruction under U.N. rules because of its past ties to Iraq's development of weapons of mass destruction.

Washington and its allies "are in the early stages of deliberations" about military force, a diplomatic source said, noting that no decision has been made about whether the Security Council should first issue another warning statement. The council declared on July 6 that Baghdad's actions represented a "material and unacceptable breach" of the cease-fire resolutions.

As an interim step, Boutros Ghali yesterday asked the chairman of the U.N. Special Commission on Iraq, Rolf Ekeus, to bring to the Iraqi capital a message that continued defiance would carry "serious consequences." Secretary of State James A. Baker III spoke with Boutros Ghali about Ekeus's mission and other aspects of the dispute on Tuesday night, prior to Ekeus's departure last evening, according to State Department spokesman Richard Boucher and other officials.

"We're very determined to see that Iraq is not allowed to break out of the requirements" for the U.N. inspectors to have "immediate, unconditional, and unrestricted access" to any Iraqi facility, Boucher said yesterday.

He added that "by continuing this type of violation, the Iraqi government thus is putting at risk the cease-fire that concluded Operation Desert Storm."

Egyptian Armed Forces Chief of Staff Lt. Gen. Salah Halaby, who is visiting Washington to speak with administration officials, said yesterday he "expects Iraq to comply" without use of outside force once the regime "feels the crisis has reached a critical point."

Dutch Firm Charged in Iraq Parts Case

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

A Dutch company and four employees of subsidiary companies were indicted here yesterday on charges of conspiring to supply Iraq with night vision equipment containing U.S. components in violation of federal arms export control laws.

U.S. Attorney Jay B. Stephens said the shipments of prototype equipment by Delft Instruments included one transfer that took place in December 1990, four months after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and a month before a U.S.-led international military coalition launched the Persian Gulf War against Iraq.

The shipments were designed as the initial phase of a $35 million contract illegally financed through the scandal-ridden Atlanta branch of Italy's Banca Nazionale del Lavoro (BNL).

Federal investigators in Atlanta have reportedly been investigating such transactions as a follow-up to the charges they secured in February 1991 against BNL officials there for funneling more than $5.5 billion in unauthorized loans to Iraq. But the Atlanta inquiry has yet to produce an arms-related indictment.

Stephens said he began his investigation here in the wake of reports during the gulf war that Iraqi forces in the battle of Khafji had access to night vision equipment. Allied forces that retook the northern Saudi Arabian town were surprised by Iraqi movements indicating they were more capable of operating in the dark than the allies had anticipated.

Delft acknowledged in March 1991 that a Belgian subsidiary had made three shipments of American thermal-imaging night vision components to Iraq and Jordan without the requisite U.S. licenses.

The federal grand jury that returned yesterday's indictment said Delft and employees of three subsidiaries conspired from 1988 to December 1990 to send Iraq two thermal-imaging system prototypes, including infrared detectors made by Hughes Aircraft Co. and scanners made by Litton Systems. One of the prototypes was delivered

See INDICT, A16, Col. 1

The Washington Post

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Charges Filed in Iraq Parts Case

INDICT, From A14

in April 1990, the other in December 1990, according to the indictment.

Delft obtained the components under State Department licenses approving their use for systems being built in the Netherlands for sale to the Dutch and Indian armies.

The individual defendants are Erick Vleeschdraager, Frederik Van Hulten, Wim Janssen and Ben Keus. Vleeschdraager and Van Hulten also were charged with illegally transferring a thermal night-sighting camera to Iraq in December 1989.

Delft faces fines of as much as $2.5 million and possible suspension and debarment from U.S. contracting and export privileges. The four individuals face maximum penalties of five years in prison on the conspiracy charge and 10 years on charges of violating the Arms Export Control Act.

Stephens told a reporter the investigation was prolonged by difficulties in securing needed documents from Holland. "It took a lot of prying and moving," he said. "It started to come together this spring."

Officials in Atlanta declined to comment on the status of their BNL-related investigations and why they have not moved against any companies for weapons violations. When he announced the BNL indictment on Feb. 28, 1991, then-Attorney General Dick Thornburgh said "possible violations of federal law in connection with the acquisition by Iraq of military armaments and other goods" remained under investigation.

Atlanta prosecutors have brought one case since the BNL indictment: an information this month against Mitsui & Co. (USA) for allegedly conspiring to make false statements to the Agriculture Department's Commodity Credit Corp. in connection with U.S.-guaranteed agricultural exports to Iraq. Mitsui was fined $10,000 and ordered to pay $8 million in restitution.

Police Disperse Students in Haiti

Reuter

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, July 15—Police reportedly fired into a crowd of 200 students today to break up a demonstration designed to test Prime Minister Marc Bazin's promise to end human rights abuses.

Several students were hit by bullets, according to a student quoted by the independent Haitian Press Association, and witnesses said uniformed and plainclothes police beat other demonstrators with clubs.

A Haitian journalist who watched the demonstration and another witness said they saw police fire automatic weapons, but did not see anyone hit.

The journalist said at least 50 people were arrested.

At least seven students were hospitalized with injuries suffered during the beatings, a human rights group that requested anonymity said.

The students reportedly were attacked in the capital's medical school, to which the demonstrators returned after marching through nearby streets chanting slogans calling for the return of ousted president Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

The students' chants and placards also condemned the army, which overthrew Aristide in a coup Sept. 30, and Bazin, the new army-backed prime minister.

Three hours after the demonstration, a handful of students still at the medical school showed journalists bullet marks in the walls and bloodstains on the floors caused, they said, by head wounds demonstrators suffered when they were beaten.

Police also beat passersby and forced everyone to clear the streets on the route taken during the march, witnesses said.

It was Haiti's first street protest since Bazin took office June 19 promising to end repression and ensure respect for human rights as part of a bid to win international recognition and obtain the lifting of an international trade embargo.

Aristide's supporters have dismissed Bazin as "the powerless puppet of the army."

The army-controlled police have tolerated no pro-Aristide protests since the coup.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

Namibia Asks U.S. Help In Dispute Over Seaport

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Staff Writer

Prime Minister Hage Geingob of Namibia said yesterday he has asked the United States to use its influence with South Africa to speed up negotiations over Walvis Bay, a disputed deep-water port on the Atlantic Ocean.

Geingob told Washington Post editors and reporters he had made the request in a meeting Monday with Secretary of State James A. Baker III, but has not yet received a substantive response. Negotiations between South Africa and Namibia about the strategic port began in March 1991, but are "in limbo," the Namibian prime minister said.

South Africa kept Walvis Bay when it granted independence to Namibia in March 1990, contending that its claim to the port is backed by historical evidence. Namibia also claims Walvis Bay, which is its principal port.

The United States backed a 1978 U.N. Security Council resolution calling for the reintegration of the port into Namibia, but has not been very active on the issue.

A State Department official said yesterday the United States has raised issues regarding Namibia with South Africa in the past and seems likely to comply with Namibia's request. The official said Namibia is considering taking its problems with South Africa over Walvis Bay to the United Nations or another international forum if South Africa does not show sufficient movement on the issue.

"We want Walvis Bay back but we try to compromise" on the issues, Geingob said. Asked about the possibility of oil exploration near Walvis Bay, Geingob laughed and said this may be among the issues.

A longtime activist in the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the Namibian independence movement, Geingob, like SWAPO, has been notably more cautious in power than during the decades-long independence struggle, a U.S. official said. Geingob is considered close to former SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma, now Namibian president.

During yesterday's interview, Geingob said Namibia, like a number of small countries in Africa, is "very frustrated" about feeling ignored by the United States and other major powers in the post-Cold War era.

"It is a pity" but an undeniable reality, Geingob said, that Namibia, Angola and some other nearby countries were pawns of the Cold War. In those days, he conceded, it was easier to say "if you don't help us, communists are going to come," an argument that was a prime motivator for Western powers.

Now in the Cold War's aftermath, Namibia has been careful to meet "all the requirements of being democratic," including a much-praised constitution, a multiparty system and a free press, Geingob continued. "I would have thought that countries such as the United States would want to support the ideals that human beings are free and endowed with certain liberties," he said.

Nevertheless, he added, "we are not getting the help or even the attention" that is being given to the former communist countries of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. He cited the tiny Baltic countries of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania as examples. "As usual, we are being marginalized," he said.

"We are looking at this and asking the question, why is this so?" Geingob said. "I hope we are not going to be forced to conclude it is racism.

"Poor people who are hungry are not going to listen to talk of democracy," he added. If poverty and other ills are not addressed, Geingob said with some frustration, "the fragile democratic struggles may go up in flames."

The Washington Post
THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

Leaders, Candidates Plot Strategy for Attracting Black Voters

By Kenneth J. Cooper
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, July 15—Northern mayors and southern officeholders and candidates are preparing to turn out black voters so that the Clinton-Gore ticket will be less dependent upon the active support of Jesse L. Jackson, who significantly increased black voter participation in his 1984 and 1988 campaigns for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Some people are predicting that Bill Clinton and Albert Gore Jr., two moderate white southerners whose politics bother some black liberal officeholders, may get stronger black support in the South than in other regions.

"Clinton and Gore will be more palatable to black voters in the South than in northern urban areas," said David Bositis, senior research associate for the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. "Black voters in the South tend to be more conservative than black voters in the West and northern urban areas."

Black House members and black congressional candidates from the South met today to plot strategy for attracting the black vote for the Clinton-Gore ticket in November, according to Rep. John Lewis (Ga.).

Lewis, a veteran of the civil rights movement, described the possibility of a rerun of registration drives in the 1960s when southern blacks' right to vote was still fresh. He spoke of "a crusade through the South" involving bus caravans that would seek to "energize the black vote."

The meeting was organized by Rep. William J. Jefferson (La.), who, like Lewis, was among early supporters of Clinton. Among other participants were Rep. Mike Espy (Miss.) and Rep. Harold E. Ford (Tenn.).

Northern black mayors also have spoken here of working to improve black turnout in their cities. They include Mayor Kurt L. Schmoke of Baltimore, Mayor Michael R. White of Cleveland and Mayor Sharpe James of Newark.

The 1992 Democratic ticket stands to get a boost from the creation of 12 majority black congressional districts, the product of revisions to the Voting Rights Act of 1965, in eight states stretching from Maryland down to Florida and across to Texas. Currently, there are five black House members from the South.

Black voters in the new districts, where the voting-age population among blacks ranges from 50 percent to 65 percent, are likely to turn out in large numbers to support black congressional candidates.

Most likely winners are state legislators or local elected officials who have developed a following over the years.

State Sen. Carrie Meek (D), a candidate in a Miami area district, said she would turn her efforts to the Clinton-Gore campaign after her September primary because she faces no Republican opposition in November.

Faye Williams, a former congressional aide who has run twice in Louisiana, said, "Whenever I run, I bring out a lot of voters."

Rep. Craig A. Washington (Tex.) predicted that black turnout could be pivotal for the Clinton-Gore ticket in Texas and Florida, states with large numbers of electoral votes.

"I don't know how it'll play up here," Washington said in Harlem. "The people I know [about] are in Oklahoma, Texas, Florida—southern blacks."

Meek suggested that a combination of black and conservative white support could win Florida, a state where Republicans usually prevail, for Democrats.

Across the South, the likely candidacy of independent Ross Perot also may improve Democratic prospects in a region that has become a Republican base in national politics. "Perot can help," Lewis said.

"If it's going to be a three-person race, truly the black vote is going to determine what happens in the South," Bositis said.

Bositis said, however, that he was skeptical about how much of the southern black turnout would be the result of the elected officials making an effort on behalf of the Democratic ticket.

"I don't think they're going to be turning out the vote for the Clinton-Gore ticket. I think it's more going to be a case of turning it out for themselves, and in the process, turning it out for Clinton and Gore," Bositis said. "They're not going to force Clinton and Gore down somebody's throat at the cost of support for themselves."

Blacks make up as much as 32 percent—in Mississippi—of the voting-age population in the southern states.

Jackson today told the NAACP, which is meeting in Nashville, that he does not yet know his role in the Clinton-Gore campaign. "So far, the relationship has not been worked out or even discussed," the Associated Press quoted him as saying.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

For Man of Many Words, The Power of 'I Accept'

According to Top Aides, Clinton Is His Own Best Speechwriter

By David Maraniss
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, July 15—In preparing for the most important speech of his career, an address that he says must be "a powerful personal evocation," Bill Clinton has watched videotapes of past acceptance speeches, studied and in some cases memorized the words of Lincoln, Roosevelt and Kennedy, and perused a 20-inch stack of memos from advisers about what they think he should say and subjects they hope he avoids.

He has spent hours behind the protected doors of his 14th-floor hotel suite hacking away at various drafts, rough and smoother, rearranging and crossing out and rewording in his virtually illegible left-handed scrawl. And he has walked down the hall to spend still more hours rehearsing his delivery at a podium constructed to resemble the one at Madison Square Garden, complete with lectern and teleprompters.

But the speech Clinton delivers Thursday night when he accepts the Democratic nomination for president is not merely the product of the intense preparation he has undertaken during the past five days in midtown Manhattan. It is also the culmination of decades of speeches, tens of thousands of phrases and images and words, everything that has gone into the evolution of the rhetoric of the 45-year-old governor of Arkansas.

If Clinton's speech is a hit, the three aides considered his principal speechwriters will get their names attached to it in some accounts: Paul Begala, David Kusnet and Bruce Reed. But they are the first to acknowledge that Clinton is a man of many words, most of them his own.

"Clinton is a better speechwriter than any of us," said Reed, his deputy campaign manager for policy. "The best thing about writing for him is that he does most of the work. He cares a lot about ideas and words and rhythms, which makes him harder to write for, but in an ideal world there would be more politicians like him and fewer of us."

The most vivid proof of Clinton's hands-on role is a draft of a speech he gave on family values at the Cleveland City Club on May 21. Begala, one of Clinton's traveling staff consultants, was considered the main wordsmith for the Cleveland speech. The draft came back with every line in the first eight pages crossed out by the candidate. Clinton rewrote the entire speech himself, refining it in the holding room even as he was being introduced.

"That doesn't happen every time," Begala said the other day with a measure of equanimity. "Not quite."

The reason it does not happen more often is that Clinton seldom speaks from a prepared text. He has done it no more than 10 times during this campaign year, and his aides in the governor's office say they can think of no more than a dozen times over the previous 14 years when Clinton went into a major speech with a text that could be handed out to the news media beforehand. Mike Gauldin, his capitol press secretary, remembers one year transcribing the governor's State of the State message on a computer as Clinton was delivering it.

Clinton's speechwriters would often write texts for him, but at the last minute he would simply take notes from the text and use the notes for a more extemporaneous oration. Reed said he will never forget the time when Clinton gave the keynote address at a Democratic Leadership Council convention in Cleveland last year and scrapped his speech at the last minute, in the holding room, where he simply wrote down 20 key words on a piece of paper and built his speech around those 20 words.

"That was considered one of his great speeches, a defining speech, which I can say because I had nothing to do with it," Reed said. "It was amazing."

But Clinton's speeches are not always amazing. His national image as a speaker is shaped largely by the flat and overly long speech nominating Massachusetts Gov. Michael S. Dukakis at the 1988 convention, Clinton's one solo national television speech before Thursday night. His speeches on the stump this year have been decidedly uneven, often so filled with complex policy points and tangents that listeners come away saying they were not sure what his message was.

Begala calls this Clinton's "freight train" tendency; he gets rolling down the track in the wrong direction and nothing can stop him.

While Clinton and Jesse L. Jackson are somewhat at odds these days, they have more in common as orators than many people might expect, considering Jackson's stellar speaking reputation and Clinton's as-yet modest one. They both draw on the rhythms of the pulpit, looking for the double-meaning parables of everyday life, transforming prosaic stories of people they encounter into poetry of the open road. In his speeches at the 1984 and 1988 conventions, Jackson turned his life's story into a symbolic tale of American promise, something Clinton says he hopes to accomplish in his acceptance speech in quieter fashion.

Anyone seeking to gauge the power of the speech by the number of times it is interrupted by applause would be measuring exactly the wrong way. When Clinton is at his best he mesmerizes his audience into silence.

"The Dukakis speech of 1988 was constantly interrupted by applause," Begala said. "If that happens to us, it won't be a good speech or the one Clinton should give."

The rhetorical devices Clinton has used this year to define his governing ideas are not the product of his wordsmiths, nor of his growing posse of policy wonks. An examination of scores of Clinton speeches shows that the personal stories of young Clinton in Arkansas have in fact always been a part of his rhetorical repertoire. Since his first race for governor in 1978, Clinton has spiced his speeches with many of the stories he might flesh out Thursday night: how he was born to a widowed mother in the small town of Hope or how he was raised by his grandparents for four years while his mother studied nursing.

The roots of his notion that government's duty is to provide opportunity and that individuals must in return take responsibility can also be found in speeches he delivered as far back as 1983. It was only one year later that he began talking about "investing in human capital," a less graceful version of the "putting people first" formulation he has arrived at in recent weeks.

"It's striking to look back through Clinton's words; he was saying the same things 10 years ago that he's saying today," Begala said. "You can see the progression, subtle changes, but it's all there. He's been working toward this speech for a long, long time."

The overriding goal Clinton and his advisers say they have for the acceptance speech is that viewers come away feeling they know more about him.

"They think they know 95 percent of him but they really only know 5 percent," said Clinton's communications director, George Stephanopoulos.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

Convention Journal

Endangered Species in Clinton's Hotel

By David Von Drehle
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, July 15

New York might get through this Democratic National Convention without any major trauma or disturbance, but five parrots in midtown Manhattan will be lucky to make it alive.

The birds live in a spacious cage in the lobby of the Hotel Inter-Continental, very nearly the center of the known political universe this week. The actual center is 14 floors up, where Bill Clinton lives in a spacious cage of his own.

All day and into the night, an ocean of political shapers and fixers and chroniclers, zealots and naifs and sycophants ebbs and flows in the hotel lobby. Clinton is near and they are drawn to him. But hardly anyone gets to him; this operation is buttoned-up and down-pat.

So they mark time, and the birds keep them company. They squawk and they chatter and they preen—the parrots, that is. "Everybody," said Associated Press reporter Karen Ball, "wants to kill those birds."

Ball discussed methods one evening with a member of the Clinton campaign staff. They figured one could hold the birds while the other throttled them. That's one way to pass the time in the Inter-Continental lobby. Other favorites include: schmoozing, cajoling, pacing, dozing, gossiping, posturing, groveling, coveting and scheming.

As major Manhattan hotel lobbies go, this one in what was formerly the Barklay Hotel at 111 E. 48th St. between Park and Lexington avenues is not particularly grand. The ceiling has a faux-Tiffany quality, while the walls look like genuine oak. The furniture is mostly dark wood and leather. There are paintings of people from the 18th century.

With the squawking birds for a centerpiece, the space evokes a British men's club in some outpost of the Raj, an atmosphere enhanced by the custom of ringing a pineapple-shaped bell to alert guests in the lobby to a page.

But the guests in the lobby—gad! Bored cameramen and photographers, dressed in sneakers and safari vests lounge disconsolately, waiting for news. A surly lot of reporters eye the room intently, reassuring themselves the competition is as frustrated as they are. No one can leave as long as Clinton is around, and Clinton is almost always present: cosseted, invisible, high above.

They are not, in short, really quality visitors. They're known to sprawl on the floor, put their feet on the coffee tables, sit on the arms of the chesterfields and sip coffee from the Bunny Deli out of paper cups. The other day, a platoon of cameramen staking out the elevators spread a picnic from McDonald's on the floor, until the horrified manager insisted that was too much. One must have standards.

To be fair, they do have standards in the lobby of the Inter-Continental—not the standards of refined hotel lounging, perhaps, but certainly the standards of political hierarchy. From serf to princeling, the gradations are manifold and precise. Eyeing the lobby from a discreet spot beside an Oriental urn, one can distinguish every grade.

Least are those who linger in the lobby, drifting from place to place like goldfish idling in a tank. Many of them are from Arkansas; they wear buttons that say "Ask Me About My Governor," but, in the lobby anyway, no one ever does. They hoard the merest shreds of excitement.

For instance, a black sedan pulls up outside the door, and a couple of short-haired Secret Service agents stride smartly through the lobby, clearing a path, and behind them comes a blonde woman in a bright yellow dress with a half-frightened look on her face. "Tipper's coming," someone whispers urgently, but then Sen. Albert Gore Jr.'s wife is out the door and into the sedan. And in the lobby, the waiting resumes.

People a grade up, anonymous staff members in suits, also spend a lot of time in the lobby, moving much faster, but rarely seeming to go anywhere. They wear large tags around their necks that say "Finance," or "VIP," or "Associate" or "Honored Guest." Impressive tags they are, indeed, until you begin to notice that everyone who really matters zips through the lobby with no tag at all.

It turns out identification protocol is a bit like nouvelle cuisine: Less is more. The nobles of the lobby society wear discreet lapel pins. When they enter the room, everyone else becomes an extra. They know they are stars. Bob Hattoy, the Clinton adviser who addressed the convention Tuesday, fell to his knees in the lobby today and kissed the hands of campaign consultant Mandy Grunwald. It was hard to resist applauding.

The same for James Carville, eccentric Cajun swami, when he stalked through the lobby bellowing his hatred for the entire building. No one could miss it: This guy really counts. "I have spent 50 percent of my time at this convention just waiting for the elevator!" he cried. "Whoever put us in this hotel is obviously trying to aggravate us, and he is clearly the most effective man in the party."

After a couple of hours of watching, it all becomes clear. People in the lobby just want to get to the third floor, where they can start angling for a convention floor pass. People on the third floor want to get to the 12th, where the campaign has its "war room." People on the 12th want to get to the 14th, where Clinton lives. People on the 14th want to stay there.

If you ask around town where the power scene is, chances are good you will hear about the lobby of the Inter-Continental. But the lobby is just a place to learn a lesson. The power scene is never where ordinary folks can see it. Lobbies are for the birds.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

Fund-Raising Keeps Robbs On the Run

Whirl Puts Troubles On the Back Burner

By Donald P. Baker
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, July 15—The class picture of the Virginia delegation to the Democratic National Convention was being taken when Sen. Charles S. Robb (D-Va.) and his family rushed into the lobby of the Lexington Hotel here.

"We've been killing ourselves," exclaimed Lynda Robb, who was wearing sneakers to sprint from breakfast fund-raisers to midnight parties during the convention.

By midnight tonight, when they were scheduled to attend a "Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee After Hours" bash at Tatou, an East Side supper club, the Robbs will have made more than 30 appearances together, in addition to attending the convention, which Robb addressed briefly on Monday.

Robb said he is "working harder" at this convention than at any previous one. His press secretary, Peggy Wilhide, said that "an assumption that he is doing this to shore up support is wrong. He's working this hard to raise money for the DSCC," of which he is chairman.

When a reporter asked whether fellow Democrats have expressed concern about Robb's legal difficulties, he said, "You're the only one who asks."

Federal prosecutors have told Robb that he is a target of a grand jury investigation about his role in the taping and disclosure of a phone call between Gov. L. Douglas Wilder, a longtime rival of Robb's, and a Wilder supporter.

Robb said that "the only reason I came" to the Virginia delegation's hotel this morning after an earlier breakfast on Wall Street was to show that he is "not dodging" Wilder, who was the host of the breakfast.

Wherever he has gone this week, Robb usually has been accompanied by his wife, the daughter of President Johnson, and the older two of their three daughters.

The Robbs rode a convention-special train to New York on Saturday morning, danced Sunday night at a party for Texas Gov. Ann Richards, gave a reception for the DSCC at Toots Shor's restaurant Monday night, spoke to the Virginia delegation at breakfast Tuesday and attended a reception for former president Jimmy Carter Tuesday night.

In a futile effort to beat the never-ending traffic jams here, they have traveled by limo, cab and subway.

"The subway was clean and safe. No graffiti," Lynda Robb observed.

As for his work as DSCC chairman, "The only test is how much money he raises," Wilhide said. Nehl Horton, the DSCC's communications director, said a report to be filed next Monday with the Federal Elections Commission will show that $13 million has been raised since Robb became chairman early last year. Horton said that is a record-setting performance, about $250,000 ahead of two years ago.

"He doesn't give the impression of one who is down and out," said Del. Leslie L. Byrne (D-Fairfax), the Democratic nominee in Northern Virginia's new 11th Congressional District. "Unless there's more bad news," Byrne said, "there's still a well of good feeling toward him, although that well is going down each day."

Eve Wilson, of Fairfax, the 10th District Democratic chairman, supported Robb's view, saying she has heard "not one word" about Robb's legal problems.

Delegate Sidney Savage, of Falls Church, said: "I find it absolutely impossible to believe all the things he has been accused of. If anybody has proof, they should spill it out."

Savage admitted that, "I'm partisan, but I'm not blinded. But Chuck Robb is still on his feet, and I'm still on his side."

Robert Waffle, a first-time delegate from Northern Virginia, said "Lynda warms people up to him. She works the receptions. I don't think his career is over."

State Sen. Yvonne B. Miller (D-Norfolk) said Robb is "still the people's darling. My greatest concern is for his wife and those beautiful daughters."

As Miller spoke, the Robbs and daughters Lucinda, 24, and Catherine, 22, spun through the hotel's revolving door back out into the city's heat and humidity for another frantic cross-town trip, to yet another breakfast that was over when they arrived.

The Washington Post
THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

Riding High, With a Boost From Cuomo

Televised Call to Arms Caps Clinton's Win in This Week's Competition for Media Images

By Howard Kurtz
Washington Post Staff Writer

The magnetic attraction of Mario M. Cuomo was so strong that it pulled two reluctant networks to the Democratic convention last night.

The New York governor thundered that "the ship of state is headed for the rocks" and can be saved only by "a captain with a new course . . . Governor Bill Clinton of Arkansas." CBS, which bypassed the convention for the All-Star Game Tuesday night, began its coverage an hour earlier so it could carry Cuomo's 9 p.m. nominating speech. And ABC moved up its starting time to 9:30 and replayed the Cuomo address in full.

Cuomo's rhetorical tub-thumper—in favor of hard work and family, against savings and loan crooks and drug abuse and polo-playing Republicans—built to a crescendo that brought down the house. Equally important, in television terms, Cuomo did what three earlier keynote speakers did not, painting a poetic portrait of the "extraordinary quality of character" of a man "born poor in Hope, Arkansas."

"I'm still in the glow of that Cuomo speech," CBS wise man Charles Kuralt exulted minutes later.

Cuomo's call to arms capped a week in which Clinton has been winning the war of televised images while his rivals have stumbled. Viewers have seen President Bush struggling to distance himself from what he called "filthy campaign tactics" by a Republican activist digging into Clinton's personal life. They have seen Ross Perot struggling to explain his "you people" gaffe before the NAACP and Edward J. Rollins, his campaign co-manager, stiffly reading a statement of resignation.

"This could be the beginning of the end of the Ross Perot campaign," CBS's Bill Lagattuta said ominously.

By contrast, viewers yesterday saw Clinton's triumphant arrival at a cheering, confetti-speckled Madison Square Garden after the roll call of the states—a delightfully corny ritual largely kissed off by the Big Three networks in favor of more talking heads—made him the nominee. Clinton likened himself to President John F. Kennedy and drew still more cheers.

Viewers saw such disparate personalities as Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (Mass.), with his old-style, liberal appeal to conscience, and former

THE AIR WARS

Massachusetts senator Paul E. Tsongas, with his pinched, no-charisma delivery, heap praise on Clinton. (More precisely, the speeches were seen by those watching CNN and C-SPAN.)

Tube-watchers earlier saw Clinton burnish his foreign-policy credentials by holding talks with African National Congress President Nelson Mandela. They saw former president Jimmy Carter, who seems to have acquired a statesmanlike aura, praising Clinton. And ABC led its evening newscast with a new poll showing Clinton jumping out to a 45 percent to 28 percent lead over Bush among likely voters.

In short, the Arkansas governor, battered by the press for months, is getting a classic media bounce, even before his acceptance speech tonight.

The convention opened at 5 p.m. with a burst of real news as CNN announced Rollins's resignation with a Persian Gulf War-style phone report from Tony Clark in Dallas. Excitement filled the arena as CNN correspondents scurried around for reaction, a striking contrast to the largely manufactured controversies of the previous two days.

Former California governor Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr., trailed by news-starved reporters all week, got his 20 minutes of podium time and used it to denounce the "smug custodians of global finance" and demand "power for the powerless." He shouted his attack lines, cheered on by a small section of the arena like fans of a visiting basketball team.

Brown pointedly omitted any mention of Clinton, which is why he was bumped from prime time. But the days of criticism by Brown and his left-wing supporters only served to underscore the nominee's effort to move his party toward the center. "Clinton is pleased that Brown doesn't like the Democratic platform," noted ABC's Jim Wooten.

On the joint PBS-NBC broadcast, Robert MacNeil, Jim Lehrer and Tom Brokaw asked Clinton about important policy matters, from his economic plan to the fighting in Bosnia. There was a serious air to the session, as if the journalists were questioning a potential president, that had been notably absent when he was peppered with all those did-you-inhale questions during the primaries.

Clinton made light of his new lead in the polls and reminded viewers that he may face a rough fall. "I expect to bear the brunt of a burning and blistering negative campaign," he said.

Still, the optimism churned up by the proceedings was constantly repeated by the TV pundits, a phenomenon that clearly can be self-reinforcing. The Democrats, said CBS anchor Dan Rather, "are beginning to believe they smell a win in November."

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

Schaefer Tepidly Endorses Clinton

Md. Governor Waffled Till Last Minute; Had Talked of Voting for Bush

By Richard Tapscott
and Donald P. Baker
Washington Post Staff Writers

NEW YORK, July 15—Maryland Gov. William Donald Schaefer came around reluctantly and at the last minute to cast his vote for Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton tonight and give Maryland Democrats the closest thing they have had to unity since the presidential primary season began.

Schaefer, who came from Annapolis by bus today to spend only a few hours at the four-day convention, was at best a lukewarm convert to Clinton; he had supported former Massachusetts senator Paul E. Tsongas during the primaries.

When he arrived here in early afternoon, he was still waffling about Clinton and suggested that he might vote for President Bush, a Republican, in the general election.

By the time the Maryland delegation voted at Madison Square Garden tonight, however, Schaefer said, "I'll throw in with the others [for Clinton], but how enthusiastic I'll be depends on Clinton's speech and his specifics." That speech won't come until Thursday night.

All but two of the state's 85 convention votes were cast for Clinton during the roll call tonight. That came after hours of behind-the-scenes wrangling about who would announce the results of the Maryland voting—Schaefer or state party Chairman Nathan Landow.

Symbolically, they were seated on opposite sides of an aisle. They engaged in animated and occasionally heated conversation, according to several delegates. One delegate, who asked not to be identified, said, "They're like a couple of kids, fighting over the microphone."

In the end, they both spoke. Landow introduced Schaefer; Schaefer announced the Maryland vote, then left the delegation almost immediately, before Clinton surprised delegates by entering the hall.



GOV. WILLIAM DONALD SCHAEFER ... wants "specific plan" from Clinton

Landow deadpanned, "We're a Democratic state and we like to share."

In a morning caucus, most of the Maryland Tsongas delegates decided to switch to Clinton, but two ultimately wouldn't budge tonight despite intense lobbying.

Pat Smith, a Rockville lawyer who led the successful Tsongas campaign in Maryland, argued that "Paul Tsongas is saying that this country is a boat. Everybody in, nobody out. Our goal is to deliver Maryland to the Democratic side in November. When you see the signatures Ross Perot got on petitions in Maryland, this is not the time for any little nit-picking to go on."

Larry Gibson, of Baltimore, chairman of Clinton's Maryland campaign apparatus, thanked the Tsongas delegates. "Welcome aboard," Gibson said. "We're going to be a united party throughout the state."

"I sense a surge of energy, enthusiasm and unity," Landow said.

Speaking to reporters shortly after he arrived in New York, Schaefer said he would not rule out supporting Bush in the general election.

"I'm not that far down the line yet," Schaefer said.

"I came here as a Democrat. . . . I'm going to watch Mr. Clinton to see if he comes up with a specific plan."

Reminded that most other Democratic state chief executives, including Virginia Gov. L. Douglas Wilder, had endorsed Clinton, Schaefer said, "Maybe they don't understand state government."

His stand appears unlikely to heal any of the existing breaches between Schaefer and some party leaders.

Last year, he tried unsuccessfully to remove Landow as chairman.

He scheduled a reception for the Maryland delegates to the convention for 4 to 6 p.m. at the World Trade Center.

But the reception location was nearly 40 blocks south of Madison Square Garden, the convention site, and the convention itself was scheduled to convene at 5 p.m.

Given even worse-than-usual Manhattan traffic, few delegates attended.

State Senate President Thomas V. Mike Miller Jr. (D-Prince George's), a frequent Schaefer antagonist, arrived at the reception taking note that the cab ride cost $15.

Miller grabbed Schaefer's arm, thrust it in the air and began shouting, "85 votes for Clinton."

Schaefer jerked his arm from Miller's grasp.

During the reception, Schaefer supporters displayed bumper stickers proclaiming "Schaefer for President."

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

POLITICS

Gov. Casey Decries Appearance by Six Republican Women

NEW YORK, July 15—Among the scores of women who participated in Tuesday's session of the Democratic National Convention, there was an extraordinary appearance of six Republican women on the podium.

The women, all supporters of abortion rights, declared their support for presidential candidate Bill Clinton and emphasized that "being pro-choice is not being pro-abortion," said Kathy Taylor of Pennsylvania. She said that the six had not abandoned the GOP but had made a "choice" to vote for Clinton.

What the Clinton campaign wanted to do was reach out to Republican abortion-rights supporters. "This is a very movable bloc of voters, alienated from the Republicans," said Democratic convention spokesman Bill Carrick.

Loretta Ucelli of the National Abortion Rights Action League, which introduced several of the Republican women to the Clinton campaign, pointed to the symbolism of the appearance by the six GOP women. "These women are representative of what will be a key voting trend: Republican, pro-choice women crossing over to vote for pro-choice candidates," she said.

But one prominent Democrat was outraged at the women's appearance. Pennsylvania Gov. Robert P. Casey, a foe of abortion whose request to address the delegates was denied, was especially upset by Taylor's presence. Taylor, a GOP township superviser from Hershey, Pa., campaigned on behalf of Casey's 1990 Republican opponent, Barbara Hafer.

"It's an extraordinary development where the Democratic governor of a major state—twice elected—is denied the right to speak, is muzzled, and a Republican woman is brought in here, who worked for my opponent in Pennsylvania, and she is put up on the podium and given front and center. . . . ," Casey said in an interview on NBC after Taylor's presentation. "She passed the litmus test on abortion. . . . I didn't. . . ."

Casey, who has not endorsed his party's presidential ticket, made clear that this event will not make an endorsement easier. "I'm going to think about it very carefully."

Protest Arrests Ordered

■ A federal judge today ordered the arrest of Randall Terry, founder of Operation Rescue, and five other antiabortion activists who allegedly tried to present a fetus to Clinton here Tuesday morning.

Judge Robert Ward signed the arrest warrants after New York Attorney General Robert Abrams said the group had violated an injunction issued Monday that barred Operation Rescue from "presenting or confronting" Clinton or Sen. Albert Gore Jr. (D-Tenn.), Clinton's running mate, "with fetuses or fetal matter."

Ward set bail at $25,000 each pending a Monday hearing.

On Tuesday, New York police arrested three of the activists on misdemeanor health code violations. They were released after being given summonses to appear in court.

Perot Aide Out, Cuomo In

■ Shortly before midnight, the Associated Press moved the following update: "ABC's 'Good Morning America' announces a change in its Thursday morning lineup. Canceled is an appearance by Tom Luce, a Perot campaign aide. He will be replaced by New York Gov. Mario M. Cuomo."

—Maralee Schwartz

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

Likely Md. Candidates Dig For Backers, Bucks at Garden

Convention Proves Fertile Ground for Self-Promotion

By Richard Tapscott
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, July 15—It may be the Democratic National Convention, but when the 85 Maryland delegates move through the fruit-juice-and-croissant line at their breakfast caucus each morning, they can scarcely avoid tripping over a potential candidate for governor of the state.

Some of the might-be candidates, such as Attorney General J. Joseph Curran Jr., are convention delegates. Others, such as Secretary of State Winfield M. Kelly Jr., are just along for the supercharged ride.

Whatever the reason, "This is an excellent spot because you've got all the political junkies here," said state Sen. Albert R. Wynn (D-Prince George's), who has been doing a little self-promoting of his own as he seeks to win the new 4th Congressional District seat in Prince George's and Montgomery counties.

No one has formally announced for the Democratic nomination in 1994, when Gov. William Donald Schaefer is ineligible to run for a third term.

However, Prince George's County Executive Parris N. Glendening and Lt. Gov. Melvin A. Steinberg are all but officially campaigning; Kelly, a former Prince George's County executive, has formed an exploratory committee, and several others, including Curran and Rep. Benjamin L. Cardin, are considering the race.

New York is not a bad place to prospect for campaign funds as well as supporters. For example, when Steinberg isn't chatting up delegates and other political hangers-on, he has been making the rounds of old friends and business associates to check out the willingness of potential campaign donors.

"I'm getting to know a lot of my colleagues well and meeting people in New York with whom I have had a professional relationship," said Steinberg, who was accompanied by lobbyist Alan Rifkin, an aide and a political adviser. "We want to see if there is a possibility of raising some money here, so I met with people from some major companies." Steinberg also used his time in New York to interview a prospective campaign consultant.

While the convention provides a target-rich environment of potential supporters and local organizers, Steinberg also stressed the national significance. "Number one, it's important that elected officials and others demonstrate unity for the national ticket and to develop momentum," he said. "Most of the delegates are nonelected officials."

Glendening has been doing radio feeds to the folks back home, courteously keeping them abreast of convention doings. As a delegate, he has been engaged in his role as a supporter of onetime presidential primary candidate Paul E. Tsongas, who won Mary-

See MARYLAND, B4, Col. 1

MARYLAND, From B1

land's primary and therefore had the most delegates at the convention.

"I anticipate doing exceptionally well in the Tsongas corridor" in 1994, Glendening said, referring to Montgomery, Anne Arundel, Howard and Baltimore counties, where Tsongas's primary popularity was greatest. "In 1994, Tsongas Democrats are going to be the heart of the party."

Glendening said he isn't using the convention to do any overt campaigning for governor, though his top political adviser, John T. Willis, just happened to be in town. "It's an opportunity to talk with a couple hundred activists, particularly those who like me are philosophically in tune with Paul Tsongas.

"Everyone who is here—delegate, alternate, hanger-on—is very politically active," Glendening said. "You can be certain they will be involved [in the next governor's race]. It's a chance to talk in-depth with those I don't know well and meet a few new faces."

Cardin also is the subject of gubernatorial speculation. He plays down the rumors but does not lay them to rest.

"I'm not going to focus on 1994 until 1992 is over," Cardin said Tuesday night while attending a soiree put on by the state's party chairman, Nathan Landow, at the nightclub Tatou. "It's been a very difficult year," Cardin said, referring to anti-Congress sentiment abroad in the land. "This is not the time to make career decisions."

Curran, a former lieutenant governor who hasn't committed to the governor's race, says he plans to name a "policy coordinator" soon who would head what Curran concedes will be something of an exploratory committee.

"Issues are what's important," Curran said. "They are more important than raising money. I'm not connected with people who have large sums of money anyway."

The convention, Curran said, is a chance for him to meet an assembly of grass-roots Democrats. "I'm here to support the Democratic platform and also I will continue talking to people about what comes after November," he said.

Kelly said he was working the crowd and keeping it low-key, not throwing a lavish party or reception.

"You just mix and match," Kelly said. "There are some delegates I don't know, and we can have one-on-one talks about issues here, instead of traveling all over the state. Everybody's here."

The Washington Post
THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

MTV News at the Democrats' Dance

By Paula Span
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, July 15—Live from Madison Square Garden, in a two-minute stand-up from high above the bustling convention floor, it's MTV News.

It's the relentlessly perky Tabitha Soren, the rock-and-roll cable channel's 24-year-old political reporter. She's been following the candidates since New Hampshire and now says such things as "earlier in the campaign, Bill Clinton told me . . ."—just like all those other political reporters.

And it's Dave Mustaine, one of MTV's two convention commentators (rapper M.C. Lyte is the other). He's taking a breather from his day job, which is playing very loud guitar for the speed-metal specialists Megadeth.

What they're chatting about during this particular interlude (political involvement among the young, Mustaine's thoughts on Tipper, his latest single) is less significant than the fact that they are here at all. MTV, which in February encountered some incredulity that it had any news operation at all, now has 15 people covering the Garden party and will bring a similar-size staff to Houston. Its 90-minute live forum with Bill Clinton, which Soren co-anchored last month, made national headlines.

"It's amazing how much more sophisticated they've gotten in news coverage, and political coverage especially," assesses Ginny Terzano, the press secretary for Ron Brown who a few days ago ushered Soren and crew into the party chairman's suite at the Hilton for an interview. "They bring a unique perspective—it's through a young viewer's eyes."

A raft of surveys shows that 18-to-24-year-olds, only 36 percent of whom bothered to vote in the last presidential election, watch broadcast news infrequently and read newspapers even more infrequently. "We don't assume that it's because they don't want information," says MTV News Director Dave Sirulnik, 28. "Maybe they just don't like the form in which it's presented."

That's why no one will confuse MTV's news coverage with C-SPAN's. By the time producers finished with the Brown interview, for example, it had acquired a Sonic Youth soundtrack and more zappy video effects than a Nintendo game, been edited to 40 seconds and gotten tucked into one of the network's "Choose or Lose" packages, usually four minutes long.

An NYU professor was part of this particular package, but so were lots of kids on the street. "We try not to include too many suits or expert types," Soren explains. "That's like 'This is what the adults say.' We'd rather go with 'This is what your peers say.' " Tonight's package following the convention's youngest delegate, an 18-year-old Georgian, reflected the same thinking.

Despite the kinetic packaging, though, MTV News often is not so dramatically different from more conventional journalism. Soren's chat with Brown included questions about "the character issue" and Al Gore's contribution to the ticket that any soundtrack-less reporter might ask.

The "Choose or Lose" packages are also deliberately elementary. MTV thinks its young viewers can be induced to care about politics—particularly its "three E" issues of education, the environment and the economy—but assumes that they know very little. A "buzzwords" package that aired during the New Hampshire campaign, which borrowed credibility by using Newsweek's Jonathan Alter (with a soundtrack by R.E.M.), defined such terms as "primary" and "electable."

It's worth noting too that most of the news on MTV's 10-minute "Day in Rock" show (seen by 600,000 viewers a week) and its half-hour "Week in Rock" (1.5 million viewers) is not election-related. Sirulnik estimates that the music-to-politics ratio, which has reached 50-50 this week, is normally closer to 70-30. It was a stroke of luck that Axl Rose of Guns N'Roses was arrested the day *before* the convention's opening, because Sirulnik and MTV anchor Kurt Loder both rushed to the scene.

Still, with the Big Three networks cutting back and television coverage fragmenting—"Entertainment Tonight" is here, and Comedy Central, and 205 local TV stations—MTV's potential audience of 15 million young people makes it a political force to consider. The Democrats, Terzano says, think it "invaluable." Ross Perot, invited to the same kind of forum with young viewers that Clinton used effectively, is mulling the offer—or at least hasn't declined. (George Bush's post-Clinton forum harrumph about "trying to be a teeny-bopper at 68" presumably means he has.)

"I wonder how these surveys are done, that say young people are so apathetic," Soren argues. "If you ask them, 'Do you care about the environment?' 'Do you care if they repeal *Roe versus Wade?*' they care very deeply."

At the least, Soren does. A 1989 graduate of New York University, she was a reporter and late-night anchor at the Burlington, Vt., ABC affiliate (where she modified her name, Sornberger, because "it wouldn't fit on a screen"). A year and a half ago she came back to New York and MTV.

She was just in time for a brainstorming session about the campaign. "A lot of the ideas were things you'd expect from MTV, in terms of being cynical and funny and tongue-in-cheek," she recalls. "There's a lot to make fun of."

But Soren argued that MTV News ought to take the election seriously. "We know they listen when we talk about Madonna," she told Sirulnik. "They could get excited about politics if we do it as well."

Sirulnik replied that he'd consider a newsier approach if he had someone interested in slogging through the snows etc., Soren recalls. "So I said, 'Well, that's me.' "

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

The TV Column

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

LOS ANGELES, July 15

The Television Critics Association today named CBS's comedy-drama "Northern Exposure" as program of the year . . .

The annual awards package otherwise had a definite NBC cast, with Johnny Carson selected for his career achievements (the voting took place before NBC revealed he was going to be back in harness soon for still-unspecified projects), "I'll Fly Away" named best drama and "Seinfeld" chosen as best comedy . . .

PBS's "Frontline" was named tops in the news and information category; HBO's tribute to the boys of summers past, "When It Was a Game," was chosen for best sports programming; Billy Crystal was honored for his hosting duties on the Academy Awards specials; and Peggy Charren was honored for her long service at the helm of Action for Children Television . . .

CBS News Thursday is expected to announce formation of a "special investigative unit" for its "Street Stories" series, and Washington's own Roberta Baskin and her longtime producer, Joan Martelli, were the first chosen for the unit . . .

Baskin, who was at WJLA from 1984 to 1991, joined CBS News in March of this year after time with the syndicated "Now It Can Be Told" series . . .

Van Gordon Sauter, the former CBS News president who was named president of Fox News on Monday, said today that plans for a primetime, information-based program are "still very much on the agenda" at Fox . . .

The magazine show (Sauter isn't entirely comfortable with that definition) was a pet project of his predecessor, Stephen Chao. Chao was fired in late June when he introduced a naked male model to a Fox management seminar in Snowmass, Colo. Among those attending were his boss, Fox chairman Rupert Murdoch and his wife; and Defense Secretary Dick Cheney and his wife, Lynne, head of the National Endowment for the Humanities . . .

In a brief interview today, Sauter said it was much too early to discuss plans for the still-under-development Fox news unit . . .

Sauter has a reputation for shaking things up (which didn't go over all that well with the Murrow mavens at CBS News during his two stints as president) and he has promised to improve operations at the six Fox-owned stations with local broadcasts . . .

That would seem to include Channel 5 in Washington, but that solid, if not stolid, operation delivers consistently strong ratings in the early morning and certainly at 10 p.m. . . .

"I'm a firm believer in 'if it ain't broke, don't fix it,' " Sauter said. "And I've heard nothing but good things about WTTG news director Kim Montour. But it's way too early to talk about plans; I can't even find my parking space around here yet" . . .

Sauter has complained that "there is an appalling sameness to TV news in the country. If the medium is going to sustain a vitality and regain its lost audience then this duplicate nature has to be changed" . . .

In addition to developing an "information-based" hour and other news programs at the Fox network, his brief calls for establishing a national news service for Fox affiliates—a Big Boy Network goal that has eluded Fox (and the earlier Metromedia) management for years . . .

New York's WWOR has canceled shock jockey Howard Stern's syndicated late-night talk-variety show, seen in 53 cable markets nationwide . . .

In a statement, WWOR said Stern's comedy had produced high ratings among the young adult audience, frequently surpassing NBC's "Saturday Night Live" in the New York metro-

"Unfortunately, budgetary concerns, brought about in part by an inability to distribute the show widely to other stations, has forced this action," the statement said. . . .

Now This

ABC Entertainment president Bob Iger, whose roster includes the likes of Roseanne Arnold, says privately that Delta Burke is not only no prima donna but a "genuinely nice person" . . .

Burke showed up here to push her new ABC series, "Delta," and of course was bombarded with questions regarding the tabloid treatment of her alleged battles with "Designing Women" producers, the waistline, whatever . . .

In one exchange at Tuesday's press conference, she said, "I've never come on a set and said 'I'm the star of this show,' or that Mac [husband Gerald McRaney] said I'm the star of this show. I never did that. I did not say my name is on the checks—I didn't do that stuff . . .

"The good side is that for whatever reason, people find me interesting enough to do all this, you know, so on one hand, it's good; you're famous, you're a star, it put me where I am. The bad press put me where I am. I mean, look at that. I wouldn't be producing if it wasn't for the bad press. Well, it's true! . . .

"The lies hurt, it's very hard. I have to work on it constantly to rise above it because I will not let it beat me, and so I always am rising above it" . . .

We don't know about you but between the Poolside Hours out here, the recurring Rain Delays in the Poolside Hours out here (can you believe that?) and the worries about Earthquakes (they're predicting a July 21 whopper, three days before our Frequent Trailways Ticket kicks in), we are definitely in need of a Local Ratingzzz Fix! . . .

And what better cure for that than a look at the Tuesday night ratingzzz for All-Star and convention coverage. Boom! Let's go to the Overnights! . . .

Channel 9, which carried the baseball game from 8:30 to 11:47, had no trouble averaging a 14.3 rating and a 23 audience share for the whole evening . . .

Even with the game an American League blowout (well, we did take a peek, after all), convention coverage on WJLA from 10 to 11 Tuesday did a 7.9/13 and on WRC a 7.1/11 . . .

That combined 24 share for the Democrats Tuesday compared with a local 28 share Monday night when Nine averaged a 6.0/10 from 9:30 to 11:18, Seven a 5.3/9 for the convention and Four a 5.1/9 for the Dems . . .

Each local ratingzzz point represents 18,199 TV homes. Oh, that feels good! . . .

Wait a minute! Don't go away. Monday night, the one-hour convention coverage averaged a 5.7 national Nielsen rating and a 10 share on CBS from 10 to 11, on ABC a 5.3/10 and on NBC a 5.1/10, for a combined share of 30 percent . . .

On Tuesday, during the 10 p.m. Convention Window, the national Nielsens gave CBS and the All-Star Game a 15.8/28, compared with a 5.8/10 for the Democrats on ABC and a 4.4/8 for the Dems on NBC . . .

NBC called today to point out that because of its joint venture with PBS, its convention coverage is really outdrawing the two other Big Guys . . .

On Monday, PBS/NBC from 8 to 11 averaged a 2.9 national Nielsen rating (up 61 percent from PBS averages for a Monday night in the third quarter of 1991, if you care) and on Tuesday, a 3.0, up 67 percent from a year-ago-type Tuesday . . .

HIGHLIGHTS

- Democratic convention coverage on WRC, WJLA, WUSA and WETA.
- A new "Parker Lewis" on WTTG.
- Plus "Klondike Fever" on WFTY.

Convention Coverage

NBC's Tom Brokaw anchors coverage of the Democratic National Convention (CC). 90 minutes. (Channel 4, 9:30 p.m.).

Peter Jennings and David Brinkley anchor ABC's convention broadcast (CC). Two hours (Channel 7 at 9).

Dan Rather anchors CBS's broadcast (CC). Two hours (Channel 9 at 9).

Jim Lehrer, Robert MacNeil and Tom Brokaw anchor NBC and PBS's combined coverage. Three hours (Channels 22, 26 and 32 at 8).

Primetime Movies

Gardens of Stone (1987). James Caan plays a disillusioned guard at Arlington National Cemetery during the Vietnam War. Two hours (Channel 20 at 8).

Klondike Fever (1980). Jeff East and Rod Steiger star in Jack London's story of Alaska during the gold rush. Two hours (Channel 50 at 8).

Series

The Simpsons (CC) (R). Homer proves himself at an all-star baseball game (Channel 5 at 8).

The Young Riders (CC). Hickok must defend frightened townspeople, and Lou isn't sure about getting married (Channel 7 at 8).

Top Cops (CC) (R). An officer stops a rape, and a detective investigates an unsolved murder (Channel 9 at 8).

The Cosby Show (CC) (R). Vanessa breaks the news that she has been engaged for six months (Channel 4, 8:30).

Parker Lewis (CC) and the gang head for their summer hangout (Channel 5, 8:30).

Cheers (CC) (R). Lilith's mother persuades Frasier and her daughter to renew their wedding vows (Channel 4 at 9).

Beverly Hills, 90210 (CC) (R). Brandon helps a friend in trouble, and Brenda realizes she can't keep up with her wealthier friends (Channel 5 at 9).

Late Night

The Arsenio Hall Show. With R&B performers Troop (Channel 9, 11:30).

The Tonight Show With Jay Leno (CC). With singer Annie Lennox, actress Helen Hunt and comedian Richard Jeni (Channel 4, 11:35).

Late Night With David Letterman. With "Nightline's" Ted Koppel, actor Gary Busey, popcorn maker Orville Redenbacher and musician Charlie Watts (Channel 4, 12:35 a.m.).

Friday Morning

Today (CC). Coverage of the Democratic convention, with a political insiders panel (Channel 4 at 7 a.m.).

Good Morning America (CC). A final analysis of the convention with humorist Dave Barry (Channel 7 at 7).

CBS This Morning (CC). Live convention update, with former Democratic presidential candidate Paul Tsongas and a look at MTV News's coverage of the campaign (Channel 9 at 7).

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

The Women With a Ticket to Ride

Hillary Clinton's New Image: Fresh From the Oven

By Lloyd Grove
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, July 15—Hillary Clinton was making the scene this morning at a private breakfast at the Regency Hotel when she was approached by a fat man, extending his hand.

"Hi, I'm Roger Ailes," the man said, and Clinton's eyes got wide.

"So *you're* Roger Ailes," she managed to say, finding herself face to face with the notorious Republican attack master, a principal architect of the negative media strategy that eviscerated Michael Dukakis in 1988.

But the wife of this year's Democratic nominee recovered quickly, reaching to hand Ailes a plastic bag.

"Here, have some cookies," she said. "I baked them myself."

The incident—recounted by a surprisingly charmed Ailes a few hours after it happened—is an apt metaphor for Hillary Clinton's energetic campaign to transform her troublesome public image.

Absent this week at the Democratic National Convention is the abrasive, ambitious yuppie-in-a-headband, who once insisted that she's "not some little woman standing by her man like Tammy Wynette" and who seemed to show contempt for those who "stayed home, had teas and baked cookies."

That image has been replaced by one of a loyal helpmate and attentive mother—who confides to this week's People magazine the joys and challenges of raising 12-year-old Chelsea, and gushes in the New York Times about "cry[ing] at the Fourth of July when kids put crepe paper on their bicycle wheels"—and friend to children everywhere. The headband, too, is gone.

See CLINTON, C2, Col. 1

New Image for Hillary

CLINTON, From C1

On Thursday night, when Bill Clinton accepts the nomination, his wife will cap a week of carefully selected media contacts (highlighted by a series of off-the-record meals at which she's been wowing normally unwowable reporters) by standing by her man in Madison Square Garden.

She may even bring those ubiquitous cookies.

"I did ask her how long it took her staff to teach her to bake those cookies, and she laughed," said Ailes, who has spent much of convention week trashing her as a wife who would be co-president. "I found that she was attractive in person and had a better sense of humor than I expected. . . . I think she's an effective campaigner."

But if Ailes too has fallen under her spell, it's only up to a point.

"I suspect," he said, "that those are still liberal cookies."

The severity of Hillary Clinton's image problem—which she has been working determinedly to fix, before GOP strategists get the chance to exploit it—was pointed up early this month by a Washington Post/ABC News poll that produced startling statistics for a politician's wife. Of those interviewed, 26 percent held an unfavorable view of her, compared with 30 percent who were favorable (with 43 percent giving no opinion).

Clinton's weak positives pose an ominous contrast not only to the popular Barbara Bush's (73 percent favorable, 16 percent unfavorable), but also to Nancy Reagan's and Rosalynn Carter's when they were First Ladies and objects of continual controversy. However, the large number of voters who have no opinion of Clinton also present her with a considerable opportunity.

"I want people to know me in all the dimensions of my life," Clinton told PBS correspondent Judy Woodruff on Tuesday, in one of very few interviews she agreed to do this week. "There is so much more that I have in common with most women in this country than what separates us," she added.

Those who know Clinton—a tough-minded and occasionally impatient woman who has had to rein in a tendency toward brusqueness—have little doubt that she's a willing participant, and probably the principal choreographer, of her remake.

Senior Clinton campaign adviser Susan Thomases, a close friend, said that in April Hillary commenced a round of interviews with women's magazines such as Family Circle, Ladies Home Journal and Working Woman—all monthlies whose August issues are just now coming out.

"You should know Hillary's mother [Dorothy Rodham] was a committed Ladies Home Journal reader," Thomases said, "and Mrs. Rodham talked about the role those magazines played in her life when she was a young mother. This was something Hillary was familiar with, not something she had to be told about."

Thomases said the "most successful" of the magazine pieces appears in the August issue of Working Woman—headlined "The First Lady With a Career?"—and today she ordered 1,000 copies of the magazine to be distributed at the women's caucus.

Thomases disputed that Clinton is singing a new tune, but when asked if she'll revive a popular line from the primary campaign—"Buy one, get one free"—Thomases said bluntly, "No."

In her PBS interview, Clinton claimed that the Republicans have made "a calculated political decision . . . to go after me." As evidence, she cited Richard Nixon's comment in January that her outspoken style made her husband "look like a wimp," and suggested that the former president was paying her back for her role as a House Judiciary Committee lawyer during the 1974 impeachment proceedings.

In recent weeks, her past as a lawyer and a children's rights advocate has come under a harsh spotlight from ideological conservatives, notably in the August issue of the American Spectator, in an article headlined "The Lady Macbeth of Little Rock." The article portrays Clinton as a doctrinaire feminist and liberal who funneled grant money to left-wing groups as the director of a charitable foundation in 1988, liked the American family to "marriage, slavery and the Indian reservation system" in a 1982 issue of Harvard Educational Review (a reprint of an essay written in 1974), and has argued repeatedly that children should have standing to sue their parents.

"The writings attacked in the American Spectator," Thomases said, "are very old and taken out of context. . . . I don't think it has much staying power."

Still, the Clinton campaign is bracing for a coordinated attack on Hillary, and senior aide Betsey Wright said, "We'll respond to that if they do it in ads."

While President Bush's strategists insist they have no such plans, they can cite chapter and verse on Clinton's record as a lawyer and legal theorist who has written extensively on children's rights issues. They talk about her perceived liabilities as though she were Bill Clinton's Dan Quayle.

"She's an absolute minus," claimed a senio Bush operative. "If you listen to her closely, it' clear that she's an extreme liberal and way be yond the mainstream. Her philosophy is tha the government knows best, and she wants to inpo the government right at your kitchen table."

This operative, who asked not to be named enumerated a litany of potential vulnerabilities including her now-notorious cookie commen ("I showed her to be a sarcastic, looking-down your-nose sort of person") and her obvious i terest in policy-making ("the American peopl dislike the notion of powerful spouses pullin strings").

"She doesn't complement her husband on th campaign trail," said a second Bush strategis who also asked for anonymity. "I know whe Bill Clinton stands on the issues, but I do n know what kind of husband he is. I do not kno what kind of father he is. And she is not helpin me learn."

But that observation was made last week, b fore Hillary Clinton's star turn in People mag zine.

Staff writer Lois Romano and polling analyst Sharon Warden contributed to this article.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Bill Clinton with the TelePrompTer from 1988's convention: This time, no yelling.

How Does a Candidate Say the Perfect 'I Do'?

As Bill Clinton puts the finishing touches on the speech of his life today, aides are working overtime to ensure that there is no repeat of that dreadful day four years ago in Atlanta when he droned on so long that the TelePrompTer kept flashing the message "PLEASE . . . PLEASE . . . PLEASE," trying to get him to shut up.

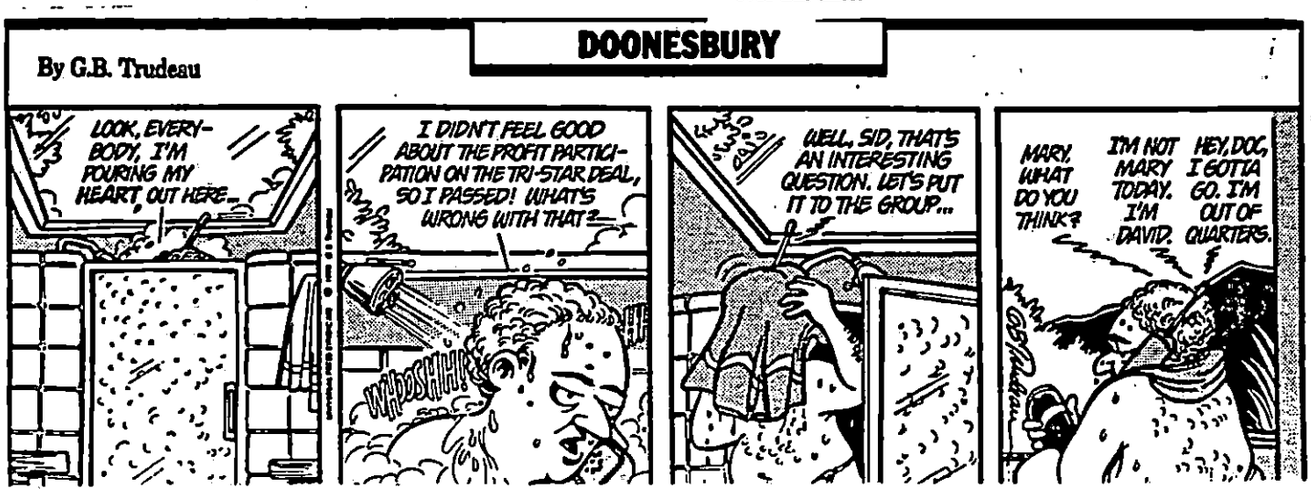
Still, when he addresses the convention tonight, he'll do so without benefit of even one run-through at the hall because the candidate and his handlers do not want him to "over-rehearse." Clinton has spent a good part of the past five days tinkering, writing and practicing at the replica of the Garden podium—complete with mock 56-screen backdrop—in his hotel suite. "We're almost there," said a senior adviser in the wee hours of yesterday morning. "There's a lot of fine-tuning left."

A major point of contention has been the rolling text running on the big video screens, which can be seen by the audience in the Garden—and which has been giving away the punch lines. A senior aide to Mario Cuomo spent the better part of Tuesday arguing with convention honchos to get it off the screen for his boss's speech last night. Harry Thomason, the TV producer who's friends with Clinton, and George Stephanopoulos finally intervened to get it done, and then persuaded Clinton to drop it for his speech as well.

According to sources, Clinton's practice sessions are also being videotaped and analyzed closely. He's been reviewing other recent acceptance speeches too. Only about eight people have been privy to the dry runs, including Hillary Clinton, media consultants Frank Greer and Mandy Grunwald, communications director Stephanopoulos, political consultants James Carville and Paul Begala, Clinton's Georgetown roommate Tommy Caplan and Texas adman Roy Spence, who's led the speech effort.

The campaign is hoping the speech will be rich with emotion. It should be noted that it's currently 30 minutes long—only two minutes shorter than the speech from hell he ended up with in Atlanta.

Nonetheless, aides assure us the TelePrompTer won't yell at him if he goes over this time.



The Washington Post

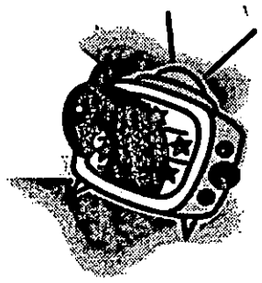
THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

TOM SHALES

CBS, Awake at Cuomo's Rousing Alarm

Mario Cuomo said everything was terrible and might get much worse and everybody cheered. Here's one Hamlet who could probably get laughs mourning poor Yorick. Last night Cuomo brought the Democratic National Convention to fitful life with a speech that nominally nominated Bill Clinton and cunningly skewered George Bush.

One CBS camera caught a man dressed as Abe Lincoln yawning during the speech, but most in the hall seemed enthralled and energized, and the TV anchors and reporters were wildly ecstatic. "I'm still in the glow of that Cuomo speech," gushed Charles Kuralt to Dan Rather on CBS several minutes after the speech, if not the glow, had ended.



"That was some speech," said NBC's John Chancellor, appearing on PBS at the time, and hailing the speech as "the best of the convention." David Brinkley of ABC News concurred: "He's still the best." And co-anchor Peter Jennings observed, "Well, he sure does it well, doesn't he?"

The speech even got rave reviews in advance. Guest commentators David Broder and Jack Germond said on CNN just before 5 p.m. yesterday that they'd seen a draft of the speech. "He's going to knock the walls down," Broder predicted, and Germond agreed, adding, "The convention needs to get a little emotion in it."

Through colossally clumsy scheduling by the death-wish Democrats, however, of the major commercial networks the speech aired live only on CBS. PBS and CNN and C-SPAN had it live of course, but ABC didn't sign on until 9:30, after the speech was over, and NBC didn't

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SHALES, From C1

come trailing along until 10. ABC did replay the speech, "almost in its entirety," as Jennings put it, soon after going on the air.

ABC misled viewers by not clearly identifying the speech as having been taped and making it seem live.

Even Jesse Jackson, no slouch as an orator, had praise for the Cuomo speech. "He says the words with authenticity and moral authority," Jackson told Rather on CBS. Reaction shots of Jackson while the speech was going on, on the other hand, made it look as though he wasn't all that impressed.

As it so often does, it remained for George Will on ABC to sound a sensible demurring note. Yes, the Cuomo speech had power, but as Will noted, for a nominating speech it was surprisingly gloomy and despairing. Will said that Clinton will have to adopt a more Reaganesque attitude in his campaign, offering some hope to go with all the cries of alarm.

Cuomo is able to recycle bromides and platitudes in new and compelling ways, as when he talked about "the quiet catastrophes that every day oppress the lives of thousands." But from the Democrats at Madison Square Garden this week there has been too much talk of oppression and catastrophe—a heavy dose of doom-saying that could actually work in Bush's favor.

When he and the Republicans take to the airwaves at their convention next month, they'll be keeping up brave fronts and putting on happy faces, and all that jubilation, phony or not, is going to have a persuasive emotional effect on some viewers. The Democrats will be assailed as old grumps and grouches who look on the dark side and bad-mouth America.

It's a tough trick to unseat an incumbent, even one as unpopular as Bush, without running the risk of depressing your audience to tears. This is the trick that Clinton and company will have to master. The age of television, deplorably or not, demands it.

Clinton certainly took several giant steps in the right direction very late in the evening, when the roll call of states gave him the number of votes he needed to clinch the nomination. The candidate and wife and daughter watched the vote tally from Macy's department store, then walked and partly rode the six blocks from Macy's to Madison Square Garden, TV cameras trained on them all the way while viewers heard the delegates chanting and cheering in the hall. In a gesture he pointedly called Kennedyesque, Clinton departed from tradition as JFK had done and showed up in the hall to thank the party for giving him its approval.

With seeming tons of glittering confetti raining down as the band continued to play marches, Clinton hugged, kissed and high-fived reporters and then, from the podium, promised them, "Tomorrow night I will be the comeback kid."

"What a night here!" Rather exclaimed. This was American telepolitics at its best, old-style fervor conveyed by new-style technology.

CBS got the jump on its broadcast rivals with its early starting time last night and also wisely kept anchor Rather unanchored, roaming the floor as he has on other nights rather than locking himself in a booth. "He sheds the years in situations like this," marveled a colleague at CBS who was thrilled with Rather's performance. Rather seemed buoyant, enthused and youthful, the dandy Dan of old.

The peculiar joint efforts of NBC News and PBS continued with a heavy NBC presence during coverage on PBS stations. It's been both a plus and a minus for PBS. Tom Brokaw definitely has livened up their coverage, but his presence also tends to make PBS standbys Robert MacNeil and Jim Lehrer seem even stodgier and more enervated than usual.

Earlier speeches missed by all three commercial networks last night—largely, no doubt, because the Clinton-managed convention wanted them to get little coverage—included those of a ranting Jerry Brown and a conciliatory Paul Tsongas, presidential hopefuls whose campaigns folded weeks ago. Brown made a few valid points but came across as an intolerably bitter pill. When his speech ended, the house band struck up, of all things, the jaunty march that used to be the theme song for "Monty Python's Flying Circus."

Perhaps that is as appropriate an anthem for the Brown campaign as any.

The Washington Post
THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

MARY McGRORY

Seeking to Better the Best

NEW YORK

Democrats here keep marveling at how unified they are—as if it had never happened before. Actually, in Atlanta four years ago, they were similarly in harmony and united behind a candidate who was 17 points ahead of George Bush in the polls.

They say somewhat testily that there is no comparison between then and now. For one thing, Bill Clinton is hungry for the White House and as different from Michael Dukakis as Elvis Presley is from the Vicar of Wakefield. This, they say, is an economy-driven election, and Clinton is a man with a plan—and can preach in a black church with the best of them and play the saxophone.

The economy drives away the demons of the primaries—the sex and draft charges that Clinton miraculously survived. The economy suppresses the considerations that might rankle northeastern minority and ethnic delegates who were handed a ticket composed of two Southern Baptists.

Says Pennsylvania delegate Bill George, president of his state's AFL-CIO: "In different economic times, that might be an issue, but not now."

Some of the orators here couldn't seem to think of Clinton's name when they talked, but they all pounded on Bush, and it is widely assumed in the campaign that Bush's response will be as ferociously negative as his assault on Dukakis.

Dukakis's campaign manager, John Sasso, thinks Clinton learned the right lessons from the Dukakis debacle. For openers, he dealt deftly with Jesse Jackson, who hassled Dukakis from start to finish in the campaign. And, says Sasso, "He has gone on the offensive on values. He's talking about opportunity, responsibility and community."

James Carville, Clinton's "ragin' Cajun" campaign strategist, thinks Bush will sling the mud again, because "everything about George Bush is yesterday."

But there are signs Bush knows that Willie Horton and Co. cannot be revived. He has castigated—and even sued—Floyd Brown, the publicist whom Carville calls "a scum bucket," who is offering the Gennifer Flowers tapes for sale. The president saw how he and Ross Perot sank together when they began bashing each other. Clinton has shot up 12 points in the polls.

For the moment anyway, Democrats have put aside what they know about George Bush's two considerable advantages: the power of incumbency and the appeal of the familiar. They do not brood over Perot, and the only speaker who got after him was Georgia Gov. Zell Miller, who gave him a good poke in his keynote.

What may be as significant as Perot's staff troubles was an article by the sharp-tongued Texas columnist Molly Ivins. She wrote indulgently about Perot at first, praising him for his education changes, but in a later dispatch she says he is a liar, and not a good one, and should not be president.

Eli Segal, Clinton's chief of staff, says the question is still whether Perot will be finally seen as "an agent of protest or an agent of change."

Clinton, who is presenting himself as Mr. New, probably needs Perot, because Perot drains off conservative votes from Bush. The question is whether the country would settle for the change Clinton offers as opposed to the blowout promised by Perot.

Segal thinks the convention is going smoothly. If Jackson talked into overtime, if several of the speakers pushed themselves more than the nominee, "essentially, it's the Democrats," he says tolerantly.

Segal's standards may not be too high. His first convention was the brutal convocation in Chicago in 1968. He was 25 at the time and a McCarthy delegate, but the experience wasn't bad enough to drive him out of politics. He has spent his life buying and selling businesses to earn enough money so he can devote himself to public service. As George McGovern's deputy campaign manager in 1972, he hired Clinton to manage Texas for the peace forces.

Also in attendance in Chicago as a McCarthy delegate was Clinton's convention manager, Harold Ickes, the pale, dry Manhattan political junkie who steered Clinton through the stormy New York primary last April.

Neither of them got clobbered, although many of their mates did. Segal was engaged in trying to improve the delegate-selection process—women and blacks got short shrift back then—and Ickes was communicating with delegates.

Segal says, "Because of that, Harold and I have a very good perspective on things."

Chicago was the worst convention in memory. Until now, 1988 in Atlanta was considered the best. But Clinton hopes to top it, and of course, go on to a far different outcome in November.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

Betsey's 'Bimbo Patrol'



Betsey Wright, in the role of reassurer.

■ A top, longtime Clinton aide gave the Missouri delegates more than they bargained for at a breakfast briefing when she raised the subject of rumors about the candidate's extramarital affairs without even being asked.

"Is there another shoe?" asked Betsey Wright. "Is there another Gennifer Flowers?"

Well? Well?

"There is no other shoe to fall," she said firmly, answering her own question.

Wright said she was raising the subject because of "rampant" rumors of other women on the eve of the nomination. "I'm trying to put the rumors down," she told reporters after the St. Moritz meeting.

Wright has been the designated damage controller on this issue for months and this week described herself to a Post reporter as being on the "bimbo patrol."

But several Missouri delegates surmised she raised the subject yesterday to "reassure" the delegation because of earlier reports that many of them were still uncommitted.

"We certainly didn't expect it," said Bob Griffin yesterday. "But I do feel reassured."

Here's the Rub



BY PETER ALSBERG—THE WASHINGTON POST

■ Talk about hands-on participation. Some enterprising masseuses are massaging their way through the frenzied muscles of Garden workers and conventioneers alike.

"We Touch People" is their slogan.

Hafeezah, founder of the four-year-old StressBreakers, said they even have coveted convention credentials for emergency calls.

"In this business, you make friends real fast," she explained. "Once you touch someone, they don't forget you."

WE'VE HEARD THAT...

■ John McLaughlin and his large ego were in quite the snit when they were refused entry to a New York Stock Exchange party at Tatou Tuesday.

■ When Ed Rollins told his wife about his defection from the Perot camp, Sherrie Rollins, who gave up her job in the Bush administration over the issue, couldn't resist the "I told you so" refrain. Ed, en route to his Shenandoah Valley cabin, told reporters yesterday he thought he'd be hearing it for "the next 30 years." Sherrie, vacationing in Bali, could not be reached.

■ Director Sydney Pollack didn't do much to help his public stature when he bossed around makeup artists who were trying to put on friend Bill Bradley's face before the senator's keynote address Monday. The cosmeticians weren't too keen on Bradley bringing along his own makeup either.

■ Conventioneers are complaining about the hour-long lines to get into the Garden because of security checks. "I gave up and went back to the hotel," griped Rep. Neil Abercrombie.

■ Just to show Dave Beckwith we haven't forgotten him, we feel obligated to update the Dan Quayle spelling saga. After a golf outing with Sam Snead last summer, the veep wrote the ex-pro about the "lousey" golf, in a letter now immortalized on an Orlando tavern wall.

■ Until last night, Clinton staffers were grousing that an awful lot of convention speeches barely mentioned Bill's name. "We'd like to remind viewers at least every hour or two who the candidate is," huffed one. Mario and Ted got them smiling again.

■ There's been a difference of opinion in the Clinton camp on whether to allow the press a preview of Harry Thomason and Linda Bloodworth-Thomason's film introducing the candidate tonight. The "not release" faction appears to have won.

■ This really is turning out to be the week of the woman. In addition to the many female speakers on the podium, Ellen Malcolm of Emily's List reports that her group's fund-raiser Tuesday brought in an extraordinary $750,000.

■ The New York City police are tired of us. When one opened the door of a cab for some conventioneers the other night, his partner snapped, "Don't open doors for them. You're not a doorman!" Just one more day, fellas. Keep your powder dry.



BY CORI WELLS BRAUN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Emily's List President Ellen Malcolm.

The Washington Post
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JACK ANDERSON and MICHAEL BINSTEIN

Are Drugs Behind Flip-Flop on Aristide?

Only weeks ago, U.S. officials were adamant in their resolve to force a return of ousted Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide to govern his country. Today, Washington will barely give Aristide the time of day, with high-level officials warning him only last week that he would have to negotiate his possible return with the current Haitian leadership.

The flip-flop, according to our sources, stems from an upsetting reexamination of Aristide's brief tenure as president. One incident in particular has raised questions in Haiti of whether drug corruption, which flourished under previous regimes, also persisted under the Aristide presidency.

Consider the bizarre rags-to-riches tale of Roland Seide, an influential Haitian with ties to Aristide. Seide walks free today, despite suspicions about the source of his wealth, and has for months been a source of controversy among supporters and opponents of Aristide. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) officials say they do not have any conclusive evidence to prove Seide is involved in drug trafficking.

According to Haitian narcotics bureau documents, Seide's troubles began at about midnight on Aug. 22, 1991. It was on that night that Haitian narcotics police received reliable information that 300 kilos of cocaine had been dumped on a ranch north of Port-au-Prince by a Colombian plane. When authorities arrived on the scene, the cocaine had already disappeared, yet they arrested several suspects who were still on the scene. One of the suspects fingered Seide, who until that point was enjoying an almost miraculous ride up Haiti's economic ladder.

Seide started out as a relatively poor man, having worked since 1972 as the supervisor of the storeroom at the St. Jean-Bosco church in Haiti. It was during his tenure there that sources say he first met Aristide, who had become a priest with the church. By most accounts, Seide remained impoverished until 1987, when he began acquiring increasing amounts of money. That year he was questioned by Haitian police for allegedly trafficking in narcotics. Nothing was ever proved, however.

During the next few years, Haitian police documents show that Seide made enough money to finance the construction of an $800,000 hotel, named the "Roland Inn Hotel," with amenities that included a swimming pool, restaurant and spacious green lawns. Seide also opened a bakery and a nightclub, the "Cantino La Saline."

"In three years, he became one of the richest men in the country," says Antoine Atouriste, Haiti's chief of information and coordination, the agency in charge of narcotics intelligence in Haiti.

In the wake of Aristide's victory in the 1991 elections, Seide is said to have helped maintain Aristide's "La Fanmi Ce La Vi" orphanage in Port-au-Prince. Atouriste says that Seide was "responsible for food distribution for the president."

Shortly after the arrests at the ranch, Haitian police brought in Seide to face questions about his alleged connection to the drop. In the ensuing days, police records reveal that a search was conducted at the Roland Inn Hotel. While nothing turned up on hotel grounds, the documents state that approximately six pounds of cocaine was discovered in a four-wheel-drive vehicle as it was leaving the hotel. More cocaine was later found on the Dominican Republic border.

Although Seide was not found actually carrying narcotics, Haiti's minister of justice in September publicly affirmed that Seide was linked to the shipment. Seide insisted that he had no involvement with drug trafficking, calling such activity "the greatest crime that exists." But Seide had public opinion on his side. In the wake of his questioning, an angry crowd of Aristide supporters gathered outside the Justice ministry to demand his release. They got their wish, prompting a flurry of allegations that Aristide had ordered his release.

To some outside observers and many Haitian military officials, the Seide release is just one of many disturbing reasons why Aristide should not return. Haiti's chief of information and coordination says that U.S. officials also were unhappy with Seide's release, though DEA officials familiar with the incident would not comment or speculate on the reasons behind the release. In the meantime, U.S. officials are being forced to question the morality of enforcing an embargo that is only hurting Haiti's starving poor.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

Nixon, Touching Them All

Party Is Part Hardball And Part Cornball

By John Yang
Washington Post Staff Writer

YORBA LINDA, Calif., July 15—It's something Richard M. Nixon did in 1972—and "Now he's at it again!" blared the invitation to today's luncheon at the Richard Nixon Library and Birthplace here.

Hmmm.

Relax.

No black-bag break-ins were on the agenda. This is about baseball and a peculiar event of dubious global significance that nonetheless drew a large and high-priced crowd today.

The day after President Bush was booed on national television at the All-Star Game in San Diego and the day before Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton swings for the fences in New York, Nixon and son-in-law David Eisenhower announced their all-time, all-star major league baseball teams at a fund-raising event marking the second anniversary of the library.

Improbably, more than 440 people paid as much as $500 a seat to

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Nixon

NIXON, From C1

dine beneath a huge white tent in the parking lot of the Nixon library in this Orange County suburb southeast of Los Angeles to hear the 79-year-old former president and Eisenhower, a historian and former newspaper sports reporter.

Some came as an act of charity, for a chance to donate money to the library; others, for a chance to rub elbows with a horde of former major leaguers. Few if any came for the suspense of hearing the nominees: This was an old list of daunting size containing mostly predictable names. In all, 90 "all-time greats" were singled out, covering two bygone baseball eras, as well as active players.

Nixon and Eisenhower first assembled such a list at Camp David one Sunday afternoon in June 1972 after a radio reporter suggested it at a news conference.

No, we won't rehash them here. That wasn't the point of the event, anyway. This was theater, albeit slightly cornball theater.

Today's event was a cross between the Academy Awards and an old-timers game as such baseball greats as legendary Baltimore Orioles third baseman Brooks Robinson, former Washington Senators slugger Harmon Killebrew and former Cleveland Indians pitcher Bob Feller promenaded up the front steps of the Spanish-style museum past a gantlet of cheering Little League players in their uniforms, reporters and cameras.

"You don't want to smoke any of that grass—stay on Astroturf," Johnny Mize, a left-handed slugger for the St. Louis Cardinals, New York Giants and New York Yankees in the 1930s, '40s and '50s, told the puzzled crowd.

Finally came Nixon himself, wearing a navy blue blazer, light gray slacks, white shirt and dark, striped tie. He looked tanned but was a bit stooped with age and shuffled a bit when he walked.



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

When a questioner asks baseball base-stealing legend Maury Wills what it takes to win, former president Nixon interjects: "Steal."

"Remember that in life and in baseball you don't win all the time," he said. "You're not going to get a hit most of the time, so don't be discouraged if you don't get a hit. Just remember, keep trying and eventually you'll get to the top."

As vice president and president, Nixon devoured the sports pages, committing to memory detailed statistic after detailed statistic. "Batting averages, yards gained per carry, earned run averages, pass completion percentages, the whole never-ending stream of numbers was to Nixon . . . the perfect relaxation," wrote Nixon biographer Stephen E. Ambrose.

It reflected the stiff and formal Nixon's yearning to be one of the boys. In a letter to Washington Post sports writer Bob Addie in 1959, then-Vice President Nixon confessed that he would love to travel with a baseball team.

"The dugout chatter and, particularly, the conversation on the train or plane between cities would be a welcome relief from some of the heavy discussions in which I participate," he wrote. "I think you have one of the best jobs possible. If I could only write I would trade places with you today even up!"

After the event today, Nixon mixed some baseball and politics. Recalling his affection for the cellar-dwelling Washington Senators, he said: "You've got to be a real fan to be a fan of the Washington Senators. But I've got to say it was easier being a fan of the Senators then than some of the senators we have in Washington today."

He also noted that Bush, Clinton and maverick non-candidate Ross Perot are all southpaws. "Our next president will be a left-hander," he said. "We hope he isn't wild. And we hope too that he can . . . hit home runs for America the way [left-hander] Babe Ruth hit them for the Yankees."

The afternoon was pleasant enough, even if the jocularity seemed at times a bit forced. And finally, there was one oddly defining moment.

When former Los Angeles Dodger shortstop Maury Wills, a base-stealing champion, was asked what it took to win, Nixon interrupted his answer, blurting:

"Steal."

The Washington Post
THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

Arkansas' Disillusioned Democrat

Hometown Daily Feuds With Clinton

By Howard Kurtz
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, July 15—Like dozens of his home-state brethren, John Robert Starr has been wandering around Manhattan in a T-shirt that says "I'm From Arkansas. Ask Me About My Governor." But the response isn't quite what folks expect.

"A couple of people asked me and I told them he was a dirty rotten scoundrel," says Starr, the longtime managing editor of the Arkansas Democrat.

When Madison Square Garden erupts during Bill Clinton's acceptance speech Thursday night, the white-haired pundit probably will be delivering a Bronx cheer instead. Starr was once so close to Clinton that the governor rarely made a move without calling him, and his disenchantment has turned the Little Rock newspaper into a prickly thorn in the candidate's side.

"Let me say it in terms that you Eastern Establishment liberal media can understand," Starr, 64, snaps in his Pine Bluff twang. "Bill Clinton has been the same kind of governor as George Bush has been president of the United States. They're two pigs in the same poke."

Starr allows that he has a higher opinion of Hillary Clinton: "I say, 'Hillary, the only thing we disagree about is your worthless husband.' "

The cantankerous columnist isn't the newspaper's only Clinton basher here at the Democratic convention. There is the erudite edito-

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Clinton's Hometown Newspaper

NEWSPAPER, From C1

rial page editor, Paul Greenberg, who years ago stamped Clinton with the devastating moniker "Slick Willie." There is the acerbic associate editor, Meredith Oakley, whose most famous column began: "His word is dirt." There is John Brummett, a Young Turk who was once a Clinton booster but now sees him as a sad disappointment.

Some newspapers struggle with a tendency toward boosterism when a local candidate makes a run for the White House. These scribblers, however, see their mission as warning the other 49 states about Clinton's flaws.

"The rest of the country doesn't understand how tiny this world is," says Joan Duffy, Little Rock correspondent for the Memphis Commercial Appeal. "These are people who see Clinton on the street and stop and roll down their window and discuss things. Now all of a sudden they can't get near him, and I think they're jealous. It's like, 'I knew you when, and now you're dumping me for David Broder.' "

The stakes are higher than just a squabble back home. The Bush campaign has begun to attack Clinton's record as governor of a poor, rural state, and the writings of the Democrat attack squad could provide the GOP with considerable ammunition this fall.

Some Arkansas journalists, of course, are more sympathetic toward their governor. But as the only statewide newspaper, the Democrat is the dominant media force on Clinton's home turf.

The contentious relationship was forged during the bitter war between the Democrat, a scrappy, Joe Six-pack kind of paper owned by Little Rock Publisher Walter Hussman, and the Arkansas Gazette, a stately, liberal gray lady that was glitzed up in its final years by Gannett. Gazette columnists such as Max Brantley usually gave Clinton a sympathetic hearing, and relations were friendly enough that Clinton gave a state appointment to Brantley's wife. Unfortunately for Clinton, the 172-year-old Gazette shut down in October; its building, four blocks from the Democrat, now houses the Clinton campaign.

Starr took the helm at the Democrat in 1978, the same year the 32-year-old Clinton was elected governor. When Clinton was up for reelection two years later, Starr began pummeling him in his seven-day-a-week column.

"We beat him," says Starr. "He was an arrogant, no-good SOB."

As Clinton plotted his 1982 comeback, he undertook what aides describe as a pacification campaign.

"It began with Hillary Clinton paying a call on Starr and striking up a friendship," says Brantley, now with the weekly Arkansas Times. "She began buttering him up. That's a great story that's never been written, how Hillary neutralized him."

Once back in office, Clinton settled into an uneasy alliance with his former nemesis. "He would call Starr at critical times to let him know that major initiatives were coming," Brantley says. "Starr was almost a kitchen cabinet member with Clinton. He was privy to the decision-making process."

Starr says he never advised Clinton on state policy but concedes that they spoke every day or two. "It was just like he was talking to his father," Starr says.

Now and again there would be a falling out. When Clinton pushed a bill allowing cities to take control of substandard cable TV franchises, Starr threatened never to support the governor again, according to Clinton aides, who note that Hussman owns several cable operations.

"Starr would call up and say, 'I'm sending a reporter to do a story on you,' " a senior state official says. "That would be your warning. Then he'd call and say, 'Look, if you don't do this, I'm going to write a column about it.' He wants to be an adviser, the guy who tells the governor what will work and what won't."

In 1990, Starr says, he and Clinton had several long discussions about whether he should seek a fifth term. "I said, 'Bill, you don't need the glory of being governor anymore. If you're just going to play at it like the last several years, you shouldn't run. If, on the other hand, you want to work at it, I will support you.' " Starr says Clinton vowed to work at the job—and to serve out his four-year term.

Late in the campaign, Starr summoned Clinton and GOP candidate Sheffield Nelson, a friend of Hussman's, to a debate about education, which Starr moderated. But he made no endorsement.

The Sunday before the election, as Starr tells it, "Clinton called me at home and said, 'I'm in trouble. I'm dropping in the polls. I need for you to endorse me.' I came in, threw out the column I had written and wrote one endorsing him."

John Brummett, a former Gazette columnist, offered an alternative view: "It looked like Clinton was going to win, and Starr is a smart politician."

A few months after his 1990 victory, Clinton began plotting his presidential campaign. He had done the unthinkable, breaking his word to John Robert Starr, the man who wanted, above all else, to be consulted.

"Starr decided to punish him," Brantley says.

In a typical column, Starr wrote that Clinton "appears ready, even anxious, to break his word to the people of Arkansas as readily as he has broken his word to individuals throughout a political career built on the sand of expediency."

Brummett is less bombastic but no more charitable toward Clinton. "I was sort of his Boswell," Brummett says. "I was considered his best friend in the press. On balance, he's been a decent governor and a decent fellow. But he's kind of been detached from the job since about '86. He frustrates me with his double talk, trying to please everyone. The Slick Willie image was deserved."

Greenberg, until recently the editor of the Pine Bluff (Ark.) Commercial, recalls a moment last year when Clinton told a group of journalists he had supported the Persian Gulf War. "When he fixed me with those innocent blue-green eyes and gave me that routine in the most matter-of-fact way, he almost made me doubt my memory," Greenberg wrote. But he checked the clips; Clinton had said he would have voted with the pro-war forces in Congress, but agreed with the anti-war minority.

"He had essentially taken both sides, and later took credit for being on the winning side," Greenberg says.

Oakley, who covered the governor as a young reporter, says Clinton is "charming," "bright" and "articulate"—and that "he can't help it that he lies." Once, after a particularly tough column, Clinton called her. "He proceeded to spew this invective and blasphemy," Oakley says. "He accused me of coming after him with raw malice. I promised him that henceforth I would cook it well done."

Since the campaign began, the Democrat's pundits have peddled their views to dozens of national reporters. "I've followed Bill Clinton a long time and I've never been able to find a single coherent principle at the core of his politics," Greenberg said on "MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour" last month.

Occasionally, the Democrat finds itself in the curious position of defending Clinton. The paper never mentioned Gennifer Flowers—although a local man had accused Clinton of romancing her and other women in a 1990 lawsuit—until she sold her allegations to a supermarket tabloid, and Starr denounced the story as trash.

"Anyone who says the news stories in the Arkansas Democrat were other than fair to Clinton is a liar," he says.

Still, the paper managed to accentuate the negative in a recent series on Clinton's performance in office. One article began by declaring that most environmental activists believe he has "a terrible record." In a piece on Clinton's economic record, the first quote was a blast from defeated opponent Sheffield Nelson.

Starr, who still writes his column, stepped down two weeks ago as managing editor of what is now called the Democrat-Gazette. But even Clinton's moment of triumph has not softened his harsh words.

"I have an opportunity to be the friend of a man who has a very good chance of being president of the United States," Starr says wistfully. "I'll never have this chance again. If I wanted a kitchen cabinet role, I'd be advising the Democratic presidential nominee now.

"But hell no, I won't do it. He betrayed the people of Arkansas." Starr paused before admitting his secret fear: "My wife, who knows me better than anyone, says he can con me again like he's conned me before."

The Washington Post
THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

Tipper Gore, Putting the Family First

By Jacqueline Trescott
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, July 15—Tipper Gore is sitting in a stiff-backed chair in her hotel room, trying to describe the day she saw her son, Albert III, get hit by a car and fly 30 feet in the air. The words don't come, stuck in a deep, airless tunnel of emotions. Her blue eyes cloud with tears and she blinks quickly. "It is still a little painful," says Gore.

Her husband has written very movingly of his fear that day, how their lives were reordered as the youngest of their four children was almost killed.

"I think he spoke for me too," she says, slowly shaking her head. The accident three years ago altered everything from political views to personal time. The family members devoted themselves to Albert, now 9 and fully recovered. Gore decided not to repeat a run for the presidency this year and accepted the vice presidential slot, which was sanctioned by the convention tonight, because the campaign would disrupt only three months of their lives. The ordeal and the recovery, which included the parents keeping a 24-hour vigil at Albert's bedside, led Tipper Gore to decide on family leave policy as one centerpiece of her speeches during the campaign.

"It changed our lives, to say the least," she says. "It was a traumatic experience, and the first task was to make sure Albert was mending and healing. We all did that, his sisters, everyone. It just caused me to completely change my priorities. The most important thing was the health and welfare of my children, it always had been, but this was a

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Reflection

Politics of the Left

By Paul Freedman
Washington Post Staff Writer

Will being a lefty gain a bit of cachet? It looks like whoever becomes the next president will be left-handed, and that includes Ross Perot.

I've seen stories about candidates' heights, saying the taller usually has the advantage. But what can you discern if they're all lefty? In a lefty-righty matchup, I might pick the lefty because he probably had to learn to use those righty desks in school, either by writing atop the desk to his left or using a clipboard.

And at some time, gloveless, he learned to use a righty baseball glove on the wrong hand—maybe showing he is more clever or resourceful or something. Or he learned to fast talk his way onto the opposing team if he saw a lefty with a glove, and then persuaded the lefty to lend his mitt. Resourceful, persuasive. Good traits.

But I'm not sure what it all means, so here are a few left/right questions I wonder about:

- Should Ross Perot pick a left-handed running mate? Should George Bush drop Dan Quayle? Albert Gore Jr. is a lefty—the Democrats are a left-handed complement.
- When lefties write with a pencil in grade school, many smudge what they write—unless they twist their hand around. Do righties go through the same thing when using a pencil, writing from right to left in Hebrew or Arabic?
- A study last year said lefties die nine years sooner than righties. Should lefties get Social Security sooner since they'll have fewer years to spend it?
- Should you vote for Clinton since he's the youngest?
- If lefties do more things the right way, will that help them live longer? If so, should we then vote for the candidate who vows to do more things right-handed?

Then again some experts question the study. "Does it seem reasonable to you that there could have been a difference this large and it would have been unnoticed until 1991?" asked one psychologist.

In any case, being a lefty cuts across minorities—about 10 percent of the population is left-handed. If you were left-handed and president, wouldn't you have more sympathy toward minorities?

But if it were a left/right pick for president, I might make the left choice. And that's all that's left to say.

The Washington Post
THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

Gore's Choices

GORE, From C1

most profound experience. Everything else stopped."

As the American public tries to decide how and if it connects with the Democratic ticket, it is examining the Clintons and the Gores as both a prototype and a reflection of family life in the 1990s, as examples of the choices women have today, and for ideas about how to deal with pressing social issues. For many, the foursome presents test cases of the consummate art of juggling independent interests in fast-track marriages that will now be conducted in the toughest of all spotlights, a campaign and perhaps an administration. A question yet to be answered is if Tipper Gore's campaign to get record companies to label music that contained sexually explicit lyrics, an effort that earned her the label of "cultural terrorist" from some critics, will be a drawback for the Democrats.

"Tipper provides a nice counterpart to Hillary [Clinton]. Her priorities are different," says pollster Peter Hart, a Democrat. However, Ladonna Y. Lee, a Republican consultant, warns not to put too much weight on Tipper Gore's importance. "The reality of Tipper Gore in this campaign is she is the vice president's wife. People don't vote for the vice president's wife."

When the Gores arrived in New York Sunday night, they went straight from the airport to a rousing party for the Tennessee delegation. Even though Al Gore is one of the few politicians who shouldn't have to introduce his spouse anywhere in the country because her name recognition has been higher at times than his, he did it anyway: "Before I close I want to introduce to you the person who is the most important person in my life, and I read just about as much on her as I did on me when people were trying to say, 'Why is this a good idea?' Let me introduce to you the woman I love, Tipper Gore."

Gore, who will be 44 next month, stepped to the microphone and seemed to beam at her husband and the crowd at the same time. She has a stunning panoramic smile. She spoke about friendship. "That is what this campaign is going to be about, reaching out and joining hands across America for people who want a better life, a better economy," she said rapidly.

Gore, who has undergraduate and graduate degrees in psychology, has chosen to build her life around raising her children and acting as sounding board for her husband, while speaking out on obscenity in rock lyrics, on homelessness, on mental health of children, on the use of alcohol and drugs by young people and on teenage pregnancy. Her inclusion in the campaign may seem to be too good to be true in an election year in which the Republicans have gotten a jump-start by showcasing family values as an issue.

"The Republicans talk about family values and they don't do anything about it. Bill Clinton and Al Gore will be talking about ways we can strengthen our families in an agenda they intend to enact in the first 100 days of a Clinton administration," Tipper Gore says.

In the hotel sitting room, the air conditioning is going full blast. The scene around her is purposeful but relaxed. Her first appearance in Madison Square Garden is planned for Thursday night. She laughs that she has turned much of her life over to the convention schedulers, but she doesn't need any briefing on her issues. "Families and parents need the opportunity to take a family leave when their employer can't afford to do that in order to be with an injured or needy member of their family," she says. "We feel very strongly about that, since my husband was able to be with our son for a month when he was hospitalized. We have a powerful understanding of the fact that other families need to have that opportunity."

Part of her time here has been spent getting to know Hillary Clinton. "I think we reflect mainstream American women," says Gore, a woman of modest height, trim build and shoulder-length blond hair. She didn't wince or take it personally when she heard Clinton's now infamous remark about baking cookies. "I completely understood what she meant, particularly from one who has been misunderstood by the press. She was just talking about the fact that women today are going to have to be balancing careers," she says.

Her best-known crusade was prompted by her concerns after listening to the conversations and music and watching the videos that were part of the world of Karenna, 18, Kristin, 15, Sarah, 13, and Albert III. Seven years ago, it was hard not to hear about Tipper Gore as a founder of the bipartisan Parents Music Resource Center (PMRC). A Senate panel, which included her husband, gave a full hearing to the issue of music lyrics; witnesses included Frank Zappa, Twisted Sister's Dee Snyder and John Denver. They all protested that her movement smacked of censorship. Gore's group, in conjunction with the national PTAs, succeeded in getting the music industry to voluntarily place warning labels on records.



AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE

Wives of the Democratic leaders last night: from left, Alma Brown, Hillary Clinton, Tipper Gore and Matilda Cuomo.

Even two years ago, when the fireworks had largely died down, some rock journalists and record industry executives were still steaming. "It's a right-wing political agenda. She carries so little weight with anybody," said Mike Green, president of the National Academy of Recording Arts and Sciences in Burbank, Calif. Green now says the early effort of the PMRC was misguided but that he has seen some signs that Gore is modifying her stands. To further reevaluate Gore, Green says, he would like to have strong statements from her on "the decimation of music education in this country, the strangling of the National Endowment for the Arts, and environmental causes. At this point I don't think she is an asset in the entertainment industry, but if she quickly addresses those three issues she will be."

Danny Goldberg, now a senior vice president of Atlantic Records, was one of Gore's most outspoken critics, asking in 1988 during the senator's presidential bid, "How can I support a Democratic candidate whose wife sounds more like Jimmy Swaggart every day?" He now says, "She had the spotlight on this issue and she didn't milk it." He says that more recently she came out against some pending state laws in 1990 that would have made it illegal for minors to buy albums with the voluntary labeling. "I could go in and say, 'Even Tipper Gore thinks this is a bad idea.' She was sincere because she was willing to alienate the cultural right."

What hurt her most, Gore says, was being boxed into a narrow image.

"Just to be stereotyped as a prudish, book-burning person when I am not at all like that and have great respect for the First Amendment" was a low point, she says. She is pleased that some of her former critics are revising their views—one aide present during the interview has a statement ready from one critic giving his new position. What enabled her to endure "those dark days" was the support of her husband, who said, "Honey, you are right, don't worry about it."

Gore's personal story is one of strong continuity. She has always lived in the same house, she has loved the same man since she was 16, and her children attended the same public elementary school she did. A native of the Washington area, she was raised by her mother and grandparents and grew up in the Tudor-style house her grandfather built in Arlington in 1938. "Mrs. Stumpf, who is a member of our church and a neighbor, and was the crossing guard when I went to Oak Ridge and I was on patrol and went to patrol camp—she was still a crossing guard with my children," says Gore, proving that Washington can have its small-town touchstones.

At St. Agnes High School in Alexandria—then all-girls, now merged with a boys' school—she played field hockey, basketball and softball and was a drummer in her own band. Her taste in music was rock-and-roll, not Gilbert and Sullivan. On the night Al Gore graduated from St. Albans in 1965 he met Mary Elizabeth Aitcheson, who had always been called "Tipper," and telephoned her for a date the next day.

"I thought he was sexy, serious, smart and funny. Funny is real important with me, a sense of humor helps you get through life," she says. They have been apart twice, during his first year at Harvard, and six months after their marriage in May 1970 when he went to Vietnam.

In her college years she marched against the war, for civil rights and for Eugene McCarthy. She worked at the Nashville Tennessean as a photographer until her husband was elected to the House of Representatives in 1976.

Gore's friends paint a portrait of someone they envy for her compassion, understanding and focus.

"She is someone I would like to end up in a foxhole with. She can cut through the fluff of things. She has a good sense of humor and she looks for what is best in each issue," says Sally Nevius, an active Republican in Washington who was one of the founders of PMRC.

Sometimes they don't believe what they see. Once, Carmela Walgren, a close Washington friend, was visiting when the senator called to say he was on his way home. Gore got up, combed her hair and put on her lipstick. "You mean you still do that?" asked Walgren. (Gore and Walgren, whose husband, Doug, was a representative from Pennsylvania, had founded the Congressional Wives Task Force that held forums on one issue for a full year.) Another day, Walgren was flabbergasted at a picture she saw of a family that wasn't quite normal. "Here I am the mother of three boys who scream in terror at the sight of a green vegetable. Sarah comes in and says, 'Mom, there is no spinach.' Tipper was sort of apologetic, saying, well, that's the only vegetable she eats."

In both the public and private arenas, says Nancy Hoit, the director of children's issues for Al Gore in 1988, Tipper Gore is a practitioner of "straight-line thinking." "She wants to know what is the problem, who can we talk to, what do we do, let's get started," says Hoit. "It is not, 'Gee whiz, this is bad, let me think about this problem.' It is, 'Who can we talk to and how can we change the system?' "

Gore has demonstrated this approach in how she reorganized the family after Albert's accident, and how she takes a conversation, especially one with her children, and cycles her feelings into action.

She tells one story now. "I was like everyone else, turning my eyes away from a homeless person if I would see them," she says. One Wednesday afternoon in the early 1980s, she was returning from lunch at the Capitol with her children. A couple of blocks away, they saw a woman who was wrapped in rags, rocking back and forth, talking to herself. The children peppered their mother with questions, finally asking, "Can't we take her with us?" She said no, but thought, "They are right in their childhood innocence." She organized Families for the Homeless, devoted to fund-raising and education and bringing together "other people who had been where I was before my children got a hold of my heart."

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THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

ART BUCHWALD

Talk Television's Political Din Wits

I have been watching the talk shows on television this week—particularly those that include experts on political affairs from the right and the left. The reason we are seeing more of these shows is that talk is the only inexpensive thing you can put on TV during an election year.

Talk shows are engrossing because since everyone speaks at once, you can't understand a word that's being said.

The "ayatollah" of the Babel shows is John McLaughlin, a former priest who left his order because his fellow priests complained that he talked too loud in his sleep. McLaughlin is so skilled at his trade that he can be heard over Robert Novak and Mort Kondracke at the same time.

The other show registering a high decibel rating is "Crossfire," with Michael Kinsley and John Sununu. The program features a liberal and a conservative discussing the great issues of the day. "Crossfire" prides itself on the fact that no guest has ever completed a full sentence on the show.

Kinsley's strength is that his questions are now 10 times as long as his guests' answers.

Sununu is much more polite but remains quiet only when a conservative replies to his questions.

Producers encourage noise on these kind of shows because it creates the impression that the participants are actually saying something. The truth is that as soon as the program is over the adversaries all go to the nearest bar and discuss raising their lecture fees.

If it were only the panelists who filibustered on television, no one would have anything to worry about.

But political consultants are now training their clients to keep talking to use up all the air time.

The great practitioner of political noise pollution was Jerry Brown. He was one of the first candidates, when given a sound bite, to bite back.

Nancy Simpson gives a course for candidates who wish to use Babel as a political weapon. I found her at Madison Square Garden handing out her business card.

"I train congressmen, senators and even those higher up whose names I cannot reveal. Civility no longer works in politics. When an interviewer shouts at one of my people, I want him or her to yell back."

"How do you instruct them?"

"The trick is for my clients not to hear what the opposition is saying, so I equip all of them with wax earplugs. I expect my participants to look into the camera and to keep talking until they go to the station break."

"Easier said than done," I remarked.

"A candidate's toughest job is to appear on the 'Today,' 'Good Morning America' and 'CBS This Morning' shows. If they have two candidates they allot four minutes for both of them. You can use that up just by saying hello to your host. I also advise my clients to start talking before they're on camera so that when the red light goes on they are in the middle of a sentence and their opponent cannot interrupt."

"I've seen that method leave Bryant Gumbel speechless," I told her.

Nancy said: "Political noise pollution is a dirty business, but someone has to do it. What makes America great is that the less people hear what you're saying, the more they will defend your right to say it."

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USA TODAY
THE NATION'S NEWSPAPER
PUBLISHED BY GANNETT

'Comeback Kid' on deck



By Stephan Savoia, AP

FAMILY OF THE HOUR: Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton, wife Hillary and daughter Chelsea share their excitement Wednesday as Ohio's tally gives Clinton the party's nod.

COVER STORY

Clinton task tonight: 'Lay it out there'

'As important a speech as he's given in this campaign or his entire . . . career'

ANALYSIS

By Adam Nagourney and Bill Nichols
USA TODAY

NEW YORK — A Democratic convention that turned into a rolling, three-day political advertisement has set the stage for what may be the one event that matters: Bill Clinton's acceptance speech.

After five days of near-seclusion — churning out draft after scribbled draft in a midtown hotel suite — Clinton tonight gives a speech that his own aides, who are not given to building up expectations, are flatly calling the most important of his career.

Never mind the New Hampshire living rooms, the South Dakota debate, the Florida synagogues or even *60 Minutes*. For about 45 minutes, Clinton will own the airwaves, a once-in-a-campaign chance to attempt to undo the damage he suffered from the primaries and paint a more charitable picture of his character.

This was always going to be a key moment: A speech, which will draw heavily on his life story to dramatize his own programs, aimed at an audience which likely knows him mostly from stories about his marital difficulties and experiences with the draft. But the sweet harmony of the convention, against a backdrop of sour times for both President Bush and Ross Perot, has at once increased both the

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COVER STORY

Clinton: 'There's a lot I want to say'

Continued from 1A

opportunities and the risks of his appearance tonight.

"This is an extremely important speech," says Ted Sorensen, who wrote the 1960 John F. Kennedy "New Frontier" speech that Clinton has cited as a favorite. "More people will be watching him tomorrow evening than have seen him in this entire campaign — or will likely see him again."

Adds Democratic strategist Ann Lewis: "I think people are absolutely open to be convinced."

Even the normally cautious Clinton camp isn't trying to play down the stakes: "It's as important a speech as he's given in this campaign or his entire political career," says campaign press secretary Dee Dee Myers.

That said, Clinton goes into this event with a number of advantages. The most important one is that so many people's impression of Clinton as a speaker was drawn from his nominating speech of Michael Dukakis in 1988, when he droned on so long that the crowd cheered when he said the words "in closing."

That humiliating memory so came to define Clinton that he alluded to it during a brief break from his work: "There's a lot I want to say. I don't want to take three days to say it."

But in a strange way, that 1988 episode might be the best thing he has going for him tonight. Because for all the Jay Leno jokes and derision by rivals, the fact is that the candidate voters will see tonight is one of the best speakers in politics today — and arguably the best speaker the Democrats have put up since 1968.

"The 1988 Clinton nominating speech was a total aberration and completely misleads people about this guy's speaking talent," says Robert Shrum, a veteran Democratic presidential speechwriter who worked for Clinton rival Bob Kerrey during the primary. "Clinton is, in fact, a superb speaker. If the acceptance speech goes well, people might say the 1988 speech was a little rope-a-dope just to fool people."

Clinton himself has left little doubt of what he wants to accomplish with this speech: countering the idea of him as a purely political animal by showing voters his character, his heart, is perhaps his most important task.

"I am largely a stranger to the American people," Clinton said in a pre-convention interview. "A lot of them have only heard bad things about me or just know that I'm some guy running for president or don't know anything about me. And that's part of my task: To lay that out there.

"It was amazing to me that we could go all through that primary process... and realize that voters either had a negative impression or no impression of me, of anything I'd done as governor or things I really cared about."

As a result, Clinton's personal story will be the subtext of the speech — a story intended to preempt any attempts by Republicans to portray him elite or disparaging of family values.

He will seek to link his personal experiences to support for such programs as universal college scholarships and breast cancer research.

But beyond that, Clinton will lay out a case for the fall election, contrasting his ideas with President Bush on issues ranging from health insurance to protecting the environment.

As of Wednesday, there was only one passing reference to Ross Perot.

The speech Clinton will deliver tonight first began taking shape about three weeks ago, when Clinton aides put out calls to a variety of figures



By Robert Deutsch, USA TODAY

AT 1988 CONVENTION: Bill Clinton is well-remembered for his lengthy speech introducing presidential candidate Michael Dukakis.

— among them Sorensen — for ideas and drafts.

A blizzard of ideas — some solicited, some not — were all assembled for him in a two-inch thick binder, which Clinton took with him on his July 4th vacation.

He studied Democratic acceptance speeches going back to Franklin Roosevelt in 1932, as well as those given by Bush and Ronald Reagan.

In his hotel suite Wednesday, there were VCR tapes of seven past convention speeches: Reagan in 1980, Mario Cuomo in 1984; Kennedy in 1960; Hubert Humphrey in 1968; Jimmy Carter in 1976 and 1980; and Barbara Jordan in 1976. There was also a copy of Martin Luther King's *I Have a Dream* speech.

Clinton's speech is being put together by aide Paul Begala. But Clinton writes much of his own material — though such snappy sound-bites as the "Comeback Kid" line he used when he showed up at Madison Square Garden after his nomination Wednesday were coined by aides.

Indeed, although Clinton aides say the governor has finished his speech, he'll probably still be fiddling with it on the ride to the Garden.

There is reason for such care. Humphrey's failure to acknowledge the anti-war wing of the party in 1968 might well have led to his loss to Nixon. Walter Mondale's 1984 promise to raise taxes in 1984 helped sealed his defeat.

And, says Clinton Communications Director George Stephanopoulos, "Bush's 'Read my lips' speech won him 1988 — but may well lose him '92."

Still, campaigns are nothing more than a series of turning points, critical moments and crucial events, which rarely end up being as monumental as they appeared at the moment. That has never been more true than this year.

"I don't think we're going to win or lose the election based on one speech," says Clinton strategist James Carville. "In pool, they say there's a lot of green between the ball and the pocket. Well, there's a lot of green between today and Nov. 4th."

THE NATION'S NEWSPAPER

USA TODAY

No. 1 IN | THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992 | IS A DAY

ELECTION '92

A LOOK AT THE CANDIDATES AND THE ISSUES

Bush, Baker fishing — still not talking

President Bush and Secretary of State James Baker plan a second full day of fishing today on Wyoming's Wind River — while Bush's campaign prays for a prize catch.

Bush campaign chairman Robert Mosbacher refused to comment on rampant speculation Bush will ask Baker to take on management of Bush's re-election drive.

"Let's just see what gets caught," Mosbacher said when pressed on whether Bush has decided to ask Baker to leave the State Department.

The scenario making the rounds at Bush's political headquarters and among Republican leaders close to Bush is that Bush will ask Baker to move to the White House, effectively becoming CEO of both the White House and campaign operations.

Baker would take a leave of absence from diplomatic duties after the Republican National Convention in mid-August — and after an important Middle East trip.

Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger would become acting secretary. By taking a leave — instead of resigning — both would be able to resume their posts without Senate confirmation.

One clue changes are in store: the White House has postponed release of revised budget figures until July 24 — after the Democratic convention. Reason: the deficit will be revised down from $400 billion to approximately $340 billion — good news that the White House was advised not to bury amid the convention hoopla.

— Jessica Lee



MORE COVERAGE

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- ▶ The new Hillary, **4A**
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ROLLINS FALLOUT: News of the resignation of Ed Rollins, campaign co-manager for Ross Perot's undeclared presidential campaign, was gobbled up eagerly by the politics-crazed throngs on the Democratic convention floor. The predictable party line: Perot is fading, lessening one obstacle for the Bill Clinton/Al Gore ticket.

"It was inevitable," said Montana state Democratic chairman Kelly Add. "Ross Perot thinks politics is a neat little toy that he can play with. He's trying to micromanage his campaign. He's got big dollars but small ideas."

WHAT THE FAT CATS DO: Bill Clinton could be forgiven if he went right to bed tonight after giving his acceptance speech. But his intense week at the Democratic convention won't be over when the crowd streams out.

The newly nominated Democratic presidential candidate and running mate Al Gore head to a big bucks fundraiser — really big, as in $3.5 million raised from more than 3,000 donors who contributed at least $1,000 each.

Big givers are treated to hot Broadway shows; lunches at exclusive restaurants; and meetings with *glitterati* — not to mention prime seats at the convention.

"The fight for guest passes can get very brutal," says Rep. Leon Panetta, D-Calif. "The competition is between big contributors, Clinton people and members of Congress. Look at the VIP stand and see who's there. That will tell you a lot about who's giving money."



By Orville Myers, AP

PANETTA: Fight for passes 'brutal'

Even though the Democratic Party considers itself the party of the middle class — nearly half of this year's delegates have incomes under $50,000 — there are special privileges available to the special, generous few.

For those who gave or raised $100,000 or more in the past four years, the dozens of special events include:

▶ A lunch at the posh Four Seasons, where TV anchors Tom Brokaw, Bernard Shaw, Peter Jennings and Dan Rather talked about presidential politics and the media.

▶ Receptions at the Guggenheim Museum, the Museum of Modern Art and the Museum of Natural History.

▶ Parties at South Street Seaport and Grand Central's newly redone cavernous waiting hall.

"We look at most of the convention week as a way to thank our donors," says finance director Melissa Moss.

TEAMSTERS SWITCH: The Teamsters union, which had sided with Republicans in recent elections, endorsed Bill Clinton and pledged $4 million. "People are fed up. They want change," Teamsters president Ron Carey said after meeting with Clinton. The 1.6 million-member union backed President Bush in 1988 and Ronald Reagan in 1984.

Today's convention schedule

All times approximate, and Eastern Time:

At 5 p.m.: Tribute to former representative **Morris Udall, D-Ariz.**; 11 speakers include Virginia Gov. **Douglas Wilder**; New Jersey Gov. **Jim Florio**; Sen. **Harris Wofford, D-Pa.**; House Majority Leader **Richard Gephardt, D-Mo.**; Baltimore Mayor **Kurt Schmoke** and American Federation of Teachers President **Albert Shanker.**

At 8 p.m.: **Al Gore** nominated for vice president by Sen. **Barbara Mikulski, D-Md.**; seconded by Sen. **Tim Wirth, D-Colo.**, and Rep. **John Lewis, D-Ga.**; roll call vote.

At 9 p.m.: Gore acceptance speech.

At 10 p.m.: Film on **Bill Clinton's life**

At 10:15 p.m.: **Clinton** delivers acceptance speech.

TONIGHT'S TV SCHEDULE

ABC: 9-11 p.m.	**PBS:** 8-11 p.m.
CBS: 9-11 p.m.	**CNN:** 5-11 p.m.
NBC: 9:30-11 p.m.	**C-SPAN:** 5 p.m. to closing

WHERE CANDIDATES ARE TODAY

Democrats **Bill Clinton, Al Gore:** New York.

Republicans George Bush: Boulder, Wyo., fishing trip with Secretary of State James Baker.

USA TODAY • THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

A president-in-training

Clinton's spent years aiming for high office

By Bill Nichols
USA TODAY

LITTLE ROCK

David Leopoulos remembers when this new kid named Bill Clinton showed up for third grade some 38 years ago down the road in Hot Springs.

Clinton's favorite phrase was "Hot dog," Leopoulos says. "By the second or third day, everyone was saying, 'Hot dog.' The guy's a magnet. ... He's never changed."

Bill Becker, head of the state AFL-CIO, recalls 1983, when Gov. Bill Clinton promised labor leaders he'd try to exempt food if they'd help him pass a sales tax hike.

Unions pushed and Clinton got his votes, two days later. "But he reneged on us," Becker says. "He told the press his offer was only good for 24 hours."

Two views of Bill Clinton, whose friends and critics agree that if this complicated and guarded man is anything, he is a politician. And has been since grade school, high school — since anyone close to him can remember.

Clinton — William Jefferson Blythe IV before taking his stepfather's name — becomes the Democratic presidential nominee a long way from the watermelon patches of tiny Hope, Ark., where he was born four months after a car crash on a rain-slick highway killed his dad.

But, despite the almost endless discussion of his record, Gennifer Flowers or whether he dodged the draft, Clinton still must convince an angry nation that politics is a career choice to be admired.

To critics, he's "Slick Willie," a political chameleon, people pleaser and ruthlessly ambitious five-term governor who'll tell anybody anything to get votes or applause.

"It's one promise after another after another, and once he gets in office he pretends he never made them," says Sheffield Nelson, state GOP chairman and Clinton's 1990 gubernatorial opponent.

"Clinton tries to be everything to everybody and he has the attention span of my 7-year-old grandson."

Says John Brummett, editor of *Arkansas Times*: "His adult life has been spent worrying about the next election. Finesse, evasion — those are just ways of life for him. ... My main charge against him is that he's a politician — the best I've ever seen."

To friends and supporters, Clinton is a natural leader, a child of the '60s who believes public service is noble, forming coalitions is the genius of the American system and politics is the highest calling.

"Politics is the art of compromise and sometimes is the art of flip-flopping. Anybody who is locked down in stone is no longer in office," says Bobby Roberts, a member of Arkansas' prison board and an ex-Clinton aide.

"But you get down to the core issues, he is immutable. ... I've seen him stay there and fight until the last dog died in a trench. And he'd lose a lot of times."

"That's just kind of bred in my bones," Clinton said in a recent interview, showing uncharacteristic emotion about his mother, Virginia Kelley, who's been widowed three times and helped a teen-age Clinton cope with his alcoholic and abusive stepfather.

"I wouldn't be here if it weren't for her," he said. "Against not insignificant odds ... she hung in there with me when I badly needed it. And that's a part of my task, to lay that out there."

Carolyn Staley, Clinton's neighbor in high school, remembers a young man adored by his teachers, more mature than his years.

"We've all let him know that we expect big things of him, that we look to him to be a leader for us. ... I use the word 'called,' 'destined,' as a preacher's kid. I've often thought of Bill as being God's man. He just seems to have that kind of stature."

Clinton's detractors say he gets the nomination tonight because he has run for the job all his life, at the sacrifice of principle.

His much-analyzed decision to join the Arkansas ROTC rather than refuse to serve in Vietnam is seen by some as shaping his résumé.

Critics say Clinton's education at Georgetown University, Yale Law School and Oxford, and his long relationship with Washington insiders — he was a college intern for former Arkansas senator William Fulbright — shaped him much more than the dusty streets of Hope.

In 1990, Clinton promised Arkansans he would not run for president if he was re-elected governor. Before he broke the pledge, he toured the state to listen to voters, but most of those supposedly spontaneous meetings were prearranged sessions with longtime supporters.

"He's motivated by votes," says Brummett. "It was rather self-serving just to hang around here. ... He used the governor's office as a base for his own ambitions."

So what Clinton must do is not only let voters know him, but defend one of the most unpopular occupations in the country — career politician.

Few, if any, nominees have shown more determination through primaries that were more like a siege, rarely failing to push one more event into 20-hour days.

Teachers predicted young Billy Clinton could be president one day. Leopoulos solemnly told a close friend, when they were both 19, that Clinton would be president.

No one questions Clinton's extraordinary stamina or political skills. The question to many is why he spent so much time grooming himself for the presidency.

"He didn't have any other choice," says his mother. His critics would agree, for very different reasons.

But she says: "If he's going to pursue a political career for the rest of his life, I didn't see that he had a choice."



AP

TAKING THE OATH: Bill Clinton is sworn in as governor in Arkansas in 1979, becoming the nation's youngest governor.



By Eileen Blass, USA TODAY



By Art Meripol

MEMORABLE MOMENTS: Bill Clinton's mother, Virginia Kelley, left, holds a photo of her son at age 3. 'He didn't have any other choice,' she says about Clinton's presidential aspirations. Above, Clinton dances with wife Hillary at his 1987 inaugural Ball.



BRUSH WITH GREATNESS: A young Bill Clinton shakes hands with President John F. Kennedy after a national youth conference in Washington, D.C., in 1963.

THE NATION'S NEWSPAPER

USA TODAY

No. 1 IN ... S A DAY

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

Hillary Clinton's image undergoes a change

By Mimi Hall
USA TODAY

NEW YORK — The pastel suits have become a staple. The adoring gaze appears perfected. The vague talks about issues and plugs for chocolate-chip cookies are by rote.

Hillary Clinton came to New York to redefine her image as a supportive wife to presidential candidate Bill Clinton — a concession, it seemed, to an outcry among some voters.

But as hundreds of women's right activists and dozens of women candidates here lobby for power and clout, some are left wondering whether the outspoken Hillary Clinton they knew and loved several months ago is gone for good.

"It's a sad double-standard that we have when we look at the spouses of presidential candidates and expect them to somehow be different than female candidates," says Kitty Dukakis, wife of 1988 Democratic presidential nominee Michael Dukakis.

Eleanor Smeal of the Fund for the Feminist Majority says the Clinton campaign is making "a mistake" by remaking Hillary Clinton.

Clinton "is educated and knows issues and is serious," Smeal says. "And we need serious leadership from women."



By Eileen Cotton, USA TODAY

WOMEN'S WORLD: Politicians' wives pose for photographers after lunch at the Hudson River Club. From left: Alma Brown, Hillary Clinton, Tipper Gore and Matilda Cuomo.

Hillary Clinton says that she hasn't changed at all in response to criticism of her outspokenness early in the campaign. A lawyer, lobbyist and corporate board member, she says she's always acted as a surrogate for her husband.

But both liberal and conservative observers say the change is pronounced.

"They have retrained her," says Beverly LaHaye of the conservative group Concerned Women for America. "It's a very wise political move because the way she really is ... is very unappealing to voters."

But Ellen Malcolm of EMILY's List, a group that raises money for Democratic female candidates, says there are many sides to Hillary Clinton.

"The real Hillary Clinton is a woman who has supported her husband's career and raised a family and had her own career," Malcolm says.

At the same time, she says, the would-be first lady should speak out forcefully on the issues because she "is a wonderful role model for women."

Joan Mondale, wife of former vice president and presidential candidate Walter Mondale, offers this reminder: "You can't please everybody."

The role of a candidate's wife is "ambiguous," adds Elizabeth Holtzman of New York, one of six Democratic female Senate candidates to have made it through the primaries.

"Generally, the president's wife has been seen simply as a homemaker and not someone who has independent stature," Holtzman says. But she doesn't feel Hillary Clinton has buckled to pressure to tone down.

"It's not a question of abandoning anything," she says. "It's presenting to Americans a whole, rounded picture."

Contributing: Judy Keen

Gores' kids are rap fans

Tipper Gore, famous for her campaign to label X-rated rock lyrics, said Wednesday that some of her four children actually listen to rap music.

"We have a wide range of music ... from classical to rap," she told The Associated Press.

But the wife of Tennessee Sen. Al Gore, the Democratic vice-presidential candidate, wouldn't say which groups her children like. Some use explicit lyrics.

Gore also said:

▶ "It was love at first sight" when she met Al Gore at his senior prom when she was 16. "We've been married 22 years. I love him very much."

▶ Hillary Clinton is "representative of mainstream American women. ... I am, too."

▶ When her son, Albert Gore III, 9, was critically injured in a 1989 car accident, it was "an extremely profound experience. ... It made us reorder our priorities." Albert recovered.

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THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION 1992

Tribute recalls 'Camelot'

Kennedys are 'spirit' of party

By Andrea Stone
USA TODAY

NEW YORK — The royal family of American politics held court at the Democratic convention Wednesday night, but the days of "Camelot" finally may be over.

Even though there still was a line of famous Kennedy faces. Even though Madison Square Garden still welled with emotion, still shook with applause.

An undeniable thing has changed. "The party," said Arkansas Clinton delegate Mary Jean Bennett, "has moved more to the center."

Sen. Edward Kennedy's tribute Wednesday to his brother Robert Kennedy, 24 years after his death, couldn't match other nights when a Kennedy at the podium meant a glimpse into the future — and not, at least on the national stage, a nostalgic look at the past.

This night, there was no 22-minute ovation like the one Robert Kennedy received in 1964 when he introduced a tribute to JFK, assassinated just months before.

There was no reaction like Edward Kennedy got to his own convention addresses in 1972, 1976 or 1980. There was not the enchantment felt when John Kennedy Jr. made his debut at the convention in 1988.

Edward Kennedy spoke on a night when his political party would shift dramatically.

Only hours later, a governor of the New South and self-styled agent of change, would be nominated to drag the Democrats toward the political center, to quietly bury some of the party's oldest creeds.

But Edward Kennedy, a Massachusetts senator for 30 years, spoke of the ideals cherished by Robert — "gone now nearly a quarter of a century, but indelible in memory, a vivid fire that still lights the best and most honorable paths of public life."

And that is true; some things endure.

Although the party has moved away from the kind of traditional liberalism of the Kennedys, the sense of devotion many here have for the family has remained.

"The Kennedys are the spirit of the Democratic Party," said Diana Ketola, a delegate from Gwinn, Mich. "They're what we are all about."

"For one family to have produced such greatness is so much inspiration to so many people," said Clinton delegate Sue Ellen Willkinson of Indiana. Talking about the family moved her to tears.

"It is time to return to the ideal of compassion."

— Sen. Edward Kennedy, D-Mass.



By Robert Deutsch, USA TODAY

KENNEDY: Massachusetts senator addresses the Democratic convention Wednesday.

EXCERPTS FROM SEN. KENNEDY'S SPEECH

"I thank you for this tribute to Robert Kennedy, gone now nearly a quarter of a century, but indelible in memory — a vivid fire that still lights the best and most honorable paths of public life. ..."

"After 12 years of wintry indifference at the center of power, it is time to return to the ideal of compassion. ..."

"After 12 years of official hostility to minorities and to the majority who are women, it is time to renew the ideals of equality. ..."

"My brothers had every gift but length of years. The years have been left to us ... to accomplish the works of peace and justice.

So when ... our family think of our brothers now, we think of the poet's words:

What is precious is never to forget
The names of those
Who wore at their hearts the fire's centre.
Born of the sun, they travelled a short while towards the sun. And left the vivid air signed with their honour."

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USA TODAY • THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

Nomination and celebration

Dems hail past, look to November

By Richard Wolf
USA TODAY

Democrats traveled back to the future Wednesday, honoring fallen Kennedys before staking their claim to the White House with a glistening shower of confetti upon another new-generation candidate.

Inspired by New York Gov. Mario Cuomo's powerful nominating speech, convention delegates nominated Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton for president with high hopes, a touch of trepidation and a thunderous chant of "We want Bill!"

Pandemonium broke out on the floor for 20 minutes after Ohio's votes put Clinton over the top at 10:53 p.m. ET.

Then Clinton, 45, arrived in Madison Square Garden with his beaming wife, Hillary, and teary-eyed daughter, Chelsea, to the night's loudest ovation.

The final delegate vote: Clinton, 3,372; Jerry Brown, 578; and Paul Tsongas, 209.

High fives and hugs greeted Clinton as he made his way first to the delegation from his home state of Arkansas and then to the red, white and blue podium, where he grabbed a microphone and said, "Thank you, thank you."

"How do you feel, governor?" came shouts from the throngs of delegates. "Fantastic," came the response.

Noting the late John F. Kennedy also came to a convention floor the night before his acceptance speech in 1960, Clinton acknowledged he was breaking rules of the convention — last violated by Walter Mondale in 1984.

"Tomorrow night, I will be the comeback kid," Clinton said, echoing his triumphant declaration in the snows of New Hampshire after surviving attacks on his character.

The unexpected appearance elated weary delegates.

"That tells you he is a candidate of the people," said Florida delegate Eufaula Frazier.

Earlier, Clinton was nominated in rousing fashion by Cuomo, a man who reluctantly decided last year not to challenge him for the nomination.

"It's time for change — someone smart enough to know, strong enough to do, sure enough to lead," Cuomo shouted. "The comeback kid. A new voice for America."

By harking back to the party's glory days a quarter-century ago, Democrats sought to create the new-generation theme they hope will boost Clinton and Sen. Al Gore, 44.

"The times have changed, but the ideals are the same," said Sen. Edward Kennedy.

Democrats determined to turn this convention into a Clinton lovefest drowned out most of the remaining dissent. And most delegates, starved for victory after losing five of the last six presidential elections, eagerly took the bait.

"I was 24 years old when we last won an election," said Jeff Lavin, 40, of Weathersfield, Vt. "The only thing I've been waiting longer for is for the Red Sox to win the pennant."

A high-technology video and audio display ensured this would be Clinton's night.

Even Jerry Brown, the angry man of the Democratic Party, was conciliatory in his inimitable way. After his name was placed in nomination, Brown used his speech to castigate GOP policies and the influence of money in politics; he never mentioned Clinton.

The enthusiasm for the ticket was summed up by Mississippi delegate Eric Clark, who wore three buttons: for FDR, JFK and Clinton-Gore.

"There's a noticeable generational change very similar to 1960," he said. "There is a sense of energy, a sense of possibilities opening, which I don't think existed in the last three campaigns."

Nebraska Sen. Bob Kerrey, who once predicted Republicans would open Clinton "like a soft peanut," told the delegates: "I watched Bill Clinton take the heat and stand up to it, again and again. I saw his strength as he weathered the storms."

The celebration was as much a tribute to Clinton's staying power as his policies.

New Hampshire delegate Anita Freedman was there in February, when Clinton, besieged by charges of infidelity and draft-dodging, placed second in the first primary. And she was there Wednesday:

"He took all of the media hits, the rotten stories and everything, and he preached about issues. ... He can rise above all that garbage."

Contributing: Jim Harney, Mimi Hall and Judi Hasson.



By Doug Mills, AP

SAX SUPPORTER: Doug Berger of Youngsville, N.C., raises his saxophone on the convention floor in honor of sax-playing Bill Clinton.

Clinton takes the future in stride

By Lee Michael Katz and Brian O'Connell
USA TODAY

NEW YORK — Bill Clinton's long journey from Arkansas to the Democratic nomination ended Wednesday night with a carefully choreographed walk down New York's 7th Avenue.

And for a presidential campaign, the pictures couldn't have been better.

"I feel grateful tonight," a beaming Clinton said as he strolled to Madison Square Garden. Asked if the disarray in Ross Perot's campaign would make it a two-party race, Clinton said, "It's too early. I don't know what's going to happen."

As states cast votes, Clinton, wife Hillary and daughter Chelsea watched on TV from a party at Macy's department store, a block from the convention. At one point, the Clintons danced as well-wishers applauded.

"He must be picking out the right tie for tomorrow night's speech," joked police officer Vincent Guida. "I like this. You can tell he's a regular guy like everybody else. ... Not like Bush who's always hidden in limousines."

"Hillary's probably buying cookies," said Helen Lyons, a retired medical technician from Long Island. "She doesn't bake, you know. She's too proud of being a career woman. I ... like Clinton. I wish I could feel he could do something."

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THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

Tsongas, Brown get turns

By Bill Nichols
and Leslie Phillips
USA TODAY

Two Democratic presidential also-rans Wednesday made fighting convention swan songs to warm receptions, while offering few words of support for Bill Clinton.

Former Massachusetts senator Paul Tsongas, warning of dire economic woe without tough fiscal discipline, had surprisingly kind words for a ticket he's already indicated he won't spend much time campaigning for in the fall.

And Jerry Brown — who has not endorsed Clinton and therefore was never invited by the party to address the convention — took time he qualified for under party rules to address delegates on his own defiant terms.

"My name is Jerry Brown and I'm here to speak," he said.

In his trademark mumble, Tsongas warned of the painful path the country faces without tough, unpopular measures aimed at fiscal responsbility.

"You cannot redistribute wealth that you never created. You cannot be pro-jobs and anti-business at the same time. ... I have said this ... but I believe it is fundamental: 'No goose, no golden eggs.' "

Brown, the former California governor, never mentioned Clinton's name while aiming his anger at the Bush administration and the greed he says is debasing modern politics.

"Instead of government by the people, of the people and for the people, President Bush and his administration give us government of, by, and for the privileged," Brown said.

"We have to break the growing tie between political and economic power. ... I want to fight on the side of the people who pay the bills, fight the wars and never come to our receptions."

Both men were cheered by enthusiastic, if bittersweet, throngs of supporters.

"I feel so proud to be wearing this T-shirt on the floor of this convention," said Tsongas volunteer Joan Gramatte of New York. "I'm someone who came back to the Democratic Party because of Paul Tsongas. ... I still think he's going to be a force to be reckoned with."

"Jerry Brown won't disappear after Thursday," said Brown delegate Kim Singh, an AIDS activist from Los Angeles. "But after Thursday, I start campaigning for Clinton."

Tsongas and Brown will remain political players, though in typically unorthodox ways.

Tsongas plans to join outgoing Sen. Warren Rudman, R-N.H., in a voter/economic coalition. He said he would consider running for president in 1996 if Clinton loses.

Brown says he'll continue his "Take Back America" coalition, but the form and content of his crusade is unclear.



By Robert Deutsch, USA TODAY

AVOIDS 'C' WORD: Jerry Brown used his speech Wednesday night to attack 'government of, by, and for the privileged.'

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THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

Anita Hill an 'Evita'

Sense of her spirit pervades convention

By Judi Hasson
USA TODAY

NEW YORK — Anita Hill isn't at the Democratic convention here.

But during a week when thousands of Democrats have descended on Madison Square Garden, her name — her spirit even — has repeatedly been invoked.

For some female delegates and candidates, what the University of Oklahoma law professor experienced nine months ago has given birth to an unnamed movement — and an almost frenetic effort to get more women into office.

"Anita has become like 'Evita' was to Argentina," says Harriett Woods of the National Women's Political Caucus.

One of the hottest political buttons here: "I believe Anita."

"It is always our biggest seller," says Mary Stanley, a Fresno, Calif., delegate who was selling the bright-pink buttons at the convention's Women's Caucus. "I think the skirt-tails of Anita Hill will carry many women into office this year."



By David Longstreath, AP

HILL: A Republican, she's not attending the convention

Hill's accusations that she had been sexually harassed by then-Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas, and her treatment by the all-male Senate Judiciary Committee when she testified, already has helped inspire some Democratic women to run.

Among them: Senate candidates Carol Moseley Braun of Illinois and Lynn Yeakel of Pennsylvania, and congressional candidates Anita Perez Ferguson of California and Marjorie Margolies Mezvinsky of Pennsylvania.

And many female delegates say she's the reason they are working to elect more women to the House and the Senate.

"A lot of tightly covered buried feelings bubbled out and triggered a lot of political action," says Penny Clute, a delegate from Clinton County, N.Y.

EMILY's List, which raises money for female Democratic candidates, has had a record year in fund-raising.

Organizers attribute the bonanza to the Hill-Thomas confrontation.

Tuesday night, the group threw the biggest fund-raising event for women ever, netting $750,000 for the six female Democratic Senate candidates.

That brings its total fund-raising so far this year to $3 million; in all of 1991, the group raised $1.5 million.

"That whole experience galvanized women," said Ellen Malcolm of EMILY's List.

Monday night, Sen. Barbara Mikulski, D-Md., one of two women in the 100-member chamber, brought delegates to their feet when she declared: "Never again when a woman comes before the Senate to tell her story will she be assaulted for telling the truth."

Hill, who is in Norman, Okla., doing research this summer, isn't giving interviews.

But earlier this year she told *60 Minutes* she hoped her experience would motivate people to get politically involved.

"I think it's very positive, and I would like to do what I can to encourage it," Hill said.



By Eileen Cotton

BUTTONEERS: Vendor Mary Stanley pins an 'I Believe Anita Hill' button on Juleigh Sitton of Morganton, N.C., Wednesday.

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DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION 1992



By Robert Deutsch, USA TODAY

AFTER THE NOMINATION: New York Gov. Mario Cuomo and his wife, Matilda.

Cuomo's offer to America: 'New captain, new course'

Excerpts from New York Gov. Mario Cuomo's nominating speech:

"Americans are disillusioned, angry and fearful. The people showed it with the quick embrace they gave to the sudden appearance on television of a provocative, wealthy businessman who said he'd like to be president. Before he told anyone what he would do or how he would do it, he used one word and applause broke out all over America — 'change!'

"The ship of state is headed for the rocks. The crew knows it. The passengers know it. Only the captain of the ship — President Bush — appears not to know it. He seems to think that the ship will be saved by imperceptible undercurrents, directed by the invisible hand of some cyclical economic god ...

Well, prayer is always a good idea: but our prayers must be accompanied by good works.

We need a captain who understands that, and who will seize the wheel — before it's too late. I am here tonight to offer America that new captain with a new course."

"Bill Clinton believes ... in the first principle of our commitment: the politics of inclusion, the solemn obligation to create opportunity for all our people ... The neediest of them ... entitled to the greatest help from the rest of us.

Surrender that Democratic principle, and we might just as well tear the donkeys from our lapels, pin elephants on instead, and retreat to elegant estates behind ivy-covered walls, where, when they detect a callus on their palms, people conclude it's time to put down their polo mallet."

"Some day, I want to march to Washington — not to beg for what we need — but to shout our thanks because we made the greatest nation in the world greater than it's ever been ...

So step aside, Mr. Bush.

You've had your parade! It's time for change — someone smart enough to know; strong enough to do; sure enough to lead. The Comeback Kid. A new voice for a new America.

Because I love New York, because I love America, I nominate for office of the president of the United States, the man from Hope, Ark., Gov. Bill Clinton!"

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Clinton wins nomination

Cuomo calls candidate 'only hope for change'

By Richard Benedetto
USA TODAY

NEW YORK — Bill Clinton tonight accepts the Democratic presidential nomination from a party that senses it can win the White House in November.

The self-described "Comeback Kid" knows how much is riding on his speech.

"The people of America," he said Wednesday, "need to know when the speech is over who I am, what I believe in, what I want to do as president and what I want them to do."

New York Gov. Mario Cuomo, in nominating Clinton, said the nation needs him "because he is our only hope for change from this nation's current disastrous course."

The Democrats tried in 1984 to warn of the GOP's disastrous policies, Cuomo said in his eagerly awaited speech.

But they failed to get the message across and "now the nation has paid an awful price.

"We cannot afford to fail again," Cuomo said.

Clinton thanked "magnificent Mario Cuomo" in a brief appearance in the hall after his nomination became official; the final tally: 3,372 votes.

But Rich Bond, GOP national committee chairman, said Cuomo did nothing with his speech but "rearrange the chairs on Clinton's Titanic."

Meanwhile, a new ABC News-*Washington Post* poll released Wednesday showed:

- Clinton at 42%.
- Bush at 30%.
- Ross Perot at 20%.

Clinton was third at 26% in a similar survey last month.

At the convention:

- Jerry Brown, still refusing to endorse Clinton, had his name placed in nomination.
- Paul Tsongas hammered Republicans who "told us we could have it all.... They lied."
- Nebraska Sen. Robert Kerrey warned that if the Democrats "don't have the courage to rewrite the rules as to how this country is governed, (the people will) find somebody who will."
- Sen. Edward Kennedy, during a tribute to his brother Robert, added his support.

Clinton, Kennedy said, "has sought to ... oppose hate, to reach across the divides and make us whole again."



CONVENTION INDEX, 3A

Abortion pill case up to Thomas

By Tony Mauro
and Carol J. Castaneda
USA TODAY

The spotlight is on Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas as he decides, perhaps today, whether to return abortion pills to a California woman.

Time is running out for Leona Benten, 29, who is 7½ weeks pregnant and must take the 12-pill dosage by Friday or face a surgical abortion.

The Food and Drug Administration July 1 seized the French-made pills, RU-486, Benten brought into the country as a challenge to the FDA.

"If this drags on another week, justice delayed becomes justice denied," says lawyer Rachel Pine of the Center for Reproductive Law and Policy.

Thomas opposed abortion rights in a landmark Pennsylvania case last month.

But experts say his stand won't necessarily come into play in the more technical decision about the FDA's power.

RU-486 has been on an FDA "import alert" list since 1989.

Critics say they're unsafe; supporters say they're a good alternative to surgery.

The FDA seizure triggered a see-saw legal battle, with one judge ordering the pills released and an appeals panel halting that order on Tuesday.

Thomas, who handles emergency appeals from New York, got Benten's case Wednesday. He asked the Justice Department for a written reply today.

If Thomas rejects her plea, Benten could appeal to another justice or the full court: "We'll just have to wait."

THE NATION'S NEWSPAPER

USA TODAY

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Perot aide 'relieved' to be out

By Debbie Howlett
USA TODAY

DALLAS — Ross Perot's presidential bid stumbled again Wednesday as co-manager Ed Rollins exited, saying Perot wouldn't take his advice.

"I feel very relieved," Rollins said at a hastily arranged news conference. "Things just weren't going to work out."

After the news conference, Rollins and 10 of his staff found they'd been denied computer access, their security cards had been deactivated and phones had been removed from their offices, campaign aides said.

Rollins, a longtime GOP operative, was regarded as Perot's best hope for gaining credibility in a three-way race.

"Mr. Perot and I see two different ways of getting to the presidency," said Rollins.

Rollins pushed for an extensive TV campaign starting the end of June. Perot balked, hoping to hold off till late summer.

"There were ... strategy and tactical differences the last 30 days," said Tom Luce, chairman of Perot's campaign, off 20 points in polls this week.

Luce also said Perot was canceling all public appearances for the rest of the week.

Rollins said he knows how normal campaigns work. "This is not a normal campaign."

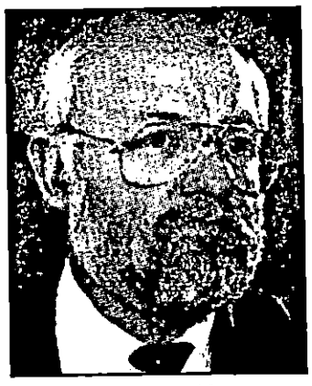
Rollins' wife Sherrie quit her White House job when he joined Perot 44 days ago.

Co-manager Hamilton Jordon reportedly also has been frustrated by the campaign.

The tension reflects Perot's aversion to professional advice in his grassroots campaign.

Said GOP Chairman Rich Bond: "My educated guess is Ross Perot ultimately will not seek the presidency in 1992."

▶ Resignation's impact, 6A



By Pat Sullivan, AP

ROLLINS: Offer to be a 'volunteer adviser' was refused.

USA TODAY
PUBLISHED BY GANNETT

Dems, GOP jump on Rollins' exit

They say campaign in trouble

By Judy Keen
USA TODAY

Democrats and Republicans giddily applied conventional political wisdom to the departure Wednesday of Ed Rollins from Ross Perot's campaign.

"I think it is the beginning of the end of the Perot candidacy," said GOP chair Rich Bond.

It "may be a sign of it falling apart," said Dee Dee Myers, Bill Clinton's spokeswoman.

Rollins' abrupt farewell certainly is a public relations blow and may be a sign of trouble.

But something else is at work this year. The old rules may not apply. Perot's campaign vaulted into the lead because it captured people who scorn traditional politics — and traditional political operatives just like Rollins.

"The restive souls behind that candidacy will not go away," cautioned Sen. Bob Kerrey, D-Neb., Wednesday.

"It's too early to write off a guy that's got $3 billion to spend," said Bush campaign adviser Charles Black.

Many analysts believe Perot splits the conservative vote with Bush, giving new hope for Clinton's Democratic alternative. But if Perot is indeed unraveling, strategies imposed on the Bush and Clinton campaigns will be rethought.

How Bush might benefit:

▶ Rollins' mission was to cast Perot's ideology to appeal to the Republican right. Without him, conservatives could return to Bush.

"People who voted for the president last time ... will come back home," said Warren Tompkins, Bush's southern campaign director.

"Why in the world was Clinton being so nice to Perot?" said South Carolina GOP chairman Barry Wynn. "Clinton needs a three-way race to win."

▶ Republicans believe Clinton would be hurt because the first, strongest layer of Perot's support was soft Democrats.

"He's folding too early," said New York Assemblyman Richard Brodsky, a Democrat. "From the Democrats' point of view, what you want is for him to fold around the 10th of October. To die now will send more people back to Bush."

How Clinton could gain:

▶ Clinton looms large as the sole alternative to Bush.

Clinton "aspires to be the change candidate and Perot has been really threatening that," said GOP strategist Mitch Daniels. "If that changes, Clinton benefits."

▶ Clinton and Democrats are now seen by voters as about as competent as Republicans in handling the economy — a fact that could keep some from going back to the GOP.

"Ross Perot's already done the Democratic Party a great favor" by drawing Republicans and independents away from Bush, said Texas Democratic Chairman Bob Slagle.

That, however, is the best case scenario for Clinton. An outright withdrawal by Perot would leave Clinton and Bush a new, two-man race.

Some analysts said Perot's disintegration would only increase disgruntlement with the political process — a negative for both Bush and Clinton.

"Those who got involved (with Perot) because they were put off with the political process," said Tompkins, "will be further put off."

▶ Convention Index, 3A



By Susan Weems, AP

BIG ANNOUNCEMENT: Ross Perot's campaign manager, Ed Rollins, left, and campaign manager, Tom Luce, announce Rollins' resignation at a news conference Wednesday in Dallas.

Wife can have her job back

Maybe Sherrie Rollins didn't blow it.

Supporters were dismayed when Rollins gave up her beloved job as chief of the White House public liaison office June 3 to avoid a conflict when her husband Ed Rollins went to work for Ross Perot.

Why does the wife always have to sacrifice, they asked.

"She's a victim in all this," senior Bush campaign adviser Charles Black said Wednesday after Ed Rollins quit the Perot campaign. "She's a good person," Black said. If she wants it, "she'll get her job back."

Sherrie Rollins was vacationing in Bali, Indonesia, and couldn't be reached. Ed Rollins said he'd phoned her to say he was quitting: "She said something about 'I told you so.'"

Perot doing it 'his way'

Rollins' resignation caps a chaotic week

By Debbie Howlett
USA TODAY

DALLAS — Ross Perot's once-shining presidential bid now faces its darkest hour.

The resignation of campaign co-manager Ed Rollins and a precipitous drop in the polls, following a week of chaos, begs the question: Will this unprecedented grass-roots effort wither in the dog days of summer?

"He's in terrible danger of slipping into obscurity," says Peter Gold, a marketing expert who knows the feeling all too well: He was a key aide in Rep. John Anderson's third-party presidential bid in 1980.

Rollins' resignation was decided over lunch Wednesday with Perot's longtime confidants, Mort Meyerson and Tom Luce. "We talked about it and we decided it was best for all involved," says Luce.

A news conference was called and, just in time to lead the evening news that would otherwise focus on the Democrats, Luce and Rollins made the announcement together.

Was he forced out or did he merely quit? They left it vague.

"The reality is that the kind of campaign that I wanted to run and the kind of campaign that Mr. Perot wanted to run just weren't really compatible," Rollins said.

Rollins says he suffered "48 hours of frustration" and came to work Wednesday certain it would be his last day with the campaign. "Obviously, it was time for me to move on."

By forsaking the more traditional politics Rollins advocated, Perot is counting on his own wisdom, rather than conventional wisdom, to win.

"He's gotten this far without any professionals," said Rollins. "He's going to win or lose it based on his own instincts."

And Perot's greatest confidence is in himself.

"He's intended all along to run a non-traditional campaign," says Luce, Perot's lawyer since 1974 and an also-ran in the 1990 Texas GOP gubernatorial race. "All of this ... will be irrelevant in October."

But will he last until fall?

"He's out on a wire with nothing but bare ground and concrete beneath him," says Richard Murray, a University of Houston political scientist. "He's taking all kinds of hits. He's just a punching bag."

Gold agrees with Rollins that Perot is foundering because he isn't reacting quickly enough. "I'm not sure he understands that independent campaigns are fragile beasts. They don't stand up to too many hits."

Rollins, despite his disagreement over strategy, isn't counting Perot out: "This thing is wide open. He can still win."

Along with a 20-point slide in polls, this week has seen:

▶ California ad man Hal Riney, Rollins' first hire, fired over "creative differences."

▶ Perot offending NAACP convention delegates by referring to them as "you people" and to blacks as "your people."

▶ The confirmation that he had asked his electors to sign loyalty oaths.

▶ Complaints from volunteers in seven states that they'd been eclipsed by paid staffers.

"It's so reminiscent of the Anderson campaign," says Gold. "We went into June roaring and dropped like a stone."



By Jeff Mitchell, Reuters

CONFIDENT: Independent candidate Ross Perot has 'intended all along to run a non-traditional campaign.'

THE NATION'S NEWSPAPER
USA TODAY
PUBLISHED BY GANNETT

Dual upbringing asset for Gore

Politics, family are clear boosts for VP candidate

By Richard Wolf
USA TODAY

Born to run.

The song is Bruce Springsteen's. The story is Al Gore's.

Unlike the bootstraps beginnings of Bill Clinton, the path to glory followed by the man Democrats will nominate tonight as their vice-presidential candidate was paved with the trappings of power.

His dad was a senator, nearly a president's running mate himself. As a boy, Gore sat on Vice President Nixon's lap. Sen. Strom Thurmond once stepped on his toy submarine.

But the pivotal points in Gore's life are personal: childhood summers on the farm, breeding Angus cattle and swimming in the Caney Fork River. His father's traumatic defeat in 1970, his sister's death from cancer in 1985. And his son's nearly fatal accident three years ago.

Gore, 44, is a man of two worlds: the confident, can't-miss career politician, and the private, philosophical family man still searching for self.

"He had a dual upbringing," says Al Gore Sr., more gregarious than his son, even at 84. "Tennessee ruralism, Washington sophistication."

After eight years in the House and eight in the Senate, Al Gore's dual personalities may be ready to meld.

Gore's experience in environmental and foreign policy may help shore up Clinton's perceived weaknesses there. But on no issue is Clinton more vulnerable than character — and on no issue does Gore seem more unassailable.

Family values? Gore lives across the river from his father in Carthage, Tenn. — when he's not in the Arlington, Va., home that once belonged to wife Tipper's grandfather.

▶ When anti-war views threatened the elder Gore's career in 1970, the anti-war son enlisted in the Army and was sent to Vietnam — posing first, in uniform, for an ad with his dad.

"Al felt a very strong commitment to his country," recalls Jim Hall, a family friend who had just returned from the war, "and, obviously, a strong commitment to his family."

▶ When his sister, Nancy Gore Hunger, described by many as Al Jr.'s "greatest booster," died of cancer at 46, the brother took it hard. Today he describes his brother-in-law, Frank Hunger, as his "best friend."

"It was a great blow to him to see her slowly waste away and die of cancer at really a very early age," says Sen. Jim Sasser, D-Tenn.

▶ When his son, Albert III, then 6, was struck by a car and propelled 30 feet in the air and 13 feet on the ground before Gore's eyes in 1989, the father cradled him at curbside and later took turns sleeping at his bedside.

"I would call that a very sobering experience, a recognition that time is fleeting and that life is fragile," says Duane Garrett, a consultant to Gore campaigns and a close friend.

A hitch along the way came in 1988, when Gore, then 39, failed a political test for the first time. A late entry into the Democratic presidential primaries, he failed to present a coherent message, appeared awkward on the campaign trail and alienated many loyal Democrats by attacking his rivals' liberalism and their apparent lack of foreign policy credentials.

Since that defeat, Gore's life has been shaped by survival instincts big and small: his son's lengthy recuperation and his own immersion into the complex world of global ecology.

When Albert III lay breathless in the gutter, Gore has recounted, "Death was in his eyes."

But in the emotional words of the elder, the senator prayed for his son and himself, "and then suddenly, there appeared these nurses."

The time since has been a family effort, with Gore flying from Canada to Louisiana in search of the best surgeons to repair his son's weakened arm, and endless hours of therapy.

When Clinton was on the verge of choosing his running mate, Gore turned down a national TV appearance to return to Tennessee and throw baseballs with Albert III.

Gore had thrown himself into a study of the environment, emerging this year with a best-selling book, *Earth in the Balance*, and an expertise on subjects like chlorofluorocarbons. "He thinks that is the biggest thing facing mankind, ever," says his father.

Both of these experiences have emerged during Gore's convention-week appearances. The saga of his son helps defuse Republican dominance of the "family values" issue, while the environmental expertise gives Gore some George Bush-bashing lines.

"When it comes to either the economy or the environment, he (Bush) is most of all interested in making certain that the wealthy and powerful and those with special interests don't have anything to worry about," Gore told California's delegates.

Compared with the stiff, pious, at times overzealous presidential hopeful of 1988, he now seems poised and passionate — and well prepared for the fall campaign.

"He will be a much better candidate this time," says Garrett. "He has always been focused. Now he's riveted on accomplishments."



The Tennessean

IN THE ARMY: Al Gore, left, receives a $50 savings bond from Maj. Gen. Delk Oden, commanding general of Fort Rucker, Ala., in 1970. Gore received the bond after being selected as the post's soldier of the month.



The Tennessean

FAMILY PHOTO: Al Gore with his parents, Paulina and Albert Sr., in this photo taken in the early 1950s.

USA TODAY
THE NATION'S NEWSPAPER
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USA TODAY • THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

Ex-CIA spy's contra trial still shaky

By Sam Vincent Meddis
USA TODAY

The trial of ex-CIA spy chief Clair George, highest-ranking agency official to face Iran-contra charges, was on track Wednesday after being jeopardized by legal wrangling over classified documents.

But there's no guarantee the federal case, which could begin jury selection by Friday, won't yet be derailed by national security concerns from a wary Bush administration.

"Today it's on track and tomorrow it may be off track again," says Thomas Polgar, a former senior CIA official and analyst for the Senate Iran-contra investigating committee.



AP

GEORGE: Trial back on track — for now

The Bush administration may try to sabotage the case even after it starts — out of fear that George may "spill the beans" on higher-ups if he's convicted and faces a stiff prison sentence, Polgar says.

Among those who could be implicated: President Bush, former president Ronald Reagan and the late CIA director William Casey, Polgar says.

Reagan denies any Iran-contra wrongdoing, and Bush says he was not "in the loop" — although new evidence indicates they both attended a Nov. 24, 1986, White House meeting in which investigators suspect a cover-up was hatched.

The George trial also could raise new questions about the Iran-contra role of current CIA Director Robert Gates, who served as Casey's top deputy when the scandal was exposed in 1986. Gates, in bruising confirmation hearings last year, maintained that he knew few details of the affair.

Some speculate that this could be the CIA's Watergate, detailing the agency's inner workings amid the Reagan administration's worst foreign-policy scandal.

"It has that potential," says Charles Ameringer, Pennsylvania State University history professor and author of the book *U.S. Foreign Intelligence.*

George, charged with covering up the Reagan administration's secret arms pipeline to the Nicaraguan rebels, has pleaded innocent.

The star prosecution witness is expected to be Alan Fiers, former head of the CIA Central America task force, who met frequently with then-White House aide Oliver North on contra matters.

In pretrial proceedings Monday, U.S. District Court Judge Royce Lamberth angrily suggested that intelligence agencies tried to stymie the case by failing to prepare classified documents for trial.

On Wednesday, the problem appeared to be resolved.

A law governing classified material forces special prosecutor Lawrence Walsh's office, which is independent of the executive branch, to rely on intelligence agencies to release information.

Intelligence agency objections to release of classified information blocked the 1989 Iran-contra trial of ex-CIA officer Joseph Fernandez, who claimed his activities on behalf of the Nicaraguan rebels were known by his agency superiors.

Walsh complained bitterly at the time that much of the material the agencies insisted on withholding involved "fictional secrets" — a characterization the CIA later disputed.

USA TODAY
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NATIONLINE

FROM USA TODAY'S NATIONAL NEWS NETWORK

Justice Dept. fights Demjanjuk hearing



AP

DEMJANJUK: Appealing in Israel

The U.S. Justice Department said a federal appeals court has no authority to reopen a hearing that sent retired Cleveland auto worker John Demjanjuk to Israel, where he was convicted and sentenced to death on charges he was a Nazi concentration camp guard. U.S. prosecutors Wednesday filed their response to the U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals, which had ordered the Justice Department to disclose any evidence it had that could have cleared Demjanjuk. The Cincinnati-based court acted after new reports that Demjanjuk may be the victim of mistaken identity. Demjanjuk, 72, remains in Israel, where he is pursuing an appeal.

PELTIER TRANSFER: Imprisoned Native American activist Leonard Peltier will be moved today from federal prison in Leavenworth, Kan., to an undisclosed site, his lawyer Bruce Ellison said. The action follows a hearing on his involvement in a July 5 prison melee that injured four people, Ellison said. Prison officials wouldn't comment. Prison documents obtained by Ellison indicate the former leader of the American Indian Movement was caught in the melee, but show Peltier "crouched down" and tried to hide until it ended, he said. Peltier, 47, has served 17 years for the 1975 slaying of two FBI agents on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota. He maintains his innocence.

SUN SPOTS: Scientists said they may be closer to understanding the cause of solar flares that can disrupt electrical power and radio transmissions on Earth. NASA's orbiting Compton Gamma Ray Observatory found an "afterglow" of high-energy gamma rays five hours after a June 11, 1991, solar flare. Another, four days later, lasted 90 minutes.

KEEPING HOPE ALIVE: Instead of spending billions of dollars overseas, the federal government should invest $500 billion to rebuild America, Jesse Jackson told the NAACP convention in Nashville. His plan: use the money to attract an equal amount from private industry to build affordable housing, mass transportation and to create jobs. Suggested revenue: a 5-cent-a-gallon increase in the gasoline tax, oil import fees, and military and foreign aid cuts.



By Michael Conroy, AP

HOUSE GONE: Fran Leitel walks through the tornado-ravaged rubble of her son's home in Kendallville, Ind.

EASTERN STORMS: Violent weather erupted in the East, the sixth day in the last seven that storms have lashed parts of the USA. Lightning killed a man in Fairmount Park, Pa., and a man in Denver was in serious condition after being struck. Wind storms skipped through the New York communities of Flushing Meadow, Howard Beach and Manhasset Bay, and Union County, N.J., but no damage or injuries were reported. At least 170,000 people were without power in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Delaware. A storm Tuesday in Noble County, Ind., damaged 80 buildings and hurt 28 people. (Full Weather, 14A)

HOUSING DISCRIMINATION: A Washington, D.C., woman Tuesday won a record $2.41 million judgment from a real estate management firm that refused to rent an apartment to her because she had children. The federal jury award to Carie Timus, 36, from William J. Davis Inc., is the nation's largest since the 1989 housing discrimination law, said the Washington Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights.

ALSO WEDNESDAY . . .

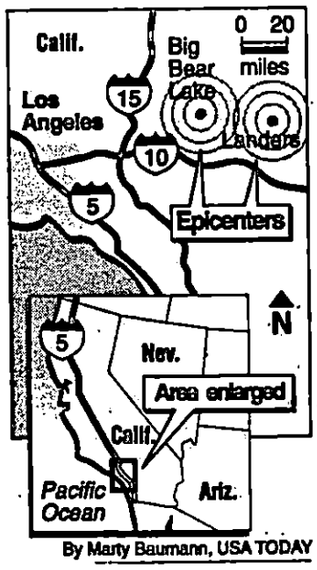
▶ **'DREAM MURDER' CASE:** Chicago authorities dropped 12-year-old murder charges against ex-Bible student Steven Linscott, 38. He was convicted of killing nursing student Karen Ann Phillips after saying he dreamed of a similar murder. An appeals court had ordered a new trial.

▶ **NANNY GOES HOME:** Olivia Riner, 20, acquitted July 7 of murder and arson in a fire that killed a 3-month-old baby she was caring for in Westchester County, N.Y., returned home to Switzerland.

▶ **EMERGENCY LANDING:** A Continental Airlines Boeing 737 with 87 people bound for Oklahoma City from Denver landed at Tinker Air Force Base, Okla., after reporting hydraulic problems, a base spokeswoman said.

▶ **SHIPS TO SAIL:** More than 200 tall ships from around the world weigh anchor today in Boston, their last U.S. port of call. Many are headed for England on the last leg of an international sailing regatta marking the 500th anniversary of Christopher Columbus' voyage to the Americas.

Quakes were stronger than thought



By Marty Baumann, USA TODAY

More seismograph readings from around the world show the quakes that rocked southern California last month were slightly stronger than first indicated. The 7.4-magnitude Landers quake was revised to 7.5, same as a May 17 temblor in the Philippines that was the world's strongest this year. The 6.5-magnitude Big Bear quake was upgraded to 6.6. Waverly Person of the National Earthquake Center said the quakes might be upgraded again. The June 28 jolts and aftershocks killed one person, injured 400 and caused $92 million in damage.

Written by Paul Leavitt. Contributing: Paul Hoversten, Sandra Sanchez, Ron Prichard and Jim Orr

USA TODAY
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CAPITAL LINE

USA TODAY'S BRIEFING ON WASHINGTON

U.S. will reduce underground N-tests

The Bush administration has told Congress it plans to reduce U.S. underground nuclear tests to six a year, but has rejected calls to suspend them. In two letters to congressional leaders, the administration also vowed to conduct tests only to check the safety and reliability of nuclear weapons.

"The administration continues to believe that a modest nuclear testing program remains essential for continued confidence in our significantly reduced nuclear deterrent," said a July 10 letter from Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, national security adviser Brent Scowcroft and Energy Secretary James Watkins.

The three expressed strong opposition to legislation that would impose a one-year moratorium on U.S. testing.



CHAFEE: Retaliates for 'SOB' remark

TOWN MEETING CLASH: Sen. John Chafee, R-R.I., threatened a Vietnam veteran at a Pawtucket, R.I., town meeting after the man criticized the senator for failing to co-sponsor a bill that would have raised veterans' benefits. "Don't you talk to me like that or I'll tear you apart," Chafee said at the Tuesday night meeting after Harold Prew called the senator a "son of a bitch." Chafee then yanked Prew's hat over his eyes.

"He needs his $35,000 pay raise but tells me my $1,000 is too much," said Prew, who suffered nerve damage in Vietnam. The bill would allow veterans with at least 20 years of service who are collecting disability to receive full retirement benefits. Said Chafee: "I can't vote for something just because someone will complain if I don't."

OLDER CONTRIBUTORS: First lady Barbara Bush says older Americans have the time, experience, wisdom and patience to serve the public in many ways. Bush spoke at a Scarborough, Maine, conference organized by Sen. William Cohen of Maine, ranking Republican on the Senate Special Committee on Aging. The conference is aimed at demonstrating how the vast experience of older Americans can be channeled into activities for the public good.

SPOTTED OWL: The government can do nothing to prevent the threatened spotted owl from becoming extinct in the ancient forests of the Pacific Northwest, Agriculture Secretary Edward Madigan told an American Farm Bureau gathering Tuesday. Madigan also joked that the 1992 GOP platform would include a farm plank calling for "More money, higher income, more markets. String all the environmentalists up." The comments came as President Bush toured California's Sequoia National Park in an effort to highlight his commitment to the environment.

IRAQ TRANSFER: The Dutch corporation Delft Instruments N.V. and four employees were charged with illegally selling U.S. military night-vision devices to Iraq from 1988 through 1990, the Justice Department said. It said a four-count grand jury indictment alleges that the transfer of the high-tech prototypes violated U.S. arms export control laws.

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THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

Iraq challenges United Nations on cease-fire

By Johanna Neuman
USA TODAY

The United States is warning Iraq it risks renewed war by continuing a stand-off with U.N. nuclear inspectors.

The inspectors have been blocked from the Agricultural Ministry in Baghdad since July 5. They believe weapons-related materials are stored there.

Iraq "is putting at risk the cease-fire," said State Department spokesman Richard Boucher Wednesday.

Rolf Ekeus, the U.N. official in charge of destroying Iraq's war machine, was reported en route to Baghdad.

At the United Nations, Iraq is demanding an end to all resolutions against Baghdad, saying it has met its obligations.

Iraq Ambassador Adbul Anbari says the demand reflects Iraq's new tough policy: "This is going to be a new page."

But Secretary of State James Baker disagrees.

"Iraq must not be allowed to flout the authority of the Security Council," Baker told U.N. chief Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

Iraq has:

▶ Rejected U.N. terms for future oil sales.

▶ Boycotted a meeting with Kuwait to set their border.

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THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

OPINIONLINE

What people are saying about the Democratic convention

Democrats doing what they do best

MIKE ROYKO, columnist: "The Democratic convention, lacking a contest or suspense, could be held in one day. Or even a couple of hours. What's there really to do? The candidates get nominated. They make windy speeches. ... But that would deprive the Democrats of a chance to fulfill the real function of a Democratic convention. And to do what Democrats do better than anyone else. And that is to moan, moan, moan."

TOM SHALES, TV columnist: "Some people are having fun with the convention, and some people are having fun at the convention, but the convention itself has not been much fun at all to watch. Whether or not Clinton has a chance of winning in November, he does have a chance of saving the show if he gives the best speech of his life. ... His 1988 convention speech was so long and boring that delegates cheered when he said, 'And in conclusion.' It won't be hard to be better than that, but it *will* be hard to be good enough."

JAY LENO #1 on Mario Cuomo nominating Bill Clinton: "They're going to go after the undecided vote by using their national spokesman."

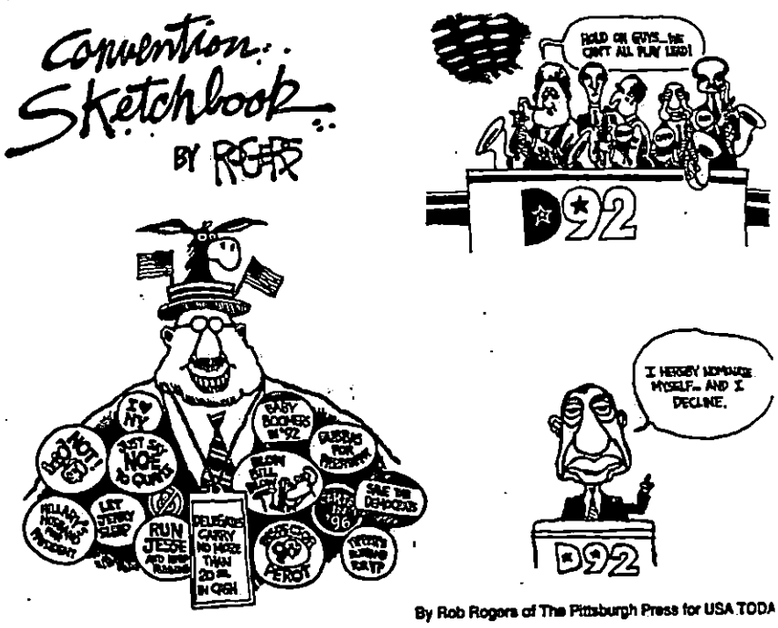


McGRORY

MARY McGRORY, columnist: "The Pennsylvania delegates, at their caucus coffee klatch, are feeling frazzled. ... Of their greatest anxiety, they did not speak. It is their politically incorrect governor, Robert Casey, and his inconvenient obsession with addressing the convention on the subject of abortion. ... Only one antiabortion delegate in the caucus thinks the governor ... has the right to speak. ... The Clinton people certainly do not want to hear him. The party is fielding a record number of women candidates, all of them backing abortion rights. Officially ... Casey is being shut out because he has failed to endorse Clinton."

RICHARD BEN CRAMER, author: "No man could be such a paragon of brilliant goodness as the American press paints its winners. (Or even possible winners. Hey, the guy's on the rise — has to be explained, right?) And no man could be such an irredeemable, char-hearted schlub as the American press portrays its losers. The funny part is, it can change in a week: A couple of good speeches, a bump in the polls — even a dip in someone else's polls — and suddenly this guy's a giant, exemplary."

FORT COLLINS COLORADOAN in today's editorial: "Women are the ultimate outsiders, and the Democrats meeting in convention in New York City are trying to change that. ... If elections are a bit of a numbers game, the numbers of candidates — and the money backing them — are up this year. This increases the chance that the ultimate outsiders may get inside. Women have been knocking on the door for decades. It's more than time for the door to open."



By Rob Rogers of The Pittsburgh Press for USA TODA

CAL THOMAS, columnist: "The Democratic Party, circa 1992, resembles a long-running Broadway show that has changed its lead and supporting players but retains the same script. Bill Clinton and Al Gore are fresh, baby-boomer faces. They are from the South, not the Northeast, liberalism's breeding ground. But behind the makeup and costumes is the identical script Democrats have been using since the 1960s. ... Republicans need to do more than apply the 'liberal' label to Clinton and Gore ... They must expose the Democrats' masquerade."

What Democratic delegates say

Compared to four years ago, is your family:

Better off	20%
Worse off	61%
No different	17%
Don't know	2%

Source: USA TODAY/NBC poll

By Julie Stacey, USA TODAY

JAY LENO #2: "Clinton's got the nomination wrapped up, so the politics aren't very interesting. Rob Lowe's not coming. Ted Kennedy just got married. So you know the parties are going to be crummy, too."

KEN ADELMAN, columnist: "Among Bill Clinton's more remarkable feats in the steep climb to the nomination has been his squelching foreign policy as a contention issue. ... Hence, the campaign thus far has been a conspiracy of silence. Mr. Clinton has not wished to challenge Mr. Bush on any fundamental international issue and Mr. Bush has not wished to challenge the public's overwhelming indifference to most matters foreign."

AUSTIN (Texas) AMERICAN-STATESMAN in today's editorial: "Today, it's going to rain balloons on Bill Clinton at Madison Square Garden. It is his day and his party's day and each deserve it. It has been a long, hard road getting here. Tomorrow, Clinton and the party he now leads face the daunting task of convincing the rest of the country that they deserve a presidency denied them for the past 12 years."

▶ Convention index, 3A

Hillary: A tough cookie to some

What pundits are writing about Hillary Clinton:

Ellen Goodman: "Hillary had a rocky introduction to the public. ... But much of the Hillary Problem is another case study about men, women, change. ... Harvard Business School's Rosabeth Kantor says our trouble is with teams as much as with mates. 'We don't understand teams in America. We have this idea there has to be one leader, one CEO.'"

Dave Barry: "I finally caught up with the New Hillary Clinton. She has replaced the Old Hillary Clinton, who was unpopular with the public because she was going around discussing the issues. This is, of course, unacceptable to the American public, which prefers its politicians' wives to have a ... stand-by-your-man, worshipful gaze-type of personality, as epitomized by Pat Nixon and most Labrador retrievers."

THE NATION'S NEWSPAPER

USA TODAY

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LETTERS

Honor among officers?

I'm a retired Navy wife who is appalled by the conduct of the officers and the Navy, and I am disgusted with the circumstances surrounding the Tailhook convention.

The officers in the hallway and any superior who knew of, acted in, or condoned the harassing that took place should have the courage to expose those whose conduct was less than professional.

Any officer who abandons one of his own in time of need doesn't deserve to wear the Wings of Gold. If you're not part of the solution, then you must be part of the problem.

I implore our naval leadership to take immediate and appropriate action to eradicate this disease.

Diane Bertoglio
Lincolnshire, Ill.

Legitimate travel firms

In response to the article, "Beware of those selling cheap trips" (July 8), this is a terrible problem that has plagued American consumers in all markets over the past decade. However, there are still plenty of ethical travel companies around offering inexpensive vacations with no hidden costs or unexpected disappointments.

Unfortunately, many times in an attempt to expose unethical vendors, many legitimate companies may be adversely affected. Highlander Travel Corp. is one such company.

We advertise in the classified section of USA TODAY for a cruise to Freeport and have joined in the struggle to make overpriced vacations and scams a thing of the past.

We are dedicated to making travel safe and affordable for American consumers again.

Ira Robinson
Joseph Jermolowicz
Orlando, Fla.

Affirmative action

Concerning the July 10 editorial ("Four white males again head major-party tickets"), the writer has confused the electoral process, which truly reflects the nation, with affirmative action, which reflects social engineering.

Since the editorial insists on injecting race, would someone explain to me, if the USA is really such a racist blight among nations, why so many non-whites from all over the world leave their non-white rulers to enter this country?

This white-male-dominated nation has created more liberty and opportunity for more people — including non-whites — than any nation in history.

Bobby Odom
Farmerville, La.



By Jim Sulley, AP

ABORTION RIGHTS: Police and demonstrators meet Wednesday in New York outside a clinic.

Abortion sides uncompromising

The abortion controversy will not have a peaceful conclusion because the adversaries are not even talking about the same thing.

To the "pro-choice" crew, abortion is a political question, something won at great cost and not to be given up. It is the final freedom for feminists in their long battle with a male-dominated world.

The "pro-life" group looks at abortion as a moral question. To them, abortion is the killing of a baby, and abortionists are the greatest mass murderers in history.

There can be no compromise between these views. Which side will win? Both are completely right, but my money is on the abortionists.

The pro-life group has God and public morality on its side and is willing to die to stop the killing.

But that is not enough.

If it comes to a fight between God and morals on one side vs. the liberal establishment and media on the other, God doesn't stand a chance.

Philip D. Long
Clay Center, Kan.

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JOE URSCHEL

Dealing with a royal pain

Here's the difference between men and women:

Sorry. That was a cheap journalistic device designed to lure you in because:

A.) Women think there is no difference but will read closely if only to object to the lame evidence cited, and

B.) Men feel there is an obvious difference but are always amused when writers have to cite lame evidence to prove it.

(One difference is women will write to explain what a moron I am. And, as always, guys won't share their feelings.)



Joe Urschel's column appears on Tuesdays and Thursdays.

But the difference that really separates men from women these days is this whole fuss about the royal family.

Ladies, you know *exactly* what I am talking about. Guys are scratching their heads, wondering, "royal family?"

Of course, we mean Prince Charles and Princess Diana.

Di, it seems, is prone to depression, bulimia, anorexia, fits of rage, anxiety and dramatic suicide attempts. The prince, it seems, is prone to arrogance, condescension, coldheartedness and — oh, yes — another woman. (We won't mention her by name. Di refers to her simply as "the Rottweiler.")

Guys: Here is a good way to get some conversation started at dinner. Simply say, "Gee, with all the wonderful British women out there, it is really too bad a stand-up guy like Prince Charles had to end up with a head case like Diana."

This will prompt an animated, unequivocal retort that will begin with an explanation of "the bizarre hormonal malady that afflicts you — and every other member of your gender — resulting in an inability to think with anything but your glands" and conclude with the some-all fallacy: "All men are [Rottweilers]."

I'm not saying every guy sides with Chuck — although all women certainly side with Di (ladies, you can write me at 1000 Wilson Blvd., Arlington, Va. 22229). Guys just don't care. But our apathy isn't due to some genetically programmed insensitivity.

Why should we waste time contemplating the fates of two pampered aristocrats whose only goal in life seems to be the relentless pursuit of the crown and a life of staggering wealth and overindulgent consumptive excesses?

Men can care deeply about substantive, emotional matters. Our sense of moral outrage and compassion is just as highly developed as women's. We do not lack passion. We do have *feelings*.

I mean, just take this whole fuss about how that arrogant, condescending, coldhearted Rottweiler Fay Vincent just up and yanked the Cubs out of the NL East!

Guys, you know *exactly* what I'm talking about. Ladies ... you can write me at the address above.

THE NATION'S NEWSPAPER
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Today's debate is on **PROTECTING THE UNBORN** and prosecuting pregnant women who endanger their fetuses.

Stop the pregnancy police; help troubled women

OUR VIEW **Prosecuting mothers for their behavior during pregnancy endangers unborn children.**

Prosecutors across the USA are foolishly playing pregnancy cop. Their message to pregnant women:

Don't drink or take drugs. If you do, get an abortion or face prosecution.

This week, a Nebraska judge refused to dismiss charges against Deborah Arandus for abusing her unborn child.

Prosecutors claim the mother of six drank too much, leading to the birth of a baby that may suffer from fetal alcohol syndrome, a disease that lowers IQs and creates erratic behavior.

Arandus is the latest of 168 women in 25 states to face charges for their behavior during pregnancy.

Most have been prosecuted for use of illegal drugs during pregnancy. One, in California, was prosecuted for not obeying a doctor's orders about bed rest.

In all but a Florida case, which is being appealed, the mothers eventually won. And for good reason. With everything from smoking to cold pills posing risks to a fetus, courts can't police every prospective parent who takes a drink or a drag without violating everybody's rights.

Doctors, nurses and drug counselors reject claims that prosecution protects the unborn. It aids nothing but the political ambitions of prosecutors.

Infant mortality in Camden, N.J., dropped 22% as outreach workers brought more women in for prenatal care. But as a supervisor said, "We have to go out and build their trust." Prosecuting mothers undercuts it.

Pregnant women who receive treatment early can have babies as healthy as those who never used drugs, doctors say. But prosecuting mothers scares women away and wastes money needed to add to the 10,000 slots now available.

To help the more than 400,000 babies born annually with alcohol- and drug-related problems, states should take mothers out of court and promote care by:

- ▶ Keeping pregnant women's medical records private to build their trust.
- ▶ Expanding prenatal care.
- ▶ Increasing drug treatment.

Addicted pregnant women and their unborn children don't need pregnancy police. They need medical help.

Protect unborn children

OPPOSING VIEW **Child abuse is a crime; mothers who hurt their unborn babies must pay the price.**

Incredibly, some pregnant women are, naively or even willfully, force-feeding their unborn children dangerous drugs such as cocaine and/or poisonous amounts of alcohol. As a result, more than 1,000 babies are born every day horribly deformed, brain-damaged, writhing in painful seizures — and these precious little ones face frighteningly high mortality rates.



By Peter B. Gemma Jr., an Arlington, Va., writer and former contributing editor to *Conservative Digest.*

Recently, the response by some judges and prosecutors to this child-abuse crisis has resulted in a few pregnant women being arrested and even incarcerated to prevent their unrepentant or unrehabilitative behavior from causing further pain and permanent damage to their unborn babies.

The cases have been infrequent, but the results are impressive:

Butte County, Calif., reports its average of 10 dope-addicted babies born each month was reduced to zero when the district attorney threatened to enforce drug and child-abuse laws against every abuser, even pregnant women.

"Every woman I've worked with has told me that if she hadn't been arrested, she wouldn't have stopped using drugs," one South Carolina drug-abuse counselor has observed.

Prosecuting mothers for child abuse is a sad but serious obligation society has given our legal system. "Once she has made the decision to carry the baby, [a woman] has incurred a responsibility," said one lawyer in a current child-abuse case. "I don't care if the baby is in the crib or in the womb; an assault is an assault," he correctly commented.

Child abuse is a horrible crime. Mothers who hurt their unborn babies by ingesting illegal drugs and dangerous amounts of alcohol are sick people who deserve special medical attention. They also are lawbreakers who must pay the price for their criminal behavior.

THE NATION'S NEWSPAPER

USA TODAY

No. 1 IN THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992 S A DAY

Brown's money message

On another subject, USA TODAY argues that campaign finance reform is a crucial need.

Spotting Jerry Brown at the Democratic convention last night was easy: He was the guy with the messianic mission.

His not-for-prime-time speech was tinged by his obvious reluctance to endorse nominee Bill Clinton — and punctuated by Clinton backers muttering, "Jerry, you lost."

Such lingering ill will is understandable after a hard campaign. But it poses a danger: that Clinton will discard Brown's crucial message with his failed candidacy and so lose one of his best shots at reinfusing vitality into government.

Brown, and others, have warned that the special interests who finance presidential and congressional campaigns are molding government into the private preserve of the monied and privileged.

Brown took aim at these fat cats by refusing to accept campaign gifts of more than $100. The 800-number he then had to tout for cash became a joke — but callers pledged more than $4 million.

That's almost enough to finance a serious primary bid. It's proof that primaries can be fueled by individual donors.

It's a wonderful argument for keeping the $1 from each return taxpayers can designate to fund presidential campaigns. With a second $1 checkoff on tax returns, congressional campaigns also could be funded publicly.

Lacking public funds, candidates for any high office have little choice but to cozy up to special interests. Just getting a major party's presidential nomination will cost about $27 million this year.

Even the weak reforms in place now have helped keep campaigns more ethical. Brown's ideas are worth preserving — whoever espouses them.

▶ Convention index, 3A

THE NATION'S NEWSPAPER

USA TODAY

NO. 1 IN ... THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992 ... S A DAY

COMMENT

Clinton can't kiss off black voters' support

Blacks don't want to see Jesse Jackson belittled.

To some, Jesse Jackson's speech to the Democratic National Convention Tuesday night had the sound of a funeral dirge. It was a political eulogy, of a sort. His own.

But it is too soon for the pundits and too risky for the Democrats to write him off; the implications of doing so threaten to tear blacks away from the party.



By DeWayne Wickham, a columnist for Gannett News Service and USA TODAY.

Depending upon who you listen to, Jackson has been eclipsed among blacks by Ron Brown, the party chairman, or the small coterie of black politicians who have emerged as advisers to Bill Clinton.

So when Jackson stood at the rostrum and acknowledged Clinton's certain selection as the Democratic nominee, his action was treated as proof positive of his political demise.

After all, hadn't Clinton drawn and quartered Jackson when he used a meeting of the National Rainbow Coalition to attack the words of Sister Souljah? Wasn't it the Clinton forces that demanded (and got) a Jackson endorsement of their candidate before letting him address the convention?

Given the way Jackson humbled Walter Mondale and Michael Dukakis, the '84 and '88 nominees, shouldn't we look at Clinton's handling of Jackson as evidence of Jackson's fall?

Sure, he is not the force at this convention that he was in those years. But then he wore the mantle of a candidate and had hundreds of delegates committed to him. This time he sports neither.

Still, there's this talk of Jackson's demise — something that's being pushed by the Clinton camp and embraced by more than a few political pundits.

They may be overplaying their hand.

The possibility is real, says Eddie Williams, president of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, that if Jackson "is eclipsed and embarrassed" by his fellow Democrats, "he will move to create a third party."

And if he does, Williams says, he may take a large number of black voters with him.

According to a recent Joint Center poll, Jackson has a 77% positive rating among blacks — far more than any other black leader.

"Emotionally, he is more influential in the black community than any other individual," says Williams.

In recent weeks, Jackson has rejected calls from some close advisers and family members to walk away from the Democratic Party.

One of his allies in Congress, Rep. Maxine Waters, D-Calif., already is threatening to leave the party if Clinton wins the White House and fails to do the right thing for blacks.

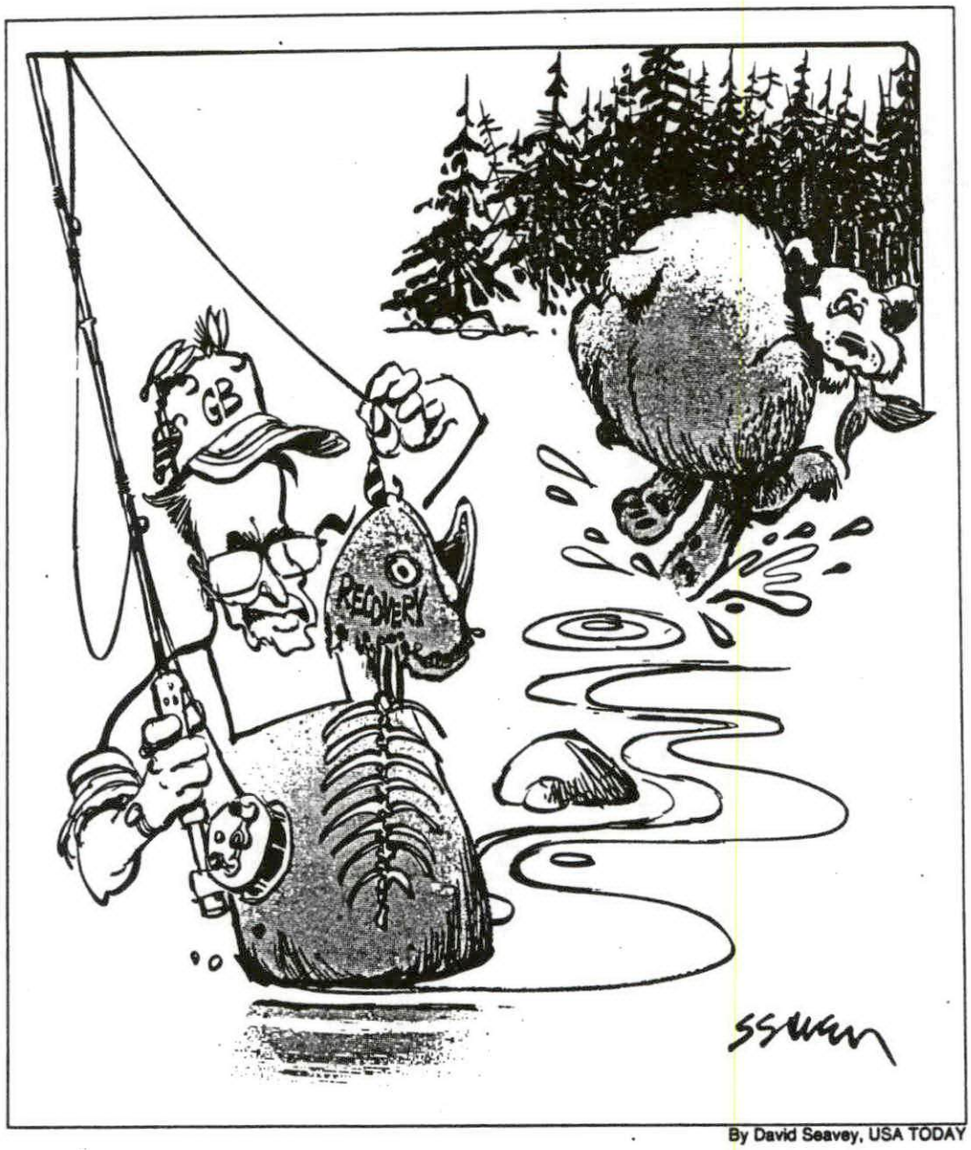
If Jackson breaks with the party, he might split the ranks of black voters like no time since 1956. In that year, 22% of black voters considered themselves independents, 24% Republicans and just slightly more than 50% Democrats.

Ironically, many blacks who came to New York supporting Clinton say they expect the Arkansas governor will reach out to Jackson. Translated: They want Clinton in the White House, but they don't want Jackson belittled in the process.

It's a message that doesn't seem to be getting through to the Clinton camp, which is treating Jackson's endorsement of their candidate as an act of political suicide.

USA TODAY
THE NATION'S NEWSPAPER
PUBLISHED BY GANNETT

THE EDITORIAL PAGE



By David Seavey, USA TODAY

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

On Clinton's Recipe for Growth

By Robert L. Bartley

NEW YORK – Barbara Jordan goes on prime time to declare a change from a party of "tax and spend to one of investment and growth." Jimmy Carter, Jesse Jackson and AIDS activists get pushed up against the All-Star game. House bankers are confined in a Thursday night ghetto. Democrats gathered in Madison Square Garden, in short, are conjuring up a moderate image.

A moderate mirage, it probably is, as it was with Mr. Carter, the last Southern moderate governor nominee. Even so, the Democrats at Bill Clinton's right hand deserve credit for some genuine intellectual effort. If we put aside for a moment what's actually likely and take them at their best, they really do have something to say about the number-one issue of this election. "The most important family policy, urban policy, labor policy, minority policy and foreign policy America can have," their platform declares, is "an expanding, entrepreneurial economy of high-skill, high-wage jobs."

Plausible Recipe

What's more, they offer a plausible recipe. They want to rekindle growth by encouraging investment. They promise to pare the deficit, thus releasing funds borrowed by the government so they can be borrowed to build factories. They further promise to channel more of government spending away from transfer payments to individuals and toward the construction of useful infrastructure such as bridges, bullet trains and recycling plants. And, for those who qualify as "patient investors in emerging technologies and new businesses," they would provide "an investment tax credit and a capital gains reduction."



Bill Clinton

While this recipe will provide plenty of food for skeptics, it is important for what it is not. It is not, first of all, the Keynesian pump-priming once enshrined in Jimmy Carter's $50 rebate. Some 100 prominent economists, six of them with Nobel Prizes, recently offered an economic plan calling for big spending handouts to cities and more money creation. The Clinton Democrats, though, did not sleep through the inflation-ridden 1970s and the long expansion of the 1980s.

Even more important, the Clinton plan is not the AFL-CIO plan. Stripped to its essence, the labor agenda is to keep unskilled wages high by walling the U.S. economy off from the world. The Clinton camp has made certain concessions, to be sure, such as an indexed minimum wage to protect unionized workers from the competition of teenagers and other low-lifes. But the Clinton camp seems to recognize that the most disastrous economic error would lie in the protectionist temptation, that outlawing international competition is a proven route to decline.

In this, the Democratic program reflects the intellectual currents best expressed by Clinton adviser and fellow Rhodes scholar Robert B. Reich. Avoiding a global economy is impossible, the task is to adapt to it. It doesn't matter, as Mr. Reich eloquently explains in his book "The Work of Nations," where a global corporation locates its headquarters. What matters is whether Americans can perform, and thus capture, the jobs that add the most value to a world economy. Thus, the economic priorities are more investment in plants, infrastructure and education.

This much of Clintonomics will find little argument from Reaganomics. We free marketeers who cheered on the 1980s expansion certainly agree on free trade, would like to see productive investments, would like a better educated work force and even agree that, other things being equal, a smaller deficit would be a good thing. The issue is which economic policies are likely to achieve these wonders. Reagan boosters say get the incentives right, keep taxes low and regulation out of the way, and the market will put investment to its best use. Clinton boosters say the wealthy have to pay their "share," and that the government will pick the best investments.

For all its shortcomings, the Clinton-at-his-best plan is a genuine intellectual contribution. To grow, we will have to invest more, and we will have to do more of the accompanying saving at home.

The Clinton folks, again taking them at their best, argue that market policies did not work because even during the Reagan boom the federal deficit was high and investment as measured in the National Income Accounts was low. Money that should have been invested in productive facilities was instead borrowed by the government. So unwind the 1980s: Raise taxes to lower the deficit, investment will rise and we will all prosper.

The reply from us market folks is that, whatever obscure statistics showed, during the 1980s the economy grew. It was indeed the heyday of "an expanding, entrepreneurial economy," with new names exploding on the business landscape. Names such as Microsoft, Lotus and Borland, for example, creating service-sector jobs. Or hardware makers such as Compaq, Sun Microsystems and Apple, which went public in 1980. Or fashion and retailing successes such as Liz Claiborne, Reebok and Wal-Mart. Or communications concerns such as Tele-Communications, Turner Broadcasting and McCaw Cellular. Such firms created more than 18 million new jobs, net, after a jobs decline by the Fortune 500. This was an investment drought?

If you choose instead to believe statistics, you have to understand what they mean. The often-cited decline in investment during the 1980s concerns net investment; gross investment held steady as a percentage of gross domestic product. What changed was the deduction between gross and net—depreciation or *capital consumption allowances*. Businesses invested in computers, with short depreciation lives and high capital consumption allowances. The net figures would look a lot better if instead they'd built big, long-lived plants, say steel mills. Would that really have been a better investment?

Which raises a question central to the Clinton-at-his-best plan: Just what is investment, anyway? In the National Income Accounts, a third Lear Jet for the Fortune 500 chairman clearly counts. While the U.S. doesn't keep real books on public-sector investment, a road from nowhere to nowhere would inevitably get included. Economic growth depends on investments that pay their way, investments that over their lifetimes directly or indirectly earn back more than their cost. In the 1950s, the public sector invested in cruise missiles and submarines, and in all likelihood the end of the Cold War will spell a big payback for our grandchildren.

The Clinton investment strategy depends on some unspecified guide for picking profitable investments, whether directly in the public sector or in "targeted" industries. Here the government's track record is dreadful. Inevitably the public projects and private subsidies go not to the economically productive but to the politically powerful. Indeed, this is already apparent in the Clinton plan, with investments in smaller school classes for the National Education Association and more concrete for the construction workers. New York City defaulted on its bonds, remember, because of its capital budget, which included whatever it chose to call investment.

If the Clinton plan succeeded in cutting the deficit, of course, smaller borrowings would leave more money in the capital pool directed by the markets. On its face this would be a good thing, but there are a couple of important caveats. One, the magnitude of this effect is not as large as it seems; in the global economy Mr. Reich describes, any deficit reduction has to be measured against a global pool of capital. In these leagues, a reduction of $162 billion over three years, the Clinton "moderate growth" promise, is not big potatoes (check your dictionary).

Besides, whether a deficit reduction will increase investment depends on how the reduction is achieved. Investment will not grow, for example, if you reduce government borrowing by increasing government taxes on investors. The Clinton plan, to the surprise of no sentient being, relies heavily on precisely this device. There will be higher taxes on millionaires likely to have money to invest, for example, and big corporate "loophole closings." What this seems to mean is higher taxes on U.S. investment abroad and, most especially, foreign investment in the U.S. Given the enormous investment inflows that fueled the 1980s this is anything but a route to improved investment in American plants and jobs.

The Clinton plan, finally, promises some deficit reduction through spending cuts. Unhappily, the main engine of lower spending turns out to be a three-page health care plan: It would beat up on pharmaceutical and insurance companies while expanding medical care coverage and curtailing costs with price controls. The Clinton folks apparently were asleep, after all, during Jimmy Carter's energy policy.

For all its shortcomings, the Clinton-at-his-best plan is a genuine intellectual contribution. It will be healthy if Mr. Reich's globalism persuades more Democrats, who in any event already believe in his prescription of higher taxes for education and bullet trains from Cambridge to Washington. And in spotlighting investment, the Clinton plan is quite apt for the 1990s. It is unquestionably true that during the 1980s we grew through more inputs of labor. Though in my view this was fine, with nearly everyone now at work we can't do it again in the 1990s. And given the collapse of Japanese share and real estate values, we are not likely to have another huge inflow of Japanese saving to invest. To grow, we will have to invest more, and we will have to do more of the accompanying saving at home.

The way to get more saving and investment is to raise the return on saving and investment; the quickest way to do this is to cut taxes on saving and investment. You can start by cutting the tax on capital gains, which the U.S. taxes more heavily than any of its global competitors. While you're at it, why not cut, or drop, the tax on saving accounts and the like. After all, savers already paid taxes on that money once, when it was earned; why should they pay again if they take their satisfaction from saving rather than consuming? And above all, structure taxes, regulation and the tort law to allow the U.S. to compete with other nations in attracting a bigger share of the world's capital pool.



Jimmy Carter

Voodoo Values

In this campaign, someone really ought to offer an economic plan like that; after all, it's essentially the plan that produced landslide victories in the past three presidential elections. But in their wisdom, Republicans have abandoned voodoo economics. Amid the various noises, it looks as if the Bush administration economic plan is the one voiced from time to time by economic czar Richard Darman. Namely, duck the voters' last shot, then get together with the Democratic Congress for a "grand bargain" – hiking taxes and slashing Medicare. To the extent one can divine it, that is, the Bush plan is essentially Clinton-at-his-best.

Three months ago Britain fought an election with a very similar script. Neil Kinnock had cleaned up the Labor Party, and argued that the 1980s prosperity was a mirage. The Conservatives, trying to shake the shadow of Margaret Thatcher, were uncertain and waffling. This was profoundly dispiriting to Tory sympathizers; the Financial Times went so far as to write that "the dangers of perpetuating in power a weakened and uncertain Conservative party, set alongside the progress Labor has made in modernizing itself, justify by a fine margin the risks of a change."

As the Financial Times editorial was written, John Major's Conservatives were finding their voice. Late in the campaign, they even invited Mrs. Thatcher herself back on the stump with a plea for a government "that does not follow but leads." The polls showed a Labor win or a hung Parliament, but the last-minute Tory drive confounded them with a landslide. Perhaps George Bush, who prides himself on getting up for the big event, can also sprint to the wire. But there would be a lot less room for accident if he doesn't take so long to find his way back to a proven formula.

Mr. Bartley is editor of The Wall Street Journal.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

Panel Suggests U.S. Repay Duties It Set On Mexican Cement

By Bob Davis
Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal

WASHINGTON — An international dispute-resolution panel ruled that the U.S. improperly applied stiff anti-dumping duties to imports of Mexican cement and urged the U.S. to return the more than $30 million in duties it has collected.

The ruling, by a panel of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, could complicate negotiations to conclude a free-trade pact with Mexico. U.S. industries look to U.S. anti-dumping laws for protection from import competition. A number of lawmakers have become leery of trade pacts because they fear that review panels can override U.S. decisions on dumping and other trade measures. This latest ruling will probably feed that fear, particularly because the GATT panel doesn't issue its reports publicly. A copy was provided to this newspaper.

In August 1990, the U.S. International Trade Commission ruled that imports of Mexican cement were harming U.S. producers, clearing the way for anti-dumping duties as high as 57% to be imposed on Mexican cement imports. As a result, Cemex S.A., Mexico's largest cement producer, said it would sharply reduce shipments to the U.S.

Mexico and the U.S. negotiated over the ruling for about a year. But when that didn't lead to a resolution, Mexico asked GATT, the world trade organization based in Geneva, to set up a three-person panel to review the dispute.

Last week, the panel ruled that the U.S. Commerce Department, which initially handles dumping cases, hadn't verified that the Southern and Southwestern U.S. cement companies that filed the complaint adequately represented regional cement makers. Under GATT anti-dumping rules, companies filing a complaint in a regional dispute must represent "all or almost all of the production" in the region.

The panel recommended that the U.S. return all the anti-dumping tariffs that it has collected to offset the Mexican companies' allegedly unfair price advantage. GATT panels consider that a tough penalty and rarely make such a recommendation, trade lawyers said.

At Cemex's headquarters in Monterrey, Mexico, officials couldn't be reached for comment.

But analyst Mark Fane of Blair, Foster & Co. in Los Angeles said that the news "could be very bullish" for Cemex, the world's fourth largest cement maker and a stock that makes up 10% of the capitalization of the Mexican stock exchange. "To drop the countervailing duty is positive. To refund the duties is very positive," said Mr. Fane.

Under GATT's arcane rules, the full trade organization must adopt the panel recommendation before it becomes effective. That gives the U.S. a veto over the case. In a 1990 case involving Swedish stainless steel that also urged the U.S. to return anti-dumping duties, the U.S. blocked the recommendation.

But the U.S. is under some pressure to accept adverse rulings to bolster the GATT dispute-resolution process, which the U.S. also uses to settle trade complaints. A spokeswoman for the U.S. trade representative's office, which represents the U.S. at GATT, said the agency wouldn't comment because the ruling is supposed to be "confidential."

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

On Deck

A Baby-Boomer Elite Yearns to Take Part In a Clinton Presidency

Frozen Out by GOP Rule, They Thirst for Power And See Chance to Get It

Mellowed but Still Idealistic

By JILL ABRAMSON
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

NEW YORK—They are souls on ice.

During the past 12 years of Republican rule, these fortysomething Democrats have been pining for a return to power. Inside their marble mausoleums at some of the nation's most prestigious law firms, investment banks and businesses, ambitious Democrats of Bill Clinton's generation see him as their best hope to seize back the reins of government.

"Instead of the Reagan Revolution," says Washington lawyer John Quinn, who has worked for a succession of losing Democratic presidential candidates, "we thought we would spend our lives in public service in a succession of Democratic administrations."

Seeking Elusive Victory

Democrats nominated Gov. Clinton as their candidate for president in what promises to be an unusual and unpredictable race, while Ross Perot suffered a blow as a campaign manager resigned. The uncertainties of this political season have left congressional incumbents trying to fathom the crosscurrents at work. **See articles on page A12.**

They grew up thinking they would run the country. Cutting their political teeth during the civil rights and antiwar movements, they were primed to attack society's problems after graduating from the nation's elite universities, including Georgetown, where Mr. Clinton graduated in 1968, and Harvard, from which Albert Gore Jr. graduated in 1969.

The members of this shadow government have spent the 1980s and 1990s on the outside, getting rich. But even as their net worths have soared, these would-be public servants have a nagging sense that something is missing. "You miss the feeling that you are making a difference on issues that really matter," says Richard Neustadt Jr., who was a close friend of Al Gore at Harvard. Mr. Neustadt served on the domestic policy staff of the Carter White House, but has spent the last decade as a high-technology entrepreneur.

This week's convention is both a reunion and resurrection for this generation of lost leaders, who haven't tasted political power since Jimmy Carter left office in January 1981. "None of us dreamed that the Carter administration would be the Camelot of our generation," says a Wall Street banker who worked on the Carter team (and doesn't want his desire to join a Clinton administration known at his firm). "It never occurred to us that we'd be in the wilderness forever."

In Bill Clinton, these aging baby boomers see the best of their former selves. "Bill represents a generational edge, the idealism of the '60s," says Marc Lackritz, 45, who befriended Mr. Clinton as a Rhodes scholar at Oxford University. "That idealism is still beneath whatever else we've done all these years, and whatever apathy, cynicism and ennui has set in." Mr. Lackritz now lobbies on behalf of the securities industry.

The fervent liberalism that brought Mr. Clinton and many of these Democrats into the McGovern campaign in 1972 has clearly ebbed. Many have spent the last decade representing the business interests they used to despise, and fighting the government they used to champion.

In the process, their views of government have changed. They are no longer so young and zealous, no longer so optimistic about government's ability to cure all ills. Their experiences in the private sector have tempered their liberal views. And their taste for the good life has calmed their egalitarianism.

But the desire to be inside government hasn't ebbed. "Everyone is more moderate than we were back then," says Orin Kramer, who graduated from Yale in 1967, worked in the Carter White House and now manages an investment fund in New York. "What hasn't changed is that we still perceive government and politics as the most important thing you can do with your life." But Mr. Kramer, for one, says he probably won't come to Washington if Mr. Clinton wins, because his business would wither in his absence.

These Democratic activists, who this week are at the convention helping refine Mr. Clinton's message and raising money for his campaign, would shape the face of a Clinton administration. During the past 12 years, they have gained experience that could help them in addressing the country's problems. But some of the idealism and maybe some of the energy has been lost since the 1970s.

The Entrepreneur

Mr. Neustadt, who wrote a book about the Harvard student strike when he was in his 20s, seemed almost genetically programmed for a career in government. His father, Richard Neustadt, served in the Truman White House and the Kennedy administration and later wrote the classic political science text "Presidential Power." But instead of formulating White House policy, Mr. Neustadt Jr. has spent the past decade as an entrepreneur.

He was part of a cadre of bright young men (and a few women) who worked un-

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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

Democratic Elite Yearns to Gain Power

Continued From First Page

der Mr. Carter's domestic policy adviser, Stuart Eizenstat. The 1980 election was a rude awakening for him, as for other members of this elite young corps of policy formulators. "I knew intellectually we could be chased out, but emotionally it was a shock," he recalls. "A lot of us took it as a given that the Democrats were the majority party."

Suddenly on the outside, Mr. Neustadt, like most of his former White House colleagues, began practicing law in Washington. But after a few years at a small firm that specialized in communications law, he left. "I felt that the Democrats weren't coming back to Washington for a long time and it was time to get out. Washington is about the process, and it's hard to be on the outside looking in."

In 1983, he moved to California and began investing in start-up telecommunications ventures in Silicon Valley. He has been involved in five successful start-ups, including Sky Radio, which supplies audio services on airplanes, and General Magic Inc., a software company. Mr. Neustadt says he has found the world of business satisfying, in some ways more so than government.

"You get the chance to create something; you can look at a company and see a real product. For better or worse, you are directly accountable for what you do," he says. "It's not a bureaucratic life. You don't spend a lot of time writing memos the way you do in government."



Richard Neustadt Jr.

Being in the private sector has helped Mr. Neustadt see the importance of U.S. competitiveness and the need for investment in new technologies, he says. "I've learned that government can't and shouldn't do everything. Having to fill out all the forms and comply with all the regulations in a small business – you have to be careful about what you ask businesses to do."

Mr. Neustadt, 43, lives comfortably overlooking the beach in Santa Monica. But he misses being directly engaged in issues and government policy. Four years ago, he volunteered on his old friend Mr. Gore's presidential campaign. And even before Mr. Clinton picked Mr. Gore as running mate, Mr. Neustadt was working for the Clinton campaign in California. "This is a ticket of people our age who have shared our experience," he says. "One can get excited about coming in with an idea that government is good for something."

The Investment Banker

After graduating from Georgetown, Roger Altman worked on the presidential campaign of Sen. Robert Kennedy – his "fondest political memory." Mr. Altman now is vice chairman of Blackstone Group, the Wall Street investment firm. Blackstone's focus is a long way from Sen. Kennedy's; it has been involved in some of the largest Japanese takeovers of U.S. companies, including Sony Corp.'s acquisition of Columbia Pictures. But Mr. Altman says, "I still have that idealism." He says he sees some of the late senator's best qualities in Mr. Clinton, particularly the candidate's "fabulous human touch."

The 46-year-old Mr. Altman could be in line to become Treasury Secretary in a Clinton administration. He was an assistant Treasury secretary in the Carter years, which he "didn't find a disillusioning experience." He had come to that job from Lehman Brothers, where he was the youngest partner in the firm's history. At Treasury, he earned kudos for his work on the Chrysler bailout.

After Mr. Carter lost, Mr. Altman returned to Wall Street. When the original Lehman Brothers was sold, he signed a non-compete agreement that barred him temporarily from investment banking, and he used the time to teach at Yale. In 1986, he joined Blackstone, then a rising star in the mergers-and-acquisitions firmament, and became wealthy. Mr. Altman and his wife own an opulent East Side New York townhouse.

Though he says he never worked harder than during his Carter years at Treasury – "it makes Wall Street look tame by comparison" – Mr. Altman would happily take a drastic cut in pay and move to Washington in a Clinton administration.

He, too, has seen a change in his political views. "In 1968 I had never been in business," he explains. "I've become a big believer in the vitality of the private sector." The job of government, Mr. Altman contends, is "to create an environment in which the economy can prosper and to provide investment incentives." Blackstone's mergers work for Japanese companies doesn't conflict with Mr. Clinton's economic proposals, Mr. Altman says, noting that the Arkansas governor has tried to attract foreign investment to his state.



Roger Altman

Mostly, Mr. Altman, like many elite Democrats of Mr. Clinton's generation, is impatient for a change in Washington. "There is such a thirst for change," he says. He has no doubt that other Democrats on Wall Street would be ready to join a Democratic administration, even with the initial financial sacrifices involved. "If Clinton wins, there will be a Kennedyesque response. Good people will feel it is fulfilling to be part of it."

The Lawyer

Along Washington's corridor of law and lobbying firms, where the Democrats in exile have a tantalizing view of the White House, the longing for a return to power is most intense. That's because the business of Washington is government, and everything else is ancillary. Like Mr. Clinton, many of today's Democratic lawyers in Washington went to law school chiefly because it seemed a good credential for a government career.

John Quinn was inspired to go into politics by Robert Kennedy's trip through the South to spotlight poverty. During and after Georgetown law school, he worked for George McGovern's Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Hunger.



John Quinn

But at the start of the Carter administration, he passed up a relatively low government position for an offer from Arnold & Porter, one of the capital's top law firms. There, his energies turned from the poor to well-heeled interests seeking lobbying clout.

Mr. Quinn says he always assumed "there would be a long siege of Democratic administrations," giving him ample future opportunities to serve. Instead, the lawyer, now 42, has had an uninterrupted 16-year career at Arnold & Porter. He became a partner in 1982, having used his Democratic connections on Capitol Hill to build a successful lobbying practice.

Amid all the blond wood, green marble tile and butter-soft leather furniture, it's easy to see how Mr. Quinn became comfortable at the firm, where average partner profits last year were $440,000. He wears the lobbyist uniform of Italian loafers and expensive double-breasted suits. In recent years he has represented the insurance industry on antitrust issues, and foreign trade associations fighting bills to impose trade restrictions.

Mr. Quinn has kept a hand in politics. He has helped run Arnold & Porter's political action committee and served as legal counsel to the presidential campaigns of Gary Hart, Mr. Gore and Bob Kerrey. This week, he was host of a well-attended reception for Mr. Gore.

His years as a lawyer-lobbyist for private-sector clients have also changed his views of government. Given the state of the economy, he no longer thinks it possible to have a cornucopia of new programs for every social ill. "But the tragedy of the last 12 years is that we gave up on the most important job of government, which is to create economic opportunities for people to better themselves," he says. He believes the most daunting problem Mr. Clinton would face would be reducing the deficit.

With two of his four children approaching college age, Mr. Quinn isn't sure whether he would be an observer or a participant in a Democratic administration. He won't say what kind of government job would tempt him, but adds: "I will always hope to have opportunities to be of service. That's why I went into politics."

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

'Perot Sweater' Makes Incumbents Sweat; So Do Too Many Checks, Few Balances

By JACKIE CALMES
And DAVID ROGERS
Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

NEW YORK — Rep. Mike Andrews of Texas was waiting at a Washington stoplight with his children this spring when a passer-by spat on his car. Told of the incident later, House Majority Richard Gephardt's advice was blunt: Get rid of the congressional license plates.

Never in memory have so many in both parties been so scared for their political survival. Among congressional incumbents, "there are just two kinds of people this year," says Rep. Charles Wilson of Texas. "There are people with tough races, and there are people who don't know yet they have tough races."



Peter Kostmayer

Back in the 1930s, the talk was of FDR's coattails. In the 1950s, it was the Eisenhower jacket (it had no coattails). But this year, the harberdashery symbol of congressional politics may be the Perot Sweater — it makes incumbents sweat profusely. Ross Perot may be shooting for the top job, but he has come to embody many voters' top-down, throw-the-bums-out antipathy to all incumbents.

Whatever happens to the Texas billionaire's presidential campaign, his voters could be a decisive force in scores of close congressional races across the nation. What's more, his wild-card candidacy is only the most extraordinary of the factors explaining the fear and loathing that members of Congress face on this year's campaign trail.

There are also the congressional scandals, chiefly the check-writing abuses at the House bank. There's the decennial reapportionment, which radically reshaped congressional districts, pitting some incumbents against each other and leaving others with hostile territory. And though Democratic candidates are feeling more optimistic about Bill Clinton's chances these days, neither they nor the Republicans expect any help from the top of the ticket.

Already retirements from Congress are at a record, and several once-entrenched incumbents have been unseated in primaries. Even while Bill Clinton is hoping to move from Arkansas to Washington, three of Arkansas's four congressmen must start packing for home.

To be sure, some incumbents say they are ready for the coming campaign, and are returning to the grass-roots style many of them first used to win election. "This is how the Founding Fathers wanted it," says Rep. Dan Glickman of Kansas. "We have to go home and prove ourselves."

The latest Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll makes clear just what congressional incumbents are up against. Voters with a negative view of Congress outnumber those with a positive opinion by more than 4-1. Only 27% think their own representative deserves re-election.

White House Appeals

Voters supporting Mr. Perot much prefer challengers over incumbents in the Democratic-controlled Congress, yet they distrust the two parties so much that they resist White House appeals to give President Bush a Republican Legislature, and by an almost 2-1 edge favor continued divided government to prevent either party "from going too far."

Reps. Peter Kostmayer of Pennsylvania and Ben Erdreich of Alabama typify the terrors facing many incumbents this year, even if their worries are suspended amid the convention revelry here. These two Democrats both represent suburban districts that are key battlefields this year, and that reflect the anti-party politics of Mr. Perot.

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Even as the Democrats were gathering here, Mr. Kostmayer was shuttling back and forth between New York and Pennsylvania. Monday night, as the convention opened, he was still with residents in his Bucks County district, fielding questions on health care and the House bank, on which he wrote 50 overdrafts. More than 16,000 signatures have been gathered in lower Bucks County alone to put Mr. Perot on the Pennsylvania ballot, and though Mr. Kostmayer commands support in the same movement, the forces unleashed could yet be his undoing in a close race.

"When I say 'Throw the bums out,' Peter I don't want out," says Bill Edwards, an unemployed Vietnam veteran who heads the Perot petition drive in lower Bucks County and who respects the congressman for his work on behalf of veterans. But the Perot experience has honed Mr. Edwards's sensitivity to special-interest money and he worries aloud about Mr. Kostmayer's dependence on political-action committees. "PAC money means somebody else owns you," he says.

Back in 1976, Mr. Kostmayer was elected to Congress as an outsider. He circumvented the local Democratic organization, and won narrowly in the fall when a third-party candidate diverted precious support from the incumbent Republican.



Ben Erdreich

The parallels to his situation today are striking. Only now, it's Mr. Kostmayer who's the incumbent. The challenger's role is filled by Jim Greenwood, a 41-year-old state senator who as a young man ran the campaign of the very Republican Mr. Kostmayer ousted. "The same frustration that is propelling Perot along is also a benefit to us," says Mr. Greenwood, whose leaflets carry the slogan "Change Starts Here."

Mr. Greenwood, whose abortion-rights stance has helped heal old Republican divisions in Bucks County, generally remains loyal to President Bush. But he is also careful not to offend Perot forces—and plays on the same dire themes of debt, economic weakness and "social disintegration" that are part of the billionaire's stump appeal.

Mr. Kostmayer's challenge is to persuade voters that he, too, is a candidate of change, despite his long incumbency. There are flashes still of the young grassroots activist who infuriated House elders in the 1970s with his strict ethics stands, and who later organized his own volunteer-service office when he was ousted from Congress for two years in the early 1980s. His leaflets proclaim that "from Day One, he has been a fighter for change."

Mr. Kostmayer's reformist image has been dented by his overdrafts at the House bank. He disarms critics by raising the issue first, in humorous allusions to his embarrassment. At a gathering in Langhorne, for example, he jokes of mistakenly campaigning in front of a local bank amid the scandal and promises voters they will have enough turnover in Congress this year without nailing his hide to the wall.

"The important thing here is not to defend yourself," he tells supporters. When a sympathetic woman interjects that

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some local banks cover company payrolls when insufficient funds are on deposit, he doesn't miss a beat. "Where are those banks?" he says to laughter. "I have a friend . . . ."

As the delegates were gathering for the Democratic convention here last weekend, Mr. Kostmayer was signing up voters at grocery stores at home and spending a sweltering afternoon crisscrossing the diverse worlds of his district. Amid day lilies and harp music — and just yards from his rival, Mr. Greenwood—he stalked wealthy supporters at a Planned Parenthood garden party. Hours later, he mixed with working-class families at a Catholic church carnival on the reaches of Levittown.

There is a shy exuberance about Mr. Kostmayer. He delights at the memory of a constituent who greeted him as "Mr. Bulls--t," and throws himself before grocery carts to get would-be voters registered. But there is also a bittersweet sense of his own vulnerability; though he remains optimistic, he says that he has mentally prepared himself to lose.

"They need to be all wiped out," says Russell Leon, a 56-year-old electrician and Perot backer who has supported Mr. Kostmayer in the past. "I would put all new people in there, every one of them."

For Mr. Erdreich, the uncertainties in Alabama are no less than those surrounding Mr. Kostmayer to the north.

Unlike Mr. Kostmayer, he has no check overdrafts to haunt him. And, like some other Southern Democrats, he and his supporters choose to see the Perot candidacy—with its appeal to Republican-leaners — as a force that could blunt the edge the GOP typically enjoys in the South in presidential-election years. At an elegant party for the Alabama Democratic delegation at the Whitney Museum early this week, Rep. Erdreich and other Democrats drew new hope from the fact that Tennessee Sen. Albert Gore's vice presidential candidacy gives their party an all-Southerner presidential ticket.

But Mr. Erdreich is competing this year in a district that was significantly altered after typically Democratic black voters were removed to create a new minority seat in Birmingham and nearby rural counties. Blacks, who comprised about 36% of the voters in his old district, make up just 9% of the new one, which embraces more of the white suburbs that proliferated around Birmingham in the years after school desegregation. "It's tailor-made for a Republican," says Southern political analyst Hastings Wyman. "He's got a very, very tough race."

Voting Record

Rep. Erdreich, a former labor lawyer and son-in-law of another prominent Birmingham labor lawyer, has always courted Republicans; GOP-leaners accounted for nearly half the vote even in his old district. His voting record, and his service on the House Banking Committee, have endeared him to the bankers, insurance professionals and doctors who now dominate business in the one-time steel center. "He's probably more popular with Republicans in the district than I was," says former GOP Rep. John Buchanan, who held the seat for 16 years until a more conservative Republican beat him in 1980 (only to be ousted himself two years later by Mr. Erdreich).

But now Rep. Erdreich has to introduce himself to far more Republicans, and persuade them to spurn their own party's nominee, former state legislator and GOP state chairman Spencer Bachus. To that end, the Democrat's first stop in a day of Fourth of July events was affluent Shelby County, a GOP stronghold. In a red convertible with his wife, Ellen, he joined a parade of locals who had decorated their cars, including a Rolls-Royce, to snake through a lush hillside enclave of mansions recently incorporated as Indian Springs Village.

Afterward, at a lakeside picnic, Republican Mayor Hub Harrington introduces the Democrat by recalling his own work in the first Erdreich campaign in 1982. "I was one of the Republicans voting for Ben then," he tells the group, "and I intend to do that again."

While his race is considered uphill, even among Democrats, such local receptions spell frustration for GOP stalwarts in a district that's theirs to lose. So, too, does the Perot candidacy. "Perot could throw a monkey wrench into Republican hopes," says Mr. Wyman, the analyst who is editor of the Southern Political Report. While the Texas billionaire generally has less support in the Deep South than elsewhere, his appeal there is greater among Republicans and his very presence on the ballot encourages ticket splitting.

Southerners are traditionally more loyal to their incumbents. In the NBC/Journal poll, 31% of Southerners said they would re-elect their representative, compared with just 19% of Westerners.

Incumbency does have its advantage: money. Rep. Erdreich, who typically draws about three-quarters of his campaign funds from PACs, and particularly banks, had nearly $400,000 on hand as of May, according to federal records. Mr. Bachus, financially drained by a hard-fought GOP primary, had just more than $22,000 even before last month's runoff was decided.

At the same time, Rep. Erdreich is working hard to avoid being tarred as an establishment insider. He bristles at the word: "I don't think the [House Democratic] leadership would consider me an insider. I'm an independent." He came to Congress as part of the large Democratic class elected in 1982, a group more fiscally conservative than party veterans, and eager to move Democrats to the center in the wake of the Reagan landslide two years earlier. "In 1982," he says, "I got elected promising change."

A decade later, he's doing it again. "He's running scared," says Natalie Davis, a professor of political science at Birmingham Southern College and a delegate to the Democratic convention, "and that's a good thing."

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Clinton Cruises to Victory At Democratic Convention

Arkansas Governor Chosen As Party Gears Up for Bid To Recapture Presidency

By James M. Perry
And Gerald F. Seib
Staff Reporters of The Wall Street Journal

NEW YORK — Thinking they detect the sweet—and almost forgotten—smell of victory, Democrats nominated Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas as their candidate for president in what promises to be one of the most unusual and unpredictable races in U.S. history.

After Ohio gave him the votes he needed to win, Mr. Clinton made an unusual appearance on the convention floor with his wife, Hillary, and daughter, Chelsea.

He noted that convention rules prohibited him from accepting the nomination then — he'll do that tonight—but he recalled that 32 years ago "another young candidate who wanted to get the country moving again came to the convention to say a simple thank you." He referred, of course, to John F. Kennedy.

CAMPAIGN ★92

Mr. Clinton was nominated by Gov. Mario Cuomo of New York — "magnificent Mario Cuomo," Mr. Clinton called him — in a rousing speech.

"Step aside, Mr. Bush," said Gov. Cuomo. "You've had your parade! It's time for change. It's time for someone smart enough to know; strong enough to do; sure enough to lead. The Comeback Kid. A new voice for a new America."

For Mr. Clinton, winner of 32 primaries and more than twice as many votes as his nearest competitor, it looked a lot easier than it really was. As much as *winning* the nomination, he *survived* the process that ultimately gave him the prize. He was the comeback kid.

He stumbled badly at the outset, losing the snowy New Hampshire primary to former Sen. Paul Tsongas. His well-organized campaign was brought briefly to a halt by charges that he had had an affair with an Arkansas cabaret singer. He slogged on, fighting off more controversies — the manner in which he avoided military service in the Vietnam War and an awkward acknowledgment that he had tried marijuana, without inhaling, when he was in college.

What became known as the "Clinton character question" lingered. But in the glare of the floodlights at Madison Square Garden last night, Bill Clinton, placed in nomination by Mr. Cuomo, the party's most polished orator, triumphed.

He is now poised to open the most promising Democratic presidential campaign in years, and polls are beginning to reflect it. Tracking polls this week show Mr. Clinton running well ahead of both Mr. Bush and Ross Perot, who is struggling to launch an independent presidential campaign. The latest ABC News/Washington Post poll shows Mr. Clinton at 42%, trailed by Mr. Bush at 30% and Mr. Perot at 20%; among likely voters, Mr. Clinton's lead over Mr. Bush grows to 17 points.

In his nominating speech, Mr. Cuomo recalled that eight years ago, in his keynote speech at the Democratic convention in San Francisco, he warned that many Americans were struggling, in pain, and that new policies were needed. Now, he said, it is much worse. Children are "growing up familiar with the sound of gunfire before they've ever heard an orchestra." Nearly an entire generation, he said, "is surrendering in despair — to drugs, to having children while they're still children, to hopelessness. How did it happen, here, in the most powerful nation in the world?"

He blamed the Republicans for weakening the economy with "12 years of conservative . . . supply-side policy" that has turned out to be "a form of free enterprise for the few, paid for by higher taxes on the rest of us."

"The ship of state," Gov. Cuomo said, "is headed for the rocks. The crew knows it. The passengers know it. Only the captain of the ship—President Bush—appears not to know it."

Bill Clinton "knows the course from here, past peril — to a new era of growth and progress for the nation that will enable us to share our power and abundance with the world community," Mr. Cuomo said.

He generously described Mr. Clinton as a man who was "born and raised with the personal attributes needed for leadership: God-given intelligence, powerful good health; and an extraordinary strength of character that has allowed him to survive the buffeting and the trauma of a difficult youth. . . . And with each new challenge, he has grown wiser and stronger, as he demonstrated with his remarkable resiliency and unflappability in the recent bruising primaries."

Someday, Mr. Cuomo said, "I want to march to Washington — not to beg for what we need — but to shout our thanks because we made the greatest nation in the world greater than it's ever been."

And so, Mr. Cuomo concluded, "because I love New York, because I love America, I nominate for office of the president of the United States, the man from Hope, Arkansas, Gov. Bill Clinton!"

Mr. Cuomo barely mentioned the name of the man Mr. Clinton chose as his running mate, Sen. Albert Gore of Tennessee. But it is that choice that has received such wide approval and helped to give Mr. Clinton his surge in the polls — which of course could turn out to be short-lived. The real test will come tonight when Mr. Clinton delivers what the campaign knows will be a crucial acceptance speech.

"We're going to leave this convention on the dead run," vowed party chairman

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Ron Brown. Mr. Clinton and Sen. Gore, who is to be nominated tonight, will open their campaign tomorrow with a six-day bus tour through the industrial Eastern and Midwestern heartland.

The fast start is highly calculated. Four years ago, Michael Dukakis, the Democratic nominee, dallied after the convention and allowed the momentum his candidacy had built up to dissipate.

The choice of Mr. Cuomo to make the nomination fit into this strategy. The Clinton managers figured the governor, strong on family values himself, would be able to make a compelling case for Mr. Clinton. Mr. Cuomo, says Peter Hart, another Democratic polister, "speaks to standards."

It was also a night for what-might-have-beens.

Former California Gov. Jerry Brown was nominated by his campaign manager, Jody Evans, and then gave a long stump speech about institutional reform in which he failed to mention Gov. Clinton's name. The Clinton camp had hoped for an endorsement, but the closest Mr. Brown would come was to say, "I intend to fight for this party and its ideals tonight, tomorrow, this year and every year until, together, we overcome."

Mr. Tsongas, Mr. Clinton's other major challenger, got his turn on the podium too, and directly and repeatedly endorsed the Clinton-Gore ticket. He said the nation needs to return to the "principles of our forbears, and I believe next year on Jan. 20 Bill Clinton and Al Gore will begin that restoration." But he also expressed disagreement with the winning ticket's economic program, criticizing its talk of a tax cut for the middle class and warning the Democrats that spending programs must be curbed.

In his address to the convention, Sen. Bob Kerrey of Nebraska, another presidential contender this year, pledged to "fight with every ounce of my inexhaustible will" to see his former rival, Gov. Clinton, elected to the White House. He attacked Mr. Bush and then turned to Vice President Dan Quayle. "I tell you Americans, compared to Al Gore, Dan Quayle is a shiver looking for a spine to run up."

Earlier in the evening, the Democrats—moving on now to a new generation of leaders—returned once again to the legend of Camelot and the star-crossed Kennedy family. Delegates watched a moving eight-minute film celebrating the life of Robert F. Kennedy that was introduced by his son, Rep. Joseph Kennedy, and followed by a speech by the gray-haired Sen. Edward Kennedy.

"The times have changed," Sen. Kennedy said, "but the ideals are the same. We have only just begun to fight. We will never give up. We will never give in. And in 1992, we are going to win."

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POLITICS

Rollins Quits As Co-Manager Of Perot Drive

By TIMOTHY NOAH
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Ed Rollins resigned as Ross Perot's co-campaign manager, delivering another blow to the Texas billionaire's undeclared presidential campaign.

The departure of Mr. Rollins, a Republican and former strategist for Ronald Reagan, comes as Mr. Perot's presidential bid is beset by growing disarray over such matters as when and how Mr. Perot would place political ads on television, choose a vice presidential candidate and formally announce his own candidacy.

Perot staffers described the scene yesterday at the campaign's North Dallas headquarters as near pandemonium, with campaign aides who had been hired by Mr. Rollins prevented by campaign technicians from using their computers. A senior campaign official said certain aides were being offered generous severance payments on the condition that they not talk to the press.

Campaign Chairman Thomas Luce told reporters at a Dallas news conference yesterday that Mr. Perot "is still planning to run" for president. But a growing number of political experts say his campaign may go into a free fall if he doesn't develop a coherent strategy in the next few weeks.

"I think this is the beginning of the end of the Perot candidacy," said Republican National Chairman Rich Bond.

Mr. Bond's prophecy clearly serves the interests of the Republicans, who perceive Mr. Perot as hurting President Bush much more than he's hurting Democratic candidate Bill Clinton; many Democrats, especially in the South, also say Mr. Clinton's prospects will be enhanced if the Texas billionaire remains a credible candidate. But with President Bush's negative ratings remaining well above 50%, a minority of political analysts argue that the president might actually fare better in a three-way race.

Mr. Rollins said at the press conference that his departure was prompted by "differences in overall strategy and tactics." He added that he still intends to support Mr. Perot for president.

In addition to Mr. Rollins, several Perot staff aides with whom he worked closely will leave the campaign, according to campaign spokeswoman Sharon Holman. They include director of scheduling and advance Joe Canzeri, deputy campaign manager Charlie Leonard, senior consultant Sal Russo and senior advertising consultant Tony Marsh.

Mr. Rollins's exit also raises anew the question of whether Hamilton Jordan, Mr. Perot's other campaign manager, will resign; the two men came aboard the Perot campaign in a package deal. Mr. Jordan, a Democrat and former top aide to President Jimmy Carter, is said by campaign associates to be considering quitting; he couldn't be reached for comment.

According to a campaign source, Messrs. Rollins and Jordan on Friday presented Mr. Luce with a joint plan for the campaign. On Monday, they were told that Mr. Perot had rejected it.

Mr. Rollins is known to have been frustrated at Mr. Perot's reluctance to choose a vice president and begin an ad campaign quickly. Last week he publicly voiced his disappointment that Mr. Perot wouldn't hire Hal Riney, who helped develop Ronald Reagan's "Morning in America" ad campaign in 1984.

In a statement, Mr. Luce praised Mr. Rollins as a "fine person and a great professional" who was "strong, outspoken and very candid" but said "differences of agreement have arisen over the conduct of the campaign."

In an interview, Perot spokesman James Squires said the campaign would probably undergo a reorganization. Asked whether Mr. Jordan would be the sole campaign manager, Mr. Squires said: "The main director of the campaign is Luce. Jordan and Rollins report to Luce, and I report to Luce."

—John Harwood contributed to this article.

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REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Clinton's Baggage

In his acceptance speech tonight, Bill Clinton will look and sound free as a bird. In public appearances, he's been confident, healthy, eager to talk, eager to please. But just off camera, you can see the men and women who have to deal with Clinton's baggage. In politics, baggage is the concerns, worries, unexploded rumors or nagging negatives that dog politicians. Baggage alone doesn't necessarily kill a candidacy. The danger of baggage is that it creates doubts.

How heavy is Bill Clinton's baggage?

Everyone who's read the polls will start with the "character issue." As we watch delegates wearing T-shirts proclaiming "I Believe Anita," we wonder whether it's really forbidden to utter the name Gennifer Flowers. Maybe in the long run it's best that the prestige press never ran the transcripts of the tapes she offered, though the test will be whether the same delicacy pertains to a future Robert Bork, Clarence Thomas or Dan Quayle. This and other disconcerting episodes have been submerged by talk of his humble origins, but they have not really been answered. In particular, we wonder whether a mature Bill Clinton still feels the same way about Vietnam as the young Bill Clinton did.

There is a second problem labeled Hillary. Mrs. Clinton was appealing in a CNN interview this week, but the problem is not her home life but her public life. Since it is so clear that Governor Clinton is a lifelong pol, we look for clues as to what he really believes. His wife's beliefs seem firm and clear. She is an activist lawyer and leading intellectual theorist for the "legal rights" movement, which seeks "change" through the courts. Mrs. Clinton's personal interest has been to expand the legal rights of children against their parents, an agenda at which voters are entitled to take pause. For that matter, how would a President Clinton stand on the broader issue of litigiousness, when, for example, our non-Yalie Vice President calls for less of it?

None of these personal handbags, though, will burden Mr. Clinton as much as the double steamer trunk of a party he starts to carry tonight. Tuesday, hidden behind the All-Star game, some of us saw the Not for Primetime Players. Rep. Pat Schroeder, a liberal icon, presided over an evening of Jimmy Carter and Jesse Jackson. President Carter faulted the foreign policy that won the Cold War as too tough. The Rev. Jackson broke new theological ground with the observation that Jesus "was the child of a single mother," adding, "It was Herod—the Quayle of his day — who put no value on the family." An AIDS mother, meanwhile, said that her daughter did not "survive the Reagan administration."

The second party trunk is, as we've already observed, the Democratic Congress. The attitudes on display Tuesday, having repeatedly proved a failure in presidential politics, didn't prevail in this year's presidential nomination. But they have consistently prevailed in the Congressional caucuses. The votes of the Democratic Leadership Council, Mr. Clinton's base, have kept the Democrats as the majority party. But the caucuses have served to enslave the DLC to the liberal agenda. Nor, as the Carter administration showed, can a Democratic president necessarily break this grip.

The conventional view is that this year the Democratic Party has finally changed, that the liberals were delivering their swan songs. But this is politics. No one retires to the crypt voluntarily. Liberals still lead virtually every committee of Congress; the key staffers are liberals; the liberals give the Democratic Party its elan, not to mention a good share of its money.

Nominee Clinton's target voters, the Reagan Democrats, deserted the party over this liberal agenda. They're patriotic, and don't care for the suggestion that America is a force for evil in the world. They think "fairness" is a code word for handouts to the poor. While increasingly accepting of blacks and other minorities, they see themselves suffering from quasi-quotas in jobs and promotions. They are pro-family and certainly pro-child, though they don't understand what this has to do with the courts. They currently are also very much upset with the pain and uncertainty caused by the recession coinciding with the Bush administration, which opens the opportunity for the Democrats to win them back.

In his address tonight, possibly Governor Clinton will deal with some of these other concerns. If the voters this year are volatile and angry, it's in large part because they've been paying attention, and there are some important aspects of Bill Clinton's candidacy that need a lot more clarification. Though the convention's goal has been to avoid disputes, we don't see how it's possible to hide the Clinton baggage from the voters indefinitely.

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Rethinking Black Concerns

Jesse Jackson swallowed hard Tuesday night and asked delegates to work for the election of "President Bill Clinton." Unlike Democratic conventions in 1984 and 1988, Mr. Jackson isn't the political force he once was—even among blacks. Though they're proud of Mr. Jackson's accomplishments, more and more black Americans are thinking for themselves and not relying on the civil rights establishment to speak for them.

Rep. John Lewis of Georgia, a veteran of the civil rights movement, says he admires Bill Clinton "for not becoming beholden to Jackson, for not being hijacked by him." Many black mayors endorsed Mr. Clinton early in the hope that he would liberate them from having to always kowtow to Mr. Jackson.

The professional civil rights groups are also seeing the ground shift beneath them. One of the biggest priorities for civil rights groups last year was defeating Clarence Thomas, and yet the majority of blacks supported Clarence Thomas, with pride.

A series of recent polls suggests that for all the coverage, most people probably don't really know what is on the minds of black Americans. For instance, one poll conducted last month for the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies found that 33% of blacks consider themselves conservatives, and another 30% are moderates. When asked if Jesse Jackson should have been Bill Clinton's running-mate, 47% agreed but 30% said he should not have been.

A plurality support the death penalty, and by 57% to 36% they support a strong work requirement for welfare. Nearly a third of black Americans view education as their key issue, and here the divergence with black leaders is most pronounced. While only a third of blacks are familiar with the concept of vouchers, which would allow parents to send their kids to any public or private school, an overwhelming 88% of those favored the idea.

Many black delegates feel it's also time the party abandoned its class-warfare themes. "When you bash suburbanites and people with money, it doesn't help you when you try to convince them to help the cities," says William Perkins, a black committeeman from New York City. "We have to find a way to build bridges to the suburbs."

Some black delegates also privately admitted that the traditional civil-rights groups have lost touch with the black community. A national poll of more than 1,200 blacks conducted last February by the Detroit News found that more than 94% of those surveyed want civil-rights groups to confront such problems as crime, poor schools, teen pregnancy, drugs and the lost lives of many young black males. By nearly 2 to 1, they said the groups' crime-fighting efforts were poor or mediocre. Nearly 55% felt the same way about their efforts to lower unemployment and build black unity. A majority said that black churches were doing the best job of handling grass-roots problems.

"Black America's agenda has moved away from emphasizing politics to economic empowerment," says Tony Brown, host of a popular public TV show on black issues. "Some civil rights leaders and their white allies have been left behind."

The civil-rights groups will continue to do valuable work, but their continued focus on solving problems through Washington lobbying instead of grass-roots efforts puts them outside a growing movement among black Americans. Many black Americans want to rebuild their communities on their own terms. They will seek out organizations and leaders that will help them in that effort. Whether this effort takes place within the Democratic Party or outside its boundaries remains to be seen. What's clear is that some serious and healthy rethinking is under way.

Asides

Gone Fishin'

Checking up on the other campaigns, we see that President Bush has retired to Secretary of State James Baker's ranch in Wyoming in search of trout. We suspect politics may come up now and then, though news reports say there is no television for watching the Democratic convention.

In the Perot camp, lieutenant Tom Luce says co-campaign manager Ed Rollins has resigned, maybe to take up the fly rod himself. There's been much delay in the official Perot announcement and the vice presidential quest. We're starting to wonder whether Mr. Perot will hang up the "gone fishin'" sign himself.

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In Fairness to the Candidate's Wife

By ALBERT R. HUNT

"If the wife comes through as being too strong and too intelligent, it makes the husband look like a wimp."

—Richard Nixon on Hillary Clinton

NEW YORK—With Hillary Clinton, this year's presidential contest will feature the most controversial wife at least since Eleanor Roosevelt.

Critics, mainly from the political right, paint the 44-year-old wife of the Democratic presidential nominee as a devout left-winger, whose cold, calculating ruthlessness would have a Rasputin-like influence on a President Clinton.

This portrait, according to the most candid assessments from both those who know her best and knowledgeable campaign insiders, is nonsense. But it resonates with the public. In last week's Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll, Mrs. Clinton is viewed positively by only 22% of voters and negatively by 30%; she does just as poorly among women as among men.

The pounding against Mrs. Clinton has been ferocious. Human Events, the provocative weekly paper, has dubbed her the "Evita Peron of American politics." The cover piece of the current issue of the American Spectator is entitled "Boy Clinton's Big Mama." It accuses her of everything from filing her 1991 tax return under her maiden name after supposedly taking her husband's following his gubernatorial defeat in 1980, to seeking to undermine the American family by pitting children against their parents. (Most of these charges concern legitimate issues; by contrast, some of the private stuff being circulated against Hillary Clinton is full of nothing but hate and venom.)

Under scrutiny many of the more substantive charges don't hold up very well. Most are based either on writings that date back to her law school days or on grants made by groups in which she served as one of many board members. For example, she once wrote that under certain circumstances children ought to have greater legal rights to separate from their parents. But she said this should be only in extreme cases. Indeed there are situations ranging from child abuse to abandonment where this hardly seems a radical view.



Hillary Clinton

Within the Clinton campaign, where not everyone is charmed by her style, knowledgeable insiders nevertheless say she is no radical.

"I have never seen her push any kind of ideological agenda," says top political strategist James Carville. "My guess is she's pretty much a mainstream Democrat who feels very strongly about children's issues." That Mr. Carville, a plain-talking Louisiana Cajun who is appealingly anti-establishment, has such positive feelings about Hillary Clinton also undercuts the contention that she relates only to the cultural elite.

Longtime friends are adamant that her personal image is equally inconsistent with the real person. "What I know about Hillary is that she is one of the warmest, most caring and most loving people that I have ever known," says Washington lawyer and civil rights activist Vernon Jordan who has been a friend for almost two decades. "That has not come across to people."

In an episode that strikes at the heart of several Hillary myths, Mr. Jordan tells a story about being with the Clintons shortly after Bill Clinton's crushing defeat for governor in 1980. "Early one morning she was cooking me and Bill grits and I told her she had to start using her husband's name. She understood."

To be sure, Mrs. Clinton has brought on some of her own problems. Her admirable defense of her husband after sleazy charges of infidelity was offset by her tasteless questioning of George Bush's monogamy in a subsequent interview. And angered by some petty charges against her legal ethics, she displayed intellectual arrogance by retorting, "I could have stayed home and baked cookies and had teas."

There's no doubt that Hillary Clinton has a sensational mind. There's absolutely no doubt that she has used her talents in a diversity of very constructive ways. For six years she was chairperson of the Children's Defense Fund, a highly effective and respected liberal children's rights organization.

She also was a director of Wal-Mart. It's hard to imagine the late Sam Walton putting some radical, out-of-touch leftie on his board. "She wasn't on the board just because she was the governor's wife," says John Huey, who just co-authored Mr. Walton's autobiography. "He had a lot of respect for her. He really listened to her."

She has influenced her husband both during his 12 years as governor and during this campaign; no doubt this influence would persist if he gets to the White House. But the most successful liberal and conservative presidents of this century—Franklin D. Roosevelt and Ronald Reagan—had smart, assertive wives.

Finally, conservatives who rail against the influence of a strong spouse ought to look at some of the leading lights of their own camp who are married to exceptionally intelligent, strong-willed women: Irving Kristol, Dick Cheney and the publisher of this newspaper to name just a few. Does Richard Nixon think any of these men are wimps?

In what promises to be a very tough and close contest over the next 100 days, voters will discover some compelling reasons to vote for Bill Clinton and some compelling reasons not to vote for him. But his wife is clearly on the plus side of that ledger.

Mr. Hunt is the Journal's Washington bureau chief.

Notable & Quotable

Presidential candidate Al Gore, in 1988, responding to a student who yelled that he would make a good vice president:

That was the ultimate heckle.

* * *

From "Why Americans Are Mad," an interview with radio talk-show host Rush Limbaugh by former Education Secretary William Bennett, in the summer issue of the Heritage Foundation's Policy Review:

Bennett: Some of my friends say that radical feminism is the most destructive doctrine of the past 25 years in terms of the actual human misery it has caused — the wrecked marriages, unhappiness, arguments between husbands and wives, neglect of children, abortions.

Limbaugh: They're right, but I think the militant feminists — and this is true of militant environmentalists, the animal-rights movement, the peace movement, the vegetarian crowd — are using their issues as vehicles for something else. Their real goal is a more socialist, big-government, equal-distribution-of-results country. They're also tired of being thought of as weird subcultures, so they're standing up and shouting, demanding that what they are and what they believe be considered normal. The unfortunate thing is, the media are willingly on their side.

Nicaragua had a big effect on these movements. The Left in this country and throughout the world was convinced that Daniel Ortega was going to win that election by a landslide. Then Violeta Chamorro won in a huge landslide, and the Left was stunned. I'm convinced that the Left vowed never to let anything like this happen again.

That's why the real homes of the hideous leftist leaders are in the animal-rights movement, and, more important, the environmental movement. These are constituencies that cannot speak, that, unlike the people of Nicaragua, cannot ever reject the assistance that the Left is giving them. Besides, who can oppose saving the life of Flipper? And who in the world wants dirty water?

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

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* * *

Business and Finance

FORD UNVEILED tentative prices for its 1993 car models that are generally 4% to 6% above this year's levels, as the auto maker seeks to raise profits by taking advantage of steep price boosts by Japanese rivals. GM and Chrysler may follow suit. But some Ford dealers fear the higher prices will drive customers away.

Ford executive Alexander Trotman, head of its North American auto business, appears to be gaining in the race to succeed Chairman Harold Poling next year. Trotman's boss, Allan Gilmour, is the other main candidate.

(Articles on Page B1 and in Column 6)

* * *

Industrial output fell 0.3% in June, in another sign that the economy's recovery was stalling last month. The drop was the first in five months. But one-time factors may be responsible.

(Article on Page A2)

* * *

General Electric reported a 7.5% increase in second-quarter profit and suspended its $10 billion stock buyback. GE halted the buy-back in a move to keep a triple-A debt rating in the wake of concern among credit rating agencies about the program.

(Article on Page A3)

* * *

American Air parent AMR posted a heavy second-quarter loss, which may foreshadow weak results for other carriers. But airline stock prices surged on speculation that a twice-postponed fare increase may finally take hold.

(Article on Page A3)

* * *

Accounting rule makers backed a modified approach to force banks to value many of the securities they hold at market prices. But banking organizations criticized the proposal, saying it would limit the ability of banks to react to changes in interest rates.

Shares of big banks tumbled yesterday on fears that the 20-month bull market in bank stocks is over. Several regional banks, meanwhile, posted strong second-quarter profits.

(Articles on Pages A2 and C1)

* * *

Cigna warned that its second-quarter profit will be less than analysts expected because of weak results in property and casualty insurance and in the company's employee-benefits unit.

(Article on Page A3)

* * *

Daiwa Securities' U.S. unit is negotiating to resolve an SEC inquiry of its possible role in the Salomon scandal.

(Article on Page C1)

* * *

The dollar touched a 1992 low against the mark on speculation that Germany's central bank will move today to raise interest rates. Bond prices surged while stocks were mixed.

(Articles on Page C1)

* * *

Georgia-Pacific broke even in the second period, reflecting bleak results in its pulp and paper operations. The company's stock slid $3.75 to $52.25.

(Article on Page B5)

* * *

Northrop's profit surged 71% in the second quarter amid strong results in its electronics business. Profit fell 59% at rival defense firm General Dynamics, due to a tax gain a year earlier.

(Article on Page A4)

* * *

Microsoft pledged to develop software for Apple Computer's next-generation personal computer, affirming the longstanding but often strained ties between the two companies.

(Article on Page B2)

* * *

Markets—

Stocks: Volume 204,960,000 shares. Dow Jones industrials 3345.42, off 12.97; transportation 1317.64, up 6.35; utilities 220.89, up 0.31.

Bonds: Lehman Brothers Treasury index 4456.80, up 31.56.

Commodities: Oil $21.71 a barrel, up 25 cents. Dow Jones futures index 119.46, up 0.33; spot index 117.73, up 0.12.

Dollar: 125.05 yen, off 0.18; 1.4815 marks, off 0.0035.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

World-Wide

THE DEMOCRATS NOMINATED Clinton as their presidential candidate.

The Arkansas governor, winner of 32 primaries with more than twice as many votes as his nearest competitor, swept last night's convention roll call and was poised to present a crucial acceptance speech tonight. New York's Gov. Cuomo, who placed Clinton's name in nomination, declared, "Step aside, Mr. Bush," adding, "You've had your parade. It's time for change. It's time for someone smart enough to know; strong enough to do; sure enough to lead."

Tracking polls this week showed Clinton running comfortably ahead of both Bush and Perot. Clinton and running mate Gore will open their campaign tomorrow with a six-day bus tour through the East and Midwest. (Articles on Page A12)

Former Gov. Brown won his chance to address the convention, pledging to fight for the party's ideals. Tsongas exhorted Democrats to unite against Bush.

* * *

Ed Rollins resigned after a brief tenure as co-manager of Perot's presidential campaign. Rollins, who ran Reagan's successful re-election campaign in 1984, said he and Perot "see two different ways of getting to the presidency." Perot's other campaign co-manager, Hamilton Jordan, is said to be considering quitting. (Article on Page A12)

* * *

Mandela made an unyielding attack on the South African government, accusing Pretoria of orchestrating a campaign of terror to crush multiracial democracy. The African National Congress leader, in an address before the Security Council, called for a special U.N. representative to investigate violence in black townships.

* * *

Serb militias were accused by U.N. officials of thwarting attempts to get emergency food supplies to tens of thousands of people trapped in the besieged Bosnian town of Goradze. Meanwhile, NATO said that its warships will begin patrolling Yugoslavia's coast today to tighten a U.N. trade embargo. New peace talks began in London.

* * *

Iraq demanded that the Security Council annul all U.N. resolutions adopted against Iraq after its invasion of Kuwait in August 1990, the official Iraqi News Agency said. In Washington, the State Department warned Iraq that its 11-day standoff with U.N. weapons inspectors in Baghdad was putting the Gulf War cease-fire at risk.

* * *

Israel's new leaders expressed confidence that the U.S. would now provide new aid despite plans to increase Jewish settlements in parts of the occupied territories. U.S. links with the prior Shamir government were strained by the issue of the settlements, and Washington didn't grant a request for $10 billion in loan guarantees.

* * *

A military court sentenced the leaders of Algeria's Muslim fundamentalist movement to 12 years imprisonment. The two men, who headed the now-outlawed Islamic Salvation Front, were found guilty of conspiring against the state and could have been sentenced to death. Five other fundamentalists received jail terms of up to six years.

* * *

Surgeons removed a large benign tumor from Pope John Paul II's colon and also took out his gall bladder in a four-hour operation. Doctors said the pope was in "very good shape." The 72-year-old pontiff was expected to remain in Rome's Gemelli hospital for about 10 days, a Vatican spokesman said. No further surgery is expected.

* * *

The Justice Department is expected to file papers today with Supreme Court Justice Thomas arguing against returning a French abortion pill, RU-486, to a pregnant woman challenging a U.S. ban on the drug. The case wound up in Washington after a series of lower-court decisions in New York a day earlier in which judges took opposite sides.

* * *

A British government lab has applied for patents on about 1,100 different human gene fragments and on its technique to find them, escalating a battle with Washington over the patenting of human genes before their usefulness is known. The application was made this week. (Article on Page B2)

* * *

Fighting appeared to cease in Georgia's rebel region of South Ossetia, a day after Russia and Georgia deployed 600 soldiers there in the first peacekeeping effort in the former Soviet Union.

* * *

Cypriot leaders met with U.N. chief Boutros-Ghali for crucial talks aimed at ending an 18-year-old partition of Cyprus. President Vassiliou and Turkish Cypriot leader Denktash took part in the talks.

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DEMOCRATS GIVE CLINTON THEIR BLESSING; CUOMO HAILS 'NEW VOICE FOR NEW AMERICA'

BUSH IS CONDEMNED

Differences in Ideology Smoothed as Party Rallies to Ticket

By ROBIN TONER

The Democratic National Convention sent Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas into the battle for the Presidency last night, after Gov. Mario M. Cuomo of New York made a powerful case for the man who might have been his rival and declared that the nation could not afford another Democratic defeat.

Mr. Cuomo and Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, perennial favorites of the party's liberals, bestowed a political blessing on a fifth-generation Arkansas resident from a very different wing of the party. The Governor of New York hailed Mr. Clinton's character, his humble roots, his commitment to the party's traditions and values.

But the heart of Mr. Cuomo's speech was an indictment of 12 years of Republican rule, which he asserted had rocked the middle class, devastated a generation of urban children, ravaged the economy with policies akin to Herbert Hoover's and left the nation angry and yearning for change.

'Cannot Afford to Fail'

Calling for "a new voice for a new America," Mr. Cuomo said in prepared remarks that were distributed before he spoke, "This time, we cannot afford to fail to deliver the message, not just to Democrats but to the whole nation." [Text, page A14].

Ratifying what primary voters finished more than a month ago, the convention's endorsement represented a triumph of strategy, endurance and simple fire in the belly. Mr. Clinton, 45 years old, from a tiny state that has never before produced a Democratic nominee, plunged into this race when President Bush was soaring in the public opinion polls and the Democratic Party's heavyweights turned away.

Not since Jimmy Carter has a Southerner risen to the top of his party, and Mr. Clinton did so with a message that asserted that the party had to moderate its policies to reclaim the middle class and return to the White House. Last night, as the party rallied itself for an intensely competitive three-way campaign in the fall, Mr. Clinton was oratorically embraced by the tribunes of the party's Northern liberals.

Recalling Another Era

Senator Kennedy, who ended his own doomed campaign for the nomination in Madison Square Garden in 1980, said Mr. Clinton "has sought to heal" across lines of race and class, as Robert F. Kennedy did. The Massachusetts Senator cast the Clinton campaign as the continuation of a long Democratic struggle for justice, equality and economic opportunity.

"I have stood with so many of you in so many great causes," Mr. Kennedy said. "The times have changed, but the ideals are the same. We will never give up. We will never give in. And in 1992, we are going to win."

In a mood of nostalgia and reconciliation, the Democrats began the

Continued on Page A15, Column 1

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Clinton Is Sent Into Battle By Impassioned Democrats

Continued From Page A1

evening with a film about Robert Kennedy that recalled the triumph and the poignancy of the Kennedy years, an era that left its mark on many of the delegates here, as well as on Mr. Clinton himself.

The delegates also finished some final business from the nominating season. Former Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California saw his proposals for a sweeping review of party rules and procedures voted down by a group far more focused on defeating the incumbent Republican President. The Brown delegates robustly booed.

Mr. Brown, when he finally spoke on behalf of his own nomination, used his speech to denounce the "influence of power and money" that he said was behind "everything that's wrong with this country." The former Governor

Cuomo's speech galvanizes the party faithful against the Republicans.

from California, who bucked the unity tableau throughout this week, stayed recalcitrant to the end and simply avoided the subject of his party's nominee. "I intend to fight for this party, tonight, tomorrow, this year, every year," he said, reiterating the themes of his angry, anti-politics-as-usual campaign.

Former Senator Paul E. Tsongas, whose victory in the New Hampshire primary turned him into Mr. Clinton's most determined challenger for a time, was playing the loyal team player last night. Arguing that the party had a historic obligation to "create an inclusive and just society" and "insure economic security," the former Massachusetts Senator led a chant: "Never under George Bush; next year under Bill Clinton."

Cuomo Sets the Tone

It was a night when the Democratic Party, fractious and often proud of it, was deep in the quadrennial ritual of anointing a new standard-bearer and pledging allegiance to him. Mr. Cuomo set the tone, recalling that he had warned of the cost of Republican inaction with his keynote address to the

THE OVERVIEW

1984 Democratic convention that nominated Walter F. Mondale.

Mr. Cuomo said change is vital "because the ship of state is headed for the rocks."

"The crew knows it," Mr. Cuomo said. "The passengers know it. Only the captain of the ship, President Bush, appears not to know it."

Mr. Cuomo's most compelling image, as the "city on the hill" was in his speech in 1984, was the notion of a national parade celebrating victory over domestic problems, just as the nation reveled after the Persian Gulf war. "So step aside, Mr. Bush; you've had your parade," Mr. Cuomo said. "It's time for a change — someone smart enough to know, strong enough to do, sure enough to lead. The comeback kid. A new voice for a new America."

Clinton Rehearses Address

With that, Mr. Cuomo ended a political saga: a primary year in which many expected the Governor from New York to be the principal challenger to the Governor from Arkansas. Clinton allies, who saw the advance text of the speech earlier in the day, said they were very pleased. One Democratic strategist, noting that it was a strong validation by a man who is probably the pre-eminent Northern Democrat, said, "There's always a problem with a Southern nominee in the Northeast, and this is a very powerful piece of politics."

Mr. Clinton, who spent much of the day working on his acceptance speech, which he will deliver tonight, got other good news yesterday. The Teamsters Union, which backed the Republican ticket in the past three Presidential elections, announced that it was endorsing Mr. Clinton. "Bill Clinton is our best hope for getting this country moving again," said the Teamster president, Ron Carey, echoing the Kennedyesque theme of the day.

The convention opened last night with a series of speeches celebrating Democratic values, which like so much else in this convention reflected the party's determination to define an appealing, Middle American image for itself for the fall election. Ruth Messinger, the Manhattan Borough President, declared, "We, the people of New York, are not a bundle of 'urban problems.'"

She added, "What we want from our Federal Government is opportunity and support, not neglect and abuse."

The Democrats also continued to test out new lines of attack against the Republicans. Senator Bob Kerrey of Nebraska, another candidate for the Democratic nomination who fell by the wayside, hailed both Mr. Clinton and Senator Al Gore, Mr. Clinton's choice of a running mate. "Compared to Al Gore, Dan Quayle is a shiver looking for a spine to run up," Mr. Kerrey declared to raucous applause.

Mr. Clinton had been expected to get a bounce in the polls from this convention, and it showed up in an ABC News-Washington Post poll conducted Friday through Tuesday and released last night. It showed Mr. Clinton with the support of 42 percent of the voters while President Bush had 30 percent and Ross Perot, the all-but-declared independent candidate, had 20 percent. The margin of sampling error was plus or minus 4 percentage points.

In an interview last night with the MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour, Mr. Clinton said: "I've always believed that I could win, and I've always felt that I would, but the polls will change a hundred times between now and then. We live in a time when the fragile confidence of people in their political leaders can easily be frayed.



Jose R. Lopez/The New York Times

Senator Al Gore, on the podium at the Democratic National Convention yesterday, has inspired new lines of attack against the Republicans.

Hard times could put Bill Clinton in the White House. But does he have the right blueprint to fix the economy? Economic Scene, page D2.

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Burst of Energy at Orderly Convention

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

News Analysis

Last night, for a few sweet, fleeting moments, they finally let the Democrats be Democrats.

The managers at Madison Square Garden let former Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, the Peck's Bad Boy of this year's politics, spell out his plans to overturn the nefarious American "system." They asked Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts to evoke the glow of Camelot once more.

They let former Senator Paul E. Tsongas of Massachusetts, surely the year's most surprising Presidential contender, talk about his own quirky prescriptions for his party. And they called on the party's often Delphic orator-in-chief, Gov. Mario M. Cuomo of New York, to set the place alight.

Warriors of Party Provide Emotion

These were the losers, the men not nominated, the paths not taken, and there were contradictions aplenty. Mr. Tsongas wants the party to pay more attention to the needs of business, and Mr. Brown wants it to pay less, to cite an obvious example. Mr. Kennedy scorns the conspiracy theories of Oliver Stone, the film maker, but the Democrats gave the disputatious Mr. Stone a moment to speak for Mr. Brown.

The 4,928 delegates and alternates packed onto the floor and into the first balcony at the Garden didn't seem to mind. A little contradiction, a lot of zeal, a dose of the offbeat and a flash or two of ego supplied the ideal antidote for a convention in danger of choking on its own decorum.

At times like this, with everything cut and dried, with nothing really left to fight over, eloquence is at a premium. And before last night only Elizabeth Glaser, a woman suffering from AIDS, and, for some in the hall, Jesse Jackson, had generated real bursts of emotional electricity.

Last night Mr. Kennedy came close as he opened the parade of not-quite-nominees to the podium: three who sought the Democratic nomination and failed to get it, and one, Governor Cuomo, who has never quite brought himself to enter the race, despite entreaties to do so for almost a decade.

His role was an eerie reprise of one

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An Oh-So-Orderly Convention Nods Briefly to a Turbulent Past

Continued From Page A1

of the most emotional moments in the recent history of nominating conventions. When the Democrats met at Atlantic City in 1964, John Kennedy had not yet been dead for a year, and his brother, Robert F. Kennedy, then the Attorney General, was called upon to introduce a memorial film.

For 16 long minutes he stood, unable to speak above the great roar of applause washing over him. Then he reduced uncounted millions to tears by quoting from Act III of "Romeo and Juliet": "When he shall die, take him and cut him out in little stars, for he shall make heaven so fine that all the world will be in love with night and pay no worship to the garish sun."

Edward Kennedy, the last surviving male member of his generation of a family at once blessed and haunted, spoke after a film tribute to Robert Kennedy — "gone now," as he said, "nearly a quarter of a century." The film was introduced by Representative Joseph P. Kennedy 2d of Massachusetts, Robert Kennedy's oldest son.

Remembering His Brothers

Senator Kennedy quoted not Shakespeare but the modern English poet Stephen Spender in remembering his slain brothers: "Born of the sun, they traveled a short while toward the sun and left the vivid air signed with their honor." And he found moving language

A night for nostalgia and the party's contradictions.

of his own when he said of his brothers, "Their truest history is written in your hearts and the hearts of people everywhere who refuse to be content with things as they are."

This convention may not like Mr. Kennedy as well as the more liberal gathering in 1988, when he mocked George Bush with his insistent refrain of, "Where was George?" But the delegates came to their feet when he urged them, "Whatever the winds of the moment, carry high the banner of hope."

Most of the delegates do not like Mr. Brown at all, viewing him as a trouble-making upstart. But he delivered his radical message with verve — denouncing what he called "government of, by and for the privileged," railing at the world of contacts and access and power brokers, and pledging to " create power for the powerless."

His heavily outnumbered backers on the floor, mostly political neophytes, launched a high-spirited if carefully orchestrated demonstration. Amid the mass-produced placards, a hand-lettered sign stood out with a theme of last-ditch defiance — "You can't paint a picture of unity with the paintbrush of suppression" — but the crowd quickly subsided when asked to.

The Old American Verities

Governor Cuomo's peroration echoed the New Deal and Fair Deal, as he celebrated the old American verities — verities that the American electorate once saw exemplified by the Democratic Party, verities the party yearns to make its own again this year as it pursues the elusive middle-class vote.

"I want to sing," his text said in one of its soaring moments, "proud songs, happy songs, arm in arm with workers who have a real stake in their company's success, who once again have the assurance that a lifetime of hard work will make life better for their children than it's been for them."

Bill Clinton's personal formula for electoral success — his platform, his selection for Vice President, his orderly approach to things — has shaped the 1992 Democratic National Convention. The watchwords here have been restraint, organization, unity and that old wet blanket, dignity.

"Controlled boredom," said Norman Ornstein of the American Enterprise Institute, a Washington think tank. "The very model of the modern nominating convention."

The delegates accept it, at least most of them. Mr. Clinton won the nomination against all the odds, after all, and he has convinced them, at least intellectually, that his way is their best hope for taking back the White House this fall. But it is all a bit bloodless, satisfying but not thrilling, for a party that relishes a good brawl the way the Republicans relish a good balance sheet.

NEWS ANALYSIS

The Way Things Were

When the convention voted down a Commission for Democratic Party renewal early in the evening, the Brown forces booed and chanted. Mayor Maynard Jackson of Atlanta, presiding, quieted them easily enough, and he smiled a little at the brief reminder of the way things used to be.

The health police have taken away the smoke-filled room, and now the responsibility police have taken away the shouting matches that used to cause Democratic convention chairmen to shatter their gavels in frustration. To Peggy Noonan, who has been watching the proceedings through the eyes of a speech writer for Ronald Reagan and George Bush, the Democrats earlier this week looked like "people fighting against their own nature."

Not during the nostalgic look back to the Kennedy era.

After 12 long years of "wintry indifference" sponsored by the Republicans, Senator Kennedy said, it was time "to return to the ideal of compassion," which sounded more like an endorsement of the values of Democratic campaigns past than an echo of this year's cool new rhetoric.

The Senator himself identified the whole liberal agenda: women's rights and abortion rights, gay rights and civil rights, health care and urban renewal, "war against poverty, not war against the poor." The thing that matters most about Bill Clinton, he said, is that "he has sought to heal."

The Idea of Sacrifice

He even dared to mention the idea of sacrifice in an era when that theme of John Kennedy's has all but disappeared from political discourse.

"Give something back to our country in return for all it has given to us," he told the delegates, who have spent much of their time here listening to words designed to reassure rather than to challenge or stimulate.

Mr. Tsongas, the shy lawyer who won five primaries before suspending his campaign, restated his central campaign themes, including his new brand of economics that Mr. Clinton often ridiculed in the primary campaign. The elegant phrase has never been his forte, but the Clinton campaign could find a worse battle cry than Mr. Tsongas's plain-spoken indictment of the Bush and Reagan Administrations:

"They told us it was morning in America. They told us we could have it all. They lied."

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ABC and C-Span Attended Different Parties Together

By ELIZABETH KOLBERT

CAMPAIGN WATCH

Months of meticulous planning went into this week's Democratic National Convention so that nothing — not the speakers, the singers or the words that appeared on the "video wall" — would be left to chance. In the end, though, the impression that will be left with the folks back home is likely to depend on one simple factor beyond the Democrats' control: which television station they happened to be watching.

At least that is the conclusion that anyone would be forced to draw after watching Tuesday evening's proceedings on two televisions, the first tuned to C-Span for an uninterrupted live broadcast, the second tuned to ABC for a sampling of the networks' abbreviated coverage.

Different Parties Together

The experience was rather like hearing two people who were at the same party describe entirely different events. While one complains that the party was too long and nothing much happened, the other says it went by quickly and was breathlessly exciting.

The television tuned to C-Span showed the speakers on the convention podium, usually head-on and close up, from the time the session started at 4:30 P.M. to the time it ended almost seven hours later. Despite the video wall, it showed the convention to be a rather old-fashioned exercise in compromise, where representatives of all regions, races and ethnic groups were invited to speak their piece, often without regard to oratorical ability.

The television tuned to ABC showed virtually no live coverage of the action on the podium during its one hour of coverage beginning at 10 P.M. Instead, it offered an hour's worth of commentary and interviews interspersed with snippets from taped speeches.

ABC's Democratic convention was far glitzier and more fast-paced than C-Span's, with inspirational music, sweeping shots of the hall and rousing snatches of rhetoric from Jesse Jackson and Jimmy Carter. It was also a convention with a decidedly more up-to-date message. The Democratic Party was remaking itself, ABC's David Brinkley and Peter Jennings kept insisting, and since they never let their viewers hear anything that was being said by the convention speakers, it was hard to disagree.

"Briefly," Mr. Brinkley said at the start of the ABC broadcast, "the party is trying to shed its skin."

Without the benefit of commentary, viewers watching the convention Tuesday on C-Span could easily have missed that message.

After assorted congressmen and governors rose to defend the Democratic platform, and the crowd chanted and waved placards, C-Span viewers heard from six Republican women who are supporting the Democratic ticket this year because it supports abortion rights. They heard from Elizabeth Glaser, a mother with AIDS, who eloquently pleaded for more Government spending to fight the disease. They heard Senator John D. Rockefeller 4th talk about health care, and Senator Tom Harkin talk about "George Herbert Hoover Bush." The only common thread that seemed to link these speakers was their support for Bill Clinton.

Viewers of ABC, in contrast, heard from none of these people, even though some of them spoke during the hour when Mr. Jennings and Mr. Brinkley were on the air live from Madison Square Garden. While Senator Harkin

C-Span showed the convention; ABC offered a production.

was speaking, for example, ABC viewers could just see the word "jobs" on the video wall over Mr. Jennings's shoulder. But they never saw the Senator, or even learned that he was speaking until ABC's Jim Wooten informed them that his speech was over.

What these viewers did hear was a lot of talk about what the Democrats would have told them, if only Mr. Jennings and Mr. Brinkley and Mr. Wooten and the rest of the ABC News team hadn't been so busy talking themselves. In addition to shedding its skin, they were informed, the Democratic Party was emphasizing women's issues. It was doing so by showcasing female politicians like Lena Guerrero, a member of the Texas railroad commission, whose speech ABC also declined to carry.

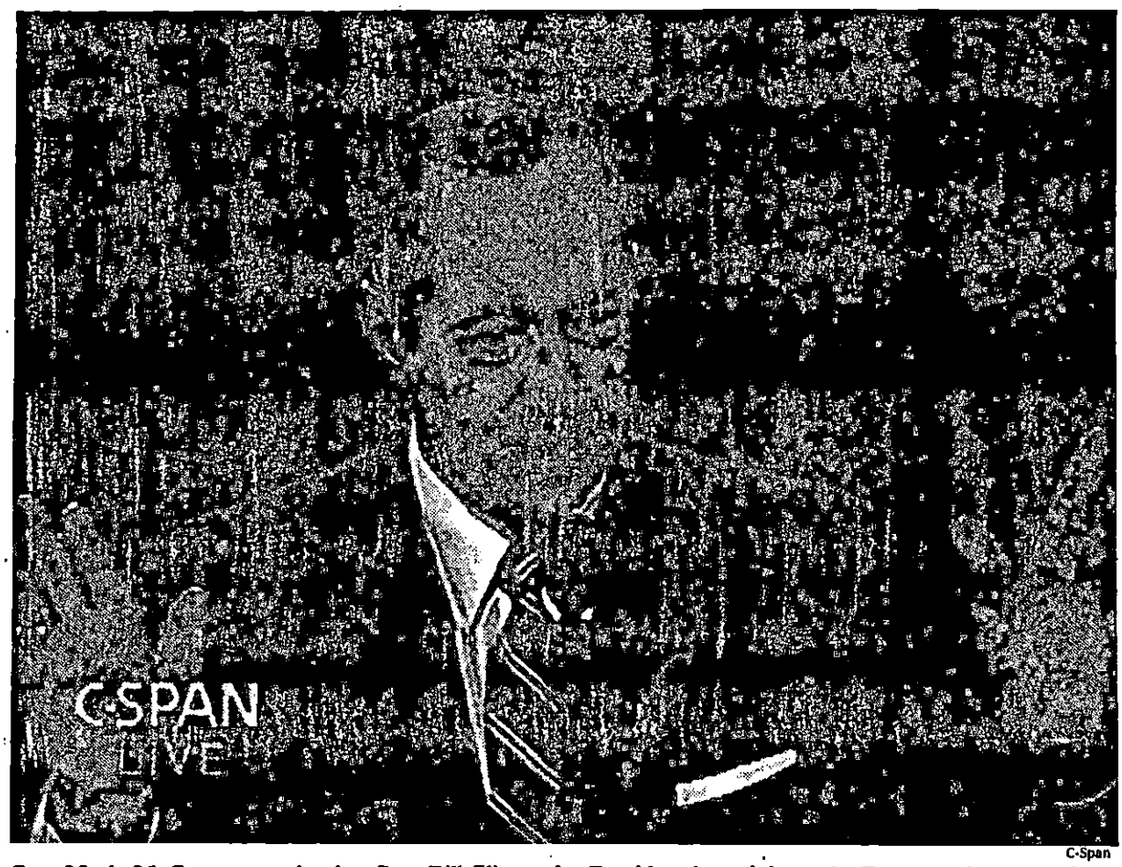
"We put her on the screen there to remind you and ourselves just how much attention women are getting at this convention," Mr. Jennings said at one point, as a picture of Ms. Guerrero flashed briefly behind him.

Wearing headsets that looked very much like martian headgear, ABC's floor reporters valiantly tried to conduct interviews over the distant rumble of the speeches. It wasn't easy, though, because in addition to the noise, there was the problem that the convention hall was dark. And as the camera jumped from one reporter to the next, each clutching a microphone in the dimness, one couldn't help wondering why they didn't just go back to their studio and watch the proceedings on C-Span.

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C-Span

Gov. Mario M. Cuomo nominating Gov. Bill Clinton for President last night at the Democratic convention.

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Monica Almeida/The New York Times

This Bell Tolls for Thee, Governor Clinton!

The Democratic Convention in New York was in full swing last night. In Madison Square Garden, a New Jersey delegate, Cecily Ramos, held a symbolic alarm clock in anticipation of the nominations of Gov. Bill Clinton and Senator Al Gore by the Democratic Party.

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Every Interviewer's an Angel in Politicians' Heaven

By RICHARD L. BERKE

BEHIND THE SCENES

It was a press secretary's dream: There was Senator Howell Heflin of Alabama facing the cameras on the convention floor yesterday, answering questions that were lighter than softballs. They were puffballs.

"Gore's being on the space subcommittee — how do you think that might help Huntsville if Clinton and Gore get in the White House this fall?" asked a neatly coiffed young man thrusting forward the inevitable microphone.

"Well," Mr. Heflin replied in his deep Dixie drawl, "Gore has a great record of supporting Huntsville issues: The space program. New technology. S.D.I. All of these issues that north Alabama has been interested in. And he has an interest, too, in agriculture, in cattle raising, that sort of thing, that's attractive to rural Alabama."

Interviewer as Image Maker

The Heflin interview made it on the Wednesday evening newscast of WHNT, the CBS affiliate in Huntsville, home of a Federal space flight center. But the catch is that the man with the microphone, Tom McMahon, is not a reporter. He is Mr. Heflin's press secretary.

The tape, what Mr. McMahon called a "video press release," was one of nearly 200 interviews of politicians arranged yesterday by the "Convention Satellite News Service." The news service is the Democratic Party's answer to local television stations' reductions in convention coverage this year: if the stations could not afford to send a reporter and camera crew to New York City, the Democrats would help them — free of charge.

The Democrats, of course, are also helping themselves. The party's venture into television production is but one way the Democrats are trying to manage the airwaves out of Madison Square Garden. In addition to the orchestrated program from the podium, officials from the party and Gov. Bill Clinton's campaign are working behind the scenes to make sure everyone is singing from the same songbook.

Democratic message-meisters are poring over every speech delivered to make sure they do not veer from these overriding themes: the Democrats will put "people first," the Clinton-Gore ticket is wonderful and there is really no infighting. To punctuate those themes, every day officials from the Democratic National Committee and the Clinton campaign stage news briefings. The Republicans, meanwhile, have competing, though more sparsely attended, briefings of their own.

The Clinton campaign is also circulating a daily one-page bulletin called "The Convention Wisdom" to what are called the "spin brigade" of top party and campaign officials. It contains suggested points for Democrats to make when they are interviewed by reporters.

A passage from Wednesday's bulletin says: "Clinton and Jackson. Last night, Bill Clinton described Jesse Jackson's speech as 'powerful.' Clinton and Jackson both emphasize jobs, opportunity and education. Jesse Jackson's longstanding loyalty to the party will help move the campaign forward." And when asked about the role of Gov. Mario M. Cuomo's of New York, they were supposed to say: "Tonight, before the dramatic roll-call of the states, Gov. Mario M. Cuomo of New York will state the case for a Clinton Presidency."

A 'Cattle Call'

The interview with Mr. Heflin was part of what the Democrats refer to as a "cattle call": The senators, representatives, governors and challengers

The Democrats take advantage of cutbacks by news organizations.

line up on the convention floor or in the Democrats' makeshift studios behind the podium at Madison Square Garden to be interviewed by their own press secretaries or, via satellite, by reporters at stations back home.

The Democrats have purchased time on two satellites to broadcast the interviews around the country and have also set up editing and makeup rooms and hired a staff of more than 80, including 30 union technicians.

"We're not packaging material to send out as propaganda," said Dennis Hayden, the executive producer of the Democrats' venture into television, who once worked for the MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour. "It's basically a news operation."

Unlike the Heflin interview, he said, most of the interviews are conducted by satellite with reporters still at home for their budget-conscious stations, which did not send them to the convention.

But Mr. Hayden did not dispute that the news service had meant upbeat stories for the Democrats. (The Republicans have used satellites from conventions since 1984).

Bob Knowles, the managing editor of WHNT in Huntsville, said he was aware that broadcasting the Heflin interview last night "was not as pure as doing your own one-on-one interview." Since the station did not send a reporter to New York this year, he said, "It's the only link we have from the convention with an Alabama touch."

The puffballs were not only for Mr. Heflin. Senator John Breaux was asked by his press secretary for consumption home in Louisiana, "Are you surprised the whole party is so united behind the convention and behind the nominee?"

Claire Sargent, a Senate candidate from Arizona, grappled with this one: "What's the feeling like at the convention?"

"It's electrifying," she admitted.

An Arkansas Salesman

The guest who has sat for the most interviews this week in the Democratic studios is Dave Leopoulos, a salesman from Little Rock, Ark., who has been a close chum of Mr. Clinton since they met in the fourth grade.

"I believe him when he said 'I didn't inhale,' " Mr. Leopoulos, sporting a Clinton for President baseball cap, earnestly told the anchor at KTGF, the NBC affiliate in Great Falls, Mont. "He is a very moral and good person. I don't have enough time here to give all the examples."

Mr. Leopoulos said he was on a crusade to spread the word on local stations that his friend Mr. Clinton was honorable.

"I'm mad as hell at the people who report irresponsibly about his ethics," Mr. Leopoulos said between television interviews. "I'm here to tell the truth about him. This is a middle-class guy that the press in general has distorted into a 'Slick Willie.' "

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For New York Democrats, The Unity Is Against Bush

By SAM ROBERTS

No way was this the ticket that many New York delegates said they would have envisioned themselves endorsing. Nor was nominating Bill Clinton the bittersweet supporting role that Gov. Mario M. Cuomo expected to play at the national convention.

But with New York's favorite son orphaned by self-doubt, the state's typically fractious Democrats were papering over their differences and their own doubts in unusual appeals for unanimity that could be crucial to Mr. Clinton's campaign. Since 1948, when Gov. Thomas E. Dewey was the Republican nominee, no Democrat has won the Presidency without New York. None has carried the state by more than a slender majority since 1964.

The politically diverse delegation's begrudging accommodation to Mr. Clinton already represents progress to political professionals, at least. Not long ago, the Democratic Party's reform movement was derided as a vocal group of ideologues who believed that November Doesn't Count. In contrast, the Democrats now seem to have adopted Vince Lombardi's view that winning is the only thing.

Pressure Over Platform

Peter F. Vallone, the City Council Speaker, recalled in disbelief that two Democrats who often champion a minority viewpoint themselves — Ruth W. Messinger, the Manhattan Borough President, and Carol Bellamy, the former Council President — had pressed him on Tuesday to vote for the Clinton-sanctioned platform even though he favored a minority plank on middle-class tax cuts.

"Imagine Ruth Messinger and Carol Bellamy trying to get unanimity," said Mr. Vallone, who is often denounced for trying to do just that on the Council.

Riven by ambivalence but driven by the vision of a Democratic victory, the New York delegation and Mr. Cuomo formally embraced Mr. Clinton last night as their party's last best hope to beat President Bush in November.

The delegation remained a jumble of mixed emotions, more pragmatic than passionate. Those who believed that Mr. Cuomo would have galvanized the voters dreamed of what might have been, even if — given the Governor's sometimes volatile relationships with friends and foes alike — some were uncertain whether that dream would have been fulfilled.

Mr. Clinton had enlisted a disparate group of delegates, from former Representative Bella S. Abzug of Manhattan to Dominic Baranello, the Suffolk County Democratic leader. And politicians said that by recruiting Senator Al Gore of Tennessee as his running mate, Mr. Clinton had broadened the ticket's appeal to organized labor, liberals and Jewish voters.

"If the labor movement swallowed Bentsen four years ago, they can embrace this guy as a real left-winger," said Barry Feinstein, the teamsters local leader.

Bridging a Barrier

Representative Charles E. Schumer of Brooklyn said Mr. Gore bridged the cultural barrier between a Southern Baptist nominee and Mr. Schumer's Orthodox Jewish constituents. "When Al Gore gives the hechsher," Mr. Schumer said, invoking a Yiddish word figuratively defined as imprimatur, "it means that Clinton can be trusted."

The challenge, many delegates say, is to impart the same degree of commitment, if not of enthusiasm, to skeptical Democrats whose desertion helped Republicans carry the state in three of the last five Presidential elections.

"You didn't make it easy for us the last time we were here," Hillary Clinton, the candidate's wife, told the New York delegation on Tuesday, referring to the April 7 primary in which, after a contentious campaign, New York anointed the party's eventual nominee for the third time in succession.

NEW YORK'S DELEGATES

But she dismissed the regional stereotypes that cast Mr. Clinton as alien to New York — "what does a Bubba know about a bar mitzvah?" was one disparagement during the campaign. "Where I now live, actually there are some Bubbas who get bar mitzvahed," she said.

Several delegates suggested that some parts of New York State may have more in common politically with Mr. Clinton's Arkansas and Mr. Gore's Tennessee than with the stubbornly liberal West Side of Manhattan.

"The liberals voted for us for the last 30 years and we lost — now we have to reach out to the average citizen," said James R. McManus, a Manhattan West Side Democratic leader.

"Our voters may not be called Bubba, but they are called Joe and Sean," said Councilman Walter L. McCaffrey, who represents a working-class district in Queens.

This year, many liberal politicians overrode their reservations and supported Mr. Clinton — in part out of respect for his New York campaign manager, Harold M. Ickes. Some others supported Edmund G. Brown Jr., either because they genuinely preferred him or, egged on by the Rev. Jesse Jackson, they hoped to provoke an open convention that would turn to Mr. Cuomo or might enhance Mr. Jackson's role as a power broker.

A diverse delegation sets aside differences.

Jan Pierce of the communications workers union and Dennis Rivera of the hospital workers union, both Brown supporters, were still balking at embracing Mr. Clinton. But they and others — including Ronnie M. Eldridge, a West Side City Councilwoman and early Clinton supporter — distinguished this race from 1968, when some liberal Democrats stayed home rather than vote for their party's nominee, Hubert H. Humphrey.

"If you're a Democrat, whether you're a conservative a moderate or a liberal, you ought not walk away from the opportunity to beat Bush, so in that respect the liberals may go to Clinton," Mr. Pierce said.

"I see people," Mr. Rivera said, "who do not like the policies of Bill Clinton and Al Gore and who believe it is not a balanced ticket, but who are asking themselves if the alternative is far worse."

Representative Ted Weiss, who represents the West Side, said he had told a group of Brown supporters this week: "We can't do anything you want until we take back the White House."

And Manfred Ohrenstein, the State Senate Democratic leader, who also represents the West Side, said: "We're not looking for perfection. We're not looking for purity. We want to win because we want change and this ticket is the only hope for that change."

John A. Marino, the state Democratic chairman who had vigorously promoted Mr. Cuomo's Presidential candidacy, agreed. "Quite often people will come out to vote for change," he said. "They may not love Clinton, but they like him and that's enough."

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Text of Address by Cuomo Nominating Clinton for the Presidency

Following is the text of remarks prepared for delivery last night by Gov. Mario M. Cuomo at the Democratic National Convention, as provided to The Associated Press by the Democratic National Committee:

I congratulate the great Mayor of this great city, David Dinkins; all the people of the city; Ron Brown, Ann Richards and all of you on having made this a wonderful convention — exciting, inspiring, unifying.

Tonight I have the great privilege and honor of assuring that it will also be the most successful Democratic convention since 1976, when I place before you the name of the next President of the United States of America, Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas.

Let me tell you why I believe Bill Clinton must be the next President.

Eight years ago, in San Francisco, some of us tried to convince America that while President Reagan was telling us we were all one "shining city on a hill," there was another city, where people were struggling, many of them living in pain. And we tried to tell America that unless we changed policies — unless we expanded opportunity — the deterioration of the other city would spread.

We Democrats failed to reach enough Americans with that message, and now the nation has paid the price. The nation cannot afford to have us fail again.

A Litany of Pain

Today's litany of pain has become familiar. For the first time in their lives, millions of Americans who took for granted the basic right to make a living with one's own hands and mind and heart have been denied the dignity of earning their own bread.

There are more than 30 million people without health care. A 50-year-old father lives nearly in terror at the prospect that if he is laid off now — as so many around him have been — in addition to losing everything else he will lose his health insurance, too.

"What if I'm struck by cancer? What about the mortgage? What about my son in college? And my daughter who's graduating high school? How will they get an education? And will they find a job even if they get an education?"

How could it have happened? In a country where the executives of companies that fail, the presidents and chairmen of companies that make profits by trading solid American jobs for cheap labor overseas, make $5 million, $10 million, $15 million a year? How can our middle-class workers be in such terrible jeopardy?

A million children a year leaving school for the mean streets, surrounded by prostitutes and drug dealers, by violence and degradation. Some of them growing up familiar with the sound of gunfire before they've ever heard an orchestra, becoming young adults, only to be instructed by the powerful evidence of their surroundings that there is little hope for them, even in America, because they are living — and probably will live — not in the shining city, but in the other city.

Nearly a whole generation surrendering in despair to drugs, to having children while they're still children, to hopelessness. How did it happen, here, in the most powerful nation in the world?

It's a terrible tragedy. Not only for our children, but for all of America. They are not my children, perhaps. Not yours, either. But they are our children. We should love them. But even if we could choose not to love them, we would still need them to be sound and productive.

This battered country cannot afford the costs of their tragedy — the costs of the crime, the prisons, the welfare, the loss of our work force and our future.

A Failed Economic Policy

It would be bad enough if we could say this is all the result of a terrible but only a temporary recession. But this is more than a recession. Our economy has been weakened fundamentally by 12 years of conservative Republican's supply-side policy.

Supply side proved to be a form of "free enterprise for the few," paid for by higher taxes on the rest of us. It operated from the naïve Republican assumption that if we fed the wealthiest Americans with huge income tax cuts, they would eventually produce "loaves and fishes" for everyone. In fact, it was just another version of the failed economic fundamentalism of 65 years ago — then called "trickle down" — which led to the Great Depression. And it has failed again!

Today, a $400 billion annual deficit and a $4 trillion national debt hang like great albatrosses around our nation's neck, strangling our economy, menacing our future. We became a great nation by making things and selling them to others. But today we buy from Japan and Germany and other nations the things we used to make and sell to them — cars, radios, televisions, clothing — giving them our dollars for their goods.

Then at the end of the year, because we spend more than we collect in taxes, we borrow back those dollars, paying billions more of our dollars in interest, increasing our debt — decreasing our ability to invest — perpetuating a mad economic cycle that threatens to spin us out of control. In no time at all we have gone from the greatest seller, lender, creditor nation to the world's largest buyer, borrower and debtor nation.

And that, ladies and gentlemen, is the legacy of the Bush years: The slowest economic growth for any four-year Presidential term since World War II. An economy crippled by debt and deficit. The fading of the American dream. Working-class families sliding back down toward poverty, deprivation, inexplicable violence.

A Desire for Change

After 12 years, Americans are disillusioned, angry and fearful. The people showed it with the quick embrace they gave to the sudden appearance on television of a provocative, wealthy businessman who said he'd like to be President. Before he told anyone what he would do or how he would do it, he used one word and applause broke out all over America — "change!"

> ***"We want something better than George Bush and the politics of decline, decay and deception."***

Of course the American people want change; of course we want something better than George Bush and the politics of decline, decay and deception.

And beginning with this convention, we must demonstrate to all the American people that change for the better is at hand, ready, able and eager to serve — in the person of Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas. And this time we cannot afford to fail to deliver the message, not just to Democrats but to the whole nation. Because the ship of state is headed for the rocks.

The crew knows it. The passengers know it. Only the captain of the ship, President Bush, appears not to know it. He seems to think that the ship will be saved by imperceptible undercurrents, directed by the invisible hand of some cyclical economic god, that will gradually move the ship so that at the last moment

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it will miraculously glide past the rocks to safer shores.

Well, prayer is always a good idea. But our prayers must be accompanied by good works. We need a captain who understands that and who will seize the wheel, before it's too late. I am here tonight to offer America that new captain with a new course.

Politics of Inclusion

Bill Clinton brings with him all the elements of our great Democratic tradition, and he adds to it the fresh energy needed to deal with a rapidly changing world.

Bill Clinton believes — as we all here do — in the first principle of our commitment: the politics of inclusion, the solemn obligation to create opportunity for all our people. For the aging factory worker in Pittsburgh; the African-American school child in Atlanta; the family farmer in Des Moines; the eager immigrants, sweating to make their place alongside of us, here in New York City and in San Francisco; the bright, young businesswoman in Chicago.

All of them, from wherever, no matter how recently, of whatever color, whatever creed, whatever sex, of whatever sexual orientation, all of them, equal members of the American family, and the neediest of them — because of age or illness or circumstance — entitled to the greatest help from the rest of us. Surrender that Democratic principle and we might just as well tear the donkeys from our lapels, pin elephants on instead, and retreat to elegant estates behind ivy-colored walls, where, when they detect a callus on their palms, people conclude it's time to put down their polo mallet.

Bill Clinton believes that the closest thing to a panacea that we have is described by a simple, four-letter word — work! He has been living that truth all his life.

So, Bill Clinton believes that what we most need now is jobs, jobs, jobs — rejuvenating our private, free-enterprise economy by investing in the rebuilding of our cities, shoring up our agricultural strength, laying the foundations for economic growth into the next century, pulling people off welfare, off unemployment, giving people back their dignity and their confidence.

And unlike the other candidates, he has a solid, intelligent plan to produce those jobs. Bill Clinton does not want to spend; he wants to invest — in producing well-trained workers, new technologies, safe energy. In entrepreneurship. In things that will generate economic growth for all the people, making wider the gateway to opportunity for all the people.

On Will and Wealth

President Bush disagrees with Bill Clinton. He says we cannot afford to do all that needs to be done. He says we have the will but not the wallet. Bill Clinton knows that we have the wealth available — we've proved it over and over, when the dramatic catastrophes strike.

Remember the savings and loans? Governors and mayors had gone to Washington to plead for help for education, for job training, for health care, for roads and bridges. "Sorry, there is none," said the President. "We're broke. We have the will but not the wallet."

Then Americans discovered that wealthy bankers — educated in the most exquisite forms of conservative, Republican banking — through their incompetence and thievery, and the Government's neglect, had stolen or squandered everything in sight!

I heard no moralizing about values then from our Republican leaders. Instead, mirabile dictu — all of a sudden — the heavens opened and out of the blue, billions of dollars appeared. Not for children. Not for jobs. Not for the ill. But hundreds of billions of dollars to bail out failed savings and loans.

Billions for war. Billions for earthquakes and hurricanes.

If we can do all this for these spectacular catastrophes, why can't we find the wealth to respond to the quiet catastrophes that every day oppress the lives of thousands, that destroy our children with drugs, that kill thousands with terrible new diseases like AIDS, that deprive our people of the sureness of adequate health care, that stifle our future?

Bill Clinton says we can, and we should, and we will!

America needs Bill Clinton, too, because he understands we must deal with what could be, eventually, the most lethal problem of all: a degraded environment, one that kills life in our lakes with acid rain, allows cancer-causing rays to pierce a deteriorated ozone shield and threatens to convert the planet into a cosmic hothouse. Bill Clinton made clear how well he understands that, when he announced Senator Al Gore would be the next Vice President of the United States of America.

America needs Bill Clinton for another reason. We need a leader who will stop the Republican attempt, through laws and through the courts, to tell us what god to believe in, and how to apply that god's judgment to our schoolrooms, our bedrooms and our bodies.

Attributes of Leadership

Bill Clinton knows the course from here, past peril, to a new era of growth and progress for this nation that will enable us to share our power and our abundance with the world community.

He was born and raised with the personal attributes needed for leadership: God-given intelligence. powerful, good health. And an extraordinary strength of character that allowed him to survive the buffeting and the trauma of a difficult youth.

He knows adversity: he has lived it, in the year before he entered public life, and in the many years of hard challenges since then. And with each new challenge he has grown wiser and stronger, as he demonstrated with his remarkable resiliency and unflappability in the recent bruising primaries.

Bill Clinton has always been driven by the desire to lift himself above his own immediate concerns, to give himself to something larger. His entire adult life has been devoted to helping others through public service. As a 21-year-old he drove through the ashes of Washington, D.C., a few days after Martin Luther King Jr. had been assassinated, to give food and comfort to families that had been burned out of their homes.

And for 11 years now he has been the Governor of his beloved state, protecting Arkansas from a Federal Government that has been depriving the states and cities for over a decade, balancing 11 budgets in a row, doing the things that governors and presidents are supposed to do: enforcing the laws, providing education and opportunities for children and young adults, expanding health care, attracting new jobs and reaching out to heal wounds caused by 300 years of unfairness and oppression.

He has done it so well that the nation's other governors, both Democratic and Republican, have repeatedly acknowledged him to be a national leader.

All this time, Bill Clinton has worked to relieve other people's discomfort because he remembers his own struggle. Because Bill Clinton still remembers, because he is equipped to break the gridlock in Washington and to deliver effective government, because Bill Clinton will remind us that we are too good to make war our most successful enterprise, because he does not believe that the way to win political support is to pit people against one another.

> *"I am here tonight to offer America [a] new captain with a new course."*

He does not believe in the cynical political arithmetic that says you can add by subtracting, or multiply by dividing; but instead, he will work to make the whole nation stronger by bringing people together, showing us our commonality, teaching us cooperation, making us not a collection of competing special interests, but one great, special family — the family of America!

For all these reasons, we must make Bill Clinton the next President of the United States of America.

Visions of a Great Parade

A year ago, we had a great parade in New York City to celebrate the return of our armed forces from the Persian Gulf. I'm sure you had one, too. But as joyous as those parades were, I'd like to march with you in a different kind of celebration — one, regrettably, we cannot hold yet.

I'd like to march with you through cities and rural villages where all the people have safe streets, affordable housing and health care when they need it.

I want to clap my hands and throw my fists in the air, cheering neighborhoods where children can be children, where they can grow up and get the chance to go to college and one day own their own home.

I want to sing — proud songs, happy songs — arm in arm with workers who have a real stake in their company's success, who once again have the assurance that a lifetime of hard work will make life better for their children than it's been for them.

I want to be part of a victory parade that sends up fireworks, celebrating the triumph of our technology centers and factories, outproducing and outselling our overseas competitors.

I want to march — with you — knowing that we are selecting justices to the Supreme Court who are qualified to be there, and who understand the basic American right to make our own individual moral and religious judgments.

I want to look around and feel the warmth, the pride, the profound gratitude of knowing we are making America surer, stronger — sweeter. Some day I want to march to Washington, not to beg for what we need, but to shout our thanks because we made the greatest nation in the world greater than it's ever been, provided new opportunities to new generations of seekers, justified our gifts by showing the world how much better we can be!

So step aside, Mr. Bush. You've had your parade. It's time for change — someone smart enough to know, strong enough to do, sure enough to lead. The Comeback Kid. A new voice for a new America.

Because I love New York, because I love America, I nominate for office of the President of the United States the man from Hope, Ark., Gov. Bill Clinton!

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Excerpts From Talks By Selected Speakers

Following are excerpts from remarks prepared for delivery at the Democratic National Convention by selected speakers, as provided by The Associated Press.

Edward M. Kennedy

Senator From Massachusetts

We must stand, with pride and without apology, for the great unfinished cause of civil rights. We must resume our progress toward a truly free society where people will no longer be oppressed, or held back, or held down because of the color of their skin.

We must break the glass ceiling that stretches across our Government and our economy, so that at long last, all Americans will be equal in life as well as in law.

I believe that women will be a majority of the new senators elected this year. And I believe that one day, women will also be a majority of the United States Senate. We are beginning to end a discrimination against women so ancient and embedded that until this generation, it was hardly even noticed or named. We must refuse to go back. We must defend a woman's right to choose.

We must defend family values, not by denying women's rights, but by passing family and medical leave. American workers should never be forced to decide between the job they need and the child that they love.

All this is part of a long struggle to push back the frontiers of freedom. Along the way, we have learned again and again that equality is a continuing struggle, and that America is a continuing revolution. This means many things, but it surely means that cabinet posts must be filled on the basis of talent, not sexual orientation.

And young Americans should not have to deny who they are, in order to fight and die for their country.

Paul E. Tsongas

Ex-Senator From Massachusetts

Franklin Delano Roosevelt is our patron saint. He brought economic hope out of economic despair.

We must do the same.

Central to this mission is to understand one basic reality — everything we hope to do, everything we hope to do, depends on an expanding economic pie. And only a vibrant, competitive, thriving private sector can create that. Government is a necessary partner, but it is the junior partner.

Only the private sector can produce the revenues for the social programs we Democrats care about. The financing of those programs through ever more public debt violates our generational responsibility.

The realities are simple.

You cannot redistribute wealth that you never created.

You cannot be pro-jobs and anti-business at the same time.

You cannot love employment and hate employers.

I know I have said this so often but I believe it is fundamental: No goose, no golden eggs.

Americans know that we are in trouble.

Americans know we must use our resources to reinvigorate the essential engine of our economy, the manufacturing base.

They know that what the middle class needs is a job. Using scarce resources to provide a tax cut instead of creating jobs is not fairness.

Creating a job so that men and women can provide for their families — that my fellow Democrats is fairness.

Americans know that we must end the obscenity of massive budget deficits and they are prepared to embrace the principle of shared sacrifice. America is ready for a cap on spending that shows that, at last, the games are over and fiscal discipline will prevail.

Americans know that we must repair our infrastructure that's the easy part. But they also know that we must pay for that repair — not borrow from our children to finance it.

If you are going to do it, you'd better pay for it.

And finally Americans know that uncontrolled entitlements will rob our children and grandchildren of their economic future. To run and hide on this issue is to insure future war between the generations.

And it won't be pretty.

Hard truths.

Hard realities.

Hard choices.

We must be the party to step forward and take on these choices.

George Bush has shamefully ignored these realities. He has run away from the hard choices.

The Bush legacy is clear. America has become the greatest debtor nation on earth increasingly unable to compete in world trade markets as it sinks further into debt.

He has taken the treasure of ten generations and sacrificed it to false happy days political rhetoric. His record is generationally immoral.

It violates the legacy of our ancestors,

It violates the promise to our children.

It is spiritually bankrupt.

George Bush must go.

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Dave McCurdy

Representative of Oklahoma

Bill Clinton has stood for change and innovation throughout a career of high achievements. He has changed the State of Arkansas. He has changed the Democratic Party. He has laid out a vision to change the nation.

It's called the New Covenant and it begins with a revolution in government — a radical break with politics as usual in Washington. Bill Clinton understands that the clamor of powerful interests is drowning out the voices of ordinary citizens. In nominating him, we affirm the deepest and most enduring truth about our party: that Democrats are the party of the hard-working people and the sworn enemies of special privilege. Bill Clinton will put government back on the side of the forgotten middle class. He understands that government's proper role is to expand opportunity, not bureaucracy, and he has pledged to make America's public sector a vital source of fresh thinking and flexibility in meeting our peoples' needs.

The New Covenant says that government must empower citizens and communities to tackle America's problems from the ground up, not impose bureaucratic solutions from the top down. Bill Clinton knows that no government program can substitute for the family and the other vital institutions of community where our values and character are formed.

The New Covenant says America's most urgent priority is economic renewal. While our party maintains its historic commitment to the disadvantaged and the dispossessed, tonight, we reaffirm an old Democratic notion: that the best welfare program, the best family program, the best social program for America is a growing economy that creates jobs.

Like the New Deal, the New Covenant unites the interests of the struggling middle class with those struggling to become middle class. And it unites the families in our suburbs and in our cities who are terrorized by crime and drugs and gives them the tools to drive out the criminals and take back their communities.

Most important, the New Covenant says that our party not only defends rights but insists on responsibilities. It says that government is not some automatic teller machine drawing on someone else's account. Government is us; we have to choose; the choices are hard; we must decide what is deserving and what is not. And whoever receives from government has an obligation to give something back. There's no more something for nothing.

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Rollins Quits Perot's Campaign; Asserts His Advice Was Ignored

By STEVEN A. HOLMES
Special to The New York Times

DALLAS, July 15 — Less than two months after he arrived to help bring an air of professionalism to Ross Perot's grass-roots campaign, Edward J. Rollins resigned in frustration today, citing an unwillingness on the part of the Texas billionaire to follow his advice.

Mr. Rollins and Thomas W. Luce 3d, the chairman of the Perot Petition Committee, appeared together at a hastily called press conference and made little effort to hide their differences. Mr. Rollins, a veteran Republican strategist, said his resignation was effective immediately.

"Ed Rollins is a fine person and a great professional," Mr. Luce said. But "differences of agreement" had "arisen over the conduct of the campaign," he said.

Other Aides to Leave

Mr. Rollins, who managed President Ronald Reagan's 1984 re-election campaign, said that the decision to sever the relationship was "mutual" and that he was not dismissed. Campaign officials said, however, that at least 10 other political consultants hired by Mr. Rollins to help him run the Perot campaign had been asked to leave.

Hamilton Jordan, who was co-manager of the campaign with Mr. Rollins, will now assume the position of manager and run the day-to-day operations, Mr. Luce said. But Mr. Jordan is also known to be frustrated with the drift of the Perot campaign. About two weeks ago he threatened to quit because Mr. Perot would not heed his advice.

Mr. Luce said Mr. Rollins's resignation would not affect the campaign. "I don't think Mr. Perot's plans have changed one iota," Mr. Luce said. "I think he's still planning to run for President of the United States."

Dispute Over Advertising

Mr. Rollins said the prime source of disagreement was over the nature and timing of an advertising campaign for Mr. Perot, whose image has taken a severe beating in recent news articles and in attacks aimed at him by various high-ranking Republicans.

His standing in public opinion polls had also started to drop in the last 10 days. And last Saturday, Mr. Perot was strongly criticized after a speech to the N.A.A.C.P. in which he referred to "your people" in remarks that left the impression among some in the audience that he was insensitive to blacks.

Mr. Rollins said today that he wanted to begin an advertising campaign two weeks ago as a means to counter Mr. Perot's recent slide. But Mr. Perot has turned down all suggestions for starting an advertising campaign so far.

Last Friday, Mr. Perot severed his relations with Hal Riney & Partners, a San Francisco-based advertising company that developed the "Morning in America" theme for Mr. Reagan in

Continued on Page A17, Column 1

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Top Perot Official Resigns, Saying Advice Was Ignored

Continued From Page A1

1984. Campaign aides say that the decision to dismiss Mr. Riney, whom Mr. Rollins had hired, was a major factor in the consultant's decision to step down.

A Washington Post-ABC poll released today showed Mr. Perot in third place with 20 percent of those surveyed favoring him — his lowest standing in a national poll in weeks. The survey placed Gov. Bill Clinton, who was sent into battle by his party tonight, in first place with 42 percent saying they backed him. President Bush was second with 30 percent.

The negative publicity and the slide in the polls caused concern in some quarters of the Perot camp. An unnamed campaign official was quoted today by Reuters as saying that unless Mr. Perot declared his candidacy within two weeks his embryonic campaign risked being stillborn. Asked about that report today, Mr. Luce declined to say whether Mr. Perot would announce in a fortnight or if he was considering ending his nascent campaign.

ROSS PEROT

Today's press conference at the Perot headquarters in Dallas, was an awkward affair at times. Often Mr. Luce stood at the lectern of the campaign press room, answering questions, while Mr. Rollins paced behind him, head down and frowning. At other times, when Mr. Rollins answered questions, he was forced to do so while standing just off to the side, while Mr. Luce stood mute at his side unwilling to relinquish the central spot to the bearded political veteran.

Mr. Rollins's departure comes on the heels of the defection of Paul H. Nitze, a widely respected foreign policy expert who had been asked by Mr. Perot to be part of an advisory committee working on developing positions on various issues.

Mr. Nitze said he decided not to continue on the advisory committee because he was appalled at some of the positions that Mr. Perot was reportedly contemplating. Mr. Nitze said Mr. Perot felt that the United States should declare itself to be a Pacific and Asian power and pay less attention to Europe.

Mr. Nitze said Mr. Perot's views on the subject were conveyed to him by Richard Fisher, a Perot adviser. "What he said was that Europe can take care of itself," Mr. Nitze said in a telephone interview. "That's undoubtedly true. They can take care of themselves. But that doesn't mean we don't have an interest in maintaining relations with Europe."

Loss of Credibility

The departure of Mr. Rollins is a severe blow to Mr. Perot's fledgling effort, robbing it of a measure of the credibility that came from the expectation that it would be professionally run. At the press conference, Mr. Rollins said that the disagreements he had were not with Mr. Perot's top aides, including Mr. Jordan, Mr. Luce and Morton H. Meyerson, a long-time business associate of Mr. Perot who now serves as his senior adviser.

"Obviously, there have been differences of opinion, not among Mr. Meyerson, Mr. Luce, Mr. Jordan and I," Mr. Rollins said. "But I think Mr. Perot and I seek two different ways to getting to the Presidency." Mr. Luce, who was standing at Mr. Rollins's side, did not contradict the suggestion that the four top officials in the Perot campaign were in agreement, with the holdout being Mr. Perot.

Mr. Luce said, however, he did not feel Mr. Rollins's departure would ultimately hurt the campaign. "I find it hard to believe that anything that happens in July will have any bearing in November," Mr. Luce said.

Mr. Rollins said he would continue to support Mr. Perot and would not work for any other candidate during the campaign. But he and Mr. Luce declined to answer questions about whether he had any contractual obligation that prevented him from working for anyone else.

When Mr. Rollins took the job with the Perot campaign on June 3, Mr. Rollins's wife, Sherrie quit her job as a public relations specialist in the Bush White House. Today, Mr. Rollins said he called his wife, who was in Bali, and told her he was leaving. Asked what she said, he replied, "There was something like, 'I told you so.'" A Bush adviser, Charles Black, said Ms. Rollins could have her job back if he wanted it.

The departure of Mr. Rollins also comes at a time of increasing tension between state volunteer coordinators and professional political consultants, many hired by Mr. Rollins, over wht would run state operations.

The Austin American-Statesman reported today that John Opincar, an Austin businessman, was establishing a new national organization of volunteers who were leaving the Perot organization because of dissatisfaction with working with professional political strategist.

"If you are fed up with being stepped on, shoved aside and told that you car no longer make a difference, pleas join us," Mr. Opincar said on a mes sage on a telephone number he has se up for his new organization.

At the news conference, Mr. Rollin went out of his way to praise the volun teers who have been the backbone o Mr. Perot's organization. "The differ ences were never about the gras roots," Mr. Rollins said referring to hi differences with Mr. Perot. "I think th grass roots and the volunteers in th country that have put Mr. Perot on t ballot has been the most awesome p litical movement that I have. ev seen."

Anti-Abortion Leaders Are Ordered Arrested

Leaders of the anti-abortion group Operation Rescue were ordered arrested yesterday in connection with an attempt to confront Gov. Bill Clinton with fetal remains outside the Democratic Presidential candidate's hotel early Tuesday.

The group, which has been met in New York City by strident and well-organized resistance by abortion rights supporters, staged the confrontation to challenge the Democratic Party's stance favoring abortion rights.

The leaders' arrests were ordered by Federal District Judge Robert J. Ward, who issued an order Monday specifically barring such confrontations.

One leader, the Rev. Patrick Mahoney, speaking by telephone from an undisclosed place in New Jersey, said he intended to turn himself in, perhaps as early as tommorrow, to face a jail sentence rather than pay a fine of $25,000. He said all of the group's leaders had left New York City.

Randall Terry, the founder of Operation Rescue, called the arrest order a "grotesque violation of free speech." He refused to disclose his whereabouts.

Among the group's leaders who were ordered arrested were the Rev. Kieth Tucci, the group's executive director, Joseph Foreman and the Rev. Robert L. Schenck.

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Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

The Me-Too Democrats

If Russia can abandon Communism, the Democratic Party — in a New York minute — can say goodbye to income redistribution, the essence of liberalism.

"Growth" — the economics of the bigger pie — is the unabashed message of Clintonomics. "Why not change from a party with a reputation of tax-and-spend," intoned the keynote lecturer Barbara Jordan, "to one with a reputation of investment and growth?"

While Republicans want to stimulate that growth through tax reduction, Democrats want to stimulate growth through government "investment" (never say "spending") in training and technology. Different painless paths, same growth goal.

Ex-liberals will continue to waggle a vestigial digit at F.D.R.'s "economic royalists," but they know that not even confiscation of the incomes of millionaires will put a dent in the deficit. The Clinton platform admits that the passion to redistribute income is as outdated as the cold war.

If conservatism has won, why are conservatives in danger of losing in '92? We can rightly claim that the "misery index," adding inflation to unemployment, is half that of the dismal Carter years, with today's interest rates falling and the stock market rising, but who cares? Mr. Bush is running against a party that is stealing his clothes of growth.

The ticket of the broad shoulders, Clinton and Gore, is electable, as the Perot aberration is not (that summertime tent is not a political home, and will fold). The buoyant Democrats offer a contrast to the present lassitude and rhetorical aimlessness of the Bush White House.

In a nutshell, the 1992 campaign is about aspects of personal freedom embodied in the word "choice." In education, health care and product or environmental regulation, Republicans stress personal choice and local option, while Democrats prefer national standards and less choice; but when it comes to abortion and the toleration of dissent, Democrats are for personal freedom while Republican dogma calls for national prohibition or restrictions.

How have the Democrats, in convention assembled, presented their aspects of freedom? Not as well as I had hoped; in his desperation to differentiate his convention from the divisive gatherings of the past, Bill Clinton shut down dissent.

He was right to demand a pre-convention endorsement from Jesse Jackson before giving him a speaking slot, because the irreverent reverend has chosen the celebrity of talk-show host to the nitty-gritty of political office. (He called King Herod "the Dan Quayle of his day" in a silly display of Salome tactics.)

But Clinton was wrong to demand prior allegiance from Jerry Brown, who came with 600 hard-earned delegates. This allowed the far-out Californian to pop off on prime-time newscasts before he was begrudged speaking time from the podium. The

Which convention was this, anyway?

foolish Clinton muscle-flexing showed an intolerance of diversity and a tendency to be a sore winner.

The same desire to run a well-dressed, orderly, Republican-style convention slammed the door on anti-abortion dissenters. Gov. Robert Casey of Pennsylvania, whose state's abortion restrictions were upheld in the superb Supreme Court decision reaffirming Roe v. Wade, was shut out. Clinton's message: No pro-lifers need apply.

That politics of exclusion opens an opportunity for Republicans at their Houston convention. In contrast to the lockstep-enforcement in Madison Square Garden, the anti-abortion Bushies could give podium time to pro-choice Republican women. A respectful hearing — with a stern no-booing admonition from the G.O.P. convention chairman — would dramatize the "big tent" idea and the intolerance of the Democratic Convention.

But that is next month's controversy. For Democrats coming home to their party today, it makes good sense to acknowledge defeat of an economic ideology, to come up with an adaptation that can be labeled a third way.

Such "me-too-ism" makes sense. What rings false, however, is the spectacle of the party of the people on its best behavior, meekly following its script.

Clinton's platform "covenant," like the word "convention," is rooted in the Latin *convenire*, "to come together, agree." His followers rightly agree on wrenching ideological change. But must Democrats forsake their lusty diversity in aping Republican discipline? Sometimes party unity asks too much. □

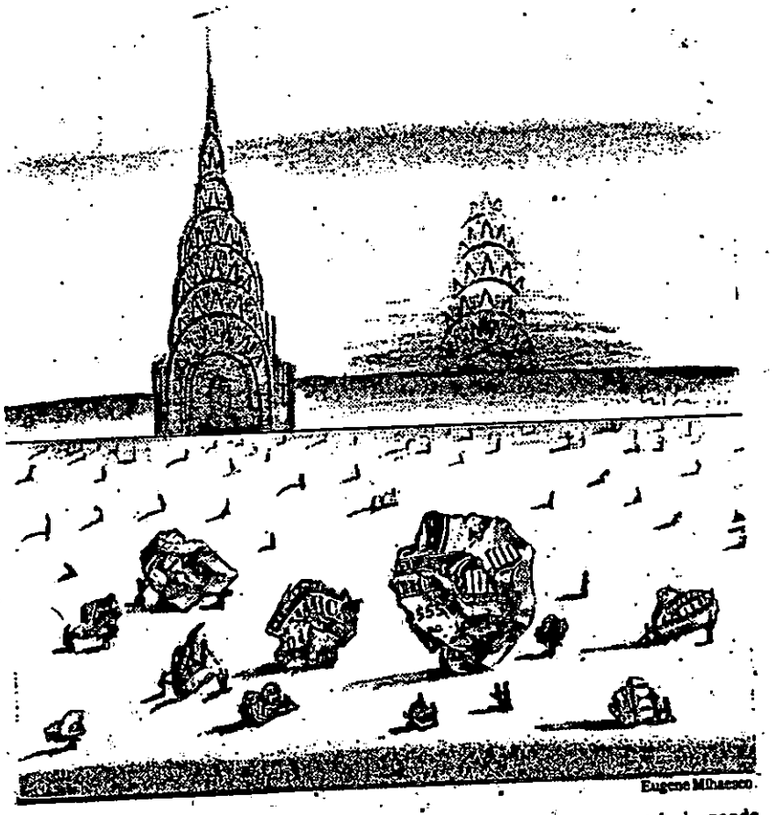
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Bush's Plan Means Jobs

By Roger B. Porter



Eugene Mihaesco

WASHINGTON

President Bush has advanced a comprehensive economic program to create jobs and increase the standard of living for all Americans. His growth agenda is based on three convictions about America and the 1990's.

First, we must invest in our future. A wise nation does not consume its seed corn through excessive current consumption. It makes sound investments in plant, equipment, research, development, infrastructure and the education and training of its people.

Second, growth must be our first priority. Rather than arguing about how to divide the economic pie, the Bush plan focuses on how to enlarge it. Third, we must strengthen our global competitiveness and maintain our position as the world's leading exporter. Protectionism sacrifices prosperity for the many to achieve security for the few. Reducing trade barriers enhances competition, creates jobs and expands opportunity.

These convictions rest on the President's belief that markets allocate resources more efficiently than Government bureaucracies, that economic growth is essential to achieving our aspirations as a society and that we need not fear foreign competition.

Investing in the future requires increasing private savings and reducing public borrowing. The President's proposals for flexible I.R.A.'s, an investment tax allowance, enterprise zones and capital gains will stimulate greater private savings. His proposals to eliminate 246 unnecessary Federal programs, reduce others and cap the growth of entitlements (while fully protecting Social Security) represents the only detailed plan to date to restrain the growth of spending and balance the budget.

The President's budget focuses resources on those most in need, seeks record Federal investment in research, development, infrastructure, training and education and expands funding for children.

Generating growth also requires stimulating technological innovation, removing unnecessary regulations and reducing litigation. We must also invigorate the energy, telecommunications and banking industries by enacting the President's reform proposals.

Increase savings, reduce public borrowing.

Central to economic growth is an educated, skilled work force. The national education goals advanced by President Bush and all 50 governors have been followed by the President's America 2000 education strategy, already embraced by 45 states, in the largest bipartisan effort to revolutionize our schools in America's history.

The fundamental reality of the 1990's is that the global economy has become increasingly integrated, whether measured by trade in goods and services, investment flows or financial arrangements.

Ours is the largest national economy, with the highest productivity per worker. In the last two years America has again become the world's largest exporter. Since 1986, exports have accounted for nearly two million new jobs.

U.S. leadership has brought us within reach of success in the most ambitious global trade negotiations ever undertaken and in forging a North American Free Trade Agreement with Canada and Mexico. Both agreements will mean more and better jobs.

Future economic historians will emphasize two factors that have contributed to economic frustration for many Americans. First, the money supply grew far too slowly for far too long. Economic growth was sacrificed in an abundance of caution over the fear of rekindling inflation. Second, for three successive years the Congress failed to enact the President's economic growth proposals. Recently lowered interest rates should help, but what is most needed now is a majority in Congress deeply committed to economic growth and willing to enact the President's growth agenda. □

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Clinton: Spur Growth

By Robert B. Reich

CAMBRIDGE, Mass.

Gov. Bill Clinton's plan to revive the economy calls for some carefully focused private investment. But the centerpiece is public investment, which in the emerging global economy is critical.

The Administration's economic record, the worst since Herbert Hoover's, stems from the failed "trickle down" logic of supply-side economics. Today, private investment does not necessarily trickle down: it trickles out to wherever around the world it can get the highest return.

A country's major asset, on which its future standard of living uniquely depends, is its people — their education, insights and skills — and the infrastructure supporting them. Private investors worldwide can be induced to create good jobs in a country only by a skilled work force, first-class transportation and communications systems and cost-efficient energy supplies.

Germany is building "smart" highways and expanding its apprenticeship system. France has a national program for worker retraining and an information network linking all homes. Japan is extending its high-speed inter-city railways. Most industrialized nations provide early-childhood education and health care.

In contrast, the U.S. has turned its back on public investment. Since 1980, the Government has cut funding of education, training, child health and infrastructure by a third.

The Clinton growth strategy calls for $219.5 billion in new public investment over four years. About half this sum would be invested in people — insuring healthy infants and children, fully financing Head Start, creating good schools, giving school dropouts a second chance, providing kids who are not going to college with apprenticeship training, enabling all eligible students to pay for college, retraining workers and helping people off welfare and into jobs.

The other half would connect major cities by high-speed rail, reduce highway congestion through "smart" roads, control toxic wastes, develop clean and efficient energy sources, link every home and classroom to a national information network and upgrade urban transportation, water and sewage systems.

The Clinton plan would raise $295 billion — enough also to give some tax relief to the middle class and to reduce the deficit; the deficit would be halved by 1996, mostly through faster economic growth. The investments in people would be financed largely by a tax increase on the top 2 percent of income earners (yielding $92 billion over four years) — the only Americans whose after-tax incomes grew during the 1980's and whose share of the national wealth soared.

> The centerpiece is public investment.

About a third ($43 billion) of the infrastructure investment would be financed out of defense cuts. It would spur the conversion of our military technologies into world-class transportation, communication, energy and pollution-control technologies. The remaining revenues would come from other spending cuts and the closing of corporate tax loopholes.

Some parts of the plan could be accelerated to jump-start the economy right away. Several infrastructure projects could create jobs immediately. But many payoffs would not come for years — when today's kids become productive members of the future work force.

The plan, requiring accountability, would set tough performance standards for schools and training programs, require that college loans be repaid out of future earnings or community service and use the line-item veto to block pork-barrel projects. Bill Clinton's plan sets the right direction and priorities for America's economic future. Instead of rewarding a few at the top and relying on capital to trickle down, it nurtures the grass roots of our economy — where our work force is. □

Robert B. Reich, a political economist at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government, is an economic adviser to Gov. Bill Clinton.

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Foreign Affairs

LESLIE H. GELB

Wonks vs. Liberals

Democrats can tear your heart out. Quixotic, ill disciplined, at times unrealistic, they also love to cry over injustice, battle evil and save the world. You cannot watch that montage of immigrant faces in Madison Square Garden this week without wondering whether as a national party Democrats would rather fight for liberal causes than win the White House.

Which is why this "harmonious" convention — apparently dedicated to victory in November at the expense of liberal philosophy — seems so out of joint.

It is turning out to be a conclave that pits Democratic hearts against Democratic minds, liberals against technocrats, bleeding hearts against policy wonks, preachers against analysts, people who want to be right and feel good against people who want to win the next Presidential election — then solve problems.

The soul of the party still belongs to Jesse Jackson, Mario Cuomo, Ted Kennedy, to workers slaving away for minimum wages in hellholes, to Elizabeth Glaser battling AIDS, to women committed to equality and choice, to blacks with tears of pride for blacks addressing the conventioneers, to those who would leap upon the barricades to slay homelessness, helplessness and hunger.

But the party's brain this year belongs to Bill Clinton and Al Gore, to the technocratic policy wonks spawned by the Democratic Leadership Council formed in 1985, to liberals like New York's Harold Ickes Jr. who have tired of losing the White House to Republicans, to moderate Democrats who see the world in shades of gray, to all kinds of Democrats who want a shot at the brass ring of executive branch power for power's sake and to do good.

The Arkansas Governor began his climb to the nomination with this premise: The liberal spirit that unites the core of Democrats often divides them from American majorities. His task, then, was to figure out a strategy both for uniting the party and for doing so in a way that would allow him to reach out to white, middle-class Americans who had grown comfortable voting for Republican Presidential candidates.

To bind Democrats together, Mr. Clinton held up the prospect of victory in November. Victory would substitute for liberalism. And to reach beyond the party, he combined technocratic problem-solving with mainstream moderation. He would fight poverty, but back the police; use government vigorously, but mainly to promote private solutions; and employ force to defend American interests, but also strengthen the U.N.

The package was often confusing and never emotionally uplifting. But it was somehow reassuringly analytical rather than ideological. And for Democrats it was largely new, and they needed something new.

From 1972 and George McGovern on, Democrats had to struggle to keep the party faithful together. And Presidential nominees usually did so by elevating liberal themes over middle-class concerns, thus damaging their November prospects. Senator McGovern campaigned hard for redistributing income in favor of the poorer classes, and Walter Mondale built his coalition around liberal special-interest groups, particularly labor and minorities. Both candidates lost in landslides.

Clinton's heady centrism prevails over Democratic soul.

Jimmy Carter brought party and country together in 1976 by shunning liberal ideology. Instead, he united the faithful and the middle class against the Republican Watergate mess and around traditional values like honesty and human rights. Michael Dukakis tried an ill-defined mixture of liberal philosophy and technocratic problem-solving. This concoction seemed to be working until George Bush succeeded in portraying him as a liberal wimp.

Most Democratic activists had no particular affection for Mr. Carter or Mr. Dukakis. And most are not especially turned on by Mr. Clinton's centrist techno-policy wonkery. Most are not very confident they even know what this wonkery means or adds up to.

Most party faithful prefer the emotional liberal highs generated by Mario Cuomo, Ted Kennedy and Jesse Jackson. But they also realize that their heroes are too liberal to prevail in the general election. And after 12 years in the wilderness, Democrats may be satisfied with trying to win — and wait, uneasily, to see if Mr. Clinton can show them how. □

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Character vs. Caricature

Can Bill Clinton Be Trusted?

In 1988, he nominated Michael Dukakis with a speech voicing anguish over America's lack of concern for children. But no one remembers that; the 19-page address brought groans from a Democratic Convention that had barely five pages of patience. It was, someone gibed, either the longest nominating speech or the shortest Presidential candidacy in history.

This time around, Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas has shrewdly and tirelessly persevered to win the nomination. Tonight he goes before the 1992 Democratic Convention to make another speech, to rally the public to his own candidacy. But if he is to succeed he'll need more than wit and energy. He'll have to confront a bigger, simpler subject: trust.

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Even in ordinary times, it's hard for unknowns like Jimmy Carter or Michael Dukakis to establish themselves as Presidential timber. It's even more difficult in this era when the public mistrusts all politicians. It's harder still for Bill Clinton. He had hardly presented his fresh face to New Hampshire primary voters before it was defaced with one mud pie after another — accusations of adultery, ducking the draft, fudging about marijuana, improving on the truth.

The medieval trial by fire has become today's media trial by electronic fire; and he survived. Even so, fairly or not, the doubts persist and Americans are left to ask, *Can the public trust his character?* Tonight he has the opportunity to transcend the caricatures. Instead of being judged by isolated incidents and hostile allegations, he can define himself in terms of lifetime values, preached and practiced.

How well he does that will help answer the related question, *Can the public trust his leadership?* Governor Clinton has so far done a laudable job of telling where he would lead. He argues persuasively that the only way to compete in the new global economy is to invest in people — in their education, training and productivity.

It's a cogent plan. Productivity surely is the key to economic growth. But investment requires money, and so far Mr. Clinton has barely begun to tell where to find it. He calls for dismayingly small cuts in defense and no large tax increases, and exaggerates administrative savings, especially in health care. The failure to capture the peace dividend alone is enough to raise worries about how well he would stand up to Congress.

There have, however, been some hopeful signs of candor at the convention. The keynoter Barbara Jordan, for instance, solemnly pronounced the need for "Equity of sacrifice. That idea says that we will sacrifice for growth, but that everybody must join in the sacrifice, not just a few."

It would be reassuring to hear words like that from the nominee. There must be room, somewhere between empty oratory and suicidal candor, to express a commitment to sharing the burden.

Sharing the burden: That could also be a motto for America's relations with the world. *Can the public trust his global leadership?* With the end of the cold war, the President may no longer be The Leader of the Free World. But he remains the most important one. Mr. Clinton talks sense about a list of foreign issues, but it's still a list. He would make a stronger case with a larger vision. What, for example, does he think should be the relationship of the New World to the New World Order?

Finally, *Can the public trust his leadership on political integrity?* Money and politics is no longer the passion of a few good-government goo-goos. Voters everywhere say they are disgusted. It's small wonder, as political action committees pour millions into the campaigns of legislators who then vote for billions in benefits.

Governor Clinton's record on this subject is exemplary — as reassuring as President Bush's surrender is repellent. Mr. Clinton has had to struggle for campaign funds in part because he refuses to take any PAC money. He supports limits on campaign spending. He supports ending the flow of underground sewer money to candidates. He favors easier voter registration. These are all reforms the President has just vetoed.

There is one puzzle. Politicians often say the right thing and duck when the time comes to do it. That's one reason for what Bill Clinton describes as the "wall of cynicism" he faces from voters. But here's an area in which he demonstrably does the right thing; what's puzzling is why he doesn't *say* more about it. This is one subject on which he already has earned the treasure of trust.

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Poor Performance on Arms Curbs

What a stunt! President Bush has just promulgated new policies designed to reduce the threat of nuclear weapons. They include a unilateral halt to U.S. production of nuclear material and limits on nuclear testing. But these policies only codify what the U.S. is doing already.

If Mr. Bush really means business, he needs to go beyond promulgating stand-pat policies and take a number of urgently needed new steps to control the spread of nuclear weapons in the former Soviet Union, South Asia and other trouble spots.

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The President takes pride in having "fought so hard to stem proliferation." But his record is spotty. He stalled a Start treaty that, once instituted, will reduce the number of loose nukes. He sold Iraq materials and technology used to make nuclear arms and other weapons of mass destruction. And he still lets nuclear-bent Pakistan buy American arms despite U.S. laws barring such sales to nuclear proliferators.

Now Mr. Bush promotes new policies that change almost nothing. He promises not to produce plutonium and enriched uranium for nuclear arms when the U.S. cannot do so for years and has no need to. It can extract ample plutonium and uranium from warheads scheduled for dismantling.

Mr. Bush promises to conduct no more than six nuclear tests a year — and no more than three over 35 kilotons — which is essentially what was planned anyway. And the U.S. has no need to conduct *any* tests once it stops trying to tailor-make new warheads. At most it may need a very few tests of warheads with safer designs, but once they're done, it could accept a test ban.

Sure, turning practice into policy can clarify what has to be done and bring recalcitrant officials into line. But the real test is what Mr. Bush does to turn policy into action.

For instance, he proposes to work with Russia and the other republics to achieve effective protection against diversion of nuclear materials and equipment. He can reduce the risk of nukes falling into unauthorized hands by having an international authority oversee storage and dismantling of warheads. Accepting similar inspections in the U.S. would help speed an agreement.

Mr. Bush says he'll consult with allies on sanctions against proliferators. That can begin with Iraq. International pressure is needed to get United Nations inspectors out of the 114-degree parking lot and into the Iraqi Ministry of Agriculture to search for evidence of missing arms to be destroyed under terms of the cease-fire.

Mr. Bush pledges to take into account countries' proliferation practices in deciding whether to transfer technology to them. And he wants to coordinate export control lists to prevent proliferators from shopping for a supplier. These efforts could focus on prodding India and Pakistan to halt development of their nuclear arsenals.

Codification of policy won't suffice. Mr. Bush will be judged on what he does.

Topics of The Times

85 Minutes on Broadway

A determined theatergoer would spend the better part of two weeks and several hundred dollars to see all the show-stoppers on the bill at lunchtime yesterday in Times Square. All 13 of Broadway's current musicals pooled their talent and hits for a special outdoor staging in the heart of the theater district.

The show was put together for the Democratic National Convention, but it was open to one and all. Judd Hirsch, one of the emcees, told the thousands who came that they'd fill Broadway's theaters five times over, and urged them to do so.

It was an 85-minute feast for anyone with an ear for a tune. Songs from "Crazy for You," "Jelly's Last Jam" and "Les Misérables" were interspersed with a melodious mixture of phantoms, cats, guys, dolls, most happy fellas, and then some. At the end, the entire crowd joined in George M. Cohan's "Give My Regards to Broadway."

The idea for this extravaganza originated with Gerald Schoenfeld, chairman of the Shubert Organization. The production itself was a remarkable collaboration of Broadway producers, actors, stagehands, musicians and American Express, which paid for it all. There were no good seats for this show, and no bad ones. From curb to curb, for blocks and blocks, it was standing room only — a most happy condition for the Great White Way.

George McGovern, Still Smiling

In 1972 Richard Nixon preached a simple, devastating negative message: George McGovern and his people were elitist, permissive, sanctimonious left-wingers. Aided by a few McGovern blunders — not least Mr. McGovern's call for a downsizing of overseas commitments that was too radical even for war-weary Americans — Mr. Nixon won 49 states.

Mr. McGovern has since been blamed for driving his party into the political wilderness.

The McGovernites who jammed Manhattan's chic restaurant Tatou for a 20th-reunion bash on Monday night were not the least bit apologetic. They were older, of course, and certainly wistful. A mere 21 blocks away, in Madison Square Garden, Bill Clinton and Al Gore were doing their best to move away from McGovernism and into the center. And Clinton/Gore seemed to have a far better chance of unseating a sitting President than McGovern/Shriver ever did.

But the McGovernites remained fiercely proud of what Mr. McGovern called their "passion and idealism." They could justly claim credit for conducting one of the most refreshingly open campaigns in recent memory. And they were proud of another legacy as well. As Mr. McGovern pointed out, both Mr. Clinton and Mr. Gore were once McGovernites themselves.

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TV Ratings So-So for Tuesday

For the three television networks, Tuesday was another night of not-so-great ratings for the Democratic convention.

ABC's convention coverage, which ran 60 minutes, drew a rating of 5.8 and was viewed by about 7.4 million people, according to Nielsen Media Services. In contrast, "Coach," which ran right before ABC's convention coverage began, had a 12.6 rating and 19 million viewers.

NBC's convention coverage, which also lasted 60 minutes, had a 4.4 rating and 5.5 million viewers. "Quantum Leap," which led up to the convention on NBC, had a 6.2 rating and 8.8 million viewers.

CBS ran no prime-time convention coverage because it was televising the baseball All-Star game instead. The game had a 14.9 rating and 22 million viewers.

PBS, which is covering the convention in partnership with NBC, got a 3.7 rating for its three-and-a-half hours of coverage and had about 5 million viewers.

Because CNN is a cable television network, its ratings are not directly comparable to those of the broadcast networks. Its coverage reached roughly 1.5 million households.

The Washington Times

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992 ★

Fading Mexican protectionism

The news this week is full of the ambitious plans of politicians, but Mexico has just taken an important step toward knocking its own politicos down a notch. It has decided to let consumers, not government planners, have more say about where and with whom they do their banking.

As part of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) that President Bush has been pushing so hard for, Mexican officials have agreed to end most of their country's restrictions on foreign financial services by 2000. Securities, insurance and banking firms operating south of the border previously worked under rules limiting foreign ownership in the first two sectors to 30 percent and in the last to 49 percent.

Admittedly, the country still reserves the right to restrict foreign investments if they come to dominate the Mexican market. And Mexico is phasing out protectionism gradually rather than allowing its consumers to enjoy the benefit of foreign competition as soon as possible. But on the whole it is a big step away from the socialism that has made a mess of the Mexican economy and a step toward allowing our southern neighbors to decide for themselves where they will take their business.

For those persons who believe that competition and free markets are the only way to go, this breakthrough in NAFTA negotiations is good news. Mexican consumers stand to get more choice in their services. Mexican financial institutions can get desperately needed outside capital to modernize their operations and improve their offerings. And the United States will be a little closer to that Yukon to Yucatan free-trade zone from which everyone, or almost everyone, stands to benefit.

Naysayers in this country, many of whom count on government favors to protect them from having to compete with foreign firms for U.S. customers or who fear that the breakdown of trade barriers will allow businesses to escape the regulatory prison they have constructed in this country, are busily working to load down any NAFTA agreement with environmental, labor and other government restrictions. Lots of politicans, many of them in New York right now, would be happier retaining their say over how Americans go about shopping for goods and services.

All these interests win under protectionism. The losers in this deal are consumers — here, in Mexico and elsewhere — and in particular, poor ones. If it's "fairness" that moves you, consider the unfairness of trade barriers that:

- Allow lobster to enter this country duty-free but impose a 17.2 percent tariff on infant food preparations.
- Tap Perrier with a tariff of 0.8 percent but hit orange juice at 40 percent.
- Make mink coats absolutely duty-free but won't allow polyester sweaters in for under a 34.6 percent tariff.

People who have to count on government assistance programs to put food on the table would have a hard enough time without paying tariffs of 35 percent on tuna, 41.3 percent on grapefruit juice, 17.5 percent on milk powder, 17.5 percent on carrots and so on. Writes trade analyst Jim Bovard in a piece for the National Center for Policy Analysis, "U.S. tariff policy implicitly assumes that it is better for the poor to go hungry than to buy inexpensive foreign food."

As you listen to members of interest groups converging on the Democratic convention to complain about free trade with Mexico, remember that they are all staying in fancy New York Hotels at $200 and $300 a night. They can afford protectionism. The rest of the country can't.

The Washington Times

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992 ★

Fiddling with the Cuban constitution

One wonders. Has it finally dawned on Fidel Castro that the world has changed? Judging by the constitutional changes approved by Cuba's National Assembly Sunday night, the answer is yes and no.

Clearly, Mr. Castro knows he is in deep economic trouble. Bereft of its $6 billion a year Soviet subsidy, mainly in the form of cheap oil, Cuba is reeling under consumer shortages. Rolling electric blackouts cripple transport and industry and leave Cubans sweltering in the 90-plus degree heat. Cuba's gross domestic product fell by 20 percent in 1991. It could drop by as much as 60 percent this year.

Mr. Castro knows foreign investment is key to his survival. That's what these constitutional changes are intended to achieve. The Cuban government wants to reassure foreign companies by promising to guarantee foreign business interests and permitting semiprivate agencies and individuals to operate in Cuba.

What Mr. Castro has not realized is that the day of aging socialist dictators is ending. Whatever overtures to foreign interests Cuba offers out of desperation, it's equally clear from Sunday's events that the communists will not give up power. In fact, there are signs that the reins of power are tightening. A second set of constitutional changes allows Mr. Castro to declare a state of emergency and organize the armed forces — rather superfluously so, given that he has held Cuba in an iron grip for 33 years.

But whipping up a crisis atmosphere has ever been a favorite authoritarian standby. Warnings of an imminent American invasion are frequent, and there are reports of survival tunnels being dug around Havana. Brutal force is increasingly used against Cuba's incipient democratic movement by new "rapid-action brigades."

For the United States, the question is how to use this propitious moment in time to help the Cuban people pry Mr. Castro loose. Many argue that the time has come to end the embargo. "The island is no longer a problem to us or others. Cuban troops are out of Africa. Cuban support for revolutionary groups in Latin America is finished. Cuban-Russian military ties are no longer a matter of concern," wrote Wayne S. Smith, former chief of the U.S. interests section in Havana, recently in the New York Times. Some good might result, and what could be the harm?

It may be noted that left out of this equation are the Cuban people. Other tyrannies have crumbled, but Cubans are stuck with a regime that has impoverished the nation and treats human lives and rights with contempt. Lifting the U.S. embargo will simply help Mr. Castro by perpetuating his ability to buy the loyalty of the army and the party elite. Today, even the privileged feel the pinch. Growing discontent among Cuba's younger and better-educated technocrats could be key to his fall.

What does make sense is to tighten the economic noose around Cuba — as proposed by the Cuban Democracy Act, introduced in February by Sens. Bob Graham and Connie Mack and Rep. Robert Torricelli. The act was endorsed this spring by President Bush, after a prolonged tug of war with the State Department, and is currently making its way through a maze of congressional committees. It cleared the House Foreign Affairs Committee in June.

The act proposes a two-pronged carrot-and-stick approach. On the one hand, the aim is the further international isolation of the Cuban government by prohibiting foreign subsidiaries of U.S. companies from trading or investing in Cuba. That's estimated at $700 million a year. It will also allow (but not compel) the president to apply sanctions against countries that provide assistance to Cuba. That's the stick.

At the same time, the act seeks to decrease the isolation of the Cuban people by encouraging unrestricted donations through private relief organizations. Exempt from the embargo will be telecommunications and mail between the United States and Cuba, which will be encouraged. Whether Mr. Castro will allow American companies to upgrade Cuba's phone system is, of course, rather a question.

And should Cuba commit itself to free and fair elections, the act promises an immediate upgrade of relations with the United States. Of course, there is nothing to indicate that Mr. Castro himself has experienced a change of heart on that score. The best we can do for now is to speed his departure.

The Washington Times

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992 ★

Vote with your feet

When Democratic National Committee Chairman Ron Brown tells conventioneers that the Bush administration is responsible for the nation's economic torpor, his premise is that a little of his party's old-time tax-and-spend dressed up as "investment" will solve the problem. Actually, Mr. Bush did try that approach when he chucked his no-new-taxes pledge out the window during the 1990 budget agreement. That's part of the problem. The other part is that he wasn't alone.

Even as the 1990 deal takes a five-year, $180 billion bite out of the economy, state tax-and-spenders take their toll from California to New York. In 1991, they raised taxes by $18 billion. This year, they added another $12 billion, for a total of $30 billion.

Outside of the spectacle of Connecticut residents chasing Gov. Lowell Weicker down the street after he imposed an income tax on them, little good has come of the increases. Within months of the imposition of the tax, that state lost more than 20,000 jobs and watched the rate of business bankruptcy soar to an all-time high. New York Gov. Mario Cuomo has delayed plans for tax relief, and the state remains an economic basket case. New Jersey's economic troubles were aggravated by Democratic Gov. Jim Florio's massive $2.8 billion tax hike and the subsequent Republican failure to overturn it when that party gained control of the state house.

Why elected officials continue to resort to higher taxes at the risk of economic disaster is an interesting question. California legislators and Gov. Pete Wilson hoped raising taxes would raise revenues. So a little before Mr. Bush and Congress signed on to the now infamous 1990 deal, Mr. Wilson signed on to one of his own. So staggering were the increases, writes supply-sider Arthur Laffer in the Wall Street Journal, that the state went from 21st in high taxes in 1990 to 12th in 1992. Depending on what other states do, California could go as high as seventh. Revenues, however, are falling, and the state faces a projected deficit of $11 billion this year.

People like Ron Brown or Pete Wilson have a hard time understanding how higher taxes could mean lower revenues, but it's no mystery. Taxes have consequences. When higher taxes reduce the reward for working, workers find something else to do with their time, typically something that doesn't produce government revenues.

For example, they move. The Cato Institute says that states with the highest taxes on the so-called rich had low, in fact negative, population growth relative to the national average from 1980 to 1990. New York, California, Maine, Oregon, Hawaii, New Jersey, the District of Columbia, Minnesota, Ohio and Rhode Island were down an average 2.4 percent over that time. Meanwhile, states with the lowest tax burden on the rich — Nevada, Wyoming, Alaska, Texas, Washington, South Dakota, Tennessee, New Hampsire and Alabama — grew 9 percent relative to the national average.

Economist Richard Vedder notes that on average in the 1980s, 1,000 Americans packed their bags every day and moved from states with the highest tax burdens to the 10 states with the lowest. When the tax is federal rather than state, moving won't solve the problem. It's easier simply to stop working, which may account for the nation's economic hard times. But don't blame them on the Bush administration alone. There's blame enough to go around.

The Washington Times

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992 ★

FRANK GAFFNEY JR.

'Star Wars' help for star-crossed bid?

The remarkable convergence of two seemingly unrelated developments this week may determine whether President Bush will be re-elected in the fall.

The Democrats' choice of a vice presidential candidate in Madison Square Garden and the positions adopted by the Bush administration in talks in Moscow concerning the program Sen. Al Gore sneeringly calls "star wars" offer Mr. Bush perhaps a last, best hope to save his star-crossed candidacy.

Four years ago, the Bush campaign recognized the obvious: The single greatest vulnerability of his opponent in the November election was the popular perception that a liberal Democrat from Massachusetts could not be relied upon to preserve U.S. national security. The public's unease on this score was best expressed in the ridicule heaped on Michael Dukakis for his unforgettable Alfred E. Newmanlike appearance aboard an M-1 tank in Michigan.

Arguably, the single most effective thing Mr. Bush did to exploit Mr. Dukakis' vulnerability in the national security field was to prevail upon then-President Ronald Reagan to veto the fiscal 1989 defense authorization bill passed by the Democratic-controlled Congress. He did so, in part, on the grounds that this bill unacceptably reduced funding for space-based strategic defenses from the requested $330 million to $85 million.

At the time, Democratic House Armed Services Committee chairman Les Aspin crowed "We've taken the stars out of 'star wars!'." The Republicans — led by the shrewd former head of the Senate Armed Services Committee, John Tower — ran for the Rose Garden on the opportunity thus provided to place in sharp relief the differences between their candidate and the Democrats on defense in general and the Strategic Defense Initiative in particular.

It seems likely that, in choosing Mr. Gore to be his running mate, Gov. Bill Clinton was anxious to avoid the fate that had befallen his fellow governor in 1988. His handlers understand all too well the vulnerability of their candidate to attacks on his national security credentials.

Despite his chairmanship of the conservative Democratic Leadership Council, Mr. Clinton campaigned for liberal votes in the primaries by promising very deep cuts in the Pentagon's budget and programs. What is more, charges that he dodged the draft in the Vietnam years made his primary season much more sporty than it would otherwise have been.

Mr. Gore, by contrast, is what passes for a "hawk" in contemporary Democratic circles. He is a relatively moderate member of the Senate's Armed Services Committee, generally aligned with its current chairman, Sen. Sam Nunn of Georgia. He has sharply — and properly — criticized the Bush administration for its indifference to and inaction on Serbia's bloody aggression against Croatia and Bosnia.

Mr. Gore was, moreover, one of the few Democrats to vote for the Persian Gulf war resolution. All other things being equal, the latter credential offers the Clinton ticket fireproofing against whatever political mileage the president can still extract from his handling of that conflict — a wasting asset rapidly being overshadowed by the burgeoning "Iraqgate" scandal.

Fortunately for Mr. Bush, all other things are not equal. Mr. Gore is one of his party's most zealous opponents of strategic defenses. Indeed, he broke sharply with Mr. Nunn last year in opposing legislation the Georgian championed, the Missile Defense Act (MDA) of 1991. This landmark statute put the Congress on record in favor of deployment of effective defenses against ballistic missile attack by 1996.

In the course of a lengthy debate on the MDA, Mr. Gore engaged in hours of impassioned demagoguery about the sanctity of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. He is clearly on record as a man with unswerving fealty to the present U.S. posture of absolute vulnerability to incoming ballistic missiles. The Bush administration — and particularly its most committed advocate of strategic defenses, Vice President Dan Quayle — can have a field day assailing the man from Tennessee for his abject attachment to a defense-free world that simply makes no sense in an era of proliferating weapons of mass destruction and the missiles to deliver them.

If the Bush team is to be able to make the most of the opportunity to repeat his SDI hat trick of 1988, however, its own house with respect to strategic defenses must swiftly be put in order. Since taking office, the administration has expressed strong rhetorical support for SDI. All too often, however, it has failed to translate such support into action. Threatened vetoes of subsequent defense spending bills that provided inadequate funding for or imposed hamstringing limitations on the program have not materialized. Even when presented by Congress with an opportunity to accelerate the program pursuant to the Missile Defense Act, the administration has declined to take the initiative — for example, by exploiting the authority granted by that act to dispense with numbingly dilatory, business-as-usual procurement procedures.

Perhaps most striking of all, the administration chose during last month's Bush-Yeltsin summit meeting not to utilize fully the leverage it enjoyed with the Russians. Had it done so, there is little doubt that the United States could have obtained more than it did — Moscow's agreement to "develop the concept of the Global Protection System."

Still, discussions on that "concept" are just getting under way this week in the Russian capital. Now is the time — for both good strategic reasons and self-interested political considerations — for Mr. Bush to instruct his representatives (led by the State Department's Dennis Ross) to make clear to the Russians, the Democrats and the American people precisely where he stands: The ABM Treaty will no longer be permitted to prevent the United States from having an effective, global defense against ballistic missile attack. The United States is not interested in continuing to live under or in simply "improving" (read, tinkering with or amending) a treaty utterly at cross-purposes with SDI.

If Mr. Bush hopes to earn a renewed mandate, he must once again sharpen the differences between him and his opponents on national defense. There is no better means of doing so than by making it clear in Moscow and in Madison Square Garden that a second Bush term will see the deployment of military- and cost-effective worldwide defenses — protection not afforded by a Clinton-Gore administration.

Frank J. Gaffney Jr. is the director of the Center for Security Policy and a columnist for The Washington Times.

The Washington Times

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992 ★

L. BRENT BOZELL III

Hatred's greedy enabler

The "Cop Killer" uproar is sure to be a hot topic when shareholders of the media conglomerate Time Warner meet in Beverly Hills this week. Sire, a Time Warner-owned label, released "Body Count," an album (which includes "Cop Killer") by the rapper Ice-T. Time Warner and its shareholders are being held accountable for their part in spreading the song's appalling message. And it's about time.

In the tradition of N.W.A.'s "... the Police," the chillingly violent "Cop Killer" is the latest anti-police screed to become a cause celebre. A masterpiece of calculated hatred, it says in part: "Tonight'll be your night/I got this long-... knife/And your neck looks just right/ ... Die, die, die, pig, die/ ... the police!" Ice-T thought so highly of this brutal ditty that he planned to call the LP "Cop Killer"; he changed his mind after being advised that many stores wouldn't stock a record with that title.

Does anyone seriously think that had an artist recorded a song blasting blacks, Jews or gays instead that the company would have allowed its release?

Although "Body Count" was released in March, "Cop Killer" wasn't notorious until last month, when the Combined Law Enforcement Associations of Texas (CLEAT) decided enough was enough and called for a boycott of Time Warner. Other law-enforcement groups have now joined the fray. The executive director of the New York State Sheriff's Association called Time Warner's marketing of "Cop Killer" "outrageous ... socially irresponsible." The Los Angeles Police Protective League demanded the company cease selling "Body Count". As the boycott gathered momentum, patrolmen's associations in New York and Boston considered divesting more than $100 million of Time Warner stock in their pension funds. These angry law-enforcement groups will be at this week's meeting — picketing, and bending the ears of shareholders.

The brouhaha has entered the national political arena. President Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle have denounced "Cop Killer" and Time Warner. Sixty members of Congress signed a letter calling the song "vile" and "despicable" and branding Time Warner's willingness to disseminate it "unconscionable." An incensed National Rifle Association took out full-page newspaper ads headlined, "While Time Warner Counts Its Money, America May Count Its Murdered Cops."

Time Warner shareholders *are* catching heat from an angry public, and rightly so. Without a giant corporation behind him, Ice-T would be just another angry, pathetic, extremist crank, expressing himself by calling talk shows or, perhaps, standing on the sidewalk bellowing at passersby. But because of Time Warner, Ice-T is a celebrity, and the poison of "Cop Killer" is peddled throughout the land.

For now, Time Warner is openly defending Ice-T's hate-filled broadside. "We stand for creative freedom," wrote corporate President and Co-CEO Gerald Levin in the Wall Street Journal. Does anyone seriously think that had a Sire artist recorded a song as vituperative as "Cop Killer" blasting blacks, Jews or gays instead, that the company would have allowed its release? When feminists complained that country star Holly Dunn's "Maybe I Mean Yes" could be construed as an endorsement of date rape, Time Warner pulled it off the market. Time Warner, like the liberal establishment as a whole, is a lot more concerned about some people's feelings than it is about others; for leftists, the police are the oppressors, not the oppressed.

Now Time Warner may be about to top itself. The corporation is considering releasing (on its Tommy Boy label) an LP by the rapper Paris that has on its cover a drawing of an Uzi-bearing man preparing to shoot Mr. Bush.

Sometimes we forget that there are real people, real victims involved. One such person is Norma Williams, whose husband was a police officer killed in action. "I can't believe Time Warner would allow such filth to be circulated in their name," she said. "How can anyone promote murder for anyone, especially for police?" Norma Williams deserves an answer from Time Warner.

L. Brent Bozell III is chairman of the Media Research Center.

The Washington Times

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992 ★

DONALD LAMBRO

Fishing for campaign guidance

Sometime this week when President Bush and Secretary of State James Baker are fishing in the lush Wyoming wilderness, Mr. Bush will probably ask his closest personal political adviser to take over his re-election campaign. And Mr. Baker will probably say yes.

That Mr. Bush's re-election campaign is in very deep trouble is as clear as his dismal 35 percent approval rating in the latest polls. What isn't as clear is how Mr. Bush let himself and his administration fall apart at the political seams and let his enemies take him to the cleaners.

There can be no question that the president's campaign organization remains leaderless, themeless and without any clear direction. There is no agenda for the next four years. There is no compelling list of unaccomplished goals that Mr. Bush can give as the reasons why he wants to serve another term.

And the men around him seem incapable of promoting a growth-oriented, problem-solving, action agenda that looks to the future and builds on the accomplishments of the past.

As talented as veteran GOP pollster Bob Teeter and business executive Fred Malek are, the re-election team lacks an experienced chief executive officer to take charge — just as Mr. Baker did in 1988 when it appeared that Democratic presidential nominee Michael Dukakis was on a roll that could not be stopped.

The president has never been able to regain his sharp political edge after the death of his chief political adviser Lee Atwater, and there has been a huge political vacuum in the Bush White House ever since.

Former Chief of Staff John Sununu thought he could do things the way he did them as governor of New Hampshire, and the White House suffered politically as a result. Sam Skinner is a competent chief executive officer, but he lacks the seasoned political acumen that every successful White House chief of staff must have to keep the wolves at bay in this town.

Mr. Baker, who has known Mr. Bush longer than anyone on his team, understands both Mr. Bush's strengths and his weaknesses, knows how to run a successful, offensive campaign, and, equally important, knows which political hot buttons need to be pushed at just the right time.

It was Mr. Baker who took the helm of the 1988 campaign with Mr. Atwater and Mr. Teeter and organized an offensive that has had the Democrats screaming bloody murder ever since. And he is the one politico that virtually everyone in the White House and the re-election committee now believe is needed to regroup Mr. Bush's forces and chart a new strategy.

"Essentially nothing is going to happen in this campaign until Baker comes on board," a senior White House official told me. "This is an organization desperately in need of a CEO, and Baker is the only one with the president's confidence to take over."

The betting in White House circles and elsewhere is that Mr. Baker will agree. Certainly, he would like to be secretary of state for four more years to resume the Middle East peace process and to help consolidate the historic changes in Russia and Eastern Europe. And he is not going to get that chance if Mr. Bush goes down to defeat in November.

It is very easy to become swept up in the media-driven political hysteria of this year's volatile campaign, thinking that America is being driven into the abyss by forces beyond our control.

There are a lot of myths being propagated out there by Mr. Bush's political opponents as well as by the television media. America, for example, is not losing its job base and we are not becoming deindustrialized.

Nearly one-fourth of our gross national product represents manufacturing, roughly the same as it did 15 years ago. More Americans are employed than at any time in our history — nearly 120 million people — about 18 million more than in 1980.

We are coming out of a recession and remain in a sluggish economic period from which we will emerge if we do not pursue the wrong policies, like raising taxes, enacting regulations and engaging in more deficit spending.

People are out of work because their representatives in this town and in many state capitals created a high-tax, low-growth economic environment that was hostile to capital formation and business investment.

These lawmakers were more interested in strengthening the public sector at the expense of the private sector that provides most of the jobs in this country. While they talked a lot about jobs, they forgot that you cannot have more employees until you create a climate that producers more employers.

There are very strong pro-growth, pro-employment arguments to be made in this campaign for lowering tax rates, restraining spending, encouraging new business investment. George Bush got into trouble, in part, because he stopped making them. James Baker's challenge, if he chooses to accept it, will be to get Mr. Bush talking about these things again in a way that resonates across the country.



Donald Lambro, chief political correspondent of The Washington Times, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

The Washington Times

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992 ★

WILLIAM RATLIFF

Latin America vs. the fugitive edict

SANTIAGO, Chile

"Caramba! They've legalized terrorism." The words are those of the cartoonist in this country's leading newspaper, El Mercurio, but the thought is shared by almost everyone in Latin America, whatever his or her political persuasion.

"They," of course, are the justices of the U.S. Supreme Court — or by extension the U.S. government — who ruled last month that foreign suspects living abroad can be kidnapped and brought to the United States for trial. The ruling was triggered by a kidnapping in Mexico in 1990. The Mexican government's demand for the return of the individual was supported by two lower courts in the United States, but the high court ruled that the kidnapping was admissible.

The Latin American and U.S. positions on the dispute are clear, and often contradictory.

Latin America's basic objections were summarized in an El Mercurio editorial on June 23: The U.S. decision encourages contempt for the rule of law and due process, violates national sovereignty and opens the door to acts of reprisal worldwide. Another editorial, on July 10, concluded that nations "must avoid any precedent that justifies the use of force instead of law."

Guatemalan President Jorge Serrano, whose government has extradited six people to the United States, called the ruling an "unacceptable judicial monstrosity," which is almost exactly what John Paul Stevens said on behalf of three hotly dissenting U.S. justices. Costa Rican President Rafael Calderon warned that Latin American countries may issue a joint repudiation at the Inter-American Presidential Summit this month in Madrid.

The presidents of six South American countries met in Argentina two weeks ago and, in more measured tones, expressed their "preoccupation with the consequences" of the ruling, calling on the Inter-American Judicial Committee of the Organization of American States to draw up an opinion on it.

The United States argues that suspected criminals are living free in some Latin American countries because of inadequate law enforcement, often due to political pressures and/or corruption in law-enforcement and legal systems. Justice, the court says, is putting the criminals behind bars. Since the countries themselves won't do it, and existing extradition treaties do not pointedly forbid kidnapping, the court ruled that suspects can be brought to the States and dealt with here.

The U.S. ambassador to Chile, Curtis Kamman, said kidnapping would be approved only when a government "does not offer the necessary cooperation to clear up crimes connected with drug trafficking and terrorism."

Clearly the ruling has explosive international implications. What will happen, for example, when innocent bystanders are killed during an attempted kidnapping abroad or when Latin (or Middle Eastern) governments try to kidnap Americans for prosecution in their countries?

But the explosive impact of the ruling, and the wording itself, may open the door to a resolution of the problem that will give both sides better safeguards than they have ever had before.

Mexico is important enough to the United States to be able to apply pressures of its own. When the Mexican government heard the ruling, it slammed the door on U.S. counter-drug activities in the country. President Bush quickly promised the United States won't kidnap again — in Mexico.

The longer-term solution will have to come through treaty revisions. While many critics of the decision argue that the obvious — that is, kidnapping is wrong — should not have to be said, new treaties stating the obvious will help settle the matter. Beyond that, all parties should cooperate in reaching agreements and forming forces that will make possible the multilateral apprehension of suspects and their trial before a non-partisan court.

This ruling will have served every country's interests if it provokes negotiations in which each side recognizes and accommodates the partial legitimacy of the other's position. Justice will not be served by a new world order that tolerates either criminals roaming free or the calculated violation of national sovereignty.

William Ratliff is a senior research fellow at the Hoover Institution.

The Washington Times

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992 ★

WALTER WILLIAMS

Let's start off with an update on the sex equality front. Women make up 30 percent of naval non-combat crews. Despite strict rules against "fraternization," about 16 percent of the 8,600 Navy women on ship duty get pregnant each year.

Crybaby Rep. Patricia Schroeder excuses this by explaining that Navy women feel they have "to have sex or you get labeled as a lesbian. So women are damned if they do and damned if they don't." It gets worse.

Elaine Donnelly, member of the Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces, reports on some shocking "gender norming." At West Point, the M-14 rifle spring has been modified to make it easier for women. Army fitness standards call for 80 push-ups for men and 56 for women; men ages 17 to 25 must run two miles in 17 minutes and 55 seconds; women are given 22 minutes and 14 seconds; Marine men must climb 20 feet of rope in 30 seconds; women are given 50 seconds.

Despite critical physical and psychological differences between men and women, radical feminists want women in combat roles in the military. Successful mission completion, or life and death for hundreds of soldiers, can come down to whether you're meaner and can move faster carrying heavy loads than the enemy.

Then there's the politically incorrect question asked by Elizabeth Wright, in Issues & Views (Spring 1992): "Ever since we blacks derailed our own entrepreneurial progress, a segment of our community has complained about those who come to our desolate neighborhoods and open the much-needed businesses we neglect to create. Through the '60s, the complaint was against white merchants, principally Jewish retailers. Today, ... the anger is focused on Koreans and other Asians. As refugees flee the turmoil of Eastern Europe, will these blacks soon be whining about the 'invasion' of enterprising immigrants from Croatia or Bosnia and Herzegovina?"

The answer to Wright's question was supplied by black businessman S. B. Fuller (of Fullerbrush fame) who during his life was boycotted and excoriated by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People: "Since the Negro does not supply the demand in his own community, the white man must come in. ... Then the Negro thinks that there is a racial barrier that keeps him from making progress. The Negro must pool his capital in order to help himself. He must establish retail sales organizations throughout his community and also he must go into light manufacturing where retail selling has already produced an outlet for the products light manufacturing can produce. This will enable him to solve his own problems." Now maybe we can explain the successful entrepreneurship of the Koreans, Vietnamese and Cambodians; they've been heeding the words of S. B. Fuller.

Finally, there's the politically incorrect Roberts' Law, arrogantly named after the Center for Strategic and International Studies' economist Paul Craig Roberts: "Whenever economic policy is driven by envy, ruin results." Mr. Roberts gives numerous examples of his law in the March 1992 issue of National Review. The 1986 Tax Reform Act lengthened depreciation schedules (19 to 31 years), took away deductions to "passive investors" and raised the capital gains tax by 40 percent. This was sold to Americans as "get the rich," and it would raise revenues by $30 billion, not to mention being "a down payment of the deficit." We didn't collect one thin dime of that predicted $30 billion. Instead, it destroyed the real estate industry. Since real estate loans comprise the largest part of savings-and-loan portfolios, it wrecked many S&Ls, causing us to shell out about $300 billion in bailout money. Congressmen have really come to trust American innocence and stupidity.

Walter Williams, an economics professor at George Mason University, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

The Washington Times

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992 ★

HARRY SUMMERS

Laws, Mark Twain once said, are like the winds of change, but custom is the Rock of Gibralter. Those words came to mind as the Tailhook scandal continues to reverberate throughout the Navy, for the problem facing Adm. Frank B. Kelso II, the Chief of Naval Operations, and the senior leadership of the Navy is not in changing the laws. It is the much more difficult job of changing what, in parts of the Navy at least, had become customary behavior toward their female contemporaries.

New laws are obviously not the answer. Long before "sexual harassment" entered the law books, "conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman" was declared a criminal offense within the Armed Forces. "There are certain moral attributes common to the ideal officer and the perfect gentleman (and gentlewoman)," stated the 1951 Manual for Courts-Martial's discussion of Article 133, Conduct Unbecoming an Officer and Gentleman.

While "not everyone is or can be expected to meet ideal moral standards" there is "a limit of toleration below which the individual standards ... cannot fall without seriously compromising his standing as an officer ... or his character as a gentleman."

Among violations of this article are "using insulting or defamatory language to another officer ... being grossly drunk and conspicuously disorderly in a public place [and] committing or attempting to commit a crime involving moral turpitude."

Even allowing for the obfuscations and evasions caused by the infestation of lawyers into the military justice system since the Uniform Code of Military Justice was signed into law 41 years ago, Article 133 more than provides for the kinds of criminal activity that took place in Las Vegas last year.

What it does not provide for is the answer to how such reprehensible conduct had reportedly become commonplace in the naval aviation community. How could fellow officers, including fellow naval aviators, be so manhandled and degraded? In short, what happened to the traditional "customs of the service"? One of the foundation stones has been the cohesion of the Officer Corps.

To be a "classmate" — to have attended school together or to have served in the same units — has traditionally formed a strong and enduring bond. But that seems to have gone by the wayside. One of the most disturbing aspects of Lt. Paula Coughlin's travail at the Tailhook Convention was that when she appealed to a classmate for help, he turned and looked the other way. Certainly, there would have been some risk in intervening. But isn't facing risk what a naval commission is all about? And if not for a classmate, then for whom?

Another foundation stone is the axiom that officers take a jealous and proprietary interest in the welfare of their subordinates. In return for their loyalty, protection from outside harassment is supposedly a given. Woe betide any outsider who would mistreat or harass an officer's troops, for when you mistreat them you also demean their superiors.

Yet in the Tailhook affair, Navy Rear Adm. John Snyder let a member of his personal staff, Lt. Coughlin, be physically and verbally abused by those who knew full well she was his aide. Instead of going through the roof over the insult to her and to himself as well, he chastised her for being there. Sexual harassment there was bad enough, but the Tailhook affair has far more serious implications. It is an indicator that the traditional "customs of the service" are being eroded. Unless it is checked, that erosion can undermine the good military order and discipline essential for success in war.

The reason "conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman" was specifically proscribed in military and naval law was not because of some outmoded ideal of chivalry. It was for the practical reason that if the Officer Corps is to have the power to order America's sons and daughters to their death, then its integrity must itself be above reproach. Now it's not.

Fifteen years ago, the Army was suffering from a similar crisis. "Our ability to share in the effort of protecting and defending our nation's vital interests depends in large measure on public perceptions of the integrity of our Officer Corps," said then Army Chief of Staff Gen. Bernard W. Rogers. "If we are to have the confidence of the public — and an Officer Corps worthy of the name — we must recapture our sense of indignation. We must treat those who disgrace our good name with the disapproval they deserve.

"You are, by the very fact of your commission, the conscience of the Army," he concluded. "I expect you — and every officer in the United States Army — to act like it." As was true for the Army then, if the ethical customs of the naval service are to be restored, the Officer Corps of the U.S. Navy must do it. No one else can do it for them.

Harry G. Summers Jr., a retired U.S. Army colonel, is a distinguished fellow of the Army War College and a nationally syndicated columnist.

The Washington Times
THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992 *

MIKE ROYKO

Doing what the donkey does best

The Democratic Convention, lacking a contest or suspense, could be held in one day. Or even a couple of hours.

What's there to do, really? The candidates get nominated. They make their windy speeches. Then they stand next to their wives and wave and smile. And everybody cheers and goes to the hotel bars to get zonked.

But that would deprive the Democrats of a chance to fulfill the real function of a Democratic Convention. And to do what Democrats do better than anyone else.

And that is to moan, moan, moan.

To do a thorough job of moaning takes more than a few hours, or even one day. And even four days is barely enough. So many who wish to moan, so much to moan about, but so little time.

Even before the convention opened, Jesse Jackson was said to be moaning to anyone he could corner. He is unhappy because he is not being given the respect, awe and admiration due a non-candidate and talk show host with puny ratings.

Jerry Brown, the born-again reformer, is moaning because he hasn't been offered a chance to preach to the convention about casting out the demons of fund-raising, influence-peddling and deal-making he used to excel in, and his new-found spiritual joy in snoozing in a homeless shelter instead of a $300 hotel suite.

But Mr. Jackson and Mr. Brown are only the ego-driven prime-time headline moaners. Waiting behind them are the lesser-known rank-and-file moaners, who must be given their allotted time to moan about the poor, the middle-class, the downtrodden, the hungry, the homeless, the jobless, the voiceless, the faceless, the eye-, ear- and noseless.

And there are the overworked and underpaid teachers, the undertaught students, the plights of the inner cities, the plights of the gays, the plights of the young, the plights of the old, and the plights of women whose bodies have been invaded by foreign tissue that Clarence Thomas, the insensitive hulk, doesn't want them to expel.

They could probably save time by

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Mike Royko is a nationally syndicated columnist.

ROYKO

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combining all the plights and woes into one big woe-plight and joining hands and having, say, 30 minutes of collective moaning. A grand chorus of moans.

But then there would be moaning from those who say that their moans were being drowned out by all the other moans, and that in an open, democratic process, each and every moan deserves to be judged on its own merits. So we must have solo moaning.

This is why the networks have done away with the old gavel-to-gavel coverage of conventions. They are in the entertainment business, and they know what the audience wants. It wants to laugh, or gasp in horror, or be titillated. So the networks give us goofy comedy, whambam violence and kinky sex.

The networks know that most normal people don't want to listen to somebody else moan (unless it has to do with sex).

Be honest: If you have a neighbor, a co-worker, even a friend or relative who does nothing but moan, moan, moan, you will hide from that person.

So why would you sit in front of your TV for hours of prime time and listen to some politician from Michigan moan that there are people in his town who are out of work? Especially if you are out of work, and have troubles enough of your own without listening to some stranger moan about his.

It's bad enough on television. But being there is even more of a downer.

There are 15,000 news people at the convention. And most of them will spend the week walking around with glazed eyes and sad expressions.

They'll ask each other: "Anything going on?"

"Jackson is holding a press conference in a few minutes."

"Yes, he will just moan. Brown is holding one, too."

"He will just moan, too. Anything else?"

"Tsongas is having one later."

"He will moan, too, but he will mumble when he moans, so we won't be sure what he's moaning about."

"This is really terrible."

"Stop moaning, I can't stand it."

Of course, if you are the sort of sick person who likes listening to moaners — I think they're called moanamaniacs — you can get your fill from C-SPAN, which will bring every moan, groan, gripe and grievance into your home, unfiltered and uncut.

But be careful. Watch it in small doses only. After an hour, you'll be moaning worse than they are.

The Washington Times
THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992 *

MONA CHAREN

Tugging at the cycle

NEW YORK

The excitement pulsing through New York this week is palpable. Democratic delegates arrived here in high spirits following three solid days of worshipful coverage of Sen. Al Gore.

The press engaged in shameless boosterism on this one. Mr. Gore is a good choice, but hardly the paragon he's been painted. He wasn't considered so princely in 1988, when he was the first to use the prison furlough issue against Michael Dukakis. And Mr. Gore was widely derided then for his stiff speaking style (that has changed) and inflated opinion of himself. Moreover, the press lauded Mr. Gore where he least deserves it, on environmentalism (where he has tipped toward kookiness), and withheld it where he most merits praise — his support for the Gulf war. All in all, it is a good textbook case of what a herd the press can be. Mr. Gore no more deserves his lavish reception than Mr. Quayle deserved his savage treatment in 1988 and since.

Democrats are also buoyed by new polls showing a surge in support for Bill Clinton. This must be enormously gratifying for the Clinton camp. After months of dispiriting campaigning, during which the candidate was obliged to justify his marital life, his (anti-)war record and his failure to inhale — only to be eclipsed by Ross Perot just when his head was finally above water — this convention week is the first plateau the campaign has been able to enjoy.

But when the week of hoopla is over, the question will remain: Is this the ticket that can overcome the Democratic Party's weakness, demonstrated by five defeats in the last six presidential elections?

Mr. Clinton has had the right idea about breaking that cycle. He grasped the need to move the party back toward the center of the political spectrum. The Democratic Leadership Council (DLC) was founded toward that end. His views on certain issues, like the death penalty, have distanced him from the left wing of the party. Mr. Clinton crafted his original message as an appeal for middle class — not underclass — support. Confident of his civil-rights bona fides, Mr. Clinton felt free to stiff-arm Jesse Jackson very publicly over the Sister Souljah episode.

If Republican operatives think

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Mona Charen is a nationally syndicated columnist.

CHAREN

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they can demonize this ticket as "liberal," they are deceiving themselves. This isn't 1988. Mr. Clinton's record and views differ somewhat from those of Michael Dukakis. And while it is true that Al Gore has become quite an extremist on the environment (he wants to spend $100 billion on Third World cleanup and would impose 45 mile per gallon CAFE standards on American cars), it will be difficult for the Bush administration to make the anti-liberal case this time.

Every election featuring an incumbent is a referendum on that person. As vice president, Mr. Bush was able to make Mr. Dukakis the issue. But now, rather than defining his opponents, Mr. Bush is being asked to define himself. How can he disparage Mr. Clinton and Mr. Gore as big spenders (which they are, Mr. Clinton eager to spend a bundle on housing, infrastructure and AIDS; and Mr. Gore winning the dubious distinction of biggest spender in the Senate, according to the National Taxpayers Union) when Mr. Bush himself has been the biggest-spending president in American history. How can he deride their plans to raise taxes when he has done so? How can he quarrel with their social agenda when he has signed a quota bill?

If there is reason for optimism in the Republican camp, it is probably this — the candidates will be judged not just on themselves but on the company they keep, and here lies Bill Clinton's great vulnerability. His wife is a hard leftist of the former hippie variety. As documented in a fine article by Daniel Wattenberg in the American Spectator, Hillary Clinton has funneled foundation money to the National Lawyers Guild, an arm of the American Communist Party; the weird Christic Institute, purveyor of conspiracy theories; William Kuntsler, radical lawyer; and CISPES, Committees In Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, a front for the FMLN.

Mr. Clinton's appointees to state office have often resembled Hillary more than he. And his campaign is divided between hard leftists and DLC types. Will voters be willing to run the risk that Hillary's camp will prevail? That question could decide the election.

The Washington Times

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992 ★

Defining moment for Clinton

DAN THOMASSON

How well Bill Clinton does in the coming campaign may ride on 45 minutes here tonight when he steps to the podium to accept the Democratic presidential nomination.

Rarely has an acceptance speech been more important to a presidential candidate.

The Arkansas governor's campaign for the nomination has been one of the strangest on record. He spent the winter defending his character, much of the spring defying experts who said he was washed up, and then laboring to the finish line in relative obscurity as most of the attention focused on Ross Perot.

Now enjoying the rush of improved standings in the polls always attendant with a political convention and bolstered by his naming of Sen. Albert Gore as his running mate, Mr. Clinton has the opportunity he has been waiting for — to sell himself and his campaign to a nationwide prime-time television audience.

To do so, he must:

- Overcome the "Slick Willie" image that has plagued him from the start, convincing television viewers that he is trustworthy despite admitted marital indiscretions, avoidance of the draft, and other challenges to his character that nearly scuttled his campaign early on.

- Convince voters in general and even registered Democrats that he is an exciting candidate who appeals to a broad base of the electorate and, therefore, can win. To do this, he must walk a fine line between the moderate mainstream and the special interests that have controlled the national party since 1972.

On the latter score, he got a good start by forcing Jesse Jackson to come into the fold on Mr. Clinton's terms. While Mr. Jackson's endorsement was less than enthusiastic, it served the purpose.

Mr. Clinton is a better than average orator whose debating skills have served him well throughout his political career and never better than during his long campaign for the nomination.

Clearly, one way for him to accomplish his goals in this speech is to take the high road, setting a Lincolnesque tone to appeal to "the better angels of our nature" to overcome our domestic problems and return the nation to economic glory. That the election campaign theme will call for a rebirth of youthful vitality, there can be little doubt. With this in mind, Mr. Clinton was said to be studying the speeches of both Lincoln and John F. Kennedy.

In 1988, Mr. Clinton was chosen to make the nominating speech in Atlanta for Michael Dukakis. It was, to put it mildly, a disaster whose best applause line came when he said, "In conclusion, . . . "

Thus Mr. Clinton is acutely aware there can be no repeat of that performance if he is to overcome the narrowing odds for election. There is no reason to believe he won't be prepared.

Dan Thomasson is editor of Scripps Howard News Service.

The Washington Times
THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992

ALAN REYNOLDS

Not alone in the economic forest

While we fret over relatively trivial symptoms of a less than booming economy, nobody bothers to notice that other big economies are sinking into the abyss.

Industrial production in Japan fell again in May, and is now nearly 9 percent lower than a year ago. In Germany, real retail sales are down 5.6 percent from last year. While Americans almost panic over an unemployment rate of 7.8 percent, unemployment now averages more than 9 percent in Europe, and well above 11 percent in Canada.

Since this is an election year, when facts and logic are expendable, any weakness in the U.S. economy is bound to be blamed on President Bush. This is extremely provincial. It is arrogant to suppose the United States caused this worldwide contraction. We just aren't that important anymore. But neither are we immune to economic decline abroad. It used to be said that when the United States sneezed, the rest of the world caught pneumonia. Today, it would be more accurate to say that the rest of the world has pneumonia, and that is making us sneeze.

Alan Reynolds is director of economic research at the Hudson Institute in Indianapolis.

Weak as it may be, the U.S. economy is by far the strongest big economy in the world, despite the unique disadvantage of a shrinking defense industry. Our export industries have never been more competitive, including many we habitually think of as weak, such as steel, auto parts, textiles and machine tools. But what good does that do when so many of our best customers are broke, out ofwork, and unable to afford our wares?

World trade has almost stopped growing. Imports of Japan and Europe grew by only about 3 percent last year, compared with 7.9 percent in 1989. If everyone is importing less, then almost everyone has to export less too. This hurts the United States least of all, partly because of soaring U.S. exports to Mexico, but it does hurt. It explains why U.S. real exports grew by "only" 7.6 percent last year — miles ahead of anybody else (Japan's exports were up 2.8 percent), but nonetheless disappointing compared with double digit yearly increases from 1986-1989.

While Americans almost panic over an unemployment rate of 7.8 %, unemployment now averages more than 9 % in Europe.

The seven largest economies, the G-7, began meeting regularly some years ago, but lately have forgotten why. The sole reason for G-7 meetings was to prevent the policies of each country from harming the others.

In recent years, after discarding any agenda, the G-7 has degenerated into an ineffectual country club, where conversations turn to abstract issues outside the group's authority or responsibility., such as empty platitudesabout "reform" in Russia, or the desirability of some other meeting, such as the trade deals under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

The new, unspoken rule of the G-7 is that it is quite appropriate to make royal pronouncements about anything and everything except that which the G-7 was organized to fix — namely, the role of their own policies in causing our common economic distress.

The last G-7 summit was reminiscent of the old fable about the elephant in the parlor, where everyone manages to have a nice, civil conversation without seeming to notice the elephant. What we need is not more diplomatic niceties and empty words about how desirable it would be if economies were growing and trading again. We need an emergency meeting, soon, with a clear economic agenda. Those with no sense of urgency or willingness to act should not be invited.

What could the G-7 nations possibly accomplish that these nations' politicians are not likely to do on their own? One item to put on the agenda goes back to the issue that brought the G-7 together in the first place — the dollar.

It is much safer and more durable if most countries raise or lower interest rates at the same time, since that minimizes the impact on exchange rates. When the Fed decided to go it alone, that pushed the dollar down, at least temporarily. If the dollar stays down, the results will be either infaltionary for the United States, deflationary for other countries, or both. Prices of oil and other commodities are typically sensitive to the dollar, since a weak dollar makes those goods cheap to foreigners, and that added demand pushes prices up.

If the result is an uncomfortable increase in imported inflation, U.S. interest rates will just go back up again. On the deflationary side, though, the rise in other currencies

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REYNOLDS

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makes it harder for Japan or Europe to sell in domestic or export markets, so their businesses may have to cut prices, production and jobs. On the other hand, if most other G-7 countries, particularly Japan, also shaved a half-point off interest rates, that would maximize the benefit to world output and trade without forcing prices up in the United States or down elsewhere.

A serious obstacle to such monetary cooperation is Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady and Undersecretary David Mulford. They correctly urge the Japanese to cut interest rates to boost their economy, but also want Japan to somehow push the yen up against the dollar. This creates an impossible dilemma. A cut in Japanese interest rates might well push the yen down, which the U.S. Treasury assumes would increase the U.S. trade deficit with Japan. Actually, a cut in Japanese interest rates could conceivably support the yen by reviving their sick stock market. In any case, though, it would certainly boost U.S. exports to Japan and its suppliers, by helping to stop the Japanese deflation. Our exports have weakened because foreign economies are weak, not because the dollar is strong.

If printing money and sinking one's currency were the way to improve economic growth, Russia and Peru would be the strongest economies in the world by now. Remarkably, the G-7 politicians have become afflicted by some sort of collective memory loss regarding the importance of tax rates. It is time for the G-7 countries to examine the effect of recent tax increases on global sales, production and employment. Global problems require global solutions.

After highly successful reductions of tax rates in the United States and Japan in 1987, Canada in 1988 and Germany in 1989, all four countries reversed course in 1990 and raised tax rates on what their citizens earn and spend. The world then became a less interesting place to earn or spend money. To take an obvious example, the United States, Canada, Japan and Germany all imposed additional taxes on auto sales in the past couple of years, yet all now pretend to be surprised that auto sales are weak in all the tax-afflicted countries.

The higher tax rate on reduced sales, of course, means tax revenues are down from auto sales taxes, and also from income and payroll taxes that would otherwise have been collected from auto companies and their workers. Higher tax rates on salaries and payrolls likewise shrank both job offers and applicants, further reducing revenues.

States here that increased tax rates in recent years, such as New Jersey and California, have seen the biggest decline in their tax bases and revenues. The same is true of nations. The strongest economies in the world today are those that kept cutting tax rates in the late 1980s and early 1990s, such as Singapore, Malaysia, Hong Kong, Mexico, Argentina, Colombia, Austria, Portugal, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg, Norway, Mauritius, and Botswana. And the weakest economies in the world have by far the highest tax rate, including all of Eastern Europe, most of Africa and Iran.

If we want to restore the prosperity of the 1980s, a good place to start is to repeal nearly all the economic legislation passed since 1989. For the United States, this includes the 1990-91 minimum wage that added 2 percentage points to the unemployment rate, numerous new regulations, and both state and federal "tax increases" that immediately made real revenues fall.

The reason G-7 could help reverse the destructive tax policies of the past two years is that it would provide timid politicians with international support. While simply undoing the destructive tax policies of the 1990s might otherwise be criticized by political opponents (as would unilateral interest rate cuts before elections), it would be far less easy to criticize if the move came as the result of a multinational consensus.

Such a global tax and monetary truce could also help a lot of politicans save face. It isn't easy to admit mistakes, but the political leaders in all the countries and U.S. states that raised tax rates a few years back are in deep trouble with the voters. If they get together and examine the wreckage that overly greedy tax policies have inflicted on each other, and in their own economies, the heads of state in the United States, Canada, Japan and Germany might yet save their jobs. More important, they would save the world economy.

The Washington Times
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INSIDE THE BELTWAY

Unconventional

Pat Buchanan hasn't received an invitation to address the Republican National Convention, so he's forging ahead with his own plans for a miniconvention. "The longer they wait the more likely it is he'll do his own thing," says an activist who has probed the Republican National Committee regarding plans to let Pat have his say. "Rich Bond seems to think Pat should call and initiate this. After some of the comments that have come out of the RNC, that wouldn't be right."

It does seem shortsighted of the RNC not to make amends, but on the other hand it is typical of President Bush to keep the cold shoulder firmly in place. To the same extent that he maintains loyalties when they have become impractical, he is slow to re-extend the hand of friendship once withdrawn.

The result will be that Mr. Buchanan, who is far more credible and popular than Jerry Brown, will be the designated "outsider" at the convention. Mr. Brown has garnered considerable ink and camera time in that role at the Democratic convention. Those who know the media-savvy Mr. Buchanan say, "You ain't seen nothing yet."

Mr. Buchanan will kick off his own thing in Houston with a major address on Aug. 18 "on the course the Republican Party must set for the nation over the next four years." The following evening he and his wife, Shelley, will hold a private reception, providing shuttle service to the convention hall for those who don't want to miss the other thing.

Also on tap is a Texas-style barbecue honoring the "Buchanan Brigades," the volunteers who assisted in his challenge to President Bush.

Yucking it up

The folks down at Sam Snead's Tavern in Orlando are getting a hoot out of a letter found among the golf memorabilia that lines the walls of the place. It's a letter from Dan Quayle to Mr. Snead. In it, Mr. Quayle says: "Sam, had a great time this weekend but the golf was lousey."

The letter has become something of a tourist attraction after being mentioned in the local press. It hangs alongside letters to Mr. Snead from Presidents Bush, Nixon and Eisenhower and other prominent figures.

It's a signed, handwritten note on Mr. Quayle's vice presidential letterhead sent after Mr. Quayle played with the golfing great at Mr. Snead's home course in Virginia.

Pat Casey, co-owner of the bar, said customers get a real chuckle about the veep's spelling blooper, saying it's "that E problem again." The resulting publicity seems to have encouraged the bar's owners to run the thing into the ground. Now they're contemplating adding a "Dan Quayle Potatoe" to their menue.

Er, menu.

The first punch

Rep. Ben Nighthorse Campbell, the only American Indian serving in Congress, has his eye on the Colorado Senate seat also being sought by fellow Democrat and former Gov. Dick Lamm. The seat is currently held by Sen. Tim Wirth, who doesn't want to try for another term.

In an early indication of the tenor of the primary, Mr. Campbell has called on Mr. Lamm to "disclose his connections" to Meyer Blinder, who was convicted recently of racketeering and securities fraud stemming from an international stock swindling scheme, according to a report in Denver's Rocky Mountain News.



Ben Nighthorse Campbell gives no quarter in his drive for the Senate.

While serving as governor in 1986, Mr. Lamm wrote to gaming authorities in Nevada asking them to get behind Blinder's bid for a casino license. In the ensuing uproar it was revealed that Mr. Lamm had maintained a stock account with Blinder's investment firm and had parlayed $5,000 into $50,000 as a result.

Mr. Lamm said that at the time he wrote the letter, Blinder was a respected businessman who had donated millions to charity. His challenger, Mr. Campbell, is calling for "a full airing of this affair."

Come on down

With temperatures approaching the boiling point, most delegates to the Democratic convention would probably rather be somewhere in northern Idaho. The same will probably be true of Houston, where the heat can hammer you into a puddle of vital fluids in the time it takes to say, "Howdy, y'all." Which means that in the effort to discover whether any of the chaps running for president has any sense, we'll get a clue when we see where Ross Perot decides to convene. *If* he decides.

In our opinion, the offer Mr. Perot should examine closely comes from Lynchburg, Tenn., population 361, the home of the Jack Daniel Distillery. Lynchburg is noted for its hospitality, having extended an invitation to George Bush a few years back to drop by Mary Bobo's Boarding House for dinner. Both invitations have so far been ignored by their recipients.

Those who might think that a visit to the home of Jack Daniel's whiskey means diving into public troughs overflowing with the stuff would be disappointed.

Lynchburg is located in a dry county.

Moving right along

Thomas Collamore, chief of staff and assistant secretary of commerce, has been a Washington fixture for the length of the Reagan and Bush reigns. He served under President Bush's chief of staff back in the veep days, Craig Fuller, and has worked for three commerce secretaries. But that's over. Mr. Collamore is off to the Big Apple. He'll be working again with Mr. Fuller, who is now a senior vice president with Phillip Morris Inc.

Mr. Collamore's new title will be vice president for corporate affairs policy and administration.

— John Elvin

The Washington Times

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992 ★

GOP whispers waiting for Gore

Re-election strategy mirrors '88

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

JACKSON HOLE, Wyo. — Picking up where its whisper campaign against Bill Clinton and Ross Perot left off, the Bush-Quayle re-election campaign has turned its lips to Democratic vice presidential nominee Al Gore.

POLITICS '92

But the whisper campaign won't be echoed by any public attacks.

Following the 1988 strategy that had Mr. Bush and vice presidential nominee Dan Quayle attacking only Democratic presidential candidate Michael Dukakis, the Republican candidates plan to return fire only from Mr. Clinton, administration officials said.

A senior administration official said the public statements from the White House and campaign won't even mention Mr. Gore.

But surrogates on the campaign trail, often allowing themselves to be quoted only anonymously, are questioning Mr. Gore's credentials and directing reporters to Gore associates who have an unflattering view of the lawmaker.

The goal is to undermine the image of the Tennessee senator and 1988 presidential hopeful as a popular Democratic moderate, brainy legislator and environmentalist.

Consider these recent comments:

"He's not very deep," an administration official said.

"He's very concerned about his

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BUSH

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image. It's style over substance," an administration political adviser said.

"He doesn't have any friends in the Senate," another official said.

"He's weak and superficial on the issues," said the official, speaking on the condition of anonymity.

And where the Bush-Quayle campaign cannot question Mr. Gore on his issues, it is using him to cast doubt on Mr. Clinton's ability to handle presidential issues.

Environmental Protection Agency Director William Reilly, for example, said Mr. Clinton was trying to paper over his questionable environmental record by hiding behind Mr. Gore's outspoken stand on environmental issues.

"I think Governor Clinton realized he needed to shore up his own environmental record," Mr. Reilly said during a trip with the president to Sequoia National Forest this week.

Campaign and administration officials said they want to ignore Mr. Gore in public attacks because drawing too much attention to the senator would divert and muddy the attacks on Mr. Clinton.

"We won't return Al Gore's fire. He covers up Clinton's weaknesses on the environment and the military," an administration official said.

Mr. Quayle has no plans to take on Mr. Gore, his one-time buddy in the Senate. Campaign officials said Mr. Quayle, who is planning his strategy during a vacation this week at Camp David, won't react to Democratic claims that Mr. Gore will use his new stage to attack him.

"That's not a debate that we are willing to wage. We'll let others hit Gore," a Quayle associate said.

Aides to Mr. Bush said he, too, won't spend time attacking Mr. Gore. Mr. Bush is here with Secretary of State James A. Baker III fishing and discussing the presidential campaign. They are holed up at Mr. Baker's ranch near here.

Mr. Bush returns to the campaign trail tomorrow in Utah.

The Bush-Quayle campaign followed a similar strategy in 1988, when the Democrats focused on Mr. Quayle. As the Democrats intensified their attacks on Mr. Quayle, Mr. Bush had the chance to articulate his plans without the normal campaign flak.

The Democrats changed their strategy near the end of the campaign as Mr. Dukakis sank in the polls, but it was too late.

"It was foolish for Dukakis to concentrate on [Mr. Quayle]," said a 1988 Bush-Quayle campaign official. "It gave Bush a free ride.

"People vote for the top spot no matter what [the vice presidential candidates] do," a senior administration official said.

The Washington Times

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992 ★

Perot loses Rollins

Parties' camps react with glee

By Hugh Aynesworth
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

DALLAS — Citing "insurmountable differences" with almost-candidate Ross Perot, political consultant Ed Rollins yesterday abruptly resigned his job as co-chairman of the struggling Perot presidential campaign.

"The reality is, the kind of campaign I wanted to run and the kind of campaign Mr. Perot wanted to run weren't really compatible," Mr. Rollins, 48, said in a hurriedly called 4:15 p.m. news conference, with key Perot aide Tom Luce at his side.

"I just don't think continuing the way we are now . . . is going to get us there, but obviously that's up to Mr. Perot," he said.

The resignation of the man who managed the Reagan re-election campaign in 1984 came after days of reported bickering among top campaign strategists — said to center on when Mr. Perot officially should announce his candidacy and how soon he should begin television advertis-

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Still a fan? Ed Rollins is leaving, but he wishes Ross Perot good luck.

PEROT

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ing spots.

Meanwhile, on the heels of the unexpected Rollins resignation, the Perot campaign canceled major events in St. Paul, Minn., Friday and Williamsburg, Va., on Saturday, where Mr. Perot was expected to formally receive the petitions to put him on the ballot in those states.

Representatives of the Bush and Clinton camps greeted the Rollins news with scarcely contained joy.

"I think this is the beginning of the end of the Perot candidacy. My educated guess is that Ross Perot ultimately will not seek the presidency in 1992," said Rich Bond, chairman of the Republican National Committee.

His Democratic counterpart, Ron Brown, said, "The first vote on Ross Perot was cast today by Ed Rollins, and the vote was 'no.' "

There was a jam at the Perot phone bank in Dallas as volunteer offices around the country called for more information about Mr. Rollins' departure.

"Obviously, in my 30 years of experience in politics, there are certain things that I learned that I thought were very important to do," Mr. Rollins said yesterday. "Obviously this is a different kind of campaign, and I think the differences are just insurmountable at this point and time."

In a prepared statement read to the media, the longtime GOP strategist said he continued to believe in "the basic ideals of the movement and the Perot candidacy" and wished Mr. Perot good luck.

Mr. Perot was not present at the news conference and was unavailable later for comment.

Mr. Rollins' appointment was announced just 45 days ago with great fanfare. He and Hamilton Jordan, the Democrat who headed Jimmy Carter's campaigns in 1976 and 1980, were brought into the campaign as Mr. Perot sought to prepare for the rigors of a formal candidacy.

Mr. Jordan, too, has told associates of late he is frustrated with what he views as drift within the Perot organization.

Mr. Luce said Mr. Jordan would stay on and assume the title of campaign manager, adding that there were no plans to hire a replacement for Mr. Rollins.

"Sounds like I was irreplaceable or totally irrelevant," Mr. Rollins said, laughing.

Mr. Luce tried to downplay the importance of Mr. Rollins departure. "I find it hard to believe that anything that happens in July ultimately has much bearing in November," he said.

The aide said he talked with Mr. Perot, who praised and thanked Mr. Rollins but did not meet with him or try to dissuade him from leaving. Mr. Perot still has set no timetable to announce his candidacy or to launch TV advertising, he said.

Mr. Rollins said he would vote for Mr. Perot if he is on the Virginia ballot and felt no matter what strategies were employed, Mr. Perot might win. "I think anything this year is possible," he said. "I think he is a unique candidate in a unique political year."

Mr. Rollins said Mr. Luce assured him he would be paid through the November election, noting that he would be available "for counsel or anything that might be needed."

Ten Rollins associates also are quitting the Perot campaign.

Mr. Rollins praised the volunteers around the nation who have been rallying to get Mr. Perot on the various state ballots but added that these volunteers had received little or no professional guidance.

Joan Vinson, Mr. Perot's Maryland state coordinator, said of the Rollins resignation: "Ross Perot has gotten where he is without political advice. In that sense, the effort, as I viewed it, did not need anybody."

Said Pete Grenier, the Perot volunteer coordinator in Wyoming: "There are some wounds that have to be healed, but . . . I don't think the healing process is going to take a long time."

He conceded, however, that the national, state and local campaigns will have to eventually be organized and directed by seasoned political professionals.

Meanwhile, senior Bush campaign adviser Charles Black said Sherrie Rollins, the former White House aide who quit her post when her husband went to work for Mr. Perot, can have her job back if she wants it.

Mrs. Rollins had been in charge of the White House public liaison office. While still proclaiming her support for President Bush, she resigned to avoid any potential conflicts.

Mrs. Rollins was vacationing in Bali, Indonesia.

Mr. Rollins told reporters that he had phoned his wife with the news that he was quitting and "she said something about 'I told you so.' " He said he expected he'd be hearing the same refrain for "the next 30 years."

• *Major Garrett contributed to this article, which is based in part on wire service reports.*

The Washington Times
THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992 ★

Speakers call Bush policies bankrupt in the 1990s

Here are excerpts from speeches last night at the Democratic National Convention:

● **Gov. Mario Cuomo of New York:** "I'd like to march with you through cities and rural villages where all the people have safe streets, affordable housing and health care when they need it. I want to clap my hands and throw my fists in the air, cheering neighborhoods where children can be children, where they can grow up and get the chance to go to college, and one day own their own home.

"I want to sing — proud songs, happy songs — arm in arm with workers who have a real stake in their company's success; who once again have the assurance that a lifetime of hard work will make life better for their children than it's been for them. I want to be part of a victory parade that sends up fireworks, celebrating the triumph of our technology centers and factories, outproducing and outselling our overseas competitors.

"I want to march — with you — knowing that we are selecting justices to the Supreme Court who are qualified to be there, and who understand the basic American right to make our own individual moral and religious judgments . . .

"Someday, I want to march to Washington, not to beg for what we need, but to shout our thanks because we made the greatest nation in the world greater than it's ever been; provided new opportunities to new generations of seekers, justified our gifts by showing the world how much better we can be!"

● **Sen. Bob Kerrey of Nebraska:** "The historian Barbara Tuchman wrote of "the march of folly" . . . The last four years have been George Bush's long march of folly.

"It is folly to engage in endless deficit financing while leaving too many of our children untaught and too many of their parents untrained. The economic policies of the 1980s were folly. They crushed the optimism of millions of people while concentrating our wealth in the hands of the very few as it has never been concentrated before.

"It is folly that in America today we don't have health care, but wealth care — a system that takes care of those who are well off. It is folly that in America today the young in school, in suburbs, as well as cities, learn too little math, and experience too much violence — and too much of the death of drugs . . .

"This is the march of folly . . . And to all this — to all this — George Bush's only response is to continue the march. His favorite and dulling response is to say again and again: 'No can do.'



Paul Tsongas

"Here at this convention let's begin our own march, a march to the White House, and toward what is best in America."

● **Former Sen. Paul Tsongas of Massachusetts:** "Only the private sector can produce the revenues for the social programs we Democrats care about. The financing of those programs through ever more public debt violates our generational responsibility.

"The realities are simple. You cannot redistribute wealth that you never created. You cannot be pro-jobs and anti-business at the same time. You cannot love employment and hate employers . . . No goose, no golden eggs.

"Americans know that we are in trouble. Americans know we must use our resources to reinvigorate the essential engine of our economy, the manufacturing base . . . And finally Americans know that uncontrolled entitlements will rob our children and grandchildren of their economic future. To run and hide on this issue is to ensure future war between the generations . . .

"George Bush has shamefully ignored these realities. He has run away from the hard choices . . . He has taken the treasure of ten generations and sacrificed it to false, happy days political rhetoric. His record is generationally immoral. It violates the legacy of our ancestors. It violates the promise to our children. It is spiritually bankrupt.

"George Bush must go."

● **Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts:** "After 12 years of wintry indifference at the center of power, it is time to return to the ideal of compassion. We must end the politics of neglecting the needy and then blaming them for their pain. In the 1990's, we must make war against poverty, not war against the poor.

"We must trust and speak to the best instincts of our people. We must demand an America that helps the homeless, feeds the hungry, breaks the cycle of poverty and replaces welfare with work . . . An America that does not care is not really America at all . . .

"We are the best in the world at training bomber pilots. Why can't we be best at training people for 21st-century jobs? We are the best in the world at building smart bombs. Why can't we be best at building the high-technology products of the future? . . .

"After World War II, we rebuilt Germany and Japan. Now, in the wake of the Cold War, let's rebuild our own land . . .

"Now let us, in our own journey, give our strength for those who are weak; give our voice to those who are voiceless; give our commitment to the working families who make America work — and whatever the winds of the moment, carry high the banner of hope."

● **Former Gov. Jerry Brown of California:** "Effective government is breaking down. Government is paralyzed. Even to get here, the homeless had to be swept off the streets and out of sight . . .

"Create the power for the powerless, for there is no other reason for the Democratic Party to exist."

The Washington Times
THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1992 *

Clinton handed the torch

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Kennedy, Cuomo push liberal agenda

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"President Bush disagrees with Bill Clinton. He says we have the will but not the wallet," the liberal New York governor told the receptive party gathering. But, he added, "Bill Clinton knows we have the wealth available."

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PARTY

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The chants and music reached a crescendo as Mr. Clinton emerged in the delirious swarm in the hall.

Mr. Cuomo had set the stage for the trimphant entrance with his verbal portrait of the former Rhodes scholar as a hard-working self-made man and lawyer from humble beginnings in Hope, Ark. — a theme at the heart of Mr. Clinton's media image makers.

"Bill Clinton has worked to relieve other people's discomfort because Bill Clinton remembers his own struggle," said Mr. Cuomo, who long has had a relationship of mutual respect with Mr. Clinton that sometimes veered off into resentment.

Mr. Cuomo said Mr. Clinton is needed "because he is equipped to break the gridlock in Washington and to deliver effective government, because he will remind this nation that we are too good to make war our most successful enterprise, because he does not believe that the way to win political support is to pit people against one another."

Mr. Cuomo concluded: "So step aside, Mr. Bush. You've had your parade. It's time for change — someone smart enough to know, strong enough to do, sure enough to lead. The Comeback Kid. A new voice for a new America."

Joining in the chorus of praise was Massachusetts Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, himself a candidate for president in 1980. He reminded delegates of his fallen brother, Robert F. Kennedy. And he took Democrats back before "12 years of wintry indifference" in the White House to say the party's ideals must be brought back.



Photo by Ruth Fremson/The Washington Times

Nebraska Sen. Bob Kerrey waves to the delegates last night.

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But the Democrats also got two somewhat conflicting pieces of advice on how the route to the White House.

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But he also reminded Democrats that people, not corporations, must come first.

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TODAY

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LIBERALS

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"After 12 years of wintry indifference at the center of power, it is time to return to the ideal of compassion," Mr. Kennedy said. "We must end the politics of neglecting the needy. . . . In the 1990s, we must make war against poverty, not war against the poor."

Like Mr. Cuomo, the senator also called for more government spending to train workers, increased aid to higher education, national health insurance and more federal "resources to reform public education."

"I just don't understand how a president — any president — can be out of ideas for action here at home," Mr. Kennedy said.

Contrary to the party platform, which suggested that government could not spend the country into an economic recovery, Mr. Kennedy told the convention, "Bill Clinton understands that government should enlarge, not diminish, the hopes and expectations of an entire generation."

Mr. Clinton and his campaign already have laid out an economic recovery program that calls for $350 billion in new taxes and spending over the next four years and a platform that calls for billions more to pay for a wide variety of new government programs and agencies — from a domestic peace corps to a new high-technology research agency.

But the more ambitious agendas outlined by Mr. Cuomo and Mr. Kennedy suggested that the problems of the country demanded that Mr. Clinton go far beyond what he has already proposed. And there are many party liberals here who think that if the Clinton-Gore ticket is successful in the fall, they will seek to implement the Cuomo-Kennedy agenda.

"I have a hunch that they're much more liberal underneath and will prove it when they're elected," former Sen. George McGovern, said this week — a view that both of last night's featured speakers appeared to support.

Indeed, in sharp contrast to Mr. Clinton's carefully crafted image of a moderate, last night's roster of speakers seconding Mr. Clinton's nomination was heavily made up of the party's most liberal activists. Among them: Keith Geiger, president of the National Education Association; Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers; and New Jersey Gov. Jim Florio, who in 1990 pushed through the largest tax increase in the state's history.

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In an address that preceded Mr. Cuomo's agenda-setting speech, Mr. Kennedy also called on the party to set more ambitious goals for social welfare spending than those of the past 12 years of the Reagan and Bush administrations.

The Massachusetts senator — who spoke after the screening of a film honoring his brother Robert, who was assassinated in 1968 — once again lifted the torch for those liberal Democrats who want government to play a more active role in dealing with the nation's social ills. And he called for a new government war on poverty like the one that was implemented by President Johnson in the 1960s.

"After 12 years of wintry indifference at the center of power, it is time to return to the ideal of compassion," Mr. Kennedy said. "We must end the politics of neglecting the needy. . . . In the 1990s, we must make war against poverty, not war against the poor."

Like Mr. Cuomo, the senator also called for more government spending to train workers, increased aid to higher education, national health insurance and more federal "resources to reform public education."

"I just don't understand how a president — any president — can be out of ideas for action here at home," Mr. Kennedy said.

Contrary to the party platform, which suggested that government could not spend the country into an economic recovery, Mr. Kennedy told the convention, "Bill Clinton understands that government should enlarge, not diminish, the hopes and expectations of an entire generation."

Mr. Clinton and his campaign already have laid out an economic recovery program that calls for $350 billion in new taxes and spending over the next four years and a platform that calls for billions more to pay for a wide variety of new government programs and agencies — from a domestic peace corps to a new high-technology research agency.

But the more ambitious agendas outlined by Mr. Cuomo and Mr. Kennedy suggested that the problems of the country demanded that Mr. Clinton go far beyond what he has already proposed. And there are many party liberals here who think that if the Clinton-Gore ticket is successful in the fall, they will seek to implement the Cuomo-Kennedy agenda.

"I have a hunch that they're much more liberal underneath and will prove it when they're elected," former Sen. George McGovern, said this week — a view that both of last night's featured speakers appeared to support.

Indeed, in sharp contrast to Mr. Clinton's carefully crafted image of a moderate, last night's roster of speakers seconding Mr. Clinton's nomination was heavily made up of the party's most liberal activists. Among them: Keith Geiger, president of the National Education Association; Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers; and New Jersey Gov. Jim Florio, who in 1990 pushed through the largest tax increase in the state's history.