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Monday, August 17, 1992 [4]

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

file daily 8/17
I attended
BPS did not

Date: August 12, 1992

TO: Rose Zamaria
FROM: KATHY SUPER
Deputy Assistant to the President
for Appointments and Scheduling

We have not responded with any commitment to the attached invitation from the Elkins. We called and left it open.

The Bushs are scheduled to arrive at the Houstonian at 6:40 p.m. Monday night. Mrs. Bush must leave the Houstonian at 8 p.m. for the Astro Dome.

Mrs. Bush's office has a copy of this invitation, as does the advance office.

We should treat this as an OTR should the President and Mrs. Bush decide that they want to attend.

8/17
The President
did stop by -
Mrs. Bush
did not
attend.

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - GEORGE BUSH HANDWRITING

In Honor of the Founding Eagle Members



V. B. Bismarck
for scheduling

RECEIVED
JUL 20 REC'D
CHL OFFICE

Mr. and Mrs. James A. Elkins, Jr.

request the pleasure of the company of

The President and Mrs. Bush

at a cocktail buffet

on Monday, August 17, 1992

at six until nine o'clock p.m.

R. L. V. P.

Tel: 202-863-8720

Fax: 202-863-8634

The Stable
Houston, Texas

THE STABLE



CARNARVON DRIVE

MEMORIAL

PASTURE VIEW LANE

STABLE CREST BLVD.

STABLEWOOD BLVD.

PINEHAVEN

THE HOUSTONIAN

N. POST OAK LANE

WOODWAY

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WEST LOOP

LOOP 610

LOOP 610

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ACCESS ROAD

MEMORIAL

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

Kathy

12 AUG 7 A9:36

August 4, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR ROSE ZAMARIA

FROM

KATHY SUPER *H. Super*
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR APPOINTMENTS AND SCHEDULING

The attached invitation is not an official event. It will be the scheduled old Houston crowd and a private event. The Ledke's, Kerr's and Farishes will be attending. *holds*

Would you see if the President and Mrs. Bush have any interest in attending.

Thank you.

20 minute drop by

Elkins = close friends

Since the stables is right next door to Monticello - literally a walk, BFB might like to drop by providing on what best of

Yes —

No —

Mr. President

August 17, 1992



1) Orlando Wilson, called. His Priv sheet is attached. Since the President will be going to Woodstock, Georgia, on Saturday, Mr. Wilson would like to greet the President and "maybe go to the event with him." Mr. Wilson has also called General Scowcroft's office to express his interest, too.

Is the President interested in seeing him?

Okay for him to be greeter ✓

Set up a photo op ✓

Invite him to event ✓

I'd like to have him ride in limo ✓

making out others

✓ - if we're not

(cc: Peggy Hazenrigg)

Orlando is a very
famous sportsman
and fisherman

Berg seen with Orlando
is big "+"

CS

Mr. Michael passed
Back to Peggy H.
09/17 8/18/92

(h) 404-926-0531

(w) 404-926-1106

Wilson DOCUMENT= 3 OF 3 PAGE = 1 OF 1

NAME: ~~Wilson~~ Wilson

CODES CC5 USPRES PERSNL

ISSUES SPFISH

HOME1 100 Parkway 575
Woodstock, GA 30188
(706)

LUPDATE 920702

UPDATE BY CT03

GENERAL

PRIV COMM

CONTACT

CORSPNDNC

. 3/92 Added per GB.

. 1991 He was GB's fishing partner.

. 1992 ~~He was GB's fishing partner.~~

. 3/7/92 Fished in Pintlala fishing tournament.

. 3/92 GB sent photos from fishing in Pintlala.

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

4B

Bush Library Photocopy Preservation

daily

Please sign two
photos attached



THE PRESIDENT

August 17, 1992

Dear Serena and Larissa,

I received the note from your mother and wanted to thank you both for your message of support for Barbara and me. We appreciate your thinking of us.

Hope you like the photos. Best wishes to you and your family.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "G. H. W. Bush".

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Serena and Larissa Shulman
521 Marl Road
Colts Neck, New Jersey 07722



Larissa Shulman

(Age 6)

To Larissa Shulman -

Love from the Bush Family

8.18.92

Q B L



Serena Shulman
(Age 8)

To Serena -

Love from these 3 Bushes,

Aug. 17, 1992

Cy Bush



8/10/92

Dear President Bush,

I'm at the Houstonian on a business trip, and when I phoned my 2 daughters to tell them I was staying down the hall from the Presidential Suite, they told me to leave you a message saying they love you very much. So that's what I'm doing!

If you sent them a brief message in return, they would be thrilled. Their names are: Serena (Age 8) and Harissa (Age 6) SHULMAN

Address: 521 Marl Rd.
Colts Neck, NJ 07722

Good luck with your campaign.

Yours truly,

Yma Nelson-Shulman

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - George Bush Handwriting

ASTRO ARENA RALLY \ HOUSTON, TX
MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1992 \ 5:30 P.M.

*RANDY
Traw*

THANK YOU AND GOOD AFTERNOON EVERYBODY. CARROLL

(CAMPBELL), THANK YOU FOR THAT KIND INTRODUCTION. I'D
LIKE TO QUICKLY ACKNOWLEDGE WHAT A GREAT JOB I THINK
CRAIG FULLER HAS DONE AS THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL
CONVENTION CHAIRMAN. AND LET ME JUST SAY -- IT SURE
FEELS GREAT TO BE BACK IN TEXAS -- HOME AGAIN! //

*Warren
Moar
Ray Childs*

I WANT TO SALUTE MY PARTNER IN THIS GREAT ADVENTURE
-- WITH ME EVERY STEP OF THE WAY FROM WEST TEXAS TO THE
WHITE HOUSE. BARBARA BUSH. //

- 2 -

I ALSO WANT TO SAY A WORD ABOUT TWO SPECIAL FRIENDS WHO ARE WITH US -- DAN AND MARILYN QUAYLE.

FOUR YEARS AGO IN NEW ORLEANS, I ASKED DAN QUAYLE TO SERVE OUR COUNTRY AS VICE PRESIDENT. I TOLD HIM THEN -- SPEAKING FROM PERSONAL EXPERIENCE -- THAT THE JOB WAS A REAL "CHARACTER BUILDER" -- AND I WASN'T EXAGGERATING.

BUT IN THE FACE OF HIS CRITICS, DAN QUAYLE HAS NEVER WAVERED. HE HAS SIMPLY TOLD THE TRUTH -- LET THE CHIPS FALL WHERE THEY MAY.

- 3 -

THE VICE PRESIDENT SAYS WE NEED FAMILIES TO STICK
TOGETHER, AND FATHERS WHO STICK AROUND.// WE NEED AN
AMERICA THAT STANDS BEHIND OUR COPS, AND STANDS UP TO
LAWYERS WHO ARE ALL OVER US LIKE A BAD LAWSUIT.// WHEN
DAN SAYS THESE THINGS -- THE ESTABLISHMENT IN
WASHINGTON ^{gripes} ~~HOLDS THEIR NOSES~~ -- BUT FOLKS IN THE REAL
WORLD NOD THEIR HEADS.// DAN QUAYLE HAS BEEN A SUPERB
VICE PRESIDENT -- AND WILL BE FOR ANOTHER FOUR MORE
YEARS.//

I COULDN'T HELP BUT NOTICE AN INTERVIEW MY OPPONENT
GAVE TO USA TODAY LAST WEEK. IT WAS INCREDIBLE. HE
TALKED ABOUT HOW HE IS ALREADY PLANNING HIS
TRANSITION -- FIGURING OUT WHO SHOULD BE DEPUTY
ASSISTANT UNDER SECRETARY IN EVERY WASHINGTON AGENCY,
EVEN WHERE HE CAN GET AWAY FROM THE WHITE HOUSE FOR A
DAY OR TWO. HECK, I HALF EXPECTED TO COME TO WORK
FRIDAY MORNING AND FIND SOMEONE IN THE OVAL OFFICE
MEASURING THE DRAPES.

- 5 -

WELL, TODAY I HAVE A MESSAGE FOR MY OPPONENT. PUT
THE DRAPES ON HOLD. //

IN JUST A FEW DAYS, IT'S GOING TO BE CURTAIN
TIME.//

FOR NINE MONTHS, THE OTHER SIDE HAS HAD A ONE-WAY
CONVERSATION WITH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. NOW -- IT'S OUR
TURN. THEY HAVE CALLED AMERICA A "MOCKERY" -- AND
SOUNDED THE SAXOPHONE OF CHANGE. ~~BUT IF YOU LISTEN~~
~~REAL CLOSE~~ ^{But} -- THEIR SONG SURE SOUNDS FAMILIAR.

THEY SAY THEY WANT TO SHAKE UP WASHINGTON -- BUT
OPPOSE LIMITING TERMS OF CONGRESSMEN. I GUESS THAT'S
CHANGE -- CHANGING THE SUBJECT.

THEY SAY THEY BELIEVE IN A STRONG AMERICA -- BUT
PROPOSE GUTTING OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE. I GUESS THAT'S
CHANGE -- CHANGING THEIR TUNE.

THEY SAY THEY WANT TO "PUT PEOPLE FIRST" -- BUT
PROPOSE THE LARGEST TAX INCREASE IN HISTORY. //

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - George Bush Handwriting

- 7 -

I GUESS THAT'S CHANGE -- BECAUSE BY THE TIME
THEY'RE THROUGH -- CHANGE IS ALL YOU WILL HAVE LEFT IN
YOUR POCKET.//

DON'T KID YOURSELF, WE'RE NOT RUNNING AGAINST THE
"COMEBACK KIDS." WE'RE RUNNING AGAINST THE "KARAOKE
(CARE - EE - OH -KEY) KIDS" -- THEY'LL SING ANY TUNE
THEY THINK WILL GET THEM ELECTED.//

- 8 -

YOU KNOW ME, I'M NOT MUCH FOR WORDS. TO ME -- REAL
ELOQUENCE IS ACTION. FOR THE NEXT 78 DAYS, WE ARE
GOING TO ASK THE AMERICAN PEOPLE A SIMPLE QUESTION --
WHO DO YOU TRUST TO DO WHAT'S RIGHT FOR AMERICA?//

YOU KNOW, BARBARA AND I STARTED OUT ^{Odesa - Maryland} HERE -- 44
YEARS AGO. I REMEMBER TRAVELING TO TOWNS LIKE WINK AND
MULESHOE AND NOTREES.

PLACES WHERE PARENTS WORRIED AND WATCHED WHEN A KID
CROSSED THE STREET -- THE KIND OF TOWNS THAT SENT KIDS
HALFWAY AROUND THE WORLD -- FROM THE DMZ, TO DA NANG,
AND TO DESERT STORM.//

BARBARA AND I LOVED THE RHYTHMS OF WEST TEXAS.
FRIDAY NIGHT FOOTBALL -- SATURDAY PICNICS -- AND SUNDAY
SERMONS. WE RAISED A FAMILY -- BUILT A BUSINESS --
MADE FRIENDS WHO HAVE LASTED A LIFETIME. WE WORKED
HARD -- 'CAUSE TEXANS ALWAYS WORK HARD.

**BUT WHEN THE WORK WAS DONE, WE SAT AROUND THE TABLE
LATE AT NIGHT -- AND WE TALKED. TALKED ABOUT REPORT
CARDS AND SCHOOLYARD FIGHTS -- ABOUT SMALL THINGS, AND
BIG DREAMS.**

**NO MATTER WHAT THE OTHER SIDE SAYS, AMERICA IS
STILL A LAND OF DREAMS -- DREAMS AS VAST AND WIDE AS
THE PLAINS OF WEST TEXAS. OUR IDEALS -- OUR IDEAS --
HAVE AWAKENED DREAMS FROM MANAGUA TO MOSCOW.**

**AND WITH FAITH IN OUR PEOPLE, WE WILL REAWAKEN DREAMS
RIGHT HERE IN AMERICA.**

**MY OPPONENT WANTS TO PROTECT THE JOBS OF THE PAST.
I HAVE A PLAN TO CREATE THE JOBS OF THE FUTURE, SO THAT
THE SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF STEELWORKERS AND LINEMEN CAN
BUILD THEIR DREAMS.// MY OPPONENT WANTS TO CHANGE OUR
SCHOOLS, "JUST A LITTLE BIT."**

I HAVE A PLAN TO REVOLUTIONIZE OUR SCHOOLS, SO THAT OUR
KIDS DO AS WELL IN THE SCIENCE LAB AND MATH ROOM AS
THEY NOW DO IN THE SWIMMING POOL AND THE BASKETBALL
COURT.// MY OPPONENT ~~THINKS~~ ^{attaches no one talks about the} "FAMILY VALUES" AS IF THEY
~~WERE THE ICING ON THE CAKE. I HAVE A PLAN TO ADD A~~
~~LITTLE MORAL SYBER TO OUR NATION'S DIET.~~ ^{We were going to keep on trying to strengthen the American Family} TO MAKE
AMERICAN FAMILIES A LITTLE BIT LESS LIKE THE SIMPSONS
AND A LITTLE BIT MORE LIKE THE WALTONS.//

- 13 -

THE DEMOCRATIC LEADERS OF CONGRESS DON'T LIKE MY IDEAS. YOU SEE, THEY ARE THE "SULTANS OF THE STATUS QUO." THE ONLY PEOPLE IN AMERICA WHO COULD DRIVE TO WORK WITH A BLINDFOLD EVERY MORNING, BECAUSE THEY'VE BEEN GOING THE SAME WAY FOR 38 YEARS. // *The Gridlock Grates*

UP IN MANHATTAN LAST MONTH, YOU DIDN'T SEE THE CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS. FINDING THEM WAS LIKE PLAYING "WHERE'S WALDO" ON A MAP THE SIZE OF THE ASTRO DOME. (THEY GAVE NEW MEANING TO THE PHRASE "CLOSET LIBERAL".

- 14 -

BUT DON'T KID YOURSELF -- THEIR PARTY'S NOMINEES ARE ~~not~~
HOLDING HANDS WITH THE OSSIFIED, ENTRENCHED, CHANGE-
ALLERGIC DEMOCRATIC LEADERS OF CONGRESS. WE'RE GOING
TO MAKE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE UNDERSTAND THIS. *we're*

IF I CAN STEAL A LITTLE TEXANESE -- CONGRESS NEEDS
CHANGE THE WAY A BIRD DOG NEEDS A BATH.// I'M GOING TO
CONVINCE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- TO START THE HOT WATER
RUNNING.//

*going to say if you really want change
change the tax spend, ^{Officials who control} Congress*

- 15 -

THE POLLS SAY IT'S GOING TO BE A TOUGH FIGHT, WE
ALL KNOW THAT. ~~I COULD TELL YOU THAT I IGNORE THE~~
~~POLLS, BUT THAT WOULD NOT BE COMPLETELY ACCURATE.~~ THE
TRUTH IS -- POLLS GIVE ME SOME COMFORT.

YOU KNOW ME, IN POLITICS, I'VE ALWAYS DONE BEST
WHEN I'M BEHIND. BECAUSE YOU GET A CERTAIN FREEDOM.

- 16 -

THE OTHER GUY CAN DO WHAT THE POLS (PAHLS) WANT, THE
OTHER SIDE CAN PAY ATTENTION TO WHAT THE POLLS DEMAND
-- I'M JUST GOING TO ROLL UP MY SLEEVES -- AND DO
WHAT'S RIGHT FOR AMERICA. //

I'M A FIGHTER, AND I INTEND TO FIGHT FOR WHAT'S
RIGHT FOR AMERICA.

RIGHT NEXT DOOR, THERE'S A BIG BUILDING THEY CALL
THE EIGHTH WONDER OF THE WORLD.

WELL, HOUSTON, GET READY FOR WONDER NUMBER NINE -- THE
MOST STIRRING POLITICAL COMEBACK SINCE HARRY TRUMAN
GAVE 'EM HELL BACK IN '48.//

[IT ALL STARTS RIGHT HERE, RIGHT NOW. THE GATLIN
BROTHERS LIKE TO SING THAT, "HOUSTON MEANS I'M ONE DAY
CLOSER TO YOU."

NO OFFENSE TO LARRY AND THE GANG, BUT TO ME HOUSTON
MEANS WE ARE ONE DAY CLOSER TO VICTORY. ONE DAY
CLOSER TO BUILDING A BETTER AND BRIGHTER FUTURE FOR
AMERICA.

BARBARA AND I WANT TO THANK YOU ALL FOR COMING OUT
HERE. GOD BLESS HOUSTON, AND GOD BLESS THE UNITED
STATES OF AMERICA.

#



THE PRESIDENT

August 17, 1992

Dear Rocky,

I just arrived at the Houstonian and received your latest creation. The boots are great!

As always, it's nice to be back in Texas and I'm looking forward to the Convention. Times may seem tough now, but I'm confident about November.

Thanks again for the boots. You're a thoughtful guy and I appreciate your support.

*I loved the stay on
you in USA Today.*

Sincerely,

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Rocky Carroll
3321 Ella Boulevard
Houston, Texas 77018

*cc: daily
Gift Unit
(Charles Free)
Central files*

THE HOUSTONIAN

• THE HOUSTONIAN HOTEL & CONFERENCE CENTER
• THE HOUSTONIAN CLUB
• THE PHOENIX SPA

8-16-92

Mr President,

I just had to make you a new
pair of boots for the opening of the R.N.C.

I feel very honored to make your boots,
and know I will be able to for the next
4 years. Pat and I wish you and Mrs Bush
all the good luck in the world, and may God be with
both of you & keep your family safe.

Sincerely
Rocky



THE PRESIDENT

August 17, 1992

daily

Dear Charles,

Thanks for your letter of August 14. I appreciate your kind words of support and also your suggestions. It is always great to hear from people who hold family values as high as I do.

I just arrived in Houston and am looking forward to the convention. These past few months have been rough, but this week should turn things around and we will win in November.

Thanks, again, for your support. With best wishes,

Sincerely,

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Charles A. Ballard
President/CEO
National Institute for Responsible
Fatherhood & Family Development
8555 Hough Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44106



**NATIONAL INSTITUTE
FOR RESPONSIBLE FATHERHOOD & FAMILY DEVELOPMENT**

8555 Hough Avenue • Cleveland, Ohio 44106 • 216/791-1468 • Fax: 216/791-0104

Charles A. Ballard, *President*

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August 14, 1992

George Bush
President, USA
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Bush;

Thank you for your presidency and its positive impact on the world. In my 56 years, I've not witnessed a President who has been as effective in creating a sense of world peace. This includes the Middle East, the fall of the Walls of Germany and the Reorganization of Russia. You've done quite well at the international level. I believe that if there was a world election you would be chosen as its President.

This is not to say that you haven't done well domestically, but that's the perception. I think you have done quite well in raising the issue of "Family Values".

Your speech at Notre Dame University, in which you highlighted the impact of a father loving his children's mother is an indication of your concern for the family. Your establishing the Commission on America's Urban Families also supports this.

Truly the great deterrent to foreign aggression is not a great arsenal of weapons, but strong, loving and responsible families. However, counter to this is the great sense of fatherlessness which has filled the country with young people who have little respect for education, health, employment and the criminal justice system.

We need to hear more about the father's role in the home and how important it is for institutions to create policy to keep fathers in the home and assist him in nurturing his children.

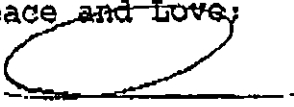
We need to emphasize the importance of a father loving his children's mother and how he can earn a living for his children.

We need to create a vision in which all of Americans can see a place for them to contribute and be contributors.

At present, a large percentage of Americans feel only the President can create this vision. After I met with you on May 21, 1992, I was asked by several people, why did I meet with you. My answer was, "He's my President". Although you don't have the time nor energy to speak with each individual American, each one of them must feel that you are their President.

Domestically and Internationally, American people must see the vision that you are the only person who can create a sense of peace throughout the world and at the same time maintain a safe, responsible and working America. The only and best person to plant that vision is you Mr. President. I love you. I pray for you. I know God is blessing you.

Peace and Love;



Charles A. Ballard
President/CEO

CAB/caf

6:00 P.M. WIRES

VFW's Political Action Committee Endorsing No One

WASHINGTON (AP) — The political arm of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, which supported Ronald Reagan and George Bush in the past three elections, said Thursday it would make no presidential endorsement this year.

The decision by the VFW's political action committee is a blow to President Bush's campaign, which has made an issue of Democrat Bill Clinton's effort to avoid military service in Vietnam. "We are aware of the draft-dodging controversy that has dogged Gov. Clinton and have not overlooked the honorable military service of President Bush," the committee said a news release. But veterans' concerns "cannot be condensed into one issue," it said. The VFW-PAC said issues of concern to veterans "include not only honorable military service, but (Veterans Administration) health care access and eligibility, and veterans' compensation and pensions."

It said also that it was "important to the VFW that our next president appoint a secretary of veterans affairs who is considered veteran-friendly."

Veterans Secretary Edward Derwinski has not been popular with veterans groups.

The VFW-PAC was organized in 1979 and endorsed Reagan in 1980 and 1984 and Bush four years ago. The group bases its endorsements on issues studied by the Veterans of Foreign Wars, which is precluded by its tax-exempt status from endorsing political candidates.

The VFW has 2.2 million members.

AP-DS-09-17-92 1714EDT

Bush, Clinton Aides Pass Buck On Crime Stats
By RON FOURNIER
Associated Press Writer

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. (AP) — Samuel Skinner, general chairman of the Republican National Committee, said Thursday that Bill Clinton "and other governors like him" are to blame for increases in the nation's crime rate.

The former chief of staff for President Bush wrapped up a two-day tour of Arkansas by picking up a Bush endorsement from a group of Little Rock police officers.

Skinner, Labor Secretary Lynn Martin and Michael Deland, chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality, comprised a Bush team attempting to make political hay of Clinton's invitation for critics to "C'mon down" and see what he has done for Arkansas. Ms. Martin left the tour early on Thursday.

Backers of the Arkansas governor, including state and campaign employees, disrupted the president's surrogates at every stop of the tour, carrying Clinton-Gore signs, heckling Republicans and pressing news releases in reporters' hands. And at most events, the Clinton supporters outnumbered those for Bush despite a closely held GOP scheduling strategy designed to throw the Clinton camp off guard.

Skinner, a former U.S. attorney, blamed Clinton for increased crime rates in Arkansas, including a 42 percent increase in violent crime since 1980. He asserted Clinton has not devoted as much time and money to the problem, comparatively, as Bush has nationally.

Nationwide, violent crimes increased 22.6 percent under Presidents Bush and Reagan. But "The nation's crime rate is a direct result of the kind of effort that is made on the local level," Skinner said. "If Gov. Clinton and other governors like him would put in the effort that President Bush has, the rate would go down."

Clinton backer Ron DeLord responded that if governors "did what George Bush did, we would all move to Canada."

DeLord, president of the Combined Law Enforcement Association of Texas, said the GOP tour should have gone to Bush's adopted home state. "I can tell you now, there is no bus tour going through Texas to find out what George Bush has done for crime in Texas," he said.

Clinton criticized Bush's crime record in a visit to Houston in July. He noted Bush proposed cutting local law enforcement aid by \$100 million in his 1992 budget.

AP-DS-09-17-92 1735EDT

Clinton Assails Bush for Threatened Veto of Family Leave Bill
Updates with Fitzwater, GOP lawmakers on Clinton and draft.
STEVEN KOMAROW
Associated Press Writer

DENVER (AP) — Bill Clinton chided President Bush on Thursday for threatening to veto the family leave bill, calling it an example of how the Republicans were reluctant to have America catch up with the world.

believe in personal responsibility, empowerment and family values," Clinton said, borrowing some of Bush's favorite rhetoric as he campaigned in a state traditionally in the GOP column but competitive this year.

"Let's join the ranks of the 72 countries in the world that give working people a little time off when there's a baby born or a sick parent," he said to a crowd of upwards of 10,000 that greeted him in a downtown park.

The bill passed by Congress would require employers with more than 50 workers to allow employees up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave annually to deal with medical emergencies, including the birth of a child, adoption or a sickness in the family.

Bush has proposed an alternative that would grant a tax writeoff, costing \$500 million, to certain businesses that implement voluntary family leave programs. It would allow firms with fewer than 500 workers to write off up to \$20 per day for as many as 60 days of leave a year per worker, or a maximum of \$1,200 per employee.

Meanwhile Thursday, Clinton repeatedly rused to respond to questions shouted by reporters about his draft records.

A retired colonel who headed the University of Arkansas ROTC program in 1969 released a statement Wednesday saying he believed Clinton deceived him back then in order to avoid being drafted.

The affidavit by Col. Eugene Holmes seemed to contradict Holmes' own statements back in 1978, when he praised Clinton.

Bush spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said of the new statement, "I think that's a letter that every American should read because it goes to the heart of why Bill Clinton should not be president of the United States."

On Capitol Hill, a group of Republican members of Congress, all military veterans, denounced Clinton. "Even those who went to Canada showed more backbone than Governor Clinton," declared Rep. Tom Ridge, R-Pa.

On a day when Bush was making unflattering comparisons with Clinton, the Democrat responded by saying it was time for America to have someone different.

"Four years ago, George Bush said we would be better off today. Are you better off than you were four years ago?" he said, and the crowd roared "No."

"The president says there are great difference between him and me, and boy is he right about that," Clinton said.

Bush is offering "nothing more than a warmed over version of trickled down economics," he said. "My fellow Americans, we are better than that, and we can do better than that."

"He says we can't even do what 72 other countries do and provide family leave. I think we're better than that," he said.

Clinton suggested that Bush didn't really see the nation's problems, and wasn't working aggressively enough to spur American technology.

"How long can we go on pretending that we are competitive in areas where we are not," he said.

Appealing more directly to his audience, Clinton promised that one of his priorities would be the national renewable energy laboratory outside of Denver, program which he said has withered under Bush.

AP-DS-09-17-92 1727EDT

New charge about old Clinton draft question fires up White House
By Irwin Arief

WASHINGTON, Reuter - A new controversy about an old draft-dodging charge has added fuel to a White House drive to convince voters that Bill Clinton is unfit to be president. While the political impact of this latest installment in the Clinton draft saga remains unclear, it serves notice that this dispute is a hardy one indeed and that the Democratic nominee cannot expect to escape it anytime soon.

The new accusation comes from retired Army Col. Eugene Holmes, former commander of the Reserve Officer Training Corps at the University of Arkansas, who says in an affidavit "for the record" that Clinton purposely deceived him 23 years ago in seeking an ROTC slot that helped keep him avoid the Vietnam-era military draft.

"I think that's a letter at every American should read because it goes to the heart of why Bill Clinton should not be president of the United States," said President Bush's spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater, referring to Holmes' memo.

"He was deceitful and he still cannot tell America the facts about what happened related to his problem with the ROTC and the draft," Fitzwater said.

Holmes, in his sworn statement, said Clinton deceived him by failing to tell him that he actively opposed the Vietnam War and had already received a draft notice when he applied in 1969 for a ROTC slot.

Clinton "was shrewd enough to realize that had I been aware of his (anti-war) activities, he would not have been accepted into the ROTC program as a potential officer in the United States Army," Holmes says in the memo.

His statement does not add any facts or evidence of deception beyond what Clinton's critics have already alleged. Rather it is a new judgment of Clinton's motives and character from a familiar player in the continuing saga of how the Democratic nominee dealt with the Vietnam War and the military draft during the late 1960s.

It was to Holmes that Clinton, while a Rhodes scholar in England, wrote a widely publicized Dec. 3, 1969, letter in which he thanked Holmes for "saving me from the draft."

In that letter, Clinton openly acknowledged that he had been less than totally frank with Holmes.

Had Holmes "known a little more about me, about my political beliefs and activities ... you might have thought me more fit for the draft than for ROTC," Clinton wrote.

Whether Holmes' new memo, dated Sept. 7, plays a major role in the campaign is unclear and may depend largely on how Clinton responds and how voters perceive that response.

But analysts agree Clinton is vulnerable on the draft question and on the overall character issue, which has dogged his campaign from its start.

His current lead over Bush in the polls is sizable but not rock-solid as surveys portray voters as skittish and unhappy with both candidates.

While the economy remains voters' top concern and most are unlikely to be swayed by a confusing chain of events that took place so many years ago, campaigns are often won or lost on small shifts in sentiment among tiny groups.

Most important, the Bush campaign has had little luck

winning over voters on policy issues and is eager to seize on whatever it can get.

Lagging behind Clinton by 10 to 15 points with less than seven weeks until election day on Nov. 3, the Bush camp can be expected to pounce on any opportunity to turn voters around. The Vietnam War was a stormy era in American history when millions of young men of Clinton's generation had to grapple with the difficult question of the unpopular war, which by 1969 was the focus of massive protest across the country.

Clinton has been accused of inconsistencies and omissions in his many accounts of how he avoided military service during the war. Some even call him a "draft dodger" simply because he failed to join the military, regardless of the circumstances. His defenders argue he was only one of many trying to avoid service in that war and should not be held to strict account for lapses in his memory of events so distant.

But the continuing hubbub over Clinton's draft history seems to underscore that, years after the end of a war that split the nation, the role of those who served and those who didn't can still provoke pain and unease in many citizens.

REUTER

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Cheney discusses Bosnia no-fly proposal with Major
(updates with details.)

By Charles Aldinger

LONDON, Reuter - Defense Secretary Dick Cheney held talks with British Prime Minister John Major Thursday as the United States, Britain and France moved toward agreement on policing a possible no-fly zone over Bosnia-Herzegovina.

But U.S. officials stressed that no final plan had been set to commit Western warplanes to the skies over the former Yugoslav republic if the United Nations decided to declare such an air exclusion zone.

Cheney arrived in London from Paris earlier after similar meetings with French leaders.

"Some kind of no-fly zone is clearly a possibility but that has not been sorted out yet," one U.S. official traveling with Cheney told Reuters before Cheney's talks with Major and Defense Minister Malcolm Rifkind.

Cheney told reporters after meeting French Defense Minister Pierre Joxe that no major differences remained between France and the United States on the matter.

But he has stressed that the United Nations would have to declare such a no-fly zone and the Western powers must use extreme caution not to become directly involved in the conflict.

He has suggested that a no-fly zone would be used only to prevent Serbian warplanes interfering with international relief flights or land convoys and not to prevent Serbian planes attacking towns in Bosnia.

France first proposed the idea of a no-fly zone but initially drew a cool response from Washington and London.

U.S. officials traveling with Cheney, who asked not to be identified, suggested that any agreement on a no-fly zone would not come immediately.

They noted that France and Britain were now preoccupied with major domestic problems over European unity and the European Community's foreign exchange crisis.

Cheney was due to meet British Foreign Minister Douglas Hurd Friday and make two speeches before flying back to Washington Saturday.

REUTER

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SDI/SENATE (AP) -- Senate opponents of President Bush's "Star Wars" plan tried but failed to engineer further cuts in the anti-missile program. An effort to slice \$500 million from the program for the coming year failed in the Senate Appropriations Committee on a 14-14 vote. The action came as the Appropriations Committee approved the overall Pentagon budget bill on a 25-0 vote, sending it to the full Senate for action early next week.

CONGRESS/SPENDING (UPI) -- In a move to wrap up the current session of Congress without a veto fight with President Bush, Democratic leaders signaled a willingness to trim spending bills so Bush will sign them. "We intend to work with the President if he is willing to work with us to reach agreement on the appropriation bills individually, as well as other legislation," Speaker Foley said at his daily news conference.

MIDEAST TALKS (Reuter) -- Syria and Israel failed to make progress over the occupied Golan Heights and Syria warned that the peace negotiations might collapse without urgent American intervention. Syria's chief negotiator Mouwafak al-Allaf stalked out of the State Department after a shorter-than-expected session of talks. He angrily told reporters that progress had ground to a halt as soon as his delegation raised the issue of the Golan. Allaf said the U.S. and Russia should intervene urgently to rescue the talks from failure.

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5:30 P.M. EDT NEWS UPDATE

PEROT (Dallas/Reuter) -- Ross Perot said the chances of him re-entering the 1992 presidential race were about as likely as him "leaping over a tall building in a single bound." "This is like asking is lightning going to strike here in the next two seconds -- I don't think so," said Perot, who was making a non-political appearance at a Salvation Army function. He said it would take the coordinators of all 50 states to decide they needed him, then the backing of all the volunteers, for him to even consider re-entering the race.

POLL/SOUTH (Scripps Howard) -- GOP pollster Richard Wirthlin said his latest poll shows the clock is running out for President Bush, who is badly lagging in the must-win South. Wirthlin says his new poll, taken between Sept. 8 and Sept. 10, shows that Bush is 29 points behind Bill Clinton in the 10-state South. Wirthlin says 70% of southern Baptists, for example, say they would give their vote to Clinton, one of their own. So far, the "family values" emphasis of the Bush campaign has not resonated well among southern voters, according to a number of polls. Wirthlin advises Bush to sharpen his differences with Clinton on their approaches to the economy and says that debates between Bush and Clinton will be crucial for that reason.

CLINTON/FAMILY LEAVE (Denver/AP) -- Bill Clinton chided President Bush for threatening to veto the family leave bill, calling it an example of how the Republicans were reluctant to have America catch up with the world. Meanwhile, Clinton repeatedly refused to respond to questions shouted by reporters about his draft records. "Four years ago, George Bush said we would be better off today. Are you better off than you were four years ago" he said, and the crowd roared "No."

PENTAGON/VOTE (AP) -- A Pentagon spokesman defended the military's get-out-the-vote campaign, denouncing as "ludicrous" charges the effort is aimed at gleaning votes for President Bush. "No one is told for whom to vote," spokesman Bob Hall volunteered at the opening of a Pentagon briefing. "It's nonsense. It's ludicrous on its face," Hall said, responding to a report in the Washington Post that said "Democratic and independent analysts" suspect the effort is an attempt by the Bush Administration to energize sympathetic voters.

LAFFER/CLINTON (Louisville, Ky./AP) -- The founding father of Reaganomics says President Bush's economic performance has been a disaster. And Arthur Laffer says he will vote for Bill Clinton. "I really think Bush does not deserve to be re-elected," Laffer said.

VFW/ENDORSEMENT (AP) -- The political arm of the VFW, which supported Ronald Reagan and President Bush in the past three elections, said it would make no presidential endorsement this year. "We are aware of the draft-dodging controversy that has dogged Gov. Clinton and have not overlooked the honorable military service of President Bush," the committee said in a news release. But veterans' concerns "cannot be condensed into one issue," it said.

-more-

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MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1992

Character Issue

To Win, George Bush
Must Finally Identify
A Vision—of Himself
As His Pragmatic Side Wars
With Warmer Instincts,
President Appears Adrift
He Is '3 or 4 Different People'

By JOHN HARWOOD

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

HOUSTON—As a lanky Yale first baseman was struggling at the plate 46 years ago, the team groundskeeper diagnosed his problem. "You don't take a real cut at the ball," he said. "Put more power behind your swing."

It wasn't the last time George Bush would receive advice like that.

As he accepts the Republican presidential nomination here this week, Mr. Bush takes the last swing of his 30-year political career. And once again, friends and allies are beseeching him to "put more power" behind the effort, to spell out a vision to inspire a troubled America.

Until now, the 68-year-old president has hesitated, pausing before the final competition to take stock.

One Bush intimate has lately sensed this normally unreflective man "retreating to some space behind his eyes," chewing over "a struggle... about what to do with what remains of his life." By helping shape his political legacy, this campaign—and, if it succeeds, a second term—will reveal much about Mr. Bush's vision of himself, even as he struggles to articulate one for the country.

The choices might be simpler had his life not placed so many claims on him: his upbringing as an energetic and dutiful son of Eastern Establishment privilege, his taste of daring and valor as a World War II pilot, years of hustling on the twin frontiers of Texas oil and Republican politics, initiation into the clubby world of Capitol Hill, long and loyal service to the national GOP that ultimately led to the presidency.

"He's probably three or four different people," says lifelong friend FitzGerald Bemiss. But if those disparate experiences propelled his climb, they also spawned conflicting allegiances and—even after two decades on the national stage and four years in the White House—still blur his profile in the public mind.

Less than three months before Election Day, another problem may be even more



President Bush

A Domestic Agenda

Bush is expected to use the convention to sketch a domestic program. See article on page A8. In related developments:

- Campus Republicans of the 1970s are driving strategy in the 1990s, A8.
- Moderates don't feel genuinely welcome in their own party, A8.
- President Reagan's appearance is likely to be bittersweet, A8.
- Dan Quayle finds himself the new celebrity pitchman in town, B1.

daunting. Mr. Bush launches his fall campaign with his own instincts at odds with those of his constituents. He is a congenital optimist at a moment when voters are worried, a man who celebrates America as it is while they fear the nation is faltering, a lifelong skeptic of government action as they look to Washington to make things better.

"He doesn't necessarily think there's a whole lot of ills in America's system that need a whole lot of repair," says John Ashmun, a close friend since both men left the Ivy League to seek fortunes in the West Texas oil fields. "He doesn't think we need that. . . . If it's not broke, don't fix it."

His status-quo approach has been reflected throughout a first term that has seen his political standing float up and down according to the public's broader mood. The man once dubbed "the in-box president" has usually reacted to events instead of shaping them, with the important exception of the Persian Gulf War.

Now, mired behind Democratic rival Bill Clinton in the polls, Mr. Bush has been forced to seek help from his old friend and political mastermind James Baker. With the president facing trouble with the Republican right and middle-of-the-road voters alike, Mr. Baker has promised that the White House will fashion a positive domestic agenda on conservative principles for the fall campaign.

'The Inner Rules'

But a larger question is whether Mr. Bush can convince himself of the urgency of that agenda, so that he can persuade Americans that he would see it through in a second term. While the public George Bush has made innumerable tactical adjustments over the years while navigating the political shoals, his essential character hasn't much changed since he was a young man of such impressive bearing that his younger brother promised grade-school classmates he'd be president one day.

"Even if it hurts him," says brother Jonathan Bush, "he has always followed . . . the inner rules, the inner guidelines."

The rules are not simple.

One senior aide sees three distinct strands to Mr. Bush's character that some—
Please Turn to Page A8, Column 5

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Continued From First Page

times work at cross purposes. There is the sentimental man who takes succor from family and friends, author of a thousand thank-you notes and backyard barbecues, whose reputation for thoughtfulness and decency is so well-established that recent allegations of marital infidelity — unsubstantiated but widely publicized — in all likelihood won't scratch it.

Then there is the dutiful servant who signed up for wartime combat rather than take refuge in college, who has embraced charitable activities of all descriptions, who disdains ideological extremism in the belief that reasonable people in government can sit down and work things out.

Finally, there is also the unsentimental politician who instinctively sorts allies from enemies, who will calculate "what I have to do to be re-elected" and then do it—even if he finds it distasteful.

When he learned that the masseur from his old Houston health club lay dying of cancer this spring, the president—notwithstanding the distraction of mounting political problems — took time to telephone him repeatedly. Mr. Bush is "the milk of human kindness," says the Rev. Floyd Williams, pastor of Antioch Baptist Church here, who has known him since the 1960s. Yet, surveying the broader picture of economic pain in Houston's black neighborhoods, the same Mr. Williams thinks of his old friend and wonders, "How can you not see?" His only conclusion: that Mr. Bush's cautious domestic policy is a product of the president's "being more political than his real feelings."

Civil Rights Opponent

That tension has existed ever since Mr. Bush began challenging the Democratic courthouse establishment in Texas to help build a new Republican Party without alienating the John Birch Society types who formed much of its initial base. The graduate of Andover and Yale campaigned for the U.S. Senate in 1964 as a "Goldwater Republican" opposing civil-rights legislation of the sort his father had sponsored in the Senate.

A minister later said Mr. Bush confided after the election that he veered hard right in an unsuccessful bid "to get elected" and regretted it. In the wake of that experience, Mr. Bush called on conservatives to stop questioning the patriotism of political rivals. But years later, his shot at the presidency on the line, Mr. Bush didn't hesitate to cast Democratic rival Michael Dukakis as a foe of the Pledge of Allegiance.

The vote-hungry candidate of 1988 who snarled "read my lips" became the president of 1990 who huddled with congressional leaders to break his pledge because he thought the economy required it. Pressured by a rebellious GOP right wing earlier this year, he renounced the deal because that's what his campaign needed.

At one fateful moment of his first term — when Iraq invaded Kuwait and menaced the vital oil fields of Saudi Arabia — the disparate facets of Mr. Bush's persona were merged in a powerful display of leadership. Outraged by reports of Iraqi brutality, determined to fight Saddam Hussein's aggression and the threat it posed to Western economies, confident in his ability to pull the right political levers, he led Operation Desert Storm with a calm and firmness that contrasted with his customarily frenetic style.

Powerless With Congress

He displayed such traits as well in his approach toward German reunification and in pursuing a Middle East peace. Yet on other foreign policy issues, he has again shown his tendency to remain wedded to the status quo — maintaining his preference for Mikhail Gorbachev even after Boris Yeltsin had emerged as a popularly elected alternative, for example. And he has especially faltered on domestic issues.

Mr. Bush's dealings with Congress have been largely fruitless, stranded between his own conciliatory instincts and pressure from the Republican right. He has watched, often passively, as Democrats gutted his legislative proposals. In his January State of the Union Address, he warned lawmakers that "the battle is joined" if they didn't pass his economic growth program. They didn't, but the battle fizzled. Deborah Steelman, issues director in Mr. Bush's 1988 campaign and now an occasional adviser, believes the difficulty of governing has been "confusing to him."

It has not, however, made him fight. He does not like confrontation. John Overbey, Mr. Bush's first partner in the oil business, remembers Mr. Bush's bemused reaction the time a prospective partner reneged on his "word of honor" in order to cut a deal with someone else. "He would just shrug his shoulders and go ahead," Mr. Overbey says, confident that next time would turn out better.

It's no wonder Mr. Bush's outlook is so sunny: His lifetime glitters with achievement. Infused with his mother's fierce competitiveness, he thrived in athletics even though he lacked his father's natural grace. The Bushes "expected to win and generally did," says Mr. Bemiss, recalling the "idyllic life" the two shared as summer playmates in Kennebunkport, Maine—while most of the country was then mired in the Depression.

He got his first oil job working for a family friend and founded a business backed by family money. The fortune he made—he ultimately sold out for \$1 million in the mid-1960s—was modest by Texas oil standards. But it was enough to raise a large family comfortably and allow him to leave business for politics. The lesson he drew, rather than the importance of connections, was that Americans with drive and talent can make it on their own.

His political career taught much the same lesson. Texas voters twice spurned his bid to follow his father into the U.S. Senate, and Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford both passed him over for vice president when he thought he had a chance. But instead of rebelling, Mr. Bush responded with discipline and unremitting loyalty that ultimately paid off.

Personal tragedies that might have soured other men failed to dim his optimism. Mr. Bush saw friends die in war, and lost a three-year-old daughter to leukemia. For a time after Robin Bush died, he was frozen in grief that friends worried might wreck his marriage. But Barbara Bush and his own restless desire to move on snapped him out of it.

Tales of Thoughtfulness

His generation rode the postwar economic boom. Abroad, the job of national leaders was to safeguard freedom and block Communist expansion. At home, the role of government was not to interfere. Those blessed with advantages were obliged to give something back, and Mr. Bush always did. The charity club he headed at Andover and the YMCA he founded in an old Midland grocery store foreshadowed the Points of Light he has celebrated as president.

Old friends and family members have helped lighten his burdens as president. Despite the political battering he has suffered, he can still lose himself in improvised golfing contests, or bowling, or horseshoes. He mocked his childlike love of games when describing his Kennebunkport vacation last year: "I'll play a good deal of golf here, a good deal of tennis, a good deal of horseshoes, a good deal of fishing, a good deal of running — and some reading. I have to throw that in for the intellectuals out there."

Before his poll ratings began tumbling a year ago, Mr. Bush plainly loved his job. "People who get eaten up by the presidency are people who are uncomfortable with themselves," says Texas political consultant Karl Rove, who has known Mr. Bush for two decades. "George Bush is comfortable with himself."

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Showing the Strain

Yet in recent months the strain has shown in his appearance and demeanor — variously edgy, grim, agitated, even haggard. To senior staffers and Republican audiences alike, he complains about unfair news coverage. He expresses some frustration with voters as well, saying they don't credit him for the West's Cold War triumph — a crowning achievement for his generation, but largely forgotten amid the rising economic anxieties of young families.

When bad news comes, this ordinarily gregarious man tends to fall silent. After top aides reported Patrick Buchanan's strong showing in the New Hampshire primary, "He got very quiet, swiveled in his chair and said, 'Well, we'll just have to work harder,'" recalls Rich Bond, a longtime aide rewarded with the Republican Party chairmanship this year. The president quickly set out on a breakneck campaign tour.

But nothing yet has reversed his year-long political slide, and Mr. Bush arrives here for the GOP convention in desperate need of a turnaround. This peculiar campaign may demand more than Mr. Bush's characteristic determination — or even escalating attacks on Mr. Clinton. Mr. Bush may need to show Americans that he has done something very uncharacteristic: stop to reflect on the country, to sort through the fragments of his experience and beliefs to offer a defining purpose for his second term. It won't come easily. "He doesn't come from a family of philosophers," says Thomas "Lud" Ashley, a former Democratic congressman who has known Mr. Bush since they attended Yale together.

"People are looking for a lot of high-sounding Shakespearean prose about living on the mountaintop," complains Jonathan Bush. "He's got to stick to saying, 'This is the price tag of what the other guy is talking about.'"

This Mr. Bush can do with conviction — almost certainly more conviction, in fact, than he can muster for the education, health-care and environmental proposals his aides have persuaded him to adopt. The president doesn't conceal his low expectations for government when he tells audiences: "What happens in your house is more important than what happens in the White House."

Privately as well as publicly, Mr. Bush remains confident that voters ultimately will reward his virtues. But if they don't — if, like the hapless Jimmy Carter 12 years ago, he is swamped by his own failings and the opposition's incoming tide — few who know him believe he'd be devastated for very long.

Instead, friends say, he and Barbara would carry out a gracious transition and return to Houston satisfied they'd done their best. "He's not a brooder," says Peter Teeley, a former press secretary whom Mr. Bush recently appointed ambassador to Canada. "Bush is the kind of guy who always recognizes there's something else to do."

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MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1992

GOP Moderates Feel Virtually Unwelcome In Their Own Party

* * *

Complaining of Lack of Access
To Bush, They Have Seen
Right Wing Influence Rise

By JACKIE CALMES

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
HOUSTON — For Republican moderates, who have long counted George Bush as one of their own, these past four years haven't been the kinder, gentler times they had hoped for.

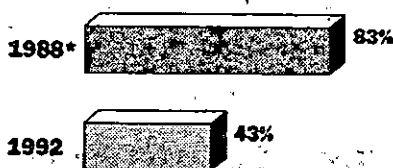
Instead of toasting a return to influence after the exile of the Ronald Reagan years, they trickle in to the GOP convention here virtually unwelcome in a party that is more than ever under the control of its right wing.

What's worse is that, at bottom, they have their own friend to thank for it. "He's offended those of us who were with him from the beginning," laments New York Rep. Sherwood Boehlert, who heads the Ripon Society of progressive Republicans.

Others complain of a surprising lack of access to the Bush White House. "In 1983, as a freshman in Congress, I was probably in the White House to meet with Ronald Reagan more often in that one year than I have been during the whole four years of George Bush's administration,"

Slumping Support

Percentages of liberal and moderate Republicans and independents who supported George Bush in 1988, and support him now:



*According to National Election Study, 1988

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL/NBC NEWS POLL

says Rep. Rod Chandler, a moderate now running for the Senate in Washington state.

The moderates have been disappointed not only on abortion, which gets the most attention, but also by Mr. Bush's handling of such other issues as the environment and parental leave—raising the question of whether the president stands to lose the desperately needed support of centrist voters in November. Polls show that his current support among moderate and liberal Republicans and independents is barely half what it was four years ago.

"It's a myth that Republicans have done well in the 1980s," says Ken Ruberg, executive director of the Republican Mainstream Committee, a coalition of moderate activists. "We've lost strength at every level except the White House. And the people we're turning off"—educated, middle-of-the-road voters—"are a natural constituency of the Republican Party."

Faulting of Conservatives

Yet Rep. Boehlert still calls himself "an unabashed supporter" of Mr. Bush, and like several other moderates has come to Houston to defend him. The ultimate loyalists, these moderates say they don't blame Mr. Bush for some of the policies of the past four years. Rather, they fault the conservative ideologues who, they believe, have forced him to support their economic and social policies.

"Conservatives are pulling the rug out from under Bush," charges Rep. Jim Leach of Iowa. "And the irony is, the liabilities the president has are tied to the public's perception that he's adopted their agenda." To be sure, the conservatives believe it is the moderates who have nothing to complain about; they unhappily cite the 1990 budget-reduction agreement with its hated tax increases; the minimum-wage increase; and laws on civil rights, access for the disabled and clean air.

Rep. Leach well illustrates moderates' ambivalence. As a young Foreign Service officer in the early 1970s, he worked for Mr. Bush at the United Nations, and in 1980 engineered the Iowa caucuses' victory that helped propel Mr. Bush to the vice presidency. Yet since Mr. Bush became president, only a handful of House Republicans have opposed him as often as has Rep. Leach.

The Iowan says his friend "vindicated my support by his exceptional leadership in the Gulf War" and praises the fact that the president hasn't been "tougher on programs for those in need." But he says he was "deeply disappointed" by the president's response to his plea for a comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty, and he is among the many moderates stung by Mr. Bush's unbending anti-abortion stand.

Another abortion-rights supporter, Washington state Rep. Louise Miller, the House floor leader, says: "I felt better about Reagan than I do about Bush. At least Reagan wasn't beating us up with the abortion issue. It seems like Bush talks about it all the time, about how it's totally wrong, how it ought to be against the law. Reagan might have gone to the right-to-life groups, but at least he didn't rail about it."

Hopes Were in Vain

Most abortion-rights supporters say they realize that Mr. Bush—having already flip-flopped from abortion-rights to anti-abortion positions in 1980—wasn't going to reverse himself again. But they had hoped that he might at least break with the anti-abortion groups on a number of controversial side issues: repealing the so-called gag rule barring federally funded clinics from counseling patients about abortion; allowing aborted fetal tissue to be used for medical research; providing funds for family-planning activities. Those hopes, though, turned out to be in vain.

Rep. Marge Roukema of New Jersey was particularly pained by Mr. Bush's veto

of a bill she sponsored to guarantee unpaid job leaves to new parents or to care for seriously ill family members. "It's beyond lip service to family values," she says. "It's everything at the top of the political agenda rolled into one: pro-family, job security, health care." Yet she complains that in past months, she and her co-sponsor, conservative Illinois GOP Rep. Henry Hyde, "have not been able to get an ear at the White House."

On the environment, Mr. Bush's role in winning passage of a new Clean Air Act has been praised by many party moderates, such as Rep. Boehlert and Rhode Island Sen. John Chafee. But many have also been chagrined by subsequent administration regulatory efforts, led by Vice President Dan Quayle, that they regard as attempts to undermine the law. Many were also angered by the administration's hard-line conservative stance during the recent Rio de Janeiro environmental conference. "This administration is proving an embarrassment," Rep. John Porter, an Illinois Republican, snapped in a House speech.

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Reagan's Appearance Is Bittersweet But Aims to Consolidate GOP Base

By DAVID SHRIEMAN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

HOUSTON — This may be the Gipper's last hurrah.

He will give his trademark wave and broad smile from the podium of the Astrodome tonight, greeting his old friends and the grand old coalition he stitched together a dozen years ago. Ronald Reagan's appearance will transform the proceedings from a convention into a homecoming.

But Mr. Reagan's return to national politics, if only for one speech, is likely to be a bittersweet event. In the four years since he left office, Mr. Reagan has fallen—far—from grace.

Only three in 10 American voters view Mr. Reagan positively, according to the latest Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll, with a stunning 54% viewing the two-term president negatively—the highest negative ratings of any major figure on the national scene today. Moreover, Mr. Reagan is viewed far more negatively than Jimmy Carter, who is regarded positively by 41% of U.S. voters.

Even so, the planners of the Republican convention have thrust Mr. Reagan forward, if for no other reason than to help consolidate the frayed GOP base. The Journal/NBC News poll, conducted by telephone last Monday through Wednesday, shows that 54% of Republicans still regard Mr. Reagan positively.

"He's still a revered member of his party, and whatever his physical state, he's a Republican hero," says former Gov. Hugh Gregg of New Hampshire, a major figure in GOP primary efforts for both Mr. Reagan and Mr. Bush in that state. "The

president needs everything he can get, from anywhere."

Republican planners expect Mr. Reagan to talk about the gales of change that have swept through the world during Mr. Bush's presidency, taking credit for resolving the two major challenges of the age, the end of communism and the containment of the nuclear threat. "He'll also talk about the importance of the presidency and the importance of seeing Bush re-elected to make sure we continue to see progress throughout the world," says Craig Fuller, the convention chairman.

Mr. Reagan spoke at the last convention, the proud mentor watching his protégé's ascent. "George played a major role in everything that we have accomplished in these eight years," he said at the time, adding, inevitably: "George, just one personal request. Go out there and win one for the Gipper."

But this time, with Mr. Reagan's popularity in decline and Mr. Bush's re-election in jeopardy, the job of Mr. Reagan is different. "He's not up there for his popularity but for his rhetorical skill," says Ralph Whitehead, who analyzes public opinion from the University of Massachusetts. "The Republicans desperately need a story for 1992, and he is their best storyteller."

This doesn't worry Democrats. "Let's get him to speak every night," says James Carville, a top strategist for Gov. Bill Clinton. William Carrick, a Los Angeles-based Democratic political consultant, says Mr. Reagan's presence "only highlights that all of our problems have their origin in the never-never land of the 1980s."

None of this troubles the Republicans, who know that Mr. Reagan has delivered some of his best speeches at GOP conventions. "This will take nothing away from George Bush," says Labor Secretary Lynn Martin, who is to speak Wednesday. "But it gives us a sense of tradition, a link to the past."



Ronald Reagan

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Bush Will Tilt Economic Plan To the Right

Domestic Agenda Expected To Embrace Tax Cuts, Address Deficit Fears

By JAMES M. PERRY
And JOHN HARWOOD

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
HOUSTON — President Bush will use this critical Republican National Convention, opening today, to sketch out broadly a new domestic program that moves toward his party's conservative economic agenda.

Though Mr. Bush isn't expected to call for specific new tax cuts in his crucial acceptance speech Thursday night, his aides suggested he would embrace the idea of further tax cuts during a second term, paid for by spending reductions.

CAMPAIGN
★ **92**

The speech is still being hammered out, but top aides say it will attempt to bridge the gap in the party between supply-side advocates who favor aggressive new tax cuts and those traditional Republicans who worry about the deficit.

The whole thrust by Mr. Bush at this convention, in which he must begin to pull his tattered campaign together, is to start convincing doubting voters that he wants to deal with domestic problems in a second term. His new program would come down hard on spending—including caps on many entitlement programs, other than Social Security — and will lead to tax cuts down the line. He will argue that his Democratic opponent, Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, doesn't have the will to deal with the deficit and will raise rather than cut taxes.

Mr. Bush hinted at a new tax-cutting theme in a telephone call to convention workers in Houston. He promised to outline an agenda to "reduce the burden of government on our people and on their pocketbook. And that's a very, very different approach than the one that my opponent promises."

In interviews leading up to the convention — he arrives here today — Mr. Bush acknowledged that pushing entitlement cuts is politically risky, but argued there is no other way to deal realistically with budget deficits.

"We need to control the growth of [entitlement] spending—cap them at inflation plus population growth—and it's going to be tough," Mr. Bush told ABC's David Brinkley in an interview broadcast yesterday. Mr. Bush has tried to go this route before, but he has never pushed it hard. He suggested he can vigorously pursue it now without losing major political points. "I don't think fiscal sanity is a recipe for defeat," he told Mr. Brinkley.

The "caps" Mr. Bush is talking about would probably apply to such automatic benefit-paying programs as Medicare and Medicaid, veterans' pensions and perhaps some farm subsidies.

In recent days, pro-growth, tax-cutting Republicans led by Housing Secretary Jack Kemp have been pressuring Mr. Bush to embrace their whole agenda here at this critical convention. Cheered by remarks from James Baker, the new White House chief of staff and overall campaign strategist, Mr. Kemp flatly predicted Mr. Bush would propose tax cuts in his speech.

That kind of speculation prompted a quick reaction from the traditional, budget-balancing wing of the party. "I'm not certain . . . a tax cut would be the right medicine at this time," GOP Senate leader Bob Dole said on NBC's Meet the Press program yesterday.

At his last convention, Mr. Bush promised he wouldn't increase taxes, and broke that pledge in the deal he cut with Congress in 1990. Mr. Bush has said that was a mistake, even though he objected to calling it that in the 1992 platform. The split within the GOP is so wide that Mr. Dole still doesn't "totally agree" the budget deal, reviled by conservatives, was a mistake.

White House aides were encouraged that Mr. Baker could somehow pull all these strands together. They expect one of his first moves will be to reach out to a broader array of campaign advisers. They say that Roger Ailes, the party's toughest consultant, will be brought back to supervise what almost everyone agrees has been an inadequate TV-advertising campaign. Mr. Ailes also will help Mr. Bush in speech-and-debate preparation. They say Ed Rollins, most recently a campaign adviser to Ross Perot's exploratory campaign and no friend to the president, may be called upon for help, too.

While Mr. Bush was preparing to make some concessions to his supply-side critics, he gave no sign of giving in to party moderates hoping to soften the party's strict anti-abortion position. The abortion-rights advocates need the support of a majority of delegates from six states to get the issue on the convention floor, but their chances of rounding up sufficient votes ranged anywhere from minimal to nil. "All our delegates are under enormous pressure from the White House," says Nancy Sternoff, executive director of the National Republican Coalition for Choice.

The fight could become nasty, as abortion-rights supporters studied the possibility of making a series of parliamentary maneuvers in which they would refuse to give unanimous consent on a variety of routine motions. It's a tactic that could tie in knots the convention's first session. Bush managers were looking for ways to handle such a challenge.

The abortion-rights Republicans seek to strike tough platform language that says "the unborn child has a fundamental right to life which cannot be infringed" and substitute what they call a neutral plank supporting the "right of privacy" and says the GOP has the strength to accommodate "diverse personal opinions."

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How Much Should You Pay for a Dream?

"The first time I looked at a small business, I had no idea how to arrive at a fair price," said a refugee from a large corporation who took early retirement and planned to spend his nest egg on an entrepreneurial business. "As we tried to put our offer together, we kept getting sidetracked by the dream of ownership. Was this our shot at the wealth and freedom that accompanies entrepreneurial success? How can you put a price on that?"

It is hard to separate emotions from intellect when looking at a small business that may change your life. You shouldn't forget about your dreams, but try to put them on hold as you sift through the realities to arrive at a fair price to offer.

I find that a discussion with the sellers, focusing on general, open-ended questions, is a good place to begin. It's best to allow plenty of time for this process, encouraging the owners to speak freely. Some of my favorite questions include: How did they start the business? What have been their most difficult hurdles? How have they kept their customers happy? Why do people buy their product? What production problems have they had? How did they locate sales and production staff? What has been their biggest success? How do they see the future?

Employees hold vast amounts of information. Speak with them, if only to say hello and ask how things are going. Workers who won't say hello — or even smile — are giving an important message. How high is turnover? Are wages competitive? Has management been including employees in critical decisions?

The next step is to shop the product. Find out what people think about it. Use it yourself and compare it with others. Then gather all the information possible on competitors. Are they profitable? How similar are their products? In comparison with your acquisition target, how large are the competitors? Do they seem to be growing or shrinking? Are they well financed?

The first rule in setting a price for the business is to resist paying for future growth. Many sellers will try to convince you that with practically no effort at all,

the business will grow by leaps and bounds. But common sense indicates that if it were all that easy, the current owners would stay and do it themselves. No matter how well positioned the product, growth requires the injection of additional capital to increase production facilities, marketing efforts, administrative capabilities, and so on. If you pay too much to buy the business, the additional funds required for growth may not be available.

In arriving at a fair price, you must do everything possible to find comparable companies. In one case, we were trying to find comparables for a sailboat manufac-

Manager's Journal

By James E. Schrager

turing firm and were at a dead end. There were just no similar deals. In reading a trade newspaper we discovered that failed sailboat manufacturing firms often sold their main tools of production (the fiberglass molds) for pennies on the dollar. This proved to be a critical comparable in pricing the transaction. In another case, when trying to price a mini-warehouse business, we stumbled upon a real estate management company that specialized in buying, selling and operating mini-warehouses. After discussing the business with them, we had a very real sense of comparable values.

Although comparables are the best way to price a business, the financial statements of your acquisition target will serve as a rough guide. There are three numbers I suggest as upper limits for the target's price: Rarely is a small business worth more than one times sales; four times book value; or eight times net after-tax earnings. There are exceptions, but in general these rules help to eliminate businesses that are priced well out of reach.

One important exercise in looking at the financial statements is to disaggregate the summarized totals: Find out what makes up the cost of goods sold, investigate factory overhead charges, understand the selling and marketing expenses, and so on. While looking at the income statement, don't overlook the topic of cost accounting. Ask the sellers several pointed questions about the cost of their product or service, and listen carefully to the answers. If they appear not to worry, be wary. In today's competitive environment, there are few businesses that can afford to be sloppy with cost control.

In addition to the usual balance sheet issues such as receivables (how many are uncollectible?), inventory (how much is obsolete?) and payables (are they current?), your tour should include a diligent search for non-balance sheet liabilities. These items include problems with government agencies (such as the Environmental

Protection Agency, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, to name just a few), union issues, patent problems, product liability lawsuits, and hidden tax liabilities.

Regardless of the price you calculate as fair, I always advise potential purchasers not to act too quickly or allow themselves to be rushed by sellers. Buyers of small businesses should be willing to patiently watch the business perform for at least a few months — or longer — before finalizing the offering price. I like to ask the sellers what they project for the next few months and see what happens.

Being less eager for a quick purchase can also place you in a marvelous negotiating position. After all, when it's your personal net worth on the line, you need more than just dreams. You need to remember that arriving at the right price for a small business requires as much work with your head as with your heart.

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MONDAY, AUGUST 17 1992

Welcome to Houston, Y'All

By WILLIAM MURCHISON

The last time the Republican Party met in Texas to renominate an incumbent president was 1984, in Dallas. It was hot enough that week to fry an egghead intellectual on the sidewalk, but who cared? Such was the heat of morning, morning in America.

Houston, a sauna bath of a city, suits the Republican Party's present mood: sweaty, tense, hunkered-down, bunkered-in. A few rash minutes outdoors in summertime Houston can reduce grown politicians to a dazed condition, during which any self-immolatory act becomes possible. (Didn't the Democrats, meeting here in 1928, nominate Alfred Emanuel Smith for president?)

In Houston, perspiration doesn't trickle; it just sort of lies there, uncertain which direction to go. A yellow haze frequently shrouds the sassy, modernistic skyscrapers on which Houston rightly prides itself. Stroll outdoors upon a fresh morning, as the sun creeps above the oak trees, and smell...the nearby oil refineries.

Traffic Jams

Without air conditioning, as Houstonians freely admit, there would be no city here. Bad enough are the traffic jams that have historically ensnared the elaborate freeway system. No one wants to ride the bus or even share his car with a neighbor who might say something requiring a response; call it, if you like, a residue of Texas individualism. Not the only residue, to be sure.

These are not put-downs from a Dallas snob, jealous of his more numerous, often more prosperous and cultivated, neighbors far to the south. Houstonians — those I know anyway — regard their atmospheric and vehicular tribulations as part of the order of things and so pride themselves on their survival skills. Rather like New Yorkers, come to think of it. Neither, for all their complaining, would live elsewhere.

In Houston, George Bush got his start in national politics — an event not all Texans, or for that matter all Republicans, regard with unmitigated satisfaction, but there you are, what's to be done about it at this point? His fellow Republicans gather here this week to reaffirm him, in name if not in deed, as their man of the hour. This is not only George Bush's town, it's his party, in both senses of the word.

George Bush, of Connecticut, came to Houston in 1958. This was after a dozen years in the West Texas oil boom town of Midland. He helped found an off-shore drilling company in Houston, ran it successfully, participated in local Republican politics, served two terms in Congress, formed a crucial friendship with local legal magnifico James Baker, tried for the U.S. Senate twice, lost twice — the second time to Lloyd Bentsen, in 1970 — left town to serve the Nixon and Ford administrations as Mr. Everything (U.N. ambassador, CIA director, GOP national chairman). The rest, as they say, is presidential politics.

As his legal residence, Mr. Bush maintains a room in a bankrupt Houston hotel. Sly Democrats have been known to hire the room for fund-raising functions. Anyway, Texas residency affords the president freedom from state income taxes, personal and corporate, a species of organized thievery still shunned (nonetheless, read on) by the Texas legislature.

The president's political adversaries, here as elsewhere, make sport of his alleged un-Texanness, as evidenced chiefly in his verbal mannerisms ("Just a splash of coffee for me, please") and dress (a necktie with green whales on it). The aura of the Ivy League clings to Bush after all these years — as if his cowboy boots came out of a Hammacher Schlemmer box. Neither his claimed fancy for pork rinds nor his certified love of hunting and fishing cuts much ice with those determined to depict him as the eternal Connecticut squire.

Well, all right. This president ain't no Bubba, that's for sure. Feller don't drive no pick-'em-up truck with no gun rack and no "I ♥ My Houn' Dawg" sticker. Neither do most native Texans. Ivy League diplomas decorate office walls throughout modern Texas — often enough, those of Texans

J.R. Ewing today couldn't get a loan to open a lemonade stand, but spending to finance the growth of the Texas state government jumped nearly 200% between 1978 and 1990.

whose forebears herded steers for a living. Macy's, Marshall Field's, Lord & Taylor, and Tiffany's have major Texas presences; Texans are at least as devoted to them as to home-grown Neiman-Marcus, whose cachet, sadly, has diminished since the founding family sold out.

Texas, like the world at large, has changed dramatically in recent decades. Its concerns are less and less regional, more and more national, not to say international. The Free Trade Agreement with Canada and Mexico brings Texans face to face with the paradoxes of trade policy, one of which is: To get some, you give some.

The trade agreement will give Texas a lot: larger markets for its goods, more jobs, more corporate headquarters, a bigger revenue base for local government, and not least in importance a more stable, prosperous neighbor to the south, able to create jobs for its own people. Mexico's instability and poverty have over the past two decades turned the Texas border into the geographical equivalent of a sieve.

Hispanics today constitute about a quarter of the state's population. Many were born here, others entered legally; scores of thousands just up and came for the opportunity denied them at home. Mostly it works out, but differences based on language and cultural outlook sometimes excite tension. There are streets even in Dallas, 500 miles from the border, where most signs are in Spanish. This is part of the free trade paradox. Some Texans haven't decided whether they want less to do with Mexico or more.

The financial argument does resonate. Oil is fast fading as a source of both mythology and governmental revenues. J.R. Ewing today couldn't get a loan to open a lemonade stand, but spending to finance the growth of the Texas state government jumped nearly 200% between 1978 and 1990, thanks in part to one of the

nation's highest state sales taxes (6.25%, not counting local add-ons). In 1991, the legislature bumped up spending nearly 20% for the 1992-93 biennium. At the same time, a new school finance law, predicated on the redistribution of local resources from "rich" districts to "poor" ones, forced property tax levies \$1 billion higher, with no guidelines for spending the money — on books, Astroturf, or BMWs for the football coaches.

Gov. Ann Richards supported and signed this absurd enactment, predicting the educational millennium. Last spring the state Supreme Court declared the tax unconstitutional but, through an exquisite feat of legal reasoning, allowed local districts to go on collecting it for another year and a half. Texas judges aren't necessarily any more perceptive than Texas lawmakers. Indignant and put-upon taxpayers are appealing in federal court.

What does Gov. Richards, a Democratic superstar, and likely candidate for higher office, want to do about education? The governor isn't letting on, likely because she doesn't yet know. Talk of a state income tax floats freely in governmental circles and sometimes receives solemn nods of approval. A full-fledged voucher plan, for private and public schools alike, seems the obvious solution. But the teachers' unions, which helped put the governor in office, would come unglued if she advanced any such statesladylike remedy. The truth is, Texans have no idea what kind of public school system they will have a year hence, let alone whether its inmates will be able to spell "cat."

No Remedies, No Vision

In short, the government of Mr. Bush's home state is adrift — no remedies, no, ahem, vision. The question arises: How come? Isn't Mr. Bush's Texas a so-called conservative state? Why, if so, all the spending, the taxes, the pro-feminist, pro-choice, pro-teachers' union governor? At the superficial level, it's because Ms. Richards was lucky in her opponent. Republican Claytie Williams, a certified Bubba, would almost certainly have defeated her in 1990 had he not, amid international publicity, tripped repeatedly over a graceless tongue.

At a deeper level, could the problem be modernity and malaise? That's a more likely answer. Texans, in the post-J.R. era, seem not to know what they want, nor is anybody in high office prompting them.

The Bush-Quayle ticket carried Texas in 1988 with 56% of the vote. Such a margin may not be attainable in 1992. Itchy, nervous, dissatisfied with how things are and yet uncertain how things ought to be, Texans could be a tough sell for the Houstonian who'd like just a splash of coffee, please. Dan Quayle's fervent fans in Texas probably outnumber his boss's. Many of those hundreds of thousands whose hearts beat for native Texan Ross Perot have started walking out in the evening with Bill Clinton and Al Gore. Maybe it will last, maybe it won't.

Meanwhile there's a convention to put on: political steam to mingle with the atmospheric variety. Honey — that's what our governor likes to say when she's on national TV — you all have fun, hear?

Mr. Murchison is a syndicated columnist based at the Dallas Morning News.

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Reagan Gives Republicans A Reality Check

By CLARK S. JUDGE

Tonight Ronald Reagan will speak before the Republican convention in Houston. You'd think the media would consider it a momentous event: a distinguished elder statesman addressing his party and the nation for the first time since leaving office. Don't count on it.

Mr. Reagan's long frustrated adversaries in oh-so-clever Washington have devoted much of the past four years to exorcising the former president's spirit from inside the Beltway. Perhaps they even believe their spin that a real-life twin of Peter Sellers's moronic leader in "Being There" defeated them in repeated elections and legislative confrontations, revived an economy in nervous exhaustion, and brought the Soviets down.

For the rest of us, tonight's address is a good occasion for a reality check. As president, Mr. Reagan was sophisticated in ways his critics have yet to grasp. Today's fashion is to dismiss him as merely an actor, but smooth delivery was the least of it. I remember watching him give a speech just as written, yet the meaning he conveyed was very different from the meaning I had put there. He had, in a sense, peered into my draft and teased out new dimensions, editing it without changing a syllable. Here, I thought, is an extraordinarily subtle intelligence.

Critics who talk about "the role of a lifetime" and "sleepwalking through history" lack the slightest grasp of why Mr. Reagan succeeded. The most significant aspect of his professional background was not that he had been an actor but that he had been a labor negotiator.

Mr. Reagan approached the presidency as a platform for negotiations (primarily with Congress and the Soviets). As former Attorney General Edwin Meese notes in his new memoirs ("With Reagan," Regnery Gateway), Mr. Reagan "had a definite theory" about negotiating "and prided himself on his abilities." He used public opinion as a bargaining lever. Speeches and appearances were devices for working this lever, as were the White House's press office and its public liaison, public affairs and media affairs operations.

Time after time, in classic labor leader fashion, Mr. Reagan marshaled popular support, then held out to the last moment before coming to terms. And although during negotiations he would stand behind the curtain as much as possible (another classic parleying technique), he stepped forward when necessary to drive deals to a close (as with his moves just before passage of the '81 tax act) or to jump-start stalled talks (as at Reykjavik).



Ronald Reagan

Mr. Reagan was a voracious reader and an attentive listener. And the administration's staff system forced extensive discussion of issues before they reached his desk. Every department and agency involved in a matter was included in the deliberations. By the time they went public on an issue, Mr. Reagan and his team had thought through where they would stand and why. The president devoted particular care to defining ultimate goals and moral underpinnings. He never gave the slightest hint that any position was "just politics." He always appealed to a fundamental sense of justice, which made life easy for speech writers and hard for critics.

Detractors paint the Reagan administration as an unalloyed collection of like-minded ideologues. The truth is that Mr. Reagan united once antagonistic moderates and both Republican and Democrat conservatives into something like a coalition government. It was Mr. Reagan's career-long practice to fuse rival traditions. In California, for example, Gov. Reagan brought together the free market views of Southern California Republicans with non-partisan, good government stands recalling such northern California progressives as Earl Warren. Judicial nominations were removed from patronage politics, as they were, to a large extent, once Mr. Reagan got to Washington. Ability mattered in making appointments far more than connections.

The ultimate fusing of traditions came when the president married anti-communism with the forms of anti-nuclear activism. Mr. Reagan's arms reduction and elimination proposals foiled the Soviet gambit to turn European public opinion against new missile deployments and paralyze NATO. His Strategic Defense Initiative was disarmament through technology rather than diplomacy. It threatened to make the Soviet rocket force obsolete and, with the Soviet economy approaching collapse, helped break Moscow's will. In a manner characteristic of his entire political life, Mr. Reagan turned stances that had been staples of the pro-Soviet left to anti-Soviet ends.

When the evil empire fell, oh-so-clever Washington said it showed that the accommodationists had been right all along. And it still insists that our longest peacetime economic expansion was a disaster. But the publics of the old communist bloc are said to adore Mr. Reagan above all world figures, excepting perhaps the pope. And in the U.S., the former chief executive has received enthusiastic ovations of late when he has called for repeal of the two-term limit on presidents.

Washington may not get it. But tonight, as the rest of us watch and listen, we might remember how rare was the combination of gifts Ronald Reagan brought to the presidency. How blessed was the nation to have had him in office. And how acute his view has always been of our past, our present and our future.

Mr. Judge, a Washington consultant and writer, was a special assistant for speech writing to President Reagan.

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Abortion's Antipolitics

Abortion, so much the focus of the GOP's platform debate in Houston, is an issue that has disconnected itself from the normal workings of the U.S. political system. The combatants on both sides have gone off like the fighter ships in "Star Wars" to wage a death struggle out among the asteroids. Why would unarmed politicians get in the middle of that?

The reality, though, is unsettling: An astounding 29 of every 100 U.S. pregnancies is aborted. What is going on here? The general public should be getting more information about why nearly one of every three conceptions is "unwanted." Instead, they get only battle reports from the fronts — the clinics, the courts, the conventions.

We suspect most serious voters can't see much place for themselves on the battlefield. What polling and research has been done on public attitudes seems to say that most people don't view the aborting of fetuses as a neutral act. They don't like it. They do think it is a private choice better left to a woman's individual circumstances, but also think there is a place for restrictions on minors and trimester limitations.

A person holding such views wouldn't find much friendliness from the activists. Abortion has become Us vs. Them.

Among the media, there is a strong, non-objective and unapologetically pro-abortion faction, which ensures that the pro-choice movement will be depicted as the forces of social empathy and the pro-life people as up-from-the-muck fundamentalists. So the Republican platform hearings in Houston is seen as sternly uncompromising "conservative pro-life forces" (which they are) driving the GOP "diversity moderates" out of the Big Tent. TV news coverage of the subject last Friday was overwhelming.

It was scarcely a story, though, when the Democrats at the New York convention wouldn't let pro-life Governor Casey of Pennsylvania even speak. The GOP at least had a full and open debate. Not the Clinton Democrats. The party line in New York was, if you don't support us, keep your mouth shut. Discussions about consent and trimesters were verboten. That would be disloyal "to women."

The disdain that these liberals show toward those who don't share their worldview is visceral and it is in-

tense. This is the same group that pointedly excluded from their movement women who decided to stay home to raise their families. It's a rather authoritarian kind of freedom that these pro-abortion women are pressing. They are political only in the sense that they want the political system to give them what they want — all of it. No compromises. The GOP's abortion plank is indeed absolutist, but only a mirror-image reaction to the Democrats' absolutism.

The two sides battling in the asteroid field hold irreconcilable views. For Democrats of the sort at their convention, abortion is value-free, a medical procedure. For those at the GOP convention, abortion is a serious sin, a reversal of humanity's normal course. And though the pro-life forces have lately been running some well-made TV commercials, neither side seems much interested in the political task of persuading the larger population why it is right. Instead, each side assumes the correctness of its views and the nonconverted be damned. The media, especially TV, serve as ringmasters for the spectacle.

Politics usually involves compromise, and our view has been that the proper forum for resolving the abortion conflict is the state legislatures. Indeed, what flipped the issue into the asteroids was the Supreme Court's notion that it could divine law in "penumbras and emanations" from the Constitution. Legislatures were designed to air out and absorb the intensities of factions; legislative solutions to the abortion issue, here and in European nations, tend toward the centrist view rather than the extremes of either side. But encouraged by the Court, the minimal-restrictions Democrats want judges or a presidential Medicaid edict to impose abortion law directly, outside the political process. This has produced an equal opposite force, inevitably in the Republican party.

We would not like to see the Republican abortion plank become law, or the Democratic plank either. But in the historical development of the issue, the pro-choice side started the fight. And it is the Democrats, not the Republicans, who want to avoid submitting this matter to a legislative politics likely to reflect the moral sentiments of the general public.

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MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1992

The Reagan Legacy

When he rises to the podium in Houston tonight, Ronald Reagan will survey a world radically transformed since Republicans first nominated him for president in 1980. We wonder if that world has yet taken the full measure of his consequential presidency.

This is the dangerous hawk, after all, who somehow diminished the nuclear threat and the Cold War on his watch. While credit for the collapse of communism goes to many, Ronald Reagan was the man who publicly predicted its demise in the early 1980s.

Mr. Reagan, better than most in the West, understood that perestroika was a desperate attempt to save a failed system. It's a significant irony that the same Americans who derided Mr. Reagan's "evil empire" speech give all of the credit for the Russian revolution to Mikhail Gorbachev. Russians and Ukrainians are the ones who credit Ronald Reagan for telling the truth about, and standing firm against, their system.

Likewise, Reaganomics has to be the most imitated "failure" in history. Sweden's Carl Bildt, Mexico's Carlos Salinas and free-market reformers from India to Argentina are all in some sense "Reaganites." They are lowering tax rates, cutting bureaucracy and opening their nations to global competition. President Salinas recently told *Forbes* magazine, "We've reduced tax rates and strengthened enforcement, and now we are getting more revenue."

In the U.S., of course, the same critics who said the growth of the 1980s could never happen now say it was all illusory. The 18 million new jobs, the creation of such entirely new industries as biotechnology and the vanquishing of inflation and 20% interest rates presumably never happened. We wish Mr. Reagan had done more to control federal spending, but his critics somehow forget that Congress is complicit. They also ignore the tax increases, as well as the spending and regulatory boom, that have taken place since Mr. Reagan left town.

In any event, even the Democrats who attack the 1980s pay him the compliment of imitation. No one but the most hard-bitten leftist is proposing Big Government anymore. Even Jerry Brown endorses a flat tax. Bill Clinton wants, or at least says he wants, "empowerment not entitlement," work not welfare, and an end to "big bureaucracies." Democrats don't quite say government is the problem, only that they are eager to "reinvent" it. Bill Clinton even denies he's a "liberal." Just as Margaret Thatcher forced the Labor Party to change, Ronald Reagan

forced the Democrats to eschew its McGovern wing to have any chance of regaining the presidency.

So why, four years after he left office, does the Reagan political coalition seem in jeopardy? Part of the explanation lies in Mr. Reagan's very success. The long 1980s boom and the collapse of communism understandably dimmed public memory of the Brezhnev Doctrine and stagflation. Part also lies in the genius of those, friends and enemies alike, who've sought to rewrite history. Michael Deaver still talks as if his stagecraft mattered more to the Reagan presidency than did its beliefs and achievements. Mr. Reagan's famous quip that anything is possible if you don't mind who gets the credit has taken on an ironic twist.

The Reagan legacy has suffered most, however, at the hands of the man whom Ronald Reagan did so much to elect, George Bush. In their zeal to prove they were better than Reaganites, many Bush appointees embraced the agenda of Democrats. Sam Skinner's early tenure at Transportation is perhaps the model of this behavior: He derided Reaganite "idealogues" and boasted of his ability to get along with Congress.

Mr. Bush abandoned the reforming populism that animated the Reagan coalition — the "vision thing" — in favor of Washington deal-making. Mr. Bush downplayed the need for public communications, thereby letting George Mitchell frame the public debate. He dismissed the Reagan speech-writers because, as budget director Richard Darman once put it, they had too many ideas. The failure to make a public case, along with the poor economy and breaking of the tax pledge, cost support among Reagan Democrats especially.

To be fair, Mr. Bush was forced to contend with an especially hostile and cynical Congress. Even Ronald Reagan had two mediocre years after he lost the Republican Senate in 1986. Mr. Reagan's own failure to confront Congress in those last two years were a bad precedent. But Mr. Reagan had six years of success to draw on and never hesitated to make the political choices clear in speech after speech. It's notable that the one time Mr. Bush sought to go over the heads of Congress, during the Gulf War, he succeeded brilliantly.

The irony of this political season is that Mr. Bush's only hope to win reelection is to reunite the Reagan coalition. He can start by explaining to the country the importance of the Reagan legacy.

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MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1992

U.S. Appears Set To Confront Iraq Over Inspections

Bush Denies Military Action
Would Be Timed to Give
Boost to His Campaign

By GERALD F. SEIB

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON—The Bush administration is preparing for a new showdown and possible military conflict with Iraq over plans by United Nations weapons inspectors to try to enter another Iraqi ministry building.

U.N. inspectors tracking down weapons of mass destruction will demand access to an Iraqi government ministry, perhaps as early as today or tomorrow, despite a recent warning by Iraq that it wouldn't allow inspectors inside any more ministry buildings, senior administration officials said. The pending ministry inspection, reported in yesterday's New York Times, immediately prompted speculation that the timing might be designed to give President Bush a political boost during this week's Republican convention in Houston. That assertion is heatedly denied by administration policy makers who say the U.N. schedules inspections.

Mr. Bush himself, in remarks at the White House, declared: "The U.N. makes these decisions" about the timing of inspections. He added: "The campaign and the convention have nothing to do with this."

Moreover, some senior U.S. aides suspect that Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein may choose to cooperate for now with the U.N., to rob the politically troubled President Bush of an opening to move against him. Iraq's attitude may be made clear early this week, officials said. The U.S., which has been warning for two weeks that it won't allow Iraq to declare ministry buildings off-limits, has suggested that U.N. inspectors challenge Iraq with a ministry search in part to show Baghdad that it can't dictate terms to U.N. teams. Some administration aides clearly would be happy if Saddam Hussein defied the inspectors and gave Mr. Bush a chance to go after Iraq again soon. "It might be useful to show that he needs to obey U.N. sanctions," said a senior Bush aide.

But this aide also cautioned that the Iraqi leader, who has proven skillful at calculating precisely how far to push the world community, may decide not to interfere with the inspection and avoid giving Mr. Bush a pretext to act. "My guess is they would let it go ahead," the aide said. A team of U.N. experts now in the country has been conducting a series of inspections without interference by Iraq.

What's more, U.S. officials yesterday speculated that the renewed attention on inspection plans may prompt U.N. officials

to postpone the ministry inspection simply to illustrate that the U.S. isn't calling the shots. The inspection could be put off until a new inspection team arrives later in the month. While the U.S. consults with U.N. weapons inspectors, final decisions on inspection activities are made by Rolf Ekeus, a Swedish diplomat who has proven surprisingly stubborn at times.

In any event, if Iraq defies a U.N. request, the U.S. doesn't intend to wait long before responding militarily. Consultations have been held with other members of the U.N. Security Council, particularly with France and Britain, about staging an

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Bush Seems Set to Confront Iraq, Denies Any Links to Convention

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air strike within days. U.S. officials say they won't let another impasse fester for several weeks, as did an earlier dispute about access to Iraq's agriculture ministry. And Saudi Arabia, the country where much of America's air power in the region is situated, is ready to move quickly, officials said.

Perhaps to underscore the point, the Pentagon said that Lt. Gen. Michael Nelson, the new commander of the Air Force component of the U.S. Middle East command, is traveling in the Middle East with a staff of about 30 people. The trip is designed to let Gen. Nelson "establish military contacts," the Pentagon said, but it also puts a top air commander in the region to supervise any air strikes.

And Mr. Bush reiterated yesterday that "all options are open."

Still, a few days would pass before military action occurred after an Iraqi rebuff to inspectors. Mr. Ekeus first would report to the Security Council, and the U.S., Britain and France then would seek a statement of condemnation from the U.N. Security Council before moving.

And it's far from certain that Mr. Bush would want the action to take place this week, when he is being blessed by his party for another presidential campaign. A clean strike at Iraq might be a political benefit, particularly because it would increase the attention paid to Mr. Bush at a time when he is trying to define himself as more of a tested leader than Democrat Bill Clinton.

At the same time, though, a military move during the convention week would be even more likely to be criticized as a

politically inspired gambit than if it happened at another time. Moreover, if the administration chose to strike with planes in addition to unpiloted cruise missiles, it would run the risk of losing U.S. planes or pilots, which could cast a pall over the Republican convention.

But if Mr. Bush wants to try to provoke a confrontation, there are ample opportunities to do so through U.N. inspections. Iraq's defense ministry, one center of its programs to produce chemical, biological and nuclear weapons, was bombed in last year's war to drive Iraqi troops out of Kuwait. In the aftermath of the war, one senior U.S. official says, Iraq's new defense ministry offices are "scattered among a bunch of ministries." The official adds: "So we think there are documents in various ministries." So far, U.N. inspectors say, they haven't sought to enter top defense ministry offices.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1992

Job Loss From Pact Is Called Small

By SYLVIA NASAR

The North American Free Trade Agreement is a potent new source of anxiety for workers rattled by recession and high unemployment in the United States. But economists have reached a consensus that the negative effects of freer trade with Mexico on jobs, though painful, will almost certainly be smaller than many now fear.

If ratified, the pact will gradually phase out most United States tariffs on imports from low-wage Mexico, while knocking down roadblocks to American investment below the Rio Grande. "People are very, very concerned about losing jobs," said Victor M. Munoz, an A.F.L.-C.I.O. organizer in California and Texas. "It's the biggest topic."

A research team at the University of Michigan has concluded that as few as 15,000 to 75,000 American workers — out of a work force of 120 million — could lose their jobs over 10 years as a result of the pact. The researchers analyzed United States trade agreements since the round of global trade talks during the Kennedy Administration. At least as many jobs are likely to be gained as lost, the researchers concluded.

Topic of Political Debate

The notion that American job losses, over all, will not be overwhelmingly large is in contrast to the heated political debate on the topic in recent weeks, particularly considering the widespread impression that many billions of dollars will be needed to compensate such workers. What is more, the job cuts are likely to be matched by job gains elsewhere in the economy, the researchers say.

Displaced workers — divided more or less evenly between managers and professionals, skilled and unskilled workers — would be forced to find jobs in other industries and other states, risking long spells of unemployment. Some may need job retraining or more education.

The losers are likely to be dispersed across many states and industries. No state, for example, is likely to suffer more than one-sixth of the total job losses, the researchers say. And the net losses for states that lose more jobs than they add — probably California and the upper Midwest — are expected to range from a few dozen jobs to a couple of thousand.

Permanent job losses from freer trade with Mexico are likely to be limited further by the phasing in of tariff reductions over as many as 15 years, especially for products like fruits and vegetables that are politically important because of the opposition of American growers.

As for the automobile industry, the sheer complexity of new rules setting

minimum levels for domestic parts in auto production, along with the dilapidated state of much of the Mexican auto industry, should slow Mexico's penetration of United States markets.

Winning and Losing Industries

"Some industries will expand while others contract, and workers will have to shift from one industry to another," said Robert M. Stern, an economist at the University of Michigan. The analysis was conducted by Professor Stern, along with a colleague, Alan Deardorff, and Drusilla Brown at Tufts University.

Their analysis is intended to serve as an indication of the scale and potential regional effects of the trade agreement, not as a precise prediction of particular numbers of jobs lost or gained by particular industries.

In New York state, for instance, a couple of thousand jobs in electrical equipment manufacturing may well disappear over a decade as less-skilled assembly jobs go to Mexico. But more jobs could emerge in industries like publishing, computers and even apparel, ultimately providing a net gain to New York of an estimated 700 jobs. Total factory jobs in the

to say nothing of the even larger number laid off as a result of the recent recession.

Raul Hinojosa Ojeda, a professor of urban planning at the University of California at Los Angeles and a co-author of a new study of the California economy, said, "We have lost more jobs to Arizona and Nevada than to Mexico."

That is not as surprising as it appears. Mexico's economy is just one-twentieth the size of that of the United States. American tariffs on most Mexican goods are already negligible. Most important, the export of American jobs will be limited by the fact that it now takes, on average, three Mexican factory workers to produce the same amount in an hour as one American worker, limiting the number of activities that can be profitably relocated to Mexico.

The losers are likely to be in industries that have been moving assembly operations to lower-wage countries. The winners are likely to be heavy machinery, chemicals and other manufacturing industries that have already benefited from the doubling of exports to Mexico from the United States since 1987.

Textiles, apparel and agriculture, commonly thought to be big losers, might actually add jobs.

"Everybody's all freaked out about garments," Professor Hinojosa Ojeda said. "But the L.A. garment industry is a competitive design and marketing center. Mexico, on the other hand, is extremely uncompetitive."

Estimates of Lost Wage

The University of Michigan team figures that the amount of wages likely to be lost by displaced workers will probably not exceed \$400 million in today's dollars, or \$40 million a year, over the decade. That is just a fraction of the more than \$4 billion currently budgeted — if not necessarily effectively spent — by the Federal Government for job training programs and for compensating workers who lose jobs because of imports.

The new estimate of dollar losses is smaller than an earlier projection by Gary Hufbauer and Jeffrey Schott at the Institute for International Relations. Nonetheless, they agree that compensating workers hurt by the trade agreement will not be as costly as many critics of it seem to believe.

The House majority leader, Representative Richard Gephardt of Missouri, recently proposed a border tax to finance a program for displaced workers. But he does not now have a working estimate for the number of individuals likely to need assistance. "We sympathize with Gephardt's concern, but we don't think we need something like a border tax," Mr. Hufbauer said. "We're not talking big bucks."

Economists say free trade will add as well as take away U.S. jobs.

state now number just under a million; New York's exports to Mexico nearly reached \$1 billion last year.

Samuel M. Ehrenhalt, the New York regional commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, said of the impact of the accord on the state: "It's not black and white. But the whole, it's going to be a plus."

Or consider Texas, the biggest exporter to Mexico among the 50 states. It may gain jobs in agriculture, chemicals and plastics, but risks losing 1,000 more jobs in industries like glass, metal fabrication and production of transportation equipment.

Professors Stern, Deardorff and Brown tried to factor in the effects of stepped-up American investment in Mexico, the biggest concern in the eyes of American labor unions, as well as the reduction of tariffs.

Other Causes of Job Losses

Even so, the number of workers displaced each year by the trade pact, Professor Stern reckoned, would be roughly one-tenth the number of those who will lose their jobs because of cuts in military spending,

The New York Times

NEW YORK, MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1992

Laredo, Tex., Braces for Free Trade

By THOMAS C. HAYES

Special to The New York Times

LAREDO, Tex., Aug. 15 — For the last 250 years, the economic rhythms in this town at Mexico's doorstep have been set by events on the other side of the Rio Grande. But it is clear that few developments in Laredo's colorful history will prove more epochal than the removal of high tariffs that protected Mexican commerce from competitors in the North.

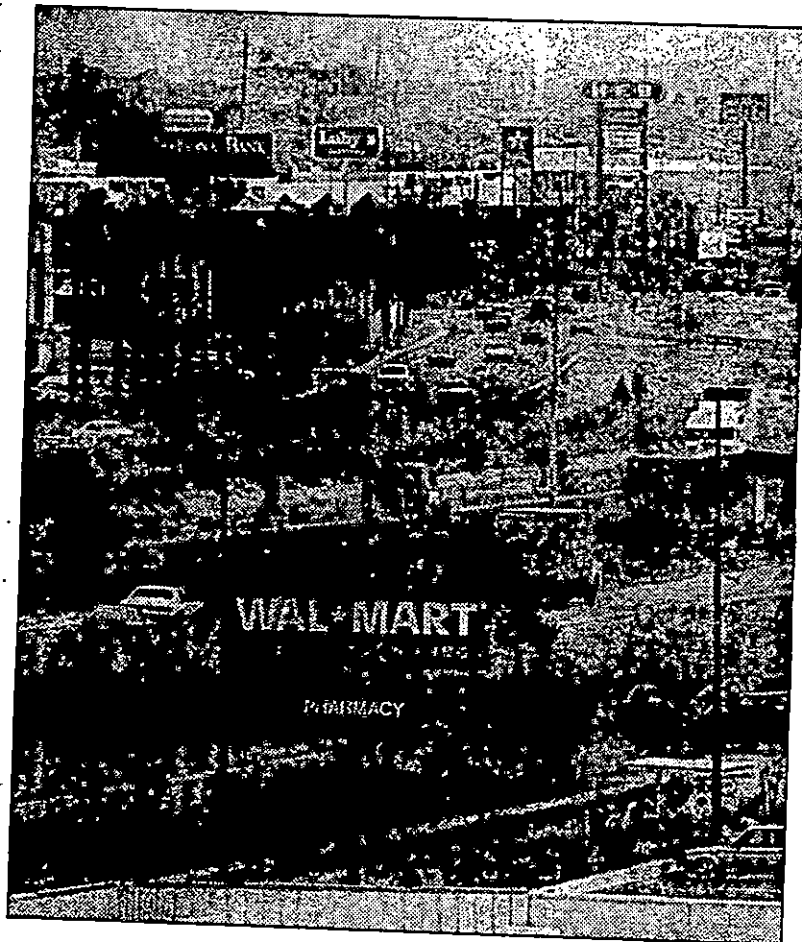
After it joined the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in 1987, Mexico drastically cut tariffs on American imports of shoes, apparel and soft drinks, down to an average of 5 percent today from 80 percent previously. Since then the Laredo economy — dominated by warehousing, trucking and retailing businesses — has been surging.

And if the optimists are correct, the economic growth will continue as a result of the North American Free Trade Agreement on which negotiators completed work last week. The deal still requires legislative approval in Canada, Mexico and the United States, but residents, developers and banker here are already hoping that American and Canadian companies will begin to build manufacturing and distribution plants in Laredo to be closer to Mexican markets.

The Obstacles to Growth

But obstacles on both sides of the border could prevent or restrict those investments. They include poor roads made dangerous, and occasionally deadly, by the lengthening caravans of 18-wheel trucks bearing down from the north. And some local businessmen say there is a tradition of occasional graft in the Mexican courts that would make expansion by American companies risky.

Laredo, a town with an Old World Spanish feel, is populated mainly by poor Mexican-Americans. Half of all freight shipments moving into Mexico from the United States pass



Interstate 35 in downtown Laredo. Half of all freight shipments moving into Mexico from the United States pass through the town.

through Laredo, which sits on the Pan American Highway, 150 miles south of San Antonio and north of Monterrey, a big Mexican industrial city with more than three million people.

As the United States' overall exports to Mexico have tripled to more than \$33.5 billion in five years, so has

the number of trucks crossing at the International Bridge at Laredo. Most haul raw materials, component parts and other products to 170 maquiladora plants across the border in Nuevo

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The New York Times

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Laredo Braces for Even Freer Trade

Continued From First Business Page

vo Laredo and other towns in northern Mexico.

Analysts and business leaders here say that more maquiladoras, assembly sites for everything from wire harnesses for automobiles to shoes and kitchen cabinets, will be built whether or not the trade agreement is enacted. The cheap labor, with hourly wage rates near \$1 now, has steadily lured more American companies since the Mexican Government sharply devalued the peso against the dollar in 1982 — a decline that has continued virtually unabated.

But many Laredo business owners who prospered by adjusting to the ways of protectionist Mexico say the free trade era could ruin them. The network of customs brokers that sprang up to guide shippers through the rituals of Mexican customs agents is threatened.

So are Laredo trucking companies that do most of their work within 20 miles of the border, handling the transfer of trailers stocked with American goods onto Mexican-chartered trucks. Mexican law currently bans American trucking companies from hauling any goods south of the border, but that stricture would be phased out over seven years under the free-trade pact.

"If a U.S. carrier can go all the way to Mexico City, and a Mexican carrier can go all the way to Chicago, there won't be any need to stop in Laredo," said George Quesada, president of Gateway Transfer Inc. in Laredo. He said 80 percent of Gateway's business was transferring trailer rigs between American and Mexican trucking companies.

Local bankers and business experts agree that free trade will jolt some parts of the border economy. Recent studies by the University of Texas and Deloitte & Touche, the accounting firm, concluded that many big American retailers would open stores in big population centers like Mexico City and Monterrey.

That would mean fewer Mexican consumers traveling by car and bus from as far away as Mexico City to shop at American border stores, the studies concluded. Gerry Schwebel, senior vice president at the International Bank of Commerce, the largest bank based in Laredo, said many business owners like Mr. Quesada were confused and worried.

"The biggest concern we have is the fear of the unknown," Mr. Schwebel said. "It's how the small and medium-sized companies adjust to improving competition that will make them succeed or get hurt."

For most of Laredo, the easing of trade barriers so far has been a boon. The jobless rate, averaging 9.6 percent this year through June, is the lowest in more than a decade. About 10,000 jobs have been added in the last four years, a gain of 23 percent, to 54,000, according to the Texas Employment Commission. The average annual pay in last year's fourth quarter, was \$17,700, up 7.7 percent from \$16,400 at the end of 1990.

The Wal-Mart Indicator

The opening of a new Wal-Mart discount store three miles north of the Rio Grande on July 25 gives one measure of how Laredo retail sales have surged since the Mexican Gov-

ernment pared tariffs five years ago.

The hulking Wal-Mart store, the biggest of the nearly 1,800 Wal-Marts in the nation that do not sell groceries, replaced a smaller store opened in 1983 that had posted more sales in each of the last five years than any other Wal-Mart.

Other national retailers are moving in. Laredo's first Toys "R" Us store is being erected as part of a new shopping mall that will stand across a grassy field from the new Wal-Mart. A Target discount store is ready to open nearby.

Vicente V. Garza, who owns several shops in town along the river, said more Mexicans were shopping in

enacted.

"Free trade? For practical purposes, we already have free trade in Laredo," Mr. Vargas said. Not entirely, of course. Mexican labor laws still make it far more costly for American companies to ship concrete forms, build metal warehouses and provide other goods and services in Mexico than in the United States. One example: Concrete mixed by machine in the United States and made into forms for roads, walls or other uses, must be priced in Mexico as if the entire process were done by hand.

Wary of Expanding South

And the Mexican legal system makes some border business executives wary of expanding south of the Rio Grande. There are no jury trials in Mexico, and legal codes are far more brief than in the United States, factors that give Mexican judges vastly more power than American judges.

Mr. Garza, whose stores generated sales of \$40 million in American border towns last year mostly from Mexican shoppers, said he had no plans to open stores across the river in Nuevo Laredo, with its 475,000 people; near the Gulf of Mexico, where another 600,000 Mexicans live by the border, or in populous Monterrey, three hours south of Laredo by car.

"Even with your own people, you can still get into trouble in Mexico with their laws," he said. "If you try to claim anything or sue anybody, it's only the final word of the judge."

Mr. Garza said that many Mexicans used to buy goods in big quantities at wholesale prices from him and other retailers on the American side, then bribe Mexican customs agents to avoid big tariffs when they crossed the border. That left hefty profits for them after they sold the goods. Lower tariffs and better audits at Mexican customs offices caused these Mexican peddlers to buy more cheap imports from foreign suppliers, he said.

The trade pact offers rewards and risks for a Rio Grande town.

Laredo and border towns closer to the Gulf of Mexico, including McAllen, Harlingen and Brownsville, because the GATT rules had effectively lowered prices Mexicans pay for merchandise north of the Rio Grande.

Local officials are scrambling to build new roads and expand other city services, while Laredoans complain of a shortage of apartments and new homes. Analysts and builders say warehouse space is leased quickly. The Laredo population is expected to reach 200,000 later this decade, up from 133,000 today.

'We Already Have Free Trade'

For now, Laredo is the fastest growing city in Texas. The city manager, Peter H. Vargas, said new construction, business expansions and other indicators of growth should continue to rise by about 25 percent a year if the free trade agreement is

The New York Times

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Abroad at Home

ANTHONY LEWIS

The Vicar of Bray

HOUSTON

Would George Bush really provoke a confrontation with Iraq so American bombs fall on Baghdad in the week of the Republican Convention?

The story, reported by Patrick E. Tyler in *The New York Times*, suggests a use of Presidential power so cynical that it makes one gasp. But George Bush is the man who said he would "do what I have to do to be re-elected." And he is the man who in a lifetime of politics has traded every value he may ever have had for the sake of office.

The perception that there is no bottom line in this President is what I believe explains his decline. In

'I will do what I have to do to be re-elected.'

the hollowness is the collapse.

His abandonment of principle in order to get ahead is commonly traced to his nomination for Vice President in 1980. In 1970, campaigning for the Senate, he had said that "women should have the freedom to choose or not to choose an abortion." On the Reagan ticket in 1980, he became a fervent opponent of abortion.

But the process of shedding principle had begun much earlier. Garry Wills traced the history brilliantly in *The New York Review of Books* dated Aug. 13, in a piece entitled "The Hostage."

Mr. Bush began in politics in the Texas Republican Party of the 1960's — a party, Mr. Wills points out, that was dominated by the extreme right. So when Mr. Bush first ran for the Senate, in 1964, he opposed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and refused to repudiate the crazies of the John Birch Society.

Afterward he said he was ashamed of "not speaking out." He told his minister, John Stevens, "You know, John, I took some of the far-right positions to get elected. I hope I never do it again."

But he did. To get on the Reagan ticket he swallowed what he had called "voodoo economics," and he embraced the social agenda of the religious right. He told Jerry Fal-

well that he had been born again.

As President he has continued his ardent courtship of the right. He even vetoed a bill to set up a desperately needed fetal-tissue bank for research on such grave illnesses as Parkinson's disease. He said the bill would encourage abortions, though its terms forbade abortions to provide research material.

All politicians have to compromise. Most engage in a degree of hypocrisy from time to time. But Mr. Bush has made cynicism a way of life.

When he nominated Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court, he said that of all possible candidates in the country, Judge Thomas was "the best qualified." No one even thought of believing that absurdity. Conservatives were told that Judge Thomas would be a sure vote against abortion, as he has proved to be.

The television advertising he has used in the run-up to the convention is an example of cynicism so unembarrassed that it could be called debonair.

"We must strengthen the American family," Mr. Bush told voters in one of the spot ads. That from the President who vetoed the most important pro-family legislation of our age, the bill that would require large companies to give employees unpaid family and medical leave.

"We must increase respect for the law," he said. That from a man who for 12 years has been part of two of the most lawless Administrations in American history.

For all his courting of the right, conservatives have never trusted him. And so he seeks evermore pathetically to prove that he is one of them.

Perhaps, somewhere deep inside, there still is a real George Bush with humane values. We are invited to believe so when his wife opposes the Republican platform's call for a total, constitutional ban on abortion. But by all signs a lifetime of political cynicism has made him like the subject of that satirical English verse "The Vicar of Bray," a minister who adjusts his faith to political demands.

The verse is said to be based on a real vicar of the village of Bray, Symon Symonds, who served under Henry VIII, Edward VI, Bloody Mary and Elizabeth. He was twice a Catholic, twice a Protestant. Tasked with his switches, he said: "If I changed my religion, I am sure I kept true to my principle, which is to live and die the Vicar of Bray." □

The New York Times

NEW YORK, MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1992

Homophobic? Re-Read Your Bible

By Peter J. Gomes

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — Opposition to gays' civil rights has become one of the most visible symbols of American civic conflict this year, and religion has become the weapon of choice. The army of the discontented, eager for clear villains and simple solutions and ready for a crusade in which political self-interest and social anxiety can be cloaked in morality, has found hatred of homosexuality to be the last respectable prejudice of the century.

Ballot initiatives in Oregon and Maine would deny homosexuals the protection of civil rights laws. The Pentagon has steadfastly refused to allow gays into the armed forces. Vice President Dan Quayle is crusading for "traditional family values." And Pat Buchanan, who is scheduled to speak at the Republican National Convention this evening, regards homosexuality as a litmus test of moral purity.

Nothing has illuminated this crusade more effectively than a work of fiction, "The Drowning of Stephen Jones," by Bette Greene. Preparing for her novel, Ms. Greene interviewed more than 400 young men incarcerated for gay-bashing, and scrutinized their case studies. In an interview published in The Boston Globe this spring, she said she found that the gay-bashers generally saw nothing wrong in what they did, and, more often than not, said their religious leaders and traditions sanctioned their behavior. One convicted teen-age gay-basher told her that the pastor of his church had said, "Homosexuals represent the devil, Satan," and that the Rev. Jerry Falwell had echoed that charge.

Christians opposed to political and social equality for homosexuals nearly always appeal to the moral injunctions of the Bible, claiming that Scripture is very clear on the matter and citing verses that support their opinion. They accuse others of perverting and distorting texts contrary to their "clear" meaning. They do not, however, necessarily see quite as clear a meaning in biblical passages on economic conduct, the burdens of wealth and the sin of greed.

Nine biblical citations are customarily invoked as relating to homosexuality. Four (Deuteronomy 23:17, I Kings 14:24, I Kings 22:46 and II Kings 23:7) simply forbid prostitution, by men and women.

Two others (Leviticus 18:19-23 and Leviticus 20:10-16) are part of what biblical scholars call the Holiness Code. The code explicitly bans homosexual acts. But it also prohibits eating raw meat, planting two different kinds of seed in the same field and wearing garments with two different kinds of yarn. Tattoos, adultery and sexual intercourse during a woman's menstrual period are similarly outlawed.

There is no mention of homosexuality in the four Gospels of the New

Testament. The moral teachings of Jesus are not concerned with the subject.

Three references from St. Paul are frequently cited (Romans 1:26-2:1, I Corinthians 6:9-11 and I Timothy 1:10). But St. Paul was concerned with homosexuality only because in Greco-Roman culture it represented a secular sensuality that was contrary to his Jewish-Christian spiritual idealism. He was against lust and sensuality in anyone, including heterosexuals. To say that homosexuality is bad because homosexuals are tempted to do morally doubtful things is to say that heterosexuality is bad because heterosexuals are likewise tempted. For St. Paul, anyone who puts his or her interest ahead of God's is condemned, a verdict that falls equally upon everyone.

And lest we forget Sodom and Gomorrah, recall that the story is not about sexual perversion and homosexual practice. It is about inhospitality, according to Luke 10:10-13, and failure to care for the poor, according to Ezekiel 16:49-50: "Behold, this was the iniquity of thy sister Sodom, pride, fullness of bread, and abundance of idleness was in her and in her daughters, neither did she strengthen the hand of the poor and needy." To suggest that Sodom and Gomorrah is about homosexual sex is an analysis of about as much worth as suggesting that the story of Jonah and the whale is a treatise on fishing.

Part of the problem is a question of interpretation. Fundamentalists and literalists, the storm troopers of the religious right, are terrified that Scripture, "wrongly interpreted," may separate them from their values. That fear stems from their own recognition that their "values" are not derived from Scripture, as they publicly claim.

Indeed, it is through the lens of

their own prejudices and personal values that they "read" Scripture and cloak their own views in its authority. We all interpret Scripture: Make no mistake. And no one truly is a literalist, despite the pious tempta-

tion. The questions are, By what principle of interpretation do we proceed, and by what means do we reconcile "what it meant then" to "what it means now?"

These matters are far too important to be left to scholars and seminarians alone. Our ability to judge ourselves and others rests on our ability to interpret Scripture intelligently. The right use of the Bible, an exercise as old as the church itself, means that we confront our prejudices rather than merely confirm them.

For Christians, the principle by which Scripture is read is nothing less than an appreciation of the work and will of God as revealed in that of Jesus. To recover a liberating and inclusive Christ is to be freed from the semantic bondage that makes us curators of a dead culture rather than creators of a new creation.

Religious fundamentalism is dangerous because it cannot accept ambiguity and diversity and is therefore inherently intolerant. Such intoler-

ance, in the name of virtue, is ruthless and uses political power to destroy what it cannot convert.

It is dangerous, especially in America, because it is anti-democratic and is suspicious of "the other," in whatever form that "other" might appear. To maintain itself, fundamentalism must always define "the other" as deviant.

But the chief reason that fundamentalism is dangerous is that, at the hands of the Rev. Pat Robertson, the Rev. Jerry Falwell and hundreds of lesser-known but equally worrisome clerics, preachers and pundits, it uses Scripture and the Christian practice to encourage ordinarily good people to act upon their fears rather than their virtues.

Fortunately, those who speak for the religious right do not speak for all American Christians, and the Bible is not theirs alone to interpret. The same Bible that the advocates of slavery used to protect their wicked self-interests is the Bible that inspired slaves to revolt and their liberators to action.

The same Bible that the predecessors of Mr. Falwell and Mr. Robertson used to keep white churches white is the source of the inspiration of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. and the social reformation of the 1960's.

The same Bible that anti-feminists use to keep women silent in the churches is the Bible that preaches liberation to captives and says that in Christ there is neither male nor female, slave nor free.

And the same Bible that on the basis of an archaic social code of ancient Israel and a tortured reading of Paul is used to condemn all homosexuals and homosexual behavior includes metaphors of redemption, renewal, inclusion and love — principles that invite homosexuals to accept their freedom and responsibility in Christ and demands that their fellow Christians accept them as well.

The political piety of the fundamentalist religious right must not be exercised at the expense of our precious freedoms. And in this summer of our discontent, one of the most precious freedoms for which we must all fight is freedom from this last prejudice. □

Peter J. Gomes, an American Baptist minister, is professor of Christian morals at Harvard.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1992

Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

Saddam to the Rescue

HOUSTON

George Bush always told us he would come out fighting at the Republican Convention, but he never said against whom. It turns out his confrontation may be with his old poll-booster, Saddam Hussein.

If Iraq's dictator decides to deny America's President a televised fireworks display in Baghdad, Saddam would conduct a shell game with documents, allowing U.N. inspections of sanitized ministry buildings. By backing down, he would make Mr. Bush appear a strong leader.

If Saddam chooses to take a prime-time bombing, he would help the Bush campaign even more. The President would reap the benefit of a long-delayed surgical strike, all the while insisting the U.N. made him do it and any imputation of political motive is absurd, cynical or unpatriotic. This is Bush's "turnip day" session; like Truman, he wins either way. A sitting President is never a sitting duck.

How can the voter determine if the President's convention-week ultimatum is primarily a stunt to hype his ratings — or, as Mr. Bush heatedly asserts, a strategic move necessary to undertake now?

Merely to threaten military action to force access to inspection, or merely to drop bombs to punish defiance, would be a stunt. We cannot again fail to achieve the goal of removing Saddam and ending the Baathist threat to the region.

Proof of seriousness requires a comprehensive plan to implant democracy in the area. If Saddam chooses defiance, the first step is to bomb his helicopter gunship and tank

forces, correcting Norman Schwarzkopf's admitted "snookering."

Next, provide Kurdish forces in northern Iraq the anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons they need for self-protection from Saddam's Republican Guard. Extend our air-cover guarantee to Iraqi Shiites in the south.

Meanwhile, persuade Turkey to join with us in recognizing and supplying food and ammunition to the democratically elected government of Iraqi Kurdistan, in return for its curbing Kurdish agitation within Turkey. Support Kurdistan's recapture of its capital of Kirkuk, the oil-rich Kurdish area now occupied by Saddam's troops, thereby making a new Kurdish state viable.

That would "dismember" Iraq, a prospect that so horrified the Bush Administration until the scared Saudis decided recently it would be a good idea. But when Kurdish leaders finally were permitted an audience with Secretary Baker, they were told to shut up about independence.

If Scowcroft-Eagleburger geopoliticians, still behind history's power curve, insist on playing the old balance-of-power games between Baghdad and Teheran, Mr. Bush could try Plan B: recognize and protect the provisional government of a federated Iraq now located in Kurdish territory, fomenting and arming its

Message: Wanna fight?

overthrow of Saddam's Baathists.

That's being serious about preventing nuclear aggression in the Persian Gulf. It calls for a fundamental change in policy, not a spasm of poll-boosting violence.

Change of diplomatic policy demands a change of policy makers; does Mr. Bush offer that change?

So far, the signal he sends is no. By neglecting to appoint a new Secretary of State to fill the post vacated by Mr. Baker — our first taxpayer-paid campaign manager — President Bush is clearly saying that the State seat will be kept warm awaiting the Baker return. That augurs a continuance of a foreign policy that reveres the status quo and misses the march of history by failing to intervene anywhere on behalf of human rights.

This week in Houston, Mr. Bush has a chance to send a wholly different message. He could appoint Carla Hills to State, with Jack Kemp replacing her as trade negotiator, or come up with some other daring combination to demonstrate how a re-elected Bush would seize opportunities to advance democracy.

Right-wingers like me — domestic libertarians, global interventionists, neocons, lifelong freedom-mongers in the habit of loyally pulling down the lever under the Republican eagle — need strong reasons to stick with the national ticket this year.

We won't be bribed by deficit increases, or fooled by vision transplants, or moved by nostalgia for Reagan's first term, or panicked by the prospect of Democrats in Lincoln's bed, or wowed by a halfway-measure military ultimatum. □

The New York Times

NEW YORK, MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1992

Play It Again, Broadway

New York City is a summer music festival, as multicultural at the city itself, and all for free. There are dozens upon dozens of outdoor performances all over town, and the calendar grows longer every year.

Some of the performers are world famous companies, like the Metropolitan Opera and the New York Philharmonic, in world famous settings, like Central Park. Others are the not-so-famous, like the long-running Sunday concerts by the George Seuffert band in the George Seuffert bandshell, in Queens.

The most spectacular newcomer this year was "Broadway on Broadway," a standing-room-only performance of show-stoppers by the casts of 13 current musicals on the Great White Way — S.R.O. because there were no seats. It was staged at lunchtime one day in the middle of Times Square,

with Broadway and Seventh Avenue closed off for the thousands, mostly New Yorkers, who filled three blocks of the Times Square canyon from curb to curb.

Considering the importance of theater in the vitality of New York, "Broadway on Broadway" deserves repeating, but it will take some doing. American Express put up \$100,000 cash for this year's show. Others provided free services, and the new Times Square Business Improvement District organized everything — actors, musicians, stagehands, directors, confetti throwers, confetti sweepers and all the rest.

If all of them were willing to pool their money and efforts for an annual revival, "Broadway on Broadway" could become as much of a New York fixture as the Met, the Philharmonic and George Seuffert.

If You're Sick and Retired

For millions of retired Americans, life's journey has turned into a potholed path. Pension funds designed to last a lifetime are going bust or being skimmed. An estimated 4.5 million pensioners face the probability of having their retirement medical coverage reduced or abruptly terminated.

In a survey of 1,380 companies, two-thirds said they would be cutting medical benefits for retirees. Hardest hit are employees who took early retirement and are not yet 65 and eligible for Medicare. In one mammoth case, 40,000 nonunion employees are suing General Motors over a proposed cut in their medical benefits. G.M., they say, promised them almost 100 percent coverage when they left.

G.M., which spent a whopping \$3.4 billion last year on health care benefits, refuses comment. But it does insist that it has a right to require retirees to accept the same deal it offers working nonunion employees: a maximum payment of \$750 a year for basic coverage, or no charge if they use G.M.'s own doctor network.

In some cases, a promise has been broken and

the courts are available as a remedy. But in many more cases there is no bad faith. Employers find it increasingly difficult to juggle obligations to shareholders, pensioners and active workers.

Financial officers did a double take in the mid-80's when they began to project their future medical obligations. As a result they peppered future contracts with escape clauses that the courts have generally upheld. In January a Federal appeals court ruled that the new owners of a Milwaukee company could scrap their inherited medical plan because the company had never specifically promised coverage for life.

Some companies are trying to pare their bills by tightening up on pill-taking by retirees; Americans over 65 bought \$16 billion of prescription and over-the-counter drugs last year. But that sort of nibble can hardly solve the problem.

As long as U.S. health policy remains piecemeal rather than comprehensive, millions of Americans will be sharing the fate of G.M.'s 40,000 workers — stray victims of a jerry-built system.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1992

August Surprise?

The timing is unfortunate. United Nations arms inspectors want access to Iraq's Ministry of Military Industrialization to search for weapons of mass destruction. If they are denied access, American officials say the U.S. will bomb Iraq.

It's unclear what impels such an abrupt turn to confrontation. The Administration has yet to explain what new information is so critical that it compels preparing for air strikes.

The questions are more intense because they arise on the eve of the Republican Convention, suggesting an "August Surprise" intended for electoral benefit. But it would be misguided to dismiss this new episode as crude politicking. It appears that the U.N. Special Commission, not the U.S., determined the timing of these inspections.

Unless it is checked, any such cynicism would corrode vital principle: Iraq's desperate dictator cannot defy the world with impunity. If he trifles with the U.N. inspectors, he deserves to be punished.

U.N. inspectors have uncovered and destroyed most of Iraq's nuclear, chemical, biological and missile capability since the war, but some may still be hidden. Documents believed to be squirreled away in ministries could shed light on Iraqi procurements and allow U.N. inspectors to determine

what's left of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction.

The U.N. has already searched the Ministry of Military Industrialization and come away empty-handed. No firm intelligence seems available suddenly to pinpoint it as a likely site for a new find. Nevertheless, under the terms of the cease-fire, Baghdad is obliged to allow inspectors to go anywhere anytime to root out evidence of its weapons and arms-making capacity.

Iraq has increasingly resisted U.N. visits to its ministries. After a recent three-week standoff at the Agriculture Ministry, U.S. officials immediately pressed for another high-visibility challenge. But Rolf Ekeus, the Swede who heads the U.N. Special Commission on Iraq, waited until now to reassert the right of access to a ministry.

The critical task is to sustain international support for the commission's work. That is why Iraqi defiance cannot go unpunished. If the Administration and the U.N. can now demonstrate why an inspection of this facility is of such urgency — and if Iraq bars access — an allied air strike on the ministry could be justified.

The coincidence between the convention in Houston and the confrontation in Baghdad will strike many as contrived, or at least hastened. But what will count most is that the U.N. inspectors can fulfill their mission.

No Choice, or Voice

What political sense does it make for the Republican National Convention in Houston to accept, as it will in a few hours, such a merciless platform position on abortion?

Notwithstanding a little last-minute bow to contrary views, the platform replays the G.O.P.'s harsh past positions. For instance, "We believe the unborn child has a fundamental individual right to life which cannot be infringed." In other words, if there's a choice between saving the fetus or the mother, the mother must die.

Not many Americans oppose abortion to that extreme extent. Among delegates to the Democratic Convention, only 3 percent do. Even among Republican delegates, according to a CBS News poll, the figure is only 7 percent. Republicans generally, like the public generally, could converge on this abortion policy: permit but discourage.

So to repeat, what political sense does it make for the Republicans to ram through such a harsh position on abortion? Still worse, what political sense does it make to do so without even letting the convention hear moderate, mainstream voices make their case? Today's platform proceedings offer the Republicans a last chance to demonstrate, with the country watching, fairness.

When it comes to free expression on abortion, the Republicans have no patent on manipulation. The Democrats acted even more crudely in New York last month. They were so devoted to freedom of choice that they buried freedom of speech, refusing to allow Gov. Robert Casey of Pennsylvania to

voice anti-abortion sentiments at their convention.

Their behavior was, at least, marked by consistency of opinion; they stand clearly for choice. President Bush and the Republican leaders, however, are lunging in several directions at once.

The President, who favors a constitutional amendment to ban abortion, would, as a grandfather, support a granddaughter who chose to have one. One day, Barbara Bush says abortion is "a personal thing" that should be left out of platforms and conventions. The next day, her husband shops shamelessly for the support of the Right to Life Party's 26,000 members in New York.

One likely reason for giving such respect to the right is that Mr. Bush, popularity plummeting, wants to protect his base. If he had agreed to reappraise old platform language, he might have uncorked a destructive explosion. Another possible reason: his fear of being accused anew of turning into President Noodle, especially after wavering on "no new taxes."

But even if the platform represents a principled position, there's no principled explanation for how relentlessly the G.O.P. has bulldozed dissent. Moderates despair over how the platform committee was stacked. When officials heard the subject was choice, they kept Richard Rosenbaum, national committeeman from New York, from meeting with reporters in the headquarters hotel.

Unless there's a sudden turnaround when resolutions committees report today, what Americans will see when they tune in to the Republicans is a party determined to ram ahead — determined to bury choice, and voice.

For the Bushes, Politics Is a Family Enterprise

By B. DRUMMOND AYRES Jr.

THE BUSHES

"Family values" will be one of the main political themes of this week's Republican National Convention, and to drive home that point, convention officials plan to give plenty of exposure to President Bush's large, extended clan of children, grandchildren, siblings, spouses and cousins. In all, 71 Bush family members will be in Houston, three more than attended the 1988 convention in New Orleans. Some will be delegates, some will work behind the scenes on various convention matters and some will be along just for the fun. When it is over, many will head off across the country to campaign for the President's re-election, just as they worked before the convention to collect the money and votes he needed for renomination, and just as they have worked in family political campaigns going back to the early 1950's, when Mr. Bush's father, Prescott Bush, first won a seat in the United States Senate.

A reunion of 71 relatives at the Republican convention.

When it comes to mixing politics and family, the Bush brood, ideology aside, is the closest thing Republicans have to the Kennedys, complete with the Ivy League educations, the home on a New England seashore that "Gampy" and "Ganny" maintain and a penchant for running for everything from president of the P.T.A. to President of the United States.

Both parties, and families, would no doubt find such a comparison odious, but the similarities are hard to dodge, except that among the "Bushes," as clan members are sometimes called, only the President and his father have been successful vote-getters in the big leagues.

A tentative schedule for this week in Houston calls for upwards of 25 Bushes to appear on the Astrodome

stage at one point, possibly on Wednesday night when Mr. Bush is nominated and his wife, Barbara, is scheduled to speak.

That night has also been designated "Family Values Night."

The 68-year-old President has always emphasized his membership in a close-knit, God-fearing, straight-shooting clan: rough-housing with the 12 grandchildren and dogs beyond number, picnicking and tossing horseshoes with his four sons and his daughter, fishing and golfing with his three brothers and his sister, escorting his wife and mother to Sunday church services.

One son, Jeb, a 39-year-old Miami real estate executive who is running the President's re-election campaign in Florida, once described the image projected by the family as "warm and fuzzy." His sister, Dorothy Koch, 32, of Bethesda, Md., says the family is the kind that stays in regular contact by phone, with the President's children touching base with their parents as often as five times a week.

White House officials say the image of a wholesome, affectionate family is a true reflection of Mr. Bush and his brood and will be emphasized in Houston because it is a quality, they argue, that Americans long to see in their leaders and fear the Democrats would let slip away.

Black Sheep

Of course, some of the President's detractors contend the image is not without flaws.

They say the Bush family, like so many Presidential families, most recently the Kennedys, the Johnsons and the Carters, has had a problem member or two, and note that in recent years questions have been raised in some quarters about the financial dealings of some Bush sons and brothers. Last year, Federal regulators concluded that one of the sons, Neil, was guilty of a conflict of interest in a savings and loan deal. Neil Bush is now 37 years old and working for a Houston cable television company.

Four years ago, on the eve of the 1988 Republican Convention, it was Neil Bush who asserted that mem-

bers of the Bush family never had problems with conflicts of interest because "we know to say 'no' and to keep to the straight and narrow."

In any event, when the Republicans gather, most of the Bush family will, too.

The immediate family will stay in the Houstonian Hotel, a comfortable but financially troubled establishment where the President has long rented an apartment that he officially lists as home, a holdover from his days as a Texas businessman. Other relatives will stay at the more luxurious Hotel Wyndham Warwick.

Convention officials say some members of the immediate Bush

Like the Kennedys — except for the ideology.

family besides the President and Mrs. Bush may be called upon to speak at the convention. But for certain, the officials say, many members of the clan will be working the floor and various delegations, glad-handing emissaries, ready to pose for a picture, sit for an interview or put out a political fire.

Many are accustomed to public life.

Not only have they worked at local and state conventions and caucuses for the President, themselves and other relatives, raising money and votes, but on many occasions they have stood in for Mr. Bush, including representing the nation at a dozen or more functions abroad. Last week, for example, Marvin Bush, who at 35 is the President's youngest son, took time off from his work as an investment adviser in Alexandria, Va., to represent Mr. Bush at the Olympic Games in Barcelona.

Next week, Marvin Bush's wife, Margaret, will be a delegate at the Houston convention.

The oldest Presidential son, George

W. Bush, 46, of Dallas will be an important convention figure, behind the scenes. One of the owners of the Texas Rangers baseball team and a prominent member of the Republican establishment in Texas, he is a senior adviser to his father's campaign and one of the President's most trusted trouble-shooters. In 1978, he ran unsuccessfully for the House of Representatives.

Asked once to describe how the Bush family supported the political efforts of its most illustrious member, she replied that the President's children were the "first team," with his siblings backing them up by "working like dogs."

G.O.P. Moderates From Congress Don't Feel at Home

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM
Special to The New York Times

HOUSTON, Aug. 16 — For Republicans whose views are not as conservative as those that will prevail at their party's convention this week, Houston is not a congenial place. Many prominent ones are staying away, and some who are coming are lying low.

More than a third of the Republican members of Congress and many governors are skipping the convention. Some, perhaps most, are doing so because they would rather spend the time campaigning or doing something else. But others are clearly uncomfortable with the platform, particularly the uncompromising position against abortion, and the way the roster of speakers is weighted in favor of the right.

Senator Warren B. Rudman of New Hampshire gave up his delegate's seat to an alternate after he was not invited to speak; he will spend the week on a fact-finding trip to Eastern Europe being led by the Senate's Democratic leader, George J. Mitchell of Maine.

In a telephone interview, Senator Rudman said he disliked party conventions and had attended only two in his life, but he acknowledged that he was unhappy with the hard-line conservatism expressed in the party's platform.

Not His Party

"This image of a far-right party, this is not the party I belong to," said Mr. Rudman, who is enormously popular in his state but who is retiring after this year. "If they think that's where the people are, way over on the right, they're in for one hell of a shock."

No one has a complete list of who is coming to the convention and who is not, but a survey early this month by

USA Today found that at least 16 of the 43 Republican Senators and 70 of the 166 Representatives are staying away.

Many of them have said they could make better use of the time with Congress out of session campaigning at home. Representative Bob Smith of Oregon and Representative Sid Morrison of Washington told The Associated Press that was why they were staying home. Mr. Smith has a strong record

Some say it's not their party, in either sense.

against abortion. Mr. Morrison has backed abortion rights.

No Room for Moderates

But some others seem to be trying to put distance between themselves and their party's positions.

Senator Bob Packwood of Oregon, who is one of the Senate's abortion-rights leaders and who is in a close fight for re-election against Representative Les AuCoin, a Democrat, is not coming to Houston. Mr. AuCoin, who also supports a woman's right to have an abortion, has argued that the Republican Party's stand against abortion was a reason to vote for him.

Most of the moderate Republican senators were given no role at the convention. Among them are Pete V. Domenici of New Mexico, John H. Chafee of Rhode Island and Mark Hatfield of Oregon. All were committee chair-

ON THE SIDELINES

men when Republicans controlled the Senate from 1981 through 1986.

Mr. Hatfield told The A.P., "Over the years, some of the most destructive forces we as Republicans have faced have come from within."

Frustrated, Not Angry

Some senators who do not toe the conservative line are coming here anyway, including William S. Cohen of Maine. In an interview recently, Senator Cohen said, "We in the middle are more frustrated than angry."

Nancy Landon Kassebaum of Kansas, whom many Republicans expected to be showcased because she is the only Republican woman in the Senate, will make only a perfunctory appearance.

Senator John C. Danforth of Missouri, another moderate and one of his party's best orators, was planning to stay home. But Vice President Dan Quayle asked Mr. Danforth to introduce him Thursday night before the Vice President's acceptance speech, and Mr. Danforth will do so.

Introduction by Dole

The senators who have prime-time speaking roles include John McCain of Arizona, who will speak Monday night; Phil Gramm of Texas, who will deliver the keynote address Tuesday night, and Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, who will second the nomination of President Bush Wednesday night. They are among the most conservative members of Congress.

Bob Dole of Kansas, the Senate Republican leader, who is not usually considered to be a hard-line conservative

but who has been one of the President's most loyal supporters in Congress, is scheduled to introduce Mr. Bush Thursday night.

Some Republicans who disagree with the party's position on abortion were given minor speaking slots. Representative Nancy Johnson of Connecticut addresses the convention Tuesday morning, and Gov. William F. Weld of Massachusetts has been given a few minutes to speak Tuesday evening.

Gov. Pete Wilson of California was also scheduled to speak, but he bowed out last week. He said he needed to stay home because of his deadlock with the Legislature over the state's budget. But the speculation in California is that he wanted a way to keep at arm's length from President Bush, the convention and the anti-abortion platform.

The most prominent speaker who is against the party's abortion position, Labor Secretary Lynn Martin, is scheduled to give the main nominating speech for Mr. Bush Wednesday night. Interviewed today on the Cable News Network, Ms. Martin refused to say whether she would deal with the issue in her speech.

An outspoken supporter of abortion rights, former Gov. Kay Orr of Nebraska, said today she was staying home but would have come to Houston if she had thought she could have any influence over the party's position.

Another Republican who is not coming is former President Richard M. Nixon. He has told friends he is staying away to prevent any embarrassment he might cause President Bush. But one friend said that if Mr. Bush had sent any signal that Mr. Nixon would have been welcome, the former President would have leapt at the chance.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1992

Bush Is Asking Allies to Support Air Action to Protect Iraq Shiites

By PATRICK E. TYLER
Special to The New York Times

HOUSTON, Aug. 16 — President Bush is seeking allied support for military action in southern Iraq to protect Shiite Muslims there from air attacks by Baghdad, American and allied officials said today. The action would be similar to the allied intervention in northern Iraq in 1991 to help protect Iraqi Kurds.

The plan would be intended to uphold the humane treatment of Iraqi citizens, as required by United Nations Security Council Resolution No. 688, approved at the end of the Persian Gulf war. But it holds the potential of deepening United States involvement in Iraq and turning loose dissident guerrilla forces that

sought to overthrow the Government of President Saddam Hussein after his army was routed in Kuwait.

A senior Administration official said, "there is now a greater consensus" among the allies to take action in southern Iraq, a step the Administration has been loath to take since the end of the war.

Other Plans Reported

Word of the plan to protect the Shiites was the second revelation in two days of new Administration efforts against Iraq. On Saturday, American officials said the United States and its allies planned to provoke a confrontation with Baghdad on Monday morning over the right of United Nations inspectors to enter Iraqi ministries. They said that plan could lead to renewed bombing of Baghdad if the inspectors were blocked, and some officials said the timing appeared calculated to give Mr. Bush a boost during the Republican National Convention, which opens on Monday.

Responding sharply to a report in The New York Times today about that plan, Mr. Bush today reaffirmed his intention to enforce the requirements of United Nations resolutions that Mr. Hussein has flouted in recent months.

The intervention plan could lead to American and allied air patrols over southern Iraq in coming weeks, where intruding Iraqi Air Force planes would be shot down in the name of protecting Iraqi citizens from oppression from:

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Bush Asks Allies to Support Action to Protect Iraq Shiites

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Baghdad, the officials said.

But it was not clear whether such a plan would leave Iraqi ground forces unmolested if they sought to maintain order by putting down any new insurrection with tanks and infantry, as occurred in March 1991.

Iraq this summer has mounted a number of air attacks on Shiite rebels for the first time since the end of the Gulf war, leaving the Bush Administration somewhat embarrassed that it had once banned all activity by Iraqi fixed-wing aircraft in southern Iraq to protect American troops along the cease-fire line, but last winter allowed such activity to resume.

United States officials also said Iraq had been draining marshlands to root out the hiding places of southern Shiite rebels who have used vast tracts of wetlands as guerrilla redoubts.

A senior official said the immediate goal for intervention in southern Iraq would be to "stabilize" the situation regarding humane treatment, making it more difficult for Mr. Hussein to act against his own citizens.

Some Analysts Disturbed

But the prospect of such an intervention has disturbed a number of Administration analysts, who have cautioned that it would only add to Washington's obligation to protect a large population that remains at the mercy of well-entrenched Iraqi ground forces and a broad secret police network.

American officials said that Mr. Bush had hoped to announce the new intervention plan this week, during the Republican National Convention, but that consultations with Britain, France, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait bogged down last week over various options under discussion and the logistics of supporting the air ban.

Under the plan, the United States and its allies would declare a "no fly" zone roughly below the 32d parallel in Iraq, thus creating in effect a security zone that would incorporate the major Shiite cities of Najaf, Karbala, Amara, Basra and Nasiriya.

One sticking point was whether United States planes should fly their patrols from Kuwaiti air bases. This would require the United States in effect to violate the Gulf war cease-fire resolution, which barred military movements by any combatants in the no man's land along the Kuwaiti-Iraqi frontier that was demarcated at the time of the cease-fire.

Officials familiar with the planning and consultations predicted that intervention had been deferred by only a matter of days. A senior allied official said that both Saudi Arabia and Kuwait were prepared to cooperate with such a venture and no longer feared that in-

surrection in southern Iraq among the Shiites would lead to a splintering of Iraq that could threaten their interests.

The new intervention plan was reviewed by Mr. Bush and his senior national security advisers on Thursday, and one senior official said it had significant support among the allies. It was part of a package of get-tough measures Mr. Bush approved as he prepared to depart for the convention and which he said he was putting in place without any regard to politics.

The main element of the package, which appeared to be going forward today, is a plan to provoke a confrontation with Iraq over access to Iraqi Government ministries by United Nations inspectors.

Defense Secretary Dick Cheney told reporters at Andrews Air Force Base that the Pentagon "was prepared" to initiate new military action "if called upon to do so." His spokesman, Pete Williams, elaborated, saying the United States could not allow Iraq to "draw a red line around buildings."

An American official said today that United Nations inspectors in Baghdad were still scheduled to demand access on Monday morning to Iraq's Ministry of Military Industrialization, a building that served as the headquarters for Iraq's decade-long effort to develop or acquire weapons of mass destruction.

Disclosure Effect Unclear

It was unclear whether the disclosure of these plans would affect the timing of carrying them out, but Administration officials said today that they were still determined to force Iraq to accede to the wishes of United Nations inspectors.

Much of the impetus to protect Iraq's minorities from Mr. Hussein at the end of the war stemmed from his history of using chemical weapons against Kurdish guerrilla forces that sided with Iran in the eight-year Iran-Iraq war. And during the insurrection of Shiite Muslims in March 1991, the United States took the unusual step of warning Mr. Hussein not to use poison gas to put down the southern rebellion, a warning that was prompted by intercepted Iraqi military communications.

Shiite Muslims make up more than half of Iraq's population of about 18 million people, and together with 3.5 million Kurds in the north represent a majority that significantly outnumbers Iraq's traditional ruling class, the Sunni Muslims of central Iraq.

American intelligence analysts have long believed that only a strong leader like Mr. Hussein from these central Iraqis is capable of holding Iraq's disparate population together, but that analysis has been under growing pressure from advocates of a new democratic structure for Iraq based on a coalition government representing all segments of the population.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1992

BUSH SAYS POLITICS ARE NOT INVOLVED IN PLANS FOR IRAQ

A PROVOCATION IS DENIED

Report on American Strategy Is
Denounced by White House
— Security Breach Seen

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN
Special to The New York Times

HOUSTON, Aug. 16 — President Bush angrily denied today that he wanted to provoke a clash with Iraq in order to help his re-election campaign, but he confirmed that he was consulting with allies about using any means necessary to force the Iraqi President, Saddam Hussein, to submit to United Nations weapons inspections and to end his repression of Iraqi Shiites.

"The United States has plans to be sure that Saddam Hussein does what he is supposed to do," said Mr. Bush, when asked if the United States was ready to use military force on Monday to back up an anticipated request by the United Nations to inspect sensitive Iraqi ministries. Mr. Bush added that the Iraqi President will no longer be allowed "to dictate what can and cannot be inspected."

In a new development, American and allied officials said that a consensus was emerging among the gulf war coalition partners to intervene in some way in southern Iraq to protect the Shiite Muslim population there from repeated attacks by President's Hussein air force, just as it had intervened in northern Iraq to protect the Iraqi Kurdish minority.

Charge of Provocation

The President, returning to Washington from a weekend at his Camp David retreat, was reacting to a report in The New York Times today, which quoted American officials as saying that the United States and its allies had decided to provoke a confrontation on Monday by insisting that United Nations weapons inspectors be allowed access to sensitive Government ministries in Baghdad. The report also quoted officials who said that Mr. Bush may have initiated this step, on the eve of the Republican convention here in Houston, to demonstrate the same sort of toughness that won him plaudits during the Persian Gulf war.

The suggestion of a political motivation angered Republican officials gathered here for the convention. Mary Matalin, Mr. Bush's deputy campaign manager, denounced it as "total trash," and Defense Secretary Dick Cheney called it "goofy."

'Ugly and Uncalled For'

But neither the President, the Secretary of Defense nor any other official in the chain of military command denied that the Administration had prepared plans for a military strike, and in his remarks today Mr. Bush acknowledged that "there's been a clear breach of security" in the information contained in The Times's report.

"I totally deny that we are trying to pick a fight, and I totally deny that I'm trying to pick a fight for political reasons," said Mr. Bush, barely containing his anger as he spoke to reporters on the East Lawn of the White House. Any suggestion otherwise, said the Presi-

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The New York Times

NEW YORK, MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1992

Not Political, Bush Says of Iraq Plans

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dent, was "ugly and uncalled for."

Mr. Bush said that in this election season "some will accuse me of political opportunism for every step I take. But that will not deter me."

"I have responsibilities as President and responsibilities as Commander in Chief and I will go through with those responsibilities regardless of the politics."

While the President insisted that he was not politically motivated, he left no doubt that his Administration has decided that it will no longer tolerate President Hussein's challenge to the authority of the United Nations and the cease-fire agreements that Iraq signed after its defeat in the gulf war.

Standoff in Baghdad

In particular, the Administration has decided that it will not tolerate a repeat of last month's 21-day standoff in Baghdad, when President Hussein barred United Nations inspectors from the Agriculture Ministry, which they planned

to search for documents on Iraqi weapons programs. Mr. Hussein eventually backed down, but only after getting Washington to agree that no Americans or citizens of other nations that fought against Iraq in the gulf war would be on the inspection teams.

At that time, said a senior Administration official, the gulf war allies — particularly Britain, France, the United States and Saudi Arabia — "were not focused" on how, if at all, to respond. As a result of consultations during the last two weeks, the official said, "what you have now is a real determination to obtain unconditional and immediate access to Iraqi programs involving weapons of mass destruction."

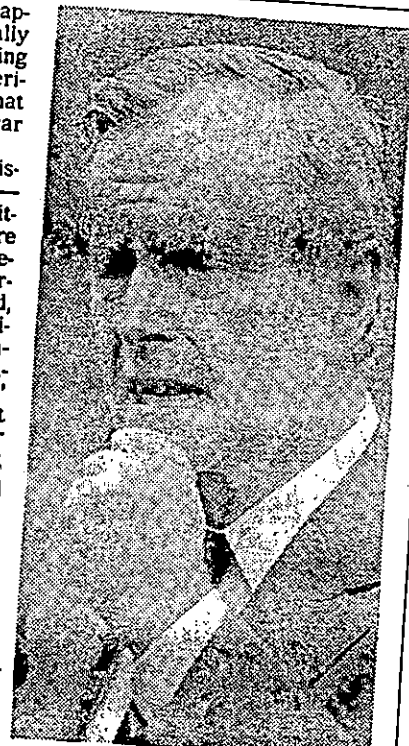
American officials confirmed that the Pentagon dispatched an air war planning unit to Saudi Arabia last week to prepare United States air units already there for possible military action. NBC News first reported that Gen. Michael Nelson took 30 air warfare experts from Shaw Air Force Base in South Carolina to Riyadh on Thursday. "We're determined that U.N. Resolution 687 will be fully implemented," said Mr. Bush. "Now this requires U.N. teams to inspect and destroy the Iraqi network of weapons of mass destruction — nuclear, chemical, biological and missile."

Timing of Inspections

Both Mr. Bush and Mr. Cheney insisted that the timing of any inspections was a matter to be determined by Rolf Ekeus, the head of all United Nations inspection teams, who takes his instructions from the Security Council. Mr. Bush and Mr. Cheney cited this as proof that the Administration could not possibly be timing a confrontation with Iraq to coincide with the Republican convention.

"We have no control over when those inspections take place or what installations are taken," Secretary Cheney told reporters at Andrews Air Force base today. "Those are all decisions that are made by the United Nations. The United Nations has been inspecting, with U.S. help, sensitive installations in Iraq since the summer of 1991, and that process continues."

"We cannot halt the inspection process or suggest that it ought to be halted because there is a political campaign underway in the United States," Mr. Cheney continued.



Reuters

At a news conference yesterday in Washington, President Bush said that Saddam Hussein will no longer be allowed "to dictate what can and cannot be inspected."

But the United States, Britain and France have dominated Security Council planning and decision-making regarding Iraq. The other two permanent members, China and Russia, have for the most part deferred to the Western nations. From the strategy to the drafting of diplomatic messages to Iraq, American officials have taken the lead.

A spokesman for the Democratic Presidential candidate, Gov. Bill Clinton, did not criticize any possible plans Mr. Bush might have for making Iraq comply with inspection.

"Politics has to stop at the water's edge," said George Stephanopoulos, Mr. Clinton's Communications director. "Saddam Hussein has to know that the American people are unified."

JAMES PAUL

Ensnared in the regulatory maze

A reporter recently asked me what I thought the greatest challenge of running a company was.

I immediately answered, "Government regulations and interference." And, he replied, "Oh, all executives complain about government regulations. That's not new."

It may not be new to him. And, occasionally the news media reports cases of government overregulation. But, the old news is becoming worse news. The issue cries out for attention and solution.

Local, state and federal government have taken the free out of free enterprise. Local, state and federal government — in their combined lust for power and control — combine to create a trend destroying individual initiative, entrepreneurship and economic freedom.

Try to start a business today, and see how free you are to set wages, determine hours and provide benefits. In hundreds of ways in millions of places, local, state and federal regulations stifle creativity and productivity, frustrate initiative and hold the economy down.

And yet, take a look at a \$10 bill.

James R. Paul is president and chief executive officer of the Coastal Corp., an energy holding company in Houston.

Turn it over and look closely at the illustration of the Treasury Building. See that car on the street alongside the Treasury? It's a 1926 Hupmobile. If you had one, it'd be worth a lot more than \$10.

But, in 1908, brothers Robert and Louis Hupp produced a two-speed, two-seat runabout that sold for \$750. They prospered, were the first to introduce a popularly priced V-8 engine here, and expanded manufacturing from Detroit to Cleveland before being driven out of business by the Great Depression.

Try duplicating that process today. The Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), the Environmental Protection Agency, Labor Department, Internal Revenue Service, Commerce Department, bureaus, councils, assemblies, committees, commissions and offices from A to Z — the entire mechanism of regulation and constraint — would strangle your baby in its crib.

If the Treasury Department were to redesign the \$10 bill, the car alongside the building wouldn't be a symbol of free enterprise, the Hupmobile. It would be the best-selling car in America, a Honda.

And, if it's tough for start-ups, the boa constrictor of government makes running a large enterprise life-threatening.

Government hostility to business

results in requirements that translate into genuine costs to society. In 1990, costs of social, economic and environmental regulation — to tally just three areas — exceeded \$325 billion.

This excludes the negative drag on investment and innovation.

Paperwork requirements in 1990 exceeded 5 billion hours in the private sector, most of them to comply with tax laws. Conservative estimates value that time at more than \$110 billion.

This year, proposed regulatory changes in just three agencies — the Food and Drug Administration, Department of Housing and Urban Development, OSHA — would add \$4 billion more. Every year.

Greater expense of doing business means ever-greater barriers to entry for new companies. Greater

expense means higher prices, less competitive offerings, greater opportunities for non-U.S. companies to compete here — further expanding the trade imbalance.

Meanwhile, U.S. firms in the energy and other business sectors are moving overseas, searching for more offshore markets and manufacturing capacity.

When the servants of the people — lawmakers and regulators — write, they aren't writing laws and regulations, they're writing the obituary for American free enterprise.

It is one of the great ironies of the 20th century that the very factors that drove immigrants to our shores in the last 2½ centuries now drive American business from our shores:

- Government persecution.
- Interference with individual freedom.

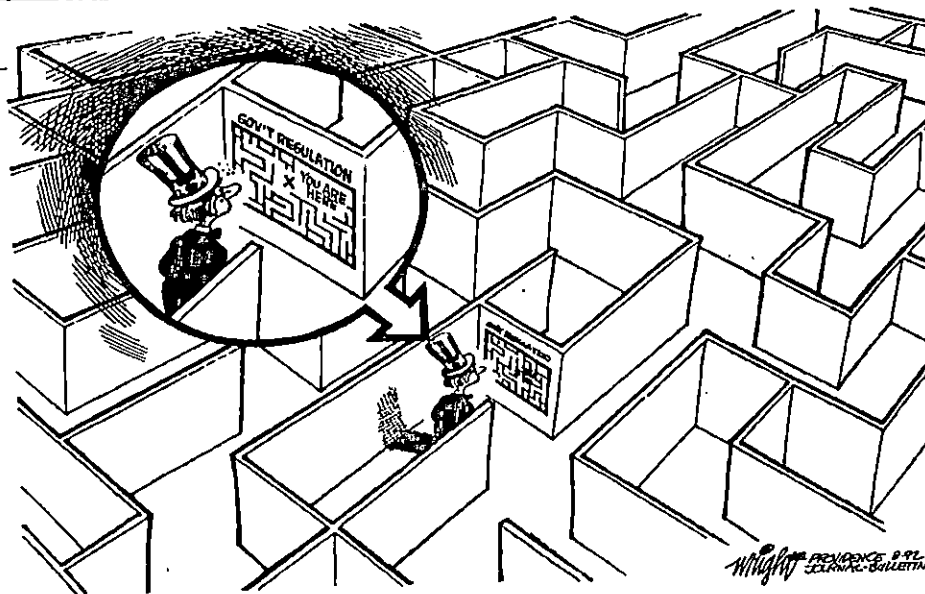
- Inability to prosper at home.

America was colonized, built and energized by a breed of men and women we now call "entrepreneurs," people who thrived in a system of free enterprise.

This is not just theory. In practice, the state once synonymous with growth and prosperity, California, now symbolizes regulation run amok. As a consequence, it's a state exporting businesses.

Southern California Edison Co. surveyed 160 firms moving out of California. Here are the reasons they gave for pulling up stakes:

- Costly, complex environmental rules — and concerns about future regulatory restrictions.
- A perceived anti-business attitude in local governments and regulators.
- A belief productivity has not



kept pace with other regions due, in part, to worker frustration that causes higher rates of absenteeism and employee turnover.

- Growing difficulty in attracting and keeping employees at competitive rates because of the high cost of living.

These are four ways of saying the same thing: California's costs of government aren't being met. Fiscal crisis after fiscal crisis are solved with higher tax rates that further discourage investment and expansion in the Golden State.

If it's happening in California, it's happening elsewhere.

The modern corporation is hamstrung, hog-tied, diced, sliced and pureed with regulations, stipulations, interpretations, hearings, sittings, permitting cycles and outright hostility.

Gulliver had fewer constraints in Lilliput than American corporations have at city hall and the Capitol. Gulliver was tied down for national defense purposes. What purpose is served by tying down the most powerful force for economic excellence the world has ever seen?

America's golden goose is being stangled for no particular reason other than the demonic greed for power and control among those who say they are the servants of the public.

Some servants. Some service.

Their best service — now and in the future — would be to get out of the way. I don't advocate open season for business, but I do advocate enlightened regulation, reasoned controls and reasonable officials who will get onto the team and put the freedom back in free enterprise.

ARNOLD BEICHMAN

With a harsh bluntness not heard around the White House, Whitehall or the Quai d'Orsay, the AFL-CIO has lashed out at Serbia and President Slobodan Milosevic "and his neo-communist government ... for instigating the violence" that erupted more than a year ago in the now fragmented Yugoslavia.

The anti-Serb statement, which appears in the current bulletin of the AFL-CIO Department of International Affairs, says the Milosevic regime is being "justly blamed" for Serbian atrocities that have grown in intensity and horror, including concentration camps.

"While communist regimes have fallen all across Eastern and Central Europe," the AFL-CIO said, "Milosevic has successfully used traditional communist control tactics — police crackdowns, restricted access to independent sources of information, and manipulation of ethnic antagonisms — to hold on to power."

Such singling out of the regime's communist background and of Mr. Milosevic himself has not been sufficiently stressed. Yet despite the century-old traditional interethnic Balkan feuds, one cannot easily write off the almost 50 years of Yugoslav communist totalitarian rule and expansionism as an irrelevant factor in determining war guilt.

The AFL-CIO revealed that the economic situation in Serbia proper is worsening as international economic sanctions take hold. Inflation is so severe that store merchandise is being marked up twice a day. Some workers are no longer being paid at all. Instead, they are offered worthless shares in closed factories. Theoretically, workers now have the right to strike, but the right is so restricted that those on strike end up forced to work at reduced hours and no pay. Intimidating ultranationalist mobs throng the streets of Belgrade and do as they please without interference, most recently beating up striking taxi drivers, according to the AFL-CIO.

Arnold Beichman, a research fellow at the Hoover Institution, is a columnist for The Washington Times.

Bosnia through labor's lens



What hope remains for democracy in a post-communist Serbia depends upon a fledgling movement, "Democratic Movement of Serbia," which called a successful strike and opposition rally at the end of June. The movement is led by the independent "Nezavisnost" confederation of trade unions, headed by Branimir Canak, and religious leaders, students and intellectuals. It was this group, supported by the AFL-CIO, which boycotted Mr. Milosevic's bid last May to gain legitimacy through what were described as fraudulent elections. A silent group of 150,000 Serbs observed the boycott by marching through the Serbian capital carrying a mile-long black banner. There have also been sporadic anti-war demonstrations since the fighting began, including protests by mothers of Serb regulars being sent to the Croatian front.

The Democratic Movement, with

AFL-CIO backing, is soliciting from trade unions abroad food and medicines for Muslim, Croat and Jewish refugees. It has announced as its three basic demands:

- (1) Resignation of the Milosevic government, the Assembly and all other officials.
- (2) New elections and a new constitutional assembly.
- (3) Economic reform.

Whether peace could break out among the warring republics of ex-Yugoslavia if President Milosevic and his neo-communists were ousted is not easy to answer, even though their potential successors are not former communist leaders. The yearlong civil war has created such ghastly memories and has so intensified age-old hatreds against Serbia among the non-Serb peoples that it is hard to imagine the successor republics can be turned into lands of stability and islands of freedom in the short term.

There is no doubt that a large sector of the Serbian people are horrified by the war and by the rise of strong anti-Serb feeling in Western Europe and the United States. The strikes and demonstrations in Belgrade clearly show that there is far from unanimous Serb opinion to continue a war that could easily spread into Kosovo with its 90 percent Albanian population, or to Voivodina with a concentration of Hungarians and to Macedonia, whose border with Greece is a potential hotspot.

The U.N. Security Council vote seeking an end to this quasi-genocidal civil war raises a question to which little thought has been given: Who will succeed the neo-communist Mr. Milosevic and his bloody thugs if they are ever ousted? The "Democratic Movement of Serbia," may be the vehicle that, with Western and U.N. encouragement, could begin the process of healing these tormented lands.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1992

MONA CHAREN

Awkward coronation

The Republican Party has a very big problem. The renomination of a sitting president ought to be a love fest — a celebration of unity and enthusiasm. But this party is held captive by an incumbent who has cut the guts out of the party's identity, embracing at key junctures the world-view and policies of the Democrats. It makes for an awkward coronation — rather the way the College of Cardinals might feel upon discovering that a newly anointed pope disbelieves in the Incarnation.

What has made the Republican Party so successful in presidential contests for the past quarter-century? Basically two things: a tough foreign policy and a conservative domestic agenda.

President Bush wants credit for the foreign policy triumphs of the past four years. But, with the exception of the Middle East (and that too is a mixed bag), most of the credit for foreign policy success belongs to Ronald Reagan. Mr. Bush and Mr. Baker were on the wrong side in China, they sided with Mikhail Gorbachev in the old U.S.S.R., and they

were slow to support Boris Yeltsin.

Still, persists Mr. Bush, when that red phone rings in the White House, "who do you trust" to handle a coup or an assassination somewhere? Quite a few voters may scratch their heads trying to imagine a coup anywhere in the post-Cold War world that would really alarm them. Do we need the experienced George Bush in the White House when there's trouble in New Delhi or Tehran? The president thinks the answer is obvious — but is it?

Some have said Mr. Bush is a victim of his own success. It's more accurate to say he's a victim of his predecessor's success.

Fifty percent of traditional Republican strength having been made moot, that leaves the domestic agenda. The Republican Party has dominated presidential contests by being the party of smaller, less intrusive government and of social conservatism.

The Republican Convention will doubtless ring with denunciations of big-taxing, big-spending liberals (and protesting from Bill Clinton and Al Gore notwithstanding, they will be mostly accurate). But after the ritual censure of the liberal Democrats, Republican orators will have to segue most skillfully to lauding the accomplishments of George Bush.

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Mona Charen is a nationally syndicated columnist.

CHAREN

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This is where the speechwriters will really earn their money, because Mr. Bush has in many ways enacted the agenda of the Democrats. In the budget debacle of 1990, Mr. Bush agreed to a huge tax increase to (ho-ho) bring down the deficit. The deficit, of course, ballooned under such treatment, as the economy contracted. Meanwhile, in one stroke, Mr. Bush eviscerated the organizing principle of the Republican Party — anti-tax and anti-big government.

By signing the Clean Air Act and the Americans with Disabilities Act, President Bush agreed to place new and unnecessary burdens on business. And in acquiescing to the Civil Rights Act, he abandoned the principle of treating people as individuals, not as groups.

To praise Mr. Bush as a conservative, speakers will need to lean heavily on the appointment of Clarence Thomas (though not David Souter), the Gulf war, educational choice and the new North American Free Trade Agreement. Those are not penny-ante issues — but they are perrysells than emotional causes like taxes and quotas. As the New York Times editorialized about the NAFTA, "All told, if Congress approves, consumers will save billions. But none of the savings will come labeled 'Courtesy of the Trade Agreement' . . . On the other side of the ledger, however, the losers, though few, will be highly visible — and vocal."

The Republican Party is nominating bronze and pretending it is gold. But while Republicans are seeking to label Mr. Bush a conservative for his good, Democrats are seeking to so label him for other reasons. "They are in the grip of 12 years of a failed ideology," Mr. Clinton is fond of saying — hoping to link the current economy (slowed by Mr. Bush's agreement with Democrats to raise taxes and increase regulation) to the supply-side policies of Mr. Reagan.

If the Democrats win, Mr. Clinton seems to hope, 1992 will be seen as the year the voters rejected conservatism. He may be right, but that would be an ironic tag for a year when Republicans offered up a crypto-liberal.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1992

WILLIAM MURCHISON

Hostile scribes

Yes, of course, it will come off as political bombast, special-interest whining. And yet, my fellow Americans, top Republican spokesmen are right: The media are for Bill Clinton; they want him in the White House. They want George Bush out, out, out.

"I think we know who the media want to win this election — and I don't think it's George Bush and the American people," GOP National Chairman Rich Bond told the Republican National Committee. Just what you'd expect to hear from a GOP national chairman, right?

Then there's Dan Quayle. "I want to say something to you good journalists," the vice president said at a news conference. "You are being overwhelmed by the bad journalism and the bad journalists of America."

We all know how this will play with the media — the way a hand buzzer plays at a wedding reception. The media, who credit Dan Quayle with the mental agility of a cocker spaniel, will snicker and jeer. The issue of media bias in the 1992 cam-

paign won't get talked about with any seriousness. But it should. The issue is real.

Mr. Quayle's and Mr. Bond's immediate provocation was the tale of George Bush's imputed extramarital affair with a former aide, concerning which Mr. Bush was questioned twice this week by TV golden throats. "It's a lie," replied the president of the United States.

The accusation is not, shall we say, wholly persuasive. It comes from a footnote in a book. The footnote, to which the New York Post drew our attention last Tuesday, quotes a dead man as saying he had once arranged for Mr. Bush and the aide to use a guest house. This — even if it happened — is an affair? Yet it was all over television the next day. ABC spent nearly a half-hour airing the matter.

The media, I say, want Mr. Bush and Mr. Quayle gone. This is obvious in the hectoring, nit-picking tone of Bush-Quayle coverage, as well as in the adulatory coverage of Bill Clinton and Al Gore. You would have thought, to take in the coverage of the Democratic duo's postconvention bus tour, that their vehicle was flying a foot off the highway, supported on the palms of angels.

I do not suggest the existence of some get-Bush conspiracy involving the networks, the newsmagazines, the New York Times and The Wash-

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William Murchison, a columnist for the Dallas Morning News, is nationally syndicated.

MURCHISON

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ington Post. I suggest a common, unifying hope that Bill Clinton, come Jan. 20, will take the Inaugural oath as president. This suffices. It produces campaign coverage slanted against Bush-Quayle and in favor of Clinton-Gore.

Dislike of a president, any president, is fine and thoroughly American. But let's remember the role the media play in our democratic republic — that of fact-collectors. The facts the media show us, assuming their factuality, are the ones we think about and act upon, whereas those facts the media downplay or ignore rarely become part of public discourse. So high a privilege entails a high responsibility — that of accuracy and fairness to both sides.

The national media, overwhelmingly liberal and sick of Republican presidents, have thrown accuracy and fairness to the winds. Their motto seems to be, if it helps Bill Clinton and hurts George Bush, go with it. Sure Mr. Clinton himself has had a hard time on the infidelity issue. This was a horse of a similar but still quite different color. Gennifer Flowers went public with the charges in a supermarket tabloid. No jilted mistress has accused Mr. Bush of anything. This whole unpleasantness — so at odds with the image of the George Bush we have known — arises from rank hearsay evidence.

Our profession, journalism, is composed of fallible humans, but we didn't use to be this bad, this one-sided. This liberal Democratic partisanship in the media dates from the mid to late '60s. It engaged public attention 24 years ago when then-Vice President Spiro Agnew assailed the "nattering nabobs of negativism." Afterward it died down, in part because Ronald Reagan communicated so successfully over the media's heads. Well, communication isn't Mr. Bush's forte, and fairness obviously isn't the media's. It's going to be a dirty campaign, not one bit brighter for the media's increasing forgetfulness of what it owes the customers.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1992

SUZANNE FIELDS

Personal touches

Yitzhak Rabin, the Israeli prime minister who has seen a lot of strange things in his life, wore a puzzled expression on his face. He stood next to George Bush in front of the president's house in Kennebunkport.

He waited, expectantly, for a question about the U.S. guaranteed loans to Israel to resettle Jews from Russia, and hard questions about the distinctions between "political" settlements and "secular" settlements in the occupied territories.

Instead, he heard a question to Mr. Bush about an affair the president might have had, or might not have had, or was said to have had, or maybe it was just speculated that he had, or maybe it was somebody else. The source for the rumor was inconveniently dead.

"I'm not going to take any sleazy questions like that from CNN," the president said, with more than a touch of indignation in his voice. "In this kind of screwy climate that we're in, I expect it. But I'm not going to respond other than to say it's a lie."

Suzanne Fields, a columnist for The Washington Times, is nationally syndicated.

It's not clear who's responsible for the resuscitation of unsubstantiated rumors about George Bush, but Bill Clinton has far more to lose with a revival of the character issue, because we don't know him very well, and a lot of what we know about him is not reassuring.

The governor of Arkansas continues to lead Mr. Bush in the public-opinion polls, but not on specific issues of character. A new Newsweek poll shows Mr. Clinton ahead by 17 points in the "horse race," but he lags far behind the president in questions about voters' perceptions of traditional issues of character, personal honesty, the ability to use good judgment in a crisis, and the likelihood that they'll stand by their beliefs.

How a candidate answers personal questions, for better or worse, provides sharp insight into his character, rounding out the man in the politician.

Dan Quayle kept family values in the forefront of public debate when he attacked the writers of the television sitcom "Murphy Brown" for glamorizing unwed motherhood. But when he answered a hypothetical question about how he would react if his adult daughter wanted an abortion we saw the father as well as the policy-maker.

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"I would counsel her and talk to her and support her on whatever decision she made," he said.

Similarly George Bush said he would try to dissuade a grandchild from considering a (hypothetical) abortion, but he would "stand by my child."

"I'd put my arm around her ... encourage her not to do that. I'd love her and help her, lift her up, wipe the tears away and we'd get back in the game," he told NBC News.

Critics accuse the two men of a willingness to allow abortion for their own but prohibit it for everyone else. But there's a difference between standards and behavior that falls short of standards. No one suggests eliminating traffic lights just because a lot of people, maybe even our own children, occasionally cross

on red.

Underlying the answers of the vice president and the president is an authentic respect for family that gets lost in clichéd political phrases.

"There are things we can do that can strengthen family from the legislative side," George Bush told The Washington Times. "But it's not all legislative. A lot of it is what Barbara does when she reads to kids, setting an example, and what we try to do with our own... [to] help them and care about them, teach them

right from wrong, teach them respect and discipline."

Family values make up all of the above and more. Says the president: "The nation's mayors — liberals, conservatives, Republicans, Democrats — [say] the largest single problem we face in the urban areas is the decline, decimation of the American family."

These values are a legitimate political issue. But family values begin in the home, even when that home is a governor's mansion or the White House.

The Washington Times

PAUL CRAIG ROBERTS

MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1992

Economic lifeline

George Bush can save his presidency and reclaim the Reagan legacy by using the Republican Convention to endorse the economic action program sent to him by Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp and six prominent Republican lawmakers. The program would cut taxes for all Americans in ways that would stimulate job and economic growth, and it would stop the growth of government relative to the private sector that to many is Mr. Bush's greatest mark of failure.

The program makes sense, and James A. Baker, who has resigned as Secretary of State to oversee President Bush's re-election campaign, said lower tax rates would be a key to Mr. Bush's campaign and second term.

The prospect of Mr. Baker teaming up with Mr. Kemp to revive the growth agenda breathes new life into a campaign that many Republicans had abandoned. Mr. Bush's economic policy has turned off his supporters along with the economy. Budget Director Richard Darman and Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady alone see virtue in budget deals with Congress that result in the government's share of national income rising while the taxpayers' share declines.

Mr. Baker's pragmatism lets him see that the economy has gone nowhere in four years and that "staying the course" is a sure-fire recipe for putting Bill and Hillary Clinton in the White House. Mr. Baker's biggest problem will be deficit-phobic Republicans, who believe the key to economic prosperity is higher taxes to reduce deficits and interest rates.

Two former government officials have ridden to Mr. Baker's rescue. Steve Entin, a former deputy assistant secretary of the Treasury, and Larry Kudlow, a former associate director of the Office of Management and Budget, have calculated the cost and benefit of the Kemp program for the economy. Using the government's own budgetary and tax accounting rules, they have concluded that the pro-growth agenda would reduce the deficit by \$560 billion over the 1993-97 period. For all practical purposes, the deficit would be over by 1996.

The tax package consists of reductions in both the top and bottom personal income tax rates from 31 percent to 28 percent and from 15 percent to 12 percent, an increase in the personal exemption of \$500 per child, adoption of neutral cost recovery for capital goods depreciation, a reduction in the capital gains tax rate to 15 percent, indexation of the cost basis of capital gains for infla-

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

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tion, and the exclusion of capital gains from the alternative minimum tax.

These incentives can be safely expected to boost the economy's growth rate by 1 percentage point, and the growth dividend on both the revenue and spending sides pays for much of the tax cut. The higher growth rate recovers part of the revenues with a larger tax base, and the better economy reduces unemployment-related expenditures.

On the spending side, the program limits the growth of Medicare and Medicaid to 5.5 percent per year,

cuts defense spending by an additional \$21 billion per year, and sells off federal assets. As the program utilizes only half of the privatizations that the Reason Foundation has shown to be feasible, more aggressive deficit reduction is possible. The federal government owns and mismanages massive amounts of real estate, grazing, mineral, mining and oil rights, airwaves, and loans that could be sold.

If these assets were put into productive, tax-paying hands, the net interest savings from a lower budget deficit alone would \$75 billion.

The 1992 presidential election may decide a crucial question that could set the course for the 1990s: Will the United States continue to lead the world on a course of private

sector rationalization or will it become a laggard on the road to economic prosperity? Formerly socialist countries such as Sweden, Great Britain, France, Mexico, Argentina and China have recently adopted massive privatization strategies. Other socialist bastions, such as the Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellites simply disappeared, leaving in their place new regimes committed to private property and markets.

However, the United States, in a perverse reaction to its own success, has not moved forward under Mr. Bush's pro-government policy. Moreover, Mr. Bush's Democratic challenger seems determined to place yet greater government burdens on the private sector. While the

rest of the world moves toward economic success, the United States is poised to step back from it.

Neither Mr. Bush nor Mr. Clinton generates any enthusiasm among voters, and turnout could be low. In November, the organized interests that live off the taxpayers have an excellent chance of capturing the reins of government. The only thing that can prevent it is an aggressive campaign based on a private sector growth agenda.

Pragmatism is telling Mr. Baker that Mr. Bush needs ideas, and Mr. Kemp's are the only ones on the scene. If Mr. Bush can move from being the candidate of the Republican establishment to becoming the candidate of the Reaganite majority, the election is his.

The Washington Times

JEFFREY HART

MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1992

'A' team to the fore

Every four years, we stage the heavyweight championship of American politics, a presidential election, and although neither of the contenders this year is a Jack Dempsey or a Joe Louis the contest will nevertheless be an interesting one.

Last month in Madison Square Garden, the Democrats fielded the best they had available. Today, the Republicans take center stage at the Houston Astrodome.

The Democrats' "A" team — Bill Bradley, Sam Nunn, Richard Gephardt and Mario Cuomo — decided to skip this year's contest, calculating a year ago that George Bush would be unbeatable.

The "B" team — Bill Clinton, Tom Harkin, Paul Tsongas, Robert Kerrey and, for laughs, Jerry Brown — was left to fight for the party's nomination. Mr. Clinton, bloody but unbowed, turned out to be the last man standing.

George Bush is a sort of substitute on the Republican "B" team. In 1980, he was named to the ticket by Ronald Reagan during a hectic moment at the Detroit convention. Mr. Bush was a Reagan gesture of reconciliation toward the Eastern, liberal and moribund wing of the GOP. (Does anyone today remember "Wild Bill" Scranton?)

At Detroit in 1980, Mr. Bush knew he had been crushed by Mr. Reagan in the primaries. His candidacy had gone nowhere. He must have been terribly surprised when, while having a beer and wearing a Lacoste shirt, he was informed in the bar of the Hotel Ponchartrain that he was on the ticket. He must have felt like St. Paul on the road to Damascus. Back in the Joe Louis Arena, the delegates overwhelmingly preferred Jack Kemp and would have chosen him by a voice vote, if allowed to do so.

But the Republicans had Mr. Bush shoved down their throats, and they still have him. He spent eight years under Mr. Reagan keeping his mouth shut and himself out of sight. He stopped talking about "voodoo economics" and all of a sudden found himself opposed to abortion.

In 1988, he ran, saying he would complete the Reagan "mission," and won because the voters believed him to be an extension of Mr. Reagan. However, he was still contumacious. Early on, he separated himself from Mr. Reagan, promising a "kinder and gentler America."

But the Republicans do have an "A" team, and it will be much on display in Houston. The Republicans' convention will compare favorably with what the Democrats showed us in New York City.

The Democrats opened with the abrasive Texas governor, Ann Richards, and didn't improve much after

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that. Mr. Bradley, estimable as he is, made a boring speech, and Mr. Cuomo reminded everyone that he can speak but not pay the bills in New York. The Democrats' overall message was that Mr. Bush is not much good, but everyone already knew that.

When the Republican "A" team comes to bat in Houston, the TV audience will see a much more impressive squad, with a better message. Jesse Jackson will not be playing on this team.

One of the two most effective presidents in this century, Ronald Reagan, will open the proceedings with what undoubtedly will be a great address on foreign policy. It is possible that Mr. Reagan will produce an electrifying announcement about an agreement in the Middle East. Mr. Reagan, after all, was the president who shook hands with Mikhail Gorbachev as the Berlin Wall came down and communism crumbled in our hemisphere. Where is Daniel Ortega now?

The Republican heavy-hitters will be on display: Mr. Kemp, Bill Bennett, Bob Dole. All three despise Mr. Bush but are coming together because they much prefer him to Mr. Clinton. Samuel Johnson once re-

marked that the imminence of execution concentrates the mind. The imminence of a Democrat in the White House will bring the "A" team to Houston.

Pat Buchanan, who dramatically exposed Mr. Bush's vulnerability, is scheduled to give a prime-time stem-winder and will lure back the wandering "Reagan Democrats."

Defense Secretary Richard Cheney will be on display. They will not have to ask: "Do you want Patsy Schroeder to be your Secretary of Defense?"

James Baker has had a good tour as secretary of state; and before that, White House chief of staff (to which he is now returning); and before that, Treasury secretary. He'll be at the Astrodome, as will Pete du Pont and Phil Gramm.

There is now in existence a strong Republican political tradition, flawed in some respects though it may be. What Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan brought to the White House was a skepticism about state power and a realistic sense of the uses of power abroad. What Mr. Reagan, a Democrat from the 1930s, accomplished was to take over the old Republican Party and make it the majority governing party.

In Houston, you will see the Republican "A" team. It doesn't have much of a quarterback, but it will carry even Mr. Bush to victory.

Jeffrey Hart is a nationally syndicated columnist.

JOSEPH SOBRAN

Could you ask for a better liberal?

Just think: If it were Bush vs. Quayle, this election would be a cliff-hanger.

Is there any way even the cunning of James Baker can save this president? So far the Bush campaign has been trying to paint Bill Clinton as a far-out liberal. But frantically slapping the L-word on Mr. Clinton just isn't working very well. He merely calls the tactic "desperate," which it is.

Every four years, George Bush has a strange compulsion to present himself as a conservative. And the general assumption about him is that he is indeed more or less conservative. Some think he is a fumbling and inconstant conservative; a few, like R. Emmett Tyrrell Jr., even think he is a model conservative. Mr. Tyrrell calls the president "a politician built in conformity with Oakeshott's formulae," referring to the great English political philosopher Michael Oakeshott.

I could hardly disagree more. The Oakeshottian conservative has,

Joseph Sobran, critic-at-large for National Review, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

first of all, philosophical poise — a serene aversion to the promiscuous use of government power that is entirely opposite to the panicky, fix-it politics of Mr. Bush, who responds with maladroitness to the slightest pressure from the other side. He is not, to be sure, the political "rationalist" (or ideologue) Professor Oakeshott deprecated, but in practice he accepts the premises of rationalism.

If Mr. Bush were to read Mr. Oakeshott's classic essay "On Being Conservative," he would be puzzled. Mr. Oakeshott speaks of governing as "a specific and limited activity," concerned with the minimal rule-making necessary to enable people "to pursue the activities of their own choice with the minimum frustration." The government Mr. Oakeshott envisions would seek to calm, not to excite, and certainly not to yield to the passionate demands of every organized interest. All this is totally alien to the only politics this reflexive, unreflective president knows.

Mr. Bush's attempt to play the leap-year conservative creates so many problems and requires so many contortions that I wonder if it isn't the wrong approach.



Why doesn't he simply run as a liberal?

By co-opting the infamous L-word himself, Mr. Bush could make his task much easier. By liberal standards, he can claim a fairly successful presidency. He has raised taxes and vastly increased federal spend-

ing. He has signed bills creating new federal powers in the areas of fighting air pollution, enlarging the rights of handicapped people and expanding affirmative action. He has made no effort to reverse the accumulated gains of liberalism.

True, his record, even in liberal

terms, hasn't been perfect. But can Bill Clinton really match his accomplishments? Besides, Mr. Clinton has been denying that he's a liberal. This would make it hard for him to turn around and argue that he's actually more liberal than the president.

Of course not everyone would

buy the claim that Mr. Bush is a liberal. That's the beauty of this strategy. More voters call themselves conservatives than liberals, and most of these would feel that for a liberal, Mr. Bush isn't really too bad. They would warm up to him even more when card-carrying liberals snorted that Mr. Bush had no right to their label.

In other words, Mr. Bush, running as an unreliable liberal, would be a much stronger candidate than he is now, when he is perceived as an unreliable conservative.

Conservatives are extremely uneasy about having Mr. Bush run as their champion. They know that the liberal majority of pundits and analysts will be only too glad to interpret his defeat as a popular rejection of their philosophy. And they would therefore feel much more free to vote for him as the lesser evil if he were running as the champion of someone else's philosophy.

No less a liberal than Michael Kinsley, after all, observes that Mr. Bush has adhered implicitly to the tenets of liberalism throughout his administration. This is just what conservatives have been complaining about. It seems unfair, then, that conservatives should be saddled with him at the last minute.

But if Mr. Bush will only look into the camera and snarl, "Read my lips: I'm a liberal!" his conservative support will soar. Moreover, he will instantly make some sense of his presidency. Who knows, he may even pick up a few liberal votes.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1992

DOUG BANDOW

Statism wrapped in rhetoric

George Bush's Houston coronation is more than a little hollow. Much of his support is reluctant, coming from people skeptical of government power who are sadly disappointed with his record. For them, the case for Mr. Bush is simply the Democratic ticket. Bill Clinton, despite his moderate image, is an enthusiast of active government. Al Gore is even worse, one of the biggest spenders in the entire Senate and an environmental apocalyptic. And the interest groups that would likely staff a Clinton-Gore administration, such as the public employee unions, are among the most avaricious in existence.

Thus, the prospect of a Clinton presidency is frightening. But no one should have any illusions as to what four more years of George Bush is likely to mean, especially since he will no longer face the constraint of a future election. While a Bush presidency might still be marginally better than a Clinton administration, in the longer term the cause of liberty could very well be served by a Republican defeat.

The point is, Mr. Bush has spent nearly four years implementing Democratic policies. Government is more expansive and expensive; taxes are higher; and regulations are more draconian. The results? The economy is floundering and national confidence is disappearing. Congress shares the blame, of course, but a Democratic Congress has been a virtual constant since 1955. It is George Bush who has taken the nation back to John F. Kennedy levels of spending and Jimmy Carter levels of regulation.

Indeed, most people are not aware of the sordid details of the Bush record. In 1988, when Mr. Bush was elected, federal outlays ran

\$1.064 trillion. Four years later, Washington is spending \$1.323 trillion, a 24 percent increase. But these numbers understate the bloat since military spending has declined slightly in real (after inflation) terms because of the end of the Cold War. Observes Dan Mitchell of the Heritage Foundation, "Counted in 1987 dollars, domestic spending has climbed by an average of \$44.7 billion annually, an amount more than

This election demonstrates that the lesser of two evils is still evil.

15 times larger than the average annual domestic spending increase under Ronald Reagan, and nearly three times more than domestic spending grew under Jimmy Carter."

The president's disastrous 1990 tax increase, the second-largest in history, did not, as promised, cut the deficit. To the contrary, next year the Office of Management and Budget expects \$341 billion in red ink, \$205.8 billion more than projected before the Bush budget deal.

And President Bush has become Mr. Regulation, finally feeling forced to impose a moratorium on his own administration. Last year the number of pages in the Federal Register grew 26 percent to 67,716, the third-highest ever and the most since 1980. After decrying quotas, the president signed Sen. Ted Kennedy's quota bill; despite a professed commitment to economic growth, Mr. Bush inked such burdensome monstrosities as the Clean Air Act (which achieves little environmental protection at enormous cost) and the Americans with Disabilities Act (which penalizes innocent firms for other people's handicaps).

The president's record in foreign affairs is scarcely better. He tried to

save Mikhail Gorbachev, told the Ukrainians to stay under Moscow's yoke, and, through his secretary of state, declared his concern for the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia — yet now is preparing to entangle America in the resulting civil war. The results of his campaign against Saddam Hussein seem less satisfactory every day and he is defending an obsolete military budget on the basis of "jobs," the Democrats' long-time mantra in defense of all types of pork barrel spending.

A Clinton administration would be theoretically capable of beating Mr. Bush on all of these measures, of course. But it wouldn't be easy. Indeed, there is a chance that just as it took a virulent anti-communist like Richard Nixon to travel to China, it might take liberal Bill Clinton to contain so-called entitlement spending and make government regulation less grotesquely inefficient.

Only on the courts has Mr. Bush been steadfast. Yet Planned Parenthood vs. Casey shows that Republican appointments to the Supreme Court guarantee nothing. Anyway, the next members likely to retire are liberals. Another David Souter, willing to ratify the left-wing activism of recent decades, is little better than another Harry Blackmun, whose prejudices are at least aboveboard.

Ultimately, the most important question is not would life be worse under Mr. Clinton? It probably would be. More relevant is: Can the Republican Party, and the larger movement dedicated to individual liberty, survive four more years of being sabotaged by its alleged ally? At best a Bush re-election means that the nation loses more slowly. But it will still lose.

Voters should drive a stake through the heart of Bush Republicanism, which wraps visionless statism in the rhetoric of liberty. This election dramatically demonstrates that the lesser of two evils is still evil.

Doug Bandow, a senior fellow at the Cato Institute, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1992

L. BRENT BOZELL III

As the Republicans enter their convention in Houston, a key worry is the anticipated onslaught from the press. This is in striking contrast to the grandiose treatment afforded by the press to the Democrats at their convocation in New York last month. Why? Keep in mind that some of the major media operatives covering this year's campaign are former political operatives of the Democratic Party.

Faced with facts like these, most liberals no longer make the impossible argument that the media elite aren't liberal. Now they insist that while reporters, editors and executives may be liberal, it doesn't affect their news coverage. They're losing that argument, too.

Look at the way the networks covered the Democratic Convention. In four nights of prime-time coverage, the four major networks never once called Bill Clinton or Al Gore "liberal." The Democrats' platform favors abortion on demand and the gay "rights" agenda, but the platform was never called "liberal" once. The media have built a Potemkin village around the idea that the Democratic ticket and message are unarguably moderate. Democrats in the media are helping the Democrats on the hustings.

Liberal Democrats are in positions of major influence throughout the media's political units. Begin with the networks. ABC's political coverage is run by Jeff Gralnick, George McGovern's press secretary in 1971. He rose from an associate producer position in 1972 to executive producer of "World News Tonight" by 1979. He's been in charge of ABC's election coverage since 1982. Jeff Greenfield, a ringside convention analyst, wrote speeches for Robert F. Kennedy in 1968.

At CBS News, political editor Dotty Lynch toiled as deputy pollster for George McGovern in 1972, as polling director for the Democratic National Committee in 1981-82, and as a pollster for Gary

L. Brent Bozell III is chairman of the Media Research Center.

Donkeys in media stables

Hart and Mondale-Ferraro in 1984. Look at CNN and find that President Tom Johnson was appointed deputy press secretary and later special assistant to President Lyndon Johnson. Veteran political reporter Ken Bode was an aide in liberal Morris Udall's 1976 presidential campaign and authored the 1972 McGovern Commission Democratic delegate reform rules.

NBC's squad of Democrats begins with Tim Russert, a network vice president and Washington bureau chief, host of "Meet the Press" and "roving analyst" for the convention. Mr. Russert first made his mark as Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's chief of staff and then as counselor to New York Gov. Mario Cuomo in 1983 and 1984. John Chancellor, a co-anchor of convention coverage, directed the Voice of America in the Johnson administration.

Maria Shriver, NBC's podium reporter, volunteered as a campaign aide for the 1972 McGovern-Shriver ticket and the 1980 Ted Kennedy presidential effort. This no doubt prepared her for the Democratic Convention, where she asked AIDS sufferer Elizabeth Glaser: "You place the responsibility for the death of your daughter [from AIDS] at the feet of the Reagan administration. Do you believe that they're responsible for that?"

National Public Radio (NPR) President Douglas Bennet directed the Agency for International Development for Jimmy Carter and also served as administrative assistant to liberal Sens. Tom Eagleton and Abraham Ribicoff. Bob Ferrante, executive producer of NPR's morning news, helped handle Democratic National Committee public relations from 1986 to 1988. Before directing

1984 campaign coverage for CBS, Mr. Ferrante was executive producer of two programs, the now-defunct "Nightwatch" and the "CBS Morning News." Anne Edwards, now a senior editor at NPR, worked as the assignment editor in the CBS Washington bureau until she found a position in 1984 as campaign scheduler for Mondale-Ferraro. At PBS, "MacNeil-Lehrer NewsHour" and convention reporter Kwame Holman joined Washington Mayor Marion Barry's 1980 re-election campaign as press secretary.

The prevalence of liberals who have moved from politics to the press goes beyond the electronic media. Time Deputy Washington Bureau Chief Margaret Carlson started as a special assistant to the chairman of the Consumer Product Safety Commission during the Carter administration. Senior writer Walter Shapiro gained his campaign experience by writing speeches for Jimmy Carter in 1976 and was rewarded with a job under Mr. Carter's labor secretary, Ray Marshall. At U.S. News & World Report, Kathryn Bushkin, director of editorial administration, handled the press for Gary Hart's 1984 campaign. Harrison Rainie, an assistant managing editor now covering the campaign, warmed Tim Russert's spot as Mr. Moynihan's top aide in 1987.

Does this mean that all journalists with Democratic backgrounds are actively promoting a liberal agenda? Certainly not. Some of the folks listed above — and I would cite in particular CNN's Mr. Johnson and ABC's Mr. Greenfield — have established well-deserved reputations for fairness and balance. But they are the exception to the rule in an industry where Democrats going through the revolving door outnumber Republicans three to one.

It's time for the media to hire a conservative reporter or two to level the playing field. Before liberals hit the panic button, I would remind them that not all conservative Republicans are predictable, either. One such reporter began his political training as a Young Republican and later entered journalism. And Sam Donaldson has been driving conservatives crazy ever since.

DONALD LAMBRO

One of the most important observations of this campaign year came from Paul Tsongas who said the race for the White House was going to be won by the candidate who offers the most credible economic growth plan for America.

Mr. Tsongas, who won the New Hampshire Democratic presidential primary largely on the popularity of his tax-cut incentives for economic recovery, tried to get Bill Clinton to adopt his plan for business expansion and job creation at the national convention in New York, but to no avail.

Mr. Clinton was sticking to his much higher, nearly 40 percent income tax rate proposals, his increased business taxes, and his opposition to Mr. Tsongas' tough, deficit-cutting budget freeze and capital gains tax cuts for existing businesses.

I've devoted several columns to an examination of Mr. Clinton's economic plan: the taxes, the government-mandated business costs and the additional spending for a host of new federal programs and agencies.

The Arkansas governor is flying high in the polls right now, largely because of President Bush's weakness on the economy. For many

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Bush's need: An economic vision



Americans, any change would appear to be better than the present situation.

However, the American people

are going to be asked by the president to closely compare Mr. Clinton's economic plan to what he is offering. But before he does that, Mr.

Bush will have to articulate a vision of where he wants to take our country in the next four years and draw an economic road map to get us there.

He is going to have to put forth a market-oriented, pro-growth, pro-jobs, pro-business investment plan for America that will offer a stark contrast to Mr. Clinton's traditional tax and spend proposals.

Here are some of the key principles and proposals that must be in the president's plan:

(1) Expanding economic opportunity: You cannot create and advance economic opportunity by expanding the government's budget at the expense of the business and family budget. Putting people first means letting people at all income levels keep more of what they earn.

(2) The American people have been regulated and taxed enough: The 1990 tax increases were a mistake. Higher tax rates and increased business regulations are a disincentive to investment, business expansion and job creation.

Our economy needs to be revived with tax cut incentives to spur new capital investment. Mr. Bush's capital gains tax cuts, investment tax

credit and first-time home-buyer tax credits would help get this economy moving again. But what we do not need are more tax increases on anyone — low, middle or upper income.

(3) Government spending is out of control: Federal spending has more than doubled since Jimmy Carter left office—from \$600 billion to more than \$1.5 trillion a year. There is plenty of blame to go around, but only Congress can raise and appropriate federal tax dollars.

And appropriation bills of the current Congress have been stuffed with pork-barrel spending that has ballooned the deficit and wasted hundreds of billions of hard-earned tax dollars. Mr. Bush must pledge to control government spending by using his veto aggressively and consistently. He has an opportunity to show he means business in the coming weeks.

He would be wise to resurrect Paul Tsongas' proposal for a freeze on total federal spending and pledge that this will be his guiding policy for the next four years. America, he must promise, will enter 1996 with a sharply reduced deficit and a stronger economy.

(4) Combating poverty by expanding the business sector and creating robust economic opportunity

in America's depressed inner cities:

The greatest enemy of poverty is a growing, wealth-creating economy that produces jobs. And the way to create jobs is to offer incentives to invest in our inner cities, to open up new businesses and to leave the certainty of welfare for the opportunity of private sector employment.

George Bush and Ross Perot agreed on one thing after the Los Angeles riots: The only way to bring economic growth to our poverty-stricken inner cities is to make the business rewards greater than the risks. Both called for zeroing out the capital gains tax in the inner city. Only Mr. Clinton opposes this.

With the help of Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp, George Bush can carry his crusade for 300 capital gains-free enterprise zones and tenant ownership of public housing to the inner-city leadership.

The president needs to call for a broad program of tax incentives that will unleash the job-creating power of the marketplace. He needs to proclaim that a thriving, dynamic, capitalist economy is the greatest engine for social change and upward mobility.

The coming campaign will be a time for intense comparisons and questioning of the two candidates. And, as Paul Tsongas says, the one who makes the most persuasive case for his economic blueprint for growth will probably emerge the winner.

Iraqi attack report labeled Democratic dirty trick

By Ralph Z. Hallow
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

HOUSTON — Bush campaign advisers and Republican members of Congress were taken by surprise yesterday by a New York Times report that the administration planned to provoke a confrontation with Iraq during the GOP convention to help the president get re-elected.

Senior administration officials here for today's opening of the Republican convention rejected the story as a Democratic ploy to ruin the party meeting.

"It was just the Democrats or a lone Democrat in the Pentagon trying to play dirty," said one senior of-

ficial who spoke on condition of anonymity.

The Times story was carried locally on Page One of the Houston Chronicle.

A number of Republican lawmakers, including Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole of Kansas, suggested the New York Times report had been planted by the Clinton-Gore campaign.

Asked about the story after giving a speech on Mr. Bush's behalf to the New York delegation, Mr. Dole suggested the newspaper was consciously misleading its readers. "It wouldn't be the first time," he said.

George W. Bush, the president's eldest son, called it "outrageous" for

the newspaper to suggest the administration would find an excuse to attack Iraq right in the middle of the GOP convention. He also suggested the newspaper had allowed itself to be misled by a "rogue" official in the administration.

Another theory circulating here yesterday was that the administration had leaked the story in order to signal Iraqi President Saddam Hussein that he does not have free rein during the Republican convention.

But Frank Donatelli, who was White House political director in the Reagan administration, dismissed that theory.

"It would be the most stupid thing in political history for the Bush ad-

ministration to attack Iraq during this convention and take the focus off what we are trying to do here," he said.

He argued that it would be "equally stupid" to leak such a story with an eye to pre-empting any attempt by Iraq to embarrass Mr. Bush at this critical time in his re-election campaign.

Mr. Donatelli said it was more likely that an administration official had a "kernel of truth" and was exaggerating it to impress a favored reporter.

Condoleezza Rice, a former National Security Council staffer now teaching at Stanford, offered a similar "rogue official" theory.

"This isn't the first time something like this has happened," she said. "In fact, it happens all the time," she said in an interview.

None of the campaign officials, Bush advisers and lawyers interviewed could explain why the newspaper cited more than one source for the story and described all the sources as "U.S. officials."

The general feeling among Republican officials and lawmakers here was that Mr. Bush would be hurt politically by military action against Iraq.

One reason is that it would be seen as a politically motivated act by a president trailing his Democratic opponent in the polls.

The other is that it would take the focus off the domestic economic and social vision Mr. Bush will be trying to present this week, along with the idea that he is more trustworthy than Bill Clinton when it comes to the nation's welfare and future.

The Bush campaign is counting on receiving a major boost in the opinion polls as a result of the convention. But George W. Bush said he does not think it will result in enough of a boost to let his father draw even with Mr. Clinton in the polls.

"That's an unreasonable expectation," he said.

• Paul Bedard contributed to this article.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1992

Needle exchange confusion

Crime in the District has everyone on edge, from Congress to the mayor to the council to residents. No one knows for sure how to get it under control. The only certainty is something radical has to be done about it. Preoccupation with what to do has produced a spate of legislation and policy recommendations. But many of them are proving more reactive than thoughtful, more desperate than calculating and more responsive to political pressure than to reality. And sometimes the city only manages to shoot itself in the foot.

A case in point is the hypodermic needle exchange program that Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly hopes will curtail the spread of AIDS among intravenous drug users. Though the D.C. Council unanimously voted its approval of the law, members clearly were unsettled by their decision. Emotionally, the council viewed the program as a signal to the public that it was not just sitting on its hands but doing something about the spread of the deadly disease among users.

Intellectually, council members knew that their decision made government an enabler and active partner in the drug epidemic. As a practical matter, the law may be improving sanitation among users. But it is making crime even more difficult for the police to fight.

A sea of hypodermic needles at the feet of a crowd of suspected users once was probable cause for police

officers who happened upon the scene to draw some reasonable conclusions, ask questions and make arrests. In an attempt to escape culpability, users typically threw the syringes on the sidewalk when they spotted a cop. But now a syringe at someone's feet or in someone's hand or laying in plain view on the front seat of a car may as well be a package of breath mints. The law, in effect, now gives the city's blessing to the possession of a needle.

In trying to solve a public health problem, the District has created a law enforcement dilemma. The last thing police need is to have their hands bound behind their backs. As well-meaning as the council believes the needle exchange program may be, it needs to go.

Some council members believe that another way to get a grip on crime is to create an Office of the Public Safety Commissioner. Its chief would oversee a plethora of District functions, including policing, corrections, drug treatment policy, social services for criminal offenders, emergency preparedness and more.

A new layer of bureaucracy is the last thing the District needs. Such an office will not solve problems; it will only fight for turf and grow as problems get shuffled around. Getting crime under control will begin only when there is the political and moral will to do so and when public policy takes into account the reality of city life.

Clair George lashes back

During his testimony in federal court last week, former CIA official Clair George let loose with a dirty little secret that will be familiar only to those few dedicated antiquarians who have followed the Iran-Contra affair closely. Congress, Mr. George charged, knew all along about the activities being run out of the White House by Lt. Col. Oliver North to keep the Nicaraguan Contras alive after Congress cut them off at the knees.

"They knew, they all knew about Ollie North as much as I did," said Mr. George, who is on trial for lying to Congress about the Iran-Contra affair. "Not one of them had the guts to ask me about what they knew, about Ollie North's role. They were waiting for me to say something wrong. And goddamnit, that's hypocrisy!"

"Everybody was a goddamn hypocrite about this," Mr. George continued. He stated that Rep. Lee Hamilton, the Indiana Democrat, had sanctioned administration plans to resupply the Contras with both humanitarian supplies and limited amounts of arms. Mr. George also claimed that Sen. John Kerry of Massachusetts and former Sen. Thomas Eagleton of Missouri, both of whom testified against Mr. George at trial, were among those in Congress who set him up.

This should have come as no shock to Craig Gillen, the chief prosecutor in the case. Last year, Jeffrey

Tobin, a former attorney in the office of Iran-Contra special-prosecutor-for-life Lawrence Walsh, reported in his book "Opening Arguments" that Judge Gerhard Gesell, the judge in the Oliver North case, was convinced that Mr. Hamilton, the co-chairman of the Iran-Contra investigating committee, knew all along of Col. North's efforts to keep the Contras going while the Boland Amendments were in effect. But Mr. Hamilton "lacked the political will to stop it," in the judge's view.

Meanwhile, Mr. George stands accused of giving uncertain and ambiguous answers about a resupply operation to a congressional committee in 1986. Mr. George says he did not give full answers because his knowledge was imprecise and second-hand. "I went down to tell them [members of Congress] that the CIA was not involved in this particular flight. If they thought I was going to come down and tell them everything I suspected or heard by rumor, they were wrong. ... I did not lie. ... If you're going to sit around and nit-pick, nit-pick, nit-pick every word I ever said, I'm not going to go along with it."

The former head of the CIA's operations directorate and also of its congressional relations unit, Mr. George also had a fine explanation of why he is before a jury. Addressing prosecutor Gillen, the witness said: "You were so damned hard up to grab someone to work with, you grabbed me."

The Washington Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1992

The Republicans convene

The latest polls show George Bush trailing Bill Clinton by 18 percent or so as the GOP gathers in Houston. This would seem bad, except it actually represents considerable improvement from the 25- to 30-point edge Mr. Clinton enjoyed following the Democratic convention and Ross Perot's withdrawal announcement. Mr. Clinton's bounce is trailing off, and while the Republicans have their work cut out for them, their cause is by no means lost.

The meaning of the size and relative persistence of the Clinton bounce is something students of public opinion will be analyzing for years to come. A full assessment will have to await exit polling Nov. 3, but for now, one observation is certainly fair: The sudden departure of Mr. Perot from the race — on the very day that Mr. Clinton spoke to Democrats in New York — resulted in a temporary bonanza for Mr. Clinton.

Such support as Mr. Perot enjoyed was primarily a reflection of disenchantment with Mr. Bush. It was not the two-party system that Perot supporters were railing against, nor gridlock in Washington, nor other of the structural causes that have been put forward to explain the phenomenon. It was Mr. Bush. It seems likely that the Perot supporters were people who, 12 or 14 months ago, were contributing to Mr. Bush's stratospheric approval ratings. When the economy remained persistently troubled and when a president they had come to admire for his decisiveness in the Gulf war suddenly had very little to say, they turned away from him. With Mr. Perot out, their disenchantment with Mr. Bush landed them on Mr. Clinton's bandwagon.

It stands to reason that Mr. Bush can get these people back. The American electorate is, generally speaking, conservative. If Mr. Bush has alienated people, it is because he has been too accommodating with the Democrats who control Congress, to the detriment of the economy and of the conservative view on such matters as affirmative action. It hardly follows that voters who have been turned off in this fashion will proceed to embrace a more liberal candidate than the one who has turned them off.

Mr. Clinton has made an appeal to the center. It is likely to be successful only if voters see little difference between a second Bush administration and a Clinton administration. Paradoxically, the more Mr. Clinton resembles Mr. Bush, the better Mr. Clinton's chances. Voters do not want liberal Democrats in Congress to have a field day building government bureaucracy with money from voters' pockets. Mr. Clinton has to convince them that he won't let that happen — that he will be at least as resistant to liberal excess as Mr. Bush has been.

This, of course, is Mr. Bush's opportunity. He needs to demonstrate that Mr. Clinton is going to play no such role — that far from being willing to stand up to his liberal fellow Democrats, Mr. Clinton will be the "change agent" for their agenda.

In essence, that is all Mr. Bush has to do. It would be nice if he ran seeking a mandate for his second term — and certainly he would find it easier to know what to do in office if he did seek one — but the truth is he may not have to.

Iraq — on the merits

The line from people who wish the Bush administration ill over the weekend was that the United States is seeking to "provoke" a confrontation with Iraq that will serve as a pretext for U.S. military action, which in turn will benefit Mr. Bush politically. This is meretricious nonsense on a variety of levels.

In the first place, it is Saddam Hussein whose conduct has been provocative. He has made it clear that he has no intention of voluntarily complying with the terms that got him a cease-fire in the Persian Gulf war. He has repeatedly placed roadblocks in the way of U.N. inspectors seeking information on Iraq's programs for the acquisition of weapons of mass destruction. It is clear that those programs are ongoing and that as soon as Saddam can get away with it, they will be pursued with vigor. His behavior in keeping inspectors out of his Agriculture Ministry — whose concerns are not limited to farming — and in encouraging angry mobs to convene and menace them was outrageous. It was also of a piece with a strategy that holds that the West will eventually tire of this game of cat and mouse and leave him alone.

The Agriculture Ministry episode amply justified a military response from the United States. David Kay, who had been the chief U.N. inspector held hostage in the parking lot, noted upon his departure from Iraq that cutting the highway from Amman, Jordan, to Baghdad and shutting down Iraq's electrical power grid would be highly efficacious in enforcing compliance. The United States hesitated long enough, perhaps as a result of being unprepared militarily, to give Saddam an opportunity to avoid an attack. He took it, allowing inspectors into the ministry but attaching unacceptable conditions.

That must not happen again, and it seems as if the Bush administration understands this. The heightened military presence in the Gulf speaks of the administration's apparent willingness to deal with the problem of Saddam's defiance decisively. That is commendable.

It is also not without risk. Those who assume that military action is automatically politically beneficial are deluding themselves. Fortunately, that assumption seems mainly to be shared by the president's opponents. There is every indication that the administration is merely dealing with Iraq on the merits.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1992

Bush assails report

Vows politics,
Iraq are separate

By Bill Gertz
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

An angry President Bush said yesterday the political election season would not deter him from ordering military action to force Iraq's compliance with United Nations resolutions requiring Baghdad to destroy its unconventional weapons and missiles.

But, he said, any decisions to do so would not be based on politics.

"There will be no politics, and I will do what is right for the United States and, in this case, for the rest of the world," Mr. Bush said during a White House news conference.

The president made the remarks in response to a news report yesterday saying U.S. military action against Iraq was timed to help Mr. Bush's re-election bid by coinciding with the opening today of the Republican convention in Houston.

"I totally deny that," Mr. Bush said, calling the report "ugly and uncalled for."

Mr. Bush said the United States is determined to see that Iraq complies with U.N. resolutions requiring the destruction of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and ballistic missiles.

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REPORT

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"From now on some will accuse us of political opportunism for every move that I make," Mr. Bush said. "That's unfortunate, but it's not going to deter me from doing what is right regardless of the political fallout."

"I have responsibilities as president and responsibilities as commander in chief, and I will go through with those responsibilities regardless of the politics," Mr. Bush said.

The president was reacting to a report in Sunday's editions of The New York Times that U.S. military forces were set to strike Iraqi targets this morning in raids timed to the GOP convention.

"I totally deny that we're trying to pick a fight, and I totally deny that I'm trying to pick a fight for political reasons," Mr. Bush said.

Defense Secretary Dick Cheney went further than the president in denouncing the Times report. He dismissed as "fallacious" its statement that U.S. forces planned to attack Iraq in raids timed to bolster Mr. Bush's standing during the Republican convention.

"There's been at least one irresponsible story that I've seen this morning suggesting that somehow we were planning a confrontation that was being timed to coincide with the opening of the Republican convention in Houston," Mr. Cheney told reporters upon arriving at Andrews Air Force Base from a trip to Washington state.

"That's a totally fallacious notion," he said.

Mr. Cheney repeated earlier administration policy, saying that the United States was ready and willing to use force to ensure Iraqi compliance "if called upon to do so."

"We have said over and over and over again that Saddam must comply with those U.N. Security Council resolutions and that if he doesn't comply, we're maintaining the capacity to insist on his compliance, to compel him to comply," he said.

Mr. Cheney described the Times report as "totally irresponsible" and "deeply offensive." He said it was "one of the worst pieces of reporting I've seen in a long time."

The front-page report, quoting unidentified U.S. officials, said military planners had decided to hit Iraq as part of a calculated effort to "provoke a confrontation" over Baghdad's refusal to cooperate with U.N. inspections.

Without elaborating, Mr. Bush described some reports about military planning, presumably those indicating that U.S. forces have targeted Iraqi government buildings, as "a clear breach of security."

The heightened rhetoric appears

to be part of ongoing efforts to force Iraq to comply with U.N. weapons destruction. The statements also appear designed to prepare U.S. and international public opinion for new military attacks.

The United Nations approved a resolution last week permitting military action to force Iraqi compliance with earlier resolutions calling for Iraq to dismantle its special weapons and missiles.

Mr. Bush said he has "total confidence" in Rolf Ekeus, senior U.N. official in charge of carrying out the inspections. "What he plans to do next is his business," he said. "And that is not something that's done by the United States."

Emphasizing an election campaign theme about his experience as president, Mr. Bush said any decision to use military force would not be made lightly.

"I've been there myself. I know what it's like," said Mr. Bush, a former World War II combat pilot. "And I don't commit somebody else's son or daughter to battle or to any kind of combat unless it is the right thing to do regardless of politics."

Mr. Cheney also confirmed that a top U.S. Air Force official had been sent to the Persian Gulf region last week to bolster military ties with countries in the area and to observe U.S. forces in the Middle East.

The Pentagon yesterday said Air Force Lt. Gen. Michael Nelson, commander of the U.S. Central Command's Air Force component, and about 30 staff officials left for the Persian Gulf on Thursday.

A U.N. inspection team in Iraq is set to resume its search today for Iraqi weapons of mass destruction, which are required to be destroyed under U.N. resolutions.

Administration officials said privately yesterday that Iraq would be forced to abide by the U.N. resolutions and that military action remains an option.

"What's going to happen is they [U.N. inspectors] will try to go in, and if Saddam says no, we will respond," a senior administration official told the Associated Press.

Among the action options are shooting down Iraqi aircraft that attempt to fly in defiance of U.N. resolutions, cutting off the flow of oil from Iraq to Jordan and disrupting movements of oil within Iraq.

If those steps do not force Iraq to go along with the U.N. inspections, military targets in Iraq could then be bombed with air raids or cruise missile strikes.

"There are lots of military targets left in Iraq. The place is nothing but a military convenience store," said the official, speaking on condition of anonymity.

Regarding the breach of security, Mr. Bush said: "I don't like it, but I'm unfortunately less shocked than I used to be" about such leaks.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1992

Players await curtain today

By Major Garrett
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

HOUSTON — For those searching for omens, the city provided a refreshing break from its usual heat and humidity as GOP leaders and foot soldiers arrived here to give their president a boost for the coming campaign.

The fall-like day made it feel that anything was possible — including the rehabilitation of a president whose broken tax pledge has angered his right wing and whose pro-life position has caused his moderate flank to threaten a floor revolt.

Breaking with tradition, President Bush will arrive here today to



begin mending fences and building momentum for his acceptance speech Thursday. That appearance, everyone here agrees, must equal or surpass his convention address four years ago in New Orleans.

"People like President Bush," Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole said. "It's not animosity, it's just they feel — they need to know for certain that he's got a plan for the future. If he does that ... then I think it's going to turn around very quickly."

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HOUSTON

From page A1

Along the way, legions of campaign officials, party chiefs, lawmakers and delegates will read from a carefully crafted script emphasizing, in order, foreign policy, domestic policy, family values and presidential leadership.

All this will transpire inside the Astrodome, where technicians finished sound checks and inspected sight lines, hoisted balloons and walked the ruby red convention floor one last time before the made-for-television coronation begins this morning.

Three events today, none completely under the Bush-Quayle campaign's control, could determine the success of the entire convention.

The first will occur this morning when pro-choice Republicans try to muster support to press for a minority plank containing language supporting a woman's legal right to abortion.

They need written requests from a majority of six state delegations to seek a suspension of the rules, the first step to allowing for a minority plank. The pro-choice Republicans would need support from two-thirds of all 2,210 delegates to suspend the rules and include a minority plank.

Bush-Quayle officials predicted a floor fight would not occur.

But Mary Dent Crisp, leader of the National Republican Coalition for Choice, sounded hopeful late yesterday at a pro-choice rally at the Adams Mark Hotel.

"We have a pretty good shot at pulling six delegations together," she said. "But who knows what could happen."

Eight states were thought to be debating a floor protest: Connecticut, Delaware, Hawaii, Massachusetts, New York, Maine, Vermont and Rhode Island. But a member of the New York delegation said sentiment was strongly against such a move.

Rep. Sherwood L. Boehlert, New York Republican, said his delegation was so opposed to a floor fight that it refused to take a vote. He predicted other states would be similarly uncomfortable bucking the party leadership.

"We decided not to ask for a vote because we saw the writing on the wall," Mr. Boehlert said.

The second key event will be Pat Buchanan's speech endorsing the president. Bush-Quayle officials expect Mr. Buchanan's full-throated support, but tensions remain between the staffs of the two camps.

Mr. Buchanan's forces added language to the platform calling for new "structures" along the Mexican border. Bush-Quayle officials and the party leaders who presided over the

platform said the language refers to improving fences and gates that have fallen into disrepair. But the conservative challenger's staff said it means building walls in high traffic areas in California, Arizona and Texas to repel illegal border crossings. A Bush-Quayle official last week said that was "hokey."

The dispute has kept Mr. Buchanan, who is well positioned to vie for the nomination in 1996, in the spotlight and caused the president's campaign no small measure of embarrassment.

A strong vote of confidence from Mr. Buchanan, a skilled orator with a feel for the television camera, could energize his followers behind the president. But a speech that calls more attention to himself than Mr. Bush could reinforce the image of a

party divided.

The third key event is tonight's prime-time appearance of Ronald Reagan. His speech is being billed as an explanation of how Republican leadership won the Cold War, but there is a vague sense of unease about the event.

Some Republicans fear the former president might look old to millions of Americans who have not seen him since his triumphant departure from Washington in 1989. They wonder if voters might associate the GOP as the party of old ideas — in contrast with Democratic nominee Bill Clinton's emphasis on youth and change.

But if Mr. Reagan makes another stellar prime-time performance, the stock and trade of his political ca-

reer, Republicans would have cause to bask in the Cold War victory and find renewed faith in Mr. Bush.

Mr. Bush got an early start yesterday on his convention politicking by placing a telephone call to dozens of volunteers assembled on the convention floor.

"Now we're going to get our chance to share with the American people our program for the future. We've got a good program," Mr. Bush said, his voice booming from the overhead loudspeakers. "The people do not know that."

Republican National Committee Chairman Rich Bond, meanwhile, told Republicans at the Astrodome that the president will "talk about where he wants to lead this country for the next four years."

The Washington Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1992

Staff ordered to rally Right

President spurs team effort

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

HOUSTON — President Bush, surprised at Democrat Bill Clinton's lead in public-opinion polls on the eve of today's Republican convention, ordered his troops to "general quarters" yesterday, telling aides to pay special attention to angry conservatives.

"Let's redouble the effort for the week ahead, and together we are going to close the gap with our fall campaign," Mr. Bush said on a telephone hookup to some 1,000 staffers and reporters at the base of the convention hall podium.

Today's goal for the Bush-Quayle team is to bring discontented conservatives into the fold. Vice President Dan Quayle plans to woo some 2,000 supporters of evangelist Pat Robertson, and former President Ronald

Reagan is to kick off the convention tonight with a stirring call to arms for his former vice president.

Mr. Bush's hopeful comments on re-election came as new national and Texas polls found the Republican ticket far behind Mr. Clinton and his running mate, Sen. Al Gore of Tennessee. Polls showed Mr. Bush 17 points behind Mr. Clinton in the president's adopted state of Texas, and other surveys said 60 percent of the nation has no idea what Mr. Bush wants to do in a second term.

Speaking on ABC's "This Week," Mr. Bush said, "I'm surprised it's that high ... but I've got to get — make it clear the differences between me and the opponent."

Sounding confident, Mr. Bush said, "Now I'm going to general quarters, and I'm going to link the

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BUSH

From page A1

sorry record of this Congress, particularly those that control it, right to my opponent."

Senior administration officials for weeks have urged Mr. Bush to use his nomination-acceptance speech to spell out his agenda for a second term and to show he wants to win.

"He hasn't shown a pulse. This speech should jolt his supporters up," a senior Bush adviser said.

"The enemy's at hand, and you better be ready, and you better be prepared to fight. ... It means I've got to get out there and make sure they do know what my heartbeat is," Mr. Bush said in the ABC interview.

Meanwhile, Mr. Bush, who arrives here tonight, sent his surrogates to shore up conservative support and to shoot down two news stories that threaten to overshadow the convention.

Defense Secretary Dick Cheney strongly denied a New York Times report that the United States was planning to attack Iraq today to help Mr. Bush win re-election. And several senior officials, including James A. Baker III, the new White House chief of staff, called reporters to deny stories that Mr. Bush was urging Mr. Quayle to quit the ticket.

Mr. Quayle is slated to play a high-profile role here to energize conservatives, many of whom voted for columnist Pat Buchanan or backed the phantom candidacy of Ross Perot.

"Getting the conservative vote is very important to us now and in 1996," an associate of Mr. Quayle said. "That's his role."

But recruiting the conservative block won't be easy, several GOP officials said. "We lost the tax issue, and that was what cemented their

support last time," a senior administration official said on condition of anonymity.

Bush-Quayle campaign officials said they would highlight issues important to conservatives, including family values, legal and economic reform, and limits on government growth.

Mr. Quayle will address the Robertson group on "God and Country."

Mr. Bush and Mr. Quayle plan to attend a Wednesday prayer-breakfast meeting and hold private meetings with several conservative groups and leaders.

In recent interviews, former New Jersey Gov. Thomas Kean, former Bush administration official William Bennett and Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp have said that winning the strong support of conservatives is critical to Mr. Bush's re-election.

Burton Yale Pines, a prominent conservative, said that while the Republican right would probably vote for Mr. Bush, the president has "eroded" the conservative movement for the past 3½ years.

L. Brent Bozell, a conservative media critic, said that while "we hope he wins, there's not much more we can do for him."

The key issue for conservatives here may be the first family's waffling on the abortion issue, which Mr. Bush sought to set straight yesterday. The president said he would rule out any moderating changes to the anti-abortion plank in the platform.

"I don't care what the polls show. I've got to do what I think is right," Mr. Bush said.

Mr. Quayle will deliver a similar message to Mr. Robertson's group.

Mr. Buchanan will give a prime-time speech tonight, and he is expected to back Mr. Bush.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1992

GOP not giving up on California just yet

By J. Jennings Moss
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

SAN JOSE, Calif. — In 1960, the presidential election pitted a new and polished Democrat, John F. Kennedy, against then-Vice President Richard Nixon, a well-known Republican who was struggling with a battered reputation.

California went for the Republican, with a razor-thin margin of less than half a percentage point — although Mr. Kennedy went on to win the White House.

GOP forces in the nation's megastate hope the California scenario — which has seen a Republican presidential victory every time but once since 1960 — will prevail in November to help President Bush win reelection to a second term.

But the odds are working against the GOP. The Bush-Quayle ticket is down by as much as 34 points in the polls, residents are disgusted with a Republican governor in budget gridlock for more than a month, and the economy is faltering.

"Voters are unhappy. . . Clinton's lead is based in large part on not liking any of the above," said California political pundit Joe Scott. For Mr. Bush to have a chance here against the Democratic governor from Arkansas, Mr. Scott said, he must give the speech of his life in Houston, one that focuses on specific proposals.

"Calling Clinton a tax-and-spend liberal is not going to be an issue in California. . . I don't think the cli-

"Voters are unhappy. . . Clinton's lead is based in large part on not liking any of the above."

ches of the '80s are going to work,' he said.

Several national political consultants believe Democrats must capture California to win. Republicans can still win in November if they lose the state as long as they continue to dominate in the Rust Belt and in the South, they said.

The GOP, however, is not ready to write off California and its stable of 54 electoral votes — the largest in the country. Republican National Committee Chairman Rich Bond told reporters Saturday in Houston, where the GOP is holding its convention this week, that California was still in the mix, but he left open a possibility that the Bush-Quayle campaign might turn its full attention elsewhere.

At least for now, the state's runways have had their share of campaign planes. Mr. Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle on one side, Mr. Clinton and Tennessee Sen. Al Gore on the other, have made at least one campaign swing each through the state since mid-July. More are scheduled.

Democrats say Mr. Bush is vulnerable here and point to a 52-to-48-percent win over 1988 nominee Michael Dukakis. Democratic officials said their strategy in the state means frequent visits by both candidates, possibly a train trip through the state and aggressive fund raising.

"We're spending it smarter. We have a plan on paper. There's a better gut feeling about this one and that translates into a higher number of contributions," said state Democratic Finance Director Peter Taylor.

Republicans see the battle for the state taking place throughout the "backbone" of inland California, not around the big cities. "In '76, we were 33 to 35 points down and we carried the state," said state party Executive Director Lorelei Kinder. "We've always been a come-from-behind state. As a matter of fact, I think I enjoy Democratic euphoria more than Republican euphoria."

Asked if the impasse over the state budget could damage Mr. Bush, Ms. Kinder acknowledged that the crisis had fostered an anti-incumbent mood. But, she said, the debate would stay on the state level and not damage the president.

Rep. Tom Campbell, a liberal Republican who lost a bid for a GOP nomination for a U.S. Senate seat, told reporters yesterday that Mr. Bush must focus on the economy. The biggest points here for the president, he said, would be to reverse unemployment and to help the state's large defense industry by moderating defense cutbacks.

Tour bashes Bush's little plot on the prairie

By Elisabeth Hickey
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

HOUSTON — On a quiet street a few miles from the Astrodome sits a small grassy plot of land, shoe-horned between two elegant homes and graced by seven trees. The lot, the size of two tennis courts, looks like a small back yard.

But 9 West Oak Lane South is not as innocuous as it seems.

The unimproved West Houston lot, valued at about \$80,000, is owned by George Bush, who signed an affidavit in April 1985 promising to build his retirement home on the land. Texas allows the Bushes to call the state home as long as they promise to settle there eventually.

The idea that the president would build a retirement home on this tiny patch of land, with no room for a horseshoe pit and no lawn for the grandchildren, drew ridicule yesterday from some.

"I think he could fit a trailer on it, maybe a large Winnebago," Lucy McCoy said, surveying the plot as she took reporters on a Bush-whacking tour of Houston.

"Maybe this is going to be Millie's home," said Jim Hightower, the flamboyant Democratic former Texas agriculture commissioner and guest host of the tour for Mrs. McCoy's Independent Committee on Ethics, a 3-week-old political action committee.

Mrs. McCoy pleaded ignorance about the political affiliations of oth-

ers in her group and declined to say whether she is a Democrat.

It's no secret that this patch of land allows the president to call himself a Texan and vote in the state, although his legal residence is a hotel suite a few miles away. Mr. Bush spends most of his time away from the White House at the family home in Kennebunkport, Maine.

The Republican convention and the 40,000 visitors it has attracted to Houston have put the spotlight on the long-debated question of whether Mr. Bush has manipulated his residency to cut his tax bill.

By declaring residency in Texas, which has no state income tax, Mr. Bush has avoided paying \$244,000 in Maine taxes, according to the Maine People's Alliance, a tax-fairness group that has been hounding the president on the issue since February.

Mr. Bush's arrangement is legal, but some question the propriety of a wealthy president paying less than 1 percent of his gross income in taxes, as Money magazine reported, when most Americans pay about 10 percent.

First stop on the McCoy tour was the Houstonian Hotel and Conference Center in the city's Tanglewood section. A group of protesters stood at the entrance to the secluded hotel, which recently filed for bankruptcy, holding 36-foot banners — slightly longer than the frontage of Mr. Bush's property — that read, "Read Our Lips, Pay Your Taxes."

Reporters used to check into Suite 271, where Mr. Bush "lives," and write snide articles about the experience. In 1988, 200 local Democrats rented the rooms and served Bologna sandwiches to mock the president's Texas residency. Now, a board of directors must approve the rental

of the suite to anyone but the Bushes.

The president only pays for the days he stays in the hotel, and he gets a special rate of \$264 a day. The regular rate is \$800.

When the president is in town, the hotel staff unpacks a box of Bush family photos to give the three-room

suite protected by bulletproof glass a homey feel.

A waiter in the Oak Room, where the president goes to get his dish of pasta, said the president's favorite dessert is frozen vanilla yogurt with M&Ms. He said Mr. Bush's tipping is "not good."

The Washington Post

Come November, Will Bush Defy History?

Less than two years after victory in the Persian Gulf War sent his popularity soaring, President Bush returns to his adopted home town of Houston this week as one of the most unpopular incumbent presidents to seek reelection in the past five decades.

Public attitudes toward every chief executive since Franklin D. Roosevelt, as measured by Gallup poll-takers, suggest Bush faces the greatest challenge of any modern-era president intent on keeping his job.

An analysis of Washington Post-ABC News and Gallup Poll data shows Bush with:

■ **The greatest sustained drop in popularity.** Bush's approval rating has fallen 57 points in Washington Post-ABC News polls since the conclusion of the gulf war, when he stood as the most popular president in the post-World War II period. Only Harry S. Truman's fall in the ratings has come as close. Truman saw his popularity plunge 55 points in Gallup polls during a 15-month period immediately after World War II, but he was able to recover to win reelection two years later.

■ **The highest job disapproval rating of any incumbent president seeking reelection.** As measured by perceptions of job performance, Bush is about as unpopular with the American people as Richard M. Nixon was during the worst days of Watergate.

■ **The second lowest job approval rating of any president at a similar point in his presidency.** Only Jimmy Carter's public standing in August 1980 was lower—and by a single and statistically insignificant percentage point. In fact, since World War II only two presidents in addition to Carter have had lower approval ratings at any time in their administrations—Nixon with 23 percent and Truman with 23 percent—but none less than 11 weeks away from an election.

■ **The second lowest average election-year approval rating.** So far this year, Bush's Gallup approval rating has averaged 40 percent, lowest of any president since Truman during a comparable period in an administration. The approval ratings of the last two incumbents to lose reelection bids—Gerald R. Ford and Carter—averaged 47 percent and 41 percent, respectively, during the first eight months of their final years in office.

In 1948, the year Truman won election, his job approval rating of 39 percent was slightly lower than Bush's current mark. But that record must be marked with an asterisk. Gallup measured Truman's approval rating only twice in 1948, once in April and again the following month. In recent years, Gallup has asked the presidential approval question about 20 times annually.

Bush also comes to Houston on the wrong side of other survey numbers. Polls last week pegged Democratic nominee Bill Clinton's lead over Bush at between 17 and 26 percentage points. Since World War II, only one incumbent has found himself trailing at this point in the campaign. That was Ford, who lagged 22 points behind Carter before the GOP convention in August 1976.

Caution on Conclusions

Public opinion researchers urge caution in drawing conclusions from historical comparisons of polling data. Slight differences in the way different polling organizations conduct surveys may produce different results on similarly worded questions, although these differences usually are small.

Experts stress that care also should be used when comparing Gallup polling results over time. Until the mid-1980s, the Gallup Poll was based exclusively on in-person interviews. Now those surveys are conducted by telephone, a change that appears to produce slight differences in the results obtained on even some identically worded questions.

Still, Gallup has found that no president with an average election-year approval rating of less than 50 percent has been reelected. At the least, history suggests that an approval rating of less than 55 percent often presages a close election.

Gallup researchers also say no president's share of the popular vote has exceeded his average election-year approval rating by more than 5 percentage points.

For Bush, that could be bad news. He can expect his approval rating to bounce up during and after the Republican convention. But if his post-convention bounce is a bust and his approval rating continues to wallow in the low 30s, what political scientists and other experts now predict will be a close election may not be.

For Bush, there is a potential bright spot—call it a point of light—in these unremittingly dreary numbers. Ford, who trailed Carter in August by 22 percentage points, came roaring back to make up 20 of those points by Election Day, suggesting that Clinton's lead is not insurmountable.

If Bush does close the gap and win, he likely would supplant Truman in the history books as the biggest "Comeback Kid" in American presidential politics. And should he triumph, he will have beaten the odds in a number of ways, Gallup data suggest.

Bush Slump Unprecedented

Still, many experts agree that the numbers correctly suggest Bush's problems are substantive and largely unprecedented.

"I think by any standard Bush's approval ratings are low, and a few points of adjustment either way would not make a real difference," said Larry Huggick, managing editor of the Gallup Poll.

In early August, only 33 percent of those surveyed in a Washington Post-ABC News poll said they approved of the job that Bush was doing as president. By contrast, 18 months ago, his approval rating stood at 90 percent following the Persian Gulf War, the highest recorded for any president in the post-World War II period.

Bush operatives will have to look back more than four decades to find a president who overcame such low approval numbers.

In June 1948, Truman's approval rating stood at a dismal 39 percent and he trailed Republican challenger Thomas E. Dewey, the result of lingering economic dislocation that followed World War II and the chill of the Cold War. Nevertheless, five months later, Truman capped one of the greatest political resurrections in history by narrowly defeating Dewey.

In contrast with that historical trip, Dwight D. Eisenhower's approval rating was a robust 67 percent in August 1956, and he won easily in November over Adlai E. Stevenson. Gallup pegged Lyndon B. Johnson's approval rating at 74 percent in June 1964, and Johnson went on to thrash Barry Goldwater

in one of the biggest Election Day wipeouts this side of Surf City.

Even in August 1968, after Johnson announced he would not seek reelection, the Texas Democrat's presidential approval rating stood at 25 percent. In the spring of 1968, when Johnson concluded that Vietnam had destroyed his chances for winning a second term, his approval rating was about 10 percentage points higher than Bush's current standing.

In June 1972, Nixon's approval rating in June stood at 57 percent, and he trounced George S. McGovern by 18 million votes, the largest vote advantage recorded in a U.S. presidential election. Ford's approval rating in June 1976 was 45 percent—more than 10 points higher than Bush's current rating—and Carter narrowly won in November.

Bush's current plight in the polls most closely resembles that faced by incumbent Carter in 1980. Carter's job approval rating in August of that year stood at 32 percent, virtually identical to Bush's current 33 percent standing.

That election was fought against an economy in decline; this year, the economy is growing, albeit at an unexpectedly sluggish pace. But in other ways, the economic picture this year is a repeat of 1980. One similarity that is turning Republican hands clammy is that real disposable personal income, a key measure of economic performance, has grown by about 1.6 percent in the year that ended in June—the same rate as in 1980.

In contrast, Ronald Reagan and Bush won reelection four years later amid a booming economy, which kept Reagan's approval rating at 54 percent in August 1984.

The flip side of Bush's approval rating tells an even grimmer story. Bush's current disapproval rating is the highest of any incumbent president seeking reelection at a comparable point in his presidency.

In fact, Bush's disapproval rating of 64 percent is among the highest—if not the highest—of any modern president. It is higher than Truman's worst showing (62 percent in January 1952) or Johnson's (52 percent in August 1968) or Carter's (59 percent in June 1980).

Remarkably, Bush's current job disapproval rating of 64 percent also is statistically indistinguishable from Nixon's highest disapproval rating of 66 percent in August 1974 following his resignation.

Truman, Ford and Bush

Moreover, Bush the candidate is faring as badly with the American people as Bush the president, Gallup data suggest.

With the exception of Truman and Ford, every incumbent who has sought reelection has headed into the general election campaign season with a healthy lead. In August 1956, Eisenhower enjoyed an 11-point lead over Stevenson. Johnson held a whopping 36-point lead in August 1964 on his way to his landslide win over Goldwater, the biggest August advantage one major party nominee has enjoyed recently.

In early August 1972, Nixon held a 26-point lead over McGovern, and that advantage swelled to 34 points following the Republican convention.

Carter held a 22-point lead over incumbent Ford in early August 1976. That fell to 13 points after the Republican convention. By Election Day, Ford nearly caught Carter

at the wire, and the 20 points he made up represents the largest swing in support between the convention period and the election, Gallup's Huggick said.

In early August 1980, Reagan led Carter by 16 points. Four years later, Reagan held an 11-point lead over Walter F. Mondale in a Gallup survey. And just four years ago, Michael S. Dukakis, who had led

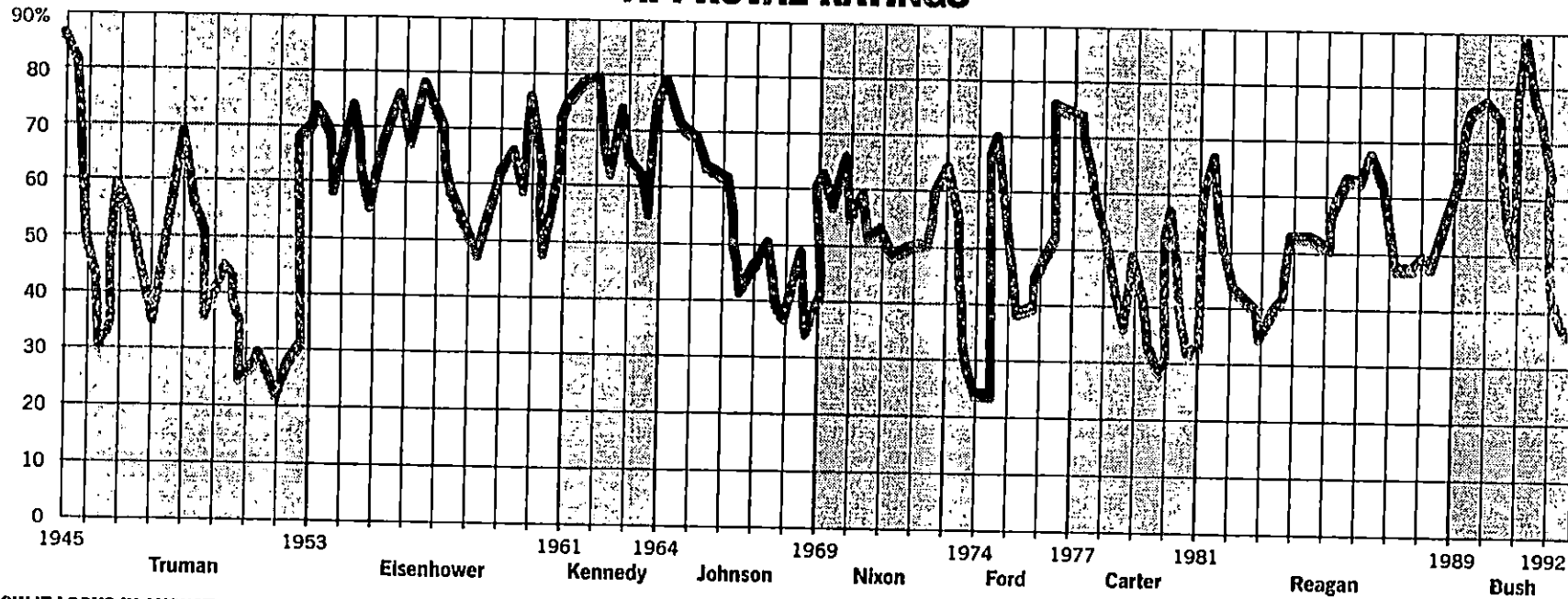
Bush by as much as 13 points in Washington Post-ABC News polls immediately after the Democratic convention, held a mere 3-point advantage over Bush as the Republicans began their convention in New Orleans.

Despite the portent of such statistical trends, many experts wonder if this might be the election that proves the exception to past pat-

terns of approval ratings as predictors of voting behavior. Certainly, Bush's fall from public grace seems to defy conventional wisdom of barely a year ago.

"His fall is almost as stunning," Huggick said, "as the analysis we would have done a year ago saying that Bush was the most popular president since Eisenhower or Nixon."

APPROVAL RATINGS



NOW IT LOOKS IN AUGUST

Presidential preference poll standings taken closest to August of election year

1992: George Bush 34%	Bill Clinton 60%
1988: George Bush 46	Michael Dukakis 49
1984: Ronald Reagan 52	Walter Mondale 41
1980: Ronald Reagan 45	Carter 29 Anderson 14
1976: Gerald Ford 32	Jimmy Carter 54
1972: Richard Nixon 57	George McGovern 31
1968: Richard Nixon 45	Humphrey 29 Wallace 18
1964: Barry Goldwater 29	Lyndon Johnson 65
1960: Richard Nixon 50	John Kennedy 44
1956: Dwight Eisenhower 52	Adlai Stevenson 41
1952: Dwight Eisenhower 50	Adlai Stevenson 49
1948: Thomas Dewey 48	Harry Truman 37
1944: Franklin Roosevelt 47	Thomas Dewey 45
1940: Franklin Roosevelt 45	Wendell Willkie 43
1936: Franklin Roosevelt 49	Alf Landon 45

Job approval ratings for incumbents seeking reelection
(Shown: Rating taken closest to August of election year)

		Approve	Disapprove
Bush	August 1992	33%	64%
Reagan	August 1984	54	38
Carter	August 1980	32	56
Ford	June 1976	45	40
Nixon	June 1972	57	33
Johnson	June 1964	74	15
Eisenhower	August 1956	67	20
Truman	June 1948	39	47

Lowest job approval ratings

Truman	November 1951	23%
Nixon	January 1974	23
Carter	June 1979	28

Highest disapproval ratings

Nixon	August 1974	66%
Bush	August 1992	64
Truman	January 1952	62
Carter	June 1980	59

Largest sustained decline in popularity

Bush	March 1991-August 1992	-57%
Truman	May 1945-September 1946	-55

Note: Over a six-year period between May 1945 and November 1951, Truman's job approval rating fell from 87 percent to 23 percent, a 64 percent decline. But that drop was not continuous, and Truman's approval rating in that period included a number of large swings. From his high immediately after World War II ended, his popularity declined to 32 percent in September 1946. But then it rose to 69 percent in January 1949 before falling to 23 percent in November 1951, his low.

SOURCES: The Gallup Organization, Washington Post-ABC News polls

BY PETER MOEY—THE WASHINGTON POST

The Washington Post

Bold Plan By Bush Discounted

Aides Seek to Dampen Expectations for Major Economic Initiative

By Dan Balz and Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writers

HOUSTON, Aug. 16—Senior advisers to President Bush today sought to dampen expectations that the president would unveil a dramatic new economic program as part of his acceptance speech Thursday night, a move that has been urged on him by Republicans concerned about his reelection prospects.

On the eve of Bush's arrival here for the opening of the Republican National Convention, there was a flurry of speculation about how far the president would go in presenting a bold tax or spending cut proposal to spur his lagging campaign. Among the ideas debated by Bush aides has been a reduction in income tax rates paired with a new value-added tax.

Bush comes to Houston this week badly trailing Democratic nominee Bill Clinton in the polls, and Republicans said today he needs a substantial boost from the convention to put himself back within striking distance in the fall campaign.

In a phone call from the White House to the convention floor in the Astrodome, Bush sought to rally his troops, pledging that when the convention is concluded, the American voters will know "we've got a good program" for economic growth.

"We're going to talk about our approach, which encourages economic opportunity for all Americans through policies that reduce the burden of government on our people and on their pocketbooks," he said.

"I pick up the torch tomorrow," Bush told his political team gathered for last-minute instructions before the convention is gavelled to an opening.

Because of the sluggish economy that has sapped public confidence in the president, many Republicans believe Bush faces a greater challenge this week than he did four

See REPUBLICANS, A17, Col. 1

years ago in New Orleans. In planning the convention, party officials have scheduled a four-day smorgasbord of speeches designed to contrast Bush and Clinton, round up straying Republicans and give voters a clearer picture of what Bush would do in a second term.

Central to that picture is what Bush will do to stimulate the economy. The discussion about a new economic proposal was triggered in part by an interview with the president in *Time* magazine, in which Bush suggested he would have new economic proposals soon, and reflected the unresolved economic debate that has been raging inside the party the past four years.

"There's not going to be anything like that in the speech," a senior campaign official said today when asked about several far-reaching initiatives that have been under discussion. "This is an acceptance speech, not a State of the Union speech. It's going to have some policy direction to it and it will certainly sharpen the differences."

"I don't think we need a big economic package now," another senior official said. "It would look like panic."

While playing down specific proposals, campaign officials said Bush's speech would be a fiery, thematic kick-off to the general election campaign. They said he would use the speech to highlight his successes in foreign policy, contrast his philosophy with the Democrats and fire up the party faithful with rhetoric rather than specifics.

Republican National Committee Chairman Richard N. Bond pointed to last week's speech by incoming White House chief of staff James A. Baker III as the outline for the president's campaign message.

"I thought Jim Baker's speech was remarkable," he told reporters. "That same distillation of message... has got to be made by George Bush starting [Thursday] and repeated as often as possible."

The speculation about whether Bush would propose something dramatic on Thursday reflected the nervousness within the party and disagreement about what it will take to win the election in November.

Republican sources said Bush and his advisers have been discussing a variety of proposals in recent days, either for inclusion in the acceptance speech or sometime later in the campaign.

One proposal discussed recently calls for a 3-percentage-point reduction in personal income tax rates. It would be coupled with a value-added tax—a kind of national sales tax, which would include exemptions for lower-income people—to offset the funds lost by the income tax cut.

That comes on the heels of proposals by Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp and other conservatives for a series of tax cuts, including reductions in income tax rates and immediate indexing of the capital gains tax.

Kemp's proposal would add substantially to the deficit, and Bush has told his aides he does not want to do anything that would increase the deficit or harm the economy.

Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.), appearing today on NBC's "Meet the Press," said, "The president needs to make some dramatic statements, propose some dramatic programs." But he criticized the proposal by Kemp, with whom he has long feuded on economics. Cutting taxes without offsetting spending reductions, he said, would be "bad medicine" for the economy.

Despite efforts by senior officials to play down expectations for Bush's speech, Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady, in whose department the value-added tax proposal originated, said, "I am not going to

upstage anything the president might say at the convention.... But he feels very strongly that the American people are overtaxed."

Another version of the same idea would be a more dramatic restructuring of the tax code designed to encourage savings and investment through new tax exemptions.

Emphasizing the linkage that Baker made between Bush's foreign policy successes and the domestic scene will be a major objective of the carefully scripted convention.

Speaking to his forces here today, Bush borrowed a line from Baker's speech when he said, "We're not going to apologize for the time that we've invested in bringing peace to the world and, indeed, in changing the world, encouraging freedom."

Convention planners have built the week around the theme "The American Spirit," and each night will focus on a different aspect of that theme.

"We face a challenge similar to four years ago," said Craig Fuller, the convention manager. "We have to define for people what George Bush has accomplished, which is he helped reshape the world... and he has to define where he wants to lead the country the next four years."

Opening night Monday—which includes speeches by former pres-

ident Ronald Reagan, Govs. Jim Edgar of Illinois and Carroll A. Campbell Jr. of South Carolina, U.S. Trade Representative Carla A. Hills and former National Security Council staffer Condoleezza Rice—is "world" night, and Republicans hope to remind people that the dramatic changes of the past four years did not come by accident or without work and vision by the president.

Tuesday night, the Republicans will showcase members of the president's Cabinet, along with several more governors, to make the case that their party has a bold and dramatic series of domestic proposals on education, welfare overhaul, housing and other areas. By focusing on action in the states, convention planners said, the GOP will

draw a contrast between what Republicans have been able to do where they have the power to implement their ideas and what has been done with a Democratic Congress in Washington.

Tuesday night also will include the keynote address by Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas, which Bush campaign officials are pointing to as a particularly important speech that is likely to offer a biting critique of Clinton's economic plan.

Wednesday night, with First Lady Barbara Bush as the star attraction, is "family night," an opportunity for the Republicans to make their "values" case against the Democrats. Other speakers include Marilyn Quayle, former national drug policy director William J. Bennett, religious broadcaster Pat Robertson and Govs. George Voinovich of Ohio, John Ashcroft of Missouri and, by satellite, Pete Wilson of California.

Thursday is Bush's night, with convention planners saying other speakers will underscore the importance of the office of the presidency and the person who occupies it. Through these speeches, the Republicans hope to remind people of Bush's experience compared to Clinton's inexperience.

"I think people are waiting to take a real hard look at the two individuals," Fuller said.

Domestically, Bush Tries to Recast Himself

First of two articles

By Ann Devroy

Soon after President Bush took office, Robert M. Teeter, adviser, Robert M. Teeter, explained why this president was the right man for the time. Running through the findings of focus groups he held in Illinois, Teeter said Americans were enjoying peace and prosperity in the winter of 1989, content with a president who knew there was no constituency out there for government activism on social problems and who pledged in his inaugural address no new deals or bold moves but simply to take the nation a good time and make it better. Three years later, Bush was asked what goals he had for a better America.

BUSH AS PRESIDENT

LOOKING HOMEWARD

one aide, "that he really believes he is best suited to handle what crosses that desk." As Bush goes to Houston this week to accept again his party's nomination, he confronts a national mood dramatically different from the one Teeter described at the beginning of the Bush administration, and an

ment has only limited power to fix the economy, revive the cities, change the cycle of poverty or radically attack social ills. One Bush friend has concluded that this reluctance to act is rooted in Bush's background, which has made the president a stranger to much of the life of his country. It makes a living. He understands the problems intellectually. He does not have any emotional attachment to carry him through the frustrations of doing something about them," said the friend, who did not want to be identified. Bush, the friend said, "just doesn't feel in the way that moves presidents to action."

From a thousand quarters come "the seeds of solutions." We keep trying to plant them in the president's soul, but they never take root." In sharp contrast to his approach to foreign policy, the president who invaded Panama and waged war against Iraq could summarize his governing rationale in domestic policy on a bumper sticker that would read: "Do No Harm."

His first term, if anything, has been more a portrait of resisting changes that might make things worse than it has been in leaping into untried and risky waters.

The word Bush uses most often to describe himself is prudent. His most solid success has been the veto. Thirty-one times he has used presidential record. "I don't want to do anything dumb," Bush said in one post-election interview. "I don't want to make the wrong mistakes," he said six months later. "What I don't want to do is make the situation worse," he said of the economy in October 1991.

Underlying Bush's approach to social and economic problems are two persistent themes: an uncertainty about how to adjust from a time of prosperity and contentment to one of recession and anxiety, and an inability to rise above a caspary of conflicting advice to seize the moment.

Twice in the past 3½ years—after the end of the Persian Gulf War when polls showed him at stratospheric 90 percent approval levels, and after the Los Angeles riots this spring—Bush had the opportunity to take a bold step in addressing the nation's problems. In both instances, many of his aides acknowledged, the opportunity was lost.

William J. Bennett, who served as director of drug control policy earlier in the Bush administration, describes the frustration of many Republicans. He is personally one of the most impressive people I've ever met," Bennett said. "In many ways, I think he is what people should be in public life in terms of the conduct of his life. But without a governing rationale, without a clear sense of priorities, this is what is going to happen. You are going to lurch from one event to another."

Bush's aides bristle at the suggestion he has no vision or accomplishment in domestic policy. In a lengthy interview before he was removed last week as the latest White House

confidence, Brent Scowcroft at the National Council on Foreign Relations and in whom he has deep respect, said this adviser "knows his mind" on foreign policy but "neither knows his mind" on domestic policy. The structures he has created reflect the difference.

For his dealings with the world, Bush installed two men with whom he has long, personal relationships and in whom he has deep respect. For his dealings with the domestic front, he has installed two men with whom he has long, personal relationships and in whom he has deep respect.

On March 7, 1991, a week after the Gulf War had ended, Bush, at the high point of his presidency, appeared before a joint session of Congress to say how the nation should build on that victory at home and abroad.

Overseas, Bush spoke of building a "new world order" and a "framework for peace" in that victory at home and abroad.

The Washington Post

the Middle East—broad, far-reaching goals born of a belief that the war against Iraq, and the end of the Cold War, had shaken the world's geopolitics to the core, creating a major opportunity.

But at home, Bush offered two remarkably pedestrian goals. "Tonight, I call on Congress to move forward aggressively on our domestic front," he said, asking for passage of transportation legislation to rebuild some of the nation's highways, roads and bridges, and on his anti-crime package.

"If our forces could win the ground war in 100 hours, then surely the Congress can pass this legislation in 100 days," Bush said.

Congress would eventually approve the transportation bill, as it usually does because the legislation dumps hundreds of millions of dollars into local transit projects. But Congress and the White House, as they have since 1989, are still arguing over the crime bill.

In the days that preceded the address, Bush's advisers, from outside and within the administration, lobbied heavily for a far-reaching domestic and economic program to which the president could apply the communication, lobbying and one-minded determination he had applied to Desert Storm.

Some argued that Bush should reinvigorate the war on drugs, the issue he cited coming into office as his top domestic priority. Others argued that the issue should be education reform. Bush had held an education summit eight months after taking office that led to the states agreeing to set goals in education and he sporadically spoke of reforming the nation's education system.

Still others said Bush should launch the Republican version of the war on poverty. Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Jack Kemp, one of the few administration officials at home in the nation's cities, had been put in charge in mid-1990 of a task force of the president's domestic policy council that was examining a set of conservative anti-poverty proposals from welfare reform to enterprise zones.

And finally, the president's friends in the business community, some Republicans in Congress and the aggressive conservatives in his own administration were beginning to argue that the economy was not, as the administration was calculating, on the road to a strong recovery.

At the time, the White House was figuring that the combination of the end of the war and the much-maligned budget agreement of the year before that saw Bush break his no-new-taxes pledge would move the economy into a recovery. Bush was advised that he should signal his commitment to that recovery as his top priority with a stronger, more audacious economic package.

In the midst of all this conflicting advice, Bush settled at first on the minimalist route of asking for passage of the transportation and crime bills and waiting until 1992 to re-enter the battle over economic policy.

Bush aides describe him in this period of

being buffeted by advice on domestic issues but of feeling no sense of urgency and mostly leaving to then-White House Chief of Staff John H. Sununu the tasks of sorting out how he should proceed on domestic and economic issues. A large domestic policy staff, under Roger Porter, and various activist Cabinet members were cranking out possible initiatives and some Republicans in Congress were papering the White House with suggestions. But Sununu, Office of Management and Budget Director Richard G. Darman and most of the president's economic advisers believed the economy would be in a solid, if not impressive, recovery by the summer of 1991 and so, sticking to the Bush precept of "doing no harm," nothing bold was needed.

Ed Rogers, a top aide to Sununu, describes in a new book on Bush, "Marching in Place," the White House attitude. "Our talking points were in order," he said, "Bush was already a successful president. . . . In 1991, we were going to have some successes, maybe a highway bill, maybe a crime bill, maybe some nominees through. Fine. We'll do a lot of foreign travel. We always get good press and good visuals from that. We'll come back in December and do domestic travel, tamp things down, and tide everyone over. By then, they'll be writing that we really came out of the recession in June, and we'll pick up at the State of the Union address (to open 1992)."

By last fall, however, that rosy scenario was abandoned. The recession had officially begun in August, but the administration would not acknowledge it for months. As unemployment rose and consumers turned anxious, Bush's Republican allies in Congress, his big contributors around the country and others began urging him to take some action.

As the recession deepened and congressional Republicans began to panic, Bush at several meetings on economic policy used weather terms to describe the economy: He called the recession a "thunderstorm" that would pass and that the White House had simply to endure and a "hurricane" that hit and caused devastation and passed. One Republican, who heard these Bush remarks, said: "I think they are a sign of the true Bush on the economy. . . . There is nothing a president can do about it but take cover and live through it and wait for the sunshine."

Dozens of economic policy sessions were held that fall but Bush remained convinced that any large tax cuts or public spending to spur the economy was too risky. "You notice when tax cuts were proposed, long-term interest rates shot right through the roof," he said in Rome last November. "I have a responsibility to see that I don't make proposals that will set back the economy."

That Rome news conference was remarkable for a president overseas. Prepared to talk about NATO and the new post-Cold War shape of the world, Bush, instead, spent 40 minutes quizzed on health care, economic decline and politics. Harris Wofford, the Pennsylvania Democrat, had come from 40 points behind that month to beat Bush's attorney general, Dick Thoru-

burgh, for a Senate seat and Bush's political world had exploded.

When Los Angeles exploded in riots the night of April 29, Bush was at a state dinner. His first reaction was a cautious one: "The court system has worked. What's needed now is calm, respect for the law. Let the appeals process take place."

Bush, who had no urban policies to speak of, was forced to turn to Kemp, one of the president's least-favorite Cabinet members, who with his allies and outside advisers pushed Bush to use the Los Angeles riots to open a new domestic policy front.

The president was urged to give a series of civil rights speeches aimed at emphasizing racial harmony; he was urged to assemble and push an audacious urban renewal package and take it from city to city in a highly focused campaign. He was urged by Kemp to give up the budget rule that forbids taking defense money and using it for domestic problems and to be the first Republican president in a generation to make the ailing cities a priority.

But at the White House and in the Bush campaign, no public mandate for such a drive could be detected in the polling numbers. "You just didn't know what if anything Bush wanted to do," said a White House aide who favored the Kemp approach. "There was no clear direction. There was a lot of on-the-other-hands. Sam [Skinner] had no clue; he'd say, 'Ask Teeter.' And Teeter, then established as the campaign chairman, was 'worried about the polls, worried about our suburban voters.'"

For a brief few days, Bush seemed poised for action. In a two-day trip to Los Angeles, the president toured the burned-out shopping centers and listened to angry, frightened Angelenos pour out their fears. Tears came to his eyes as he listened to black inner-city ministers preach moving sermons on the need for leadership, not blame.

"I thought you could see the president's empathy and understanding grow with each meeting," said Sherrie Rollins, the White House assistant in charge of planning the Los Angeles tour. "I thought it was critical for him to see face-to-face the situation. And the longer he was there, the more he was attuned. It had a deep impression."

But Bush returned to Washington and within two weeks, the issue had slipped away. He gave no civil rights talks; he avoided gatherings like the U.S. Conference of Mayors; he found himself criticized by House Republicans and others who told him the political reality: Republican voters are suburban voters, not city voters. The White House barely managed to get a package of emergency aid through the House, where the majority of Republicans voted no.

Bush did devote a few days and a few speeches to enterprise zones, "weed-and-seed" programs and welfare reform, but then turned to other issues. Despite a nonstop assault by Kemp, the administration appeared willing to settle for little else besides emergency aid.

"So much for the Los Angeles riots," a disgusted Kemp said as the White House passed on anything more ambitious. "So much for the opportunity to make a real difference."

NEXT: Civil rights as case study

The Washington Post

Barbara and the Right

HOUSTON—At the Friday morning meeting of President Bush's convention staff, senior political adviser Charlie Black expressed relief that Barbara Bush had chosen to come out of the closet as pro-choice on abortion only after the most conservative Republican platform ever had been locked up.

Antiabortion activists suspect that the First Lady publicly espoused the position of abortion-rights Republicans—that the GOP platform ignore the issue—in order to calm the party's angry pro-choicers. Whether or not it was Mrs. Bush's goal, her outburst came as a shock to her husband's political counselors. Black was blindsided Thursday night when a television interviewer asked him about her statement.

The hard truth is that Barbara Bush, for all her popularity as a mother figure, is irrelevant to the internal dynamics of the president's comeback attempt and the future of the GOP. Republicans are not going to hunch leftward to the middle because Bill Clinton and Al Gore paint themselves as centrists.

There is no ideological warfare between the campaign and the Republican right, because the president's team has chosen not to fight such a self-defeating struggle. The return to the White House of James A. Baker III, once abhorred by conservatives as the high priest of pragmatism, was welcomed by the right, because he would bring order and discipline to the campaign without plowing new ideological ground.

The abortion question shows how much the GOP has become the party of the right. Whatever errant thoughts of softening the pro-life stand might have been entertained by Bush strategists over the past four years, they have come to understand that antiabortion activism is now integrated into the GOP's nervous system.

Most pro-choice Republican politicians realize there is no sense in fighting this reality. Maine Gov. Jock McKernan decided to not come to Houston last week to use his seat on the Platform Committee to lead the pro-choice cause. McKernan, along with Massachusetts Gov. William Weld, agreed to a watery resolution devised by Black that called for all parties in the dispute to back the ticket.

What, then, was Barbara Bush up to? "This is her last campaign," one of her husband's aides told us, "and I think she wants to have her say about what should be said." Actually, she is reported by campaign insiders to be far more upset about Republican National Chairman Rich Bond's attack on Hillary Clinton than about the platform's abortion clause. She delivered a scorching Washington-to-Houston telephone rebuke to Bond, whom she has known since his early twenties.

But if the president is to be re-elected, his campaign cannot possibly please old-fashioned Republicans of the first lady's social class and generation. The arbiter of how moderates Bush and Baker will seek to retain power will not be Mrs. Bush but that remarkable platform.

This document was not sneaked in at the last minute by a right-wing cabal. On the contrary, it has been in preparation for months under the direction of somebody from the heart of the Bush administration official family: William Gribbin, Vice President Dan Quayle's legislative aide, who has been involved in drafting increasingly conservative platforms starting in 1980.

Beyond its abortion language, scarcely a page of the 1992 edition fails to leap to the right of Bush policy: oil drilling on the Outer Continental Shelf, no homosexual marriages or adoptions, implicit abolition of the National Endowment for the Arts and

even a "structure" to stop illegal Mexican immigration. "George Bush won all the primaries, but Pat Buchanan could have claimed that he won the platform," a Bush platform aide told us.

But from Bush's high command comes not one hostile word. His campaign aides, many personally pro-choice and generally moderate, are delighted. They believe that only an aggressively rightist tone can mobilize the conservative base and prod Clinton-Gore into attacks on them that undermine the Democratic ticket's centrist pretensions.

Whether Bush wins or not, the Republican future points to the right. While it is fashionable to say nobody reads platforms, the document will not go away. "Looking toward 1996," platform-drafter Gribbin told us, "it will sit on the tummy of the Republican Party like an undigested meal." It surely will outlast Barbara Bush's sentiments.

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This is the editorial from the president's hometown newspaper, the Houston Post, that greeted the opening of the Republican National Convention and caused quite a stir in Houston yesterday.

A high-contrast, black and white photograph of a person's face, heavily shadowed and distorted by a mask or filter, with a dark, textured background.

[illegible]

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for you. We are waiting.
You are running out of time, Mr. President. But you have one last chance to give us a reason to vote second term.
So you need to give us something new, something takes for their spending.
The old trick of passing responsibilities on to the states is not a solution, for they, too, must depend on us.
So we will be forced to continue living with the defense spending may have little effect.
But, unless entitlements are also frozen, however, offset the loss of revenues caused by lower taxes spending freeze. But a spending freeze alone will not continuation of defense spending cuts and a domestic recovery program based largely on tax cuts, the
Some of your conservative backers suggest a continuation of defense spending cuts and a domestic recovery program based largely on tax cuts, the
to tell us what you plan to do to make it healthy.
Solutions are needed in numerous areas, but not just for your campaign.
needs a mandate to come up with bold solutions and at the White House and that in good faith. But it
Next, let solutions. You've initiated a new team but please be honest about your failures.
That will hardly be a bombshell but will certainly be refreshing. Boast about your accomplishments, yes, but please be honest about your failures.
I it is not too late. You can start setting things right with your speech. First, tell the truth: You have not successfully handled the nation's problems.
All in all, only the most fervent supporter could call your term a success. In truth, it has been a disaster and most voters agree, as is reflected in this paper's latest poll showing Democratic nominee Bill Clinton leading you by 17.4 percentage points in your own state. And your faltering campaign has been further damaged by your handlers' pathetic missteps.

The Baker-Clinton Policy

Only by integrating America's foreign, domestic and economic policies can this country's agonizing slow growth and deepening social divisions be reversed in the next four years.

That imperative was at the core of speeches delivered by Jim Baker and Bill Clinton within four hours of each other on Thursday. They separately set out the biggest single theme for Election '92 and finally joined the campaign battle between the Democrats and Republicans.

Neither address offered much to describe how this enormous task of national renewal can and should be accomplished. The competing Republican and Democratic visions of revitalizing America's economy and social spirit remain for the most part at the slogan level.

For Baker, speaking as he left the State Department to take over the White House and the Bush reelection campaign effort, remaining America seems to be largely a matter of focus. Now that George Bush has driven communism from the face of the Earth and

turned the bones of the Middle East into lamb, he can finally "target America" for leadership.

Baker's migration from Foggy Bottom to 1600 Pennsylvania Ave. is a physical metaphor for the transformation that Baker and Democratic nominee Clinton speaking later in Los Angeles, agreed the next administration must accomplish. That is to turn the over-whelming military and political power America exercises on the world stage into new economic strength and political resolve that will break the sense of gridlock at home.

Although he sprinkled his departure speech to the Foreign Service with references to "the conservative agenda" Bush is proposing and the "contrasting philosophy" the campaign supposedly engages, Baker echoed the kind of pragmatic, people-oriented programs that Clinton has made the center of his long campaign. "We need a range of job-training and placement services for young people, factory workers, white-collar employees and

defense-industry workers. We need to support civilian R&D and leading-edge sectors and a research extension network to make our discoveries available to entrepreneurial business. We need social services for health and welfare that help the truly needy," Baker said in one lengthy passage that Clinton could have delivered without changing a word.

Clinton's speech—which endorsed neither Bush nor Clinton—was also built around the idea that "foreign and domestic policy are now two sides of the same coin. If we are not strong at home, we cannot be strong abroad. And if we can't compete in the global economy, we will surely pay for it here at home."

But the speech offered more in the way of policy rhetoric than architecture for accomplishing those goals. The Democratic challenger promised to form an "economic security council similar to the National Security Council and change the culture in the State Department so that economics is no longer a poor cousin to old school diplomacy."

This raises the same question raised by Baker's call for Bush to "target America" now. If it is that easy, why hasn't it been done before? In fact, countries that are good at making business, government planning and diplomacy—France, Britain and Japan—do not have economic security councils. Their "integrated" approach is part of their history and economic structure, not something imposed one day by presidential or royal decree.

And Clinton's address was silent on the Bush administration's North American Free Trade Agreement with Mexico and Canada, one of the few concrete expressions of the new era of economic and diplomatic interdependence. Even though many details of the draft NAFTA accord have not yet been released, Clinton's omission was striking in this context.

For all their shortcomings, these two speeches provide a signal service in defining the stakes in this election. They should open the way for serious discussion during the campaign of the transition of the global economy that is occurring, with dramatic effects for both the industrial and developing world.

More than 10 million Americans are already taken for many other Americans over the past decade. Britain and France each are likely to pass the once political taboo figure of 3 million unemployed in their economies in the next month or two. Germany and Japan wrestle with lesser but serious economic problems.

By emphasizing the interconnectedness of trade, foreign and domestic policies, Clinton and Baker usefully call attention to the global nature of the economic slowdown that has made this such a volatile electoral year, here and abroad.

Clinton and Baker showed on Thursday that they do not have all the answers. They may not develop them as the campaign moves along. But they start out asking the right questions.

The Washington Post

The President and Choice

AS THE REPUBLICAN National Convention gets underway there is a peculiar effort being made to separate President Bush from the more controversial and potentially costly part of his handiwork of the past four years. We are not thinking so much of the I-was-a-helpless-victim-of-Congress line of argument as the attempt to suggest that *personally*, somehow, the president either didn't know what was going on or doesn't himself feel too comfortable with it or is married to a ripe woman who doesn't like some of it herself one little bit. The point is not whether any of this is true, but rather why it should even matter if it is.

We are thinking of the abortion rights question. For reasons that elude us, last week saw a considerable stir over whether the First Lady doesn't object to the harsh and uncompromising Republican platform position on abortion, whether she mightn't secretly be pro-choice, whether her views on these things and a few tangentially related matters aren't more aligned with those of the complaining moderate Republicans than with those formally adopted by the party and by her husband. The inference seems to be here, just as it is in the case of Mr. Bush's unremarkable observation that he would continue to love and want a grandchild who had an abortion, that we hinted at last feelings of the president and Mrs. Bush, not to mention the reality of what he has caused to be done in office and what he publicly professes his position to be.

But there is a kind of misplaced and even pitiful regalism to all this, a sense that it should be gratifying to the loyal subjects to know that those in high places have a measure of sympathy for their feelings—never mind how the public policy part that actually affects them comes out. This is the same approach that asks us to be moved by the assertion

that a politician doesn't approve of what is being done by his agents and in his behalf. Who cares? The reality is the reality, and the reality on the abortion issue, the record that exists, is unambiguous. The president, declaring an impassioned and profound antiabortion conviction, has lost no opportunity during the past four years to seek further ways to close off the avenue of choice to American women. Whether to prove his commitment to the right or because he in fact is sincere, he has behaved like a zealot on the issue. He allowed his administration to give practically nothing to relieve the harsh effects of the Rust decision, which inhibited the freedom of medical personnel to discuss abortion with patients. He went out of his way—far out of his way—to prevent the District of Columbia from using locally raised taxes to pay for abortions of any kind or for any reason for indigent women. On this issue, at least, his position and his will to enforce it have been clear.

Whatever little hints and winks and whispers are being conveyed in the Bush family's name on the abortion choice question—it is even being asserted that it is really open-minded and generous of the president to "let" a pro-choice person such as Labor Secretary Lynn Martin nominate him!—the people who are opposed to his view and his record on abortion cannot possibly be satisfied with them. It means nothing that in and around the White House there are confidants and subordinates of George Bush who are sorry or disappointed or ambivalent themselves concerning what he has helped to bring about in the past four years and what he could be counted on to pursue in a second term. It insults their own seriousness and sincerity to suggest otherwise or to play around with their feelings. On this issue the record of the past four years could hardly be clearer.

The Washington Post

Quayle Hopes 'This Convention Will Produce a Sharper Image

For Vice President, The Political Stakes Couldn't Be Higher

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, Aug. 16—Vice President Quayle arrives in Houston Monday to begin a 79-day political rehabilitation mission, vowing that this time "it will be much different from 1988."

Quayle is counting on this Republican National Convention to enhance his image, just as the last one damaged it. For him, the stakes could not be higher.

"The next three months are the most important of his political career," said Mitchell E. Daniels Jr., former Reagan White House political director and long-time adviser to his fellow Hoosier. "He's either launched on a second term and vindicated or he's history."

Quayle and his advisers know it will be a huge job to repair the miserable impression from his national debut four years ago and to improve the oafish image that clings to his name today. A Washington Post-ABC News Poll last month gave him a 63 to 26 percent unfavorable rating from registered voters.

A Washington Post-ABC News survey of the delegates here found only 4 percent listing Quayle as their early choice for 1996, far behind the 39 percent favoring fellow conservative Jack Kemp, the secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

Quayle goes into the battle under inauspicious circumstances. His June gaffe in coaching a youngster to misspell "potato" unleashed a flood of late-night television jokes. And just weeks ago, he faced another round of dump-Quayle rumors encouraged by prominent officials in the Bush circle and on Capitol Hill.

From all appearances, Quayle's self-confidence is intact. Returning from his final pre-convention campaign swing last week in California, Quayle acknowledged in an interview that the talk of a switch was not imaginary.

VIEWS ON QUAYLE

☐ Republican delegates show more favorable views toward the vice president than other Republicans and voters.



Dan Quayle

1992 REPUBLICAN DELEGATES REGISTERED VOTERS Overall

Do you think that Bush should keep Dan Quayle on the ticket, or do you think that Bush should pick someone else to be his vice president?

Keep Quayle	80%	58%	40%
Pick someone else	14	32	46
Undecided	6	10	14

Suppose Bush decides not to keep Quayle on the ticket and picks someone else to be his vice president. Would you approve or disapprove of that decision?

Approve	55%	58%	60%
Disapprove	34	24	19
Depends (Volunteered)	6	11	10

ASKED ONLY OF REPUBLICAN DELEGATES

Who would you like to see Bush pick for vice president? (Delegates who think Bush should pick someone other than Quayle)

Jack Kemp	52%
Other	15
Colin Powell	12
James Baker	10
Dick Cheney	4
Elizabeth Dole	4

Do you think having Quayle on the ticket helps or hurts Bush's chances for reelection?

Helps	39%
Hurts	22
Makes no difference (volunteered)	30

Which do you think would hurt Bush's chances for reelection more: keeping Quayle on the ticket or dropping him?

Keeping him	15%
Dropping him	70

SOURCES: The Washington Post-ABC News delegate poll based on interviews with 511 delegates to the Republican National Convention, conducted July 29 to Aug. 7, and a Washington Post-ABC News Poll of 714 registered voters nationwide conducted July 17 to 19. Data may not add to 100 percent because all response categories are not listed. Margin of sampling error for the delegate poll and the national poll is plus or minus 5 percentage points. Interviewing was conducted by Chilton Research Services of Radnor, Pa.

—Compiled by Sharon Warden
THE WASHINGTON POST

The Washington Post

"It was never an issue for him [President Bush]," he insisted, but "I gave serious thought to whether I was an asset or a liability."

Like Democratic nominee Bill Clinton, Quayle likes to see himself as a "Comeback Kid." "I'm stronger, I'm wiser" than in 1988, he said. "I have been tested. I can take a punch and come back, and in the long run, that will serve me well."

Aides tick off other factors they claim will keep the 1992 campaign from being a repeat of the 1988 horror show for Quayle.

"He has his own staff that has worked with him for three or four years now," said William Kristol, his chief of staff. "He knows the president well, which he did not then. He knows the top campaign people well. It's hugely easier in that respect. And he has been around the national media and campaigning around the country for four years."

Friends say Quayle has no qualms about going up against his Democratic counterpart, Sen. Albert Gore Jr. (Tenn.), with whom he served for 12 years in the House and Senate. The two are tentatively scheduled to debate on Sept. 29, and "whatever people may think, Dan is quite capable of holding his own in that matchup," said Sen. Warren B. Rudman (R-N.H.).

But the Quayle camp is openly envious of the way Clinton picked and presented Gore to the nation, in contrast to Quayle's introduction in New Orleans four years ago. "It is a

little galling" that Gore got such a smooth sendoff, said one top Quayle aide. "It was not like [Quayle's] going on that stupid boat . . . with one hour's notice, with no briefing material for him or about him."

The memories of the New Orleans fiasco are seared into Quayle and his entourage: the phone call from Bush, signaling success for Quayle's covert campaign to land the No. 2 spot; the stunning news that he had only time to change clothes and fight his way through the crowds before the announcement would be made from the deck of the river boat on which Bush was arriving; the exuberant meeting, where Quayle's enthusiasm struck some observers as juvenile cheerleading; then the downward spiral of midnight staff grillings, hostile news conferences and TV interviews, where Quayle struggled painfully to clear up reports about his academic record, his Vietnam-era National Guard service and other rumored problems.

When he went on the road after New Orleans, Quayle was stripped of his Senate staff and placed in the hands of unfamiliar pros, with whom he soon was feuding. A series of embarrassing speech miscues preceded the televised debate with Democratic vice-presidential nominee Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (Tex.) and the devastating Bentsen rejoinder, "You're no Jack Kennedy."

After that, Quayle was buried in places where he could do no harm to Bush's chances.

In interviews last year with The Washington Post, Quayle and his wife, Marilyn, put much of the blame for the problems on James A. Baker III, Bush's 1988 campaign chairman and a potential 1996 rival for the presidential nomination. Over the years, Baker has let it be known that he thinks Quayle is over his head even in the vice presidency.

En route home from California Wednesday night, Quayle got word from the president that Baker was taking over as White House chief of staff from Quayle's close friend, Samuel K. Skinner. But in an interview immediately afterward, he professed no discomfort at the prospect of Baker calling signals for another campaign.

After the formal announcement on Thursday, he and Baker had a long telephone conversation that, aides said, gave Quayle further comfort.

"What will be different in 1992," Quayle said, "is that we won't get all the flak from our own headquarters. In 1988, there were people pretty high up in the campaign doing that. It won't happen again."

Time will tell about that. Meanwhile, the convention offers Quayle a chance, as he put it, "to give 15,000 journalists and the American people a little different picture than they got in 1988."

In speeches to Republican and civic groups starting Monday, Quayle will showcase four issues he

See QUAYLE, A16, Col. 1

With Political Future on the Line, Quayle Hopes for Sharper Image

QUAYLE, From A15

has pushed aggressively as vice president: family values (in a speech to Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition); Israel-U.S. friendship (for AIPAC, the pro-Israel lobbying group); term limits; and legal reform.

Quayle aides said his acceptance speech will touch on those issues but fulfill the traditional vice-presidential function of praising the head of the ticket and castigating the opposition in what a grinning Quayle said "hopefully will be vivid, strong and convincing terms."

As Clinton did at Madison Square Garden, Quayle hopes to use part of his speech, the introduction and the accompanying video to correct the "misapprehension" that he has led a privileged life.

"Nobody knows that I grew up in a two-bedroom house in a middle-class neighborhood, attended five different public schools, or that I worked days and went to law school at night," Quayle said. "That never got out in 1988."

The debate with Gore will be a key moment for Quayle—and one his friends anticipate eagerly as a chance for the vice president to do what he likes best: take on an opponent with sharply differing views on national security, the environment and the economy.

"Everybody expects Al Gore to hit a home run," said politically savvy Sacramento lawyer Steve Merk-samer, a Quayle adviser. "But

Quayle is a serious, substantive guy, and I don't think that's going to happen."

Aside from the debate, Quayle accepts that his will be a subordinate role in the autumn campaign, focused largely on reassuring and energizing the Republican base, while Bush tries to woo swing voters. Last week's California trip was a foretaste of the mainly small-city itinerary and conservative audiences Quayle will be facing.

In temperatures well over 100 degrees in the Central Valley, he

shucked his jacket and got dirt on his shoes as he talked to ranchers, home-builders and fruit-growers about the threat of higher taxes and stiffer environmental regulations if the Democrats win the White House.

He preached traditional values to a Christian Coalition rally, reminded the employees of the prime contractor on space station Freedom that their jobs may have been saved by his vigorous lobbying for the program, and told restive conservatives at the Lincoln Club in Orange

County that they should not abandon the president who "won the Cold War and turned back aggression in the Persian Gulf."

Along the way, he squeezed in a half dozen fund-raisers and several of the "impromptu" handshaking visits to snack shops, supermarkets and fire stations that have been a staple of his campaigning since his first House race in 1976.

Quayle said on the way home that the trip illustrated campaign chairman Robert M. Teeter's promise to him that "what the vice president

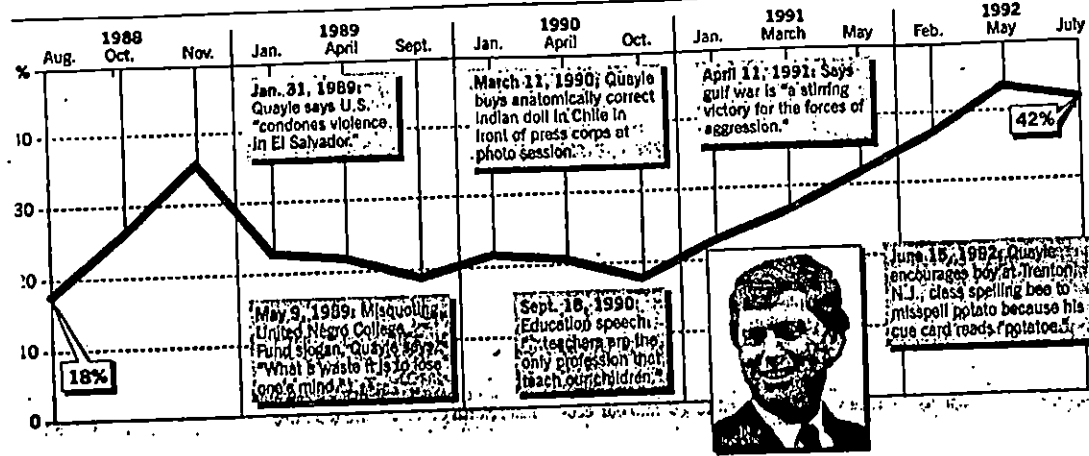
does will be the second most important thing happening that day."

That means, Quayle added with a laugh, that the president "gets the plums and I get what's left."

More seriously, he said that he knew his days of relative independence were ending, that the kind of free-lancing he had done when he challenged Hollywood's value system in his "Murphy Brown" speech would not be allowed.

"Once we go out of Houston," Quayle said, "there has to be a lot closer coordination of the message."

DAN QUAYLE'S DISAPPROVAL RATING



SOURCES: The Washington Post ABC News Poll, KRT Graphics

BY FORNEY-ONE WASHINGTON POST

It is a more controlled environment. You have only so many days, and you have to get your message out."

While some on the staff hanker for a more prominent and substantive role for Quayle, the "bottom line," as one close associate said, "is that if Bush loses, it's pretty hard to believe [Quayle] has much of a political future... so it's right that helping Bush win be the priority."

With victory, Quayle—like Bush in 1988—would have certain advantages over anyone else going into the 1996 primaries.

With minimum publicity, for example, Marilyn Quayle was designated last month as the chairman of the Bush-Quayle volunteers. A letter over her signature went out to 200,000 of them on Aug. 4. To the Quayles' chagrin, however, it contained three spelling errors—all officially blamed on the printer.

But Marilyn Quayle's job also means, as one Quayle aide said, "that when the campaign is over, Jim Flitts [Quayle's representative at the campaign headquarters] gets his sticky fingers on the names and addresses of 200,000 Republican activists."

In the last 20 years, vice-presidential nominees on losing tickets have failed in subsequent tries for the White House, either losing in primaries, as Robert J. Dole, Sargent Shriver and Edmund S. Muskie did, or being trounced in the general election, as Walter F. Mondale was. On the other hand, Bush's example shows how a two-term vice president, though often scorned, can have the last laugh on his critics.

That's why the stakes are so high for Quayle in this campaign.

The Washington Post

The Gipper Tries to Win One More for Bush

By Thomas B. Edsall
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, Aug. 16—On opening night, Republicans will call once again on Ronald Reagan, the founder of the conservative revolution that has fallen into disarray under President Bush.

Reagan will lead off the featured speakers as the Republican National Convention celebrates Bush's foreign policy successes. The sight of the 81-year-old former president on the podium Monday night will surely make the hearts of ideologues beat faster. But there is also strong evidence that among a crucial segment of conservative voters, the memory of Reagan has soured—that the Reagan message will play far better here inside the Astrodome than on the outside.

The Reagan magnetism that pulled working- and middle-class voters into the Republican fold—a coalition Bush desperately needs to revive—has lost some of its appeal with those voters, polls and interviews show.

One of the most important political legacies Reagan left Bush and the Republican Party was the Reagan Democrat: the socially conservative, working- or middle-class, often Catholic, often ethnic, white voter who provided crucial margins in state after state.

For Bush—the only Republican president elected after the New Deal whose roots are upper-class and

patrician, not middle-class—Reagan Democrats were the lifeblood of his 54 percent victory in 1988.

They were the men and women persuaded to abandon blue-collar Democratic roots to vote for a blue-blood Republican by Willie Horton, the ACLU, the death penalty and the promise not to raise taxes. Heirs to the George Wallace voters of 1968 and the hard-hat backers of Richard M. Nixon in 1972, these voters provided an edge of muscle and grit to a Republican coalition widely perceived as dominated by the rich and corporations.

This year, in contrast, the Reagan Democrats show the greatest potential to return to the Democratic Party. In a study of Reagan Democrats in the key states of Michigan, Illinois and Ohio, Michigan Researchers Associates found that Reagan had the highest unfavorability rating of a wide range of public officials, 63 percent, higher even than Jesse L. Jackson, who had a 55 percent negative rating.

Democratic pollster Geoffrey Garin said his survey data show that "a lot of voters, particularly working-class Democrats, now think of the Reagan administration as the time when we started to get into our economic mess. Reagan is now singularly remembered as the president who cared more about the rich than the

middle class.... In the politics of 'us' and 'them,' Reagan has come to represent 'them.'"

Republican sources, who did not want to speak on the record about such a GOP icon as Reagan, generally confirmed these findings, and a new CBS News-New York Times poll shows that 45 percent of voters nationally have an unfavorable view of Reagan, compared to 37 percent with a favorable opinion.

"For those of us who helped build the conservative movement, there are two heroes, [former Arizona senator and 1964 Republican presidential nominee] Barry Goldwater and Ronald Reagan. There is no way that a party that has owes Reagan so much could not give him a key spot at the convention," said a prominent Republican. "But," he added, "that doesn't mean having him here is going to help for the general election."

The loss of the Reagan mystique is being felt throughout the country, particularly by local Republicans in the North and South who were swept into office from working-class districts during the conservative revolution of the 1980s. They were less reluctant to voice their concern.

While contending that Bush can pull it out in the long haul, North Carolina state Rep. Leo Daughtry (R), who faces a tough fight after redistricting of his Smithfield

See REAGAN, A16, Col. 1

For Some Conservatives, Reagan Has Lost His Appeal

REAGAN, From A15

district, said the collapse of support for Bush has been "like a plane crash. It happened quickly."

Pennsylvania state Rep. Joe Uliana (R), from the Bethlehem-Lehigh area, said Bush "looks markedly worse here" compared to 1988. "There is tremendous feeling for change, and right now the president is not seen as the agent of change."

In the long range, another development that may prove even more significant is the virtual collapse of strong Republican and Bush support among voters 18 to 30 years old.

This group was supposed to become the leading edge of an evolving Republican realignment, as the population of older, more Democratic voters declined. But in the most recent Washington Post-ABC News poll, the group that most favors Democratic nominee Bill Clinton and opposes Bush is likely vot-

ers 18 to 30 years old, among whom Clinton has an extraordinary 43-point margin, 70 to 27 percent, compared to an overall 26-point margin among all likely voters.

Just as key demographic support has eroded for the GOP among such groups as white working-class voters and the young, the Republican coalition is under geographic assault.

Public polls taken since the Democratic convention show Clinton holding leads of varying sizes in every southern state—the region of the country that is supposed to provide the core of a decisive Republican electoral college advantage.

And in California, the most populous state, which has voted for the Republican presidential nominee in six consecutive elections, Clinton holds such a strong lead—62 to 28 percent according to a Field Poll late last month—that Republicans are considering writing the state off.

John McClintock, a California state assemblyman now running for the House seat held by Rep. Anthony C. Beilenson (D), spoke almost nostalgically about the Reagan coalition in his state:

"They were the middle class, the working people of the state. They were solid for Reagan in the 1980s, and the majority were looking at [Ross] Perot when he was running. Now they represent a very broad and very weak portion of Clinton's voters who are there not so much because they like Clinton, but because they have given up on Bush.... The core of the Reagan agenda was to contain the growth of the federal bureaucracy and to resist further tax increases and, of course, both of those policies have been reversed."

McClintock is part of the conservative revolution whose commitment was based largely on economics. While Bush commands significant support from the moral and

religious right—another key Republican constituency—even there his backing is far more fragmented than it had been for Reagan in 1980 and 1984 or for Bush himself in 1988.

As Bush and his wife, Barbara, struggle to bridge deeply felt divisions on such issues as abortion and gay rights, their own contradictory statements provoke worry and doubt on the religious right that could well reduce the enthusiasm essential for a strong turnout Nov. 3.

"In the religious world, someone who is an apostate is viewed with more suspicion than someone who is a heretic," said Richard Cizik of the National Association of Evangelicals. Bush made "an overt attempt to identify with the evangelicals on religious and moral issues, and thus when the president is perceived to depart from those stands which he took, the effect is all the worse."

The Washington Post

POLITICS

Baker Said to Be Trying to Round Up The Usual Experts

James A. Baker III is back, and he may be trying to organize the last roundup. A senior administration official said yesterday that the incoming White House chief of staff—and new inside architect of President Bush's reelection campaign—wants to bring in some familiar big guns for the fight: Edward J. Rollins, who briefly deserted his party for the Ross Perot campaign, Roger Ailes, who produced Bush's 1988 television advertising, and Mitchell E. Daniels Jr., a former Reagan White House aide and party strategist.

Baker, who believes in the political theorem of holding your potential enemies close, has long been an advocate of bringing into a general election campaign all those who shot at it from the outside.

Rollins, who is in Houston this week as a television commentator, said yesterday he had not heard yet from Baker or his agents. He told the Dallas Morning News that it's unlikely he will join the Bush campaign, adding, "I think I've done my campaign bit this cycle."

Bush's son, George W. Bush, sort of agreed. "Guys that bounce around from campaign to campaign frankly make me a little nervous," he told C-SPAN.

Daniels, an informal adviser to Vice President Quayle for the past four years, is expected to join up as a senior campaign adviser on a nearly full-time basis for the fall, but Ailes is resisting all entreaties to rejoin the effort.

Sources said Ailes, who said this year he did not want to be a part of the professional campaign, was approached again last week but still is declining to go beyond informal advice and debate preparation to get involved in ad preparation. Baker is said to be intent on bringing Ailes back in his 1988 role of idea man for the advertising, or what one campaign aide called the "political artiste."

Going for Distance

■ On the theory that every vote

counts, Bill Clinton is campaigning for support from Americans who live outside the United States.

"I know that in 1992 there are thousands upon thousands of Americans living abroad who, for the first time in many years, want to take an active part in this year's presidential election," the Democratic nominee wrote in a letter made public by the Democrats Abroad organization.

Republicans have a similar organization, Republicans Abroad, which runs a computerized drive to get out the overseas vote.

Democrats Abroad Executive Director Thomas W. Fina told the Associated Press that his group has committees in 24 nations. He said that there are "a couple of million" potential voters living and working in other countries in addition to members of the armed services.

In his letter to Democrats abroad, Clinton recalled that he was once among them as a Rhodes scholar at Oxford University in England. "I think I know what it means to be an American living away from home," he said. "Distance does not diminish loyalty, nor time erode our roots."

Thanks, but No Tanks

■ Republican National Committee Chairman Richard N. Bond was asked Saturday whether the GOP would copy the Democrats and put the president on a bus to campaign across America and meet the people.

Warming to the question, Bond said that by the time Bush gets going on the campaign trail, no one will suggest he is in a cocoon. Bush has already ridden in a lime-green fire truck—after commending crews who helped rescue passengers aboard a jet that crashed last month at New York's John F. Kennedy International Airport. Trains, buses, planes, bicycles are all possible, Bond joked. "Nothing is ruled out."

"Tanks?" one reporter asked, referring to Democrat Michael S. Dukakis's ill-fated tank ride in 1988.

"Yeah, tanks are ruled out," Bond said.

—Maralee Schwartz, Ann Devroy and Dan Balz



James A. Baker III is said to be organizing political posse of big guns.

Los Angeles Times

Bush Denies Political Plan for Iraq Showdown

By ROBIN WRIGHT
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—President Bush strongly denied Sunday that he is trying to provoke the Iraqi regime into a showdown to boost his reelection campaign. Yet he also issued a stiff warning to Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein to comply with all U.N. resolutions.

"Saddam Hussein needs to realize that the world will not ignore interference with these U.N. requirements. He cannot be allowed to dictate what can and cannot be inspected," Bush said on returning to the White House from the presidential retreat at Camp David, Md.

At the same time, the President angrily dismissed a New York Times story suggesting that, for political reasons, he might force a military confrontation with Hussein as early as today, as the Republicans open their national convention in Houston.

"I don't commit somebody else's son or daughter to battle or any kind of combat unless it is the right thing to do, regardless of politics," Bush said.

He said he was "shocked" by the New York newspaper's report, in which an unnamed official alleged that the Administration was or-

Please see BUSH, A2

BUSH:

Continued from A1

chestrating a U.N. inspection of sensitive Iraqi facilities, inviting an obstruction by Hussein that would trigger a U.S. air raid.

Bush said that U.N. inspectors decide on their own which buildings to visit in their search for evidence of Iraqi production of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons.

"I have responsibilities as President and responsibilities as commander in chief, and I will go through with those responsibilities regardless of the politics," he said.

The President's thinly veiled threat to use force came as Pentagon officials said that an air command staff had been dispatched to Saudi Arabia to prepare for possible air strikes against Iraq.

Lt. Gen. Michael A. Nelson, who runs Central Command's air component at Shaw Air Force Base in South Carolina, and his staff of 30 flew to Riyadh at the end of last week. Nelson will coordinate any allied air campaign against Iraq, Pentagon sources said.

"We now have sufficient people there that, if we need to act, we can," a Pentagon official said. Nelson will assume the role played by Lt. Gen. Charles Horner in running the air war in the Gulf last year, the sources said.

Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney tried Sunday to play down Nelson's assignment. He described it as a "routine deployment" and part of a process "to maintain a significant military presence in the region" to force Hussein to comply with U.N. resolutions.

But a senior Administration source said in an interview Sunday that a "new consensus" had been built within the multinational coalition in recent weeks to act swiftly and forcefully in the event Baghdad violates U.N. resolutions requiring that weapons of mass destruction be destroyed and prohibiting suppression of ethnic groups in Iraq. Until a July crisis at the Iraqi Agriculture Ministry, he said, the coalition—embracing the United States, Britain, France, Saudi Arabia and other nations—had "gone a little soft."

U.N. inspectors were denied access to the Agriculture Ministry, where they suspected arms-related documents might be hidden. The impasse finally was resolved, but Americans were removed from the inspection team at Iraq's insistence.

The source said that the United States is prepared to act in the event Baghdad refuses either to allow U.N. weapons inspectors to complete their mission or if Iraq escalates its campaign against southern Shiite insurgents.

"If he [Hussein] denies access to the inspectors, then there'll be a confrontation. If he begins to repress his own people in a serious way, then there'll be a confrontation," the source said. "Either way, the ball is in his court."

Bush and ranking Republicans tried Sunday to distance the stronger Iraq policy from this week's GOP convention in Houston and the presidential campaign.

Cheney called the New York Times report "goofy," "totally fallacious" and "totally irresponsible."

Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.), the convention's keynote speaker, said in an interview on Cable News Network: "George Bush is not going to be provoked into doing something that is not in our interests based on some kind of personal dislike. Whether we have an incident, whether it occurs on Monday or Thursday or next year is going to be determined not so much by the President, but by Iraq."

Judging by Baghdad's recent actions, southern Iraq may turn out to be the arena for a U.S.-Iraq showdown. Administration officials said Sunday that the Iraqi army and air force are poised for a new offensive against Shiite insurgents in the marshes near the port city of Basra.

Both Iraq's use of air power below the 32nd Parallel and human rights violations against its own people are clear violations

of U.N. resolutions. Bush specifically warned Hussein on Sunday against "the brutalization of his own people."

And Cheney told reporters at Andrews Air Force Base: "In recent weeks there have been efforts under way by the Iraqis to use their assets in the south to oppress the [Shiites]. We've raised that as one of the things we're concerned about. It is a violation of U.N. Resolution 688, and we think it ought to cease."

A senior Administration official said that the Iraqi crackdown on the Shiites and use of air power had increased over the past week.

There was no indication from U.N. inspectors Sunday, however, about the state of the latest mission. In Baghdad, the U.N. team conducted a brief inspection followed by five hours of talks with Iraqi officials. Team leader Nikita Smidovich, a Russian chemical weapons specialist, told reporters that he was waiting for instructions from U.N. headquarters in New York about whether the 22-member team should leave Tuesday.

In contrast to previous trips, this mission has been extremely low-key. Smidovich has refused to comment on where the inspectors are going or what they are looking for. He said only that the inspection would continue today.

In New York, U.N. Special Commission officials expressed annoyance at the implications that they would provoke a confrontation with the Iraqis at the bidding of the United States.

Commission spokesman Tim Trevan said that Washington "has greatly assisted" the inspectors over the last 18 months with information about Iraq's arms caches. But, he said, "we receive information from a variety of sources. . . . On the basis of our assessment, we make the decision" about what to inspect. "We don't seek confrontation. We just seek to do our mandate."

U.N. officials said that they were puzzled by the New York Times story.

"I'm surprised that the U.S. government has basically leaked the story, regardless of its truth or falsehood," a U.N. official said. Because of the publicity, he added, the inspectors probably would not now risk a confrontation even if that had been their intention.

Indications are growing that there could be military action in the Persian Gulf. There is an increase in the U.S. ground and naval presence in the Gulf and the Mediterranean Sea, at least in part because of joint U.S.-Kuwait Army and Marine exercises.

The United States has 19 ships in the Gulf and adjacent waters, including the aircraft carrier Independence battle group with a normal air contingent of 72 bombers, fighters, surveillance aircraft and command and control planes. The number of ships is higher than usual, in part to support the current amphibious military exercises in Kuwait.

The United States also has six warships in the Red Sea, 18 in the Mediterranean and an unknown number of submarines patrolling the waters of the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean.

And the carrier Saratoga, also with a full air contingent, is deployed in the Adriatic Sea, largely because of the Yugoslav crisis. Aircraft on the Saratoga are capable of reaching the Persian Gulf with aerial refueling.

The United States also has 120 land-based warplanes in the Persian Gulf, predominantly in Saudi Arabia.

Roughly 5,000 U.S. troops, both Marines and army personnel, are expected to be in Kuwait by the end of this week for separate exercises with Kuwaiti troops. At least half are already positioned.

Times staff writers Melissa Healy, John M. Broder and Stanley Meisler contributed to this story.

Fear and Hopelessness Grip Muslims in a Bosnian Town

By CHARLES T. POWERS
TIMES STAFF WRITER

BOSANSKA KOSTAJNICA, Bosnia-Herzegovina—About 800 Muslims are left in this town, where once there were 2,000. And if those remaining had power over their immediate fate, they would be gone too—as soon as possible.

"For God's sake, help us," said one Muslim man who had been working with his neighbors to try to connect an automobile generator to the sprocket of an upturned bicycle in a vain attempt to generate enough electricity to power a radio. "Help us organize a convoy so we can get out of here."

The remaining Bosnian Muslim residents of this once-peaceful town on the banks of the Una River on the northern Bosnian border are frightened, and they have given up hope of remaining

here safely in the face of the "ethnic cleansing" that has swept out their neighbors and those from scores of surrounding villages.

They have now become pawns in a power struggle. On one hand, Serbian "extremists," as the Muslims call them, are conducting a campaign of fear and economic intimidation against them, trying to force them to leave. And the campaign, by the testimony of dozens of villagers here, has succeeded.

But the Office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, which has been pressed by Serbian authorities in the region to organize an official exodus for the Muslims, is resisting the pressure, insisting that the agency's job is to care for refugees, not to help create them. Officials of the commissioner's office say that to organize convoys to

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BOSNIA: Muslims Are Pawns in Power Struggle

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guarantee safe passage for the Muslims would make the United Nations an accomplice to the Serbian policy of ethnic cleansing."

For the Muslims remaining in such villages as Bosanska Kostajnica, however, the "cleansing," while not yet physically accomplished, is psychologically complete.

At night, residents say, carloads of Serbian toughs—the Muslims say they are from outlying villages—drive rough the Muslim district shooting guns into the air and sometimes at their houses.

The mosque, which marks the center of the neighborhood, has been blown up; its walls have collapsed and its minaret has crashed to the ground. (The Roman Catholic church, once attended by the town's Croatian population, so has been burned. The Orthodox Church, with mostly Serbian members, has remained untouched.)

Most of the Muslims here have not had jobs to go to in more than a year.

"We have no money," said the man working on the generator, who declined to give his name. "We are running out of food. We are afraid of winter."

"We would like to leave as soon as possible. We would like to go to Germany, to France, anywhere. We are afraid. We are afraid that if Serbian people are killed anywhere (in fighting), they will come here and kill us. We want out."

Last month, the Serbian regional authorities in the district headquarters at Bosanski Novi organized a convoy that removed 1,000 villagers of Bosanska Kostajnica to refugee centers in Croatia. But it was that same convoy, often to about 7,000, that caused the refugee commissioner's office to dig in its heels in resistance to additional moves. The U.N. officials, in the wake of that exodus, testified that they had been "blackmailed" by the Serbs participating in the cleansing operations.

Then, last week, the Serbian authorities in northern Bosnia told relief officials that 28,000 Muslims were "ready" to be escorted out of the country and asked for assistance from U.N. Protection Force personnel and from a refugee agency. Both agencies promptly refused, and the resistance has continued to harden.

"The message we're putting across," said refugee agency

spokesman Peter Kessler, "is that the United Nations is not going to be blackmailed. We are not going to participate in ethnic cleansing."

Kessler said the agency has sent "protection officers" into the northern Bosnian towns where Muslims are being pressed to leave but admitted that a "handful of men in United Nations vehicles"—whose job is to interview people "whose human rights may have been violated"—is "not likely to make much difference."

Indeed, refugee agency personnel on Saturday were ordered out of the northern Bosnian town of Sanski Most, where Serbian officials and militias are in control. U.N. Protection Force jurisdiction ends at the Croatian-Bosnian border.

The distress of a young non-Muslim woman in Bosanska Kostajnica was evident as she led a small group of journalists to the Muslim area of the town, where she helped to translate their comments. She asked that her name not be published.

Before the war broke out between Croatia and Serbia last year, her father was the police chief in a larger section of Kostajnica across the river in Croatia. Her father, she said, is Croatian and has fled the town. Her mother is Serbian and, "possibly losing her sanity," is trying to hold on to the family house, which has been bombed.

As for her own ethnicity, which never mattered here before, "I don't know what to call myself," the woman said. She is married to a Serb, and her fondest hope now is to leave with her husband and year-old daughter, who spent her first seven days, last year, in a basement while the Croatian part of the town across the river was bombed.

"I haven't a real word for what has happened to us here," she said. "There is no word for it. Everything that has



Los Angeles Times

happened here is crazy, something of the worst kind. Last month, when I saw that convoy go, the Muslim people leaving, I just cried. That was all I could do. I could cry and do no more. I don't believe in anything in this country anymore. I just want to leave."

The Muslims, she said, "are terrified. They cannot work. They have no money. They have no food. They are being forced to sign over their homes. They have nowhere to go. They are not living, they are only surviving."

In the shade of a thick grape arbor, where three men were working on the bicycle and the generator, a neighborhood crowd quickly gathered, competing to appeal to the visiting foreigners for help to escape the town.

"No," said one man, "we cannot stay here. There is nothing left for us now. We have to get out."

"We went to the town government last week," said another, "and asked to be allowed to leave. But they said there was no way for us to leave now."

Every Muslim automobile in town, they said, has been confiscated by the Serbs. Only a few horses, belonging to farmers, remain.

Some of the Muslims, they said, had signed over their houses and property already, mostly to town authorities, and renounced any future claim to their possessions.

"I haven't signed yet," said one of the men. "But I will. I will sign it over to a Serbian friend."

He would receive no money for it, he said. The only thing he would get in return would be the hope that, someday—if it ever became safe to return—his friend would return it to him. But all of that was a far distant hope. His larger concern was more immediate.

"Please," he said, "do what you can. Help us get out of here."

Los Angeles Times

GOP Faithful Ponder if Party Will Unite Behind Bush

Election: Some see the convention as the jump-off point for a strong campaign. Others wonder if it's too little, too late.

CATHLEEN DECKER
POLITICAL WRITER

HOUSTON—On this tantalizingly placid Sunday morning, the balloons were strung in plastic casings high above the convention floor and the pristine red carpet was tacked down. The hairs were positioned just so and the flags were fluttering from the Astrodome and along the broad avenues of a spiffed-up, well-coiffed Houston.

And all anyone was wondering was whether the upcoming family reunion will provoke fistfights or earbumps.

The Republicans open their 1992 convention today with equal parts angst and Adrenalin. The frustrations over a President who lags in national polls far behind the Democratic governor of a small state—as the GOP likes to refer to Bill Clinton—have coalesced in Republican delegates who are burning with the desire to make all things right in the space of a few fleeting days.

And the overwhelming sentiment from those who like George Bush or those who would just as soon leave him is relief that, finally, undeniably, the presidential battle is about to be joined.

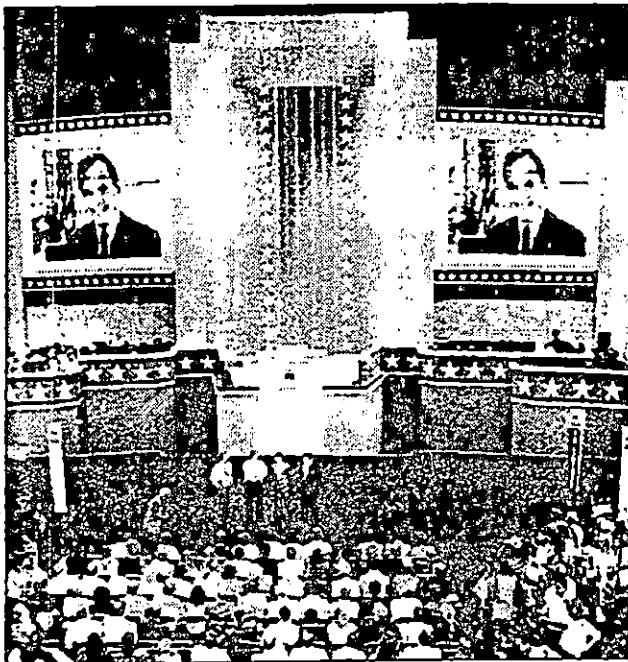
"We have the possibility here of a turning momentum, and we're hoping to get that," said a relieved Jerry Davis, the GOP chairman in Arizona and leader of the state's delegation.

But in Davis' mind, as in the minds of many of the 2,210 delegates, there remains a nagging worry: "If we miss this opportunity," he said, "there's a good possibility we're in for a long fall. Not to mention four years."

There are delegates at the convention who are fond of President Bush and delegates here who scorn him. There are few, however, who endorse the strategies of a campaign that has foundered for months without firm direction from the President or his team.

"This is the beginning for Bush, is where he gets his oomph and things begin going our way," said S. Rep. Constance A. Morella of Maryland.

More blunt than most, she added: "So far, I haven't been real excited out of the campaign. In fact, there really hasn't been a campaign. I



DAVE GATLEY • Los Angeles Times

President addresses workers at Astrodome via closed-circuit TV.

think everyone has been viewing the convention as the jump-off point."

Only one question remains: A jump-off to what?

It could be dissension, as was evidenced Sunday at a news conference called by abortion-rights advocates still burning ears and twisting arms in their effort to raise their issue before a convention whose platform fully rejects their stance.

There was Ann Stone, leader of the Republicans for Choice group, her face sunburned from button-holing delegates at pool sides and barbecues, calling the response "amazing."

"People kept coming up to me and saying: 'It's about time we took a stand on this. Thank you for giving us a voice.'"

A voice of a different sort, meanwhile, emanated from the back of the crowd.

"I'm sick of all this yelling and moaning and whining about this one lousy topic," grumped an anti-abortion Nebraska delegate, arms crossed atop his ample girth.

"We're all on the same team, so why are we carrying the ball in different directions? It looks bad. I tell you, it looks bad."

More to the point, it looked like a convention, like the quadrennial bash that each of America's major political parties dives into without knowing how much muck might

swirl to the top of the pool.

It could be, said many of the quieter voices of this convention, that out of the tension of this week in Houston a sense of Republican unity will emerge.

"We agree on more than [we] disagree," noted Jim Conran, a California delegate and director of the state Department of Consumer Affairs. "And, truthfully, I don't take this platform stuff very seriously anyway."

Even among the supporters of former television commentator Patrick J. Buchanan, there were unexpected indications that things could go well. Although warning that "there's still a lot of Buchanan people out there who won't turn over their vote," Tom Williamson of Colorado put his bet on unity.

"First and foremost," he said, "we're Republicans."

In the next breath, however, Williamson was openly worried.

"I caught the President a couple of weeks ago," he said. "It was tough to get pumped up. He was starting to sound better—but I hope it's not too little, too late."

Neither, said the chairman of the Republican National Committee, acting as though he would just as soon forget the previous eight months of this year and start from scratch.

"Today is the first day of the reelection campaign of George Bush for four more years," an

ever-optimistic Richard Bond told Bush volunteers gathered Sunday afternoon on the convention floor.

As the formal opening of the convention neared, attention was more and more focused on Bush and what he must do this week—especially Thursday, when he addresses the nation.

Message to the former Yale first baseman: Hit a home run.

"I'd like to see him get up on the stage, roll up his sleeves and say, 'Look, guys, we've got some problems we need to address,'" said 24-year-old John Schafer of La Crescenta, a UC Berkeley senior and member of the College Republicans. "Not blaming himself, but putting aside politics and saying we've got to deal with these problems."

While Schafer criticized what he called "a clear lack of direction at the present time," another college Republican was still feeling superior to the Democratic Party, whose long history of internal warfare has been fairly well quelled this year.

"There's a big difference between Republicans being in disarray and Democrats being in disarray," said Phillip Steinman, a student at the University of Arkansas in Fayetteville. "The Democratic Party is always in chaos, but if we have one minor squabble—like we've seen this past week on abortion—then everyone thinks it's a big deal. Clinton's big lead in the polls is because the Republicans haven't started campaigning."

The H&H Ranch, where 300 young Republicans like Steinman gathered Sunday night, and the convention floor, where the volunteers gathered earlier in the day, were the province of the fresh-faced.

That will not be the case with the convention itself. Under the crush of reporters and television crews, honored guests and celebrities, will be delegates who on average are middle-aged white men.

The relative blandness of the delegate pool was best demonstrated by the most common last name: Smith. And its most popular male name: John.

But up on the podium, the Republicans will show an entirely different face.

Only 73 of the delegates are Latino, but three will have featured roles within the first two days of the convention. Ninfa Laurenzo, a friend of the president's and owner of a chain of Mexican restaurants that bears her name, will deliver the Pledge of Allegiance at today's opening session. Sarah Flores, a deputy Los Angeles county supervisor, will speak

tonight. Tuesday morning, the convention will hear from Jose Nino, president of the Hispanic Chamber of Commerce.

Although only 83 delegates are black—compared to more than 1,800 whites—three blacks will have featured roles in the first 24 hours of the convention. Fred McClure, a former legislative aide to Bush, will sing the National Anthem Monday morning, and Condoeeza Rice, a former special White House assistant for national security affairs, will speak Monday night.

The next morning, the delegates will hear from the Rev. E. V. Hill, pastor of the Mount Zion Baptist Church in Los Angeles and a longtime Bush supporter.

Even a Clinton supporter is making an appearance—Houston Mayor Bob Lanier, who stood by Clinton's side on July 23 as he castigated the President in Bush's adopted hometown. Lanier was one of three Houstonians whose fund-raisers for Clinton that night raised \$1 million.

There has been much hue and cry this week over the presence—to be honest, the absence—of Republican Party leaders. For starters, take the party's congressional delegation: Only 93 of the 167 Republican members of Congress saw fit to come to Houston, with dozens of others pleading the press of business at home.

For some, locked in tight races, it was impossible to pass up a week at home with constituents. Others were suspected of not wanting to risk being sighted within the tense confines of the Astrodome.

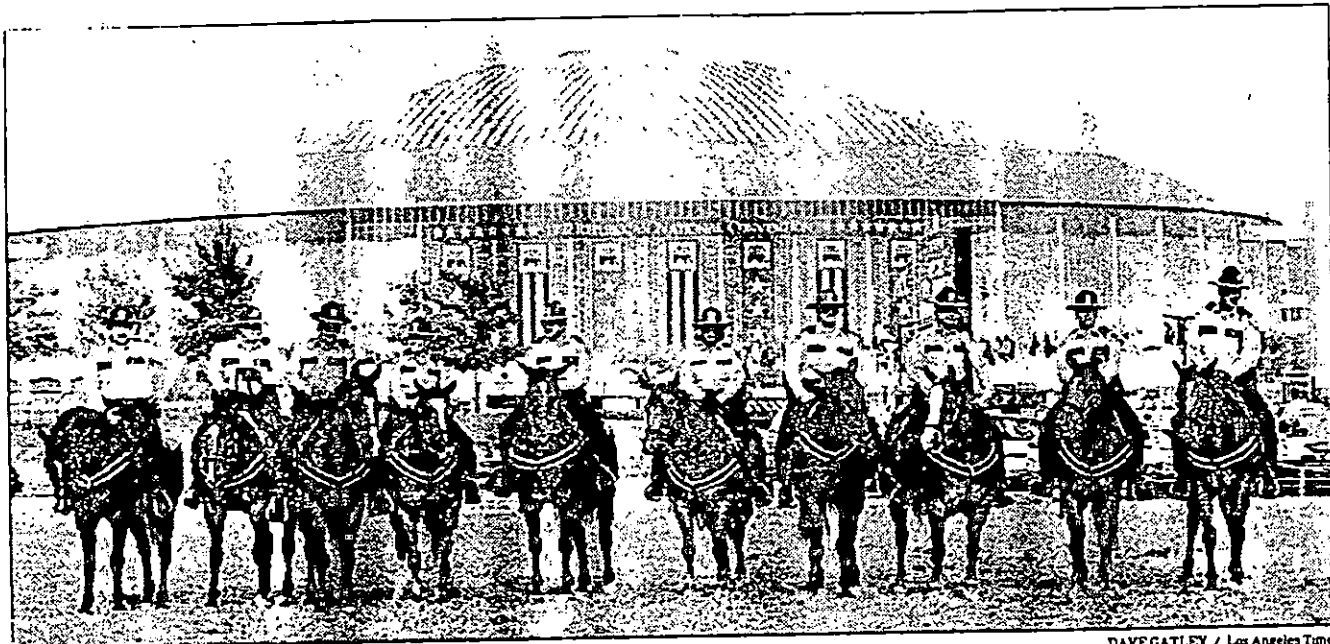
Republican governors, traditionally the leaders of their state delegations, were far more loyal, with 17 of the 20 scheduled to be in Houston. The most prominent no-show, of course, was California Gov. Pete Wilson, who did the next best thing by appearing on video before the California delegation Sunday morning.

"There is optimistic yet determined support among the governors," said Chris Henick, a spokesman for the Republican Governors Assn.

For some of those governors, being here in Houston serves two purposes. They can demonstrate loyalty to Bush and simultaneously curry favor with delegations and Republican leaders whose support could come in handy in a future national bid.

Times staff writers Geraldine Baum, John Broder, Douglas Jehl and Jennifer Warren contributed to this story.

Los Angeles Times



DAVE GATLEY / Los Angeles Times

A Houston mounted police unit keeps close watch over the grounds near the Astrodome as the opening of the GOP Convention draws near.

declared.

The Clinton campaign quickly backed Bush on Iraq. "I have stated clearly, repeatedly, that we have to expect and demand and insist that Saddam Hussein comply with the cease-fire agreements. And I don't think we should rule out military force," Clinton said from Little Rock, Ark., on Sunday evening.

Asked to comment on charges Bush might initiate a military action in Iraq for political reasons, he said: "We know of no example where the commander-in-chief has used or would use the awesome power of military action for political purposes."

The Campaign

In his pep talk to volunteers here, Bush, reflecting an aggressive new campaign tone, said: "Now we're going to get our chance."

"We've got a good program. The American people do not know it. And when we get finished with this campaign, they will."

Although Bush actually began intensifying his campaign efforts soon after the Democratic convention last month, he has continued to slide in some polls. Both he and his top aides see the convention as

an opportunity for the President to make a new start, energize the campaign and narrow the lead Clinton enjoys in the polls.

In an ABC interview broadcast Sunday but taped Thursday, Bush, a World War II Navy combat pilot, used a Navy term in sounding a more confrontational note. He vowed to go to "general quarters" in challenging Clinton and said he would link the Arkansas governor to "the sorry record" of the Democratic-controlled Congress.

Asked how he could catch up with Clinton between now and the November election, Bush said: "I think the answer is that people will come to their senses and, in the final analysis, they're going to say, 'George Bush has demonstrated that he has the courage and the knowledge and the trust to sit in that Oval Office.'"

The Platform

Grumbling about the platform—and particularly its rigid language opposing abortions—echoed in lobbies and corridors of Houston hotels where delegates gathered Sunday night. Many expressed concern upon learning that Bush operatives would prohibit them from carrying abortion rights placards into the Astrodome.

Top convention and campaign officials insisted that the prohibition of handmade signs was nothing more than business as usual for a Republican Convention. "The rule is simple, and it's always the same," said Craig Fuller, convention manager and a longtime Bush loyalist. "You can't carry them in."

The rule is designed to create the impression of unanimity for those watching the convention on television, but it seemed likely to spur further efforts by delegates who back abortion rights to strip the abortion language from the platform.

There appeared to be little or no chance the efforts would succeed.

The abortion language, which the President's wife, Barbara, questioned in declaring last week that the issue should have been left out of the platform, continued to cause discomfort to some GOP officials. "It shouldn't be the centerpiece of anyone's campaign," Dole said.

The Media

Delegates arriving here Sunday for the convention found new reasons to bemoan the relentlessly dispiriting nature of news reports about the party's prospects.

Not only did national publica-

tions feature detailed reports on the President's political problems, but the two major newspapers in his adopted hometown—the Post and the Chronicle—were brimming over with unwelcome news.

The Post headlined a new survey: "Texas Poll: Clinton by 17%." In addition to lagging far behind in his own state, the President—a Chronicle headline blared—is "Badly Lagging in Electoral Support" nationally.

Convention Speakers

The convention's opening night shapes up as a salute to the party's conservative wing, featuring an array of right-wing cheerleaders whose job it will be to fire up a crowd that is looking hard for something to cheer about.

Reagan, who helped forge the broad Republican coalition that now appears in jeopardy, will take a turn at the microphone. Buchanan, another conservative crowd-pleaser, will explain why voters should throw their support to Bush, whom he attacked savagely during his own spirited bid for the Republican nomination.

Times staff writers William J. Eaton, Michael Ross and David Lauter contributed to this report.

Los Angeles Times

Tax Cut Debate Erupts in GOP

■ **Convention:** Conservatives urge Bush to propose a reduction. Dole calls it 'bad medicine.' As delegates gather, President says he's eager to heat up campaign.

By JACK NELSON and DOUGLAS JEHL, TIMES STAFF WRITERS

HOUSTON—A sharp debate over whether President Bush should call for tax cuts in his all-important acceptance speech Thursday broke out among Republicans here Sunday on the eve of a national convention considered critical to his chances of uniting his party and winning reelection next fall.

Although conservative leaders pressed Bush to make a tax cut the centerpiece of his address accepting the GOP's presidential nomination, moderates argued against any such proposal.

Senate Republican Leader Bob Dole of Kansas declared cutting taxes now would be "bad medicine" for the troubled economy. That brought a quick rejoinder from tax cut advocate Rep. Vin Weber of Minnesota, who said Dole's attitude made him glad Bush—and not the Senate leader—was in the White House.

Bush plans to use the acceptance speech to unveil a series of proposals to revive the economy, according to campaign officials. While the President has declined to disclose any details, Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp, who has discussed the matter with him and is a longtime proponent of tax reductions, has predicted that Bush will call for cuts.

Meanwhile, as delegates streamed into Houston for today's opening session of the four-day convention:

- The President angrily dismissed a news report quoting a government official as saying the White House is preparing to provoke a military clash with Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein in part to help Bush's troubled bid for reelection.

- After insisting for months that he was not in the "campaign mode," Bush sought to rally Republican staffers by declaring he is now ready to "pick up the torch" and begin campaigning in earnest.

- The GOP prepared to brush aside scattered opposition among

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GOP: Convention Opens With Debate Over Bush Speech

Continued from A1

convention delegates and adopt one of its most conservative platforms of modern times, including controversial planks opposing abortion and limiting the rights of homosexuals. The 1992 platform is to be approved today, and critics will have little opportunity to express their reservations.

- Stalwarts from the GOP's right wing, including former President Ronald Reagan and conservative commentator Patrick J. Buchanan, who lost a bitterly fought primary battle with Bush, polished speeches for tonight that convention planners hope will reignite the spirits of GOP rank-and-filers.

- Delegates, many of whom have joined party leaders in complaining about the negative tone of coverage of Bush's political plight, encountered a fresh round of discouraging reports. A Houston Post headline trumpeted a new Texas Poll that found Bush trailing Democrat Bill Clinton by 17 percentage points in the state, while national news magazines and a host of other publications carried critical assessments of the President's status.

Whether Bush proposes a tax cut could be one of the most important tactical decisions of his campaign. White House officials involved in the debate said it could force the President to choose whether to cast himself as a traditional fiscal conservative or a more activist proponent of supply-side economics in the spirit of his White House predecessor, Ronald Reagan.

Dole, a traditionalist who believes tax cuts by themselves could hurt the economy by aggravating the already soaring budget deficit, declared that such legislation "is not going to be enacted this year."

"If he can offset the tax cut with a spending freeze or a spending reduction," Dole said in an NBC interview, "that would make good economic sense. But a tax cut by itself, as some of the supply-siders might advocate, would be bad

medicine."

That prompted supply-side Weber to tell CBS that Dole's statement "just makes me all the happier that he's the Senate leader and President Bush is in the White House."

Weber said the possibility of proposing additional tax reductions to stimulate the economy is under active consideration. And Kemp suggested Bush is prepared to outline plans for a cut to benefit citizens at virtually all income levels.

Yet what Bush actually intends to do on the issue Thursday is "the most closely guarded secret of the convention," said one official.

Another source said "a large portion" of the economic plan has been approved by Bush.

Showdown With Iraq

Bush aides worried that the President's attempts to shift his focus from foreign policy and "target America," as one staffer put it, by addressing economic and other domestic concerns might be overshadowed by reports that the Administration is preparing for a military showdown with Iraq.

Not only did the President angrily dismiss any suggestion that politics would influence his decision regarding Iraq, but Mary Malin, his deputy campaign manager, and other officials insisted repeatedly to reporters that Bush would never allow politics to shape his conduct on foreign policy.

In remarks Sunday after returning to the White House from Camp David, and later in a telephone talk to volunteers here, Bush signaled that he is determined to play the role of commander in chief, both in what now appears to be an imminent showdown with Iraq and on other foreign policy issues.

"We're not going to apologize for the time that we've invested in bringing peace to the world, and indeed in changing the world," he

GOP Seeking to Rekindle Spark of Old Victories

By THOMAS B. ROSENSTIEL
TIMES STAFF WRITER

HOUSTON—As George Bush might put it: "Message: A big job. Too big for that other guy. Liberal in disguise. Cheeky wife. But you know me. Comfortable. Strong resolve. Experience. Trust. Traditional values."

That, in the fractured phrasing of the President and the jump-cut pacing of television, is the impression the Republican Party hopes to deliver to Americans over television, newspapers and radio during the party's national convention here.

The point will be to remind people of old things that they liked about the GOP, about the country and about Bush.

Under the general theme of "A Tribute to the American Spirit," the party has tried to arrange for

NEWS ANALYSIS

the television cameras as many elements as possible to put across that message, from classic red, white and blue colors to indoor fireworks.

Yet there is evidence that this year the Republicans are less tightly organized and, in some cases, less expert than in the past. Uncharacteristically, the camera sight lines are not great for television. And much like the Democrats, Bush campaign officials are not sure they will be able to review all the speeches beforehand to ensure they all strike the right themes.

The main message was recently spelled out by James Lake, the campaign's communications adviser.

"From the time of his acceptance speech [at the 1988 convention] through the first three years, I think we have learned a lot about George Bush's resolve, his steady-

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Continued from A1
ness, his leadership," Lake said.

"But over the course of the last year this man has failed to convey his policies as well as we would like. We want to remind [convention viewers] of the tremendous character and resolve and integrity that this man possesses and persuade people that this is a man that they can feel comfortable with."

To accomplish that, the Republicans have picked a different theme for each of the convention's first three nights. Tonight's proceedings—featuring Ronald Reagan—will stress foreign policy accomplishments, as well as remind people of the party's traditions.

Tuesday's emphasis is on domestic policy and will feature various governors and cabinet members. Two future presidential prospects are among those delivering speeches: Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp and Texas Senator Phil Gramm.

Wednesday is family values night. First Lady Barbara Bush addresses the convention, and the Bush and Dan Quayle families will be spotlighted on a specially designed podium with glass sides so that the small children will be visible to the cameras.

Thursday night's focus will be squarely on the GOP ticket, as Vice President Quayle and Bush deliver their acceptance speeches.

Contrary to those who argue these affairs are no longer important, Republican officials believe political conventions have become the key events in the general election campaign—save for the nationally televised debates in the fall—because many Americans who normally don't pay attention to politics will be watching.

Even though TV ratings for the conventions have been declining since 1976, more than 30 million Americans watched Democrat Bill Clinton's acceptance speech, and millions more watched portions on the news, heard a snippet on radio or caught something about it on the morning shows. Conventions, rather than merely the events that take place in the hall, are weeklong splashes of concentrated media, in effect taking place through the airwaves.

This week, Republican leaders "are going to appeal to their core constituency, and if they can do that they have made progress," said Michael K. Deaver, Reagan's former media adviser.

But doing this through the media has never come naturally to the Bush Administration, Deaver said. "Television is an impression. Television is feelings. That is part of what the Bush Administration doesn't appear to understand."

In seeking to control the "feeling" this year, the party has struggled with several potential conflicts.

What will Patrick J. Buchanan say? Last week, campaign convention coordinator Craig Fuller said he would be reading in advance the remarks of all those speaking under the faux sandstone arches behind the podium. Buchanan promptly rebuffed him.

It now seems clear that Buchanan will lead the attack on the Democrats tonight, turning his remarkable ability for the cutting phrase against Bill Clinton, whom the Republicans intend to depict as untrustworthy.

What kind of family values will the Republicans represent? That depends on when you tune in—to the early show on CNN or C-SPAN, or to prime-time network broadcasts.

On Wednesday, television evangelist Pat Robertson will speak, a late addition to satisfy conservatives. But Robertson will not be speaking when the networks switch to the scene in Houston about 6 p.m. PDT. The evening time slots will be reserved for Marilyn Quayle, Barbara Bush and Labor Secretary Lynn Martin. The First Lady would prefer abortion be left out of the party platform and Martin is an abortion rights advocate.

The party similarly will try to dispatch any differences over platform questions this afternoon, before the first network coverage. And while conservatives dominated the platform hearings and will

Developments at a Glance

HOUSTON—An internecine battle over tax cuts threatened to mar the opening of the Republican convention today—and possibly derail efforts to unite the party and give President Bush a boost.

Bush dropped several hints over the weekend that he might unveil new economic proposals in his acceptance speech Thursday night. His secretary of housing and urban development, noted supply-sider Jack Kemp, predicted that the President would announce a proposal to cut income taxes.

But Senate GOP leader Bob Dole of Kansas entered the fray Sunday, declaring that tax cuts would be "bad medicine" for the economy.

Also in today's coverage:

■ California Gov. Pete Wilson, who supports abortion rights, persuaded state delegates to avoid a floor fight over the issue. The party platform, to be adopted today, calls for a constitutional ban on all abortions. Wilson urged his fellow Californians to lift their gaze to 1996.

■ Overall, the platform is markedly more conservative than the Democrats' document—and more conservative than Bush on some issues. But he apparently is willing to accept the conservatives' manifesto in the hope that they will rally to his standard. The platform is likely to be signed, sealed and delivered hours before the commercial networks start televising the convention. It's scheduled to be introduced at 12:44 p.m. CDT—and approved by 1:27 p.m.

■ Bush's erstwhile conservative challenger, Patrick J. Buchanan, arrived in Houston and did something completely different: He didn't say a word to reporters. His speech tonight is scheduled for 8:55 p.m. CDT. He will endorse Bush and bash Democratic nominee Bill Clinton—but what else he will say is a closely guarded secret.

■ Bush's political benefactor, former President Ronald Reagan, will speak after Buchanan. But whether he can pick his former vice president up off the political floor is problematic. "He's the past and voters are looking to the future," said Edward J. Rollins, Reagan's 1984 campaign manager.

■ The convention will serve as a giant commercial for Bush—that is, if everything goes according to plan. Experience, trust and traditional values will be among the hoped-for messages. But this year, the Republicans seem less adept than usual at getting their theme across. The camera sight lines are less than ideal, for example. And, perhaps more worrisome, the party may not be able to review all the speeches beforehand to be sure they hit the same note.

TONIGHT'S HIGHLIGHTS

■ Patrick J. Buchanan speech 9:55-10:15 p.m. EDT
■ Ronald Reagan speech 10:20 p.m. EDT

—CONNIE STEWART

enjoy a good deal of prime-time coverage, they are mostly shunted to Monday and Tuesday nights. By Wednesday and Thursday, the impression left will likely be more moderate.

These conflicts have made the Republican message more complicated. "I have yet to see that they have a clear story line," said William Wheatley, the executive producer of political coverage for NBC.

In some things, the usually well organized Republicans seem as masterful as ever. "They are detail freaks," said ABC executive producer Jeff Gralnick. "They're like NASA."

Although the minute-by-minute

longer.

The Republicans also will have two giant video walls, compared with the Democrats' one.

And while Clinton's acceptance speech sparked some criticism for lasting almost an hour, the Republicans plan to be more terse in their comments. Reagan is to speak for 30 minutes, Buchanan 20, Quayle 15 and Bush 30—all lengths that are workable around commercials. At least, that is the plan.

But there remain the signs of uncharacteristic chaos.

One key television professional brought in to help organize the convention was shocked that the Bush campaign seemed fuzzy about what it wanted. Rather than

'Over the course of the last year, [Bush] has failed to convey his policies as well as we would like. We want to remind [convention viewers] of the tremendous character and resolve and integrity that this man possesses and convince people that this is a man that they can feel comfortable with.'

JAMES LAKE

Bush campaign communications adviser

schedule that the Republicans are famous for was not ready as early as in past years, or as early this time as the one for the Democratic convention, it is scripted to a fine point. The demonstration and ending applause tonight for Reagan, for instance, is to begin at 7:57 p.m. and end at 8:07.

The set design is "American classic," according to its designer, Hollywood television veteran Robert Keene. It is dominated by red, white and blue colors and a massive archway behind the podium that suggests the authority of the incumbent party.

In the struggle to get as much television exposure as possible, network officials say the party has stacked many of the big speeches late in the evening so that the networks will have to run over the 11 p.m. eastern time zone time slot to carry them.

This will guarantee that these events will be seen in prime time in western states key to the Republican electoral strategy and that the networks will stay on the air

provide guidelines about what image they wanted to capture, campaign and party officials simply told him to look at tapes of the 1980, '84 and '88 conventions and make whatever adjustments he thought was necessary. He was equally surprised when they accepted 100% of his ideas.

"They never said you need to do this or that or this is what we are trying to convey," the official said.

Other network officials working closely with the party said there seemed to be multiple layers of bureaucracy involved this year, some of them added in recent weeks, which had made for a cumbersome production process.

A sign of the less-than-expert planning is that one of the places where television cameras were supposed to be hidden on the stage was poorly designed, so the cameras had to be put out in full view. That, in turn, partially obscures the angles for shots of a given speaker with the sea of delegate faces in front.

Dueling Platforms: How Planks Stack Up

DEMOCRATS

REPUBLICANS

OPPOSITION RECORD

"The last 12 years have been a nightmare of Republican irresponsibility and neglect. America's leadership is indifferent at home and uncertain in the world. . . . Republican mismanagement has disarmed government as an instrument to make our economy work and support the people's most basic values, needs and hopes. The Republicans brought America a false and fragile prosperity based on borrowing, not income, and so will leave behind a mountain of public debt and a back-breaking annual burden in interest."

"The Democrats would revise history to rationalize a return to bigger government, higher taxes and moral relativism. . . . The Democratic Party has forgotten its origins as a party of work, thrift and self-reliance. But they have not forgotten their art for dissembling and distortion. The Democrats are trapped in their compact with the ideology of trickle-down government, but they're clever enough to know that the voters would shun them if their true markings were revealed."

VISION OF THE FUTURE

"We call for a revolution in government—to take power away from the entrenched bureaucracies and narrow interests in Washington and put it back in the hands of ordinary people. . . . To make this revolution we seek a New Covenant to repair the damaged bond between the American people and their government that will expand opportunity, insist upon greater individual responsibility in return, restore community and ensure national security in a profoundly new era."

"Unlike our opponents we are inspired by a commitment to profound change. Our mission combines timeless beliefs with a positive vision of a vigorous America: prosperous and tolerant, just and compassionate. . . . We believe in the traditional family values and the Judeo-Christian heritage that informs our culture. We believe government has a legitimate role to play in our national life, but government must never dominate that life."

ECONOMIC GROWTH

"The only way to lay the foundation for renewed American prosperity is to spur both private and public investment. . . . The President and Congress should agree that savings from defense must be reinvested productively at home. . . . For the private sector, instead of a sweeping capital gains windfall to the wealthy. . . . we will create an investment tax credit and a capital gains reduction for patient investors in emerging technologies and new business."

"The latest Democratic scam is to raise taxes for 'investment'—a code word for more government spending. A Republican Congress will foster investment where it does the most good, by individuals within the private sector. . . . Congress should follow the lead of President Bush . . . in passing the federal enterprise zone program that will empower communities by reducing government regulation and taxation."

TAXES AND THE DEFICIT

"In place of the Republican supply-side disaster, the Democratic investment, economic conversion and growth strategy will generate more revenues from a growing economy. We must also tackle spending by putting everything on the table, eliminate non-productive programs, achieve defense savings; reform entitlement programs to control soaring health care costs, cut federal administrative costs by 3% annually for four years. . . . apply a strict 'pay as you go' rule to the new non-investment spending and make the rich pay their fair share in taxes. . . . We will provide long overdue tax relief to families with children."

" . . . We will oppose any attempt to increase taxes. Furthermore, Republicans believe that the taxes insisted on by the Democrats in the 1990 budget agreement were recessionary. . . . [and] should ultimately be repealed. Deficits have grown as Democratic Congresses have. . . . allowed spending to become uncontrolled. A Republican Congress, working with a Republican President, will consider non-Social Security mandatory spending portions of the federal budget when looking for savings."

HEALTH CARE

"All Americans should have universal access to quality, affordable health care—not as a privilege, but as a right. . . . We will enact a uniquely American reform of the health care system to control costs and make health care affordable; ensure quality and choice of health care providers; cover all Americans regardless of pre-existing conditions; squeeze out waste, bureaucracy and abuse; improve primary and preventive care."

"Republicans believe government control of health care is irresponsible and ineffective. . . . We endorse President Bush's comprehensive health care plan which . . . will make health care more affordable through tax credits and deductions that will offset insurance costs for 95 million Americans and make health care more accessible. . . ."

AIDS

"We must be united in declaring war on AIDS and HIV disease. . . . provide targeted and honest prevention programs, make drug treatment available for all addicts who seek it, guarantee access to quality care, expand clinical trials for treatments and vaccines and speed up the FDA drug approval process."

"We must succeed in slowing the epidemic's spread. . . . We must recognize . . . that prevention is linked ultimately to personal responsibility and moral behavior. We reject the notion that the distribution of clean needles and condoms are the solution to stopping the spread of AIDS. Education designed to curb the spread of this disease should stress marital fidelity, abstinence and a drug-free lifestyle."

CIVIL RIGHTS

"Democrats will continue to lead the fight to ensure that no Americans suffer discrimination or deprivation of rights on the basis of race, gender, language, national origin, religion, age disability, sexual orientation or other characteristics irrelevant to ability. We support the ratification of the equal rights amendment, affirmative action, stronger protection of voting rights for racial and ethnic minorities. . . . and continued resistance to discriminatory English-only pressure groups."

" . . . We support the Bush Administration's vigorous enforcement of statutes to prevent illegal discrimination on account of sex, race, creed or national origin. . . . We reject efforts to replace equal rights with quotas or other preferential treatment. . . . We oppose efforts by the Democratic Party to include sexual preference as a protected minority receiving preferential status under civil rights statutes."

ABORTION

"Democrats stand behind the right of every woman to choose, consistent with Roe vs. Wade, regardless of ability to pay, and support a national law to protect that right. . . . The goal of our nation must be to make abortion less necessary, not more difficult or more dangerous."

"We believe the unborn child has a fundamental individual right to life which cannot be infringed. . . . We therefore reaffirm our support for a human-life amendment to the Constitution. . . . We oppose using public revenues for abortion and. . . ."

THE FAMILY

"Governments don't raise children; people do. People who bring children into this world have a responsibility to care for them and give them values, motivation and discipline. Children should not have children. We need a national crackdown on deadbeat parents, an effective system of child support enforcement nationwide and a systematic effort to establish paternity for every child."

"For more than three decades the liberal philosophy has assaulted the family on every side. Today its more vocal advocates believe children should be able to sue their parents over decisions about schooling, cosmetic surgery, employment and other family matters. . . . The ultimate agenda of contemporary socialism [is] to liberate youth from traditional family values by replacing family functions with bureaucratic social services."

THE TIMES POLL

Party Coalition May Be Fracturing Under Bush

By RONALD BROWNSTEIN
TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

HOUSTON—President Bush heads into the Republican Convention facing rejection by substantial elements of the coalition that powered his party to three consecutive presidential victories during the 1980s, The Times Poll has found.

As Republicans gather here, Bush faces widespread defections in three critical groups that Ronald Reagan cemented into the GOP coalition during the 1980s: independents; older, culturally conservative "Reagan Democrats;" and

younger, more moderate GOP partisans who favor abortion rights.

Overall, the poll found Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton leading Bush by a resounding 56%-33% margin, with 9% undecided; that represents a slight widening of his lead since the end of the Democratic Convention, when The Times Poll showed the Arkansas governor with a 52%-32% advantage.

No Democrat since Jimmy Carter in 1976 has held as large a lead on the eve of the Republican Convention as Clinton enjoys to-

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day. And his success in gaining such a large advantage over Bush stands in stark contrast to 1988, when Democrat Michael S. Dukakis saw his 17-point post-convention lead cut substantially by the time the GOP gathered for its session in New Orleans.

The survey suggests the magnitude of the task Bush faces this week in changing voter perceptions of his own performance. Fully 82% of those surveyed said they already know enough about Bush to decide whether he deserves reelection—an ominous number for a candidate trailing so badly. By a 54%-42% count, those surveyed said it was unlikely that conditions in the nation would "improve substantially" if Bush was reelected; only 9% said such improvements were "very likely."

The Times Poll, supervised by John Brennan, surveyed 1,146 registered voters from Aug. 12-14; it has a margin of error of plus or minus three percentage points.

Since the Democratic Convention, Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle have intensified their efforts to shift the debate to the qualifications of the Democratic ticket, arguing that Clinton is untested and "risky"; such arguments are likely to be a major focus of the GOP convention this week.

At this point, voters view Clinton favorably by a 57%-26% count. Just one out of five say his views are too liberal; twice as many say they are "about right." Voters give him roughly the same marks for honesty and integrity as the President, and more see him, rather than Bush, as likely to "bring about the changes America needs." By 65% to 27%, those surveyed say conditions are likely to improve if Clinton is elected.

Americans also give him at least as high grades on leadership as Bush: By 55% to 16% voters say Clinton has strong qualities of leadership, a differential actually better than Bush's 62%-33% score.

But the poll indicates that there may be room to change those glowing perceptions: 53% of those polled say they still need to know more about Clinton to decide whether he could be a good President; 51% of his supporters share that view. And 44% say they aren't sure whether Clinton would display good judgment in a crisis.

Even so, the poll strongly suggests that, at this point, the race is still primarily a referendum on Bush's performance and the nation's direction—and voters remain extremely unhappy with both.

For Bush, the equation is brutally simple. Most of those satisfied with his performance and the country's direction are voting for him; most of those dissatisfied with

him, the problem is that the second group is much larger than the first.

In the survey, for example, just 16% of those polled said the nation was moving "in the right direction," while 78% said things were "seriously off on the wrong track." That stands as the most pessimistic assessment of the nation's course during Bush's presidency; it also equals the level of malaise evident in the last year of Carter's presidency.

Among those who think the nation is moving in the right direction, Bush leads Clinton by a 62%-31% margin. But among those dissatisfied with the nation's course, Clinton leads 63% to 26%.

Similarly 44% of those polled approved of Bush's job performance as President; 52% disapproved.

Two-thirds of those who approve of Bush's job performance favor him over Clinton; but those who disapprove of Bush's record prefer Clinton 85% to 6%.

The same pattern is evident in voters' views on the direction of the economy. A fifth of those polled say the economy is only in a mild recession or not in recession at all; nearly 60% of those voters back Bush.

But three out of 10 say the country is in a moderate recession, and they prefer Clinton by a 53%-36% margin. And 44% of those surveyed call the recession "serious"; they provide the backbone of Clinton's support, preferring him over Bush by 72% to 18%.

All this unhappiness at the nation's economic performance has erased the GOP's key advantage during the 1980s: In the new survey, Democrats hold a 44%-30% lead over Republicans as the party best able to produce prosperity; Republicans held an 18-point lead on that question during the last months of the 1988 campaign.

Historically, Democrats have only won the White House when they hold a substantial lead on that measure.

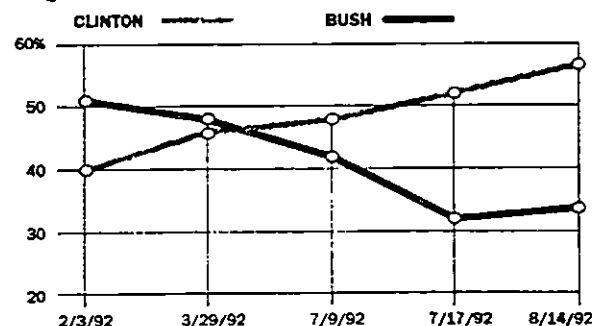
On that crucial question, Clinton's lead over Bush is even greater: Asked who would do a better "job promoting economic prosperity" voters picked the challenger over the President by 56% to 26%. Nearly three out of five of those surveyed said Bush deserves a good amount or great deal of blame for the nation's economic problems—a slightly higher percentage than those who blamed the Democratic Congress.

With this widespread economic discontent acting as the hammer, the poll shows severe cracks opening in the modern Republican presidential coalition first assembled by Richard M. Nixon in 1968, then reaffirmed by Reagan in 1980

Tracking the Bush-Clinton Divide

Bill Clinton continues to lead President Bush by 23 points if the Presidential election were held today.

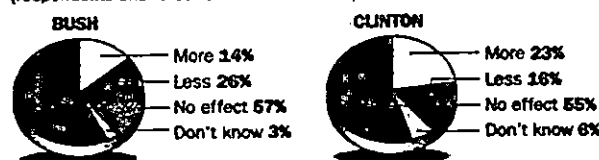
1. If the presidential election were today, for whom would you vote, George Bush or Bill Clinton?



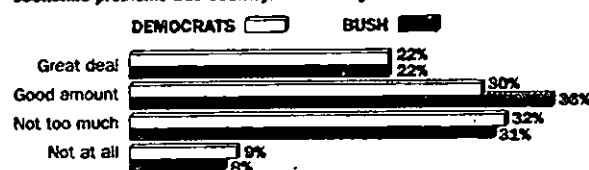
2. Who do you think would do the better job on:

	Clinton	Bush
Promoting economic prosperity	56%	26%
Handling foreign affairs	22%	61%
Holding down taxes	36%	34%
Providing affordable health care for most Americans	62%	16%

3. Will Clinton's or Bush's views on abortion make you more or less likely to vote for him in November, or will it have no effect on your vote? (respondents answered for both candidates)



4. How much do you blame Democrats in Congress or George Bush for economic problems this country faces today?



Source: Los Angeles Times Poll taken Aug. 12-14 of 1,146 registered voters. Margin of error is plus or minus three percentage points.

Los Angeles Times

sion, by Bush in 1988.

At this point, Bush faces substantial defections from at least three critical groups, whose interests in many cases diverge. The difficulty of balancing their competing interests is probably one reason for the mixed signals emanating from the White House this past week on divisive social issues such as abortion and gay rights—with the President and First Lady Barbara Bush sending signals of tolerance in interviews even as the GOP approved a platform expressing hard-line sentiments on both questions.

Among the key groups Bush must reclaim to climb back into the

face:

Clinton Republicans: Four years ago, Bush carried 92% of Republicans. At this point, the President leads Clinton among self-identified Republicans by a margin of only 67% to 25%. (By contrast, Democrats favor Clinton by 85% to 6%).

Bush's numbers among GOP partisans almost certainly will improve after the convention. But he may face an uphill climb recapturing enough of the Clinton Republicans—who constitute about 8% of the overall electorate—to unify the party as completely as he did four years ago.

Who are the Clinton Republicans? Compared to Republicans

to be young, better educated, male and affluent; above all, they are almost twice as likely as other Republicans to describe themselves as liberal or moderate.

On abortion, they present a stark contrast with the rest of the GOP. Clinton Republicans are much more supportive of legalized abortion than other Republicans—or for that matter, the population as a whole.

Overall, Americans favor the Roe vs. Wade decision guaranteeing legal access to abortion by 58% to 29%. Clinton Republicans support legalized abortion by more than 10 to 1; the rest of the GOP opposes legalized abortion by a 47%-39% count.

Bush's decision to raise taxes is also hurting him with these voters: More than a third say they are more likely to vote against him because he reversed his "no new taxes" pledge.

But for these Republicans, like most voters, the principal gripe with the President is his handling of the economy. Asked in an open-ended question why they don't like Bush, nearly a third cited the weak economy, far more than chose any other factor.

Reagan Democrats: In 1988, Bush carried nearly half of the Democrats who had voted for Reagan in 1984—a group that represented about one out of eight voters overall.

Now Bush faces overwhelming rejection from the so-called Reagan Democrats. In the survey, Democrats who voted for Reagan preferred Clinton over Bush by 73% to 16%.

As Reagan did, Bush has tried to appeal to these Reagan Democrats—who are culturally conservative, older and often Catholic—by stressing divisive social issues such as school prayer, abortion, welfare reform and the distribution of condoms in schools.

At the moment, it's doing him little good: Democrats who oppose legalized abortion are still backing Clinton—an abortion rights advocate—at a rate of almost seven to one.

Moreover, moderate and conservative Democrats prefer Clinton over Bush by almost nine to one.

During the Democratic primaries, Catholics displayed clear reservations about Clinton, a Southern Baptist. But for now they have moved strongly toward him: Clinton leads Bush among Catholics by 62% to 27%. Four years ago, Bush carried half of Catholics—which helped him win key battleground states such as Pennsylvania, Illinois and Michigan.

What's driving the Reagan Democrats back toward the party they abandoned? Three factors appear to stand out. One is enormous

disaffection. Reagan Democrats are even more pessimistic than voters overall, with fully 86% of them considering the nation on the wrong track. Reagan Democrats are more likely than other voters to blame Bush for the economy's problems; and more than 7 in 10 say Clinton would do a better job than Bush at producing prosperity.

Second is anger at Bush for raising taxes: 46% of Reagan Democrats say the tax hike makes them more likely to vote against him. By a 52%-20% margin, these voters say Clinton would do a better job of "holding down taxes" than Bush.

Finally, Reagan Democrats are more likely than other voters to see Bush as out of touch with the concerns of average Americans. Nationally, 37% of those surveyed said Bush "cares about the problems of average Americans" a good amount or a great deal; just 26% of Reagan Democrats felt that way.

On one tangible measure of empathy, Reagan Democrats by 78% to 8% say Clinton is more likely than Bush to provide Americans with affordable health care; with all voters, the Democrat led 62% to 16% on that question.

Independents: In each of the past two elections, Republicans have carried at least 55% of independents, roughly a third of the electorate.

Now, though, Bush is lagging—though his problems don't appear nearly as severe as among Reagan Democrats. Independents favor Clinton over Bush 49% to 39%.

On most questions, they mirror the electorate overall, but the poll suggests greater opportunity for Bush here than among some other disaffected groups. In contrast to the population overall, independents are almost evenly split between Republicans and Democrats on the question of which party can better ensure prosperity—suggesting lingering doubts about the Democrats' economic stewardship.

On other questions, the poll suggests that Bush's strongest suit—his record in foreign policy—is doing little to offset voter unhappiness with his domestic record. By a 61%-22% margin voters still believe he would do a better job of handling foreign policy than Clinton. And they give him a 62%-32% positive grade on his foreign policy performance.

But, despite the end of the Cold War, Americans hold an equivocal view on whether Bush's policies have "made the world a safer place": 47% say yes and 42% say no. More strikingly, by 48% to 43% they say they do not consider the Gulf War a success. And in any case, just 5% of those surveyed cited foreign policy as an issue they wanted to hear the candidates address.

Los Angeles Times

Platform in Clear Contrast to Rival Democrats' Policies

■ **Positions:** The GOP's manifesto is much longer. And it misses no opportunity to quarrel with the opposition on a wide range of issues.

By ROBERT SHOGAN
TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

HOUSTON—The 1992 platform to be presented today at the Republican convention not only contrasts the party's bedrock beliefs with those espoused by the Democrats, it also illustrates the fundamental realities governing the campaign strategies of the rival candidates.

Seeking to find their way to that proverbial promised land, the political mainstream, platform drafters for Democratic standard-bearer Bill Clinton sought to gloss over some of their party's traditional liberalism and present themselves as apostles of moderation. To some extent, they viewed the drafting of their 1992 platform as an exercise in damage control.

But they still left the Republicans plenty of room for disagreement and debate. Bush strategists see their platform, expected to be swiftly approved at today's opening convention session, as a weapon that can be used to bludgeon the Democrats and inspire support from conservatives who are only mildly enthusiastic about Bush's candidacy.

The GOP manifesto is about three times longer and far more detailed than the Democratic document. And it misses no opportunity to quarrel with the Democrats on a whole range of issues, from gay rights and tax hikes to defense spending and trade negotiations.

The fundamental indictment that runs through the six sections and 95 pages of the GOP platform is that the Democrats are only masquerading as agents of moderate change. Underneath this vote-getting facade, it suggests, the Democrats still adhere to their flawed tendencies of the past—excessive spending, burdensome taxation, disregard for individual rights and private enterprise and softness on national defense.

The hope of the Bush strategists is that their platform's strident tone and aggressive positions will help rally the GOP's activist conservative cadre to support their beleaguered President. That is why they agreed to accept platform planks that in some cases go further to the right than Bush himself.

On abortion, for example, the Republican platform's opposition to a woman's right to terminate a



Reuters

Texas Treasurer Kay Bailey Hutchison, who is the temporary chairwoman of the Republican National Convention, takes a look at the lectern on the last day before the party gathering begins in Houston.

pregnancy is absolute and unyielding. Bush himself is on record as favoring a constitutional amendment that would ban abortion in general, but would allow exceptions in cases of rape and incest.

But conservative strategists say that Bush had no choice but to go along with the platform's hard-line positions because he desperately needs all the right-wing help he can get.

"Bush has done so much to make conservatives angry that he has to find any way that he can to atone," said David Keene, chairman of the American Conservative Union and political director of Bush's first presidential campaign in 1980.

High on the conservative grievance list is Bush's 1990 decision to approve a tax increase.

The Democratic platform, by contrast, is a relatively bland document.

Clinton was able to gain approval for this approach because of the pragmatic mood among party liberals, who were more interested in winning back middle-class voters than in getting planks expounding

on their favorite causes.

Conservatives acknowledge that the Democratic platform has an uncharacteristically moderate tone. "The preamble sounds like a Pat Buchanan speech," said Terry Jeffrey, policy director of conservative columnist Buchanan's unsuccessful challenge to Bush's renomination.

But conservatives contend that the Democratic platform still offers plenty of evidence that deep down, Democrats really haven't changed much. For example, Jeffrey called the Democratic civil rights plank, which vows to fight against discrimination on grounds of sexual preference, as well as race, gender and religion, "an outrage."

Former Houston Mayor Kathryn Whitmire thinks that the GOP may be on the winning side on some of these social issues, recalling a furor raised here in 1985 over a city council ban on discrimination against gays that ultimately was overturned in a referendum.

But she thinks the Democrats may come out ahead on another so-called social issue, gun control.

Los Angeles Times

Comment

ON THE WORLD

'Illegals' in Jail: Dual Slap to Taxpayer

At least 11% of Los Angeles County's inmates are deportable. Border security clearly needs beefing up.

BY ELTON GALLEGLY

Supporters of unchecked illegal immigration are in a bit of a bind. To use an old newspaper line, it seems that the facts have gotten in the way of a good story.

The good story, to these people, is that the millions upon millions of illegal aliens—or undocumented immigrants, as their supporters call them—are an unmitigated blessing for our region and our country.

The facts are more sobering.

A study by Los Angeles County, endorsed by a unanimous vote of the Board of Supervisors, shows that a sizable number of the estimated 3 million illegal aliens in Southern California are criminals, many of whom prey on the poor and disadvantaged, citizen and non-citizen alike.

This study found that, at a minimum, 11% of the criminals in the Los Angeles County jail system are deportable aliens, and that processing, trying and incarcerating them costs the taxpayers at least \$75.1 million a year. Actually, the cost is far higher, because the study didn't take into account enforcement costs for any of the county's city police departments, or for misdemeanor prosecutions by city attorneys.

As shocking as this cost is, even more disturbing is the fact that many of these criminal aliens, removed to their native countries by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, quickly return to the United States and as quickly return to their lives of crime.

The study tracked for one year 1,875 deportable aliens who had been identified during a May, 1990, study of the County Jail population. Although more than half were returned to their native countries, either voluntarily or through formal deportation, 41% of the 1,875 being tracked were rearrested during the 12 months following their release from jail. In fact, those 772 defendants were arrested a total of 1,522 times during the 12 months. In all, the researchers learned, these deportable aliens had been arrested almost 11,000 times—some as far back as 1958.

Once again, it is clear that virtually unchecked illegal immigration is a crisis, and the crisis is getting worse.

Tragically, the problem is that the INS doesn't have the manpower to control the border. In addition, we keep providing incentives for people from other countries to come here illegally.

But there is a solution.

First, of course, we must increase the size of the Border Patrol. I have introduced two bills that would nearly double the number of agents in the field, one of which is targeted at recruiting already trained military personnel who are caught in the armed forces' downsizing.

We also must enforce our existing laws against hiring illegal aliens. Too many employers are flouting the law in order to hire illegals at absurdly low wages, thus depriving citizens and legal residents of jobs. In addition, well-made counterfeit "green cards" and other documents are too easily available, making it hard for employers who seek to abide by the law to ensure that their employees are legally eligible to work. That's why I have introduced legislation to provide for state-of-the-art Social Security cards and to require all non-citizen legal residents to have tamper-resistant "green cards."

Further, to reduce the incentives for illegal immigration, I have introduced legislation to prohibit illegal aliens from receiving welfare or other federal benefits, and to deny federal funds to jurisdictions that allow illegals to vote, as has been proposed for the Los Angeles school district.

We also must remove the ultimate incentive—guaranteed birthright citizenship for the children of illegal aliens. My legislation would simply bring our laws into line with virtually every other nation by requiring at least one parent to be a citizen or legal resident in order for a child to become a citizen automatically.

Finally we must support efforts to help poor nations improve their own economies, which will reduce the number of people seeking to come here illegally.

Clearly, not all of the estimated 3.5 million people who will enter our nation illegally this year are hardened criminals. But if more evidence is needed that we must begin now to regain control over our borders, this study of the criminal element among them is surely it.

Elton Gallegly is a Republican member of Congress representing the northwestern San Fernando Valley and adjacent parts of Ventura County.

Los Angeles Times

COLUMN RIGHT/
TERRY EASTLANDTo Win, Bush
Must Stop
Being Himself

■ 'Public service' isn't a good enough reason to reelect him; he has to say what he cares about.

In 1961, as liberals celebrated the early days of the Kennedy presidency, a small group of conservatives met in Chicago to plot their rise from the political ashes. In 1980, they celebrated over the election of Ronald Reagan, who enjoyed the most successful two-term presidency since Eisenhower's. Reagan's most important legacy was another conservative President, George Bush, but this summer, conservatives have been anguished at the prospect of a second Bush term.

Is Bush that bad? Bush did evict Iraq from Kuwait (something Reagan might not have done), and in respect to judicial appointments he has been Reagan's equal, naming judges committed to judicial restraint. And in a key if overlooked respect—the preservation of the presidency itself—Bush has definitely proved better than Reagan.

Refusing to assert and defend presidential prerogatives on a consistent basis, Reagan left to Bush a weakened office. To his credit, Bush, among other things, has used his veto power to block congressional advances on executive turf. For example, Bush's threat to veto the independent counsel reauthorization (Reagan twice declined to reject such a measure) appears to have ended that ill-conceived law, due to expire in December.

Elections are not typically decided, however, on how well or poorly a President does in naming judges or preserving the presidency. And it will be ironic indeed if the beneficiary of Bush's efforts to strengthen the office is his challenger. The main reason for conservative discontent—and in part for Bush's low approval ratings today—lies in his weak engagement in domestic politics.

In 1981, Reagan advanced a comprehensive program that called for reductions in taxes, spending, regulation and the growth of money and the enhancement of the states and the private sector. While Reagan enjoyed his greatest success in 1981, throughout his presidency he pushed for his programs and, just as important, articulated the principles behind them.

Reagan thus established with the public a substantial political identity that proved resistant to change, even when he accepted measures (such as tax increases) that compromised his principles. Reagan's political identity helped win him reelection and sustained his presidency through its worst periods. By contrast, Bush has danced like a firefly from this domestic program to that—when he has had programs—and his arguments have often

'Bush . . . seems to disdain the task of democratic persuasion, and thus the need to win consent.'

been feeble and only casually advanced.

The most charitable explanation for Bush's weak performance is that, unlike Reagan, who enjoyed a Republican Senate for six years, Bush has faced two heavily Democratic houses of Congress and for that reason has conserved his strength for labors abroad. But Bush also appears to have little interest in economic and domestic policy and, worse, seems to disdain the task of democratic persuasion, and thus the need to win consent.

Conservatives who had hoped to advance their policies are astonished that Reagan's chief legacy seems so removed from the fray and so anxious to take byes instead of engaging important debates. But what conservatives lament is also what is hurting Bush politically: It is unclear what in politics he really cares about, save for "public service," his reason for being President and, so far, for being reelected.

At this date the polls (which show Bill Clinton leading by 20 percentage points) are not accurate predictors. Bush can still win. But for him to win, he cannot put his faith in the GOP's strength in the electorate as a presidential party. He will also have to recognize that a certain amount of persuasion occurs in a campaign, and that to be persuasive he will have to argue as a conservative the strongest case possible for his domestic and economic policies.

The hard part (and the best case for him to retire after one term) is that this will require Bush to quit being himself. That is a tall order for anyone in any line of work. But Bush did say, in his January interview with David Frost, that he would do whatever it takes to be reelected.

Should the President now spend three months making the best arguments he can—on economics, school choice and health care; on civil justice, entitlement and welfare reform, and on Congress—he just might win in November. Equally important, his mind would become focused and disciplined in the ways it must be if he aspires to be what in key respects he has not been—a stronger, more successful, conservative President.

Terry Eastland, a fellow at the Ethics and Public Policy Center in Washington, is the author of "Energy in the Executive: The Case for the Strong Presidency," published this month by the Free Press.

Paul Conrad is on vacation.

PERSPECTIVE ON FOREIGN POLICY

We Didn't Win the Cold War



This boast insults the masses of people who risked everything to turn their countries toward democracy.

By EVERETTE E. DENNIS

If there is one thing Americans agree on, it is that "we won the Cold War." Unexamined and unchallenged, this simplistic notion is a reminder that we have not come so far in international relations and foreign policy. While it sounds reasonable at first—because democracy seems to be the preferred system for most of our ex-adversaries in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union—the claim is presumptuous, ethnocentric and insulting to the people and places it describes.

In visits across several countries of Eastern Europe, the Balkans and the Commonwealth of Independent States, I have not yet found a local person who thinks that America or the West generally won the Cold War. Knowledgeable people do credit the ideals of American democracy as one factor contributing to the end of the Cold War, as well as the arms race's hastening the collapse of the Soviet Union. But they think that they themselves had more to do with the several revolutions and reforms that have swept the region since 1989.

The expressions of gratitude to the West by Vaclav Havel, Lech Walesa and other leaders were more in anticipation of help than repayment for our vigorous and steadfast support. In fact, it could be argued that we did very little; very late. From the Hungarian revolution of 1956 to the Prague Spring of 1968 and the rise of Solidarity in Poland, the West was quite cautious—anything but a mighty contributor to the end of totalitarian rule. Indeed, our intelligence

organizations were caught off guard when the Berlin Wall collapsed and country after country rejected Marxist-Leninist ideology for their own idea of democracy and a market economy.

In more than 100 interviews over a two-year period with chiefs of state (among them Havel and Walesa), journal-

ists, intellectuals and ordinary citizens, I came to appreciate and respect the degree of suffering endured—from hard time in prison to psychological intimidation. These risk-takers, who put their own lives and their families' futures on the line, deserve more than our self-congratulatory political rhetoric. We should not confuse their admiration for our democratic ideals and our concepts of freedom of expression with their own self-determination.

No mistake about it, we are held in esteem. I heard leaders quote Jefferson and Lincoln and was touched by taxi drivers who wanted to be sure I noticed the American flag on their dashboard. There is widespread support for press freedom and a penchant for capitalism and popular democracy. But in the end, the people who rejected communism want to claim credit for their own victory rather than attribute their success to others.

The idea that we won the Cold War—even when we include its beneficiaries in the "we"—is paternalistic and self-serving. In time, it will do damage to our present good relations, especially if American and other Western support for still-floundering countries isn't more significant than it has been to date.

Allowing this slogan to permeate our national discourse is delusional. We once saw these countries as a grim, gray bloc; now they are happy and industrious democracies dedicated to market economies—both views are vast oversimplifications and just plain wrong.

Seeing the several, quite different, countries of the old Eastern bloc as one entity distorts reality in another way. Few of the governments in the region are truly stable, and not all are led by people we'd regard as fully democratized. The former communists may be out of sight at the moment, but they are very much on the scene and hoping that the new governments will fail, reviving support for their own greater involvement, if not their return to power. By the same token, the so-called new market economies are not necessarily new, but actually the vestiges of the old command system of government control and enterprise, lumbering slowly toward change. The emerging free press of the region is similarly unstable, with many publications being established, then dying because of financial malnutrition or lack of support.

Beyond Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States, the notion that communism is dead and that the Cold War is over ignores China, North Korea and other countries where our ideas are certainly not universally admired or emulated—at least not yet.

Leaders eager to claim the spoils of victory in the post-Cold War period may have short-term satisfaction as they make long-term enemies who will rightly resent such ethnocentric arrogance. We need more sensitive language that appropriately gives credit to the long-suffering, highly intelligent and courageous people of Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States, who were and are stewards of their own destiny. We need to end our self-congratulatory orgy and assist more vigorously in their transition.

Everette E. Dennis is executive director of the Freedom Forum Media Studies Center at Columbia University and the co-author of "Beyond the Cold War" (Sage, 1991).

MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1992 A3

HAITI

Embargo May Be Lifted Even Without President's Return

By KENNETH FREED
TIMES STAFF WRITER

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti—The Organization of American States, quietly backed by the United States, is offering to ease, if not to lift the international embargo against Haiti's renegade regime without assurances that the nation's ousted president will be restored to office, diplomatic and Haitian officials say.

The OAS plan to modify the embargo will be outlined next week when Joao Baena Soares, the agency's secretary general, and U.N. officials arrive here for talks to end the crisis that erupted after the Sept. 30 military overthrow of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, Haiti's first democratically elected chief of state.

The shift away from what was called a total embargo is being offered even though diplomats and Haitian experts say OAS and American officials know such a change will not bring Aristide back from exile.

"I don't sense any willingness by either the military nor Aristide's people to back away," one European diplomat said, a sentiment echoed by Aristide advisers and military leaders. "Lifting the embargo won't bring back Aristide, and I don't think it will scare Aristide into relenting, either."

Over the 10 months of crisis, the army and its civilian front-governments have sabotaged all negotiated efforts on a possible formula to restore Aristide, even if he accepted, as he has said he would, less authority over the government. For his part, Aristide has refused to meet with current government leaders. He has demanded that the embargo go on, despite growing international conviction that it does more harm than good.

The military's hard-line position was

upheld earlier this month when Brig. Gen. Raoul Cedras, army commander in chief and coup leader, told Radio Canada that, while he could accept democracy in Haiti, Aristide can never return as president. Still, OAS and other diplomatic and business sources say, Baena Soares will propose relaxing the boycott in selected sectors such as private consumer goods and some petroleum products.

In reality, the United States on its own has quietly been redefining the list of banned goods to permit several previously outlawed items, including propane and some industrial raw materials.

Beyond these measures, there has been a not-so-subtle shift in private descriptions by American officials about what should be expected of Haiti regarding democracy. In contrast with public demands that nothing short of Aristide's return is acceptable to the Bush Administration, the thinking privately appears to be that it is not America's role to re-create a U.S.-style

democracy in Haiti, and it is futile to expect Haiti, overnight, to develop a system that is free of corruption, violence and autocracy.

For such reasons and to simply extract themselves from what is seen as a no-win situation, the OAS and United States will settle for what one source described as "vague assurances from the government" that negotiations will continue on Aristide's future.

The military-backed de facto government of Prime

Minister Marc Bazin will be asked to permit the stationing of U.N. observers to monitor the human rights situation.

At the same time, increased American pressure is being applied to Aristide to drop his refusal to deal with Bazin or face the withdrawal of American support of the embargo.



Agence France-Presse

Jean-Bertrand Aristide

Commentary

DRAWINGBOARD / BORGMAN

VINCE BORGMAN
CALIFORNIA
ENQUIRER

IF MY
DAUGHTER
BECAME PREGNANT?
WELL, I'D SUPPORT
HER WHATEVER SHE
DECIDED.

MY GRANDDAUGHTER?
I WOULD TALK HER OUT
OF AN ABORTION, TRY TO.
IN THE END IT WOULD BE
HER DECISION...

WHO
ELSE'S -
WHO ELSE'S -
COULD
IT BE?



Today's debate is on **AIR STRIKES IN IRAQ**
and whether the United States should bomb now.

Keep pressing Saddam; don't rush into bombing

OUR VIEW The U.S. shouldn't
blast at Saddam —
however tempting a target — until
other nations also have taken aim.

Saddam Hussein has balked eight times now at scrapping his weapons of mass destruction — part of the deal he made to end the Persian Gulf war.

He also has ignored U.N. mandates to pay war reparations, refused to renew a U.N. humanitarian aid pact and rejected the U.N.-drawn border with Kuwait.

The only lesson this brutal little tyrant seems to have extracted from the war is that he can thumb his nose at the world and live to scheme again — an arrogance that offends any hope of peace.

But reports that U.S. warplanes might conduct U.N.-ordered strikes this week against Iraq for blocking arms inspections are unsettling. That's the right move, but it comes at the wrong time.

For the U.N., for U.S. voters and especially for President Bush, military action now hardly could be more inopportune. Republicans meet in Houston this week to renominate Bush, who trails in the polls. His popularity is down markedly — especially compared with his re-

cord postwar approval ratings.

Sunday, Bush angrily denied politics would drive any air strike. He has told USA TODAY, "I don't see any winning politics in a decision to put some son or daughter into harm's way."

That should be obvious. But the alternative is so appalling — and the timing so unfortunate — that Bush's statements are needed reassurance.

Also needed: restraint by voters. In fairness, they should withhold any judgment of Bush's actions or motives until this latest Mideast drama plays out.

Bush and the U.N., meanwhile, both would do well to reconsider what might be lost by renewing hostilities this week.

As Bush acknowledges, the war effort worked in good part because it had broad international backing. There is no evidence renewed hostilities would enjoy such support. In fact, they would be seen by many as U.S. imperialism.

That's a fatal flaw; it would only weaken support for the U.N.

Saddam must be brought to heel, but not in a way that takes a bite out of the U.N.'s ability to keep peace.

► Iraq report, 1A

Act now against Saddam

OPPOSING VIEW It's high time
to strike mili-
tary blows to bring Iraq back to
reality and end Saddam's regime.

This past year, weak U.S. and U.N. policies toward Iraq encouraged Saddam Hussein's hallucination that he won the gulf war. The nadir of this Western failure of nerve was reached earlier this summer when the confrontation at the agriculture ministry was resolved in such craven fashion that Saddam could fairly claim to his people he had won.

The first and most immediate requirement of a sound policy toward Iraq is to remind all concerned, primarily Saddam and his people, that it was the allies under U.S. leadership who won the war. The Iraqis must be shown unmistakably that they can emerge from their present



By **Harry Schwartz**, a Scarsdale, N.Y., writer who was for 29 years a member of *The New York Times* editorial board.

woes only by overthrowing their egomaniacal dictator and inaugurating a new regime committed to a policy of permanent peace.

The needed reminder can only be delivered by a devastating military attack on objectives within Iraq, and preferably within Baghdad. Those objectives can be government ministries, probably connected with Iraqi nuclear and other unconventional arms, or the rebuilt Iraqi electric power and communications networks.

Such attacks will cost lives, perhaps even including lives of some U.S. airmen. But these costs are the inevitable price that must be paid for the long series of errors that permitted Saddam to mock and violate with impunity the cease-fire terms he accepted a year and a half ago.

The extent of this mockery and self-deception is evidenced by the recent Iraqi newspaper articles reiterating that Kuwait is indeed the 19th department of Iraq and will have to accept that fact.

It is high time — if not past time — to strike military blows to bring Iraq back to reality, thus to end Saddam's regime.

Was President Reagan just a devil in disguise?

NO

As Reagan returns to the GOP spotlight in Houston tonight, it's clear his presidency boosted prosperity and contributed immeasurably to world peace.

Haynes Johnson, the esteemed *Washington Post* columnist, entitled his chronicle of the Reagan presidency *Sleepwalking Through History*. But no one who viewed the Reagan years as a period of dormancy could have been fully awake.

Reagan borrowed heavily from Franklin Roosevelt, his political idol, campaigning in 1980 (as FDR had in '32) on a conservative platform, then hedging once in office (as did Roosevelt) while sticking with the rhetoric. Like FDR, he could deflect criticism through sheer personality, and he had the knack of smiling down the gloomy Jeremiahs and lifting spirits.

Reagan disappointed the true believers who dreamed of a "Reagan revolution" dismantling the vast apparatus of the New Deal and the Great Society. If he ever shared their ambition, the awesomeness of the task must have sapped his zeal; the bureaucracy was left substantially intact. Excluding transfer payments, government spending as a percentage of gross national product rose substantially.

Taxes rose as well. The 1981 tax cut, which got the economy in gear, was followed by massive tax increases in '82 and '84, along with sizable enlargements of the Social Security take. This tax bite, along with steadily accumulating debt, would drag the economy to a halt, but not before he was safely out of office.

In his 1981 inaugural, he decried deficits and vowed to balance the budget within three years — a promise soon forgotten. By the end of his second term, the "supply-side" tax schemes were in tatters and the debt, which had nearly tripled under his tutelage, was accelerating at an astounding \$12 billion a month.

Yet despite the tax burden and growing tolerance of federal extravag-

agances, the economy prospered, experiencing the longest period of sustained growth in the nation's history.

This was not paper prosperity. It generated \$30 trillion in goods and services and 18.7 million new jobs. Nor were the newly employed just flipping burgers. From 1982 to 1988, the number of minimum-wage jobs declined by 25%, whereas jobs paying at least \$10 an hour rose by 67%.

Jimmy Carter, who'd given rise to the "misery index," had flailed away at "national malaise." Reagan, borrowing again from FDR, preached the gospel of prosperity and growth, inspiring confidence among consumers and investors alike.

Given the realism of Mikhail Gorbachev, perhaps any president could have achieved the historic nuclear arms-reduction treaty. In fact, it was the hard-line scourge of the "evil empire" who did. Precisely to what extent his firmness on defense contributed to the Kremlin's despair of ever matching Western technology, we may never know. But together with Gorbachev's diminished apprehensions about a maniacal U.S. superpower — fears that must have wilted in the presence of the affable U.S. president — this despair gave rise to a new reasonableness in Moscow, with historic consequences.

Reagan was not FDR (not even a Democrat!) and it is common for his achievements to be disparaged or ascribed to the inevitable march of history. He deserves better. Jack Kennedy, in a much-acclaimed flourish, declared, "Ich bin ein Berliner." Ronald Reagan, in a challenge all but forgotten, demanded, "Tear down the wall!" He was not Joshua; he did not single-handedly compel the Soviet empire to dissolve. Yet it is mere partisanship to assert that his unrelenting resistance to Soviet tyranny and his reasonable concessions at the crucial hour were without effect.

Like all successful leaders, Reagan had a vision. This vision was imperfect and never fully realized but, for a time, it boosted national prosperity and contributed immeasurably to the peace of the world.



By William P. Cheshire, editorial page editor of *The Arizona Republic*.

YES

We're just beginning to confront the problems at home and abroad left by Reagan's eight-year tenure. Feel-good politics masks how bad things really are.

It's become almost commonplace to note that Jimmy Carter, who left office to a chorus of boos, looks better and better, while Ronald Reagan, who left with the highest approval ratings of any president in history, has come to look worse and worse. It has taken this much time to realize how much damage the Reagan legacy bequeathed to the country.

Domestically, he promised to balance the budget by 1985 and, instead, presided over the tripling of the debt accumulated by all the previous presidents. His supply-side tax-cutting policies left the country in a fiscal straitjacket, unable to cope with its physical and social needs and forcing government into corrosive battles over budget priorities.

He cut back on revenue sharing with the states and loaded more tasks on the states. This may have made the federal bottom line look less abysmal, but it helped plunge the states and cities into fiscal crisis. Does Reagan ever reflect, I wonder, on the connection between the current budget rigor mortis in his state of California and the tax revolt that he championed and rode to the White House?

His deregulatory policies set the stage for the savings and loan scandal, the most expensive in history, and for retreat on the environmental front. His cheerful permissiveness of ethical laxity and his contempt for the government he headed spawned scandals that embroiled White House aides and Cabinet members. And it helped set the tone for a creed of greed on Wall Street.

His policies left rich Americans richer and poor Americans poorer, swelling the welfare rolls he despised and making problems of homelessness and adversity less

manageable than they had been. He never seemed to grasp the reality of unanticipated threats to America's well-being, like the scourge of AIDS.

In foreign policy, America's role in the world fell victim to Reagan's simplistic ideas. One was his obsession with the communist "evil empire," which led the nation into prodigious military spending and a search for fantasy weapons of absolute impregnability, like the "star wars" anti-missile defense. Another was his movie-land preoccupation with anti-communist "freedom fighters" in the Third World, which skewed U.S. action into support of proxy wars around the world to the neglect of more urgent problems like drug traffic. A symbol of distorted priorities was befriending Panama's Manuel Noriega, supporter of drug traffickers, because he was considered an ally against the Sandinistas.

Devotion to the contras and naivete about how to obtain the freedom of American hostages led Reagan into the Iran-contra scandal, from which he blithely walked away, leaving some of his most loyal aides in the toils of investigation for having tried to protect him.

The best of the Reagan legacy was that he made Americans feel good, absorbing the optimism he radiated, seeing a bright future that maybe wasn't there. But that also has its downside. Enjoying "morning in America," Americans became almost anesthetized to reality. Playing what biographer Lou Cannon calls "the role of a lifetime," the actor-president made Americans forget about rutted roads, sagging bridges and expanding pockets of poverty.

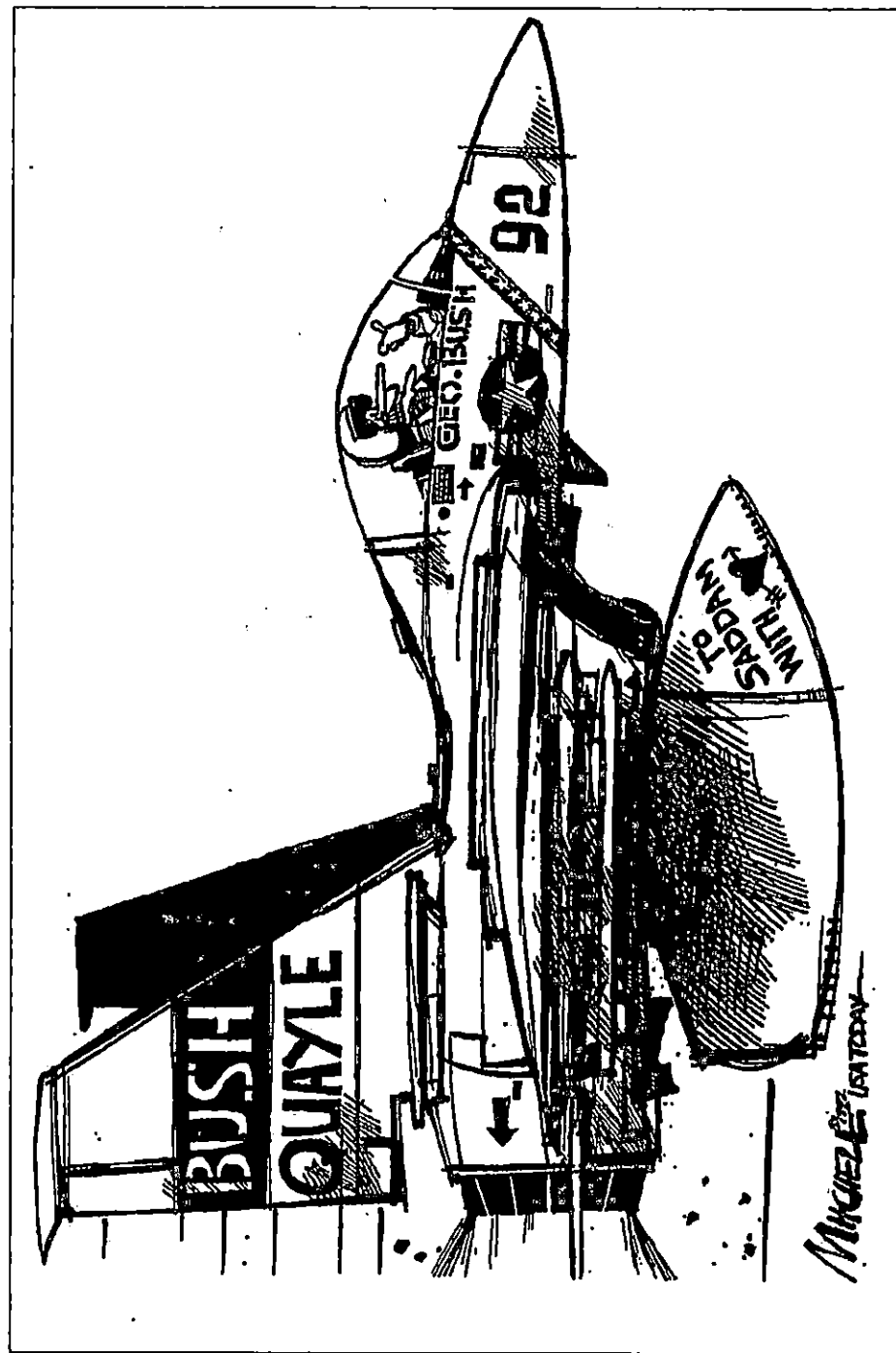
When President Reagan rode off into a slow-fade sunset, he left America having to pinch itself or feel the pinch of harsh reality.

If the old magic works tonight, Americans seeing the ex-president will feel again how good he made things look and not connect him with how bad things are, in significant part because of the Reagan legacy.

► Reagan a plus or minus? 2A



By Daniel Schorr, senior news analyst for *National Public Radio*.



By Bill Mitchell for USA TODAY

Shared Letter.



THE PRESIDENT

August 17, 1992

Dear George,

Thanks for sharing with me the memo from Daniel Flanagan dated July 21. He has a lot of good suggestions and an interesting analysis. I'll keep them in mind in the months to come.

For now, I'm hastily off to Houston, and ready to go get 'em!

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to be "Bill", written in dark ink.

FROM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable George H. Pfau, Jr.
Senior Vice President-Investments
Paine Webber Incorporated
Suite 320
100 California Street
San Francisco, California 94111

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

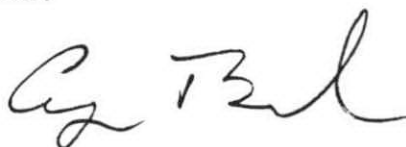
August 17, 1992

Dear Pete:

Thank you for sending me a copy of "Setting the Record Straight". It will be helpful in fighting those who are doing their best to rewrite history. I shared the document with several folks around here.

You can be sure we'll be working hard to make sure the American people hear the truth.

Thanks again, my friend.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "G. Bush". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first letters of the first and last names being capitalized and prominent.

The Honorable Pete V. Domenici
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Jan Burmeister

copy of
for J. Klein



THE PRESIDENT

August 17, 1992

Dear Victor,

Thanks for your letter of August 13. I was thrilled to hear your good news. With people like you on my side, we're sure to win in November. I really appreciate your enthusiasm and confidence in me.

Many thanks, too, for the article on Lincoln. You're a good friend and I am grateful for that. Now, off to Houston!

Warm regards,

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Victor H. Hancock
2009 Nantucket
Richardson, Texas 75080

(J?)



Hasty
Welcome



Jim Elkins
Houston Texas

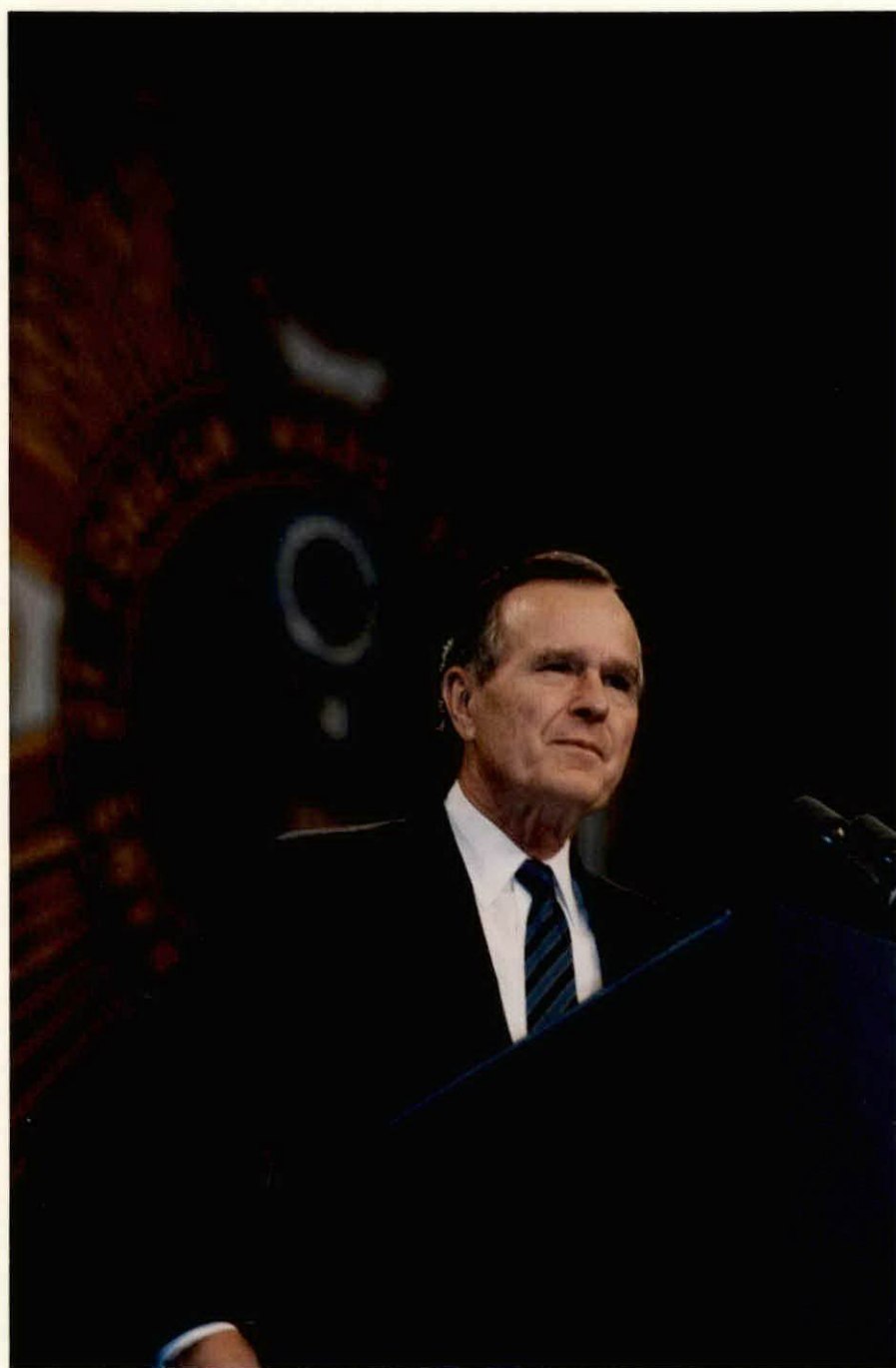
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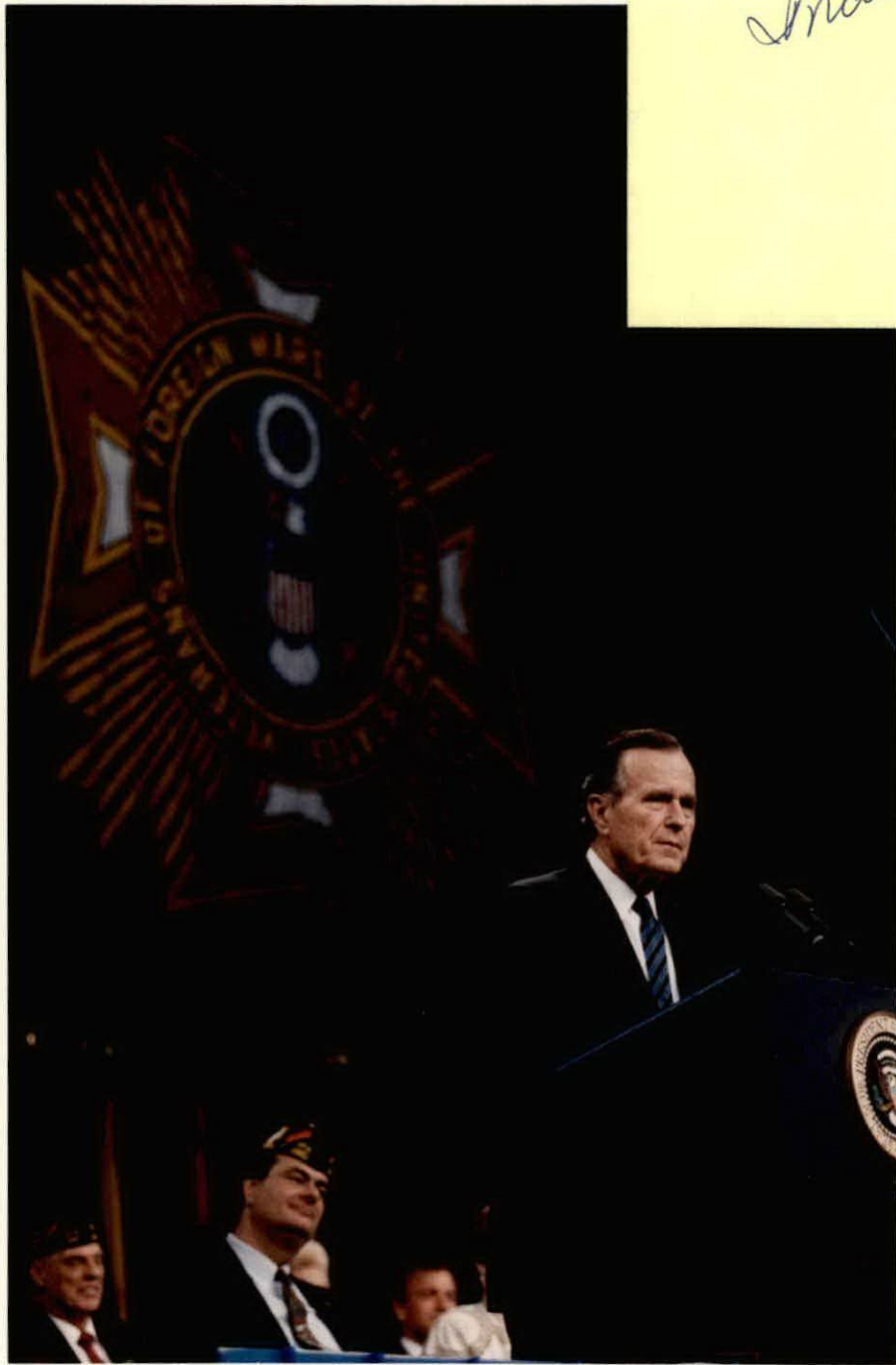
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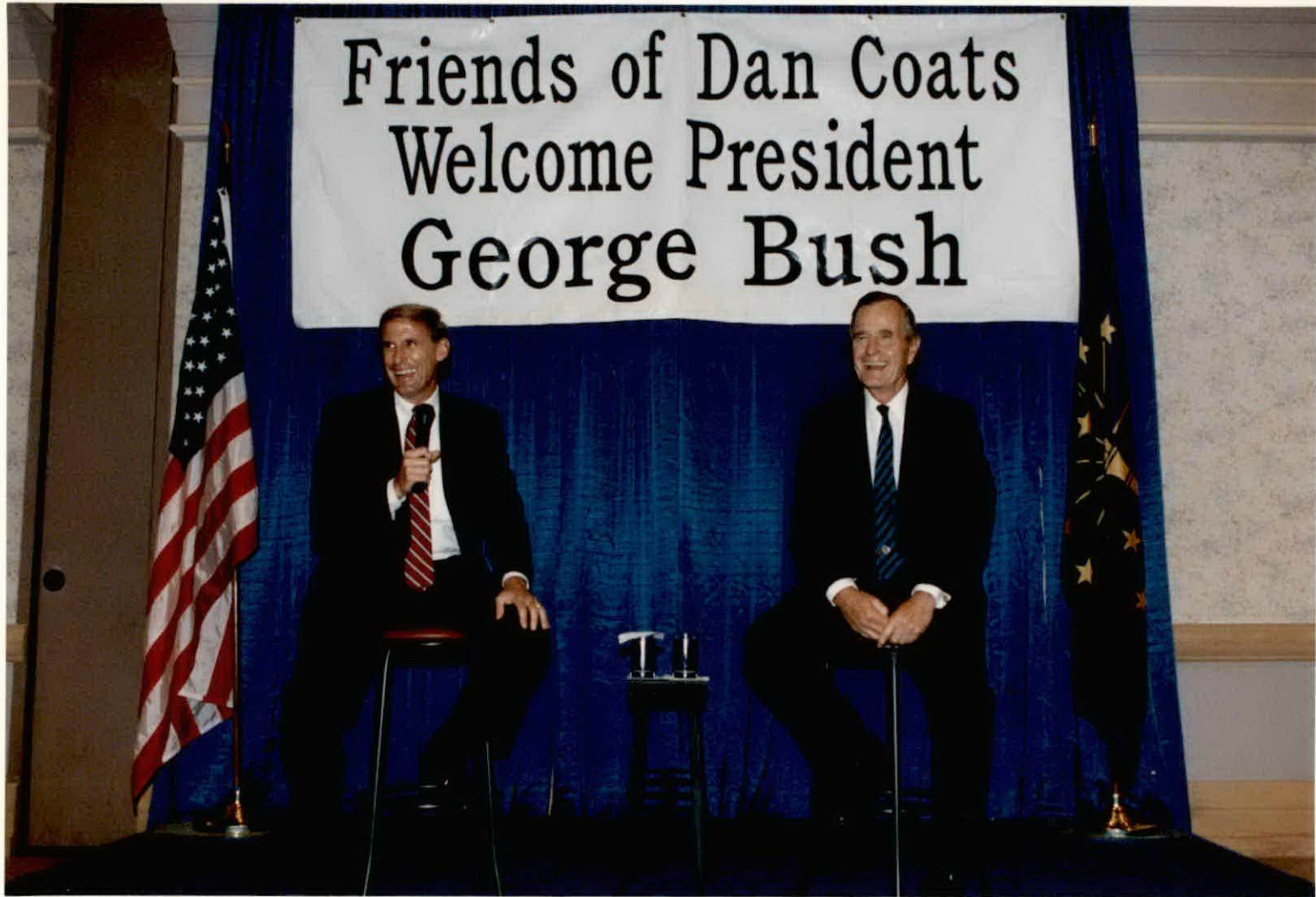
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3. LOCAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTOGRAPH 17 AUG 92 P34487-23 DV

Friends of Dan Coats
Welcome President
George Bush



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