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Tuesday, August 18. 1992 [2]

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ROSE

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

Tuesday, August 18, 1992

B Houston

Houston, Texas

B Republican National Convention8:30 am Intelligence Briefing
(Scowcroft)8:45 am National Security Briefing
(Scowcroft)9:40 am The President departs for
Alexander Hamilton Middle School
for Address to "Kick Drugs Out of
America" Foundation
(McBride)

arrives 0800 12:30

10:50 am Arrives Houstonian1:30 pm Appointment with Mr. Ditto
(Zamaria)2:30 pm Pre-Brief for Interviews
(Smith)3:00 pm Interview with Jim Lehrer, PBS
(Smith)3:15 pm Interview with Local
Affiliates
(Smith)3:55 pm Interview with Russ Hodge,
RNC Network
(Smith)6:10 pm The President and Mrs. Bush
depart for Private Reception
at the Museum of Fine Arts
(McBride)7:20 pm Arrive HoustonianB RON HoustonUNPUB 8/17/92
9:00 pm

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - GEORGE BUSH HANDWRITING

Presidential Phone Calls



DATE: 8-78

TIME: 11⁰⁵ - Houston
Incoming/Outgoing

WITH: Bary Goldwater

SUBJECT: last night supper

- 1) RK supper
- 2) Buchanan did
- 3) What you've said

like West - Canada

first conversation to vice

FOLLOW UP: N/O

will help in any
way we want him to

8/18/92

Mr. President:

Barry Goldwater called. He is in Arizona and would like to speak to you sometime today. Signal has the number.

h 2) Bob Teeter returned your call. Signal has the number where he can be reached.

RZ

*Daily 8/18*EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS*8/18*
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

August 17, 1992

8/17 16:13

To: The President

From: Mike Boskin *MB*

Re: July Housing Starts and Building Permits

Housing starts fell 2.8 percent in July, to a seasonally-adjusted total of 1.12 million. Private analysts had expected a level of 1.20 million units. As the effect of lower mortgage interest rates comes into play, starts should pick up. The only bright spot was a small increase in building permits, a predictor of future starts.

Michael J. Boskin
Chairman

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

August 17, 1992

THE CHAIRMAN

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MICHAEL J. BOSKIN *mb*

SUBJECT: July Housing Starts, Commerce Department Release, Tomorrow, 8:30 a.m.

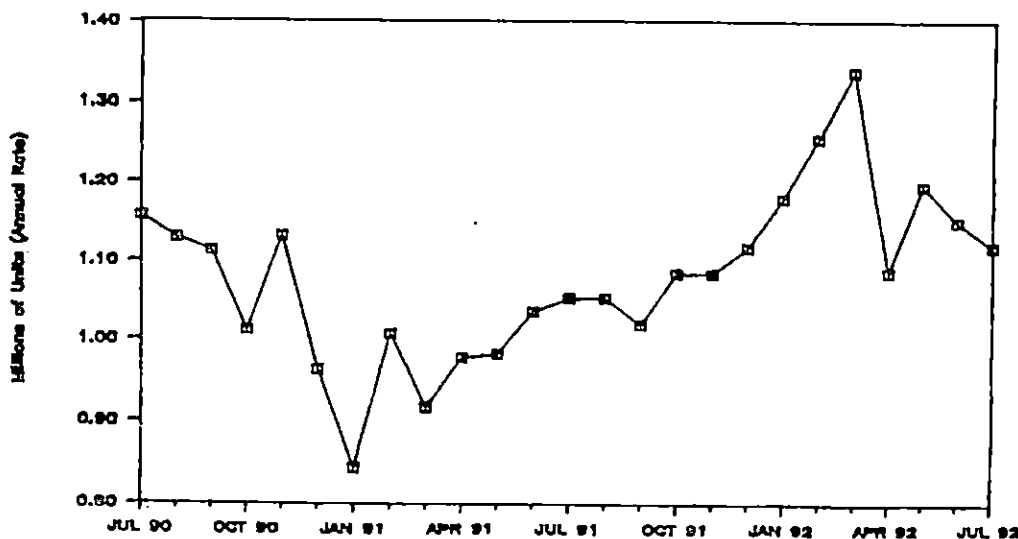
Housing starts fell 2.8 percent in July to an annual rate of 1.119 million. Analysts had expected a 1.2 million rate.

Single-family starts fell 4.1 percent from the June level, while multifamily starts rose 6.0 percent. The reduction in housing starts was concentrated in the West, where starts fell back to their May level after posting a strong gain in June.

Building permits--an indicator of future housing starts--rose nearly 4 percent in July to an annual rate of 1.070 million. The increase came mainly from multifamily units. It is likely that new permits were stimulated by the fall in long-term interest rates that began in July and has continued into August.

In spite of the small reduction in July, housing starts for the first 7 months of 1992 are up 21 percent over the same period a year ago. Building permits so far this year are up 17 percent over the same period a year ago.

HOUSING STARTS





THE PRESIDENT

daily
Aug. 18, 1992

Dear Tanya —

You were magnificent
last night.

Many many thanks for
being with us. Most Sincerely,
Ly B

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Ms. Tanya Tucker
Chapple Building
Suite 103
5200 Maryland Way
Brentwood, Tennessee 37027

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 14, 1992

2 AUG 17 09:12

daily 8/18

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: NICHOLAS E. CALIO *REC*
SUBJECT: Weekly Legislative Report

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 8/18
G

Key Activity, Week of August 10

- o **Education.** On Wednesday, the House passed the Neighborhood Schools Improvement Act, the Democrats' answer to your America 2000 initiative, 279-124. The Administration-backed Goodling (R-PA) substitute failed, 140-267. The House bill, which is subject to a veto threat, will now be conferenced with a bill that passed the Senate in January 1992 with strong bipartisan support, 92-6. Based on the House vote on the Goodling substitute, we believe we would have a good chance of sustaining a veto if the bill that emerges from conference resembles the House bill.
- o **Transportation.** On Wednesday, the House passed by unanimous consent legislation to accelerate spending on highway construction projects. The bill is the result of discussions between Secretary Card, Director Darman, and Majority Leader Gephardt (D-MO) that were de facto linked to House floor consideration of the **Freedom Support Act**, your aid package for the former Soviet republics. Conferees' staff have begun to meet on the Freedom Support Act; a relatively quick conference is expected in early September.
- o **DOD.** The Senate also began consideration of the Defense authorization bill, but set it aside when the Majority Leader was unable to achieve agreements limiting debate on controversial amendments, including cutting \$1 billion from the \$4.3 billion SDI program. If and when the Senate resumes consideration, other controversial issues will include cutting B-2 spending.
- o **Family and Medical Leave.** The Senate passed by voice vote the conference report on a bill, similar to legislation you vetoed in 1990, that would guarantee workers unpaid parental or medical leave. The current bill passed the Senate last year by 65-32 and the House by 253-177, enough to sustain a threatened veto. The conference report is expected to pass the House in early September.

- o **Growth/Tax bill.** The Senate began but did not finish consideration of the Finance Committee's version of the House-passed growth and tax bill. When it appeared that an Administration-backed substitute would pass, Chairman Bentsen (D-TX) modified his bill to increase funding for Enterprise Zones from \$2.5 to \$5.3 billion and to increase the number of zones from 25 to 125. A Mack (R-FL) amendment to institute a general capital gains differential was defeated on a procedural vote, 37-57.

It is unclear when in September the Senate will resume consideration of the growth/tax bill. We are still pursuing several modifications that we indicated earlier would be necessary for removal of a senior advisors veto threat, including amendments that would: provide a capital gains differential for investments in Enterprise Zones; and eliminate a permanent extension of the phase-out of the personal exemption (PEP) and the limitation on itemized deductions (PEASE).

Upcoming

- o Both houses will be in recess until after Labor Day, with the Senate returning on September 8 and the House on September 9. I will report separately on what we can expect for the final month of this session.

See you in Houston!

Attachment A: Other Significant Congressional Activity
Attachment B: Summary of Selected Congressional Mail

Other Significant Congressional Activity

Week of August 10

- o **Appropriations.** This week, both houses passed the Agriculture appropriations conference report. This is the first appropriations bill to clear Congress. All of the other 12 bills have at least passed the House, but are at various stages in the legislative process, including four that have not yet been approved by the Senate Appropriations Committee.
- o **Job training.** With Administration support, both houses have approved the conference report on legislation to reauthorize programs under the 1982 Job Training Partnership Act.
- o **Yugoslavia.** The Senate passed, 74-22, a resolution urging you to seek UN authorization for use of multinational military force in the former Yugoslavia to assure the flow of humanitarian aid.
- o **Kennedy files.** The House approved by voice vote legislation requiring the release of all files relating to the assassination of former President Kennedy. Because of constitutional problems with an appointments mechanism in the bill, your senior advisors would recommend veto. The House bill will now be conferenced with a Senate version that lacks the constitutional defect.
- o **Iraq.** Responding to the request of House Judiciary Committee Democrats for appointment of an independent counsel on Iraq matters, Attorney General Barr declined to pursue a preliminary investigation into the need for appointment of an independent counsel. Chairman Brooks (D-TX), Representative Schumer (D-NY), and other Democrats blasted the decision as "stonewalling" and a cover-up. Committee Republicans were supportive of the Attorney General's decision.

Presidential Log of Selected Congressional Mail

Week of August 7, 1992 - August 13, 1992

<u>Member</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Comments</u>
Sen. Malcolm Wallop (R-WY) #343387	Expresses concern that "our lack of progress in renegotiating the ABM Treaty is jeopardizing the Strategic Defense Initiative and the congressional consensus on the need to deploy missile defenses, which was forged last year around the Missile Defense Act of 1991."	Believe that failure to achieve some concrete movement on treaty-related issues has sent the message that the Administration is not serious about moving SDI from its current focus on research and development into deployment.
Sen Arlen Specter (R-PA) Also signed by 54 others including Senators Wofford, Dole, Kennedy, and Moynihan #343894	Urge you to extend the eligibility for the award of the Purple Heart to United States military service personnel captured and held as prisoners of war during World Wars I and II and the Korean conflict. Believe that	"differentiating among American prisoners of war on the basis of the date of a war is a grave injustice to those men and women prisoners of war from World War I, World War II and Korea.
Rep. Joan Kelly Horn (D-MO) Also signed by 26 others including Gephardt, Montgomery, Bateman, and Skelton #343880	Believe that failing to move forward with the F-15 sale to Saudi Arabia will further aggravate the bleak unemployment situation. Reports that "more than a thousand aerospace workers have lost their jobs due to the delay in notification of the sale (and) thousands more will join them in the unemployment line if Congress does not receive formal notification before it adjourns this year."	
Sen. Dan Coats (R-IN) Also signed by Senator McCain #344635	Believe that "the current focus on the budget deficit and the forthcoming elections in November are factors that, in combination, will win votes for the passage of a legislative line item veto. Believe "a declaration that you will veto a legislative appropriations bill that does not contain line item veto language may well provide the incentive we need to see our combined efforts finally become a reality."	

daily

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 8/18

W

ROGER AILES

Dear Mr President.

Thank for your note of Aug
8th.Chaim now considers him
dead — which means he'll
never be invited to dinner

TZ.

daily 8/18

August 14, 1992



The Honorable George Bush
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Just some further thoughts. Part about the economy is based on thoughts of Arthur Finkelstein, pollster and strategist, who makes the point that economic cluster of voters is still waiting to see which way to go. I include a contribution by my friend Leon Kass, the noted University of Chicago professor of Social Thought and Fellow at AEI.

Good luck. You'll be great.

Suggestions

1. Yes, this election is about values. But let us also remember that it is a referendum on economic policy. I ask every American to consider over the next few months the truth of this simple series of statements. The politics of my opponent and the Democratic Party mean more government; and more government means a halt to our economic recovery. More government means higher taxes and fewer jobs. And eventually, more government means the return of the 18% interest rates and double-digit inflation we had with the last Democratic administration.

2. So you see in economic policy, social values, defense and foreign affairs, this election comes down to two questions: Do the American people want to put the liberal Democrats back in charge of the White House? As a matter of fact it comes down to two questions: Do the American people want to keep in charge of a Congress liberal Democrats who have abused the power they have held too long -- power that has caused scandal, recession, and gridlock.

3. The opposition keeps talking about how they are for middle class values. So in spite of all the hollering it will cause from the pundits, I ask again: what about the flag and prayer amendments? Why are our opponents afraid to come out and tell the truth to the American people? Why do they keep trying to hide the fact their party has kept two amendments favored by the overwhelming number of Americans and reaffirming critical aspects of our spiritual and patriotic traditions bottled up in Congress? Why don't they come clean and tell the people the truth? They can't come out in favor of those amendments because they have to do the bidding of the cultural liberals and the militant secularists who run their party.

The Honorable George Bush
August 14, 1992
Page 2.

From Leon Kass

Americans are tired of the politics of group-think and of phony factional division. They are fed up with attempts to fracture this great nation into warring tribes defined solely by race, class, sex, religion, or ethnicity. They have had enough of self-appointed spokesmen and media-moguls who divide us strictly into the black or white or Hispanic community, into the so-called communities of males or females, gays or straights, youth or senior citizens. These are not real communities, and we are not their members. Real communities are not academic categories, but places where people actually live together. And we who live in them are first and last individual human beings and citizens of the greatest nation on earth -- all with similar needs, loves, and dreams, all children of God. We want to be regarded as the individuals we are, living responsibly in our genuine communities of family, church, school, and town.

On the world stage, we have successfully defended the American principles of individual dignity and individual rights. At home, we have extended their protection to more and more people. Now, having defeated communism abroad, we have no intention of surrendering our liberty at home to those who seek power by fanning the flames of factionalism, racism, ethnic tribalism, radical feminism, or any other "ism." Only by respecting individuality can we have real communities; only by respecting individuality and serving our real communities can our country remain free and prosperous, and a light unto the nations.

Best,



Anthony R. Dolan
Adjunct Scholar

ARD/glc



THE PRESIDENT

8-18

By the way the dems keep spreading rumors
that I am not in good health. Wrong!
I have never felt better and I am ready for
the tough battle ahead.. to prove it I ran
2 miles again this morning; besides I look
better in my jogging shorts that The
governor of Arkansas does- and I admit
thats not saying much.



THE PRESIDENT

August 18, 1992

To: Jim Baker

From: GB

Re: Saatchi memo to Marvin.

Marv ran into Maurice Saatchi, who gave him the attached memo.

There is a lot of relevance for us in this memo- particularly in the last half.

Just FYI



THE PRESIDENT

Rose

Habe this put in JAB's Room for his arrival
tomorrow

11

SAATCHI & SAATCHI COMPANY PLC.

TO: Marvin Bush

FROM: Maurice Saatchi

DATE: 13th August, 1992

Thank you for your letter.

Following a conversation with Patrick Russell this memorandum sets out the two aspects of John Major's election campaign which we believe have particular relevance to your father.

These concern the organisation of the Campaign, and the strategy of the Campaign.

First, in terms of organization:

In November, 1991, when the Conservatives were trailing Labour in the polls, the UK Political Cabinet was shown a radical plan put forward by the Prime Minister and Party Chairman.

The plan was ambitious, and in British political experience, unique. It called for the formation of a small strategic group (the No. 12 Committee, so called because it would meet in 12 Downing Street each day), which would devise and implement a weekly timetable of events between January 6th and Election Day on April 9th.

The purpose of the timetable was to create opportunities to bring key issues and themes to the forefront of political debate. Each week was to have its own specific theme. Within each week, each day's events were to express the Party's position on the theme of the week.

- 2 -

As well as the Prime Minister, each Senior Minister was assigned a particular role in the timetable.

All colleagues expressed support for the concept and showed every willingness to make positive contributions to its implementation.

In late December, 1991, Cabinet colleagues gave their assent to the implementation of the detailed Campaign Timetable and established the infrastructure for the Campaign - both physically, in terms of a unit to co-ordinate the detailed weekly activity, and in terms of control, including the process of co-ordination and approval.

- A Campaign Unit was established within Conservative Central Office, to maintain a 7 day a week/24 hours a day liaison with Ministers, Special Advisers, Central Office Departments and Saatchi & Saatchi.
- Each week's campaigning was prepared in advance by a team comprising ourselves, the relevant Departmental Special Adviser plus a nominated officer from within the Research Department. We were responsible for ensuring effective co-ordination.
- Each weekly plan was submitted to the 'political Cabinet' for approval the preceding week.
- The Departmental Special Advisers met each week to prepare plans for Cabinet. The weekly themes were anticipated for the Party in the field at the Party Organisation Backbench Committee.

- 3 -

- Content of documents was subject to the approval of the relevant Departmental ministerial head. In the case of anti-Labour publications, the Party Chairman approved them. In the case of 'Pathfinder' Policy documents, No. 10 approval was required.
- The Committee was supported by highly specific, simple research, rather than by a plethora of complex studies.

The most important aspect of this organization was that the No. 12 Committee exercised day to day control of all activity under a strong and powerful Chairman, the Government Chief Whip. It was composed of all the people who could exercise control and co-ordination over the affairs both of the Government and the Campaign, i.e., as well as the Chief Whip, the Head of the Prime Minister's No. 10 Policy Unit, the Head of Research, the Head of Communications, and the Advertising Agency. All the necessary levers of power to make strategic decisions and implement them were contained in that one group. Thus they were able to deliver a programme of integrated events, speeches, press conferences, television appearances, policy initiatives, presentations, advertisements, etc.

We would propose that a similar group be established in Washington to manage such a weekly timetable between the Republican Convention and Election Day.

We would need to discuss with your father how such a group could be formed in the US, and of whom it should consist. Whoever heads it would need below him a simple organisation which works - few people reporting to him, clear lines of decision making and responsibility, no vagueness about who does what, and no unnecessary overlap or duplication of functions.

- 4 -

The organisation structure should leave the team leader free to:

- a. Think
- b. Make strategic decisions
- c. Liaise with the President
- d. Appear in the media
- e. Inspire appropriate members of the Administration
- f. Inspire the troops.

I assume that so far as implementation of the advertising part of the program is concerned the 'November Company' would form the nucleus of a new Campaign Unit we would establish in Washington.

Second, concerning strategy:

In planning the 1992 Election for John Major we knew early on that we would be unable to go forward on the same basis as in the previous three elections we had managed for Mrs Thatcher - the time-honored theme that "Britain's better off with the Conservatives. Don't let Labour ruin it". This time, we were fighting an Election for the first time in a recession. We recognised that Labour's position was a simple and compelling one:

The Tories have failed.

They deserve punishment.

It's time for a change.

We decided that the logical answer to that line of attack could only be:

- 5 -

It's not time to change. ✓

You can't trust Labour. ✓

It could be worse. ✓

This was built into a highly negative campaign strategy around the theme 'You can't trust Labour'. And in particular that you can't trust Labour on taxation.

During Autumn 1991 the Agency had worked closely with the Party Chairman, the Chief Whip, and the Head of the No. 10 Policy Unit, to develop a co-ordinated campaign. It was to start post-Maastricht on January 6th and run up to the Election date. This had already been tentatively set for April 9th, the election to be called on March 14th.

The Agency laid out a detailed week by week timetable of events written to a highly specific strategy. It analysed the relative position of the two main parties on each of the key issues - looking at each issue in terms of two factors. First, the salience of the issue - how important people say the issue is; and secondly, the Conservative Party's rating on that issue - its competence versus Labour on the issue.

We commissioned a Treasury costing exercise on Labour's spending plans, which produced a figure of £35bn of extra spending under Labour.

The next crucial step was to look at that £35bn in terms of taxation - the £35bn figure was simply divided by the number of UK taxpayers to provide the figure of '£1,000 more tax a year for the average tax payer'.

This made its appearance as 'Labour's Tax Bombshell' in the week commencing Monday January 6th in a co-ordinated release of posters, press conferences, speeches, and press advertisements.

During January, tracking studies showed that the percentage of people who thought that 'Labour would put their taxes up' rose significantly. Tax became the centrepiece of the election campaign.

From then on, the tax theme appeared remorselessly. In advertisements, in election broadcasts, in posters, co-ordinated with press conferences, speeches, etc.

In the final week, we intensified the tax attack with the publication in advertisements of tables showing the tax effect of Labour's plans on various occupations and wage levels, starting at £10,000 per annum.

Labour's tax plans were presented as having two damaging consequences. First, that higher taxes would hit every individual family. And second, that higher taxes were the last thing Britain needed to get out of recession. We were confident that people would judge it wrong for Labour to impose higher taxes just at the point when the economy might be recovering - that Labour's tax plans would start a new recession, rather than end it.

Thus, despite the economic background of deep recession, the Conservative campaign was focused throughout on the Conservatives' traditional strength - better economic management.

By contrast Labour's campaign was schizophrenic. On the one hand it presented the usual 'caring' approach to health, inner cities, etc, but on the other hand it tried

- 7 -

to show that it had an economic 'recovery package' which would deliver the country from recession.

As the campaign developed the Conservative Party and the Agency came under criticism for being too 'negative', and for persisting with a single theme - tax, with which the media were bored. The evidence in the polls appeared to show that the Labour lead was not being dented by this negative line of attack, and that tax was still a relatively minor issue. Many observers were critical about the effects of 'negative' campaigning - finding it dull, depressing and lacking in 'vision'.

However, the Party was confident about this strategy and stuck to it vigorously.

The Prime Minister, the Chancellor, and the Party Chairman stayed resolute throughout in their strategy. The campaign plan was executed almost exactly according to the original plan laid out in Autumn, 1991, i.e., three weeks of solid attack on Labour, primarily focussed on tax, and one final week focussed on the character of John Major as opposed to Neil Kinnock.

As the attached two sheets show, the Conservative Party improved its ratings on all the key issues, and Kinnock/Tax became the No. 1 and 2 'reasons for not voting Labour'. The end result was that during the campaign the Tories moved from a weak minus position versus Labour, to an 8 point lead.

The relevance of this approach to the US will be immediately apparent to you - we would need to talk to your father about its detailed implementation.

It would be an honor to help your Father with his campaign.

Looking forward to seeing you again soon.

+0714954484 SAATCHI & SAATCHI CO

372 P09

13.08.92

17:19

ISSUES: OCT 91 - APR 92

Rating Improvement

Oct - April '92

Unemployment	+16
Health	+17
Cost of Living	+22
Education	+12
Law and Order	+11
Defence	+19
Taxation	+20

Source: Gallup

Reasons Given For Not Voting Labour

	<u>1992</u>
Mr. Kinnock would not make a good Prime Minister	36
I would pay a lot more taxes under Labour without there being anything to show for them	26
Labour is in the pockets of the trade unions	22
A Labour Government would not do a good job of managing the country's economy	20
None of these/don't know	20
If there were a Labour Government, the rest of the world would lose confidence in Britain	18
A Labour Government would not provide a strong enough national defence	15
Prices would rise even faster under a Labour Government than they do now	13

(Source: Gallup)

+0714954484 SATCHI & SATCHI CO

372 P10 13.08.92 17:20

P10

08-13-92 02:26PM



THE PRESIDENT

Aug 18th '92
daily

Dear Jack,

Thanks for that
most supportive telegram
from you and the Chairman.
The Convention is off to a
good start & I'm fired up

We'll win it —

Your support means a
lot to me — Thanks

By B.H.

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable R. Jack Hawke
Chairman
The North Carolina Republican Party
1410 Hillsborough Street
Post Office Box 12905
Raleigh, North Carolina 27605

CHAIRMAN
R. Jack Hawke



THE
REPUBLICAN
PARTY

North Carolina's Conservative Voice

VICE CHAIRMAN
Jane B. Rouse

FINANCE CHAIRMAN
Steve Stroud

SECRETARY
Jan Grube

TREASURER
John Carrington

August 13, 1992

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

Dear Mr. President:

As of this morning, the elected Chairpersons of the other 49 states have contacted me to say they stand united in support of your re-election.

It is our strong belief that the United States needs your leadership as our nation enters a period of great opportunity.

Please do not let some unelected spokesmen, who say they represent our party, deter your commitment.

We are confident that the American public will respond to a clear comparison on your record of success versus the failures of the Democrat Congress and the Governor of Arkansas.

As a united body of elected officials, our pledge is to rededicate our efforts on your behalf. We will spend the next eighty days taking your message of hope and opportunity to the grassroots of each state.

For the State Chairs of the Republican Party, I am sincerely yours,


R. Jack Hawke,
Chairman

RJH:ew

attatchment (1)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

AUGUST 12, 1992

02 AUG 13 P5:56

MEMORANDUM FOR ~~PHIL BRADY~~ THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RONALD C. KAUFMAN *RCW*
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: TELEGRAM ON BEHALF OF ALL 50 STATE GOP CHAIRMEN
EXPRESSING UNITY IN THEIR ENDORSEMENT OF THE
PRESIDENT'S RE-ELECTION EFFORT

The attached telegram is from Jack Hawke, the North Carolina State GOP Chairman. He has total support of each of the GOP State Chairs in sending this telegram to the President.

Also attached is a faxed copy of the original letter and the names of all 50 Chairmen who stand united in showing their support and dedication to the President.

The President may want to see this. It's your call.

*Farish
Rm 270*

White House News Summary

Tuesday, August 18, 1992

WASHINGTON POST CLIPS INDEX

1. Front page, top half
2. Front page, bottom half
3. GOP Convenes, Opens Fire On Democrats, A1
4. (continued)
5. Gloves Off, Bush The Candidate Arrives, A17
6. Doubts On Bush's Bedrock Beliefs, A1
7. (continued)
8. (continued)
9. GOP Faces A Tough Sell, A1
10. Abortion Rights Abandoned, A15
11. Bush Called On 'Sleaze' Vow After GOP Remarks, A17
12. Quayle Reiterates Defense Of 'Traditional Values, A16
13. Keyes Repeats Racism Complaint, A15
14. U.N. Avoids Showdown With Iraq, A1
15. U.S. Plan To Bar Iraqi Flights In South
Follows Stepped-Up Attacks On Shiites, A10
Marine Pilot Killed In Kuwait In
Harrier Night-Training Crash, A10
16. As Sanctions Bite, Serbs Look Warily Toward Winter, A1
17. EDITORIAL -- The President And Iraq, A12
EDITORIAL -- Keep Hope Alive, A12
18. COLUMN -- Window Dressing, A13
19. COLUMN -- Bush, Saddam And U.S. Policy, A13
20. COLUMN -- Unsteady Compass, A13
21. COLUMN -- Resurgence Of The Right, A2
22. COLUMN -- A Syrian Scud Threat, A13

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Weather

Today: Morning drizzle. High 82.
Wind 7-14 mph. AQI: good.
Wednesday: Partly sunny.
thunderstorms. High 86.
Thursday: Temp. range: 67-73.
AQI: 30. Details on Page B2.

The Washington Post

Sections

A News/Editorials
B Metro/Entertainment
C Business
D Style/Television/Lifestyle/Columns
E Sports
Inside: Health
Today's Contents: Page A2

115TH YEAR No 257

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

Prices May Vary in Areas Outside
Metropolitan Washington Area. See Page A3.

25¢

U.N. Avoids Showdown With Iraq

Team Ends Inspection Without Attempting To Enter Ministry

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Staff Writer

A U.N. team completed its inspection of Iraq's weapons programs yesterday without attempting to visit a Baghdad ministry, thus avoiding a potential confrontation that could have led to U.S. military action.

Spokesmen for the 22-member U.N. team said in Baghdad and New York that the final inspection of the group's visit had been successfully completed yesterday without any attempt by the Iraqi government to deny access to requested sites. The team plans to leave Baghdad this morning.

U.N. and U.S. officials declined to provide details of what had been inspected or how the widely expected showdown between Iraq and the inspectors had been averted.

A senior U.S. official said, however, he understood the U.N. team had decided not to seek a visit to an Iraqi ministry because an article Sunday in the New York Times had depicted such a visit as orchestrated by the United States in a deliberate bid to provoke Iraq. Some statements of the Baghdad government had described inspections of its ministry buildings as unacceptable violations of Iraqi sovereignty.

Rolf Ekeus, chief of the U.N. Special Commission that carries out the inspections, "decided he just could not afford" to leave an impression that the team was doing Washington's bidding on the eve of President Bush's renomination by the

See IRAQ, A10, Col. 4

GOP Convenes, Opens Fire on Democrats



President Bush tells a welcoming rally in Houston that "it's going to be certain time" for the Clinton-Gore ticket.

Bush Says Clinton, Congress Would Gut Defense, Lift Taxes

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, Aug. 17—The Republicans opened their 35th national convention today with a series of biting attacks on the Democrats, a celebration of a decade that brought "the most sweeping changes in this century" to the world and a promise by an emotional President Bush to stage "the most stirring political comeback since Harry Truman gave them hell in 1948."

In a boisterous pep rally upon his arrival, Bush and Vice President Quayle set a combative tone for the four-day convention, by ridiculing Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton and the Democratic-controlled Congress and warning that his challenger would regret any overconfidence.

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See REPUBLICANS, A18, Col. 1

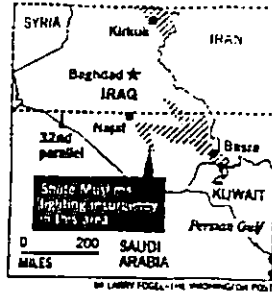
Additional Republican Convention stories on Pages A15-A19, D1-D3.

Doubts on Bush's Bedrock Beliefs

Civil Rights Record as Case Study



GOP Faces a Tough Sell



Proposing a Shiite Zone
 ■ In a bid to protect Iraqi Shiites, the United States is seeking allied support for a ban on Iraqi flights below the 32nd parallel similar to the northern one set up for Kurds.
 WORLD, Page A10

transportation secretary William Coleman Jr. to the White House to discuss the civil rights bill that Bush was then preparing to veto.
 Coleman, a prominent black Republican and chairman of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, made an impassioned pitch to the president about the need to undo a string of recent Supreme Court rulings that cut back on civil rights protections by making it harder to sue. For an hour he disputed with Bush the arguments of his top advisers, Chief of Staff John H. Sununu and White House counsel C. Boyden Gray, who contended that the legislation would effectively force employers to adopt hiring and promotion quotas.

rights bill. "I could almost see tears in his eyes," Coleman said. "He said, 'Bill, I would love to sign it but they tell me it's a quota bill. What can I do?'"
 In the end, Bush vetoed the bill. Then, after 12 acrimonious months of further debate, he reversed course and agreed to sign a revised version, angering party conservatives. "Look, it's very technical and all I know is I can simply certify it is not a quota bill," he explained, insisting that changes in language made all the difference.
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believed. It was a familiar scenario, one that has been played out in controversies such as the repudiation of the "no new taxes" pledge or his transformation from the moderate alternative to Ronald Reagan in 1980, bashing "voodoo economics" and supporting abortion rights, into a staunch supply-sider and ardent opponent of abortion.
 To critics on both his left and right, the meaning of those shifts is clear: Bush, as George Will put it in a column last month that called for him to step aside, is a man "operating without a public philosophy."
 If, after a long career in public life, Bush remains an enigma to

HOUSTON, Aug. 17—With a barrage of attacks on Tuesday night, Republicans will probably win what many of their strategists regard as the most important mission of their convention: convincing a doubtful nation that President Bush has coherent solutions to the country's domestic problems, and that he would fight hard for them if he won a second term.
 Few here pretend that this will be an easy sell—and many Republicans say it's awfully late to be trying. Bush loyalists acknowledge that the president has seemed reluctant to battle hard even for the programs he has proposed himself. And they say he is still suffering from the fact that he was elected in

ocratic domestic initiatives—notably taxes—that are a proponent of any domestic plan of his own.
 "The source of some of our problems," said William Kristol, Vice President Quayle's chief of staff, "was defining an agenda that was negative. . . . We have paid a price."
 But Kristol and other conservatives see this convention not only as a chance to reverse Bush's image of domestic indifference, but also as an opportunity to showcase what they believe are genuine conservative alternatives to Democratic policy initiatives.
 Tuesday's lineup of speakers is heavily tilted toward advocates of what Kristol and his allies call "the conservative reform agenda." Speaker after speaker will tout programs such as vouchers to allow

'The Pill' To Be Tried On Deer

Birth Control Used As Hunt Alternative

By D'Vera Cohn
 Washington Post Staff Writer

Thirty white-tailed does will be rounded up this week at a National Zoo research center to test a contraceptive vaccine that scientists hope will control burgeoning suburban deer populations without resorting to controversial hunts.

The vaccine, which stimulates the doe's system to stop its own egg from being fertilized, has been tried successfully on wild horses at Assateague Island National Seashore in Maryland, where keepers wanted to hold the herd at 150 to match the food supply.

"What we're trying to develop is a technology for the humane population control of urban deer where hunting is not legal, wise or safe," said vaccine developer Jay Kirkpatrick, a Montana scientist.

Animal welfare groups have



Animal welfare groups hope the vaccine will replace deer hunts.

financed research into the vaccine.

They hope that the new method will be an alternative to deer hunting in urban or suburban areas such as the Mason

See DEER, A21, Col. 1

As Sanctions Bite, Serbs Look Warily Toward Winter

By Peter Maass
 Special to The Washington Post

BELGRADE, Aug. 17—After two months, the U.N. trade embargo against Serbia and the new Yugoslav state it controls is beginning to bite.

Gasoline rationing limits motorists to about five gallons a month, and people here in the Yugoslav capital must wait in gas lines for hours. The state is virtually bankrupt, and inflation is running at a ruinous 100 percent per month. The average monthly wage is now worth less than \$38, and labor union officials here say they expect that up to 80 percent of all workers will be jobless by fall.

As always in times of economic crisis, it is the defenseless who suffer most. Belgrade's main hospital is so strapped for cash that it can only perform emergency surgeries. "Everything that can be delayed is delayed," said Zoran Zivanovic, a general surgeon. "Benign tumors

will wait until the end of our political problems."

The city's chief psychiatric center can no longer afford costly antipsychotic medication, so patients are immobilized with straitjackets or warehoused through massive sedation. But now there is only a week's supply of sedatives left, and doctors have launched a television appeal for citizens to donate whatever tranquilizers they might have. "We are returning to the Middle Ages, unfortunately," said hospital spokesman Milica Butigec.

There has been some talk of using more electro-convulsive therapy as a substitute for antipsychotic drugs, but the procedure is controversial and many doctors are reluctant to employ it. Besides, they say, pretty soon there may be a shortage of electricity and heating fuel in Belgrade, and that is what has people here worried most.

The U.N. sanctions—imposed on the two-republic Yugoslav state as

See BELGRADE, A9, Col. 1



A wounded man is carried to shelter during shelling in Sarajevo yesterday. Analysts say incidents of communal violence like those in the fragments of Yugoslavia are likely to persist in the post-Cold War world. Story on Page A9.

INSIDE

Distrust of George

■ A former CIA officer who worked on Capitol Hill said yesterday he would not trust former spy chief Clair E. George "even under oath."

NATION, Page A4

Demjanjuk Ruling

■ U.S. prosecutors in the "Ivan the Terrible" extradition of John Demjanjuk of Cleveland have been ordered to explain their handling of evidence.

NATION, Page A21

Woody Allen Romance

■ In a case of life imitating art, filmmaker Woody Allen revealed his romance with the 21-year-old adopted daughter of his longtime companion, Mia Farrow.

STYLE, Page D1



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GOP Convenes, Opens Fire on Democrats

Bush Says Clinton, Congress Would Gut Defense, Lift Taxes

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, Aug. 17—The Republicans opened their 35th national convention today with a series of biting attacks on the Democrats, a celebration of a decade that brought "the most sweeping changes in this century" to the world and a promise by an emotional President Bush to stage "the most stirring political comeback since Harry Truman gave them hell in 1948."

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See REPUBLICANS, A18, Col. 1

REPUBLICANS, From A1

won't let that happen again," he said.

Quayle praised Bush as "honest, not slick," and said the coming battle "will be about character and leadership."

Tonight's session featured former president Ronald Reagan, who mixed some of his most familiar lines with the optimistic tone that marked his entire political career. Acknowledging the economic problems facing the country today, Reagan described America as "a country that is forever young" and able to meet the challenges ahead.

"The stakes are high," Reagan told the delegates gathered in the Astrodome. "This presidency is serious business. We cannot afford to take a chance . . . We need a man of serious purpose, unmatched experience, knowledge and ability. A man who understands government, who understands our country and who understands the world."

The conservative ex-president who built a career attacking government saved some of his toughest language tonight for the Democrats in Congress. "It's true a lot of liberal Democrats are saying it's time for a change, and they're right," he said. "The only trouble is they're pointing to the wrong end of Pennsylvania Avenue."

Reagan called on voters to "clean house" by getting rid of congressional "privileges and perks . . . arrogance and big egos . . . scandals, the corner-cutting and the foot-dragging."

Other Republicans, including Quayle, called on voters to enact term limits for all members of Congress.

In another speech tonight, Patrick J. Buchanan, the conservative commentator who launched a primary challenge against Bush earlier this year and helped expose the president's weaknesses among voters, called on his supporters to stay within the GOP and pledge to the

BUSH VS. REAGAN

BUSH



REAGAN

Q. Who do you think has done a better job as president, George Bush or Ronald Reagan?

GENERAL POPULATION

	BUSH	REAGAN
Overall	41%	33%
Republicans	44	43
Democrats	38	29

SOURCE: Washington Post-ABC News national telephone poll of 1,002 adults conducted Aug. 5-9. Margin of sampling error is plus or minus 3 percentage points for overall results and 6 percentage points for self-described Republicans and Democrats. Sampling error is, however, only one of many potential sources of error in this or any public opinion poll. Data will not add to 100 percent because response categories "don't know" and "neither" are not included. Interviewing was conducted by ICR Survey Research of Media, Pa.

—Compiled by Sharon Warden

THE WASHINGTON POST

Bush-Quayle campaign that "the Buchanan brigades are enlisted all the way to a great comeback victory in November."

Party officials said all weekend that Buchanan was ready "to tear the bark off Clinton," and the former White House speechwriter turned against the Democratic nominee the rhetorical muscle he once used to pummel Bush.

"Like many of you last month, I watched that giant masquerade ball at Madison Square Garden, where 20,000 radicals and liberals came dressed up as moderates and centrists, in the greatest single exhibition of cross-dressing in American political history," Buchanan said.

Buchanan excoriated Clinton and his wife Hillary, calling her a proponent of "radical feminism," and said they would bring a liberal social agenda of "abortion on demand" and gay rights to Washington that is "not the kind of change we can tolerate in a nation that we still call God's country."

But Buchanan said little about the economy or Bush's broken no-new-taxes pledge, which had animated his primary challenge, and he gave his former boss Reagan, not Bush, the credit for winning the Cold War.

Clinton was on the griddle throughout the day today, as the Republicans sought to highlight the differences between the two candidates. Republican National Chairman Richard N. Bond attacked Clinton's record as governor of Arkansas and called him the "heartburn of the heartland."

Sen. Richard G. Lugar (R-Ind.) assailed Clinton's inexperience in foreign affairs, saying that with the upheavals in the world, "This is not the time for on-the-job training for an amateur." Lugar said Clinton was unprepared to build on the record of Reagan and Bush in foreign affairs and said the choice for voters this fall is between "the proven success and expertise of George Bush or a roll of the dice with a candidate committed to weakness abroad and the savaging of our defense and intelligence capabilities."

The Democrats assembled a team led by National Committee Chairman Ronald H. Brown to counter the Republican assault this week, saying the GOP offers "attacks, not action" and defending Clinton's record in Arkansas. Brown said the Republicans, not the Democrats, have endorsed a "radical platform which endorses a constitutional amendment prohibiting abortion even in cases of rape and incest" that he said was driving moderate Republicans away from the party.

The platform adopted during a morning session today highlights conservative family values, calls for

a constitutional amendment banning abortion, and advocates lower tax rates and a domestic agenda that includes choice in schools, health care overhaul and home ownership opportunities for the poor.

But the floor fight that abortion rights supporters had hoped for

"For nine months the other side has had a one-way conversation with the American people, and now it's our turn."

—President Bush

never materialized here today after Bush campaign officials persuaded two of its leaders, Govs. William Weld of Massachusetts and John McKernan Jr. of Maine not to embarrass the president with a messy public battle over the contentious issue.

After a meeting today with Bush officials, McKernan told reporters "it's clear" they did not have the votes of six delegations needed to call for a suspension of the rules to amend the platform. Moderate Republicans grumbled about the outcome, but party leaders said the abortion-rights forces never had the strength inside the convention that they had believed.

Still, the Bush campaign took no chances today, even enlisting help from party leaders who support abortion rights, like Gov. Pete Wilson of California, to tamp down the abortion protest.

Staff writers Ann Devroy, E.J. Dionne Jr., Maralee Schwartz, David Von Drehle and researcher Mark Stencel contributed to this report.

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Gloves Off, Bush the Candidate Arrives

President Promises 'Most Stirring Political Comeback Since Harry Truman'

By Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, Aug. 17—This was the day President Bush—and perhaps even more, his anxious supporters—had been waiting for.

After weeks of promising to be a candidate and tiptoeing to the edge, as he has put it, of being one, George Bush the candidate arrived here today and instantly whipped off the gloves.

"It starts right now," an ebullient looking Bush told a throng of cheering, sign-waving supporters at a rally this evening with Vice President Quayle in the Astro Arena. "It all starts right here. . . . When history writes about this election, they're going to say it started right here when you fired up this president."

His targets were everyone from "that ABA"—the American Bar Association, where Hillary Clinton and Anita Hill spoke last week—to "those sultans of the status quo," the Democratic leaders of Congress. "I've held out my hand to those crazy guys . . . only to have it bitten off and I'm tired of it," Bush declared, vowing to make them "another target . . . in our cross hairs."

When the crowd started chants of "Clean the house," Bush replied: "You're darn right."

But most of his fire—and Quayle's in a red-meat warmup speech—was reserved for the man who has been blowing "the saxophone of change," Democratic candidate Bill Clinton.

"We're not running against the Comeback Kids," Bush said of Clinton and his running mate, Albert Gore Jr. "We're running against the Karaoke Kids," willing to sing along to any tune to help them get elected.

The president attacked Clinton as a man who "ridicules or attacks me as we talk about family values," who has denigrated America, who wants to gut the national security and

ON TV

PRESIDENT BUSH

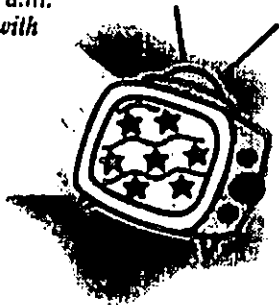
■ PBS, 8-9 p.m.

Interview with
Jim Lehrer.

VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE

■ CNN, 11:45 a.m.

Live interview with
Bernard Shaw.



THE WASHINGTON POST

who has proposed what Bush said would be the largest tax increase in U.S. history.

Insisting that he does better when he is an underdog, Bush promised "the most stirring political comeback since Harry Truman gave 'em hell in 1948."

Bush, who spent much of the Republican convention in New Orleans four years ago defending his surprise selection of Quayle, a little-known senator, praised him tonight as a "super" vice president. "This guy stood there in the face of those unfair critics. He has never wavered," Bush said.

Bush warmed up this morning before the Veterans of Foreign Wars convention in Indianapolis, trumpeting the foreign policy successes of his first term and his plans for domestic achievements if he is reelected. He also continued to make the television rounds, doing interviews with CNN's Bernard Shaw and NBC's Tom Brokaw.

"When I saw the size of this crowd, I

thought about giving a dress rehearsal of that Houston speech—complete with a few partisan, political observations," Bush told the veterans' gathering. "But then I got to thinking about you guys. You don't need to hear a political speech. You've already sacrificed enough for your country."

Still, the president used the VFW's 93rd national convention to try out some of the themes he will be sounding as the campaign heats up: his success in the Persian Gulf War and the end of the Cold War; job creation, health care reform and family values.

In Indiana, Bush did not directly mention his Democratic opponent, Bill Clinton. But in vowing to trim the defense budget in a way that maintains military strength, he said pointedly that "one plan offers to cut four times more than what our experts say is responsible." Clinton has proposed decreasing the \$300 billion annual defense budget by \$60 billion to \$90 billion over five years, while Bush favors a phased-in reduction to \$45 billion.

Bush also repeatedly emphasized his war-time service in a way that was likely to call to mind the fact that Clinton did not serve in the military during the Vietnam War. "That war was controversial," Bush said. "Many refused to serve." Later, he said the memories of "watching our buddies go down in battle . . . are etched in my mind, as they are in yours. . . . As long as I am president I make this solemn promise: We will always stand by those who stood up for America."

The president, who was introduced as a lifetime member of the VFW, received a warm but not wildly enthusiastic welcome as he repeatedly noted his commitment to veterans and their families.

Bush jokingly referred to his gaffe before the VFW four years ago when he misstated the date of Pearl Harbor Day. "This time," he said as he started the speech, "I'll remember Pearl Harbor Day."

By Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writer

In the fall of 1990, President Bush summoned his friend of 40 years, former transportation secretary William T. Coleman Jr., to the White House to discuss the civil rights bill that Bush was then preparing to veto.

Coleman, a prominent black Republican and chairman of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, made an impassioned pitch to the president about the need to undo a string of recent Supreme Court rulings that cut back on civil rights protections by making it harder to sue. For an hour he disputed with Bush the arguments of his top advisers, Chief of Staff John H. Sununu and White House counsel C. Boyden Gray, who contended that the legislation would effectively force employers to adopt hiring and promotion quotas.

Coleman recalls that Bush was torn between whether to disregard the advice of his aides or become only the third president in history to veto a civil rights bill. "I could almost see tears in his eyes," Coleman said. "He said, 'Bill, I would love to

BUSH AS PRESIDENT

POLITICS AND PRINCIPLE

sign it but they tell me it's a quota bill. What can I do?"

In the end, Bush vetoed the bill. Then, after 12 acrimonious months of further debate, he reversed course and agreed to sign a revised version, angering party conservatives. "Look, it's very technical and all I know is I can simply certify it is not a quota bill," he explained, insisting that changes in language made all the difference.

Caught between the two sides

on a significant national issue, Bush managed to please neither, leaving considerable doubt in their minds—and the public's—about what he really believed. It was a familiar scenario, one that has been played out in controversies such as the repudiation of the "no new taxes" pledge or his transformation from the moderate alternative to Ronald Reagan in 1980, bashing "voodoo economics" and supporting abortion rights, into a staunch supply-sider and ardent opponent of abortion.

To critics on both his left and right, the meaning of those shifts is clear: Bush, as George Will put it in a column last month that called for him to step aside, is a man "operating without a public philosophy."

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See BUSH, A20, Col. 1

Doubts on Bush's Bedrock Beliefs

Civil Rights Record as Case Study

BUSH, From A1

Many Americans who find themselves unsure about his bedrock beliefs, his record on the broad issue of race offers a useful prism through which to analyze the roots of that confusion. As an active political candidate and public figure for three decades, Bush's career coincides with the years of painful debate and conflict that accompanied the civil rights revolution and its aftermath; his seemingly contradictory impulses make a larger point about the mixture of personality, principle—and politics—that motivates him.

Bush's instincts prod him to reach out and to conciliate, from the quixotic effort to attract blacks to the GOP as chairman of the Harris County Republican Party in 1963 to his institution of an affirmative action plan as head of the Republican National Committee during the Nixon administration to his behind-the-scenes support of civil rights measures during the Reagan years and his dialogue with Coleman.

But that inclination—in the views of both critics and supporters—can be overcome by other, more strongly felt imperatives: political realities, for one; the demands of personal loyalty, for another.

Advocacy groups are uniformly scornful.

"George Bush is bereft of a true moral compass on civil rights issues," said Clint Bolick, a conservative who supports Bush. "I think his instincts are to support civil rights bills and those instincts are overridden not on any principled basis but on political considerations."

"There is no question that getting elected to office is George Bush's top priority," said Ralph G. Neas, executive director of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. "His final decision on policy matters has little to do with personal philosophy and everything to do with politics."

From his leadership of the United Negro College Fund drive as a Yale senior in 1948 to his eventual signing of the civil rights bill, Bush's record on civil rights has been, in the words of Reagan administration Justice Department official Terry Eastland, "a combination of noblesse oblige plus realpolitik."

For Bush, said Eastland, author of a new book on the presidency, civil rights is "not a public policy thing. It's a sentiment. It's a feeling: I want to be nice."

Eastland and others pointed to Bush's hasty retreat, when an Education Department official in late 1990 announced a new policy against race-specific scholarships, as an example of Bush's sense of noblesse oblige winning out over his professed belief in complete "color-blindness."

Another example they cite was the unusual order to Solicitor General Kenneth W. Starr to retract a legal argument in a Mississippi college desegregation case before the Supreme Court last term after black college presidents came to Bush to plead that the administration's position threatened the survival of the colleges he had supported throughout his life.

"Both situations really reinforce my view that the Bush administration really doesn't have a civil rights philosophy, and consequently any position is subject to renegotiation and is very sensitive to outside pressure," Bolick said.

Thaddeus Garrett, one of Bush's close advisers on racial issues, makes the case for Bush's commitment to civil rights and bases much of it on personal experience. Bush, he said, "comes to this election with a clean record on civil rights. This is the president who fought for President Reagan to sign the Voting Rights Act, who fought for the president to sign the Martin Luther King birthday bill." And Garrett cites Bush's experience of comforting a grandson, whose mother is Mexican American, after he was taunted by his classmates for his skin color. "I don't know of any other president in the history of the nation who can say that," Garrett said.

The president whose eyes can glaze over at the legal intricacies of civil rights is also the man who, after seeing a newspaper report about a cross-burning at the home of an African family in Prince George's County while he was vice president, made an unpublicized trip to visit with the family and offer reassurances.

Growing up in New England, Bush was raised in a tradition of racial tolerance consistent with the moderate politics of his father, Prescott Bush, a Republican senator from Connecticut. Shortly before his retirement, Sen. Bush sponsored legislation to protect voting rights, desegregate schools and create an equal employment commission.

But for George Bush, the realities of starting a political career in his adopted state of Texas were clear: When he ran for the Senate in 1964, he declared his opposition to the civil rights bill then before Congress.

Bush was campaigning as a Barry Goldwater Republican in a state where support of the civil rights bill would have automatically doomed any shot he had at winning election. He inveighed against the civil rights bill of which his father's proposal had been a forerunner, saying its provisions opening hotels, restaurants and other public places to all races were unconstitutional.

"We all deplore the hatemongers of this world," he said in an April 1964 speech quoted by Jefferson Morley in an article

White House News Summary -- Tuesday, August 18, 1992 -- Page 7 of 22

this year in the New York Review of Books. "The only thing I hate to see is our Constitution trampled in the process of trying to solve civil rights problems."

Several months later, after President Lyndon B. Johnson had signed the landmark legislation, Bush said "the new civil rights act was passed to protect 14 percent of the people. I'm also worried about the other 86 percent."

After the election, Bush expressed misgivings to a friend and political opponent. "He just said, 'You know, John, in that election I took some of the far right positions that I thought I needed to get elected and I regret it and I hope I'll never do it again,'" the Rev. John Stevens, an Episcopal minister, recalled in a 1988 "Frontline" documentary on PBS television.

Four years later, Bush was finishing his first term in the House, in a seat so safe that in the end he did not even have a Democratic challenger. Then, in what he described as one of his proudest moments in public office, Bush voted for the Fair Housing Act of 1968, which for the first time prohibited discrimination in the selling or rental of real estate.

Bush was inundated with complaints and hate mail from constituents and flew home to face down his critics at a hostile rally. "Somehow, it seems fundamental that a man should not have a door slammed in his face because he is a Negro or speaks with a Latin-American accent," he told the group.

According to a Houston Chronicle report of the speech, Bush also assured his constituents that there was no reason to worry because the open housing provision would have little effect on their lives. "Look at the 20 states with even strong measures," he said, "and you will find there have been no drastic changes in their living patterns."

In the end, Bush won a standing ovation from the once angry audience. In his autobiography, he wrote of that event: "More than twenty years later, I can truthfully say that nothing I've experienced in public life, before or since, has measured up to the feeling I had when I went home that night."

Omitted from that account are two key facts. First, Bush had opposed open housing legislation when he was running for the seat in 1966, saying there were "wonderful alternatives in the field of housing that will help all persons attain home ownership."

Second, the critical vote for the fair housing bill was not on final passage, when Bush voted with civil rights forces, but on a procedural question: whether to send it back to conference, a move that likely would have killed the measure. On that issue, Bush voted on the opposite side of the civil rights proponents, expressing his concern that the bill discriminated against real estate agents because it exempted individuals selling their own homes while covering Realtors.

A longtime Bush friend, asked how to reconcile the George Bush of 1964 and 1966, against the civil rights and housing bills, with the George Bush of 1968, for fair housing, offered a succinct explanation: "pure politics."

"When the open housing thing came up, he had really reverted to what I think he always was. He truly is a moderate Republican. I think he felt secure in casting that vote. . . . He did run into flak from people in the district but . . . it didn't end up costing him politically."

More than a decade later, as Reagan's vice president, Bush was again called on to navigate the path between adhering to his views on civil rights and backing the president.

At a time when civil rights groups were basically shut out of the White House, Bush was careful to maintain good relations with civil rights leaders and worked behind the scenes to urge a more moderate stance on such issues as retaining the executive order on affirmative action for federal contractors and the Bob Jones University controversy over tax-exempt status for racially discriminatory private schools.

"Bush was about the only person in the administration that had any regular contact with civil rights leaders," said his former press secretary, Peter Teeley, now ambassador to Canada. "Sometimes he was put in a pretty tough position of trying to explain the administration position on those issues. . . . He never shirked from that. He always went to the NAACP national conventions to speak."

But on a critical issue—whether to break publicly with the president over Reagan's 1988 veto of the Grove City bill, which negated a Supreme Court ruling limiting the coverage of a federal anti-discrimination law, Bush balked. Although his advisers were suggesting that Bush wanted Reagan to sign the bill and might be willing to say so

publicly, he declined and instead announced his support of the veto.

"I'm not going to start differing with the president after 7½ years into the vice presidency," Bush said at the time. "I'm going to stand with the president."

Doing otherwise "would not have been in keeping with Bush's method of operating," Teeley said. "What the president did as a congressman reflected his own personal judgment and therefore a vote in support of civil rights. What he did as vice president, was to support the judgment and the action of an administration of which he was a part."

A few weeks later, in characteristic Bush fashion, his top aides were on the phone to civil rights leaders offering to work with them on changes in the fair housing legislation that Bush had voted for 20 years earlier.

The 1988 presidential campaign did nothing to enhance Bush's relationship with those leaders. Bush hit on an issue—Democratic nominee Michael S. Dukakis's furlough of convicted murderer Willie Horton—that many viewed as tinged with racial politics. Bush campaign officials vehemently denied the charge, noting that Bush never mentioned Horton's race or depicted him as a black man in campaign commercials.

The legacy of the Reagan administration and the 1988 campaign notwithstanding, Bush entered office with civil rights groups cautiously optimistic about a kinder, gentler relationship with the new administration. That had been symbolized by Coretta Scott King's attendance at the Republican National Convention in New Orleans and was enshrined in Bush's inaugural plea for "greater tolerance."

"President Reagan in the judgment of many of us had such a poor record that we expected President Bush to do much better," said Benjamin L. Hooks, executive director of the NAACP. "President Bush came through in many of his early utterances as being more in tune with the civil rights community."

The improved relations began to fray during the summer 1989 battle over the choice of William Lucas to head the Justice Department's civil rights division. Attorney General Dick Thornburgh had preempted the White House and announced that Lucas—the black former Wayne County (Mich.) county executive and sher-

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iff—who had never practiced law full time and had no experience in civil rights law—was his choice for the job.

Although some advisers, such as Arthur A. Fletcher, chairman of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, told Bush they did not believe Lucas was qualified for the position, the critical civil rights job in the federal government, Bush chose to back up his attorney general. With Thornburgh's announcement, said Chase Untermeyer, then the White House personnel chief, "essentially the president's options were closed. To have said, 'No, I'm not going to take Bill Lucas for assistant attorney general' . . . would be to strike primarily at Bill Lucas."

The two-year struggle over the civil rights bill was the breaking point for liberals and conservatives on the civil rights issue.

Designed to counteract a series of nine rulings by the Rehnquist court that had restricted the use of federal anti-discrimination laws, the bill was opposed by Gray, Sununu and other conservatives on the ground that it would force employers to hire certain numbers of minorities and women to avoid legal action. In the final compromise that Bush signed, the language describing what an employer would have to do to defend itself against charges that its hiring practice excluded women or minorities was modified in a way that Gray said was a "capitulation" by Democrats.

Liberals insisted the bill never had been a quota bill, while conservatives said it had been and, in its revised form, still was.

"If one believes there were genuine policy and legal arguments against the original bill, the bill we accepted is still bad for the country," said one administration official.

Both sides found it difficult to reconcile the George Bush who had long supported the requirement that federal contractors adopt "goals and timetables" for hiring and promoting minorities—he had campaigned on the issue when running for the Senate in 1970, and worked against the repeal of the order during the Reagan administration—with the George Bush who railed against a "quota" bill that, whatever its faults may have been, never spelled out any such requirements.

Bush supporters such as Sen. John C. Danforth (R-Mo.), who spent countless hours doing battle with Gray and Sununu over the bill, insist that Bush himself was completely sincere and consistent in his position that he wanted a civil rights bill that he could sign.

"He did not want to be on the side against civil rights legislation and that was very clear," Danforth said.

Besides outside advisers like Coleman and senators like Danforth, Bush also resisted entreaties from top black officials within his administration not to veto the bill. Health and Human Services Secretary Louis W. Sullivan and Office of Personnel Management head Constance Berry Newman went up to Kennebunkport to meet with Bush and urge him to sign the legislation. "Quite frankly, I thought he was getting bad advice from some people," Sullivan recalled.

Fletcher, selected by Bush to head the civil rights commission, said that in the end Bush "did what was in his heart of hearts, decided he would do the right thing and pay the consequences." But he said he believes the initial veto was dictated by political considerations.

Bush followed the advice of Gray and Sununu and vetoed the first bill, Fletcher said, because "he wanted to get reelected and they [the conservatives] control the avenue to reelection." Asked whether Bush actually believed the original version was a quota bill, Fletcher said, "I don't know what he believed. I know he was trying to get elected."

Some administration officials insist that Bush in fact took a political risk by signing the civil rights bill, that the differences between the two measures are significant, and that Bush had the votes to sustain a veto.

"George Bush could have continued to call that a quota bill, vetoed it again and again and had the votes to sustain it and he would have had a hell of a political issue," said one former administration official.

But others said Bush's final order to Gray to return to the bargaining table came after Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) and Danforth came to the White House with several other key Republican senators and told Bush he could no longer count on their support for sustaining a veto.

Another factor was the debilitating battle over Bush's appointment of Clarence Thomas, a black conservative, to the Supreme Court. Hearings over his nomination had given the issue of sexual harassment new prominence, and the civil rights bill allowed women and minorities to win damages for racial and sexual harassment.

And the quota issue—which had looked like a potentially good campaign issue in 1990, when it was used effectively by Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), seemed less attractive in 1991, when former Louisiana Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke briefly became a national figure.

"We capitulated because people got spooked because of the aftereffects of the Thomas hearings," said one administration official. In addition, this official said, campaign chairman Robert M. Teeter "got to Bush in August-September '91. Coming into a political year, the political people had more clout."

This official sees the Bush legacy on civil rights as four years of lost opportunities because Bush never outlined a clear philosophy about the federal government's role in combatting discrimination.

"Whatever one thought of the Reagan administration and [former attorney general Edwin] Meese, there was an attempt to redefine the agenda and define an affirmative view that was different from the view of the civil rights establishment and Ralph Neas et al.," the official said. "The consensus view in the Bush White House was that that attempt shouldn't be repeated. Instead of taking the lesson of Meese that it was a valiant effort not done right, the opposite lesson was taken, which was: Let's not engage on civil rights . . . let's not stake out a principled view."

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GOP Faces a Tough Sell

Image of Domestic Indifference Dogs Party

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

HOUSTON, Aug. 17—With a barrage of oratory on Tuesday night, Republicans will embark on what many of their strategists regard as the most important mission of their convention: convincing a doubtful nation that President Bush has coherent solutions to the country's domestic problems, and that he would fight hard for them if he won a second term.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Few here pretend that this will be an easy sell—and many Republicans say it's awfully late to be trying. Bush loyalists acknowledge that the president has seemed reluctant to battle hard even for the programs he has proposed himself. And they say he is still suffering from the fact that he was elected in 1988 more as an opponent of Democratic domestic initiatives—notably taxes—than as a proponent of any domestic plans of his own.

"The source of some of our problems," said William Kristol, Vice President Quayle's chief of staff, "was defining an agenda that was negative. . . . We have paid a price."

But Kristol and other conservatives see this convention not only as a chance to reverse Bush's image of domestic indifference, but also as an opportunity to showcase what they believe are genuine conservative alternatives to Democratic policy initiatives.

Tuesday's lineup of speakers is heavily tilted toward advocates of what Kristol and his allies call "the conservative reform agenda." Speaker after speaker will tout programs such as vouchers to allow

See IDEOLOGY, A16, Col. 1

IDEOLOGY, From A1

poor children to attend private schools, tenant ownership or management of public housing, and health care reforms based on incentives to allow individuals and businesses to buy private insurance.

The idea that unites these proposals is that government is better off "empowering individuals," as the popular conservative slogan goes, than in creating new bureaucracies. As the preamble to the platform adopted today put it: "We see with new clarity that centralized government bureaucracies created in this century are not the wave of the future. Never again will people trust planners and paper shufflers more than they trust themselves."

This might be read simply as an updated, post-Cold War version of old-style conservative rhetoric. But by giving lead roles in Tuesday's session on domestic issues to such top

administration figures as Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp, Education Secretary Lamar Alexander and Health and Human Services Secretary Louis W. Sullivan, the Bush camp hopes to convince voters that it has put substance behind the exhortations.

All three, and particularly Kemp, have been spinning off policies sufficiently attractive that Democratic nominee Bill Clinton has picked up on some of them. Kristol says it is an "irony" that conservatives are perceived as running out of ideas at a time when their policy thinking on specific problems such as education and health care is "much farther along than in the Reagan era."

The platform itself resonates with this agenda too. Although most of the controversy over the 123-page document focused on its strong anti-abortion plank and its conservative stands on such social issues as pornography, homosexuality and the family, many of its words are actually dedicated to more traditional areas of public policy.

It calls for "a revolution in housing by converting public housing into homes owned by low-income Americans," and declares: "The truest measure of our success will not be how many families we add to housing assistance rolls, but, rather, how many families we move into the ranks of homeownership."

It picks up on Quayle's war against litigation by calling for limits on medical malpractice cases, restrictions on the use of expert witnesses and changes in product liability laws. And it scores "a government monopoly over the means of educating" and praises school choice programs.

Whether all this will be new enough to save Bush remains open to question, especially because conservatives have been touting some of these causes for a long time. Peggy Noonan, who was the main architect of Bush's successful 1988 acceptance speech, argues that not only Bush but all conservatives have a problem convincing the country that they are fresh, ready and engaged after more than a decade in power. It is almost inevitable, she said, that conservative ideology

seems tired to so many—and that the administration thus seems so disengaged.

"They've been talking about it for 12 years—to a certain degree, they've lost interest," she said. "One of Bush's problems after 12 years of the Republicans being in

charge of the executive microphone is to take old ideas that are good ideas and make them sound like interesting and valid ideas."

It is a sign of how eager Republicans are to embrace big ideas that this generation's quintessential political pragmatist, soon-to-be chief of staff James A. Baker III, used his departing remarks at the State Department last week to cast Bush as a visionary seeking a "mandate" for an "agenda." As one Republican here noted, Baker has always been allergic to the idea of using elections to seek mandates; winning them was what mattered.

But winning this time may depend on vision, so Baker sounded like the conservative ideologue he has so often disdained. "I think that there is a conservative agenda for helping people and for responding to their needs," Baker declared, using language likely to be heard all week. "We want to empower them to make their own choices, to break away from dependency. We want to give them economic security, a stake in society."

Baker acknowledged that the various ideas he proceeded to list "may not be particularly revolutionary." But he signaled a central campaign objective by adding: "What is new, I think, is the commitment to press them together as a package." What the Republicans are seeking here, in other words, is to take Bush's disparate domestic initiatives and suggest that taken together, they really do answer his need for a "vision thing."

Baker's speech left activist conservatives like Kemp and Rep. Vin Weber (R-Minn.) elated, but they may have to wait for action on the other part of their agenda, an aggressive round of new tax cuts. Bush hinted in pre-convention interviews that he might embrace a bold tax plan, but his aides have subsequently played down that prospect.

The difficulty Bush faces in coming up with new tax and budget proposals suggests the potential limits of the new conservative agenda he is embracing. While Americans are worried about education and health care, what most hold against Bush is economic stagnation. Politically, the "conservative reform agenda" will be successful only if it is linked to a sense that Bush can take hold of the economy and promote growth.

Still, many Republicans are heartened that Bush now seems willing to throw his energies into convincing the country that he cares about domestic policy. Up to now, said Linda DiVall, a Republican polltaker, even the president's body language was undermining this cause. "You can turn off the sound and look at his face and know if he's talking about foreign policy or domestic affairs," she said. "I guess that's going to change after Thursday."

Abortion Rights Bid Abandoned

Effort to Amend Platform Fails as Delegates Seek to Avert Floor Fight

By Maralee Schwartz
and Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writers

HOUSTON, Aug. 17—Abortion rights advocates today gave up the effort to change the Republican Party platform, after the Bush campaign spent Sunday evening and this morning working hard to ensure that the president would not be embarrassed in the opening hours of the Republican National Convention.

Delegates, without debate, approved the platform, which endorses a constitutional amendment banning abortion, opposes federal funding of abortions and supports the appointment of judges who "respect the sanctity of innocent human life."

A petition from a majority of the members of six delegations was needed to bring the issue to the floor, but abortion rights supporters said they had the backing of only four: Maine, Massachusetts, New Mexico and the Virgin Islands.

Govs. John R. McKernan Jr. of Maine and William Weld of Massachusetts, leaders of the effort to amend the platform, came to the Astrodome this morning to tell their delegations the effort had failed. Both governors had spent much of Sunday afternoon making phone calls and lobbying various delegations. But McKernan said today, "It's clear we do not have the six. We are going to give up the attempt to collect more signatures."

Weld, wearing a "Pro-Bush, Pro-Choice" button, said it was "time to unite and get behind" the president. That was the message the campaign stressed in a full-court effort to avoid a contentious scene on the convention floor.

Ann Stone, head of Republicans for Choice, said at a news conference after the platform was ratified that "delegates felt the president was under so much pressure and so far behind in the polls that they had to give him the bounce Bill Clinton got out of his convention."

But one Republican official said abortion rights forces overestimated their strength. "This one was easy," the official said. "They didn't have the votes. It was never there. They can't count."

Nonetheless, Bush-Quayle officials took no chances on the eve of

See ABORTION, A16, Col. 1

ABORTION, From A1

today's platform vote, persuading key party leaders who support abortion rights to urge delegates not to make an issue of the platform on the floor today.

California Gov. Pete Wilson asked his delegation Sunday, in a speech delivered by a satellite hookup from Sacramento, not to fight the platform even though he "emphatically" disagrees with the party's anti-abortion stance. Instead, he urged Republican abortion rights supporters to try to take charge of the party's agenda and platform in 1996.

"I fully expect and intend that this will be the last Republican platform that contains this plank," said Wilson, a longtime advocate of abortion rights.

"I know what a divisive issue it could be and decided there was no sense to do anything now, but he threw down the gauntlet for 1996," one Republican operative said.

Sen. John Seymour (R-Calif.), in an uphill battle with former San Francisco mayor Dianne Feinstein, was allowed to speak in favor of abortion rights to the convention today, although not while the convention was being televised in prime time.

Seymour told reporters he understood why Wilson, as leader of the Bush-Quayle forces in California, had urged the delegation not to make a fight of the issue here in Houston, but he added that Republicans who support abortion rights need to hear "that the party has not left them."

Republican officials pointed out that allowing Seymour to address the convention on the issue showed more openness than was shown by the Democrats, who last month refused a spot on the convention agenda to

Pennsylvania Gov. Robert P. Casey, an opponent of abortion.

Sen. Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania, who supports abortion rights and faces a tough reelection campaign, met Sunday with the Pennsylvania delegation. He eventually urged the delegates not to be one of the states to provoke a floor fight that might hurt Bush. "Senator Specter was very cautious about doing whatever was best to help President Bush get reelected," said Anne Anstine, state party chairman.

Deputy Campaign Manager Mary Matalin said that despite disgruntlement by some abortion rights leaders, "our delegates are pro-Bush delegates. They didn't want to drag this out and have a floor fight. Those who are pro-choice were content to have made their point."

Staff writer Ann Devroy contributed to this report.

Bush Called on 'Sleaze' Vow After GOP Remarks

By David Maraniss
Washington Post Staff Writer

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Aug. 17— President Bush's campaign manager and the U.S. treasurer should be fired for dipping into "the business of sleaze," George Stephanopoulos, communications director for Democratic nominee Bill Clinton, said today after the two resurrected questions about Clinton's sexual behavior.

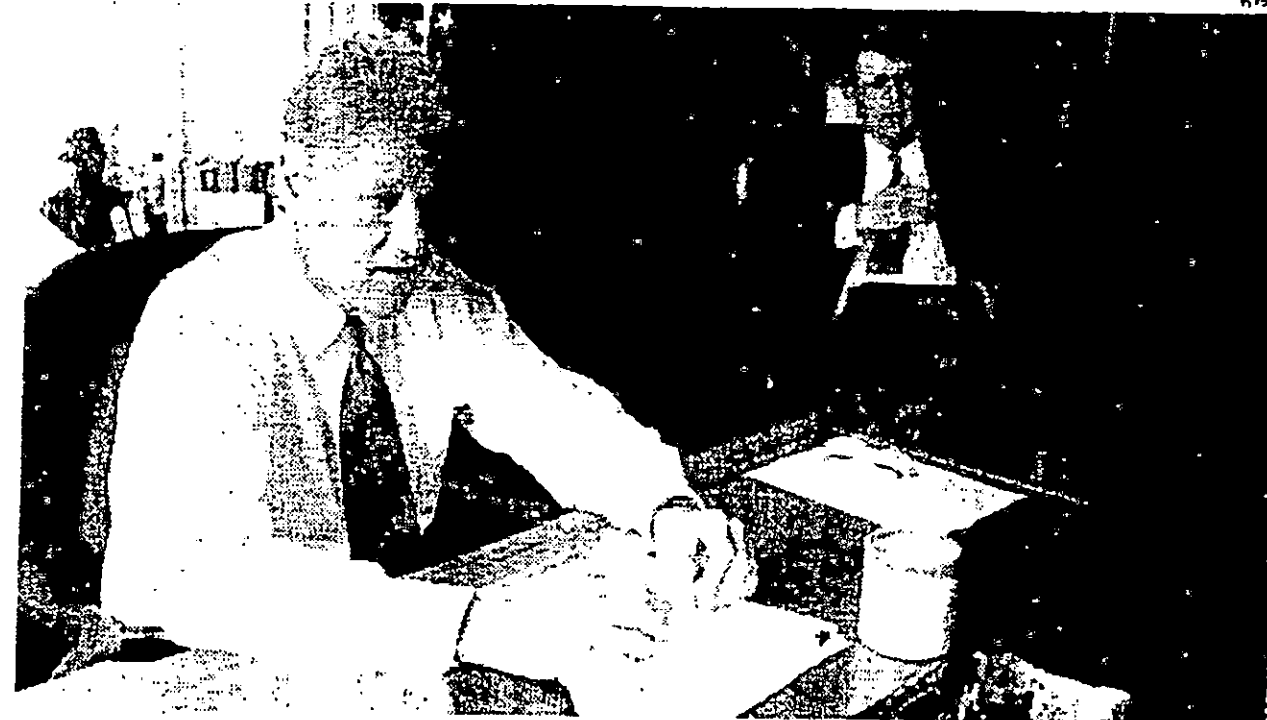
"The president was very clear in an interview with Time magazine that anybody who was in the sleaze business would be fired—no ifs, ands or buts," Stephanopoulos said. "And it sounds like he's going to have a busy day because he's got at least two right now."

Bush, in an interview with CNN today, appeared to backtrack on his pledge. "You can't control everything everyone says," he said.

Campaign manager Robert A. Mosbacher and Treasurer Catalina V. Villalpando each raised the issue of Clinton's sexual fidelity on the eve of the GOP convention, each in settings where they knew their remarks would receive public attention.

Villalpando visited the New Jersey delegation at the convention in Houston and linked Clinton to Henry Cisneros, the former San Antonio mayor. Cisneros, who recently joined the Clinton campaign, withdrew from public life three years ago after acknowledging that he had an extramarital affair.

"Can you imagine two skirt-chasers campaigning together?" Villalpando said of Clinton and Cisneros. Not all of the New Jersey delegates greeted her comments warmly. For-



Gov. Bill Clinton handles state duties in his Little Rock office yesterday with Arkansas finance director James C. Pledger.

mer governor Thomas Kean said they were "totally unnecessary."

Mosbacher, at a meeting with journalists, said marital fidelity "should be one of the yardsticks" by which presidential candidates are measured. He said Clinton came up short in that department "based on what he has denied and what he hasn't denied," whereas allegations that Bush had an affair, Mosbacher said, were "totally uncorroborated."

Today, Mosbacher and Villalpando apologized for their remarks, the Associated Press reported in Houston. Mosbacher said such remarks had "no place in this campaign" and Villalpando apologized "deeply."

In an interview, Mosbacher said

his comments were taken out of context. He said that he was talking generally about the character issue and not about Clinton. "Character in general is a major consideration when you are assessing someone's qualifications to be president," he said.

Clinton, on his way to the Arkansas capitol for meetings on state business today, responded to the latest womanizing charges. "In this and in so many other things, he [Bush] says one thing and they do something else. All this kind of campaigning does is to remind people that you've got a bunch of folks who . . . desperately, desperately, desperately want to hold onto their jobs in Washington much more than they

want to do anything for the American people."

Bush said in the Time interview that he would dismiss anyone who worked for him and who dealt in private innuendo, including "the issue of marital infidelity."

Saying of sleaze, "you know it when you see it," Stephanopoulos added: "We have to find out if George Bush is really a leader, if we can trust him to tell the truth, if we can trust him to keep his word, or if he just a hollow man running a very hypocritical, very cynical campaign."

Staff writer Lois Romano in Houston contributed to this report.

Quayle Reiterates Defense Of 'Traditional Values'

Bush Lauds 'Super' and Courageous Vice President

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, Aug. 17—The last time Dan Quayle appeared at a Republican National Convention, he looked like a man in shock after a narrow escape from death. Today, four years later, Quayle was back before his fellow Republicans, mocking Democrat Bill Clinton and heaping scorn on the news media and the "elites" who "sneer" at family values.

On Day One of the Quayle effort to reintroduce himself to America, the vice president arrived here to sound his family values theme before a cheering, chanting "God and Country" rally, to court the Republican Jewish vote and to hear the president laud him as a "super" vice president.

Quayle, who will make the rounds of more than 20 rallies and caucuses over his four days here, arrived at the evangelical rally to be greeted with signs reading "Dan Quayle was Right," featuring a picture of Murphy Brown with a huge X across the image. Signs proclaiming "Dan Quayle: Right for America" were held aloft.

The crowd, many from the GOP Christian right, cheered when Quayle was introduced by Pat Robertson, president of the Christian Broadcasting Network, as a "man of courage" unafraid to take on Hollywood, the news media and the legal establishment.

Quayle, with his family arrayed behind him, defended his attack last May on television character Murphy Brown for having an illegitimate child. "I don't care what the media say. I don't care what my critics say. I will never back down from talking about traditional values," he said.

Standing in front of a huge American flag, Quayle said: "The elites laughed at the reference to Murphy Brown and they sneered at my defense of traditional values. It wasn't just me they were laughing at, my friends. It was you. It was your families and it was your values."

Praising Bush's foreign policy record, Quayle said that Clinton's foreign policy experience was a summer internship with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. There is "no comparison at all" between the two candidates on that front, he said.

Avi Weiss of the Jewish Defense League

briefly interrupted Quayle's speech to criticize the Bush administration's policies toward Israel, and then reappeared later at another Quayle speech, to the American-Israel Political Action Committee, a pro-Israel lobbying group. As Quayle was declaring himself a "pro-Israel Republican and proud of it," Weiss jumped to his feet and shouted, "You've been wonderful, but tell your boss to stop bullying Israel."

Quayle, who has been a staunch supporter of Israel throughout his political career, acknowledged that the Bush administration's relations with Israel have "not always been smooth . . . we've had some rough times, but when all is said and done, there's been a lot more done than said" He

Quayle was praised by a Jewish leader as "one of the strongest supporters of Israel."

ticked off the recent approval of loan guarantees to Israel, repeal of the U.N. resolution equating Zionism with racism and the administration's pledge to keep Israel's qualitative military edge in the region.

As Quayle spoke, Weiss kept interrupting, until Mayer Mitchell, chairman of AIPAC's board, stood up and described a beaming Quayle as "one of the strongest supporters of Israel," and asked Weiss to be quiet or leave. As guards hustled Weiss out, Quayle said, "Let him stay, he'll be quiet, he'll be quiet." But when Weiss said he would not, Quayle waved him off.

Quayle later got a rousing vote of confidence from Bush, who began his arrival address to a massive rally with a paean to his often embattled vice president.

Bush said that when he selected Quayle four years ago in New Orleans, he told him the job of vice president was a "real character-builder," and he lauded Quayle's courage in standing up to intense criticism.

"He never wavered. He told the truth and let the chips fall where they may," Bush said. "He has been a super vice president and will be for another four years."

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Keyes Repeats Racism Complaint

Anger of Party Activists Fails to Deter Md. Senatorial Candidate

By Kent Jenkins Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, Aug. 17—Alan Keyes, the Republican nominee in Maryland's U.S. Senate race, brushed aside criticisms and anger from party activists today and reiterated his charges that the GOP has shortchanged his campaign because he is black.

In a speech this afternoon at the Republican National Convention and in remarks scheduled for delivery later tonight, Keyes made no mention of his earlier allegations of racism in the party.

However, in an interview, he repeated the sharp language he first offered four days ago, saying unnamed party officials were reluctant to give him a speaking slot or his campaign financial support because of his race.

"There is a need for the Republican Party to put its house in order," Keyes said. "The Republican Party is a big tent, but sometimes you have to fight to get in the door. . . . We have to make the party a comfortable place for everybody."

Maryland Republicans said their shock and frustration over Keyes's remarks to reporters overshadowed anything he had to say on the convention floor in the Astrodome.

"I can't understand why Alan has such a chip on his shoulder about the party," said Carol Hirschburg, of Baltimore County, an alternate delegate to the convention. "We want him to win. We have supported him and worked for him. What have we done wrong?"

Another black Republican who is running for Congress disputed Keyes's charges. Michele Dyson, the GOP nominee in Maryland's 4th, Congressional District, issued a statement calling the allegations unworthy.

"Racism is not party-oriented, it is people-oriented," Dyson said. "Misguided remarks can only harm us, for that which does not heal, harms."

Privately, several members of Maryland's convention delegation predicted that Keyes's allegations will set back his already-difficult campaign even further. Keyes is facing first-term Democratic Sen. Barbara A. Mikulski, who has a substantial lead over him in polls and fund-

See KEYES, A16, Col. 6

KEYES, From A16

raising. Maryland Republicans said Keyes's remarks have alienated some party members, costing him supporters he can ill afford to lose.

They also pointed out that, despite Keyes's criticisms, his scheduled speaking slot tonight is in prime television viewing time. And to date, party officials have made no attempt to punish Keyes for his remarks.

Keyes did not dispute that he has caused bad feelings, but he predicted that those will fade long before the November election. "As folks consider the issues, they'll get over that," he said. "I'm a loyal Republican. I'm a very forthright guy, but I was also a diplomat. I can deal with people."

Keyes also said that even though the Maryland GOP has nominated him for the Senate twice, he still feels occasionally uncomfortable in the party.

"You have your good days and your bad days," he said. "The bad days are like what I've gone through for the last week and a half."

"There are some people for whom . . . 'colorblind' means that when a colored person walks in, you suddenly go blind," he said. "I won't stand for it."

On the convention floor, however, there was no hint of the furor that Keyes's remarks had stirred. In fact, Keyes's speeches contended that the Republican Party can do more for the poor and black people than Democrats can; the crowd gave his afternoon speech a standing ovation.

In those remarks, Keyes said Democratic social policies have left the poor "trapped in welfare slavery. It does what the old slavery never could. It kills the spirit."

In the prepared text of his evening speech, Keyes invoked Abraham Lincoln and the Republican Party's stand against slavery. He praised President Bush's "moral courage" and hailed Bush for signing laws "outlawing discrimination against individuals based on race, gender or disability."

Several Maryland Republicans said Keyes's speeches were carefully screened by convention officials. Keyes acknowledged that both speeches were approved by Republican convention planners, but he said that party officials had not edited out anything he wanted to say.

"From my side, I'm saying what I feel I've got to say. And I'm glad this is a party where that can occur."

U.N. Avoids Showdown With Iraq Team Ends Inspection Without Attempting To Enter Ministry

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Staff Writer

A U.N. team completed its inspection of Iraq's weapons programs yesterday without attempting to visit a Baghdad ministry, thus avoiding a potential confrontation that could have led to U.S. military action.

Spokesmen for the 22-member U.N. team said in Baghdad and New York that the final inspection of the group's visit had been successfully completed yesterday without any attempt by the Iraqi government to deny access to requested sites. The team plans to leave Baghdad this morning.

U.N. and U.S. officials declined to provide details of what had been inspected or how the widely expected showdown between Iraq and the inspectors had been averted.

A senior U.S. official said, however, he understood the U.N. team had decided not to seek a visit to an Iraqi ministry because an article Sunday in the New York Times had depicted such a visit as orchestrated by the United States in a deliberate bid to provoke Iraq. Some statements of the Baghdad government had described inspections of its ministry buildings as unacceptable violations of Iraqi sovereignty.

Rolf Ekeus, chief of the U.N. Special Commission that carries out the inspections, "decided he just could not afford" to leave an impression that the team was doing Washington's bidding on the eve of President Bush's renomination by the

See IRAQ, A10, Col. 4

IRAQ, From A1

Republican Party, even though in fact this was not the case, the official said.

In a background briefing for White House reporters last Thursday, a senior administration official said it "would be a logical assumption" that the U.N. team would seek entry to a ministry during its current trip to Baghdad. On Sunday, a day of intense speculation following the Times report, a number of U.S. officials said they expected such a challenge to take place, though some officials said they believed Iraq would permit one or more ministries to be inspected rather than risk a conflict with the United States and its coalition allies.

But yesterday, an administration official said he was aware of "no evidence" the U.N. team had ever proposed to visit a ministry during its stay in Iraq. "Generally when they [inspection teams] leave New York they have their missions planned," the official said.

Many other U.S. officials refused to comment at all on the targets of the inspection team, saying this is a matter for the United Nations alone to determine and discuss.

U.N. commission spokesman Tim Trevan said in New York that "the inspection team visited all the sites

it was instructed to before it departed from Baghdad . . . and was not denied access at any of them." His statement left open the possibility that the team had added and later canceled plans to inspect a ministry on the basis of information received since leaving New York about 10 days ago.

Trevan said the U.N. team had uncovered "significant" new information related to Baghdad's ballistic missile programs. He said further details would have to await the release of the inspectors' report.

Under U.N. resolutions adopted at the end of the 1991 war in the Persian Gulf, Iraq is required to grant U.N. inspectors access to any place in connection with the U.N. mission to find and destroy weapons of mass destruction. President Bush and others in the administration have adamantly insisted that Iraq comply with the inspectors' requests or face serious consequences, possibly including the use of military force.

Bush, in an interview yesterday with CNN, said he was "deeply offended" by the suggestion that he might use military force against Iraq for domestic political reasons. He went on to say that if Iraqi President Saddam Hussein refused to comply with U.N. resolutions, "of course we have responses planned, and they're strong responses."

Earlier, in an address to the Veterans of Foreign Wars annual convention in Indianapolis while en route to Houston for the Republican National Convention, Bush said the Iraqi president miscalculated about U.S. resolve to oust his forces from Kuwait. "To put it real simple, we kicked a little Baghdad bully," Bush declared, to applause from the veterans group.

Last month the United Nations ended a standoff with Iraq over the right to inspect the Ministry of Agriculture building only after Baghdad secured a guarantee that none of the inspectors entering the site would be citizens of the victorious allied coalition led by the United States, Britain and France.

Iraq has repeatedly charged that the special commission has become a creature of the United States and its allies. Baghdad also charges that the commission is being used to gather intelligence on Iraq.

A new inspection team is scheduled to travel to Baghdad in "the next few weeks," according to a U.N. commission official.

Staff writer R. Jeffrey Smith in Washington and special correspondent Trevor Rowe at the United Nations contributed to this report.

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U.S. Plan to Bar Iraqi Flights in South Follows Stepped-Up Attacks on Shiites

By John Lancaster
Washington Post Staff Writer

An evolving Bush administration plan to block Iraqi air attacks on Shiite Muslim civilians, with military force if necessary, follows reports that the Iraqi government has sharply escalated its campaign against the Shiites in their swampy homeland in southern Iraq.

U.N. investigators and U.S. intelligence agencies in recent weeks have documented a variety of Iraqi military operations—including artillery bombardments, air strikes by Iraqi combat jets and helicopter attacks—against the so-called Marsh Arabs who populate the region. A U.N. report last week said "indiscriminate" attacks have been carried out against villages and other civilian targets as well as Shiite guerrillas.

"Most of what they've been doing is bombing villages," said a source with access to intelligence reports on the region. "The attacks against the Shiites have taken on greater and greater ferocity."

Administration officials said yesterday the reports of Iraqi human rights abuses were a factor in their decision to seek allied support for a formal ban on flights by Iraqi airplanes and helicopters below the 32nd parallel, a region that encompasses the southern marshes near Iran as well as Basra and several other major Iraqi cities. The allies already prohibit Iraqi flights in northern Iraq above the 36th parallel in an area established as a safe haven for the country's Kurdish minority.

But it was not immediately clear how the ban on air activity alone would end abuses by the Iraqi military in the south. The protected area in northern Iraq, for example, is considered a "security zone" where all Iraqi military activity—including the use of ground forces—is essentially prohibited.

A senior U.S. official acknowledged yesterday that the administration is not pursuing, at least for now, such a comprehensive strategy for the much larger area in southern Iraq. If the Iraqi military were to continue attacks on Shiites using ground forces alone, that could generate pressure on Capitol Hill and elsewhere for a stronger U.S. response.

Nevertheless, analysts generally agreed yesterday that a ban on Iraqi flights—and helicopter flights in particular—could provide a major

boost to anti-government forces in the region and mark a significant escalation in the U.S.-led campaign to undermine Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein.

"For a guerrilla force that doesn't have the ability to shoot them down, it's very helpful to have them grounded," said Laurie Mylroie, a fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy.

President Bush, in an interview with CNN yesterday, called the strikes against the Shiites regrettable and confirmed that the administration is considering a plan to prevent them. "If there is something . . . that keeps [Hussein] from flying, clearly that would deny him one way of harassing his own people."

Members of the U.N. Security Council met informally on Friday to discuss the administration's proposal and referred it back to their home capitals for consideration. Administration officials said yesterday that while the British and French are in general agreement over the need for such a move, details on the timing and exact nature of the aircraft ban remain to be worked out.

Any such operation also would require approval by Saudi Arabia, whose air bases would be used by U.S. aircraft patrolling the skies above southern Iraq. A senior administration official said yesterday that final agreement on the plan could occur within "days" but did not rule out a longer delay.

The report last month by Max

Van der Stoel, the U.N. special investigator on human rights abuses in Iraq, said the Iraqi military appeared to have stepped up its activities in the south beginning early last month. The report described "indiscriminate mass bombardments" that appeared to be part of a "specific policy aimed at the Marsh Arabs in particular."

The report cited evidence of artillery bombardments against Shiite villages southwest of the city of Amara; "reliable reports of considerable troop movements and fixed-wing aircraft flights in the region"; forced relocations of Marsh Arabs under the guise of moving them closer to medical services and employment; and an economic blockade of food and medicine shipments to the region.

Among the gravest threats faced by the Marsh Arabs, according to the report, is the massive "Third River" irrigation project. Although the project is ostensibly aimed at converting salty desert into farmland, the report said, "the program may also be seen as a method to facilitate government control over the population in the area" by depriving them of their fishing grounds and cultural heritage.

A senior Pentagon official said yesterday the administration is especially concerned about an Iraqi air attack in the south on July 23. Until that time, the official said, Iraqi military activity in the region was generally limited to "sort of minor counterinsurgency stuff."

Marine Pilot Killed in Kuwait In Harrier Night-Training Crash

Associated Press

KUWAIT, Aug. 17—A U.S. Marine pilot died when his warplane crashed in the Kuwaiti desert during a night-training exercise, American officials said today.

It was the second fatal aircraft crash during the current war games in the Persian Gulf emirate. On Aug. 9, two Marines were killed when an AH-1W Cobra helicopter crashed.

The U.S. Embassy and the Navy issued statements saying an unarmed AV-8B Harrier from the assault ship USS Tarawa, anchored off Kuwait, crashed at 8:30 p.m. Sunday about 10 miles from the Iraqi border and 50 miles northwest of Kuwait City. The pilot was identified as Capt. Michael R. Vansickle, 32, of Omaha, Neb. He was married and had a son.

Cause of the crash was under investigation. The statements said the single pilot had been on a routine mission as part of joint exercises with American and Kuwaiti forces that began earlier this month.

The Harrier is a single-engine, light attack aircraft designed to operate from land bases and ships. Another Harrier flying with the plane that went down circled the area to look for the wreckage and then landed at Kuwait International Airport when it ran low on fuel.

More than 1,900 troops of the 11th Marine Expeditionary Unit from Camp Pendleton, Calif., completed two weeks of desert war games Saturday and returned to the Tarawa. But the fighter pilots have continued to fly missions.

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As Sanctions Bite, Serbs Look Warily Toward Winter

By Peter Maass
Special to The Washington Post

BELGRADE, From A1

BELGRADE, Aug. 17—After two months, the U.N. trade embargo against Serbia and the new Yugoslav state it controls is beginning to bite.

Gasoline rationing limits motorists to about five gallons a month, and people here in the Yugoslav capital must wait in gas lines for hours. The state is virtually bankrupt, and inflation is running at a ruinous 100 percent per month. The average monthly wage is now worth less than \$38, and labor union officials here say they expect that up to 80 percent of all workers will be jobless by fall.

As always in times of economic crisis, it is the defenseless who suffer most. Belgrade's main hospital is so strapped for cash that it can only perform emergency surgeries. "Everything that can be delayed is delayed," said Zoran Zivanovic, a general surgeon. "Benign tumors will wait until the end of our political problems."

The city's chief psychiatric center can no longer afford costly antipsychotic medication, so patients are immobilized with straitjackets or warehoused through massive sedation. But now there is only a week's supply of sedatives left, and doctors have launched a television appeal for citizens to donate whatever tranquilizers they might have. "We are returning to the Middle Ages, unfortunately," said hospital spokesman Milica Butigec.

There has been some talk of using more electro-convulsive therapy as a substitute for antipsychotic drugs, but the procedure is controversial and many doctors are reluctant to employ it. Besides, they say, pretty soon there may be a shortage of electricity and heating fuel in Belgrade, and that is what has people here worried most.

The U.N. sanctions—imposed on the two-republic Yugoslav state as

See BELGRADE, A9, Col. 1

punishment for its instigation of Serb aggression in neighboring Bosnia—are far from watertight, but they have given rise to a question that seems to be on everyone's lips: Will there be enough oil when cold weather strikes?

"I'm terrified about the winter," said Branka Lutic, a 72-year-old pensioner who even now can barely afford to feed herself as inflation steadily eats away at her tiny state allowance.

Milorad Kalenic, who lives outside Belgrade, is trying to prepare for a harsh winter. He believes the factory he works in will be shut down by October and that no home heating fuel will be available, so he has been stockpiling wood for his fireplace, along with 130 pounds of sugar, 110 pounds of meat and 5 gallons of cooking oil. "About 80 percent of the people in my village have stocks like that," he said.

The U.N. sanctions bar all imports of oil, but local production accounts for about 22 percent of all fuel needs for Serbia and its seaboard satellite, Montenegro; a good deal more is smuggled in on a massive scale. One Western diplomat here acknowledged that foreign oil is slipping through the sanctions, and he said that some Western nations are seeking to have international observers monitor all Yugoslav borders and Danube River traffic destined for Serbia.

The "leakage" occurs in a number of ways. The Danube flows through four countries west of Serbia and through two east of it, and sanctions-busting barges laden with oil or other products need only acquire false "end-user" certificates that say their cargo is destined somewhere beyond Serbia. Once in Serbian waters, the cargo can be unloaded.

Diplomats say also that Serbian tanker trucks need only change their license plates to Bosnian ones and then go to a neighboring country—Hungary or Romania, for example—to pick up a load of fuel. In addition, Belgrade-controlled firms have purportedly set up bogus subsidiaries in Bosnia and Macedonia—neither of which is subject to the U.N. embargo—to order and acquire petroleum products and other sanctioned commodities.

Even before the U.N. sanctions were voted in June, the economies of Serbia and Montenegro were in desperate shape. The treasury had been beggared by the massive financial support needed for the Serb militia faction in the Bosnian war and, before that, for Serb insurgent forces during last year's six-month war in neighboring Croatia. Moreover, Western analysts say, Belgrade's finances had been hopelessly tan-

gled by widespread official corruption and ineptitude under the leadership of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, the last Marxist leader in Europe.

Serbia's per capita production plummeted by \$2,000 last year to \$1,300, and analysts say this year should be worse. Rampant inflation means that paychecks and pensions have lost most of their purchasing value. Belgrade residents say they are cutting down on meat and other staples; cars are being stored away; government subsidies to industries, schools, hospitals and other public institutions no longer cover costs.

Serbs are angry about their pauperization, but for now their target is not Milosevic, who is assiduously trying to turn economic adversity to political advantage. Day after day, state-controlled television broadcasts speeches and news programs that portray the outside world as unjustly ganging up on Serbia and hammers home the message that the suffering here is no fault of the current regime.

Zoran Popov, a prominent economist here, says the strategy has even worked to the extent of allowing Milosevic to use the U.N. sanctions as an excuse for all the present economic problems. Pensioner Lutic is among those who believe the government line. She strongly supports Milosevic even though she is frightened of freezing in the winter and can no longer afford to eat decent meals on her monthly pension. Most nights, she eats potatoes, pasta, or beans. "I'm a true Serb," she said. "And I'm mad that everyone is against us. They want to kill Serbia."

A Western diplomat agreed that the sanctions "have tended to reinforce Milosevic" in the short term—that and a bumper summer harvest. He added, though, that if the weather turns cold and holes in the embargo can be plugged, things could change quickly.

The President and Iraq

A YEAR AGO President Bush had reason to hope his leadership of the coalition victory over Iraq would cement his reelection, if not a place in history. But that was before the American people learned how his administration, meaning to moderate Saddam Hussein, built him up for his attack on Kuwait. It was also before Saddam Hussein showed he could survive the coalition's worst, maintain some sort of future weapons capability, repress internal challengers and defy international cease-fire terms. There is no confirmation that, as a New York Times news story asserted, Mr. Bush had planned to provoke a confrontation with Baghdad over weapons inspection yesterday to aid his campaign; the inspection produced no showdown. But there is plentiful evidence that the Iraq issue is going to plague Mr. Bush all the way to November.

If Mr. Bush now just goes with the flow in Iraq, he will be open to criticism first for negligently aiding and then for tolerating a tyrant's misrule, for condoning the eventual strategic revival of Saddam Hussein and meanwhile his domination over subject peoples, for being "prudent" to a fault. But the likeliest military steps, if Mr. Bush takes them, will

still leave President Hussein in power and will consign Mr. Bush to endless nagging questions about whether he acted simply to play to the political gallery. Either way his burden gets heavier.

The odd thing is that at the moment the keenest pressure on Mr. Bush is coming not from Saddam Hussein but from American policy critics. Some speak for a crucial source of his political support—the Republican right. Sensing their man's vulnerability, they urge him to go beyond his until-now failed policy of inviting a coup from within the ruling Sunni elite, and to expand support for insurgent and avowedly democratic Kurds in the north and Shiites in the south. A not-unreasonable reluctance to get drawn too deeply into exceedingly shifty local and regional terrain has held the administration back so far.

Election or no election, it is time not for a flop but for a careful shift in American policy to strengthen support for the insurgent groups. This could meet the greater menace that Saddam Hussein poses to them now. No course can hope to work, however, if President Bush does not lay it out clearly before doubting regional partners and skeptical Americans alike.

Keep Hope Alive

JESSE JACKSON should have been the one to introduce the Republican platform yesterday, since no document in our memory better merits the title "Keep Hope Alive." What the Republicans keep hoping, of course, is that the laws of arithmetic will cease to apply. They continue to paint a picture of a land in which massive tax cuts coexist with a balanced budget; the balance is brought about in part by growth but also by spending cuts—except that the necessary cuts aren't listed. They never have been.

"As the deficit comes under control, we aspire to further tax rate cuts," the platform says unrepentantly. Meanwhile, the party would repeal the tax increases on the better-off that were part of the 1990 budget agreement, while seeking the "complete restoration" of the value that the personal exemption has lost in the past 50 years to inflation—each \$1,000 increase in the exemption represents about a \$200 billion loss in taxable income.

The Republicans would cut the capital gains tax while eliminating it on the sale of a principal residence. They would create a broad new stream of tax-exempt investment income through a new kind of Individual Retirement Account. They endorse the various tax breaks that the president suggested earlier this year to help the uninsured buy health insurance, neglecting—as he did—to say how they would offset the \$35 billion cost. They salute "efforts in the states to lower property taxes," while noting for the record that they would oppose enactment of a federal value-added tax or a "carbon" or other

broad energy tax. In the name of homeownership, they are determined to save the mortgage interest deduction as well.

As to spending, they say: "Our Republican presidents have vetoed one reckless bill after another." But most vetoes in the past 12 years have been on other than fiscal grounds. Nor are they right in suggesting that Democrats have failed to abide by the spending controls in the 1990 budget agreement. And what spending would they cut? The platform says weakly that "a Republican Congress, working with a Republican president, will consider non-Social Security mandatory spending portions of the federal budget when looking for savings."

For Social Security, however, the party supports a provision—repeal of the earnings test—that would constitute a \$5-billion-a-year benefit increase. On health care, the platform chides the Democrats for urging cost controls that could lead to rationing, but advocates no clear constraints of its own. It cautions against cutting defense too much and urges increases for such costly items as the space program. "When federal programs have outlived their usefulness," it says, "they deserve a decent burial," but which programs should be interred it doesn't say.

Rather, the platform takes refuge as the president also has in urging such procedural changes as a line-item veto and balanced budget amendment. In this wishful document the borrow-and-spend Republicans make the supposed tax-and-spend Democrats sound like the party of parsimony and restraint.

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David S. Broder

Window Dressing

HOUSTON—Based on his history, you can make two guesses about the acceptance speech President Bush will deliver to the Republican National Convention and the nation on Thursday night. It will be well-written, effectively delivered and will give him a boost in his uphill battle for reelection. And it will give the country scarcely a clue of what he would really do if he wins.

The speech has been proclaimed by Republican leaders across the country Bush's last, best hope for turning around a campaign that has been dominated for weeks by Democratic challenger Bill Clinton. They are right. The moment is incredibly important. And for that very reason, my hunch is that Bush will do very well—as he did under similar circumstances in New Orleans four years ago.

The speech he gave then caused voters who knew him only as Ronald Reagan's obsequious vice president to think better of his character and strength. It put heart into the Republican faithful and sparked the campaign that overcame Michael Dukakis' early lead.

Bush is a competitor who psyches himself to a high level of performance for critical tests. He will have labored over this speech and rehearsed it to a fare-thee-well. The eloquence that speechwriter Peggy Noonan put into the 1988 text may well be matched by his 1992 collaborator, Raymond K. Price Jr., who crafted some superb and substantive addresses for Richard M. Nixon in the 1968 presidential campaign.

But history suggests that it is all window dressing. On the journey from New Orleans to Houston, Americans have learned two important lessons about this president: He has no real regard for his own campaign rhetoric. And while he may hire good speechwriters for occasions like this week, he has virtually no capacity or interest in regularly using the forum of the presidency to shape and inform the public debate.

Both these points are powerfully documented in two new books that deal with Bush and the presidency: "Energy in the Executive: The Case for the Strong Presidency," by conservative writer Terry Eastland, and "Marching in Place: The Status Quo Presidency of George Bush," by Time magazine's White House correspondents, Michael Duffy and Dan Goodgame.

Duffy and Goodgame remind us what Bush said about campaign rhetoric only a few weeks after he had won in 1988: "That's history. That doesn't mean anything anymore." As the authors comment, "What happened during the campaign had nothing to do with what would take place in the White House because [for Bush] 'politics' exists in a realm entirely separate from 'governing.' . . . The only goal of campaigns, and the disagreeable politics they demanded, was victory."

Bush proved he was ready to forsake the most memorable line in Noonan's New Orleans text, "Read my lips. No new taxes." When that pledge was abandoned in the 1990 budget summit, it seeded economic and political problems that continue to plague Bush even now. What is striking is how little Bush ever tried to explain to the American people why he made the pledge, why he broke it and why he now says that doing so was a mistake.

It is symptomatic of his failure to use the presidency as an instrument of public persuasion. As Eastland, a former Reagan administration official, observes, "the 'no new taxes' pledge helped him get elected, but it was not made in the context of a larger effort to frame a

principled debate over the direction of the nation's fiscal policy. Nor did Bush, once elected, try to enlarge the discussion. . . ."

Instead, when budget realities caught up with him in 1990, he began an open-ended bargaining process with Congress about the budget. His agreement to put taxes on the table was announced in the most antiseptic and unpersuasive way possible: One morning, a formal notice was hung on the White House press room bulletin board saying the president and congressional leaders had agreed that "tax revenues" must be in the mix.

"Here was the single most important issue of domestic policy . . . and Bush was hiding from his position instead of framing the debate," Eastland writes. "Bush's rhetorical failure . . . seemed to stem from an aversion to, if not a disdain for, the kind of politics our system demands if it is to work, especially in an age of divided government."

Bush has not been shy about using other tools of presidential leadership. He has issued many vetoes and blocked the Democrats' ef-

forts to override them. And he has exercised his authority as commander in chief to commit American forces around the globe.

But a nation facing new challenges at home and abroad can ill afford a president who shuns the work of interpreting, teaching and explaining.

It will have to be quite a speech on Thursday to make Americans overlook Bush's failure to fill "the bully pulpit" for the past 43 months.

Jim Hoagland

Bush, Saddam and U.S. Politics

U.S. war plans for a strike against Saddam Hussein now center on the Iraqi dictator's escalating campaign of terror against the Shiites in southern Iraq—not on United Nations inspections of government ministries in Baghdad. The media spotlight that swept Baghdad over the weekend focused attention on the right church but the wrong pew.

The spotlight was switched on by a New York Times account that predicted a confrontation yesterday over a U.N. demand to inspect the Ministry of Military Industrialization in Baghdad. The story had a basis in fact, but it reported a decision on U.S. military reprisals that had been changed before the account appeared.

Plans to have U.S., British and French warplanes strike inside Baghdad immediately if the Iraqis refused a new inspection were altered as a result of a debate at senior levels of the Bush administration. At issue is the degree of provocation by Saddam needed to justify new coalition air attacks.

In a sense, these are details that one of America's great newspapers happened to mishandle in a way that had "Potus"—the president of the United States in White House jargon—chewing the carpet. Such misunderstandings between the press and presidents are familiar in Washington in election years in which U.S. troops are engaged abroad. A president's motives for ordering Americans into combat inevitably come under intense scrutiny.

The Times account went too far in suggesting that Bush was planning a military strike purely for political gain. But Bush bears some responsibility for this imbroglio as well.

America, Britain and France reached agreement in principle on new military action against Saddam two weeks ago, as reported in this column. Washington, London and Paris are determined not to permit a repetition of the humiliating standoff that occurred when Iraq refused in July to allow United Nations inspectors access to the Ministry of Agriculture

in Baghdad for nearly three weeks.

But the final go-ahead for air raids on Baghdad was withheld when misgivings surfaced in the coalition and within the administration over the probable international reaction to bombing Iraqi ministries. Saddam could manipulate the timing and form of such confrontations, which might involve heavy civilian casualties.

"Not everyone was convinced of the wisdom of bombing ministries that we were saying had to be inspected and searched for documents or material that our bombs would have destroyed," says one administration official. "There was a feeling after a great deal of discussion that to be persuasive our focus had to be broader than bombing ministries, particularly since the urgent cause for concern right now is Saddam's growing brutality against the Shiites in the south."

A clear sign that attacks on Iraqi ministries would be controversial came from Turkey, which suddenly announced this month that coalition

aircraft would not be allowed to use Turkish airfields for such missions.

The military implications of Turkey's move were slight. The United States can mount attacks on Baghdad from aircraft carriers, and the coalition air force can operate from Saudi Arabian fields. But Ankara's cold feet had significant political impact in coalition capitals.

In characteristic overreaching, Saddam has chosen this moment to intensify his war against the Shiites. Iraqi aircraft flew nearly 100 sorties one day last week in a dramatic increase of activity that has included bombing and strafing runs against the unarmed Shiites, according to U.S. intelligence reports. American officials now believe Iraqi opposition accounts that say Saddam's forces are systematically poisoning water sources in the Shiite marshlands.

The plight of the Shiites and Iraq's refusal to renew a memorandum of understanding to permit United Nations relief workers access to Iraqi civilians are the make-or-break issues of negotia-

tions that were begun in Baghdad yesterday by Jan Eliasson, head of the U.N. emergency aid program.

U.S. officials see Eliasson's mission as decisive in determining whether force will again be used on Saddam. The Times was premature, and looking the wrong way, in its reporting on an August Surprise.

But under the twin pressures of Saddam's intransigence and the U.S. election campaign, Bush is reversing the failed policies he has pursued since the end of Operation Desert Storm, such as letting Saddam's air force take to the air against the Shiites in the first place.

The president's repeated failure to keep direct military pressure on Saddam over the past 16 months makes it impossible today to unravel Bush's political fortunes from the messy and still dangerous situation in Iraq. He failed to draw clear and hard lines when he had a chance to do so. Now George Bush must also carry responsibility for the impression that George Bush is playing politics with Iraq.

Molly Ivins

Unsteady Compass

AUSTIN—Hello? Anyone out there any good at telling right from wrong? It's nice for the Republicans that Jim Baker quit as secretary of state, where by general agreement he was pretty close to invaluable, so he could manage George Bush's campaign. But, ummmm, do we think he should be doing this on the government payroll?

Well, yeah, I see the nuances here. Baker is going to be Bush's chief of staff at the White House, and that's a regular government job. In fact, according to happy R's quoted last week, Baker will be at least co-president and at best running the country for the next few months. And on top of that little chore, he's

"Rich Bond, head of the Republican National Committee, has seriously distinguished himself already."

going to manage Bush's campaign because he's the greatest political tactician and handler since Jim Foley.

Or no, he isn't going to be managing the campaign at all if you're asking the R's why the taxpayers should subsidize him in that job. The further nuance is that Clinton is now getting federal campaign money so we can assume that at least part of Clinton's campaign manager's salary is also being subsidized by the taxpayers, or if it isn't, the privately paid salary just frees up more federal money for Clinton's campaign anyway. Or something.

Is this actually a tough call?

Holy cow, we are in the suds now, sleaze-wise, aren't we? Getting a grip on who's lying about whom and who started it first is just

going to be brutal this year. Rich Bond, head of the Republican National Committee, has seriously distinguished himself already. First he said Jane Fonda would be staying in the Lincoln Room at the White House when Clinton held a state dinner honoring Fidel Castro. Huh? Clinton is actually calling for increasing the economic sanctions against Castro. Then he said Hillary Clinton considers marriage to be like slavery and has advocated allowing children to divorce their parents if they don't get their allowance. Hello.

Hillary Clinton has been active for years in the field of children's rights. A test case in this legal area surfaced in June in Florida. An 11-year-old boy, Gregory K. of Tampa, wants to be adopted by the foster parents he's been living with, and they want to adopt him. His own parents are both alcoholics who have been charged with abuse, neglect and abandonment. The father is ready to give the kid away, but the mother still wants custody. A Florida court recently held that Gregory has legal standing in the case, a victory for Mrs. Clinton's area of legal scholarship. Gregory became known as the kid who wants to divorce his parents, a comical notion, but the details of his case are so appalling that even your more light-hearted media types who looked into it said, "Jesus, give this kid a divorce."

By the standards of political description set by Rich Bond, I suppose we're entitled to say that the Republican Party is in favor of parents who abuse, neglect and abandon their children. Could we all just take a deep breath here and try to get a grip before this gets hopelessly out of hand? In which endeavor, sterling Barbara Bush is being quite helpful. The doughty Mrs. Bush came out against all forms of personal attacks and further added that she thinks abortion has no place in either political platforms or campaigns.

She's right, but it's a bit late for that. George Bush has now further confused the

whole imbroglio by saying of course he'd help and support a granddaughter who decided on abortion even though he disagreed with her. And when asked if the decision should be the granddaughter's, he said, "Well, who else's—who else's could it be?" He thus arrived neatly at the nub of the problem. Who else's decision? Clarence Thomas's? The Louisiana Legislature's? George Bush's?

I, for one, acquit Bush of trying to say there's one standard for his granddaughters and another for everyone else. We all know he doesn't express himself clearly, and just last week he was playing the right-to-life card for all it is worth in front of a Knights of Columbus audience. That was also the occasion on which he announced that he's the nation's moral compass.

Our moral compass seems not to have thought this one through. Until 1980, when our moral compass was asked to join Ronald Reagan's right-to-life ticket at the age of 55, he was pro-choice. Having endured the excruciating humiliation of changing his mind in public once on this sensitive question for what certainly appeared to be political reasons, our moral compass is not about to switch again.

But I think we citizens can be forgiven for assuming that our moral compass—who is the son of the woman who founded Planned Parenthood in Connecticut and the husband of a woman who is known to be pro-choice—is secretly at least ambivalent about who should decide between abortion and childbirth. While I sympathize with the ambivalence, it of course makes it all the more painful to realize that women are about to lose the right to make their own decisions on this gravely personal and painful question because of a man who is not a lying hypocrite but is at least an unsteady compass.

The writer is a columnist for the Fort Worth Star-Telegram.

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MARY McGRORY

Resurgence of the Right

You can tell the moderate Republicans here by the "Barry's Right" buttons they wear. Yes, that's Barry Goldwater, the right-winger who 28 years ago drove moderates out of the party by his unnerving proclamation that "extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice."

But yesterday's scourge has become today's hero because on abortion, this year's convulsion, Goldwater is with the dissenters. He agrees with them that the hard line on choice should not be in the platform and could cost the Republicans the election in November.

The bigger story is that in 1992 the GOP seems to be once again on the point of being taken over by the hard right. Preacher Pat Robertson has made "family values" fighting words, and abortion is to his Christian coalition what communism was to their forebears. The motto of the fundamentalists who rammed through the rigid abortion plank could well be "Today, the platform; tomorrow, the party."

Abortion-rights Republicans had a packed, emotional gathering on the eve of the convention. Feelings and words ran high. Rep. Jim Leach of Iowa, stalwart spokesman for the dying breed of moderate Republicans, summed up the fears of his kind:

"The two most moderate states are Iowa and Washington, and they both sent Pat Robertson delegations here. The irony is that polls show Republicans are mainstream on choice. If the Republicans become the party of their platform, it may become non-viable as an institution."

All over the ballroom, delegates and their allies were pouring out stories of frustration and defeat, of party infiltration at the lowest level by Christian coalition crusaders who got their way there and at succeeding stages by sheer will and volume.

Julie Williams, a slight and youthful Houston homemaker who as an independent voted for Bush in 1988, was propelled into politics by her concern for privacy issues and was made activist by what she saw in her precinct caucus. The coalitionists noisily took the floor against abortion, gun control, gays and minorities, and, at district meetings, roared them through on voice votes.

Dolly Madison McKenna, a stylish candidate for Congress in Texas's 25th District, told the story of a popularly elected Harris County Executive Committee chairman who was censured by fundamentalists for speaking to a

group of Republican gays. They also vetoed her choice of a black woman for secretary of the party.

"They have changed beyond recognition," said McKenna, who left Houston 20 years ago to work in the Nixon White House.

Their implacability was further on display at a Freedom Forum press panel. A self-styled "Christian psychologist" gloated that the outcome of the platform fight was "a slam-dunk defeat" for abortion rights activists. At the same meeting a female delegate from Oregon complained that the press had not adequately recounted the triumph of the right.

In a comparable fix, the Democrats would take the matter to the floor. But Republicans, says Leach, are "establishmentarianists" who don't want to embarrass the president or the candidates—"they'll fight at the county or in the state, but they hesitate to fight on television before the whole country."

But the real reason they don't have it out is because they can't.

It only takes signatures from half the delegations in six states to force a floor debate. Although two New England governors, John R. McKernan Jr. of Maine and William Weld of Massachusetts, talked about going to the floor, the delegates balked.

"Imagine," said Elizabeth Hager, who is running for governor of New Hampshire, "we only need 12 delegates out of 24, but we can't get them."

Shirley Marsh of Nebraska said, "No way—I wouldn't even try in my state."

George Nowell, of Boulder County, said it was hopeless in Colorado. "In our delegation of 37, 22 to 25 are either instantly or violently anti-choice."

"These people are filled with hate," he said. He told of stacked precinct caucuses, of Baptist Church parking lots plastered with flyers that proclaim moderate candidates "baby-killers."

Numerically, the Christians don't prevail here. But politically they do. The speakers' list—Pat Buchanan, Pat Robertson, Phil Gramm, to name a few—say they are in charge. So is the silence on abortion.

But nothing is more eloquent on the point than the continued presence on the ticket of Vice President Quayle, despite high disapproval ratings in the party. He is the Christian coalition's docile mascot. If Bush had dropped him, they would have given him hell. They've shown the party how capable they are of doing just that.

Lally Weymouth

A Syrian Scud Threat

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin paid a triumphant visit to the United States last week, securing at long last a commitment for \$10 billion in U.S. loan guarantees and prompting the Bush administration to terminate its frequently harsh anti-Israel rhetoric. The new prime minister apparently developed a friendly and easy relationship with President Bush during his short stay at Bush's Kennebunkport vacation retreat.

There were, however, some dark clouds argued over the night over the loan guarantees. Rabin has agreed to a temporary freeze on new West Bank Jewish settlements, provoking a major domestic outcry from Israeli right-wingers on the eve of his departure for America. But the prime minister would not pledge permanently to halt settlements he deems vital to Israel's security.

Eventually, American officials concluded that Israel was not prepared to

make further settlement-related concessions and agreed nonetheless to sign off on the loan guarantees.

The Israeli delegation even raised the delicate subject of clemency for Jonathan Pollard, the U.S. Navy employee convicted of stealing classified documents and giving them to Israel. Pollard is now serving a life sentence in a federal prison.

Curiously, an issue of enormous concern both to U.S. and Israeli officials received virtually no public attention during the Rabin visit. Americans and Israelis have been fixated for more than a year on what they view as a major common danger—a threat both to Israel's security and to that of U.S. troops stationed on the ground in the Middle East.

The danger? Last year, when Iraq launched Scud missiles at Israel, American and Israeli military planners learned that the Patriot missile wasn't as effective as U.S. planners

had hoped. It seems the Scuds tended to break into pieces in flight. And the Patriot—able to hit only one target—didn't "know" which piece carried the devastating warhead.

The problem remains unsolved. Neither the Advanced Patriot nor the Israeli-made Arrow missile will perform against Scuds if the Scuds break up or, early in flight, disperse bomblets carrying, say, nerve gas or the virulent poison anthrax. Indeed, the Patriot will likely hit only a few of the bomblets, allowing the rest to land. The potential consequences for the population of Tel Aviv or any other Israeli city are evident. Obviously, the same danger exists if the bomblets land on U.S. troops stationed in the region.

Syria is acquiring a goodly number of highly accurate Scud C missiles. Recently, moreover, Damascus tested the Scud C's at a site south of the Syrian capital. Apparently, the Scud C

has a 500-mile range, which means it can reach all of Israel and parts of Saudi Arabia, Turkey and other key targets. Syria purchased its Scud C's from North Korea. First they were taken to Tehran; then the Scuds were transported to Syria.

After the gulf war, Israel proposed—and the United States agreed—to work to develop a joint deterrence program. The answer consists in devising a method to stop the missiles during their boost phase. (The Scuds can't disperse the bomblets until the boost phase is over.) The only near-term solution that's been identified rests on deploying a squadron of drones, unmanned vehicles each carrying a miniaturized interceptor—a device that can locate the oncoming missile, steer into it and destroy it by sheer force of impact.

The drones, for example, could fly near the Syrian border, protecting Israel from attack. According to U.S.

officials, they might also be used by Japan or South Korea to prevent an attack from North Korea. U.S. planners were concentrating on this critical security problem until very recently. In April, they received what is known as a "stop work directive" relating to the project from a Senate staffer, Peter Lennon, an aide to Sen Daniel Inouye (D-Hawaii).

The Pentagon, however, has continued to pursue the program. But House Democrats have already acted to prohibit the Defense Department from spending additional money on the project during fiscal year 1993. At this juncture, only direct action by the Senate can save this essential program.

Without it, Israeli civilians, Saudis and American troops all face a common threat, death by gassing—a death so horrible civilized nations have banned the use of poison gas.

POOL REPORT # 3
August 18, 1992

(Houston, Texas)

White House Spokesman Marlin Fitzwater spoke about Thursday night's speech, Big Mo and Iraq.

On the big speech: Fitzwater said five or six people have been working on it full time, but Steve Provost is writing the final draft. Fitzwater would not answer questions on whether or not it would include a tax proposal. "I don't want to talk about specifics." "Most of it will focus on where he's taking the country - what his ideas are for the next four years - very positive in tone... He'll have a lot of interesting ideas in it and "It'll be meaty, substantive. It'll be rousing...they'll be news in it but I don't want to talk about specifics."

It's in a final form. As these things happen they go through a lot of changes in the final days. People come in with ideas and there's always a lot of rhetorical flourishes that get added in the last day or two... The substance is pretty well complete.

Ray Price is one of those working on the speech. Peggy Noonan is not. "No, she's become a journalist," Fitzwater said.

"These last 24 hours have been perfect. They've been wonderful. We're off and rolling."

Speaking to the pool outside the Chuck Norris event Fitzwater said, "He (Bush) thought yesterday's evening was outstanding in terms of giving the party momentum and defining the Campaign issues we want to talk about. President Reagan of course gave an outstanding speech on the beliefs of our party and accomplishments during his term of office - an emotional and we think a rousing evening from the standpoint of getting momentum of the party and getting the convention off to a great start."

"The President will continue to have a good strong set of remarks about the opposing candidate. He said he was coming to Houston to start this Campaign and yesterday we got it off to a rousing start."

Provost also wrote yesterday's rally speech Fitzwater said.

He said Bush watched all of the Convention speeches last night on his television from his Houstonian suite and tonight, "I'm sure he'll watch most of them." Although Bush is not scheduled to go to the Hall before Thursday night, it could happen, Fitzwater said, "We don't have anything scheduled, but it's like Iraq. I wouldn't rule anything out."

Asked if the Bush speech would alienate moderates, Fitzwater said, "I think all the speeches were good but Pat Buchanan laid out some very hard issues and tried to point out differences between our two parties and there are differences." Asked if the Buchanan speech did not mention Bush enough, Fitzwater said, "We thought his support was just right."

On Iraq: Asked if the US halted a planned visit to an Iraqi Ministry Fitzwater said, "No. We don't have anything to do with the selection of the inspection sites or the timing of their access."

On the issue of allies protecting Shiites in Southern Iraq, Fitzwater said, "We have a very deep concern about them because the UN resolutions forbid the repression of the Iraqi people and certainly to the degree that Saddam Hussein is attacking Shias in the South, it looks to be a violation of the UN resolution. We are watching it and we are consulting with our allies but I wouldn't comment on any courses of action. "

Bush is going out to lunch. More later.

Ellen Warren - Knight Ridder Newspapers

POOL REPORT # 5

August 18, 1992

(Houston, Texas)

Two events on the President's evening excursion: A reception (closed to press) given by Bill and Sharon Archer honoring Republican members of the Senate and the House, at the Houston Museum of Natural Science. According to an invitation, it was called ``Taste of Houston.'' Approximately 1,000 guests. The second event was a reception (closed to the press) at the Houston Museum of Fine Arts--270 people, mostly friends of the Bushes and Bush family members, hosted by friends of the family in Houston.

Motorcade departed the Houstonian at approximately 6:10 p.m. and returned at 8:10 p.m. The President and Mrs. Bush were glimpsed once by your pool, as the limo headed out of the Houstonian. No subsequent sightings.

Jim Gerstenzang
Los Angeles Times

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

Bush Promises Party a 'Comeback'

Fiery Speech Attacks Clinton As GOP Convention Begins

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, Aug. 17—A combative President Bush set the tone for the 35th Republican National Convention here today, defiantly attacking Bill Clinton and promising his anxious supporters "the most stirring political comeback since Harry Truman gave them hell in 1948."

Bush's fiery address, punctuated by sarcasm toward his opponents and Texas bravado about the Republicans' campaign strategy, stole the scene on the opening day of a convention designed to revive and redefine the president's lagging campaign and tear into Clinton and the Democrats.

Bush's speech at a pep rally that was nothing less than a political coming-out party showed an enthusiastic candidate finally throwing off any pretense of Oval Office decorum. He was more animated and biting than he has been all year and promised his supporters not to let up on the Democrats for the duration of the campaign. "For the next 78 days," he said, "we're going to go out there to ask the American people a simple question: Who do you trust to do what's right for the United States of America?"

Trailing Clinton by nearly 20 percentage points in the polls, Bush, with Vice President Quayle at his side, warned his challenger against overconfidence.

"Put those drapes on hold," the president said in reference to Clinton's comments that he has begun to think about assembling a new

administration. "It's going to be curtain time for that ticket."

His pugnacious speech helped provide the tonic Republicans have been seeking from the president, who has said for weeks he would not become fully engaged in his re-election campaign until this week.

"For nine months, the other side has had a one-way conversation with the American people, and now it's our turn," Bush told his supporters.

From former president Ronald Reagan to Patrick J. Buchanan, the conservative commentator who challenged Bush in the primaries, Republicans rallied together today to praise the administration's accomplishments and warn the voters that the Democrats cannot be trusted with both the Congress and the White House.

"The stakes are high," said Reagan, who received an enormous ovation from the hall, but whose speech began just at the end of prime time and lasted for more than half an hour. "The presidency is serious business. We cannot afford to take a chance We need a man of serious purpose, unmatched experience, knowledge and ability. A man who understands government, who understands our country and who understands the world."

Bush said Clinton and the Democratic-controlled Congress were "one and the same and we're not going to let the American people forget that." He said that like Truman in 1948, he would take that

See REPUBLICANS, A18, Col. 1



The Washington Post

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Bush Promises Party a 'Comeback'

REPUBLICANS, From A1

anti-Congress message across the country.

The Bush-Quayle rally came hours after delegates swiftly endorsed by voice vote a conservative platform without the floor fight over abortion that some abortion-rights supporters had hoped to wage. With that potentially divisive issue pushed off-stage for the week, the Republicans turned in earnest to the main mission of rehabilitating Bush.

Bush arrived in Houston shortly before tonight's session was gavelled to order facing a challenge even greater than the one he confronted in New Orleans four years ago.

With a sagging economy and declining approval ratings, Bush must convince voters that he has the ideas and the commitment to restore vitality to the American economy and confidence to the people.

Republicans said much hinges on Bush's acceptance speech Thursday night, but in preparation for that address, party officials began the process of softening up Clinton and outlining the themes they hope to use throughout the fall campaign against the Democrats.

Buchanan and other Republicans led a savage attack against Clinton and his wife Hillary. Buchanan accused Hillary Clinton of promoting "radical feminism" and said the Arkansas governor and his wife would bring a liberal social agenda of "abortion on demand" and gay rights to Washington that "is not the kind of change we can tolerate in a nation that we still call God's country."

Sen. Alan K. Simpson (R-Wyo.) quoted from Clinton's letter to an Army ROTC colonel in 1969 in which he said he did not flee the country during the Vietnam War because he wanted to maintain his "political viability." Simpson described the phrase as a sign of "cynicism" by Clinton, then 23, and asked, "How many other times did you sell your political soul to maintain your political viability?"

Sen. Richard G. Lugar (R-Ind.) attacked Clinton's inexperience in foreign affairs, saying that in view of the upheavals in the last four years, "This is not the time for on-the-job training for an amateur."

Buchanan said the Arkansas governor's foreign policy experience



BY KEITH JENKINS—THE WASHINGTON POST

Bush: "For the next 78 days, we're going to ask . . . 'Who do you trust?'"

was largely limited to "having breakfast once at the International House of Pancakes."

Quayle, in an implicit reference to Clinton, called Bush "honest, not slick," and said the campaign "will be about character and leadership."

Republican National Chairman Richard N. Bond attacked Clinton's record in Arkansas and called the Democratic nominee the "heartburn of the heartland."

The Republicans used tonight's session to paint a portrait of a world transformed by GOP leadership and sought to convince the American people that Bush was up to the task of handling domestic problems.

"To hear the Democrats talk," Reagan said, "you'd never know that the nightmare of nuclear annihilation has been lifted from our sleep." He said that despite "much ridicule from our liberal friends," Republican administrations "stood tall and proclaimed that communism was destined for the ash-heap of history."

Reagan's speech marked the emotional high point of the session, and he offered the party faithful a familiar mixture of optimism and nostalgia for "a country that is forever young" and able to meet the challenges ahead.

Reagan brought roars of laughter when he stole a line from the 1988 vice presidential debate and said of Clinton and the Democrats' efforts

to recast their image, "I knew Thomas Jefferson. Thomas Jefferson was a friend of mine. And governor, you're no Thomas Jefferson."

In mocking last month's Democratic convention and Clinton's experimentation with marijuana during his college years, Reagan said there was much rhetorical smoke billowing from Madison Square Garden and he would recommend that Americans follow Clinton's lead and "don't inhale."

The conservative former president, whose popularity has waned in recent years, saved some of his toughest lines for the Democrats in Congress. "It's true a lot of liberal Democrats are saying it's time for a change, and they're right," he said. "The only trouble is, they're pointing to the wrong end of Pennsylvania Avenue."

Reagan called on voters to "clean house" by getting rid of congressional "privileges and perks . . . arrogance and big egos . . . scandals, the corner-cutting and the foot-dragging."

But Buchanan had the most biting description of the Democrats. "Like many of you last month, I watched that giant masquerade ball at Madison Square Garden, where 20,000 radicals and liberals came dressed up as moderates and centrists in the greatest single exhibition of cross-dressing in American political history," he said.

BUSH VS. REAGAN



Q. Who do you think has done a better job as president, George Bush or Ronald Reagan?

GENERAL POPULATION

	BUSH	REAGAN
Overall	41%	33%
Republicans	44	43
Democrats	38	29

SOURCE: Washington Post-ABC News national telephone poll of 1,002 adults conducted Aug. 5-9. Margin of sampling error is plus or minus 3 percentage points for overall results and 6 percentage points for self-described Republicans and Democrats. Sampling error is, however, only one of many potential sources of error in this or any public opinion poll. Data will not add to 100 percent because response categories "don't know" and "neither" are not included. Interviewing was conducted by ICR Survey Research of Media, Pa.

—Compiled by Sharon Warden

THE WASHINGTON POST

The crowd in the Astrodome roared its approval to Buchanan, who opened his speech by telling his supporters to stay with the GOP and promising that "the Buchanan brigades are enlisted all the way to a great comeback victory in November."

The Democrats assembled a team led by national Chairman Ronald H. Brown to counter the Republican assault this week, saying the GOP offers "attacks, not action" and defending Clinton's record as Arkansas governor.

He said the Republicans, not the Democrats, have endorsed a "radical platform which endorses a constitutional amendment prohibiting abortion even in cases of rape and incest" that he said was driving moderate Republicans away from the party.

The platform adopted during a morning session today highlights conservative family values, calls for a constitutional amendment banning abortion, lower tax rates and a domestic agenda that includes choice in schools, health care overhaul and

home ownership opportunities for the poor.

The floor fight that abortion rights supporters had hoped for never materialized here today after Bush campaign officials persuaded two of its leaders, Govs. William Weld of Massachusetts and John R. McKernan Jr. of Maine, not to embarrass Bush with a messy public battle.

After a meeting today with Bush officials, McKernan told reporters "it's clear" they did not have the votes of six delegations needed to call for a suspension of the rules to amend the platform. Moderate Re-

publicans grumbled about the outcome, but party leaders said the abortion rights forces never had the strength inside the convention that they had believed.

Still, the Bush campaign took no chances today, even enlisting help from party leaders who support abortion rights, like Gov. Pete Wilson of California, to tamp down the abortion protest.

Staff writers Ann Devroy, E.J. Dionne Jr., Maralee Schwartz, David Von Drehle and researcher Mark Stencel contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

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What Does Bush Really Believe?

Civil Rights Record Illustrates Shifts

By Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writer

In the fall of 1990, President Bush summoned his friend of 40 years, former transportation secretary William T. Coleman Jr., to the White House to discuss the civil rights bill that Bush was then preparing to veto.

Coleman, a prominent black Republican and chairman of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, made an impassioned pitch to the president about the need to undo a string of recent Supreme Court rulings that cut back on civil rights protections by making it harder to sue. For an hour he disputed with Bush the arguments of his top advisers, Chief of Staff John H. Sununu and White House counsel C. Boyden Gray, who contended that the legislation would effectively force employers to adopt hiring and promotion quotas.

Coleman recalls that Bush was torn between whether to

disregard the advice of his aides or become only the third president in history to veto a civil rights bill. "I could almost see tears in his eyes," Coleman said. "He said, 'Bill, I would love to sign it but they tell me it's a quota bill. What can I do?'"

In the end, Bush vetoed the bill. Then, after 12 acrimonious months of further debate, he reversed course and agreed to

BUSH AS PRESIDENT

POLITICS AND PRINCIPLE

sign a revised version, angering party conservatives. "Look, it's very technical and all I know is I can simply certify it is not a quota bill," he explained, insisting that changes in language made all the difference.

Caught between the two sides on a significant national issue, Bush managed to please neither, leaving considerable doubt in their minds—and the public's—about what he really

believed. It was a familiar scenario, one that has been played out in controversies such as the repudiation of the "no new taxes" pledge or his transformation from the moderate alternative to Ronald Reagan in 1980, bashing "voodoo economics" and supporting abortion rights, into a staunch supply-sider and ardent opponent of abortion.

To critics on both his left and right, the meaning of those shifts is clear: Bush, as George Will put it in a column last month that called for him to step aside, is a man "operating without a public philosophy."

If, after a long career in public life, Bush remains an enigma to many Americans who find themselves unsure about his bedrock beliefs, his record on the broad issue of race offers a useful prism through which to analyze the roots of that confusion. As an active political candidate and public figure for three decades,

See BUSH, A20, Col. 1

President's Principle Is Politics, Say Many

BUSH, From A1

Bush's career coincides with the years of painful debate and conflict that accompanied the civil rights revolution and its aftermath; his seemingly contradictory impulses make a larger point about the mixture of personality, principle—and politics—that motivates him.

Bush's instincts prod him to reach out and to conciliate, from the quixotic effort to attract blacks to the GOP as chairman of the Harris County Republican Party in 1963 to his institution of an affirmative action plan as head of the Republican National Committee during the Nixon administration to his behind-the-scenes support of civil rights measures during the Reagan years and his dialogue with Coleman.

But that inclination—in the views of both critics and supporters—can be overcome by other, more strongly felt imperatives: political realities, for one; the demands of personal loyalty, for another.

Advocacy groups are uniformly scornful. "George Bush is bereft of a true moral compass on civil rights issues," said Clint Bolick, a conservative who supports Bush. "I think his instincts are to support civil rights bills and those instincts are overridden not on any principled basis but on political considerations."

"There is no question that getting elected to office is George Bush's top priority," said Ralph G. Neas, executive director of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. "His final decision on policy matters has little to do with personal philosophy and everything to do with politics."

From his leadership of the United Negro College Fund drive as a Yale senior in 1948 to his eventual signing of the civil rights bill, Bush's record on civil rights has been, in the words of Reagan administration Justice Department official Terry Eastland, "a combination of noblesse oblige plus realpolitik."

For Bush, said Eastland, author of a new book on the presidency, civil rights is "not a public policy thing. It's a sentiment. It's a feeling: I want to be nice."

Eastland and other conservatives pointed to Bush's hasty retreat, when an Education Department official in late 1990 announced a new policy against race-specific scholarships, as an example of Bush's sense of noblesse oblige winning out over his professed belief in complete "color-blindness." For their part, civil rights groups said the changed policy was more repackaging than retreat.

Another example conservatives cite was the unusual order to Solicitor General Kenneth W. Starr to retract a legal argument in a Mississippi college desegregation case before the Supreme Court last term after black college presidents came to Bush to plead that the administration's position threatened the survival of the colleges he had supported throughout his life.

"Both situations really reinforce my view that the Bush administration really doesn't have a civil rights philosophy, and consequently any position is subject to renegotiation and is very sensitive to outside pressure," Bolick said.

Thaddeus Garrett, one of Bush's close advisers on racial issues, makes the case for Bush's commitment to civil rights and bases much of it on personal experience. Bush, he said, "comes to this election with a clean record on civil rights. This is the president who fought for President Reagan to sign the Voting Rights Act, who fought for the president to sign the Martin Luther King birthday bill." And Garrett cites Bush's experience of comforting a grandson, whose mother is Mexican American, after he was taunted by his classmates for his skin color. "I don't know of any other president in the history of the nation who can say that," Garrett said.

The president whose eyes can glaze over at the legal intricacies of civil rights is also the man who, after seeing a newspaper report about a cross-burning at the home of an African family in Prince George's County while he was vice president, made an unpublicized trip to visit with the family and offer reassurances.

Growing up in New England, Bush was raised in a tradition of racial tolerance consistent with the moderate politics of his father, Prescott Bush, a Republican senator from Connecticut. Shortly before his retirement, Sen. Bush sponsored legislation to protect voting rights, desegregate schools and create an equal employment commission.

But for George Bush, the realities of starting a political career in his adopted state of Texas were clear: When he ran for the Senate in 1964, he declared his opposition to the civil rights bill before Congress.

Bush was campaigning as a Barry Goldwater Republican in a state where support of the civil rights bill would have automatically doomed any shot he had at winning election. He inveighed against the civil rights bill of which his father's proposal had been a forerunner, saying its provisions opening hotels, restaurants and other public places to all races were unconstitutional.

"We all deplore the hatemongers of this world," he said in an April 1964 speech quoted by Jefferson Morley in an article this year in the New York Review of Books. "The only thing I hate to see is our

Constitution trampled in the process of trying to solve civil rights problems."

Several months later, after President Lyndon B. Johnson had signed the landmark legislation, Bush said "the new civil rights act was passed to protect 14 percent of the people. I'm also worried about the other 86 percent."

After the election, Bush expressed misgivings to a friend and political opponent. "He just said, 'You know, John, in that election I took some of the far right positions that I thought I needed to get elected and I regret it and I hope I'll never do it again,'" the Rev. John Stevens, an Episcopal minister, recalled in a 1988 "Frontline" documentary on PBS television.

Four years later, Bush was finishing his first term in the House, in a seat so safe that in the end he did not even have a Democratic challenger. Then, in what he described as one of his proudest moments in public office, Bush voted for the Fair Housing Act of 1968, which for the first time prohibited discrimination in the selling or rental of real estate.

Bush was inundated with complaints and hate mail from constituents and flew home to face down his critics at a hostile rally. "Somehow, it seems fundamental that a man should not have a door slammed in his face because he is a Negro or speaks with a Latin-American accent," he told the group.

According to a Houston Chronicle report of the speech, Bush also assured his constituents that there was no reason to worry because the open housing provision would have little effect on their lives. "Look at the 20 states with even stronger measures," he said, "and you will find there have been no drastic changes in their living patterns."

In the end, Bush won a standing ovation from the once angry audience. In his autobiography, he wrote of that event: "More than twenty years later, I can truthfully say that nothing I've experienced in public life, before or since, has measured up to the feeling I had when I went home that night."

Omitted from that account are two key facts. First, Bush had opposed open housing legislation when he was running for the seat in 1966, saying there were "wonderful alternatives in the field of housing that will help all persons attain home ownership."

Second, the critical vote for the fair hous-

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ing bill was not on final passage, when Bush voted with civil rights forces, but on a procedural question: whether to send it back to conference, a move that likely would have killed the measure. On that issue, Bush voted on the opposite side of the civil rights proponents, expressing his concern that the bill discriminated against real estate agents because it exempted individuals selling their own homes while covering Realtors.

A longtime Bush friend, asked how to reconcile the George Bush of 1964 and 1966, against the civil rights and housing bills, with the George Bush of 1968, for fair housing, offered a succinct explanation: "pure politics."

"When the open housing thing came up, he had really reverted to what I think he always was. He truly is a moderate Republican. I think he felt secure in casting that vote. . . . He did run into flak from people in the district but . . . it didn't end up costing him politically."

More than a decade later, as Reagan's vice president, Bush was again called on to navigate the path between adhering to his views on civil rights and backing Reagan.

At a time when civil rights groups were basically shut out of the White House, Bush was careful to maintain good relations with civil rights leaders and worked behind the scenes to urge a more moderate stance on such issues as retaining the executive order on affirmative action for federal contractors and the Bob Jones University controversy over tax-exempt status for racially discriminatory private schools.

"Bush was about the only person in the administration that had any regular contact with civil rights leaders," said his former press secretary, Peter Teeley, now ambassador to Canada. "Sometimes he was put in a pretty tough position of trying to explain the administration position on those issues. . . . He never shirked from that. He always went to the NAACP national conventions to speak."

But on a critical issue—whether to break publicly with the president over Reagan's 1988 veto of the Grove City bill, which negated a Supreme Court ruling limiting the coverage of a federal anti-discrimination law, Bush balked. Although his advisers were suggesting that Bush wanted Reagan to sign the bill and might be willing to say so publicly, he declined and instead announced his support of the veto.

"I'm not going to start differing with the president after 7½ years into the vice presidency," Bush said at the time. "I'm going to stand with the president."

Doing otherwise "would not have been in keeping with Bush's method of operating," Teeley said. "What the president did as a congressman reflected his own personal judgment and therefore a vote in support of civil rights. What he did as vice president was to support the judgment and the action of an administration of which he was a part."

A few weeks later, in characteristic Bush fashion, his top aides were on the phone to civil rights leaders offering to work with them on changes in the fair housing legislation that Bush had voted for 20 years earlier.

The 1988 presidential campaign did nothing to enhance Bush's relationship with those leaders. Bush hit on an issue—Democratic nominee Michael S. Dukakis's forgiveness of convicted murderer Willie Horton—that many viewed as tinged with racial politics. Bush campaign officials vehemently denied the charge, noting that Bush never mentioned Horton's race or depicted him as a black man in campaign commercials.

The legacy of the Reagan administration and the 1988 campaign notwithstanding, Bush entered office with civil rights groups cautiously optimistic about a kinder, gentler relationship with the new administration. That had been symbolized by Coretta Scott King's attendance at the Republican National Convention in New Orleans and was enshrined in Bush's inaugural plea for "greater tolerance."

"President Reagan in the judgment of many of us had such a poor record that we expected President Bush to do much better," said Benjamin L. Hooks, executive director of the NAACP. "President Bush came through in many of his early utterances as being more in tune with the civil rights community."

The improved relations began to fray during the summer 1989 battle over the choice of William Lucas to head the Justice Department's civil rights division. Attorney General Dick Thornburgh had preempted the White House and announced that Lucas—the black former Wayne County (Mich.) county executive and sher-

iff—who had never practiced law full time and had no experience in civil rights law—was his choice for the job.

Although some advisers, such as Arthur A. Fletcher, chairman of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, told Bush they did not believe Lucas was qualified for the position, the critical civil rights job in the federal government, Bush chose to back up his attorney general. With Thornburgh's announcement, said Chase Untermeyer, then the White House personnel chief, "essentially the president's options were closed. To have said, 'No, I'm not going to take Bill Lucas for assistant attorney general' . . . would be to strike primarily at Bill Lucas."

The two-year struggle over the civil rights bill was the breaking point for liberals and conservatives on the civil rights issue.

Designed to counteract a series of nine rulings by the Rehnquist court that had restricted the use of federal anti-discrimination laws, the bill was opposed by Gray, Sununu and other conservatives on the ground that it would force employers to hire certain numbers of minorities and women to avoid legal action. In the final compromise that Bush signed, the language describing what an employer would have to do to defend itself against charges that its hiring practice excluded women or minorities was modified in a way that Gray said was a "capitulation" by Democrats.

Liberals insisted the bill never had been a quota bill, while conservatives said it had been and, in its revised form, still was.

"If one believes there were genuine policy and legal arguments against the original bill, the bill we accepted is still bad for the country," said one administration official.

Both sides found it difficult to reconcile the George Bush who had long supported the requirement that federal contractors adopt "goals and timetables" for hiring and promoting minorities—he had campaigned on the issue when running for the Senate in 1970, and worked against the repeal of the order during the Reagan administration—with the George Bush who rallied against a "quota" bill that, whatever its faults may have been, never spelled out any such requirements.

Bush supporters such as Sen. John C. Danforth (R-Mo.), who spent countless hours doing battle with Gray and Sununu over the bill, insist that Bush himself was completely sincere and consistent in his position that he wanted a civil rights bill that he could sign.

"He did not want to be on the side against civil rights legislation and that was very clear," Danforth said.

Besides outside advisers like Coleman and senators like Danforth, Bush also resisted entreaties from top black officials within his administration not to veto the bill. Health and Human Services Secretary Louis W. Sullivan and Office of Personnel Management head Constance Berry Newman were up to Kennebunkport to meet with Bush and urge him to sign the legislation. "Quit frankly, I thought he was getting bad advice from some people," Sullivan recalled.

Fletcher, selected by Bush to head the civil rights commission, said that in the end Bush "did what was in his heart & hearts, decided he would do the right thing and pay the consequences." But he said he believes the initial veto was dictated by political considerations.

Bush followed the advice of Gray and Sununu and vetoed the first bill, Fletcher said, because "he wanted to get reelected and they [the conservatives] control the avenue to reelection." Asked whether Bush believed the original version was a quota bill, Fletcher said, "I don't know what he believed. I know he was trying to get reelected."

Some administration officials insist that Bush in fact took a political risk by signing the civil rights bill, that the differences between the two measures are significant, and that Bush had the votes to sustain a veto.

"George Bush could have continued to call that a quota bill, vetoed it again and again and had the votes to sustain it and would have had a hell of a political issue," said one former administration official.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

U.N. Avoids Showdown With Iraq

Team Ends Inspection Without Attempting To Enter Ministry

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Staff Writer

A U.N. team completed its inspection of Iraq's weapons programs yesterday without attempting to visit a Baghdad ministry, thus avoiding a potential confrontation that could have led to U.S. military action.

Spokesmen for the 22-member U.N. team said in Baghdad and New York that the final inspection of the group's visit had been successfully completed yesterday without any attempt by the Iraqi government to deny access to requested sites. The team plans to leave Baghdad this morning.

U.N. and U.S. officials declined to provide details of what had been inspected or how the widely expected showdown between Iraq and the inspectors had been averted.

A senior U.S. official said, however, he understood the U.N. team had decided not to seek a visit to an Iraqi ministry because an article Sunday in the New York Times had depicted such a visit as orchestrated by the United States in a deliberate bid to provoke Iraq. Some statements of the Baghdad government had described inspections of its ministry buildings as unacceptable violations of Iraqi sovereignty.

Rolf Ekeus, chief of the U.N. Special Commission that carries out the inspections, "decided he just could not afford" to leave an impression that the team was doing Washington's bidding on the eve of President Bush's renomination by the

See IRAQ, A10, Col. 4

U.N. Team Avoids Showdown With Iraq

IRAQ, From A1

Republican Party, even though in fact this was not the case, the official said.

In a background briefing for White House reporters last Thursday, a senior administration official said it "would be a logical assumption" that the U.N. team would seek entry to a ministry during its current trip to Baghdad. On Sunday, a day of intense speculation following the Times report, a number of U.S. officials said they expected such a challenge to take place, though some officials said they believed Iraq would permit one or more ministries to be inspected rather than risk a conflict with the United States and its coalition allies.

But yesterday, an administration official said he was aware of "no evidence" the U.N. team had ever proposed to visit a ministry during its stay in Iraq. "Generally when they [inspection teams] leave New York they have their missions planned," the official said.

Many other U.S. officials refused to comment at all on the targets of the inspection team, saying this is a matter for the United Nations alone to determine and discuss.

U.N. commission spokesman Tim Trevan said in New York that "the inspection team visited all the sites it was instructed to before it departed from Baghdad . . . and was not denied access at any of them." His statement left open the possibility that the team had added and later canceled plans to inspect a ministry on the basis of information received since leaving New York about 10 days ago.

Trevan said the U.N. team had uncovered "significant" new information related to Baghdad's ballistic missile programs. He said further details would have to await the release of the inspectors' report.

Under U.N. resolutions adopted at the end of the 1991 war in the Persian Gulf, Iraq is required to grant U.N. inspectors access to any



Nikita Smidovich, left, U.N. team head, leaves Baghdad hotel to begin inspection.

place in connection with the U.N. mission to find and destroy weapons of mass destruction. President Bush and others in the administration have adamantly insisted that Iraq comply with the inspectors' requests or face serious consequences, possibly including the use of military force.

Bush, in an interview yesterday with CNN, said he was "deeply offended" by the suggestion that he might use military force against Iraq for domestic political reasons. He went on to say that if Iraqi President Saddam Hussein refused to comply with U.N. resolutions, "of course we have responses planned, and they're strong responses."

Earlier, in an address to the Veterans of Foreign Wars annual convention in Indianapolis while en route to Houston for the Republican National Convention, Bush said the Iraqi president miscalculated about U.S. resolve to oust his forces from Kuwait. "To put it real simple, we kicked a little Baghdad

bully," Bush declared, to applause from the veterans group.

Last month the United Nations ended a standoff with Iraq over the right to inspect the Ministry of Agriculture building only after Baghdad secured a guarantee that none of the inspectors entering the site would be citizens of the victorious allied coalition led by the United States, Britain and France.

Iraq has repeatedly charged that the special commission has become a creature of the United States and its allies. Baghdad also charges that the commission is being used to gather intelligence on Iraq.

A new inspection team is scheduled to travel to Baghdad in "the next few weeks," according to a U.N. commission official.

Staff writer R. Jeffrey Smith in Washington and special correspondent Trevor Rowe at the United Nations contributed to this report.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

CIA Ex-Aide Cites Distrust Of George

*Testimony Concludes
Offering of Evidence*

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

A former CIA officer who worked on the Senate intelligence committee said yesterday that he would not trust former CIA spy chief Clair E. George "even under oath" because of their dealings with one another on Capitol Hill.

The testimony by Rob Simmons, a former staff director for the Senate panel called as a rebuttal witness for the prosecution, concluded the presentation of evidence by both sides at George's Iran-contra trial in federal district court here.

George's lawyers rested earlier in the day after informing the court of a surprise decision not to call CIA Director Robert M. Gates to the stand. They fought a hard and successful fight last week to uphold a subpoena for Gates, but decided over the weekend to forgo his testimony. They declined to say why.

U.S. District Judge Royce Lamberth said the case would go to the jury on Thursday. He plans to hold a hearing today on final instructions for the jurors. Closing arguments are expected to be heard Wednesday.

Simmons, who headed the Senate committee staff from 1981 to 1985, testified tersely about his dealings with George, who was the CIA's chief congressional relations officer during a bitter dispute in the spring of 1984 over the covert mining of harbors in Nicaragua.

The committee accused then-CIA Director William J. Casey and George of concealing the mining from the senators. Simmons was later quoted as saying, in a May 1992 article in *The Washington Post*, that George "withheld information" from both Simmons and Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.), then the committee chairman.

Under angry cross-examination by defense lawyer Richard A. Hibey, Simmons acknowledged that he "felt betrayed" by George. Simmons added that his "bottom line" on George was that "you can be a good soldier in the Cold War and a very bad American."

"I think the essence of being a good American is allowing the democratic system to work," Simmons testified.

Now a state legislator in Connecticut and visiting lecturer at Yale, Simmons was allowed to testify over Hibey's sharp protests. Hibey contended, outside the presence of the jury, that Simmons "somehow holds" Casey and George responsible for the loss of his Senate job and "apparently harbors a grudge" against George, who considered him "a lightweight."

The judge held that Simmons could testify because George had left the door open for an attack on his credibility by taking the witness stand last week.

Simmons told the jurors that "I believe, in my experience with him, he [George] was not truthful. . . . I would have some difficulty believing him, even under oath, testifying about these matters" such as the mining of the harbors.

"Do you know Clair George considered you a lightweight?" Hibey asked at one point.

"I was not aware of that, no," replied Simmons, who worked at the CIA from 1969 to 1979.

George, former CIA deputy director for operations, is standing trial on nine felony counts of lying to congressional and grand jury panels and obstructing their inquiries into the Iran-contra scandal, a tangled affair involving the Reagan administration's secret arms-for-hostages deals with Iran and its covert military resupply network for the contra rebels in Nicaragua.

In pressing last week to subpoena a reluctant Gates as a witness, George's lawyers said they wanted to show how Gates, as deputy director for intelligence and then deputy CIA director in the mid-1980s, was kept in the dark by Casey about details of what was going on in Nicaragua—much as George contends he, too, was.

The defense, however, may have concluded that Gates's testimony, especially on cross-examination, could be more harmful than helpful. According to Joseph Persico's biography of Casey, Gates said Casey and George were alike in their attitude toward Congress.

"Their attitude towards Congress was screw 'em," Gates was quoted as saying. "And that attitude communicated itself throughout the operations directorate—don't tell Congress anything unless you're driven to the wall."

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

GOP on Health: Less Government vs. More Election Battle Looms Between Conservative and Activist Views

By Victor Cohn
Washington Post Staff Writer

The shape of the battle over America's health care was made starkly clear this week by a conservative health plank in a conservative Republican platform.

The health message Republicans offer at their Houston convention embraces a program President Bush proposed last February: It rejects strong government cost controls and relies on competition between organized health plans competing for patients on the basis of price.

The struggle for a way to insure all Americans at affordable cost thus becomes one between two very different ideologies, the Republican program that uses private forces to expand care and limit costs and the Democratic approach that uses far more government muscle.

The president proposes to help uninsured Americans buy at least a "basic" health package by giving tax credits or certificates to the poor and tax deductions to the middle class.

And he would strenuously seek to expand enrollment in managed care organizations: HMOs and similar plans that seek to limit costs by bargaining for reduced rates from hospitals and doctors—and by limiting care they deem unnecessary.

He would also set new rules for private health insurers to ensure coverage for many now denied insurance. For example, he would enable employees to carry their insurance from one employer to another, almost regardless of current or previous illness. He offered ways to make it easier for small employers to insure their workers, for example, enabling them to pool their buying power.

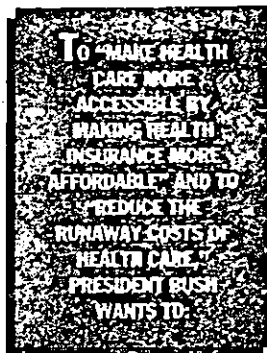
All these measures, he said, would "correct flaws in the system without changing it to a government system or compelling employers to provide insurance."

The Republican platform harshly attacks Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton's proposal, which would order private business to insure workers or pay a new health tax, with costs to be controlled by a government-set ceiling, if need be.

The Republican platform says the Clinton plan would in actuality be an irresponsible, ineffective "prescription for misery" that would imperil jobs, require billions in new taxes, lower the quality of care, drive health care providers out of the profession and lead to rationing.

For the Clinton plan, say the Republicans, would require either new federal taxes or federal borrowing of \$30 billion and cost employers \$30 billion in the first year alone, and throw 712,000 persons out of jobs by ruining small employers.

The president in February said his tax credits and deductions would cost the government "about \$35 billion" in 1997 when fully phased in. Some administration officials put the price tag far higher. The president proposed to pay part of the cost by



employers deny coverage for preexisting conditions, and (2) making it possible for workers to change jobs without losing health coverage.

■ Reduce the cost of health insurance by three main "market reforms"—(1) pooling small businesses and individuals into large groups for more favorable coverage; (2) encouraging everyone to join "managed" or "coordinated" care systems: HMOs and similar plans where every patient must have a primary care doctor who controls use of expensive referrals hospitalizations and tests; (3) prohibiting present state laws that mandate or force health plans to include various costly benefits, primarily mental health care.

■ Give poor families a tax credit or certificate large enough to buy a basic health package (\$3,750 for a family).

■ Help the middle class buy health insurance by letting families with incomes below \$80,000 a year deduct up to \$3,750 in premiums.

■ Make health insurance more secure by (1) eliminating or modifying the ways in which insurers or

■ Cut administrative costs by reducing paperwork, among other measures.

■ Reform the liability system to reduce the cost of malpractice litigation and reduce the degree to which doctors feel they must practice "defensive medicine"—employing every test or measure possible—to avoid lawsuits.

■ Establish more community and migrant health centers and expand the National Health Service Corps to increase care in underserved city and rural areas.

—Victor Cohn



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

trimming "excessive" Medicare and Medicaid payments to hospitals, doctors and laboratories. He has also proposed to save \$24 billion a year by nationwide computerization of medical claims and records to reduce health care paperwork and red tape.

Clinton says his plan would not create any of the problems the Republicans envision.

He says he would give federal assistance in early years to employers hard-pressed either to cover their workers or to pay into a government fund to help cover them. He would also help employers adapt to this "play or pay" plan by phasing it in while simultaneously getting health costs under control.

He plans to do that in large part by creating a national board to set annual health spending targets. And he, too, would rely on heavy use of managed care plans.

Bush's health care advisers, including Gail Wilensky, deputy director of the Domestic Policy Council, believe government-set budgets would limit health care in a way Americans would not accept, and would soon collapse. A limit on health spending, they say, inevitably means that some treatments—for example, transplants with little chance of success—would not be funded by insurers. And some people would agitate for them, even though insurers felt they had little value.

The president has maintained that Clinton's election would mean government-run care with "the efficiency of the post office" and "the compassion of the KGB."

Candidate Clinton has replied that Bush offers the "same old placebos" with no solution at all to costs rising like a sick patient's uncontrolled fever.

Across the country, economists and health experts in general are similarly split, with some mainly on the primarily private, market-forces side and others favoring such steps as a government mandate to employers and annual caps on total health spending.

But these analysts who make health care their life's study are by no means split along strict Republican vs. Democratic or conservative vs. liberal or activist lines but rather by arguments over what would work.

There is a general agreement that there is no plan without pluses and minuses. Many health experts doubt that Bush's tax credits and deductions are generous enough to truly provide everyone adequate health insurance. Yet the Bush plan would give private enterprise a chance to solve the health problem with a minimum of government interference.

And many experts who favor Clinton's employer-mandated health insurance acknowledge that it might strain many small employers. They acknowledge that if the tax on employers who choose not to "play" is high enough to cover all the uninsured, the result amounts to government health insurance.

Despite a spate of bills of all sorts thrown into congressional hoppers, neither Bush's proposals nor the kind Clinton offers have

come anywhere close to a vote in this heavily political, election-bound gridlock year.

Congressional Democrats have introduced plans ranging from moderate health insurance reforms to strong employer mandates to total tax-paid national health insurance.

A House Republican task force in June introduced a plan that incorporated some elements of Bush's proposal but not all the tax changes he sought.

Nor did Bush's proposal include three even more activist tax measures he originally planned to include. These were a limit on tax deductions employers take for providing health coverage—this to encourage them to provide less open-handed coverage—a tax on health benefits received by the affluent and increased Medicare premiums for high-income elderly.

All these were eliminated at the last minute after congressional Republicans facing fall elections objected to them, even though many economists feel measures like these may be inevitable if the nation is to afford universal health coverage.

Everyone agrees on the nation's main health problem: more and more persons uninsured and poorly insured despite the world's largest per capita health spending, with both of these conditions getting steadily worse.

But there has been no move whatsoever toward accommodation between Republicans and Democrats to make some sort of start this year on a solution.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

Brie, Beans and a Big Battle

U.S.-EC Fight Masks Tensions That May Spawn a Trade War

By Stuart Auerbach
Washington Post Staff Writer

It could be the first trade battle of the post-Cold War era. The U.S. arsenal: tariffs on fine wines, gourmet cheeses, mineral water and cognac.

Although it may seem like a yuppie war, it masks the seriousness of increased trade tensions across the Atlantic.

The United States within weeks is prepared to double tariffs on \$1 billion worth of European food products, and the European Community already is threatening a counterattack. At issue is blocked U.S. sales in Europe of animal feed made from oil seeds such as soybeans.

If the United States follows through, the tariffs against European goods would be the harshest trade actions the United States has ever taken against other countries.

But the stakes are much higher than soybean sales. Jeffrey J. Schott of the Institute for International Economics said any U.S. retaliation against

the 12-nation European Community over its oil seeds policies could sink efforts to revive the Uruguay Round of global trade talks, which also are foundering over a U.S.-EC fight over agriculture.

"It would create a transatlantic trade war of such dimension that it would sour any chance of completing the Uruguay Round," Schott said.

Further, the economic battles could worsen political tensions that are surfacing. "By reducing the relationship to a [question of the] trade balance, economic misunderstandings can drive us into political danger," said Robert E. Hunter, director of European studies at the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

The increased trade tensions come at a time when ties between the United States and its closest allies in Western Europe are being fractured by broader economic rivalries and by political differences over such issues as aid to the former Soviet republics and how to deal with the killing fields of the Yugoslav civil war.

These political and economic tensions are rising

See TRADE, C4, Col. 1

U.S., Europe Nearing a Big Trade Fight

TRADE, From C1

to the fore in the absence of a communist threat, which held the transatlantic alliance together during the Cold War.

The oil seed battle began 30 years ago, when the United States won zero tariffs on oil seed sales to Europe. Under the arcane rules of world trade, the United States had paid for this duty-free entry of oil seeds to Europe by making concessions in other areas.

Over the years, however, European subsidies to its growers of soybeans and other oil seeds became so great that U.S. sales dropped far below expectations. In 1987, the American Soybean Association filed

"We have made the case that this is a litmus test for the validity of a GATT agreement."

— Nancy Foster of the American Soybean Association

a trade complaint charging that the EC's subsidies were denying U.S. producers their rights under international trading rules, known as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

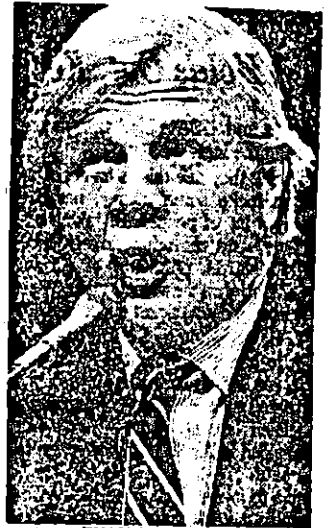
Two years later, in 1990, a GATT panel upheld the U.S. complaint and recommended that the European Community amend its soybean subsidy policy to conform to international rules. The EC made some changes, but the GATT panel again ruled that Europe was violating international trading rules.

Schott said both sides are trying to find common ground, but the issue has become a tense political battle between the Bush administration and Europe, especially the governments of France and Germany, whose farmers would be most affected by changes in EC subsidies.

But just as Bush is under pressure from American soybean farmers, French President Francois Mitterrand is concerned that any compromise he makes on imported oil seeds will inflame his politically active farmers to vote against European union in a Sept. 20 referendum.

European officials have said they would like to postpone any confrontation until after the referendum. Mitterrand told Bush at the economic summit last month that his country will make no moves to settle the Uruguay Round until after the Sept. 20 vote.

"President Bush is in a squeeze," said Evan Galbraith, former U.S. ambassador to France in the Reagan administration and now chairman of the U.S. sales subsidiary of the big French champagne, cognac and luggage firm, LVMH Moet Hennessy Louis Vuitton Inc.



EVAN GALBRAITH

...sees pressure on U.S. to retaliate

"My reading of the administration is that they are under such political pressure from soybean farmers that they can't delay retaliation much more," added Galbraith, who said he will talk to U.S. Trade Representative Carla A. Hills today at the Republican National Convention in Houston.

The Europeans have offered to compensate the United States for the loss of soybean sales. But they set the U.S. loss far lower than the \$1 billion the administration is claiming—the EC offer was \$300 million to \$400 million—and, more importantly, the benefits would not go to the aggrieved parties, U.S. soybean farmers. The compensation would be in the form of increased access to European markets for U.S. corn growers and meat producers.

For that reason, the American Soybean Association opposes the compensation offer. "We want to get the dispute settled, but not at the expense of not receiving redress," said Nancy Foster, vice president of the soybean farmers' group.

Soybean farmers are powerful factors in trade disputes because there are a lot of them and they generally favor free trade, giving their views more weight than those of producers of more protected commodities, such as peanuts or sugar.

"We have made the case that this is a litmus test for the validity of a GATT agreement. If GATT doesn't work and open up Europe's market, soybean farmers will question the value of the Uruguay Round," said Foster.

Oddly, as Washington's trade disagreements with Europe have increased, the United States has improved its balance of trade across the Atlantic. The United States ran a \$17 billion trade surplus with the European Community nations last year as exports increased by \$5 billion, to \$103 billion. This year, the United States still maintains a favorable balance with its European trade partners.

By contrast, the trade deficit with Japan is growing as trade frictions with that nation have been moved to the back burner. Japan ran a \$43.4 billion trade surplus with the United States last year, almost \$2 billion more than the year before, and the surplus is growing this year.

The TV Column

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

First things first: The Washington Redskins—San Francisco 49ers preseason tilt from Great Britain from 1 to 4 p.m. Sunday on Channel 4 averaged a 20.3 Nielsen rating and a 45 percent audience share here.

Good show!... Court TV offers live coverage today between 9 a.m. and noon of a civil hearing in New York on a motion to free the assets of Washington power brokers/attorneys Clark Clifford and Robert Alt-

Manhattan District Attorney Robert Morgenthau... than froze their assets late last month. The defendants argue that they can't pay their routine living expenses.

The attorneys face state and federal charges of conspiracy, fraud and bribery for their role in the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) scandal.

The hearing is before the New York Supreme Court.

CNN's Bernard Shaw will interview Vice President Dan Quayle live this morning at 11:45 a.m.

A tip of the ole rabbit ears to Diane Begala and Paul Begala, proud parents of John Paul Begala, who arrived at Columbia Hospital for Women on Thursday weighing 8 pounds.

Mother is director of public affairs and special projects at the National Cable Television Association. Father is a key media adviser to Gov. Bill Clinton and partner of James Carville.

Mourning the death of his producer David Kaplan, killed by a sniper's bullet last week while the two were in Sarajevo, Sam Donaldson has decided to skip the Republican National Convention in Houston this week, although he is expected to continue to work on "PrimeTime Live" assignments.

During the Democratic convention, Donaldson joined George Will for analysis of events every day from Madison Square Garden for ABC News.

Coke Roberts—who is moving pretty fast at ABC News these days—will join Will as an analyst. Correspondent Lynn Sherr has been dispatched to Houston to replace Roberts as a door reporter.

Some 600 friends and colleagues of Mr. Kaplan gathered Sunday afternoon at the Kennedy Center Terrace for a memorial service.

George Watson, ABC News bureau chief in Washington, introduced the speakers, who included Donaldson, ABC News President Norman San-

ledge, public relations executive Norman San-

der—White House correspondent for UPI when Mr. Kaplan and Donaldson were assigned to the same beat by ABC here; ABC News executive

correspondent Bill Plante...

A plaintiff opened the service for the Chicago native with a few choruses of "Chicago" and concluded the proceedings with "My Way," Mr. Kaplan liked Frank Sinatra...

Now This

On C-SPAN today between the convention coverage will be the call-in programs at 8 a.m. with two GOP candidates for the U.S. Senate, Bruce Herschensohn of California and Rich Wil-

Hamson of Illinois; and at 4, former majority leader and White House chief of staff Howard Baker.

Over the weekend, "Today" co-anchor Bryant Gumbel shaved off the scruff he brought back from Africa last week, which may or may not have saved him a working-over by Katie Couric, who returned to the broadcast yesterday from her assignment in Barcelona and a very few days off.

Specialist regarding the injury to his right arm that may—or may not—require the wearing of a cast.

The premiere Sunday of "Roc" as a live half-hour was very big in Washington, averaging a 17.6/28 on Channel 5 at 8:30.

As a matter of fact, "Roc" did better in D.C. than in any of the other 24 big-city markets monitored overnight by Nielsen. The 25-city average for "Roc" was an 11.1/19, behind CBS's "Murder, She Wrote" (13.4/22) but ahead of ABC's "Raiders of the Lost Ark" (9.4/16).

That same half-hour in Washington, "Murder She Wrote" on Nine did a 14.9/24, the season premiere of NBC's "Witness Video" did a 10.4/17 on Four and "Raiders of the Lost Ark" a 7.0/11 on Seven.

There was, as you might suspect, some additional live news from the Weekend Kallagzz roundup.

On Saturday night, the return of "Cops" and "Code 3" to the FOX schedule for the fall was good for an 8.9/18 and an 8.8/17, respectively, according to the 25-city Nielsen overnight.

The Giants-Browns NFL game on CBS did a 6.0/12 in the big-city markets.

On Sunday night, the debut of "Secret Service" on NBC did an 8.0/16, while "Witness Video" debuted to a 10.6/18, the network's best for the night.

Locally, the Giant-Browns Saturday night on Nine did a 7.6/14, "Cops" did a 12.1/22 and "Code 3" an 11.4/20 on Five.

Sunday, "Witness Video" did a 9.4/15 and "Secret Service" an 8.7/17 on Four.

More on Kent

Rome-based NBC News correspondent Arthur Kent, suspended along with his producer Joe Alcastro without pay last week for refusing an assignment to Zagreb, Croatia, was at the Sixth Avenue entrance of NBC headquarters in Manhattan yesterday passing out copies of a letter explaining his side of a longstanding contract dispute with the network and, in his words, to "say goodbye to some of my colleagues as they went to work."

Kent had contacted several journalists in the United States in the days since he was locked out of his NBC offices in Rome, offering lengthy versions of his side of the dispute.

Those remarks, printed in major newspapers in recent days, as well as Monday's appearance at 30 Rockefeller Plaza ("in a safari jacket," one NBC source pointed out) drew a response from NBC News yesterday, a statement describing his "public comments and behavior over the past few days... as bizarre and unfortunate. It is NBC News's position that Arthur's assertions are a severe misrepresentation of the facts."

"For the past 18 months," said NBC, "management has worked aggressively and enthusiastically to try to create an environment which would meet his wishes. But he has continued to be unhappy and has been unable to deal with any level of management, as we have given him opportunities from 'NBC Nightly News' to 'Date-

line NBC to the NBC News desk...

"Arthur's refusal to go to Zagreb, Croatia, on August 5 was not an isolated incident; the network continued. 'It is the culmination of a progression of problems that we have had with Arthur, including assignments and editorial direc-

tion, with Arthur often refusing even to communicate with NBC personnel on the matter at hand. He has consistently been unable to work within a supervisory and collaborative environment."

While both Kent and NBC said yesterday that talks are continuing between their lawyers, sources at the network suggest the situation has probably become untenable for the parties.

"We at NBC News are saddened that the situation with Arthur Kent has reached this point," a paragraph near the top of the NBC News statement began yesterday, "and regret that this could not be resolved professionally and privately."

Kent has contended the assignment to Zagreb came only after his lawyers had notified the contractual and legal conflict that existed between the management team of NBC News and this reporter over some months.

Kent's letter "to my colleagues" described what he called "five days of suffering the indignity of being slandered as a coward and a shifter while friends and colleagues risk their lives, or sacrifice them, in the pursuit of our craft."

(The NBC News statement responded that "while we have tried to work out an accommodation with Arthur, we are now making this public statement because we feel that he has given us no other choice, given his recent comments and actions, especially lying his circumstances to the tragic death of ABC News producer David Kaplan last week. David Kaplan was killed in Sarajevo, Bosnia, the center of the critical fighting, about 200 miles from Zagreb. Zagreb has been de-

scribed by our own news people on sight [sic], as well as the State Department, as a stable ar-

ea..."

Kent said yesterday that when he went to NBC in the morning, "the reaction on the street was 100 percent in favor of the reporter. I didn't reject the assignment, I rejected the trap that had been set for me."

Kent said he had heard, but was unable to confirm, that on Saturday NBC News veteran John Chancellor, on CNN, "cautioned viewers that there had to be more to this story and that I was a 'brave young lad'."

His sideways letter yesterday concluded with a reference to "my own situation with [NBC president] Mr. Bob Wright or, through my legal representatives, with his lawyers. The choice is his. For now, goodbye, and take good care of The Peacock [the NBC logo]. Even in a cage, write Kent. The remains one of the loveliest birds of News, Sports and Entertainment in America."

On Sunday night, the debut of "Secret Service" on NBC did an 8.0/16, while "Witness Video" debuted to a 10.6/18, the network's best for the night.

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More on Kent

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

One for The Gipper

Loyalists Toast Reagan
Amid Nostalgia for '80s

By John F. Harris
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, Aug. 17—It all seems so misty now, so far away. Could the whole thing have been a dream?

The eight years of conservative high tide under Ronald Reagan was certainly real enough at the time to the dozens of former aides and supporters of the ex-president who gathered here this afternoon to toast their hero on the night of his prime-time address to the Republican National Convention.

But what was intended as celebration couldn't help but be lamentation. For the palpable sentiment—voiced in euphemisms but unmistakable—among these loyalists is that the Reagan legacy has been misplaced by the man who was supposed to carry it on.

"Ronald Reagan you could see riding into the sunset on a horse," said Michael Castine, who went to work in the Reagan White House 12 years ago at age 26. "George Bush—you see him more on a golf cart."

After some thought, Castine decided, "Passion, that's the word—with Ronald Reagan there was passion."

It's not just passion many of the Reagan alumni see missing at the White House these days but clarity. Back then, or so it's remembered, we were the Good Guys and they were the Evil Empire. Democrats wanted



The Bushes and Reagans at the Sheraton AstroDome before Ronald Reagan's convention address last night.

to raise taxes and Republicans wanted to cut them.

But Bush, many who turned out at this hors d'oeuvres-and-cocktail gathering are convinced, has taken this bright world of certitude and ideology and turned it into a blur of polls and message-tailoring and diffidence.

Reagan's rah-rah has become Bush's blah-blah.

"Ronald Reagan is one of those great presidents like Lincoln or Theodore Roosevelt," said Richard Sellers, a conservative activist and candidate for U.S. Senate in Alabama. "It happens with all the great presidents—the president after them looks weak."

A few hours before Reagan was set to address the party, James Miller, one of his former budget directors, predicted: "It'll be a shot of adrenaline. The great object of this convention is to rejuvenate the Republican faithful."

"He will create a lot of sentimentali-

ty and nostalgia," said Miller. "He has a sort of magic."

Yet as revered a figure as Reagan may be among the party faithful, his acolytes sound a defensive note when discussing him with outsiders. They know that among the general public his memory has soured. Surveys now show Jimmy Carter as the more respected former president.

Defending Reagan's record and rebutting media criticism are among the purposes of the Reagan-Bush Administration and Campaign Alumni Association, the 3,000-member group that threw today's fest.

"You have Gorbachev getting named Man of the Decade, and Reagan getting no credit for planting the seed" of the Soviet Union's dissolution, said Lou Cordia, executive director of the group, which meets quarterly and publishes a newsletter.

Among the Reaganites who showed were speechwriter Peggy Noonan, do-

mestic policy adviser Martin Anderson and liaison officer Faith Whittlesey.

Castine predicted that Reagan's appearance tonight would help bring the would-have-been supporters of Ross Perot into the Bush fold. Both Reagan and Perot have a theatrical quality that is not merely an ornament to leadership but the substance of it.

"Both reached out to the pioneering spirit of Americans, the can-do spirit," he said, creating a national mood that bred its own success. "You felt good. Winners like to be with winners."

While some see the Republicans' problems this year as evidence that the political cycle has moved away from Reaganite conservatism, many at today's gathering believe his impact will not prove so transient.

"What is a centrist position in 1992," recalled one former budget aide, "would have been a radical right position in 1976."

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

The Haunting of the GOP

Atwater's Legacy, Hovering Like a Ghost Over Houston

By Henry Allen
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, Aug. 17—Lee Atwater, dammit, where are you?

All over town—the Astrodome done up pretty as a new-car dealership, the waterfall restaurants, the cocktail parties in River Oaks houses where there are floodlights planted out front along with the shrubbery, the young Republicans wandering around the American Spirit pavilion in their tasseled loafers and blue blazers and their hair looking like their mother had parted it for them that morning before school—throughout the Republican convention, in other words, the ghost of Lee Atwater hovered but wouldn't quite settle.

He died of a brain tumor last year at 40, the Republican National Committee chairman who used to play guitar in nightclubs with B.B. King, a manic, leg-jigging, eye-darting, middle-middle South Carolina hustler who managed to connect George Bush's country club Republicanism with the hopes, fears, resentments and despairs of blue-collar, trailer-living America. When he died, the slick operative and master of negative campaigning had already become a legend, and now, at the convention, he was attaining the status of folk hero.

If only Lee were here, people kept saying, as they looked at poll numbers, party morale, fragmentation and a rise of special interests that was eerily similar to the one that made such a mess of the Democrats for so long. Lee knew what was important. He kept it together.

With the fatalistic amusement of a man who has been mentioned as a Republican presidential candidate himself in the past, former secretary of education William Bennett stood next to a statue at a cocktail party and said: "This party is full of analytical wonks. On the issue of school choice, we talk about the benefits of the free market, and the average parents say, 'Free mar-

See ATWATER, D2, Col. 1



- The GOP abortion rights revolt that failed. Page D2
- Reagan loyalists gather to toast their hero. Page D2
- Reliable Source. Page D3



Lee Atwater: The shadow of the late GOP chairman hung over Houston, where black Republicans paid tribute to him.

The Bush Women, Calling the Shots

By Lloyd Grove
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, Aug. 17—In a world of buttoned-up personalities and buttoned-down shirts, Mary Matalin and Torie Clarke are definite standouts. Tall and striking, and quick on the draw, they are George Bush's gunslingers.

The Thelma and Louise of the GOP, they've been dubbed for their cheeky style and take-no-prisoners approach to the usually somber business of presidential campaigning—not to mention their flair for overheated rhetoric unusual at this level of public discourse.

"Sniveling, hypocritical," the bluntly acerbic Matalin started calling the Democratic candidates after the nomination of "Boy Clinton" in New York and the start of his "lower-than-a-snake's-belly" campaign.

Meanwhile, Clarke, who tends to go for laughs, has at times deemed it politically useful to poke fun at the size of Ross Perot's ears and the sweetness of Bill Clinton's tooth.

Not everyone in the Bush camp sees the charm of
See DYNAMIC DUO, D2, Col. 1



The GOP's "Thelma and Louise": Deputy Campaign Manager Mary Matalin and Press Secretary Torie Clarke.

The GOP's Clarke and Matalin

DYNAMIC DUO, From D1

the "Thelma & Louise" analogy as it applies to Deputy Campaign Manager Matalin and Press Secretary Clarke.

"It's a good story, very cute," said Bush-Quayle Communications Director Will Feltis, apparently going for sarcasm. "Get them to pose in a convertible—but *after* we win."

"I just want to be the one that kills the guy," Clarke quipped, presumably meaning Bill Clinton, presumably speaking figuratively.

Matalin, however, was gun-shy, and declined to be interviewed, having suffered through—and contributed to—countless feature stories about her romance with Clinton strategist James Carville. "I'm afraid you're going to write about the dirt under my fingernails," she said with a frankness that has made her popular among reporters seeking the incendiary quote.

"A very good bulldog," President Bush called her after the flap earlier this month about "bimbo eruptions"—the words of a top Clinton operative that Matalin threw back, like a Molotov cocktail, at the Democratic nominee.

"It's the truth, pal," Clarke defended her colleague, before Matalin was forced to offer a grudging apology for what Bush called a lapse into "sleaze."

Indeed, the two may even spur each other on to ever higher rhetorical flights. Matalin, for instance, recently complained to this reporter's voice mail: "I thought your story was a piece of [expletive], but I suppose you expected nothing less from me."

"All right!" Clarke exulted, when told of Matalin's message.

They seem to delight in hanging out on the edge of the envelope—though normally their messages arrive by fax.

"Bill Clinton: He Calls Himself Elvis—But on Free Trade, He's the Great Pretender," one of their trademark attack faxes was headlined, shortly after they began sending them to news organizations late last month.

"The secret of Clinton's success," promises another, dealing with the Democrat's allegedly spurious claims of policy triumph: "STRETCH, WILLIE STRETCH."

"I don't think you convince any voters by being snide," said "Clinton mouthpiece" George Stephanopoulos, as one Bush campaign fax belittles the Democratic nominee's communications director. But Stephanopoulos conceded that the faxes "make good reading"—and, indeed, a recent one about Clinton's varying positions on the Persian Gulf War resulted in a damaging story in the New York Times. By contrast, Democratic releases attacking Bush tend to be equally tough but dull.

"Jorge!" Clarke shouted recently, and perhaps even affectionately, when her rival operative suddenly appeared on the ever-bright television screen in her Washington office.

She proudly displays the anonymous hate mail the two have received in tandem, keeping several examples taped to a glass partition.

"MARY MATALIN, SLEAZE QUEEN. TORIE CLARKE, THE PRINCESS OF MEAN," one regular correspondent scrawled recently in emphatic capital letters. "YOU'VE GOT 86 DAYS TO TURN BOZO BUSH AND HIS PIT BULL DUMMY DAN INTO A VIABLE, BELIEVABLE DYNAMIC DUO! GOOD LUCK AND KEEP THE HALCION HANDY."

"I particularly like the pig stickers," Clarke said, pointing out the conspicuous decals decorating the missives.

There is, of course, a definite downside to their fame. Clarke tells of finding her car windows shattered twice by rocks, though she can't be sure it had anything to do with her politics. Then there's her persistent obscene phone caller, a man who once—unable to reach Clarke—left a graphic message about her on Matalin's machine.

They both came to their current jobs from wide and varied professional experiences. Clarke, 33, is a Pittsburgh native who started out as a photographer for the Washington Star and snagged a job snapping pictures for then-Vice President Bush after the paper

shut down in 1981. A committed Republican, mainly because of her concern for national defense, she worked for a losing House candidate in 1982, signed on as press secretary with Arizona congressman, later senator, John McCain, and then wrote speeches and handled communications for U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills—the post she left for Bush's re-election effort.

"This is a lot more fun, a lot more meaningful," she said of her present labors, "and the stakes are much higher. If you screw up, everybody knows."

Asked if she's learned the consequences of error from personal experience, she laughed and said, "Not yet."

Matalin, who turns 39 this week, is the daughter of working-class Chicagoans, and briefly studied to be a beautician before finding her true calling in the rough-and-tumble of campaigns. A George Bush loyalist above all else, she has held high-profile posts in two presidential races as well as at the Republican National Committee, where she ran the party's day-to-day operations through the illness and death of her mentor, RNC Chairman Lee Atwater.

But Atwater, who raised negative campaigning to a high martial art as Bush's manager in 1988, was known for a subtlety of attack that Matalin, for one, seems to shun.

Yet it's possible she and Clarke are reining themselves in with the arrival to the campaign of James Baker, a man not known to have a high appreciation for operatives, other than himself, who attract the limelight. Recent Bush campaign faxes, for instance, have at least done the Democratic standard-bearer the courtesy of not referring to him as "Boy." And Clarke said she wanted to make clear her reluctance to be interviewed about herself.

But, she added, "I don't accept your premise that there's been a change in tone"—and perhaps she's right.

They were at it again in today's attack fax, which was catchily titled: "Can Bill Clinton Manage a Foreign Policy Crisis? Don't Make Us Laugh."

"When the red phone rings, America can't afford a president whose first instinct is to say 'Take a message,'" Matalin quoted herself as saying. "But that's Bill Clinton's style. Frightening, isn't it?"

The Washington Post

The Reliable Source

By Lois Romano

Weld, Standing Firm

He arrived like a Democratic rock star, but maintained the Republican demeanor of his Boston Brahmin upbringing. Even as the horde of hungry reporters pushed up against him, and the disenfranchised of his own party reached out to touch him, William Weld never broke a sweat. His perfectly tailored taupe suit stayed uncreased. Not a red hair drifted out of place. It was nearly midnight.

"Everybody deserves to be treated with dignity. . . . No one should be satisfied with scraps," the Massachusetts governor told the Log Cabin Club, a group of gay Republicans. Reporters writing this down nearly outnumbered the guests.

Indeed, with his fiscal conservatism, his unequivocal stand in favor of abortion rights and gay rights, and The Great Presidential Mention for '96, Weld has become one of the sought-after stories of this so-far newsless convention.

He has often described himself as a "filthy supply-sider" and he's just to the right of Attila the Hun on law and order issues. But he's also a rock-and-roll Republican who loves to talk music and seems to have flouted the convention controllers by inserting a line about his abortion rights position into his speech tonight.

"I have my positions," he said late Sunday night with classic understatement, "and they are more libertarian than those of the national party on social issues." He says there is no hostility between him and the campaign. (But his advisers do worry:



William Weld: Wearing well.

"We don't want to be blamed if the president loses by 2 percent," said one.)

"I do not think it's risky to ask that people are treated without discrimination," Weld says when asked directly about the risks of taking his party on publicly.

After he and other abortion rights governors gave up a floor fight yesterday on abortion, California Gov. Pete Wilson suggested that the groundwork had been laid for '96. But Weld won't entertain such talk—at least not about his own prospects. "I'm barely looking forward to 1994," he says, "my own reelection as governor." That's what they all say.

Dennis Eckart: Let Us Spray

■ Unshaven and wearing a sport shirt, Democratic Rep. Dennis Eckart was schmoozing and cruising through the media work space. He's in Houston doing political analysis for Cleveland ABC affiliate WEWS.

"Democrats meet in New York, Republicans meet in Purgatory," Eckart said when asked to list the cultural and sociological differences between conventions.

"Could he have been referring to the humidity and the virtually unmanageable cement sprawl here?"

"There's also a paucity of black faces here," he added.

And, noted the Ohio congressman none too kindly, "there's a lot more hair spray at the Republican convention. The stock of Alberto VO5 has gone way up in our hotel."

All this he said after being in town two hours.



Dennis Eckart: Dressing down.

Red, White . . . and Blue

■ The hostess wore a sequined American flag top, and stars-and-stripes stockings—but she had few kind words for her president. She had earned the right. She was with George Bush in those early, lean Houston years and here she was entertaining GOP hitters at his convention in her stupendous home.

"I am very unhappy with the president's position on abortion," said Nancy Peterkin, who with her husband, George, and Judy and Clarke Reed feted Washington's political and media elite the other night. "He may lose the election because of it. I can remember when the Bushes agreed with us."

The house was packed with names: the Mosbachers, Trent Lott, Rush Limbaugh, Bill Bennett, Tom Brokaw, Carroll Campbell, Newt Gingrich, Evans and Novak, and on and on and on. And while everyone seemed to be having fun eating tenderloin of beef, fancy cheese and crispy vegetables (a blessed break from the Tex-Mex onslaught), it was not the kind of raw convention excitement that occurs when victory is in the air—or when folks are in tune with their candidate.

"Sure he hurts me right now," Illinois Senate candidate Rich Williamson said candidly of George Bush. "But Illinois will



Nancy Peterkin with Denton Cooley: Wearing the stars and stripes.

be a hotly contested presidential state and that will help me in the end."

"If we have a problem it is where we are going. What direction are we heading in?" said off-and-on GOP bigwig Bill Bennett. "The president has to convince voters to send him back for four more years—but that it will be different. That's the real trick."

WE'VE HEARD THAT.

■ Party stalwarts are getting tired of being bossed around by the twentysix Repubs helping with the program. The upstarts have nicknamed the command post for senior advisers "the old farts" trailer. "And these are kids who have never held a job before," huffed a Commerce official.

■ CBS may want Dan Rather to do an interview with the president this week, but the campaign had something else in mind. In light of Rather's 1988 shouting match with George Bush, campaign officials requested Connie Chung. CBS refused to let them choose their reporter, and no interview is scheduled.

■ Convention organizers frantically tried to get Dan Quayle into the hall quickly last night so his arrival wouldn't disrupt Pat Buchanan's speech. He made it by the skin of his teeth.

■ Right-leaning radio talk show host Rush Limbaugh is a hot commodity. He's sitting in the vice president's VIP box tonight and the President's Box tomorrow night.

■ Rob Mosbacher, son of Robert and head of the Texas reelection effort, said

yesterday that because his sister is a lesbian he would recuse himself from any anti-homosexual positions of the party. "She's my sister and I disagree with her, but I love her," Mosbacher said yesterday at a party at his father's house.

The Boxed-In Crowd

■ Here's who was sitting in the President's Box last night:

Barbara Bush; Charlton Heston; Randy Travis; Jerry and Mazel Falwell; Condoleezza Rice, the former NSC official who spoke last night; Carol Laxalt; Bay Buchanan; Shelley Buchanan; former Houston Oiler Ernie Ladd; Howard Baker; Arco Chairman Lod Cook; Michael Reagan; Maureen Reagan; George W. and Laura Bush; and Doro and Bobby Koch.



The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

Bush, Saddam and U.S. Politics

U.S. war plans for a strike against Saddam Hussein now center on the Iraqi dictator's escalating campaign of terror against the Shiites in southern Iraq—not on United Nations inspections of government ministries in Baghdad. The media spotlight that swept Baghdad over the weekend focused attention on the right church but the wrong pew.

The spotlight was switched on by a New York Times account that predicted a confrontation yesterday over a U.N. demand to inspect the Ministry of Military Industrialization in Baghdad. The story had a basis in fact, but it reported a decision on U.S. military reprisals that had been changed before the account appeared.

Plans to have U.S., British and French warplanes strike inside Baghdad immediately if the Iraqis refused a new inspection were altered as a result of a debate at senior levels of the Bush administration. At issue is the degree of provocation by Saddam needed to justify new coalition air attacks.

In a sense, these are details that one of America's great newspapers happened to mishandle in a way that had "Potus"—the president of the United States in White House jargon—chewing the carpet. Such misunderstandings between the press and presidents are familiar in Washington in election years in which U.S. troops are engaged abroad. A president's motives for ordering Americans into combat inevitably come under intense scrutiny.

The Times account went too far in suggesting that Bush was planning a military strike purely for political gain. But Bush bears some responsibility for this imbroglio as well.

America, Britain and France reached agreement in principle on new military action against Saddam two weeks ago, as reported in this column. Washington, London and Paris are determined not to permit a repetition of the humiliating standoff that occurred when Iraq refused in July to allow United Nations inspectors access to the Ministry of Agriculture

in Baghdad for nearly three weeks.

But the final go-ahead for air raids on Baghdad was withheld when misgivings surfaced in the coalition and within the administration over the probable international reaction to bombing Iraqi ministries. Saddam could manipulate the timing and form of such confrontations, which might involve heavy civilian casualties.

"Not everyone was convinced of the wisdom of bombing ministries that we were saying had to be inspected and searched for documents or material that our bombs would have destroyed," says one administration official. "There was a feeling after a great deal of discussion that to be persuasive our focus had to be broader than bombing ministries, particularly since the urgent cause for concern right now is Saddam's growing brutality against the Shiites in the south."

A clear sign that attacks on Iraqi ministries would be controversial came from Turkey, which suddenly announced this month that coalition

aircraft would not be allowed to use Turkish airfields for such missions.

The military implications of Turkey's move were slight. The United States can mount attacks on Baghdad from aircraft carriers, and the coalition air force can operate from Saudi Arabian fields. But Ankara's cold feet had significant political impact in coalition capitals.

In characteristic overreaching, Saddam has chosen this moment to intensify his war against the Shiites. Iraqi aircraft flew nearly 100 sorties one day last week in a dramatic increase of activity that has included bombing and strafing runs against the unarmed Shiites, according to U.S. intelligence reports. American officials now believe Iraqi opposition accounts that say Saddam's forces are systematically poisoning water sources in the Shiite marshlands.

The plight of the Shiites and Iraq's refusal to renew a memorandum of understanding to permit United Nations relief workers access to Iraqi civilians are the make-or-break issues of negotia-

tions that were begun in Baghdad yesterday by Jan Eliasson, head of the U.N. emergency aid program.

U.S. officials see Eliasson's mission as decisive in determining whether force will again be used on Saddam. The Times was premature, and looking the wrong way, in its reporting on an August Surprise.

But under the twin pressures of Saddam's intransigence and the U.S. election campaign, Bush is reversing the failed policies he has pursued since the end of Operation Desert Storm, such as letting Saddam's air force take to the air against the Shiites in the first place.

The president's repeated failure to keep direct military pressure on Saddam over the past 16 months makes it impossible today to unravel Bush's political fortunes from the messy and still dangerous situation in Iraq. He failed to draw clear and hard lines when he had a chance to do so. Now George Bush must also carry responsibility for the impression that George Bush is playing politics with Iraq.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

Lally Weymouth

A Syrian Scud Threat

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin paid a triumphant visit to the United States last week, securing at long last a commitment for \$10 billion in U.S. loan guarantees and prompting the Bush administration to terminate its frequently harsh anti-Israel rhetoric. The new prime minister apparently developed a friendly and easy relationship with President Bush during his short stay at Bush's Kennebunkport vacation retreat.

There, Israeli and American officials argued late into the night over the loan guarantees. Rabin has agreed to a temporary freeze on new West Bank Jewish settlements, provoking a major domestic outcry from Israeli right-wingers on the eve of his departure for America. But the prime minister would not pledge permanently to halt settlements he deems vital to Israel's security.

Eventually, American officials concluded that Israel was not prepared to

make further settlement-related concessions and agreed nonetheless to sign off on the loan guarantees.

The Israeli delegation even raised the delicate subject of clemency for Jonathan Pollard, the U.S. Navy employee convicted of stealing classified documents and giving them to Israel. Pollard is now serving a life sentence in a federal prison.

Curiously, an issue of enormous concern both to U.S. and Israeli officials received virtually no public attention during the Rabin visit. Americans and Israelis have been fixated for more than a year on what they view as a major common danger—a threat both to Israel's security and to that of U.S. troops stationed on the ground in the Middle East.

The danger? Last year, when Iraq launched Scud missiles at Israel, American and Israeli military planners learned that the Patriot missile wasn't as effective as U.S. planners

had hoped. It seems the Scuds tended to break into pieces in flight. And the Patriot—able to hit only one target—didn't "know" which piece carried the devastating warhead.

The problem remains unsolved. Neither the Advanced Patriot nor the Israeli-made Arrow missile will perform against Scuds if the Scuds break up or, early in flight, disperse bomblets carrying, say, nerve gas or the virulent poison anthrax. Indeed, the Patriot will likely hit only a few of the bomblets, allowing the rest to land. The potential consequences for the population of Tel Aviv or any other Israeli city are evident. Obviously, the same danger exists if the bomblets land on U.S. troops stationed in the region.

Syria is acquiring a goodly number of highly accurate Scud C missiles. Recently, moreover, Damascus tested the Scud C's at a site south of the Syrian capital. Apparently, the Scud C

has a 500-mile range, which means it can reach all of Israel and parts of Saudi Arabia, Turkey and other key targets. Syria purchased its Scud C's from North Korea. First they were taken to Tehran; then the Scuds were transported to Syria.

After the Gulf war, Israel proposed—and the United States agreed—to work to develop a joint deterrence program. The answer consists in devising a method to stop the missiles during their boost phase. (The Scuds can't disperse the bomblets until the boost phase is over.) The only near-term solution that's been identified rests on deploying a squadron of drones, unmanned vehicles each carrying a miniaturized interceptor—a device that can locate the oncoming missile, steer into it and destroy it by sheer force of impact.

The drones, for example, could fly near the Syrian border, protecting Israel from attack. According to U.S.

officials, they might also be used by Japan or South Korea to prevent an attack from North Korea. U.S. planners were concentrating on this critical security problem until very recently. In April, they received what is known as a "stop work directive" relating to the project from a Senate staffer, Peter Lennon, an aide to Sen. Daniel Inouye (D-Hawaii).

The Pentagon, however, has continued to pursue the program. But House Democrats have already acted to prohibit the Defense Department from spending additional money on the project during fiscal year 1993. At this juncture, only direct action by the Senate can save this essential program.

Without it, Israeli civilians, Saudis and American troops all face a common threat, death by gassing—a death so horrible civilized nations have banned the use of poison gas.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

Window Dressing

HOUSTON—Based on his history, you can make two guesses about the acceptance speech President Bush will deliver to the Republican National Convention and the nation on Thursday night. It will be well-written, effectively delivered and will give him a boost in his uphill battle for reelection. And it will give the country scarcely a clue of what he would really do if he wins.

The speech has been proclaimed by Republican leaders across the country Bush's last, best hope for turning around a campaign that has been dominated for weeks by Democratic challenger Bill Clinton. They are right. The moment is incredibly important. And for that very reason, my hunch is that Bush will do very well—as he did under similar circumstances in New Orleans four years ago.

The speech he gave then caused voters who knew him only as Ronald Reagan's obsequious vice president to think better of his character and strength. It put heart into the Republican faithful and sparked the campaign that overcame Michael Dukakis' early lead.

Bush is a competitor who psyches himself to a high level of performance for critical tests. He will have labored over this speech and rehearsed it to a fare-thee-well. The eloquence that speechwriter Peggy Noonan put into the 1988 text may well be matched by his 1992 collaborator, Raymond K. Price Jr., who crafted some superb and substantive addresses for Richard M. Nixon in the 1968 presidential campaign.

But history suggests that it is all window dressing. On the journey from New Orleans to Houston, Americans have learned two important lessons about this president: He has no real regard for his own campaign rhetoric. And while he may hire good speechwriters for occasions like this week, he has virtually no capacity or interest in regularly using the forum of the presidency to shape and inform the public debate.

Both these points are powerfully documented in two new books that deal with Bush and the presidency: "Energy in the Executive: The Case for the Strong Presidency," by conservative writer Terry Eastland, and "Marching in Place: The Status Quo Presidency of George Bush," by Time magazine's White House correspondents, Michael Duffy and Dan Goodgame.

Duffy and Goodgame remind us what Bush said about campaign rhetoric only a few weeks after he had won in 1988: "That's history. That doesn't mean anything anymore." As the authors comment, "What happened during the campaign had nothing to do with what would take place in the White House because [for Bush] 'politics' exists in a realm entirely separate from 'governing.' . . . The only goal of campaigns, and the disagreeable politics they demanded, was victory."

Bush proved he was ready to forsake the most memorable line in Noonan's New Orleans text, "Read my lips. No new taxes." When that pledge was abandoned in the 1990 budget summit, it seeded economic and political problems that continue to plague Bush even now. What is striking is how little Bush ever tried to explain to the American people why he made the pledge, why he broke it and why he now says that doing so was a mistake.

It is symptomatic of his failure to use the presidency as an instrument of public persuasion. As Eastland, a former Reagan administration official, observes, "the 'no new taxes' pledge helped him get elected, but it was not made in the context of a larger effort to frame a

principled debate over the direction of the nation's fiscal policy. Nor did Bush, once elected, try to enlarge the discussion. . . ."

Instead, when budget realities caught up with him in 1990, he began an open-ended bargaining process with Congress about the budget. His agreement to put taxes on the table was announced in the most antiseptic and unpersuasive way possible: One morning, a formal notice was hung on the White House press room bulletin board saying the president and congressional leaders had agreed that "tax revenues" must be in the mix.

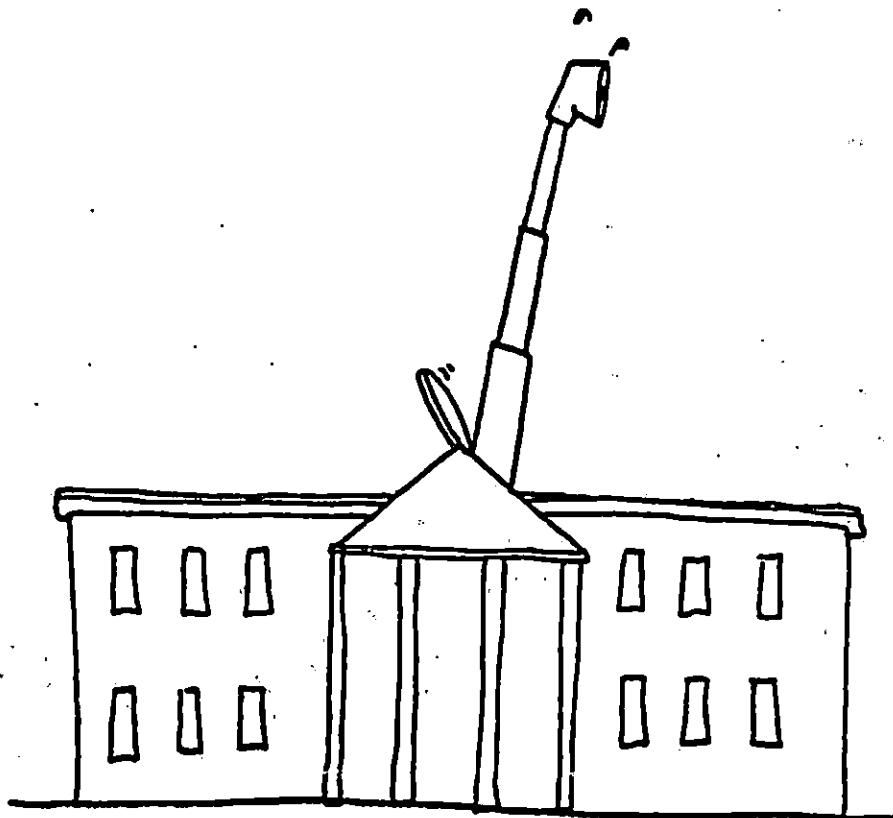
"Here was the single most important issue of domestic policy . . . and Bush was hiding from his position instead of framing the debate," Eastland writes. "Bush's rhetorical failure . . . seemed to stem from an aversion to, if not a disdain for, the kind of politics our system demands if it is to work, especially in an age of divided government."

Bush has not been shy about using other tools of presidential leadership. He has issued many vetoes and blocked the Democrats' ef-

forts to override them. And he has exercised his authority as commander in chief to commit American forces around the globe.

But a nation facing new challenges at home and abroad can ill afford a president who shuns the work of interpreting, teaching and explaining.

It will have to be quite a speech on Thursday to make Americans overlook Bush's failure to fill "the bully pulpit" for the past 43 months.



TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

The President and Iraq

A YEAR AGO President Bush had reason to hope his leadership of the coalition victory over Iraq would cement his reelection, if not a place in history. But that was before the American people learned how his administration, meaning to moderate Saddam Hussein, built him up for his attack on Kuwait. It was also before Saddam Hussein showed he could survive the coalition's worst, maintain some sort of future weapons capability, repress internal challengers and defy international cease-fire terms. There is no confirmation that, as a New York Times news story asserted, Mr. Bush had planned to provoke a confrontation with Baghdad over weapons inspection yesterday to aid his campaign; the inspection produced no showdown. But there is plentiful evidence that the Iraq issue is going to plague Mr. Bush all the way to November.

If Mr. Bush now just goes with the flow in Iraq, he will be open to criticism first for negligently aiding and then for tolerating a tyrant's misrule, for condoning the eventual strategic revival of Saddam Hussein and meanwhile his domination over subject peoples, for being "prudent" to a fault. But the likeliest military steps, if Mr. Bush takes them, will

still leave President Hussein in power and will consign Mr. Bush to endless nagging questions about whether he acted simply to play to the political gallery. Either way his burden gets heavier.

The odd thing is that at the moment the keenest pressure on Mr. Bush is coming not from Saddam Hussein but from American policy critics. Some speak for a crucial source of his political support—the Republican right. Sensing their man's vulnerability, they urge him to go beyond his until-now failed policy of inviting a coup from within the ruling Sunni elite, and to expand support for insurgent and avowedly democratic Kurds in the north and Shiites in the south. A not-unreasonable reluctance to get drawn too deeply into exceedingly shifty local and regional terrain has held the administration back so far.

Election or no election, it is time not for a flop but for a careful shift in American policy to strengthen support for the insurgent groups. This could meet the greater menace that Saddam Hussein poses to them now. No course can hope to work, however, if President Bush does not lay it out clearly before doubting regional partners and skeptical Americans alike.

Unsteady Compass

AUSTIN—Hello? Anyone out there any good at telling right from wrong? It's nice for the Republicans that Jim Baker quit as secretary of state, where by general agreement he was pretty close to invaluable, so he could manage George Bush's campaign. But, ummmm, do we think he should be doing this on the government payroll?

Well, yeah, I see the nuances here. Baker is going to be Bush's chief of staff at the White House, and that's a regular government job. In fact, according to happy R's quoted last week, Baker will be at least co-president and at best running the country for the next few months. And on top of that little chore, he's

going to be brutal this year. Rich Bond, head of the Republican National Committee, has seriously distinguished himself already. First he said Jane Fonda would be staying in the Lincoln Room at the White House when Clinton held a state dinner honoring Fidel Castro. Huh? Clinton is actually calling for increasing the economic sanctions against Castro. Then he said Hillary Clinton considers marriage to be like slavery and has advocated allowing children to divorce their parents if they don't get their allowance. Hello.

Hillary Clinton has been active for years in the field of children's rights. A test case in this legal area surfaced in June in Florida. An 11-year-old boy, Gregory K. of Tampa, wants to be adopted by the foster parents he's been living with, and they want to adopt him. His own parents are both alcoholics who have been charged with abuse, neglect and abandonment. The father is ready to give the kid away, but the mother still wants custody. A Florida court recently held that Gregory has legal standing in the case, a victory for Mrs. Clinton's area of legal scholarship. Gregory became known as the kid who wants to divorce his parents, a comical notion, but the details of his case are so appalling that even your more light-hearted media types who looked into it said, "Jesus, give this kid a divorce."

By the standards of political description set by Rich Bond, I suppose we're entitled to say that the Republican Party is in favor of parents who abuse, neglect and abandon their children. Could we all just take a deep breath here and try to get a grip before this gets hopelessly out of hand? In which endeavor, sterling Barbara Bush is being quite helpful. The doughty Mrs. Bush came out against all forms of personal attacks and further added that she thinks abortion has no place in either political platforms or campaigns.

She's right, but it's a bit late for that. George Bush has now further confused the

whole imbroglio by saying of course he'd help and support a granddaughter who decided on abortion even though he disagreed with her. And when asked if the decision should be the granddaughter's, he said, "Well, who else's—who else's could it be?" He thus arrived neatly at the nub of the problem. Who else's decision? Clarence Thomas's? The Louisiana Legislature's? George Bush's?

I, for one, acquit Bush of trying to say there's one standard for his granddaughters and another for everyone else. We all know he doesn't express himself clearly, and just last week he was playing the right-to-life card for all it is worth in front of a Knights of Columbus audience. That was also the occasion on which he announced that he's the nation's moral compass.

Our moral compass seems not to have thought this one through. Until 1980, when our moral compass was asked to join Ronald Reagan's right-to-life ticket at the age of 55, he was pro-choice. Having endured the excruciating humiliation of changing his mind in public once on this sensitive question for what certainly appeared to be political reasons, our moral compass is not about to switch again.

But I think we citizens can be forgiven for assuming that our moral compass—who is the son of the woman who founded Planned Parenthood in Connecticut and the husband of a woman who is known to be pro-choice—is secretly at least ambivalent about who should decide between abortion and childbirth. While I sympathize with the ambivalence, it of course makes it all the more painful to realize that women are about to lose the right to make their own decisions on this gravely personal and painful question because of a man who is not a lying hypocrite but is at least an unsteady compass.

The writer is a columnist for the Fort Worth Star-Telegram.

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"Rich Bond, head of the Republican National Committee, has seriously distinguished himself already."

going to manage Bush's campaign because he's the greatest political tactician and handler since Jim Foley.

Or no, he isn't going to be managing the campaign at all if you're asking the R's why the taxpayers should subsidize him in that job. The further nuance is that Clinton is now getting federal campaign money so we can assume that at least part of Clinton's campaign manager's salary is also being subsidized by the taxpayers, or if it isn't, the privately paid salary just frees up more federal money for Clinton's campaign anyway. Or something.

Is this actually a tough call?

Holy cow, we are in the suds now, sleaze-wise, aren't we? Getting a grip on who's lying about whom and who started it first is just

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

Keep Hope Alive

JESSE JACKSON should have been the one to introduce the Republican platform yesterday, since no document in our memory better merits the title "Keep Hope Alive." What the Republicans keep hoping, of course, is that the laws of arithmetic will cease to apply. They continue to paint a picture of a land in which massive tax cuts coexist with a balanced budget; the balance is brought about in part by growth but also by spending cuts—except that the necessary cuts aren't listed. They never have been.

"As the deficit comes under control, we aspire to further tax rate cuts," the platform says unrepentantly. Meanwhile, the party would repeal the tax increases on the better-off that were part of the 1990 budget agreement, while seeking the "complete restoration" of the value that the personal exemption has lost in the past 50 years to inflation—each \$1,000 increase in the exemption represents about a \$200 billion loss in taxable income.

The Republicans would cut the capital gains tax while eliminating it on the sale of a principal residence. They would create a broad new stream of tax-exempt investment income through a new kind of Individual Retirement Account. They endorse the various tax breaks that the president suggested earlier this year to help the uninsured buy health insurance, neglecting—as he did—to say how they would offset the \$35 billion cost. They salute "efforts in the states to lower property taxes," while noting for the record that they would oppose enactment of a federal value-added tax or a "carbon" or other

broad energy tax. In the name of homeownership, they are determined to save the mortgage interest deduction as well.

As to spending, they say: "Our Republican presidents have vetoed one reckless bill after another." But most vetoes in the past 12 years have been on other than fiscal grounds. Nor are they right in suggesting that Democrats have failed to abide by the spending controls in the 1990 budget agreement. And what spending would they cut? The platform says weakly that "a Republican Congress, working with a Republican president, will consider non-Social Security mandatory spending portions of the federal budget when looking for savings."

For Social Security, however, the party supports a provision—repeal of the earnings test—that would constitute a \$5-billion-a-year benefit increase. On health care, the platform chides the Democrats for urging cost controls that could lead to rationing, but advocates no clear constraints of its own. It cautions against cutting defense too much and urges increases for such costly items as the space program. "When federal programs have outlived their usefulness," it says, "they deserve a decent burial," but which programs should be interred it doesn't say.

Rather, the platform takes refuge as the president also has in urging such procedural changes as a line-item veto and balanced budget amendment. In this wishful document the borrow-and-spend Republicans make the supposed tax-and-spend Democrats sound like the party of parsimony and restraint.

Granddaughter's Choice

It was interesting to hear and then to read President Bush's response to a hypothetical question on his granddaughter's right to choose an abortion ["Choice Would Be Granddaughter's," news story, Aug. 12]. The president replied that he would try to encourage her not to choose an abortion, but he would "support" her decision, whatever it was, and that, yes, in the end it would ultimately be "her" decision. It's also interesting that Vice President Quayle voiced basically the same opinion earlier this summer.

Excuse me, but I'm feeling perplexed. Is there some vast difference between the children and the grandchildren of these men and the rest of the women in this country? Aren't these the same men who are working hand-in-hand with certain groups in this country to severely curtail the reproductive freedom of half of this nation's population? Would I be going too far if I used the word "hypocrite"?

Women in this country have to make this personal, intense decision

every day. Yet in the eyes of the present administration, they seem to be seen almost as criminals. Our wives, mothers, daughters, relatives, and friends deserve to be able to make the same decision as President Bush's and Vice President Quayle's children might have to make one day. It would ultimately be their decision, too.

But it is a shame that the people they want to lead for the next four years cannot be afforded the same compassion they say they are willing to offer their own children.

CHERYL A. WILSON
Waldorf

I don't give a damn how compassionate, forbearing and forgiving George Bush could be toward his grandchildren if one of them proved to be homosexual or pregnant and seeking an abortion. All I want to know is how he can fail to apply that compassion to the predicament of the millions of women and gay people in

the nation for which he bears an executive responsibility.

It is ludicrous for Mr. Bush to say "Who else's [choice] could it be?" when he has been working day and night since the inception of his presidency to take women's choices away. It is pathetic for him to claim he would love and support a young gay relative if he refuses to oppose discrimination against gay people or discourages the domestic-partnership laws that would give gay relationships stability and dignity.

Mr. Bush is trying to have it both ways. If the rabidly antiabortion plank of his party's platform were to dictate our national reality, that theoretical pregnant granddaughter of his might make her "choice" by ending up dead in a hospital emergency room from the complications of an illegal abortion. Would it make Mr. Bush feel wise and compassionate to put his arm around her then?

KAREN E. MURRAY
Arlington

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

The Revolt That Failed

GOP's Abortion-Rights Backers Look to '96

By Donnie Radcliffe
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, Aug. 17—Call it the Little Revolution That Almost Was.

"I feel like a rebel in the middle of a revolution. I honestly do," Judy Jarvis, the Republican candidate for Congress from California's 49th District and an abortion-rights advocate, was saying. All around her were the signs and sounds of revolt.

"But I want to do it as a Republican. I'm not going to abandon my party. I'm going to change my party, and the way to do it is that you keep running and pretty soon you have more people who are beginning to listen."

The revolt died yesterday, with abortion-rights activists vowing to come back stronger in 1996. But despite their loyalty to President Bush, the issue remained highly charged, engendering fierce debate even among themselves.

At a gathering the night before, they had called it a "Celebration of the Republican Tradition of Choice." The turnout was a coalition of abortion-rights activists of varying shades of opinion, assembled in an eleventh-hour effort to show their anger over the Republican abortion plank.

"Our platform," said Jim L. Peacock, a Houstonian who calls himself a "mainstream" Republican, "is the mouthings of a bunch of religious zealots."

Peacock said it was time for the party to "take the power back" but not to the extent of deserting George Bush.

"That's stupid," he asserted, towering over a group that included a diminutive Californian craning to glare up at him. "We've got to keep the presidency. And in four years, the candidate has to be an avowed pro-choice person."

"Wait a minute," interrupted Dorene Whitney, a Republican Eagle from La Jolla who says she's putting her money where her mouth is this year, which means any candidate who doesn't support abortion rights can go shake somebody else's money tree. "By that time [Justice Harry] Blackmun has died or left the Supreme Court and we've got another real conservative. So what happens there? Bush did a lousy job last time, so I don't trust him this time."

"That's not the only issue we're voting on," snapped Peacock.

"That's my only issue," said Whitney. "I feel if that fundamental right is taken away, then we could have other fundamental rights taken away."

But Peacock wasn't budging. "It won't be taken away," he said, "but your taxes will be taken away if Clinton gets in."

Many of the abortion-rights movement's big names were there, people like Mary Dent Crisp, Nancy Sternoff, Ann Stone and Kate Michelman. But most were names you never heard of, like Connie and Carl Pietrzak of Houston, members of Republicans for Responsible Decisions. That includes decisions like taking abortion out of politics.

Pietrzak's task this night was to join Stone and others in a lobbying effort that would take them to a half-dozen state delegation parties in hopes of taking the abortion plank to the convention floor on Monday.

No such luck. "It turned out to be a non-event," Pietrzak said yesterday. "The information the coalition gave us was too late, too little, to places too far away. We never got there."

Was it a plot? The abortion-rights forces wondered darkly if they had been sent astray by party leaders intent on stopping their lobbying efforts. Then yesterday, many of them found themselves seated behind the podium backdrop at the convention arena—completely out of sight of other delegates. Not only couldn't they see, according to Pietrzak, they couldn't hear the pitifully few dissenting voice votes cast against the platform.

The hall was a sea of red hats, signifying the forces of Phyllis Schlafly's Republican National Coalition for Life, the other side of the abortion debate. Tired of listening to endless debate on the abortion question, yesterday they were crowing about their bloodless victory.

"The platform shot right through," said Paul Middleton, a delegate from Washington state, wearing his red hat at a "God and Country Rally."

"The whole thing was a sham," said Sharon Bumala, also of Washington and also wearing a red hat. "I'm on the Rules Committee, and I know what's required to bring something to the floor. When I heard the weakness of the vote—you could barely hear anybody say nay to the platform—I figured you guys [the media] were taken for a ride."

"It was all flimflam," Bumala continued. "All to raise money for Ann Stone. All nothing but a hoax put on by those Republicans for Choice."

"It isn't the first time we've heard that," Catharine Sibble, political director for the Stone group's eastern division, said later. "Republicans for Choice is not owned by Ann Stone. She does not receive a salary."

The debate goes on. In a statement after their defeat yesterday, Stone called it only the "opening volley of the struggle for the soul of the Republican Party. We will be back in 1996."

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

In Job Strength, Manufacturing Eclipsed by Public Sector

By Barbara Vobejda
Washington Post Staff Writer

To some, the numbers carry ominous signals—a dangerous slide in the American industrial base and an exploding demand for public services. To others, they merely reflect what we should already know: that the economy is undergoing a fundamental restructuring.

Whatever the implications, the figures are there in black and white: For the first time in history, the number of manufacturing jobs in this country has dropped below the number of government jobs.

Those numbers, and the changes they represent, resonate a bit louder in a campaign season, when the presidential contenders are arguing over how to restore the nation's manufacturing sector, decrying the evils of bloated government and pledging to eliminate federal jobs.

"The trends are very, very significant," said Larry Chimerine, a senior adviser at the economic forecasting firm DRI/McGraw Hill. He argues that the figures reflect both a loss of competitiveness for the nation and its failure to create new employment opportunities outside of government.

"The real serious question this country has to deal with is how to build up private-sector jobs," he said.

In its monthly release of employment figures, the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) reports that in October last year, the number of government jobs—federal, state and local—grew to 18,410,000, surpassing manufacturing jobs, which had fallen to 18,388,000.

The most recent statistics, which are preliminary, show an even greater gap, with government employees growing to 18.6 million in July, partly as a result of summer jobs programs, while manufacturing jobs fell to 18.2 million.

The issues raised by these numbers landed front and center this summer as the political parties fought over platform planks and the candidates competed over how to best put people back to work and cut government waste.

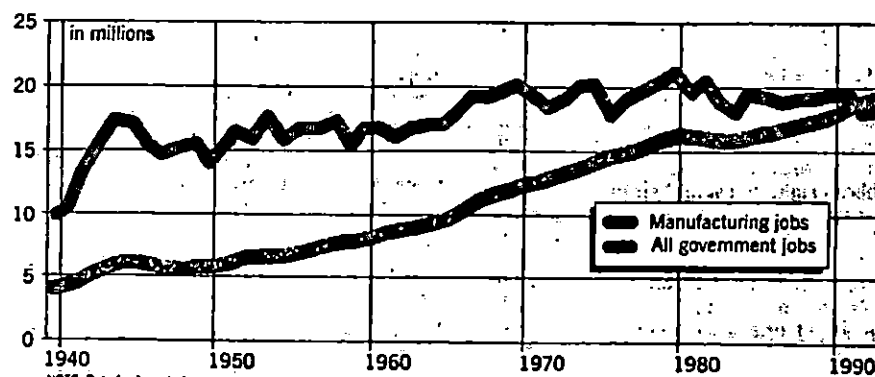
Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton has said he would eliminate 100,000 federal jobs over the next eight years, relying primarily on attrition rather than layoffs. The Bush administration has said it plans to cut 162,095 civilian jobs in the next fiscal year alone.

While federal jobs have been placed on the chopping block by the candidates, they are the single component of government employment that has not grown. Since Bush took office in January 1989, the number of federal employees has dropped slightly, by about 1,000, to 2,959,000. In that same period, the number of state and local government employees across the country has grown by nearly 1 million, to 15.4 million.

Both presidential candidates have said they would revitalize the nation's manufacturing base as a way of creating high-wage jobs.

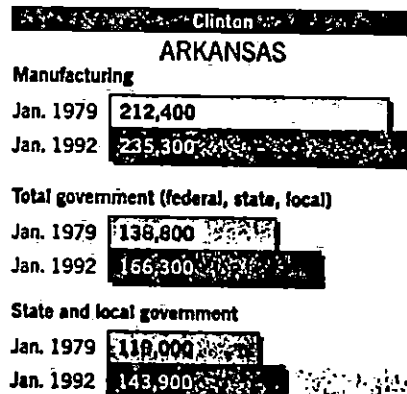
Since Clinton was first elected governor in 1978, manufacturing jobs in Arkansas have risen by about 11 percent; at the same time, government jobs there have risen nearly twice that much.

GROWTH IN GOVERNMENT JOBS

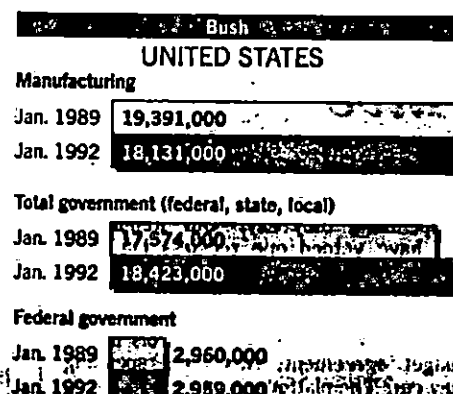


NOTE: Data for August of each year.

Both presidential candidates have pledged that if elected they would cut federal government workers and create jobs by reviving the nation's industrial base. During their tenures, the total number of government workers has risen, about 20 percent in Arkansas since Gov. Bill Clinton first took office there in 1979 and about 5 percent nationally since President Bush was inaugurated in 1989. Manufacturing jobs have declined about 6 percent nationally during the Bush administration. In Arkansas, manufacturing jobs have increased about 11 percent since Clinton was first sworn in. Experts caution about comparing state and national employment figures because each is subject to a different set of variables.



SOURCE: Bureau of Labor Statistics



The Bush tenure has seen manufacturing jobs decline nationally and total government jobs increase.

State and national figures are not directly comparable because of the variables involved.

In both manufacturing and government, the national trends have been gradual. Total government employees in the mid-1950s numbered just under 7 million, growing to about 10 million a decade later and 15 million by the late 1970s.

Some of the government job growth in the past decade is the result of a shift of federal responsibilities to state and local governments, where employees have been added. It also coincided with economic growth in

many states and communities, which made it possible to hire additional teachers, health care workers, police officers and prison guards.

"It was partly just normal growth in normal responsibilities, but they had revenue to finance it with the economy growing," Chimerine said. "Now they can't."

Still, government employment continued to grow during the recession, even as manufacturing declined, BLS officials say. And even if the number of manufacturing employees rebounds in healthier economic times, the continued growth of government makes it unlikely that manufacturing will again take the lead in job expansion.

Manufacturing employment remained relatively constant during the 1950s and 1960s, peaked in the early 1970s and again in the early 1980s—at about 20.8 million—and then flattened out at a slightly lower level through the end of the last decade. Since the country entered a recession in July 1990, manufacturing jobs have fallen by nearly 1 million.

Jack Bregger, an assistant commissioner at BLS, said that although manufacturing was at one time the largest single American industry, "it has long since ceased to be," having been surpassed by other sectors, including retail trade, services and government. Manufacturing jobs fell below the number of service industry jobs in 1982 and below retail trade jobs in 1989.

Bregger attributed the decline in manufacturing jobs in part to significant gains in productivity, which have enabled employers to produce more goods with fewer workers. In addition, manufacturing has increasingly relied on outside contractors for some services—using independent accounting firms to handle payrolls, for example—which has shifted some jobs to non-manufacturing categories.

Nevertheless, some people maintain that the figures reflect the weakness of the manufacturing sector. "No great economy has ever prospered for long with a second-rate industrial base," argued a Democratic aide on the Joint Economic Committee.

At the same time, he said, the growth in government indicates the increasing demand for public services, which must be financed with limited resources.

"These two numbers symbolize the challenges we confront from stagnant income growth on the one hand and rising demand for public services on the other," he continued.

While manufacturing jobs have declined, other sectors of the economy have grown. Service employees, for example, account for more than three-quarters of the country's non-agricultural and non-manufacturing jobs, or about 90,407,000 workers in July, according to the BLS.

And it is increasingly outside of manufacturing that the nation is most competitive and employment is growing, in industries such as computer software production and data processing.

Gary Burtless, an economist at the Brookings Institution, argues that the loss of manufacturing jobs should not be confused with a weak manufacturing sector. He cited agriculture, which employed many more people at the turn of the century but was much less productive than it is today.

"To link the health of manufacturing with the number of employees is misleading," he said. "I don't think the United States is an also-ran in manufacturing."

Chimerine, however, contends that "we're increasing productivity at the expense of jobs" by downsizing companies and shifting functions to other companies.

The manufacturing decline, he said, was masked during the 1980s by the construction boom and defense buildup. "But now," he noted, "we're left with very little to take their place."

Staff researcher Barbara Saffir contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

Freeze Campaign Sleaze!

I wish the record to show that I am pro-choice but anti-sleaze. I don't believe sleaze should be the deciding political issue in a presidential election campaign, and I am distressed every time someone uses it to pick up the undecided votes.

I am not alone. Dan Quayle has predicted that public outrage against the media has hit a new high. He said there is good journalism and bad journalism—and the bad journalists are driving out the good ones.

No one knows how much real public outrage over the Bush story is out there as opposed to how many people are faking it.

To find out I went to Leslie's Drug Store on Fartha's Vineyard, where people are always outraged over something.

The newspapers are located in back of Leslie's, and that is where I stood to gauge people's reaction to the sleazy headlines. In less than an hour the pile of New York Posts featuring the exposé had gone way down, while the Wall Street Journal stack had hardly moved.

Dorrance Michelmore, a neighbor, had bought three Posts.

"That's a lot of bad journalism," I told him.

"They're not for me," he said. "They're for my house guests. They told me not to bring back the croissants unless I brought the Posts. I personally abhor this type of political campaign because it detracts from the fierce debate over agricultural subsidies for the farmer."

"Is it your belief that the story should not have been printed?"

"We have a saying at our golf club: Let him who is without sin cast the first stone."

"What does that mean?" I asked.

"I have no idea. Someone put it up on the 16th hole next to the sand trap."

Trident came in, and when he saw me he picked up a New York Times, though I was quite sure he really wanted the New York Post.

I noticed that he, while talking to me, was trying to read my Post upside down.

"Are you outraged by that story, thrilled by it—or do you have no opinion?"

"I think it's terrible," he said. "I believe Bush should go on the air and say that unless the New York Post retracts the charges he is going to turn the

matter over to the United Nations or a special prosecutor.

The problem is sleaze is a two-way street. When the Republicans floated a story that Clinton fooled around, the Bush campaign people tried to put the New York Post in for a Pulitzer Prize. Now the shoe is on the other foot, and it's a horse of a different color."

"Exactly," I said. "You should never change horses in midstream unless the horse is gamboling in someone else's pasture."

Laura Larkin came in and started to read the stories without buying the paper.

"Are you publicly outraged by what you are reading?" I asked her.

"I've read worse," she said. "At the checkout counter in the A&P."

"Such as?"

"George Bush was asked by a National Enquirer reporter what he would do if his son wanted to go away for a weekend with a Martian. He said he would try to talk him out of it, but if he couldn't, he would put his arm around him and say, 'Have a nice time.'"

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VERBATIM

BUSH AND CLINTON ON GOVERNMENT AND MANUFACTURING JOBS

PRESIDENT BUSH

On manufacturing jobs:

"Right now, the most important issue facing Michigan and this country is clearly the economy. It's my number one priority, jobs. Manufacturing—you know it perhaps better than most—has been the greatest generator of good jobs in American history. Take a look at the auto industry. I'm speaking not simply about the jobs created in the industry itself but the thousands upon thousands of jobs in supplier and spinoff businesses. Manufacturing is and always will be a basic strength of this country's economy. No nation will ever lead the world without a strong manufacturing base."

— Remarks to the Economic Club of Detroit, March 13.

On the federal work force:

"By the end of fiscal year 1992, our military forces will have changed their force posture to reflect the change taking place in every corner of the globe. There will be nearly 300,000 fewer men and women in uniform, and 100,000 fewer civilians employed by the Department of Defense than there were three years ago. Hundreds of bases and installations have been or will be closed. More than 100 weapons programs have already been canceled."

"In late May 1991, I announced additional steps . . . to help people and communities affected by military downsizing."



These new initiatives include: about \$90 million to promote careers in education for former military, civilian, and contractor employees; \$200 million to expand GI Bill education opportunities for military personnel; \$250 million to expand civilian utilization of dual-use Department of Energy technology; \$50 million to expand assistance in communities affected by defense reduction; and over \$1.2 billion to provide early retirement opportunities for defense civilian employees."

— Interview with Federal Times, the independent newspaper for federal employees, Aug. 24 edition.

GOV. BILL CLINTON

On the federal work force:

"... We also have to change the way the federal government operates, too.... I have recommended that we eliminate by attrition, not firing anybody, but by attrition, 100,000 people from the federal work force over the next couple of years."

We have in the United States still—even though we have very rigorous local governments and state government, the federal work force still has more employees per capita than does Germany, Japan or Great Britain. We have to do better. I'm going to cut the White House staff by 25 percent, ask the Congress to pass a bill cutting congressional staffs by 25 percent. I'm going to stop handing down mandates to you and regulating you to death and not giving you the money to do it with."

— Address to the U.S. Conference of Mayors, June 22.

On manufacturing jobs:

"I set about as governor of my state to do something I think our nation ought to do, to develop a national economic strategy—except we did it on a state basis. And we decided we would root that strategy in manufacturing, in trying to keep our manufacturing base and enhance it. We were, I believe, the first state to offer a significant investment tax credit to existing manufacturers who would spend \$5 million or more reinvesting in our state."

"Over the last 10 years, we have grown manufacturing jobs at 10 times the national average; 22 percent of our work force is in manufacturing, as compared with about 16 percent for the nation as a whole. We have enjoyed a remarkable amount of cooperation between business and government. And in 1991, in an unprecedented move, the Executive Board voted to ask us to raise by one-half percent the corporate income tax if we would put the funds into a trust designed solely for the education of the work force in our state. It has been an interesting and rewarding experience."

"... We may have differences . . . over my economic programs, and I welcome those, and I want to respond to them, but I want you to know that I believe that this country has to produce in order to be great. This country has to produce in order to get its growth rates back. If the rest of the economy had the same productivity growth rate that manufacturing had in the 1980s, we wouldn't be in half the trouble we're in today. We have got to rebuild our manufacturing strength, maintain it and do it while increasing our exports but maintaining a strong manufacturing base here at home."

— Remarks to the National Association of Manufacturers, June 24.



The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

Abortion Plank Approved Intact

Delegates Urged Not to Provoke Floor Fight That Might Hurt Bush

By Maralee Schwartz
and Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writers

HOUSTON, Aug. 17—Abortion rights advocates today acknowledged they did not have the votes to change the Republican platform and abandoned the effort, but only after the Bush campaign spent Sunday evening and this morning working hard to ensure that the president would not be embarrassed in the opening hours of the Republican National Convention.

Delegates, without debate, approved the platform, which endorses a constitutional amendment banning abortion.

A petition from a majority of the members of six delegations was needed to bring the issue to the floor, but abortion rights supporters said they had the backing of only four: Maine, Massachusetts, New Mexico and the Virgin Islands.

Even if supporters had gotten the six votes needed to open the issue to a floor debate, they had no hope of actually changing the platform, which would have required a two-thirds vote of all the delegates.

While his party wrestled with the issue, President Bush told NBC News in an interview tonight that he had not read the platform. Bush, who said he accepts abortion in cases of rape, incest or when the mother's life is in danger, said, "My position is not going to change on abortion. . . . So, if it's not compatible with the platform, never mind. I will be compatible with the platform on many other things."

Govs. John R. McKernan Jr. of Maine and William Weld of Massachusetts, leaders of the effort to raise the issue before the full convention, came to the Astrodome this morning to tell their delegations they had not secured the necessary commitments. Both governors had spent much of Sunday afternoon lobbying various delegations. But McKernan said today, "It's clear we do not have the six."

Weld, wearing a "Pro-Bush, Pro-Choice" button, said it was "time to unite and get behind" the president. That was the message the campaign stressed in a full-court effort to avoid contention on the convention floor.

Ann Stone, head of Republicans for Choice, said at a news conference that "delegates felt the president was under so much pressure and so far behind in the polls that they had to give him the bounce Bill Clinton got out of his convention."

But one Republican official said abortion rights forces overestimated their strength. "This one was easy," the official said. "They didn't have the votes. It was never there. They can't count."

But Bush-Quayle officials took no chances on the eve of today's plat-



The Rev. Norman Welin protests abortion outside a Houston clinic yesterday.

form vote, persuading key party leaders who support abortion rights to urge delegates not to make an issue of the platform on the floor today.

California Gov. Pete Wilson asked his delegation Sunday not to fight the platform. Instead, he urged Republican abortion rights supporters to try to take charge of the party's agenda and platform in 1996.

"I fully expect and intend that this will be the last Republican platform that contains this plank," said Wilson, an abortion rights supporter.

"He knew what a divisive issue it could be and decided there was no sense to do anything now, but he threw down the gauntlet for 1996," one Republican operative said.

Sen. John Seymour (Calif.), in an uphill battle with former San Francisco mayor Dianne Feinstein, was allowed to speak in favor of abortion rights to the convention today, although not while the convention was being televised in prime time.

Seymour told reporters he understood why Wilson, as leader of Bush-Quayle forces in California, had urged the delegation not to make a

fight of the issue here, but he added that Republicans who support abortion rights need to hear "that the party has not left them."

Republican officials said that allowing Seymour to address the convention on the issue showed more openness than was shown by the Democrats, who last month refused a spot on the convention agenda to Pennsylvania Gov. Robert P. Casey, an opponent of abortion.

Sen. Arlen Specter (Pa.), who supports abortion rights and faces a tough reelection campaign, met Sunday with the Pennsylvania delegation. He eventually urged the delegates not to be one of the states to provoke a floor fight that might hurt Bush.

Deputy Campaign Manager Mary Matalin said that despite disgruntlement by some abortion rights leaders, "our delegates are pro-Bush delegates. They didn't want to drag this out and have a floor fight. Those who are pro-choice were content to have made their point."

Staff writer Ann Devroy contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

TV Coverage Ignores GOP Script

Viewers Miss Fiery Speech; Events Divert Spotlight From Bush Mission

By Howard Kurtz
Washington Post Staff Writer

In a dramatic appearance carefully timed for the evening news, President Bush uncorked a terrific fight speech at the Republican National Convention yesterday. Jabbing his finger against a star-spangled backdrop, Bush compared himself to Harry S. Truman, hailed Dan Quayle, denounced Bill Clinton and declared himself on the verge of a historic comeback.

But most Americans never saw more than a snippet of the president at his most passionate, for the Big Three networks did not break away from their newscasts to carry

the action. As Bush finished his stemwinder, NBC's Tom Brokaw was telling viewers that Woody Allen had admitted to a love affair with Mia Farrow's 21-year-old adopted daughter.

In more ways than one, television coverage of the Republican gath-

THE AIR WARS

ering in Houston kept departing from the GOP script. And while Republican conventions usually run like clockwork, this one slipped more than half an hour behind schedule, pushing Ronald Reagan's speech right out of prime time.

On issue after issue, from facing down Iraqi President Saddam Hussein to marital infidelity, events unfolded in a way that kept candidate Bush on the defensive. This had the effect of diverting the media spotlight from Bush's primary mission this week: defining his vision for a second term.

The "sleaze" issue resurfaced on all the networks in a way that is unlikely to have helped Bush. In the past two days, Bush campaign chairman Robert A. Mosbacher trumpeted allegations of infidelity against Democratic nominee Bill Clinton and U.S. Treasurer Catalina V. Villalpando called Clinton a

See AIR WARS, A16, Col. 1

Networks Ignore GOP News Script

AIR WARS, From A16

"skirt-chaser." This may have served only to remind viewers of last week's allegation that Bush had an extramarital affair, and it led to a widely reported call by Clinton aide George Stephanopoulos for Mosbacher's firing.

"I'm trying to keep this business out of the sleaze business," Bush told Brokaw in an NBC interview, but "I cannot control what everybody says." When Brokaw asked if he would reprimand Mosbacher, Bush said that he had not seen the comments.

"Nonetheless, it's still hanging out there," Brokaw said later.

If the gathering in Houston is an attempt "to rescue George Bush's political career," as ABC's Peter Jennings put it, it escaped no one's notice that Bush turned to the party's right wing, in the persons of Reagan and Patrick J. Buchanan, to help him rally the faithful. The choice of Buchanan was "a measure of the president's desperation," CBS's Joe Klein told viewers, because the conservative commentator savaged the president during the primaries.

In a feisty speech that CBS's Dan Rather described as "raw meat," Buchanan drew lusty cheers as he sprayed his targets, from Clinton running mate "Prince Albert" Gore to Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) to the spotted owl, with rhetorical fire. He chided Clinton as a supporter of "abortion on demand" and "homosexual rights," and assailed Hillary Clinton as a champion of "radical feminism" who "believes that 12-year-olds should have the right to sue their parents."

In an effective bit of theater, Buchanan drew derisive chants of "Where was Bill?" by contrasting "war hero ... George Herbert Walker Bush" with Clinton, who "sat up in a dormitory room in Oxford, England and figured out how to dodge the draft."

Reagan, who did not begin his speech until 11 p.m. EDT, brought down the house with his starry-eyed

optimism, gentle humor and practiced turns of the head. The 81-year-old former president hailed America as "the moral force that defeated communism," invoked the bad old days under Jimmy Carter and poked fun at his age by rhetorically telling Clinton, "Thomas Jefferson was a friend of mine, and governor, you're no Thomas Jefferson." He did not get around to mentioning Bush and Quayle until the end of his speech.

It remains to be seen whether Buchanan's slashing attacks and Reagan's folksy tribute played as well in America's living rooms as inside the Astrodome. Reagan is no longer as popular as he once was with many voters, and his speech might remind conservatives that "George Bush is a guy they have to settle for," rather than their real hero, ABC's Jeff Greenfield said.

Earlier in the day, Bush remained off-balance on the continuing confrontation with Iraq over U.N. weapons inspections, an issue that should help the president by reminding people of his perceived strength in foreign policy. But the story line spun out of control Sunday when the New York Times quoted unidentified administration officials as saying that the White House would try to provoke a confrontation with Iraq to help Bush's reelection. Bush told CNN's Bernard Shaw yesterday he was "appalled" and "deeply offended" by the suggestion he would stage an "August surprise" for political reasons.

The abortion issue has also proved a double-edged sword. "It dominates coverage of this convention, and there's so many other issues that people care about," the president complained in the CNN interview.

Some of the sharpest barbs were hurled before the commercial networks joined the cable and PBS coverage at 9:30 p.m. Texas Treasurer Kay Bailey Hutchison said she had read Clinton's economic program and "you know something? I think he really did inhale."

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

Taking Gloves Off, Bush the Candidate Arrives in Houston

Fight 'Starts Right Now,' President Declares

By Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, Aug. 17—This was the day President Bush—and perhaps even more, his anxious supporters—had been waiting for.

After weeks of promising to be a candidate and tiptoeing to the edge, as he has put it, of being one, George Bush the candidate arrived here today and instantly whipped off the gloves.

"It starts right now," an ebullient Bush told a throng of cheering, sign-waving supporters at a rally this evening with Vice President Quayle in the Astro Arena. "It all starts right here. . . . When history writes about this election, they're going to say it started right here when you fired up this president."

His targets were everyone from "that ABA"—the American Bar Association, where Hillary Clinton and Anita Hill spoke last week—to "those sultans of the status quo," the Democratic leaders of Congress. "I've held out my hand to those crazy guys . . . only to have it bitten off and I'm tired of it," Bush declared, vowing to make them "another target . . . in the cross hairs."

When the crowd started chants of "Clean the House," Bush replied: "You're darn right."

But most of his fire—and Quayle's in a red-meat warm-up speech—was reserved for the man who has been blowing "the saxophone of change," Democratic candidate Bill Clinton.

"We're not running against the Comeback Kids," Bush said of Clinton and his running mate, Albert Gore Jr. "We're running against the Karaoke Kids," willing to follow any tune, like customers at a sing-along bar, to help them get elected.

The president attacked Clinton as a man who "ridicules or attacks me as we talk about family values," who has denigrated America, who wants to gut the national security and who has proposed what Bush said would be the largest tax increase in U.S. history.

Insisting that he does better when he is an underdog, Bush promised "the most stirring political comeback since Harry Truman gave 'em hell in 1948."

Bush, who spent much of the Republican convention in New Orleans four years ago defending his surprise selection of Quayle, a little-known senator, praised him tonight as a "super" vice president. "This guy stood there and in the face of those unfair critics he has never wavered," Bush said.

Bush warmed up this morning before the Veterans of Foreign Wars convention in Indianapolis, trumpeting the foreign policy successes of his first term and his plans for domestic achievements if he is reelected. He also continued to make the television rounds, doing interviews with CNN's Bernard Shaw and NBC's Tom Brokaw.

"When I saw the size of this crowd, I thought about giving a dress rehearsal of that Houston speech—complete with a few partisan, political observations," Bush told the veterans' gathering. "But then I got to thinking about you guys. You don't need to hear a political speech. You've already sacrificed enough for your country."

Still, the president used the VFW's 93rd national convention to

people who must gallop in the way of danger," Bush said. "As long as I am commander-in-chief, I will stand for our armed forces and I will keep the United States of America strong so I can tell the American people our national security is second to none."

Bush also repeatedly emphasized his wartime service in a way that was likely to call to mind the fact that Clinton did not serve in the military during the Vietnam War. "That war was controversial," Bush said. "Many refused to serve." Later, he said the memories of "watching our buddies go down in battle . . . are etched in my mind, as they are in yours. . . . As long as I am president I make this solemn promise: We will always stand by those who stood up for America."

try out some of the themes he will be sounding as the campaign heats up: his success in the Persian Gulf War and the end of the Cold War; job creation, health care reform and family values.

In Indiana, Bush did not directly mention his Democratic opponent. But in vowing to trim the defense budget in a way that maintains military strength, he said pointedly that "one plan offers to cut four times more than what our experts say is responsible." Clinton has proposed decreasing the \$300 billion annual defense budget by \$60 billion to \$90 billion over five years, while Bush favors a smaller phased-in reduction.

"When it comes to defending our country, my loyalty lies not with the Gallup polls, but with our young

The president, who was introduced as a lifetime member of the VFW, received a warm but not wildly enthusiastic welcome as he repeatedly noted his commitment to veterans, saying he would look out for them in job retraining and health care reform. "If Congress sends me legislation to dismantle the VA system, I will whip out that veto pen and knock down that Scud missile headed right for the well-being of every family represented here," he said.

Bush jokingly referred to his gaffe before the VFW four years ago when he misstated the date of Pearl Harbor Day. "This time," he said as he started the speech, "I'll remember Pearl Harbor Day."

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

Bush Called on 'Sleaze' Vow After GOP Remarks

By David Maraniss
Washington Post Staff Writer

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Aug. 17—President Bush's campaign manager and the U.S. treasurer should be fired for dipping into "the business of sleaze," George Stephanopoulos, communications director for Democratic nominee Bill Clinton, said today after the two resurrected questions about Clinton's sexual behavior.

"The president was very clear in an interview with Time magazine that anybody who was in the sleaze business would be fired—no ifs, ands or buts," Stephanopoulos said. "And it sounds like he's going to have a busy day because he's got at least two right now."

Bush, in two televised interviews yesterday, appeared to backtrack from that pledge, responding to questions about whether he approved of the remarks by seeking to turn the tables and portray his family as the victims of sleazy attacks by Democrats and the news media.

"Nobody is going to be able to control everything that everybody says," Bush said in a CNN interview.

Later, pressed by NBC's Tom Brokaw on the subject, Bush said he could not comment because "I haven't seen what they said." Bush said "people going attacking my family and my sons, I'll tell you, that's fighting words. And I . . . would like to believe the Democratic National Committee attacks [on] me in that regard that Governor Clinton doesn't approve."

Campaign manager Robert A. Mosbacher and Treasurer Catalina V. Villalpando each raised the issue of Clinton's sexual fidelity on the eve of the GOP convention, each in



Gov. Bill Clinton handles state duties in his Little Rock office yesterday with Arkansas finance director James C. Pledger.

settings where they knew their remarks would receive attention.

Villalpando visited the New Jersey delegation at the convention in Houston and linked Clinton to Henry Cisneros, the former San Antonio mayor. Cisneros, who recently joined the Clinton campaign, withdrew from public life three years ago after acknowledging that he had an extramarital affair.

"Can you imagine two skirt-chasers campaigning together?" Villalpando said of Clinton and Cisneros. Not all of the New Jersey delegates greeted her comments warmly. Former governor Thomas Kean said they were "totally unnecessary."

Mosbacher, at a meeting with

journalists, said marital fidelity "should be one of the yardsticks" by which presidential candidates are measured. He said Clinton came up short in that department "based on what he has denied and what he hasn't denied," whereas allegations that Bush had an affair, Mosbacher said, were "totally uncorroborated."

Today, Mosbacher and Villalpando retreated from their remarks, the Associated Press reported in Houston. Mosbacher said such remarks had "no place in this campaign" and Villalpando apologized "deeply."

In an interview, Mosbacher said his comments were taken out of context. He said that he was talking generally about the character issue and

not about Clinton. "Character in general is a major consideration when you are assessing someone's qualifications to be president," he said.

Clinton, on his way to the Arkansas capitol for meetings on state business today, said of the latest womanizing charges: "In this and in so many other things, he [Bush] says one thing and they do something else."

Bush said in the Time interview that he would dismiss anyone who dealt in private innuendo, including "the issue of marital infidelity."

Staff writers Ruth Marcus and Lois Romano in Houston contributed to this report.

Reagan: 'What We Should Change Is a Democratic Congress'

Reuter

Following are excerpts of former president Ronald Reagan's remarks last night to the Republican National Convention in Houston:

Over the years, I've addressed this convention as a private citizen, as a governor, as a presidential candidate, as a president, and now, once again tonight, as private citizen Ronald Reagan.

Tonight is a very special night for me. Of course, at my age, every night is a very special night. After all, I was born in 1911. . . . In my life's journey over these past eight decades, I have seen the human race through a period of unparalleled tumult and triumph. I have seen the birth of communism and the death of communism. . . . I have witnessed the bloody futility of two World Wars and Korea, Vietnam and the Persian Gulf. I have seen Germany united, divided and united again. . . .

Yet, tonight is not a time to look backward. For while I take inspiration from the past, like most Americans, I live for the future. . . .

There was a time when empires were defined by land mass, subjugated peoples and military might. But the United States is unique because we are an empire of ideals. For 200 years we have been set apart by our faith in the ideals of democracy, of free men and free markets, and of the extraordinary possibilities that lie within seemingly ordinary men and women. We believe that no power of government is as formidable a force for good as the creativity and entrepreneurial drive of the American people. . . .

Those are the ideals that invented revolutionary technologies and a culture envied by people everywhere. . . . And after generations of struggle, America is the moral force that defeated communism and all those who would put the human soul itself into bondage.

Within a few short years, we Americans have experienced the most sweeping changes of this century: the fall of the Soviet Union and the rise of the global economy. No transition is without its problems, but as uncomfortable as it may feel at the moment, the changes of the 1990s will leave America more dynamic and less in danger than at any time in my life. . . .

We were meant to be masters of destiny, not victims of fate. Who among us would trade America's future for that of any other

country in the world? And who could possibly have so little faith in our American people that they would trade our tomorrow for our yesterday?

I'll give you a hint: They put on quite a production in New York a few weeks ago. You might even call it slick. A stone's throw from Broadway, and how appropriate. Over and over they told us they are not the party they were. They kept telling us with a straight face that they're for family values, they're for a strong America. They're for less-intrusive government. And they call me an actor.

To hear them talk, you'd never know that the nightmare of nuclear annihilation has been lifted from our sleep. You'd never know that our standard of living remains the highest in the world. You'd never know that our air is cleaner than it was 20 years ago. You'd never know that we remain the one nation the rest of the world looks to for leadership.

It wasn't always this way. We mustn't forget—even if they would like to—the very different America that existed just 12 years ago; an America with 21 percent interest rates and back-to-back years of double-digit inflation; an America where mortgage payments doubled, paychecks plunged and motorists sat in gas lines; an America whose leaders told us it was our own fault, that ours was a future of scarcity and sacrifice and that what we really needed was another good dose of government control and higher taxes.

It wasn't so long ago that the world was a far more dangerous place as well. It was a world where aggressive Soviet communism was on the rise and American strength was in decline. It was a world where our children came of age under the threat of nuclear holocaust. It was a world where our leaders told us that standing up to aggressors was dangerous—that American might and determination were somehow obstacles to peace. But we stood tall and proclaimed that communism was destined for the ash heap of history.

We never heard so much ridicule from our liberal friends. The only thing that got them more upset was two simple words: "Evil Empire."

But we knew then what the liberal Democrat leaders just couldn't figure out: The sky would not fall if America restored her strength and resolve. The sky would not fall if an American president spoke the truth. The only thing that would fall was the Berlin Wall.

I heard those speakers at that other convention saying, "We won the Cold War," and I couldn't help wondering, just who exactly do they mean by "we"? And to top it off, they even tried to portray themselves as sharing the same fundamental values of our party. . . .

When we see all that rhetorical smoke billowing out from the Democrats, ladies and gentlemen, I'd follow the example of their nominee: Don't inhale.

All right. Listen to me. This fellow they've nominated claims he's the new Thomas Jefferson. Well, let me tell you something. I knew Thomas Jefferson. He was a friend of mine. And, governor, you're no Thomas Jefferson.

All right. All right. Now, let's not dismiss our current troubles. But where they see only problems, I see possibilities—as vast and diverse as the American family itself. Even as we meet, the rest of the world is astounded by the pundits and finger-pointers who are so down on us as a nation. . . .

America's best days are yet to come. Our proudest moments are yet to be. Our most glorious achievements are just ahead. . . . And yet tomorrow might never have happened had we lacked the courage in the 1980s to chart a course of strength and honor.

All the more reason no one should underestimate the importance of this campaign and what the outcome will mean. The stakes are high. The presidency is serious business. We cannot afford to take a chance. We need a man of serious purpose, unmatched experience, knowledge and ability. A man who understands government, who understands our country and who understands the world. A man who has been at the table with [former Soviet president Mikhail] Gorbachev and [Russian President Boris] Yeltsin. A man whose performance as commander-in-chief of the bravest and most effective fighting force in history left the world in awe and the people of Kuwait free of foreign tyranny. . . . What we need is a man who has devoted more than half of his life to serving his country. A man of decency, integrity and honor.

And tonight I come to tell you that I—warmly, genuinely, wholeheartedly—support the reelection of George Bush as president of the United States. . . .

We know President Bush. By his own admission, he is a quiet man, not a showman. He is a trustworthy and level-headed leader who is respected around the world. His is a

steady hand on the tiller through the choppy waters of the '90s, which is exactly what we need.

We need George Bush.

We—yes, yes, yes, yes—we need Bush. We also need another real fighter, a man who happens to be with us this evening, someone who has repeatedly stood up for his deepest convictions. We need our vice president, Dan Quayle.

Now, it's true: A lot of liberal Democrats are saying it's time for a change, and they're right. The only trouble is, they're pointing to the wrong end of Pennsylvania Avenue. What we should change is a Democratic Congress that wastes precious time on partisan matters of absolutely no relevance to the needs of the average American. So to all the entrenched interests along the Potomac—the gavel-wielding chairmen, the bloated staffs, the taxers and takers and congressional rule-makers—we have a simple slogan for November 1992: Clean house!

For you see, my fellow Republicans, we are the change. For 50 of the last 60 years the Democrats have controlled the Senate. And they've had the House of Representatives for 56 of the last 60 years.

It's time to clean house. Clean out the privileges and perks. Clean out the arrogance and the big egos. Clean out the scandals, the corner-cutting and the foot-dragging.

What kind of job do you think they've done during all those years they've been running the Congress? [Boos.] You're absolutely right.

You know, I used to say to some of those Democrats who chair every committee in the House: "You need to balance the government's checkbook the same way you balance your own." Then I learned how they ran the House Bank, and I realized that was exactly what they had been doing.

Now just imagine what they would do if they controlled the executive branch, too. . . .

As it did 12 years ago, and as we have seen many times in history, our country stands at a crossroads. There is widespread doubt about our public institutions and profound concern, not merely about the economy but about the direction of this great country.

And as they did then, the American people are clamoring for change and sweeping reform. The kind of question we had to ask 12 years ago is the question we ask today:

What change can we Republicans offer the American people?

. . . New isolationists claim that the American people don't care about how or why we prevailed in the great defining struggle of our age—the victory of liberty over our adversaries. They insist that our triumph is yesterday's news, part of a past that holds no lessons for the future.

Well, nothing could be more tragic, after having come all this way on the journey of renewal we began 12 years ago, than if America herself forgot the lessons of individual liberty that she has taught to a grateful world. . . .

A decade after we summoned America to a new beginning, we are beginning still. Every day brings fresh challenges and opportunities to match. With each sunrise we are reminded that millions of our citizens have yet to share in the abundance of American prosperity. Many languish in neighborhoods riddled with drugs and bereft of hope. Still others hesitate to venture out on the streets for fear of criminal violence. Let us pledge ourselves to a new beginning for them.

Let us apply our ingenuity and remarkable spirit to revolutionize education in America so that everyone among us will have the mental tools to build a better life. And while we do so, let's remember that the most profound education begins in the home.

And let us harness the competitive energy that built America into rebuilding our inner cities so that real jobs can be created for those who live there and real hope can rise out of despair.

Let us strengthen our health care system so that Americans of all ages can be secure in their futures without the fear of financial ruin.

And my friends, once and for all, let us get control of the federal deficit through a balanced budget amendment and line-item veto for the president.

And let us all renew our commitment, renew our pledge, day-by-day, person by person, to make our country and the world a better place to live. Then when the nations of the world turn to us and say, "America, you are the model of freedom and prosperity," we can turn to them and say, "You ain't seen nothin' yet!"

. . . My fellow Americans, may every dawn be a great new beginning for America and every evening bring us closer to that shining city upon a hill. . . . God bless each and every one of you, and God bless this country we love.

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But others said Bush's final order to Gray to return to the bargaining table came after Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) and Danforth came to the White House with several other key Republican senators and told Bush he could no longer count on their support for sustaining a veto.

Another factor was the debilitating battle over Bush's appointment of Clarence Thomas, a black conservative, to the Supreme Court. Hearings over his nomination had given the issue of sexual harassment new prominence, and the civil rights bill allowed women and minorities to win damages for racial and sexual harassment.

And the quota issue—which had looked like a potentially good campaign issue in 1990, when it was used effectively by Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), seemed less attractive in 1991, when former Louisiana Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke briefly became a national figure.

"We capitulated because people got spooked because of the aftereffects of the Thomas hearings," said one administration official. In addition, this official said, campaign chairman Robert M. Teeter "got to Bush in August-September '91. Coming into a political year, the political people had more clout."

This official sees the Bush legacy on civil rights as four years of lost opportunities because Bush never outlined a clear philosophy about the federal government's role in combating discrimination.

"Whatever one thought of the Reagan administration and [former attorney general Edwin] Meese, there was an attempt to redefine the agenda and define an affirmative view that was different from the view of the civil rights establishment and Ralph Nease et al.," the official said. "The consensus view in the Bush White House was that that attempt shouldn't be repeated. Instead of taking the lesson of Meese that it was a valiant effort not done right, the opposite lesson was taken, which was: Let's not engage on civil rights ... let's not stake out a principled view."

8-Minute Video From GOP Targets House Democrats

HOUSTON, Aug. 17—It begins with newsreel scenes of 1954, the year the Salk vaccine was made available to the public and Ronald Reagan became host of the GE Theater. It continues with flashes of memorable moments from the next four decades. And it concludes with the slogan, "For real change ... bounce the Democratic Congress."

It's all part of an eight-minute video that was previewed today by the National Republican Congressional Committee as part of its perpetual effort to break the Democratic stranglehold on the House of Representatives.

Spencer Abraham, co-chairman of the NRCC, said polling shows that two-thirds of the voters know the Democrats control the House, but only 11 percent know that hegemony extends back to 1954, spanning a period in which eight presidents have served.

The committee chairman, Rep. Guy Vander Jagt of Michigan, told reporters he is somewhat optimistic that the message might have some effect because "there's such a tidal wave demanding change ... as I am living proof."

Earlier this month, Vander Jagt was upset for renomination by a little-known challenger, ending his 26-year House career.

Reagan: Another View

■ Republicans attending their national convention may catch a second glimpse of Reagan this week, but they may not like the context.

The former president will appear in advertisements produced by Handgun Control Inc.

POLITICS

on CNN here this week endorsing a one-week waiting period for handguns.

The ad encourages viewers to urge their senators to enact the waiting period by passing the so-called Brady bill, named for former Reagan press secretary James Brady. Brady was permanently disabled when he was shot in the head during the 1981 assassination attempt on Reagan.

Brady's wife, Sarah, heads Handgun Control and has lobbied hard with her husband for the legislation. The Bradys also lobbied for the Reagan endorsement at a ceremony marking the shooting's 10th anniversary, which provided the footage for the new spot.

Republicans generally have been hostile to the Brady proposal, passed in the House and as part of a broader crime package in the Senate. The legislation is currently stalled by Senate Republicans. President Bush, who once threatened to veto any waiting period, has expressed a willingness to compromise on the issue if Democrats would adopt other Republican crime proposals.

The GOP platform adopted here today said Republicans "defend the constitutional right to keep and bear arms" but takes no position on the Brady language.

"We note that those who seek to disarm citizens in their homes are the same liberals who tried to disarm our nation during the Cold War and are today seeking to cut our national defense below safe levels," the document says.

Quotable

■ A button being distributed by the Louisiana delegation here: "Dan is right. Murphy's a tramp."

—David S. Broder and Mark Stencel

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992



Patrick J. Buchanan gave credit for victory in the Cold War to his favorite president and former boss, Ronald Reagan.

Buchanan Heaps Scorn on Democrats

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

HOUSTON, Aug. 17—When it came to attacking President Bush during the primary season, Patrick J. Buchanan was so ferocious that he made Democrat Bill Clinton look like St. Francis of Assisi, the saint Buchanan once scorned as "the pacifist with the pigeons."

Tonight, Buchanan was as bellicose as ever: He made peace with Bush by declaring war on Clinton.

Buchanan, who lost every primary but embarrassed the president by winning strong protest votes during the early battles in New Hampshire and Georgia, took back nothing, apologized for nothing, changed absolutely nothing in his message.

In fact, he pointedly gave credit for victory in the Cold War not to the Republican president seeking reelection, but to his favorite president and former boss. "Ronald Reagan made us proud to be Americans again," Buchanan declared. "We never felt better about our country, and we never stood taller in the eyes of the world."

Still, Bush could be secure in the knowledge that for at least the next 10 weeks, one of the most acidic voices in American politics would be pouring his scorn on the other guys. Not only on Bill Clinton, but on Hillary Clinton too. For a self-described "conservative of the heart" who sees social issues as the core and economics as just so many numbers floating around the periphery, the targets were irresistible.

"The agenda Clinton & Clinton would impose on America—abortion on demand, a litmus test for the Supreme Court, homosexual rights, discrimination against religious schools, women in combat units—that's change, all right," Buchanan declared. "But it is not the kind of change America needs . . . it is not the kind of change we can abide in a nation we still call God's country."

The Republicans wanted somebody to challenge Clinton's draft record. Though he did not serve in the military himself, Buchanan was that man. "George Bush was 17 years old when they bombed Pearl Harbor," Buchanan said. "He left his graduation, he walked down to the recruiting office and he signed up to become the youngest fighter pilot in the Pacific War."

"And Mr. Clinton?" Buchanan asked with a flourish. Here the crowd erupted in repeated chants of "Where was Bill?"

"I'll tell you where he was," Buchanan answered. "When Bill Clinton's time came in Vietnam, he sat up in a dormitory room in Oxford, England, and figured out how to dodge the draft. Which of these two men has won the moral authority to send Americans into battle? I suggest, respectfully, it is the patriot and war hero, Navy Lt. j.g. George Herbert Walker Bush."

Ridicule is one of the cards Buchanan used so forcefully against Bush. Tonight it was Clinton's turn to

have his foreign policy experience described as being "pretty much confined to having had breakfast once at the International House of Pancakes."

And that much-ballyhooed Democratic convention last month was nothing but a "giant masquerade ball" where "20,000 radicals and liberals came dressed up as moderates and centrists in the greatest single exhibition of cross-dressing in American political history."

But Buchanan also had a warning to his party, about the paper-mill workers and unemployed secretaries he met on the campaign trail.

"We need to reconnect with them. We need to let them know they're hurting. They don't expect miracles, but they need to know we care."

No, Buchanan hasn't gone soft. His closing anecdote was about the Los Angeles riots and he wasn't talking about racial injustice in black and Latino neighborhoods but in praise of the 18th Cavalry with its "M-16s at the ready," representing "force, rooted in justice, backed by moral courage."

Describing "19-year-old boys ready to lay down their lives to stop a mob from molesting old people they did not even know," he saw a large lesson, casting domestic politics in martial terms; "As these boys took back the streets of Los Angeles, block by block, so we must take back our cities, and take back our culture, and take back our country."

The term "hard right" was invented for speeches like this.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

PLATFORM HIGHLIGHTS

Selected planks as approved by the Platform Committee

THE ECONOMY:

Repeal "recessionary" tax increases enacted under the 1990 budget agreement and reduce the capital gains tax rate to 15 percent. Increase personal income tax exemptions, create federal enterprise zones and make permanent tax credits for research and development. Decrease government regulation. Increase home ownership through a \$5,000 tax credit for first-time home buyers and other programs.

FOREIGN POLICY:

Pursue security policies in partnership with other nations through the United Nations. Maintain relations with China to "effectively encourage" democratic reform. Reduce U.S. troop strength in Europe while maintaining military commitment to the continent. Continue military ties with Israel while pursuing negotiated peace.

DEFENSE:

Reduce military spending by \$34 billion over four years, primarily through personnel cuts. Pursue the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) as a "shield against technoterrorism." Oppose proposals for national service as "efforts to bring back the draft." Oppose combat roles for service women.

THE BUDGET:

Enact balanced-budget amendment. Reduce federal spending with a line-item veto.



TRADE:

Enforce free trade through negotiations while rejecting "punitive taxes" on foreign businesses. Support the North American Free Trade Agreement.

THE ENVIRONMENT:

Link policy with economic growth. Require federal agencies to compensate private property owners for environmental restrictions.

CRIME:

Change evidence rules that hamper prosecutions. Change habeas corpus law to shorten the appeals process. Increase drug education in schools. Strengthen the Border Patrol with necessary "tools, technologies and structures." Oppose gun control.

WELFARE:

Require work from those able in return for public assistance. Make welfare families with children send them to school. "Today's welfare system is anti-work and anti-marriage. It taxes families to subsidize illegitimacy."

ABORTION AND BIRTH CONTROL:

Support a constitutional amendment banning most abortions. Oppose public funding for the procedure. Encourage "abstinence education" instead of school-based programs offering birth-control services, including abortion referrals. Increase adoptions "through significant tax credits, insurance reforms and legal reforms."



EDUCATION:

Use \$1,000 tuition credits for middle- and low-income parents to expand access to private schools and encourage competition. Support President Bush's plan for creating new "break-the-mold" schools.

Support competency testing and merit pay for teachers.

PRAYER AND THE PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE:

"America must remain neutral toward particular religions, but we must not remain neutral toward religion itself or the values religion supports." Allow voluntary prayer at community events such as commencements and "the right of students to engage in voluntary prayer in schools." Advocate the recitation of the pledge "as a reminder of the principles that sustain us as one nation under God."



HEALTH CARE:

Offset insurance costs with tax credits and deductions. Require insurers to cover pre-existing conditions. Make premiums fully deductible for the self-employed.

Allow small businesses to pool together to purchase coverage for employees. Cap malpractice claims. Oppose health care plans "imported from abroad" as bureaucratic and more costly to taxpayers.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA:

Oppose statehood "as inconsistent with the original intent of the Framers of the Constitution." "Seek" closer and responsible congressional scrutiny of the city, federal oversight of its law enforcement and courts and tighter fiscal restraints over its expenditures."

AIDS:

Encourage prevention through education that stresses "marital fidelity, abstinence and a drug-free life style." Oppose distribution of condoms or clean needles for drug users. Make it a crime to knowingly spread the virus. "We must recognize . . . that prevention is linked ultimately to personal responsibility and moral behavior."

FAMILY POLICY:

"Republicans recognize the importance of having fathers and mothers in the home. The two-parent family still provides the best environment of stability, discipline, responsibility and character." Overhaul the foster-care system and urge state legislatures to "promote marital stability." Oppose parental-leave legislation in favor of agreements worked out between workers and employers. Increase income tax exemptions for dependents.

GAY RIGHTS:

Oppose efforts to "include sexual preference as a protected minority" under civil rights laws. Oppose recognition of "same-sex marriages" or laws allowing "such couples to adopt children or provide foster care." Support continued ban on homosexuals in the military "as a matter of good order and discipline."

ARTS FUNDING:

Oppose use of federal funds for "obscenity and blasphemy masquerading as art."

CONGRESS AND CAMPAIGNS:

Enact term limits on senators and representatives. Oppose public financing of campaigns. Eliminate political action committees.

—Mark Stencel

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

Quayle Reiterates Defense Of 'Traditional Values'

Bush Lauds 'Super' and Courageous Vice President

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, Aug. 17—The last time Dan Quayle appeared at a Republican National Convention, he looked like a man in shock after a narrow escape from death. Today, four years later, Quayle was back before his fellow Republicans, mocking Democrat Bill Clinton and heaping scorn on the news media and the "elites" who "ape" at family values.

On Day One of the Quayle effort to reintroduce himself to America, the vice president arrived here to sound his family values theme before a cheering, chanting "God and Country" rally, to court the Republican Jewish vote and to hear the president laud him as a "super" vice president.

Quayle, who will make the rounds of more than 20 rallies and caucuses over his four days here, arrived at the evangelical rally to be greeted with signs reading "Dan Quayle was Right," featuring a picture of Murphy Brown with a huge X across the image. Signs proclaiming "Dan Quayle: Right for America" were held aloft.

The crowd, many from the GOP Christian right, cheered when Quayle was introduced by Pat Robertson, president of the Christian Broadcasting Network, as a "man of courage" unafraid to take on Hollywood, the news media and the legal establishment.

The vice president, with his family arrayed behind him, defended his attack in May on television character Murphy Brown for having an illegitimate child. "I don't care what the media say. I don't care what my critics say. I will never back down from talking about traditional values," he said.

Standing in front of a huge American flag, Quayle said: "The elites laughed at the reference to Murphy Brown, and they sneered at my defense of traditional values. It wasn't just me they were laughing at, my friends. It was you. It was your families and it was your values."

[Marilyn Quayle, in her first solo appearance here, urged support of civil litigation changes proposed by the vice president. But her pleas were met with an awkward silence from the audience of about 100 members of the Republican National Lawyers Association, the Associated Press reported. "She puts too much of the responsibility for

the excesses of the legal system on lawyers," trial lawyer Victor Thomas of Houston said after the speech.]

In his remarks, the vice president praised Bush's foreign policy record and said that Clinton's foreign policy experience was a summer internship with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. There is "no comparison at all" between the two candidates in that area, he said.

Avi Weiss of the Jewish Defense League briefly interrupted Quayle's speech to criticize the Bush administration's policies toward Israel, and then appeared again later at another Quayle speech, to the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), a pro-Israel lobbying group. As Quayle was declaring himself a "pro-Israel Republican and proud of it," Weiss jumped to his feet and shouted, "You've been wonderful, but tell your boss to stop bullying Israel."

Quayle, who has been a staunch supporter of Israel throughout his political career, acknowledged that the Bush administration's relations with Israel have "not always been smooth . . . we've had some rough times, but when all is said and done, there's been a lot more done than said . . ."

He ticked off the recent approval of loan guarantees to Israel, repeal of the U.N. resolution equating Zionism with racism and the administration's pledge to keep Israel's qualitative military edge in the region.

As Quayle spoke, Weiss kept interrupting, until Mayer Mitchell, chairman of AIPAC's board, stood up and described a beaming Quayle as "one of the strongest supporters of Israel," and asked Weiss to be quiet or leave. As guards hustled Weiss out, Quayle said, "Let him stay, he'll be quiet, he'll be quiet." But when Weiss said he would not, Quayle waved him off.

Quayle later got a rousing vote of confidence from Bush, who, shortly after his arrival, began his address to a massive rally with a paean to his often embattled vice president.

Bush said that when he selected Quayle four years ago in New Orleans, he told him the job of vice president was a "real character-builder," and he lauded Quayle's courage in standing up to intense criticism.

"He never wavered. He told the truth and let the chips fall where they may," Bush said. "He has been a super vice president and will be for another four years."

The Washington Post

TOM SHALES

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

Reagan, Back In From the Sunset

It was heartening, cheering, reassuring—sort of like having Clint Eastwood ride back into town in a hit western, as he has done with "Unforgiven." For Ronald Reagan, the title would be "Unforgotten." He gave a great speech last night at the Republican National Convention, which is to say it was a very Reaganesque speech and a very Reaganesque performance.

It was Gippericious, Gipperacious, Gipperific. Unfortunately, through gross convention mismanagement by the Republicans, Reagan was pushed out of prime time. He didn't appear on the podium until 10:57, almost 40 minutes behind schedule, and didn't begin speaking until 11. Then he was repeatedly interrupted by a coterie of boisterous chanters who kept breaking his stride with their shouting. Annoyed, and probably anxious to go home, he would say to them, "All right, all right," and "yes, yes," and try to press on with his speech.

The trademark self-deprecating humor was still there. Reagan, 81, said this was a special night for him. "Of course, at my age, every night's a special night," he added. Later he cleverly ridiculed Lloyd Bentsen's rejoinder to Dan Quayle from a 1988 debate, referring to Democratic candidate Bill Clinton's alleged aspirations to be a new Thomas Jefferson.

"Let me tell you something," Reagan said. "I knew Thomas Jefferson. He was a friend of

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SHALES, From D1

mine. And Governor, you're no Thomas Jefferson." The crowd almost blew the roof off the Houston Astrodome with laughter and applause.

He made another droll swipe at Clinton when he spoke of the "rhetorical smoke" produced by the Democrats and said, "I'd follow the example of their nominee: Don't inhale."

There were moving moments to the speech as well, although the chanters and shouters did their best to disrupt them. "In America, our origins matter less than our destinations, and that's what democracy is all about," Reagan said succinctly. And earlier he told the crowd, "We are all equal in the eyes of God, but as Americans that is not enough. We must be equal in the eyes of each other."

The crowd didn't really cheer that compassionate sentiment. But it did wildly cheer Reagan's tired old call for a balanced-budget amendment and a line item veto. Republicans, it seems, have their priorities.

Twice Reagan made reference, near the end of his speech, to a future he might not live to see. He invoked again, as he did in countless speeches before and during his presidency, the image of "that shining city upon a hill." Then he asked wife Nancy, in a red dress, to join him on the podium in waving to the crowd. "Goodbye and God bless each and every one of you and God bless this country we love," Reagan said. The "goodbye" had a haunting aura of finality.

But, walking off the podium, Reagan managed to drop-kick one or two of the red balloons that hailed down on him and Nancy from the rafters as the crowd's cheers swelled.

Even those who might dismiss the Reagan speech as corny or hokey would have to admit it was a model of sensitivity compared with

the hate-filled harangue of Pat Buchanan that preceded it. A Bush-basher turned Bush-pusher, Buchanan seemed to stir up a faction of the crowd into a bellicose frenzy. Reagan's line about us all being equal in each other's eyes would have been out of place in Buchanan's speech.

You wouldn't have wanted to be a homeless person, a jobless person, a gay person or a spotted owl in that hall at that moment. Some of the placards held aloft during Buchanan's speech also had a kind of ugliness that was not seen at the Democrats' convention in New York: "Fight Crime; Shoot Back" and "Family Rights Forever; Gay Rights Never."

Buchanan's best two lines were stolen. Or at least borrowed. The line about Clinton's grasp of foreign affairs being "confined to having breakfast once at the International House of Pancakes" was first used on Jimmy Carter (Buchanan conceded it was not original). The joke about Teddy Kennedy being one of the few 60-year-olds "who still goes to Florida for spring break" was stolen from Jay Leno.

The odd thing about Buchanan's speech was the spectacle of him being shouted down by his own supporters. They took up fist-waving refrains at every opportunity. Network cameras cut to shots of a satisfied-looking Jerry Falwell, a grizzled Charlton Heston and conservative activist Phyllis Schlafly with that eerie frozen smile. These are among the people Nancy Reagan worked hard to keep at arm's length from Ronnie.

CBS and ABC signed on for coverage at 9:30, but NBC was busy with an old rerun and didn't hit the airwaves until 10. Tom Brokaw did turn up again; however, on PBS at 8 as the joint PBS-NBC experiment in convention coverage continued, a boon for PBS, an embarrassment for NBC. PBS tended to ignore the podium almost as much as the commercial networks, so you had to

turn to C-SPAN to hear such treasurable moments as Sen. Alan Simpson (R-Wyo.) standing at the microphone and saying he looked forward to what he called "the clear quisp winds of truth in the fall."

One bad call by the CBS director was made during Reagan's speech when he came to a line about drug abuse in the city. At the sound of the word "drug" CBS cut to a shot of an African American delegate in the hall, as if this were the most natural of connections to make. It was appalling.

As soon as it got on the air, however, CBS rolled out the big gun: in a display of correspondent might. Dan Rather on the floor passed the baton to Ed Bradley, Connie Chung, Bob Schieffer and, in the anchor booth, Charles Kuralt. Somehow this was infinitely more impressive than Peter Jennings, on ABC, handing off to Jeff Greenfield, Lynn Sherr, Jim Wooten and Brit Hume.

ABC does have David Brinkley in its corner, and Brinkley, with his eye for color, stifled a chortle as he noted that each delegate had been given a plastic cowboy boot filled with red, white and blue M&Ms. CBS's Schieffer sported the latest thing in video gear: a teeny-tiny camera attached to his headset. He called it a "brain cam" and then changed that to "head cam."

The night belonged to the Gipper however, and he made the most of it despite the late hour of his appearance. He spent only a couple of minutes praising George Bush, the man who will find Reagan a hard act to follow when he makes his acceptance speech Thursday night.

"He is a quiet man, not a showman," Reagan said.

Ron, you can say that again. In fact, you can say everything again. One banner held aloft read, "Reagan in '96." He will be 85. And "Reagan 2000." He will be 89. Watching him drop-kick those balloons, one could almost believe it could happen. For about 35 minutes, a golden age of television was back.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

Framing a New Agenda GOP Attempts to Recast Conservatism

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

HOUSTON, Aug. 17—With a barrage of oratory on Tuesday night, Republicans will embark on what many of their strategists regard as the most important mission of their convention: convincing a doubtful nation that President Bush has coherent solutions to the country's domestic problems, and that he would fight hard for them if he won a second term.

Few here pretend that this will be an easy sell—and many Republicans say it's awfully late to be trying. Bush loyalists acknowledge that the president has seemed reluctant to battle hard even for the programs he has proposed himself. And they say he is still suffering from the fact that he was elected in

1988 more as an opponent of Democratic domestic initiatives—notably taxes—than as a proponent of any domestic plans of his own.

"The source of some of our problems," said William Kristol, Vice President Quayle's chief of staff, "was defining an agenda that was negative.... We have paid a price."

But Kristol and other conservatives see this convention not only as a chance to reverse Bush's image of domestic indifference, but also as an opportunity to showcase what they believe are genuine conservative alternatives to Democratic policy initiatives.

Tuesday's lineup of speakers is heavily tilted toward advocates of what Kristol and his allies call "the conservative reform agenda." Speaker after speaker will tout pro-

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IDEOLOGY, From A1

grams such as vouchers to allow poor children to attend private schools, tenant ownership or management of public housing, and health care reforms based on incentives to allow individuals and businesses to buy private insurance.

The idea that unites these proposals is that government is better off "empowering individuals," as the popular conservative slogan goes, than in creating new bureaucracies. As the preamble to the platform adopted today put it: "We see with new clarity that centralized government bureaucracies created in this century are not the wave of the future. Never again will people trust planners and paper shufflers more than they trust themselves."

This might be read simply as an updated, post-Cold War version of old-style conservative rhetoric. But by giving lead roles in Tuesday's session on domestic issues to such top administration figures as Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp, Education Secretary Lamar Alexander and Health and Human Services Secretary Louis W. Sullivan, the Bush camp hopes to convince voters that it has put substance behind the exhortations.

All three, and particularly Kemp, have been spinning off policies sufficiently attractive that Democratic nominee Bill Clinton has picked up on some of them. Kristol says it is an "irony" that conservatives are perceived as running out of ideas at a time

when their policy thinking on specific problems such as education and health care is "much farther along than in the Reagan era."

The platform itself resonates with this agenda too. Although most of the controversy over the 123-page document focused on its strong antiabortion plank and its conservative stands on such social issues as pornography, homosexuality and the family, many of its words are actually dedicated to more traditional areas of public policy.

It calls for "a revolution in housing by converting public housing into homes owned by low-income Americans," and declares: "The truest measure of our success will not be how many families we add to housing assistance rolls, but, rather, how many families we move into the ranks of homeownership."

It picks up on Quayle's war against litigation by calling for limits on medical malpractice cases, restrictions on the use of expert witnesses and changes in product liability laws. And it scores "a government monopoly over the means of educating" and praises school choice programs.

Whether all this will be new enough to save Bush remains open to question, especially because conservatives have been touting some of these causes for a long time. Peggy Noonan, who was the main architect of Bush's successful 1988 acceptance speech, argues that not only Bush but all conservatives have a problem convincing the country that they are fresh, ready and

engaged after more than a decade in power. It is almost inevitable, she said, that conservative ideology seems tired to so many—and that the administration thus seems so disengaged.

"They've been talking about it for 12 years—to a certain degree, they've lost interest," she said. "One of Bush's problems after 12 years of the Republicans being in charge of the executive microphone is to take old ideas that are good ideas and make them sound like interesting and valid ideas."

It is a sign of how eager Republicans are to embrace big ideas that this generation's quintessential political pragmatist, soon-to-be chief of staff James A. Baker III, used his departing remarks at the State Department last week to cast Bush as a visionary seeking a "mandate" for an "agenda." As one Republican here noted, Baker has always been allergic to the idea of using elections to seek mandates; winning them was what mattered.

But winning this time may depend on vision, so Baker sounded like the conservative ideologue he has so often disdained. "I think that there is a conservative agenda for helping people and for responding to their needs," Baker declared, using language likely to be heard all week. "We want to empower them to make their own choices, to break away from dependency. We want to give them economic security, a stake in society."

Baker acknowledged that the various ideas he proceeded to list "may not be particularly revolutionary." But he signaled a central

campaign objective by adding: "What is new, I think, is the commitment to press them together as a package." What the Republicans are seeking here, in other words, is to tie Bush's disparate domestic initiatives and suggest that taken together, they really do answer his need for a "vision thing."

Baker's speech left activist conservatives like Kemp and Rep. Vin Weber (R-Minn.) elated, but they may have to wait for action on the other part of their agenda, an aggressive round of new tax cuts. Bush himself, in pre-convention interviews that he might embrace a bold tax plan, but his aides subsequently played down that prospect.

The difficulty Bush faces in coming up with new tax and budget proposals suggests potential limits of the new conservative agenda he is embracing. While Americans are worried about education and health care, what most bold against Bush is economic stagnation. Politically, the "conservative reform agenda" will be successful only if it is linked to a sense that Bush can take hold of the economy and promote growth.

Still, many Republicans are heartened that Bush now seems willing to throw his energies into convincing the country that he cares about domestic policy. Up to now, said Linda DiVall, a Republican polltaker, even the president's body language was undermining this cause. "You can turn the sound and look at his face and know he's talking about foreign policy or domestic affairs," she said. "I guess that's going to change after Thursday."

Bush Rallies Party With 'Stunning Comeback' Pledge

■ **Republicans:** Reagan calls for ouster of a Democratic Congress that ignores the average American. A rigidly conservative platform is adopted as convention opens.

By JACK NELSON and JAMES GERSTENZANG, TIMES STAFF WRITERS

HOUSTON—A determined President Bush, arriving at the 1992 Republican National Convention to rally a party driven to the brink of panic by the apparent collapse of its political fortunes, told cheering supporters Monday, "You're going to see the most stunning political comeback since Harry Truman gave them hell in 1948!"

"It starts right now," Bush declared, "You know me. In politics, I've always done better when I fight back, when I'm behind. . . . I'm going to roll up my sleeves and do what's right for the American people, and I don't care what the polls say."

The embattled President, evoking memories of Truman's legendary victory over New York Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, vowed to stage a similar comeback against the Democratic ticket of Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton and Tennessee Sen. Al Gore. "It's going to be curtain time for that ticket," he told supporters in an auditorium near the Astrodome.

Earlier, he had lashed out at the Democratic-controlled Congress, saying, "I'm going to go after them with a vengeance."

The first day of the Republicans' four-day convention, including Bush's dramatic appearance, was designed not only to breathe new life into a deeply troubled party threatened by massive voter defections but to fire up the conservatives who constitute the GOP's most militant element.

During opening sessions that focused on the "family values" theme cherished by the religious right:

• Conservative commentator Patrick J. Buchanan, whose bitter challenge to the President during the GOP primaries threatened to split the party, drew a roar of approval from delegates when he unequivocally endorsed Bush in a vitriolic speech that castigated

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BUSH: He Vows Big Comeback

Continued from A1

Clinton and his wife, Hillary, and ridiculed last month's Democratic Convention. Buchanan called the Democrats' New York conclave "that giant masquerade ball up at Madison Square Garden—where 20,000 liberals and radicals came dressed up as moderates and centrists—in the greatest single exhibition of cross-dressing in American political history."

• Former President Ronald Reagan, in an emotional speech that became a farewell to the party he had led to political heights, delivered a rhetorical thrust at Clinton that brought a thunderclap of cheers and laughter from the crowd: "This fellow they nominated claims he's the new Thomas Jefferson. Let me tell you—I knew Thomas Jefferson. He was a friend of mine. And governor, you're no Thomas Jefferson."

• Delegates adopted a rigidly conservative platform largely dictated by Christian fundamentalists who now virtually control the party on social issues. The blueprint included uncompromising opposition to abortions and limiting the rights of homosexuals.

• As part of the day's carefully orchestrated emphasis on "family values," Vice President Dan Quayle told a "God and Country" rally near the Astrodome that Clinton spoke on the topic for 15 minutes during his acceptance speech. "We're making real progress in America when Bill Clinton's talking about family values," he said, an apparent dig at the Democratic nominee's character that brought laughter and cheers from the crowd.

• Edward J. Rollins, who directed Reagan's 1984 reelection campaign and managed Ross Perot's short-lived flirtation with an independent presidential candidacy, told reporters the Republican Party "is in absolute panic today" and the poll numbers for GOP candidates for Congress are "dropping like a rock."

He said "the religious right is now the core" of the party and, while they may alienate some moderates, Bush would have a difficult time holding the GOP together without them.

Bush, pumped up by the sight of 7,000 or so partisans chanting "Four More Years!" as he made his way through the auditorium adjacent to the convention hall, told the crowd that the Astrodome next door was considered the eighth wonder of the world and that they should "get ready for number nine—the most stirring political comeback since Harry Truman gave them hell in 1948."

Delivering the same sort of attack on Congress that formed the core of Truman's upset campaign, Bush sought to tie Clinton to Democratic congressional leaders, whom he called "the sultans of the status quo."

"Don't kid yourselves," Bush said. "Look at where their support is coming from—the same ossified, entrenched, change-allergic support groups out there supporting the Democratic leaders in Congress."

"I'm going to do what Harry Truman did. I am going to take that message to change the Congress all across this country," the President said.

As he often does when he returns to his adopted home state, Bush put a drawl of sorts back in his voice, as when he recalled his days as a young family man in Midland, Tex., sitting around the kitchen table late at night, "and we talked about report cards—same thing y'all do."

"My opponent . . . ridicules or attacks me as we talk about family values. Well, let me tell you something. We are going to keep on trying to strengthen the American family, to make American families a lot more like the Waltons and a lot less like the Simpsons," he said.

And in a line that included a reference to the musical instrument Clinton plays, Bush said the Democrats "have called our great country a mockery and sounded the saxophone of change."

While Bush himself beat the war drums to rouse the party faithful, aides privately sought to dampen expectations that the President's acceptance speech Thursday night would contain dramatic new proposals for tax cuts or other specific initiative.

"People should not look for a speech that introduces new and different proposals," one senior official said. "What they should look for are very clear pictures of where we are going to take this country and the road map we are going to follow."

It was understood that the Bush speech will not propose an immediate tax cut but is likely to mention that as something he would like to pursue in a second term.

Exactly what that will turn out to mean is unclear. The tax cut issue is especially sensitive because it involves a sharp division within the GOP over how best to help the troubled economy.

Patrick Buchanan

Buchanan delivered one of the most scathing convention speeches of the modern era, extraordinary for its attack on a nominee's wife.

"Elect me, and you get two for the price of one, Mr. Clinton says of his lawyer-spouse," Buchanan told the delegates. "And what does Hillary believe? Well, Hillary believes that 12-year-olds should have a right to sue their parents, and Hillary has compared marriage and the family as institutions to slavery—and life on an Indian reservation."

"Well, speak for yourself, Hillary," the conservative commentator continued. "This, my friends, this is radical feminism. The agenda that Clinton & Clinton would impose on America—abortion on demand, a litmus test for the Supreme Court, homosexual rights, discrimination against religious schools, women in combat units—that's change all right. But that is not the kind of change America wants."

Buchanan's attack on Mrs. Clinton came only four days after Barbara Bush rebuked GOP National Committee Chairman Richard N. Bond for similar rhetoric, saying, "I don't like attacking [a candidate's wife.] She's not running for office."

Buchanan, who showed nothing but contempt for Bush during the primaries and left some doubt before the convention about how warmly he would endorse him, opened his speech to loud applause by declaring: "I want to tonight congratulate President Bush, and remove any doubt about where we stand. The primaries are over, the heart is strong again, and the Buchanan Brigades are enlisted—all the way to a great Republican comeback victory in November."

Ronald Reagan

Criticizing the Democrats for focusing on the problems plaguing the country today, Reagan told the convention: "To hear the Democrats talk, you'd never know that the nightmare of nuclear annihilation has been lifted from our sleep. You'd never know that our standard of living remains the highest in the world. You'd never know that our air is cleaner than it was 20 years ago. You'd never know that we remain the one nation the rest of the world looks to for leadership."

His lengthy speech, largely a review of his own Administration and of changes that have occurred in the nation and the world since 1980, when he won the White House, mentioned Bush by name only a few times. But he said he "warmly, genuinely, wholeheartedly" supports Bush's reelection.

In his speech's main theme, Reagan said that before he took office, the world was a far more dangerous place, but "we stood tall and proclaimed that communism was destined for the ash heap of history. We never heard so much ridicule from our liberal friends."

"The only thing that got them more upset," he said, citing a term he once used to describe the Soviet Union, "was two simple words: 'Evil Empire.'"

He said "a very different America" existed almost 12 years ago, "an America with 21% interest rates and back-to-back years of double-digit inflation; an America where mortgage payments doubled, paychecks plunged, and motorists sat in gas lines; an America whose leaders told us it was our own fault; that ours was a future of scarcity and sacrifice; and that what we really needed was another good dose of government control and higher taxes."

Reagan's declaration that Clinton is "no Thomas Jefferson" echoed one of the most famous episodes of the 1988 campaign. During the debate between vice presidential candidates that year, after GOP nominee Quayle drew a parallel with the late President John F. Kennedy, Texas Sen. Lloyd Bentsen, the Democratic vice presidential candidate, told Quayle—then an Indiana senator—"You're no John Kennedy."

The line immediately entered the lexicon of American politics as a classic putdown of an opponent.

And it was characteristic of the 81-year-old Reagan to combine a clever thrust at Clinton with a disarming joke about his own age. Summoning his wife, Nancy, to the podium at the close of his speech, Reagan added a farewell to his prepared text, telling the cheering throng: "On behalf of both of us, goodbye, and God bless each and every one of you, and God bless this country—we love it."

The Platform

Bush forces beat back efforts by delegates supporting abortion rights to carry their fight for changes to the convention floor. The platform, which the President says he has not yet read, makes no exceptions on opposing abortion and Bush's campaign closely monitored all attempts to change that through amendments.

Abortion-rights advocates pressed for a chance to air their views at the convention Monday, but two governors they had counted on for support—John R. McKernan Jr. of Maine and William F. Weld of Massachusetts—gave up the fight after a closed-door session with Charles Black, a senior Bush campaign adviser.

The actual adoption of the platform was cut-and-dried. When Rep. Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.), chairman of the convention, put the document to a voice vote, the ayes clearly prevailed even though a strong chorus of "no's" could be heard.

Rep. Bill Green (R-NY), one of the GOP's leading moderates, said Monday, "I think the platform is a tragic mistake for the Republican Party."

Ed Rollins

Rollins, at a luncheon session with reporters, said that the next three weeks will be critical for Bush's chances of reelection and that if the President cannot narrow Clinton's present 17-to-23 percentage point leads in various polls to 5-to-10 points at the convention, his campaign will be in deep trouble. He pointed out that in 1988, Bush, who had trailed Dukakis by 17 points after the Democratic convention, had pulled even with him by the second or third day of the GOP convention.

Times staff writer William J. Eaton contributed to this story.

GOP Seeking to Link Domestic, Foreign Policies

By ROBERT SHOCHAN
and DOUG JEHL
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

HOUSTON—As Secretary of State James A. Baker III takes charge of President Bush's re-election bid, GOP strategists are swiftly developing what they view as a compelling theme for the campaign's heretofore ill-defined nature: How his first-term achievements in foreign policy set the stage for a future revival of the nation's flagging economy.

In effect, Bush and his surrogates argue, ending the Cold War—with its massive drain on the

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nation's resources—was a necessary first step toward action on pressing domestic problems.

Beyond explaining how Bush, in what his aides hope will be a second term, can address the host of domestic problems that now preoccupy voters, the argument also helps the incumbent answer charges by Democratic challenger Bill Clinton that he failed to do enough on domestic policy during

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"We sort of said, 'Containing communism means American jobs,'" one senior official said, "but we haven't been any good at explaining the steps in between."

"We have to get it through to people that these two things are related," the official said. "Our trouble is that people have been saying, 'Hey, we've got foreign affairs solved, let's let the next guy take a crack at the other stuff.'"

The significance of Baker's appointment to head the campaign, Bush aides said, was that he more than anyone else is capable of helping the President articulate such a complicated message.

He began that effort in his farewell speech as secretary of state last week in which he asserted: "The President knows that all policies have to be brought together effectively if we are going to prosper as a people and succeed as a nation. . . . We must concentrate on the interrelationship between domestic and foreign policy, and between economic and security policy."

"Baker understands [those] interrelationships . . . better than anyone else," one of his associates said. "It is very difficult to talk about a global economy in terms that are important to people's daily lives. What we need to say is that the end of communism means new markets that will be a sponge for American goods and that means jobs."

And Craig Fuller, a longtime Bush loyalist who is serving as the re-election campaign's convention chairman, said flatly: "One of the most important reasons that Jim Baker can be so helpful is using his skills to explain the connections between foreign policy and Bush's domestic agenda."

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his first term.

A key factor in getting this message across to the electorate was the shift to the White House of Baker, who because of his previous experience as Treasury secretary and President Ronald Reagan's chief of staff in a sense personally embodies the claimed synergism between international affairs and concerns at home.

And for the first prime-time airing of the message, the Bush campaign chose the Great Communicator, Reagan, who addressed the convention Monday night.

No one else, said Bush campaign manager Frederic V. Malek "is in a better position to put in context what has taken place in the world over the past 12 years and what America's role has been in reshaping the world, and what this has meant not only to the world, but what it has meant to Americans here at home. How it has improved our prospects for the future in terms of the peace dividend, export opportunities and the like."

Reagan sought to drive just that point home in his address to the convention.

"Within a few short years, we Americans have experienced the most sweeping changes of this century: the fall of the Soviet Union and the rise of the global economy," Reagan told the delegates, and "the changes of the 1990s will leave America more dynamic and less in danger than at any time in my life."

"Who among us would trade America's future for that of any other country in the world?" he said.

Earlier in the day, Bush himself took up the new chorus in an address to an Indianapolis convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. "We owe you more than a strong America abroad," he said. "We owe you a strong America at home."

And, he explained in a CNN television interview: "We really made dramatic changes in the world. Now I need your help, the people of America's help, in bringing to America the kind of change that I think will move us briskly ahead during the rest of the '90s—and I'm talking about education, health care, crime, whatever it is."

James Cicconi, issues director for the Bush campaign, said the interconnected message "absolutely" helped the GOP team to address foreign policy issues that might otherwise be perceived as irrelevant to a domestic-focused campaign.

"You're either a leader or you're not," Cicconi said. "It's not possible to separate out foreign and domestic and say you're a leader in one area and not in the other."

No one pretends that this approach is a sure-fire formula for victory. "Clinton could say if foreign policy things are settled now, and we turn to domestic policy, we Democrats are the ones who can do this better," said Rice University political scientist Richard Stoll, a specialist in international relations.

Or alternatively, Democrats could point to continuing trouble spots in international relations, Yugoslavia and Iraq, and demand Bush explain how he proposes to deal with them.

"There are problems with the strategy," says Stoll. "But given where things are and Bush's strength and weaknesses, it may be



AL STEPHENSON / For The Times

The President and First Lady Barbara Bush wave to staffers as the leave the White House en route to the GOP convention in Houston

Bush gets an approval rating of 59% for foreign policy in a Times Poll of 1,146 voters released this week, compared to 42% overall and 25% for his handling of the economy. And by 61% to 21%, voters think Bush can better handle foreign affairs than Clinton.

The trouble is, right now voters are not interested in foreign policy. Asked to volunteer what issues they would like to hear discussed by the presidential candidates only 5% of those interviewed cited foreign policy, compared to 29% who mentioned the economy.

Among the gains the GOP would make if their new message linking foreign and domestic policy goes over:

- Converting foreign policy achievements from a liability to an asset. While the GOP likes to take credit for the collapse of communism, the passing of the Red menace so far has been a net political minus for Bush because it undermined the importance of the national security issue, on which Republicans have scored higher than Democrats.

- Meanwhile, Bush's acknowledged preference for steering the ship of state in international waters rather than dealing with messy domestic headaches has hurt his approval rating as problems at home have grown more urgent.

But now, the hope of GOP strategists is that he can demonstrate his efforts abroad have put him and the country in better shape for dealing with the nation's economy and other domestic concerns.

- Focusing attention on the one issue area—foreign policy—which Republicans believe to be Clinton's weakest spot. Republicans have been quick to point out that Clinton's entire political career has been spent in the Arkansas state government.

"If there ever was a blank slate candidate in the most important function of the President, commander-in-chief, Bill Clinton wins that contest," William F. Martin, former special assistant for national security affairs in the Reagan White House, said last month during the Democratic convention in New York.

Putting more attention on Bush's

publicans believe, will help the underline Clinton's inexperience this area. "People aren't quite sure about Clinton," says Rice University's Stoll, and tend to worry that "maybe he doesn't know enough about foreign policy."

- Emphasizing Bush's link Reagan. As Reagan's convention speech dramatized, the new Bush message helps to remind voters the continuum between the two. And Reagan was never more compelling as a President than when he was challenging the "Evil Empire" of communism.

As Malek put it at a pre breakfast here: "We think Ron Reagan is someone who has star us in this direction we have been going in and who has witnessed George Bush's accomplishments over the years and can best into perspective the changes in world and America's impact on it."

In addition, Reagan is also, along with Dwight D. Eisenhower, on the two most popular Republican presidents of the post-war era, the winner of two landslide elections. Republicans hope that some of the Gipper's political magic rub off on his former vice president.

This is not the first time Republicans have tried to exploit Bush's success in foreign policy to help his standing in domestic affairs. As early as January, Bush introduced as a centerpiece of his campaign the slogan: "We have changed the world and now we're going to change America." But Ed Gees and other Republican consultants said the message has had little resonance.

And even top Bush campaign staffers complained privately the slogan seemed to imply domestic affairs was an afterthought—"something you turn to when the hard stuff was done."

Another problem was that President failed to make clear connection between foreign and domestic policy.

Clinton Camp Driving GOP to Distraction



■ Democrats: With interviews, ads and criticisms, the campaign breaks tradition as it tries to steal some thunder from Republican Convention.

by DAVID LAUTER
and THOMAS B. ROSENSTIEL
Times Staff Writers

HOUSTON—In a break with the political tradition of lying low during the other guy's big moment, Democratic officials moved to engage their opponent and influence media coverage as the Republican Convention opened Monday.

They launched plans to air television advertisements tweaking President Bush in his own city, called on Bush to fire his campaign chairman—citing comments by Robert A. Mosbacher raising the issue of Clinton's past marital problems—and took off after the no-longer-Teflon figure of former President Ronald Reagan.

Clinton even made himself available for an interview on CBS, repeating his theme that he would make America strong economically again, which he said is a key to being strong internationally.

By contrast, last month George Bush went fishing in Wyoming during the Democratic Convention.

"In the past we lay low, and it was a mistake," Democratic National Chairman Ronald H. Brown said. "We don't intend to make that mistake again."

The advertising campaign, which Democratic strategists had planned to launch as a surprise today, apparently marks the first time that one party has aired advertising during the other party's convention.

The two 15-second ads are designed to criticize Bush and rebut anticipated attacks against Clinton. One hits Bush for signing

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to GOP delegates from New Jersey that Clinton and campaign adviser Henry G. Cisneros, a former mayor of San Antonio, are "two skirt chasers."

Clinton and his aides seized on the comments, hoping to use an otherwise minor flap to portray Bush as an insincere politician who tries to "have it both ways."

Clinton's communication director, George Stephanopoulos, called on Bush to fire the two, saying that Bush had promised to fire aides who trafficked in what the President has called "sleazy stuff."

Asked recently in an interview with Time magazine whether he would fire aides who raised such issues, Bush said: "Yes, I think I would."

Said Stephanopoulos: "Today we have to find out if George Bush is really a leader, if you can trust him to tell the truth, can you trust him to keep his word, or is he just a hollow man running a very hypocritical, very cynical campaign."

The Bush campaign issued statements from both Mosbacher and Villalpando—Mosbacher saying he

regretted the misunderstanding; Villalpando apologizing "deeply." But, when asked about the charges later on CNN, the President refused to repudiate them. He said that he could not "control" what members of his campaign or Administration say.

"There's an awful lot of people who feel strongly one way or another on a wide variety of issues, and nobody is going to be able to control everything that everybody says. The program is to stay away from what I call the sleaze business. . . . But I'm not going to go around wringing my hands about it."

He promised that in his own case, however, "I'm going to conduct myself above the board and on the issues."

That comment brought Clinton himself into the fray. "He says this has no place in the campaign. Then his people come right back with it. That's typical," Clinton told reporters in Little Rock.

The Democrats also have sent a team to Houston to respond to the Republican depictions of Clinton.

"This is not an in-your-face kind of effort on our part," party Chairman Brown said. "This is an effort, as we indicated, to set the record straight, to respond, to indicate this is not 1988. We are not a turn-the-other-cheek party anymore."

Betsey Wright, the deputy chairwoman of the Clinton campaign, said that, although "[we] did not come here to disrupt [the GOP] convention . . . if it gets completely out of hand, we will reconsider how to handle it."

The Clinton campaign's new aggressiveness even reached to the most beloved GOP icon, Reagan.

Recent polls, including one by The Times, show that Monday night's featured speaker, Reagan, has sharply dropped in popularity. Because of that, Clinton's aides feel freer to criticize him.

"I think he's going to give the Clinton campaign a bounce," Stephanopoulos said. "He's the perfect standard-bearer for the Republicans, the architect of Reaganomics, which raised taxes for middle-class people and brought the economy to a shambles."

Lauter reported from Little Rock, Ark., and Rosenstiel from Houston.

'Today we have to find out if George Bush is really a leader . . . or is he just a hollow man running a very hypocritical, very cynical campaign.'

GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS
Clinton communication director

"the second-biggest tax increase in American history"—the 1990 increase that broke the President's "Read my lips" pledge. (The largest tax increase was Reagan's, in 1981.) It also notes that under Clinton, Arkansas has the second-lowest per-capita tax burden in the country.

The second Clinton ad points to statistics on losses of American jobs under Bush and contrasts those numbers with figures on job creation in Arkansas under Clinton.

Both spots, which will air during the convention, end with a tag line: "Those are the facts. Back to the show."

The vast majority of Americans will not see the advertisements directly—the Democrats are airing them primarily in Houston—but Clinton strategists hope to discomfit the small circle of top Bush operatives here and remind journalists of the Democrats' point of view.

Democratic strategists also hope to disrupt GOP plans with their attack Monday on the Bush campaign's general chairman, Mosbacher, and another GOP figure, Catalina Vasquez Villalpando, Bush's appointee as treasurer of the United States. Both made comments Sunday raising the issue of Clinton's past marital problems, a topic that Bush says he has declared off limits.

Mosbacher, in a breakfast with reporters Sunday morning, said in answer to a question that Clinton's past marital problems "should be one of the yardsticks" voters use to judge the two candidates.

Buchanan Takes Stage as Team Player

■ **Speech:** He harshly criticizes Bill and Hillary Clinton, has high praise for Reagan and pledges to be a loyal ally in Bush's reelection campaign.

By CATHLEEN DECKER
 TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

HOUSTON—Two months after his presidential campaign creaked to a close, Patrick J. Buchanan stepped Monday night onto a stage he had wanted to call his own and pledged his loyalty to his former foe, George Bush. And he did it in signature style, with a wincing, rambunctious, rollicking address that lionized his Republican allies and lanced his Democratic enemies.

In an archly drawn comparison between the two men still vying for President, Buchanan made sure that the thousands of activists gathered in the Astrodome for the first night of the Republican National Convention knew he had little taste for a certain Arkansas governor.

"George Bush was 17 when they bombed Pearl Harbor. He left his high school class, walked down to the recruiting office and signed up to be the youngest fighter pilot in the Pacific War," said Buchanan.

"And Mr. Clinton? When Bill Clinton's time came in Vietnam, he sat up in a dormitory in Oxford, England, and figured out how to dodge the draft."

"Which of these two men has won the moral authority to send young Americans into battle? I suggest, respectfully, it is the patriot and war hero, Navy Lt. J.G. George Herbert Walker Bush."

Rapturous, the delegates on the convention floor broke into a chant: "Where was Bill?"

The address of the 53-year-old former television commentator touched heavily on the perceived strengths of the Bush and Reagan administrations and spared recitation of their difficulties.

While he spent eight months as a presidential candidate scouring President Bush for his handling of the economy, Buchanan referred only briefly to the nation's economic state—when he gave President Reagan credit for the "longest



BERNIE BOSTON / Los Angeles Times

Pat Buchanan addresses the Republican convention Monday.

peacetime recovery in U.S. history" and when he pleaded with delegates to remember the suffering citizens he had met in his campaign.

His brief presidential candidacy—which began in the snows of New Hampshire and foundered once he left the confines of that economically ravaged state—was prompted by what Buchanan considered to be Bush's departure from traditional conservative tenets on taxes and social issues. But on Monday night, Buchanan's criticisms were visited upon Clinton and his partisans alone.

"Like many of you last month, I watched that giant masquerade ball up at Madison Square Garden, where 20,000 liberals and radicals came dressed up as moderates and centrists, in the greatest single exhibition of cross-dressing in American political history," he declared, referring to the Democratic National Convention.

He targeted Clinton for supporting abortion rights and gay rights and attacked Clinton's wife, Hillary. In doing so, he repeated earlier Republican criticisms that have been rejected as inaccurate by the Clinton campaign and have been denounced as distasteful by the President's wife, Barbara.

"Elect me and you get two for the price of one, Mr. Clinton says of his lawyer-spouse," said Buchanan. "And what does Hillary believe? Well, Hillary believes that 12-year-olds should have the right to sue their parents, and Hillary has compared marriage and the family as institutions to slavery—and life on an Indian reservation."

"Well, speak for yourself, Hillary," Buchanan added, pointing his finger mockingly at the television cameras. "This, my friends, this is radical feminism."

Immediately after the remarks, Barbara Bush, sitting in the President's box along with Buchanan's wife, Shelley, pursed her lips.

Nonetheless, by the time Buchanan finished he received a standing ovation from Barbara Bush and the rest of the attendees, including Buchanan's potential competitor in 1996, Vice President Dan Quayle, and his wife, Marilyn.

For all of the armor he dons for political battle, there is more than a little emotion in Buchanan, and it came to the surface in words of praise for his political mentor, Ronald Reagan, and for the men and women who had powered his own campaign.

With a litany of praise that ranged from gentle to fiery, Buchanan paid tribute to Reagan as "one of the great statesmen of modern time."

"It is said that every president will be recalled in history with but a single sentence. George Washington was the father of his country. Abraham Lincoln freed the slaves and saved the Union. And Ronald Reagan won the Cold War," he said.

"Most of all, my friends, Ronald Reagan made us proud to be Americans again. We never felt better about our country, and we never stood taller in the eyes of the world."

And Buchanan grew almost tender as he referred anecdotally to supporters troubled—although he did not say so—by the economic woes that have confounded Bush's campaign.

"They share our beliefs and convictions, our hopes and our dreams. These are the conservatives of the heart," he said pleadingly. "They are our people. We need to reconnect with them. We need to let them know we know how bad they're hurting."

Much talk has centered in this convention on Buchanan's plans for 1996. But the former candidate, who is recovering from heart surgery, made clear Monday night that his goal for now is the reelection of President Bush.

Tall Order as the Keynoter Speaker

■ **Senator:** But the ambitious Texan is used to tackling tough jobs. After a winding path to power, he has won recognition, and criticism.

By WILLIAM J. EATON
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.) calls himself a "redneck Republican," but he has a Ph.D. in economics and taught college for nearly a decade before he entered politics as a Democrat, switched parties and became instantly effective in a Congress where seniority counted for almost everything.

The balding, bespectacled man who will deliver the keynote address at the GOP convention Tuesday night is a study in contrasts, a shrewd and tireless lawmaker who has often antagonized his Senate colleagues but apparently endeared himself to a solid majority of ordinary folks in his adopted state of Texas.

As a free-market conservative with near-perfect marks from the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and flunking grades from organized labor and environmental organizations, Gramm has been doggedly loyal to George Bush since he placed the President's name in nomination at the GOP's New Orleans convention in 1988.

His Houston convention task is more formidable: persuading a demoralized, somewhat fractious party and the nation that a President in office during a lingering recession, whose popularity is sagging to record lows in opinion polls, can rebound and win a second term in the White House.

Typically, the tenacious Gramm is not discouraged by his assignment or the difficulty of warding off the challenge of Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton and a newly unified Democratic Party. He eagerly sought the keynoter role, possibly to burnish his image with fellow Republicans for a run at the presidency himself in 1996.

Gramm sometimes casts himself as the political heir of former President Ronald Reagan, who also achieved success despite humble beginnings, started as a Democrat and kept a common touch that was as good as political gold.

Detractors of the Texas senator, meanwhile, often accuse him of "Gramm-standing" for taking credit for others' projects, and also criticize him as brash and overly ambitious. A joke among Texas reporters is that the most dangerous place in Washington is the space between Gramm and a television camera.

In his keynote address, Gramm has said he will compare Bush's record at home and abroad to Clinton's promises, and blame the Democratic-controlled Congress for frustrating the President's domestic program.

"The American people know our

government stinks," Gramm declared. "The question is, why aren't we doing the things that need to be done? You can make a very strong case that the problem is right on Capitol Hill."

Even so, he acknowledged Bush faces an uphill fight.

Gramm, who has a reputation as a political gut-fighter and pithy phrase-maker, came to the top the hard way: Neither of his parents went to high school, and his father, an Army master sergeant, suffered a serious stroke when Gramm was an infant. His mother, working as a practical nurse, was the main breadwinner.

"I failed the third, seventh and ninth grades," Gramm recalled. "Yet my mother pushed and prodded me until I got a Ph.D. in economics."

Gramm was born in Ft. Benning, Ga., 50 years ago. He received his doctorate from the University of Georgia in 1967 and began teaching at Texas A&M in College Station shortly thereafter.

Now a leading champion of a strong military, Gramm was drafted at the time of the Vietnam War, but he avoided service with a student deferment. He explains that he was in a very competitive academic field. "I just didn't feel that it made sense for me to go into the military," he said.

With remarkable chutzpah, the virtually unknown Gramm challenged U.S. Sen. Lloyd Bentsen in the Democratic primary in 1976 and was soundly defeated, winning only 29% of the vote. Two years later, he bounced back and won a House seat as a Democrat.

After Reagan was elected in 1980, however, Gramm began casting his lot with the Republicans, managing to put his name on the Gramm-Latta bill that cut taxes and social spending while raising military outlays, the symbol of Reaganomics in 1981.

Berated by fellow Democrats as a traitor and accused of spying for the White House, Gramm was ousted from his seat on the House Budget Committee. After reelection as a Democrat in 1982, he resigned from Congress, switched parties and won a new term as a Republican in a special election.

"I had to choose between [Democratic Speaker Thomas P.] (Tip) O'Neill and y'all, and I chose y'all," he told Texas voters.

Two years later, the GOP newcomer startled political observers by winning a U.S. Senate seat, then dazzled the Washington Establishment by leading a successful fight for the Gramm-Rudman law, co-authored by Republican Warren B. Rudman of New Hampshire, that required automatic spending cuts if Congress failed to meet deficit-reduction targets.

The law eventually fell into disfavor because it encouraged accounting gimmickry rather than true budget savings. Even so, Gramm developed a reputation as a can-do legislator.

Two years ago, he won the coveted spot of chairman of the Senate Republican Campaign Committee, which put him in charge of fund raising and recruiting challengers to Democrats. He says that he has raised more funds than any of his predecessors from a record 1 million contributors.

Immodestly, Gramm once said: "I want to make sure we've changed government forever. If I don't do it, it may not get done."

A friend of his, former Texas Democratic Rep. Marvin Leath, said Gramm should never be underestimated, adding: "No. 1, he's smarter than you are. No. 2, he's meaner than a junkyard dog."

With a tight grin, Gramm said he would prefer to focus on No. 1. But he added: "I'd rather be admired than loved."

Gramm Profile

Here is some background on Sen. Phil Gramm:

- **Age:** 50
- **Education:** BA and Ph.D., University of Georgia
- **Career:** Former economics professor at Texas A&M University; served in House, 1979-85; Senate, 1985-
- **Achievements:** Co-authored the Gramm-Rudman deficit reduction plan; won a landslide reelection in 1990; increasingly is mentioned as a presidential prospect for 1996.
- **Critics say:** He takes credit for federal projects in Texas while building a budget-cutting reputation in Washington.
- **Supporters say:** Gramm champions the cause of working people.

Source: Politics in America

Religious Right Both an Asset, Threat for Bush

By JENIFER WARREN
 and CATHLEEN DECKER
 TIMES STAFF WRITERS

HOUSTON—It was scarcely past daybreak, but as they gathered in a hotel ballroom to talk strategy Monday, Louisiana's 38 delegates to the Republican National Convention were not the least bit bleary-eyed. Chatting excitedly between nibbles on their fruit-filled pastries, the group behaved more like giddy schoolchildren than seasoned conventioners.

They had good reason to be gleeful. Monday promised to be their moment of glory.

"All in all, we couldn't ask for much more," Floyd Gonzalez, a delegate from Baton Rouge, gushed as he sold a "Keep the Party Pro-Life" button to a friend. "We got this great, great platform, and it seems like George Bush and the whole Republican Party are starting to respect the beliefs of good Christian Americans."

For President Bush, conservatives like Gonzalez and his colleagues in the Louisiana delegation are both an asset and a threat.

Bush needs the religious right and the votes its tireless soldiers can be counted on to deliver. But at the same time, their evangelical zeal and rightist positions on such highly personal issues as abortion and gay rights do not sit well with more moderate Republicans—nor with many of the millions of independent swing voters who will decide the election.

The delicate task for Bush and his strategists is to keep the right-wing fired up and happy without letting them become so prominent in his coming campaign that other voters are turned off.

The dilemma, one scholar of
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politics observed, is a daunting one—and a somewhat desperate one, given Bush's current standing in the polls.

"It's a sign that as he has gone down in general popularity and as he has lost points with voters on the economy . . . this other group may [become] even more important to him," said Merle Black, a professor of politics at Emory University.

The religious right, Black added, is "too large a group to ignore." More important, he said, they "may be one of the few props still holding him up."

And so it was that the convention's opening session Monday could have been dubbed Conservatives' Day here. Two of the far-right's ideological heroes, Ronald Reagan and Patrick J. Buchanan, delivered prime-time speeches from the convention podium and a rigidly conservative GOP platform endorsing school prayer and a constitutional ban on abortions was adopted in the extravaganza's opening hours.

The day also served up some extracurricular excitement: a star-spangled "God and Country Rally" featuring religious broadcaster Pat Robertson and singer Pat Boone.

Those on the far right stand out in the crowd here. They wear red straw cowboy hats—distributed courtesy of Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum—and "pro-family" buttons crowd their lapels. While other delegates swap laments about the ailing economy, the conservatives talk feverishly of other things: home schooling, the need to clean up American culture, protecting the rights of the unborn.

These are the people George Bush can depend on, a bloc of true supporters for a President whose popularity has been buffeted. And don't think they don't know it.

"That's right," said Cindy Gustafson, a Bush delegate from Colorado and director of the Christian Coalition in the Rocky Mountain state. "And we will help him remember that."

Gustafson joined about 2,000 conservatives at Monday's "God and Country" celebration across the street from the festivities at the Astrodome.

"For too long we've stayed away and allowed a few people to set our goals," Gustafson said. "People can argue about the religious right and us being zealots . . . but the morals

and the values we stand for—especially the people in this room today—worked. And when they stopped being paid attention to, the country began to decline morally."

The rally was one of the largest so far at the convention. The most rapturous reception was reserved for Vice President Quayle, who told the crowd, after reciting a litany of criticism leveled at him, "It wasn't just me they were laughing at. It was you. . . . It was your values."

Robertson, a cool smile fixed on his face, took up the cry and issued a warning of sorts to the other factions of the Republican Party.

"In 1988, they said the Christian conservative movement was dead," he said. "This is a resurrection here today. If they think we're dead, they got another think coming."

The mood at the rally was undeniably ebullient, the grins a mile wide. But elsewhere in Houston, there was distress. In wooing the religious right, it was clear that Bush had jilted others.

Dorene Whitney is a self-described die-hard Republican—the sort of person who believes deeply in the ideals of the GOP and backs up her beliefs with dollars. But for the first time in many years, she is worried that "the extremist, far-right crazies seem to be taking over my party." As she chatted with friends outside a swank Eagles party at Houston's Museum of Modern Art, Whitney was visibly upset. In a quavering voice, she confided that she may do the unthinkable in November: withhold her vote from George Bush.

"I am offended, as a woman and a Republican, that Bush could let these fundamentalist Christian crazies become so prominent in our party," Whitney said as her friends, all draped in shimmering jewels and elegant gowns, solemnly nodded their support.

Rep. Bill Green (R-N.Y.) spoke his mind at a crowded news conference sponsored by a coalition of national gay and lesbian groups. Green, a leading GOP moderate, called the platform "a tragic mistake for the Republican Party" that "is bad politics for 1992 and . . . bad politics for the future."

Gradually, Bush strategists expect, such anger will recede and all Republicans will unite behind a common goal: defeating the Democrats in November.

Rigid Anti-Abortion Platform Plank OKd

■ **Policy: Activists**
 opposed to GOP stand
 wear pink satin armbands
 in convention hall as a
 protest. Issue clearly will
 continue to divide party.

By SARA FRITZ
 TIMES STAFF WRITER

HOUSTON—The Republican Convention on Monday adopted a stringent, anti-abortion platform plank that disgruntled abortion rights advocates predicted would hurt President Bush's prospects for reelection in November.

"It's a terrible mistake," said Rep. Bill Green (R-N.Y.), referring to the platform plank. "It can hurt the ticket. It can hurt party candidates all down the line."

To register their objections, abortion rights advocates wore pink satin armbands that were clearly visible in all parts of the convention hall as the party platform was passed by voice vote. But a small chorus of "no" votes was quickly drowned out by the cheers of victorious conservatives, who had succeeded in retaining the party's 1988 anti-abortion plank.

Conservatives minimized the political impact of the decision. "We have won three landslides on that platform," said Rep. Robert S. Walker (R-Pa.). "We'll soon see the issue of abortion become secondary in importance to the economy and world leadership."

Still, the vote did not lay the matter to rest.

Abortion rights delegates vowed to return to the 1996 Republican convention with the strength to reverse the party's stand on the issue. And, in the meantime, it was clear that abortion would continue to divide the party.

Responding to charges that the platform might deprive him of victory, Bush said in an interview on Monday that he is still "unashamedly pro-life."

But unlike Bush's personal view, which allows for abortion in cases of rape, incest or a threat to the life of the mother, the Republican Party platform would permit no exceptions. It proclaims that "the unborn child has a fundamental individual right to life which cannot be infringed" under any circumstances and calls for the appointment of judges who hold that view.



TAMMY LECHNER / Los Angeles Times

Members of the California delegation display support for Bush at a convention session during which the party platform was adopted.

Republicans in favor of abortion rights insist that an overwhelming majority of GOP rank-and-file members side with them on the issue. According to some polls, as many as 71% of the Republican Party favors a woman's right to choose whether she will have an abortion.

The platform vote was a disappointing defeat for those activists who had tried to mount a petition campaign to bring the matter up for a roll-call vote. They were overwhelmed by a highly organized defensive effort by Bush-Quayle operatives who wanted to avoid an embarrassing floor fight.

Massachusetts Gov. William F. Weld, who favors abortion rights, said that the delegates on his side of the issue obtained the necessary signatures in only four delegations—Massachusetts, New Mexico, Maine and the Virgin Islands. They were two delegations short of what was needed to bring the

matter before the convention.

According to a senior campaign official, the Bush-Quayle team closely monitored a dozen delegations and snuffed out budding rebellions in several of them, including the California delegation.

In a closed-door California caucus Sunday, a number of delegates were persuaded by state Atty. Gen. Dan Lungren to withdraw their names from an abortion rights petition. The move followed a televised appeal by Gov. Pete Wilson from Sacramento.

Mary Matalin, deputy campaign manager for Bush, addressed the Connecticut delegation when she learned that they were inclined to sign the petitions. Her speech apparently persuaded the delegates to abandon the protest.

In addition, abortion rights advocates were barred from carrying any placards into the convention hall.

Sen. John Seymour (R-Calif.), who had urged the platform com-

mittee to compromise on the abortion issue by dropping all references to it, said he was unhappy with the outcome but satisfied that "there is much, much more in our party's platform that unites us."

Weld said that the abortion rights advocates were persuaded to drop their effort in the interest of party unity. "We decided at 10:15 this morning to get on with the business of reelecting George Bush," he said.

Phyllis Schlafly, head of the Republican National Coalition for Life, said that Bush has no choice but to stick with the 1988 position on abortion if he wants to hold on to those Democratic swing voters known as Reagan Democrats. In addition, she said, it would have been political suicide for the party to reverse its position on the issue at this late date.

"It is clear that turncoats lose," Schlafly said.

But abortion rights advocates such as Green argued that the political climate in the country has changed dramatically since the last election in 1988 and that efforts by the Supreme Court to chip away at abortion rights have made it a more potent election issue.

Showing the increasing determination of the abortion rights advocates to reverse the party's position, Mary Dent Crisp, chairwoman of a Republican abortion rights organization, declared that 1992 would be the "last pro-life platform" for the Republican Party.

Pennsylvania delegate William H. Lamb said that First Lady Barbara Bush was responsible for encouraging the abortion rights effort among the delegates. Last week, Mrs. Bush expressed the view that abortion should not be mentioned in the platform.

"That opened up the floodgates," Lamb said.

Elsewhere in Houston, about 40 anti-abortion activists were arrested Monday after they staged a sit-in at a Houston clinic. The arrests were by far the largest since abortion opponents began demonstrating at local clinics a week ago.

Members of Rescue America and the Lambs of Christ gathered at Houston's West Loop Clinic and tried to push their way through a human barricade of abortion rights advocates. Some of them forced their way through the line and linked arms in front of a door.

Police used orange stretchers to carry the protesters away.

Comment

ON THE CONVENTION

Gap Between Adversaries Narrows

*Many in the media seem now
to accept insincerity from
politicians. Fibs are expected,
accepted and encouraged.*

BY HOWARD ROSENBERG

Those old old chums—media and politicians—continue to yuk it up on the campaign and convention trail.

Despite their critics, who accuse of them of lusting for and manufacturing conflict, some of the media appear to be hooked on congeniality when it comes to covering political fights. Some adversaries.

While battling for the Democratic nomination for President, Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr. spent weeks blasting the eventual standard-bearer, Bill Clinton. However, when Brown refused to publicly endorse Clinton at last month's Democratic National Convention, some of the TV coverage had a disapproving, tsk-tsk tone, as if the former California governor was somehow being petulant by not doing the blatantly hypocritical thing and changing positions.

Conversely, only one TV eyebrow was raised when Pat Buchanan made a rhetorical U-turn at the Republican National Convention in Houston on Monday night by, in effect, conferring sainthood on President Bush, the man he once called "King George" and blistering in speeches earlier this year. "Were they just words?" CBS correspondent Ed Bradley asked a GOP delegate about Buchanan's past criticism of Bush. Getting a non-answer, he let the matter drop.

Insincerity—to say nothing of outright lying—is now so institutionalized in politics that many in the media seem to have become desensitized to it. They are used to being told fibs. They expect it, they accept it.

And by their acquiescence, they encourage it.

For no reason other than to fill air time at both conventions, for example, TV has continued to seek out those spewing oil slicks who operate as party spokespersons. They include Democratic National Chairman Ronald H. Brown, a master of answering questions that aren't asked, and his double-talking GOP counterpart Richard Bond, who was interviewed Monday by NBC's Maria Shriver.

"We are America," Bond gushed about the Republicans. "Those other people are not America." The obvious comeback was to ask Bond if he was saying "those other people"—of course, he meant Democrats—were somehow un-American merely because they aren't Republicans. Unchallenged, his words hung there, lingering beside the other verbal pollutants choking the air inside the Astrodome.

And there was Larry King in CNN's headquarters overlooking the convention floor Monday, interviewing conservative television preacher Pat Robertson.

Is it true, King wanted to know, that Robertson had been telling people "God told you to vote for Bush?" Robertson, who can out-grin even Clinton, hemmed and hawed. King pressed him. "I might have said that," Robertson finally admitted. You wanted to know just when God gave him the word. Did God also tell him whether Dan Quayle should stay on the ticket? And did God tell Robertson to run *against* Bush in 1988?

But no. King and "Pat"—as he was called by the talk show host—laughed like old pals and went on to something else.

Such closeness with guests is a King staple. No harm when the interviewee is a Hollywood star, but there should be some distance separating King when his guest is a politician with a bill of goods to sell. When Democratic vice-presidential candidate Albert Gore was a guest during his party's convention, he wore shirt sleeves and loud suspenders just like those King wears every night. By the end of the hour, King was calling the Tennessee senator "Al."

Gore knows how to work the media, evidenced also by his recent satellite interview with KCBS-TV Channel 2 anchor Hosea Sanders. After Gore made a fuss about their mutual southern background, Sanders appeared to mentally climb on Gore's lap.

At least, Sanders didn't call Gore "Al." The media champion in that category is the CNN pundit show, "Capital Gang," on which a panel of print journalists flank a guest, usually a member of Congress, who is addressed by his first name.

The half hour, being run nightly during the GOP Convention as it was during the Democratic event, has a clubby atmosphere that unwisely brings politician and journalist together in almost a party atmosphere—as the gap separating these traditional adversaries disappears.

Quayle Tries to Shore Up Support, Build New Image

By PAUL RICHTER
 TIMES STAFF WRITER

HOUSTON—Four years after he made one of the most disastrous national debuts in U.S. political history, Dan Quayle wants a second chance to make a first impression.

The vice president has come to Houston to prove he is neither the buffoon darling of comedians nor the tongue-tied pretty boy of the 1988 Republican Convention, but a mature politician who can help boost his party's ticket.

And although President Bush carries top billing and the heaviest burden in this political variety hour, Quayle has also taken on an assignment he cannot afford to botch. He must inspire the Republican faithful, impress the broader American audience and leave no opening for the critics to again

make him a bull's-eye for their arrows.

"He and the President have identical missions: They've both got to give the performances of their lives," said Lyn Nofziger, who was White House political director under Ronald Reagan.

Another washout could threaten the prospects of his boss and his party—to say nothing of his own ambitions as a conservative candidate in the 1996 presidential race.

His task is fraught with complications. Among them is the fact that his most important role for the Republican Party—as partisan hit man and megaphone of conservative ideology—is one that invites searching press scrutiny and the kind of attacks that magnify his mistakes.

After he arrived in Houston on Monday morning, Quayle plunged

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 right into that familiar partisan role. He told a supportive audience at the American Israel Public Affairs Committee that Democrat Bill Clinton is no match for Bush on foreign affairs.

"Bill Clinton's foreign policy experience is a summer internship with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee," he quipped.

Then, in a dig at Clinton's plans to trim the military budget more than Bush, he added: "With a military one-half the size of the current one, could we have saved the world from Saddam Hussein?"

He also appeared at a "God and Country Rally" and, later in the day, at the Astroarena, where he warmed up the crowd for Bush—who took to the stage to praise his vice president.

Put the cheers that greeted the vice president on his first day at the convention will have to see him through some rough spots. This week Quayle can expect commentators to regularly remind their listeners that for nearly two weeks in July, Washington's hottest topic was not the weather, but whether the 45-year-old Indianan should be jettisoned for a running mate with fewer negatives.

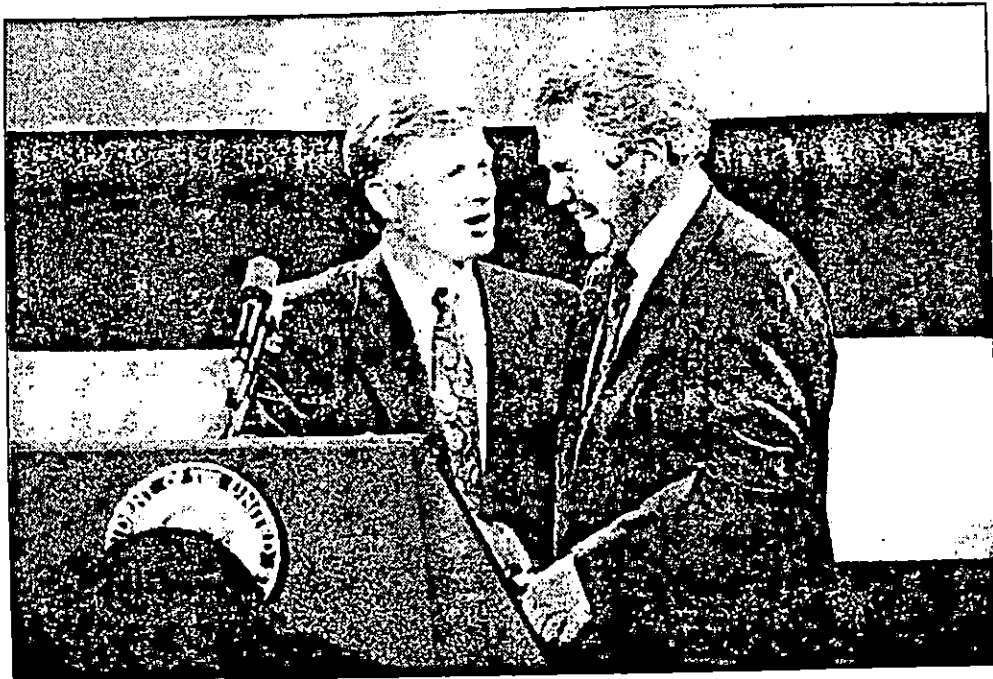
At the Astroarena rally, Bush once again sought to extinguish the "dump Quayle" rumor. Praising Quayle's stand on "family values," Bush said: "He has been a super vice president, and he will be for another four years."

Quayle's convention-week schedule includes about 20 speeches before a spectrum of groups, and an appearance before several state delegations—including California's—but he will stick to his old messages. "Any new ideas or announcements will be done by the President," he said.

The vice president will repeat his frequent theme of the differences between the two parties and seek to portray the Democrats as the party of taxes, regulations, interest-group politics and non-traditional lifestyles.

"I'll be re-emphasizing the ideological heartbeat of the Republican Party," Quayle said.

But most important, he wants to use the convention much as Clinton did—to "reintroduce" himself to a public that knows him largely as the caricature drawn by his detractors.



DAVE GATLEY / Los Angeles Times

Vice President Dan Quayle and religious broadcaster Pat Robertson appear at a "God and Country

Rally" at the Sheraton Astroarena Hotel. The audience cheered the conservative GOP platform.

"I hope I have this opportunity to somewhat expose myself to the American public like I should have been introduced in 1988," the vice president said in an interview aboard Air Force Two, the vice presidential aircraft. "Let's face it, there was no introduction of Dan Quayle on Dan Quayle's terms to the American people. It was strictly done on the Democrats' and the media's interpretation of what I was all about."

And the interpretation was disastrous. Bush's stunning announcement on Aug. 16, 1988, that he had chosen a little-known senator set off a mad search for information that turned up questions about Quayle's wealthy family, his Vietnam War-era National Guard service and his academic achievement.

When the TV cameras focused on Quayle, they found a politician who struggled for answers about his own life and about what he wanted to accomplish.

His performance during his '88 acceptance speech was also widely

criticized. "He was so wooden; he was so stiff," a Quayle aide acknowledged.

The instant analyses said Bush had chosen a No. 2 who represented youth and appealed to women, but would never threaten presidential authority in the manner of a Sen. Bob Dole (R-Kan.) or Jack Kemp.

"There was immediately controversy, and even some people in his own party were asking if he was the right choice," recalled Quayle's friend and former colleague, Sen. Richard G. Lugar (R-Ind.).

The commotion of the first few days began a long campaign slide that led ultimately to his embarrassment in the October vice presidential debate, when the Democratic vice presidential nominee, Sen. Lloyd Bentsen of Texas, delivered the coup de grace. In response to Quayle's efforts to liken himself to former President John F. Kennedy, Bentsen cast a withering stare and said: "Senator, I served with Jack Kennedy. I knew Jack Kennedy. Jack Kennedy was

a friend of mine. Senator, you're not Jack Kennedy."

This week the vice president and Republican officials hope to undo some of the damage with speeches and presentations that will make him look less the privileged Hoosier princeling and more an average youngster from the pages of Boys' Life.

These biographies will touch on the way Quayle attended five separate public schools as a youth, and how his family once lived in a modest two-bedroom house where he and his brother shared a bedroom and everyone shared a bathroom. The vice president says the delegates will also be told that he worked while in high school and college and that he attended law school at night.

In recent campaign swings, Quayle has delighted in describing to friendly crowds how he spent summer evenings like any average Huntington, Ind., teen-ager, cruising by the A&W Root Beer stand after dusk.

QU

"It will be an opportunity to touch on the roots . . . it won't necessarily be the caricature that is out there," Quayle said.

The campaign will try to convey the new Quayle image through the vice president's acceptance speech, which will come Thursday just before the President's.

A film clip about the vice president will be shown to the convention Thursday night. And Quayle's life will be touched on in the nominating speech by William J. Bennett, the outspoken former education secretary and drug czar; in three seconding speeches and in a speech of introduction from Sen. John C. Danforth (R-Mo.).

In allowing a national audience a new look at him, the convention "gives him a chance to rectify all that's been said," said Steve Merksamer, a veteran Republican strategist and a friend of the Quayle family.

How much can he do to change his image?

Quayle is likely to score points again with the conservative base whose support he has recently worked so hard to cultivate, analysts say.

But even if he manages to sidestep all gaffes, he will have a very difficult time changing a popular image that has calcified over the last four years, many analysts believe.

"I don't think there's anything he can do," said S. Robert Lichter, a media analyst and co-director of the Center for Media and Public Affairs in Washington.

"He's been portrayed as a cross between Bozo the Clown and Spiro Agnew," he said, referring to Richard M. Nixon's former vice president, who crusaded against liberalism in the late '60s and early '70s.

Lichter's group concluded in a recent study that between May and July Quayle got his worst battering in the press since 1988.

It found that the number of Quayle jokes on late-night TV had tripled, from about three jokes per week in the first four months of the year to 10 a week in the subsequent three months.

Sample: "Reporters asked Dan Quayle what would be the solution to global warming, and he replied, 'Central air conditioning,'" NBC's David Letterman observed in June.

In Lichter's view, simply filling the traditional vice presidential

role—rallying the faithful and attacking the opposition's ideology—will always make it difficult for Quayle to overcome his PR problem.

"He's doing work the party needs to get done," Lichter said. But the more he directs attack lines against such pop-culture icons as TV character Murphy Brown, the more he will draw the fire of political opponents, commentators and comics.

"I view the whole thing as Quayle falling on his sword for the good of the party," Lichter said.

Larry J. Sabato, a University of Virginia political scientist, analyzed Quayle's stormy debut in his book, "Feeding Frenzy: How Attack Journalism Has Transformed American Politics." He found that in the first 10 days after Quayle's selection, the TV networks devoted between two-thirds and four-fifths of their political coverage to Quayle's problems.

Although he says Quayle will obviously face nothing like that ordeal, he says he believes Quayle's image problems are now so fixed that the vice president risks mockery whenever he speaks.

"Almost anything from Quayle can be a double-entendre," Sabato said. "I can imagine some comic saying after the convention: 'Dan Quayle says he moved around a lot as a boy. He doesn't tell you it was in a limousine.'"

Some analysts believe the very fact that the Republicans feel they need to reintroduce Quayle at all is a sad comment on their fortunes. "It's indicative of the precarious position he and the ticket find themselves in," said Jay Smith, president of Smith & Haroff Inc., Republican consultants in Alexandria, Va.

The conventional wisdom has it that for all the teeth-gnashing over Quayle, few voters actually choose presidential candidates on the basis of their understudies. And in fact, in a Times Poll taken last week, just 7% said Quayle would be a deciding factor in their vote.

Nevertheless, several recent polls show Bush lagging behind Clinton by about 20 percentage points—and some observers say he cannot afford to give up any votes—much less risk a Quayle pratfall that could be even more damaging.

U.S. Has Right to Use Force in Iraq, Bush Says

■ **Persian Gulf:** U.N. team finishes inspections without trouble, but confrontation brews over Shiites in south.

By STANLEY MEISLER
and DOUGLAS JEHL
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

WASHINGTON—The latest team of U.N. inspectors completed its work in Baghdad without challenge by Saddam Hussein on Monday, but President Bush and other U.S. officials quickly pointed to another war cloud: a brewing confrontation between the U.S.-led allies and the Iraqi dictator over his suppression of the Shiite Muslims in southern Iraq.

Bush warned that "we have the right to use force if necessary" against an Iraqi president who is "brutalizing his own people." In turn, the threats of U.S.-led military action prompted the Iraqi media to brand Bush "a war maniac," "a scorpion" and "a criminal."

Administration officials, who painted a despairing picture of the Iraqi army's brutal suppression of an insurgency in the south, outlined a plan that could involve sending U.S. fighters into the skies over southern Iraq to shoot down Iraqi warplanes involved in the action against the Shiites.

"If you can end the Iraqi use of air power, you can even the odds," an Administration official said.

But other officials acknowledged that Iraqi troops could suppress the Shiites without the help of planes. For that reason, a senior official said, the United States and its allies might well choose to adopt an even more aggressive stance that would station U.N. monitors on the ground in Shiite-controlled territory.

But there still are protracted consultations among the allies about what to do. The senior official said that Britain and France

are the most supportive of plans to provide air cover for the Shiites. Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, he said, also are expected to endorse those plans, although they have reservations about allowing their bases to be used by U.S. combat air patrols over Iraqi territory.

But Turkey, according to an Administration official, has "essentially said" that it would not allow about 70 U.S. fighter aircraft based at its Incirlik Air Base to take part in such operations.

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IRAQ: Bush Asserts Right to Force

Continued from A1

Meanwhile, predictions that a confrontation might occur over the U.N. inspections evaporated in Baghdad when Nikita Smidovich, the Russian leader of the team, told reporters that the Iraqis had not interfered with his work. He said that the inspectors—the 41st team to enter Iraq since the operation began 16 months ago—would leave Baghdad today as planned.

"We have learned things that will be very useful and very helpful now in future inspections," Smidovich said. The inspectors are looking for evidence of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction—which, under the terms of the cease-fire ending the Persian Gulf War, the United Nations is entitled to find and destroy.

There had been speculation that the team might try to enter a government ministry in defiance of Iraq's pronouncement that all ministries are now off-limits to the United Nations. The New York Times, in an account fiercely denied by the Bush Administration, reported Sunday that the United States had persuaded the inspectors to try to visit a ministry and thus provoke an incident so that Bush could bomb Iraq during the Republican National Convention and revive his flagging reelection campaign.

A senior U.S. official said he understood the team had called off such a visit because of Sunday's article, the Washington Post reported in today's editions.

But at U.N. headquarters in New York, Tim Traven, spokesman for the special commission in charge of eliminating Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, said the inspectors had not entered any ministries during their 10-day tour and had never intended to do so.

"They were not denied access to any of the sites they sought, and they visited all the sites they were tasked with prior to their departure for Baghdad," he said.

Planning for some allied reaction against Hussein's suppression of the Shiites has been going on for some time and was first reported Friday in the Los Angeles Times. The full extent of the repression was revealed a week ago when the Security Council received a U.N. report that accused Iraq of violating human rights by inflicting heavy civilian casualties with its bombing of Shiites hiding in the marshes of southern Iraq.

In discussing the allied response

likely option is to ban all Iraqi flights below the 32nd Parallel in what would be known as a "no-fly" zone. Because the allies already have banned flights in Kurdish areas above the 36th Parallel, this would allow Iraqi military aircraft a north-south depth of only 275 miles.

"What we're talking about is basically setting up what we did for the Kurds," an Administration official said.

Also under consideration, a senior official said, is a broader prohibition of all Iraqi military operations in the Shiite area, far more difficult to enforce than a ban on flights. But the main thrust of recent Iraqi military operations has been on the ground, the official said.

The official cautioned that the imposition of a ban on Iraqi aircraft in the south remains "some days" away. He said, however, that the United States and its allies had agreed in principle to take action unless Hussein abruptly ends military operations against the Shiite insurgents.

"There's still some sorting out to do," the official said. "But everyone basically agrees that we can't tolerate this kind of repression anymore."

One point of confusion, the senior official noted, is the Iraqi army's less-than-consistent implementation of its crackdown on the Shiites—a factor understood to make some U.S. allies look at the prospect of a response with some caution.

"It kind of ebbs and flows," he said. "It hasn't been systematic at all, and that does make it more difficult to forge some kind of definitive response."

The lack of Turkish cooperation, another Administration official said, would not significantly hamper plans to act on the Shiites' behalf.

He implied that U.S. warplanes could monitor the skies over southern Iraq from aircraft carriers and military bases in Bahrain.

Bush said in an interview on CNN that Hussein "thinks . . . he can bluff and bully his way" and that the presidential campaign has caused the Iraqi leader to miscalculate the mood in the U.S. government.

"I think, once again, he is looking at our election—he's a big CNN listener and he hears a lot of news

President might not be reelected or whatever," Bush said, "and I think he's just trying to thumb his nose at the rest of the world."

"And he's not going to get away with it," the President declared.

Once again Bush displayed anger over the New York Times story.

"I must say that I was appalled at a story that came out yesterday that started suggesting that I would try to have an August surprise and risk the life of an American just for a political purpose," the President said. "I really was deeply offended by that."

Bush and several other U.S. officials said the United States and its allies could justify further actions against Hussein based on U.N. Security Council Resolution 688. In that resolution, passed in April, 1991, the Security Council demanded that Iraq end its "repression of the Iraqi civilian population."

The resolution does not directly authorize the use of force to stop such repression. But U.S. officials insist that the authority was implied by other resolutions ending the Gulf War. As a result, they say there is no need for Edward Perkins, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, to seek a new resolution from the Security Council authorizing military force.

Times staff writer James Gerster zang contributed to this story.

THE TIMES POLL

Majority in U.S. Support Use of Air Power in Bosnia

■ **Survey:** Many polled also would back the renewed use of force if Iraq refuses to agree to U.N.-mandated weapons inspections.

By JOHN BRENNAN
TIMES POLL DIRECTOR

Americans support the use of U.S. air power to keep humanitarian aid flowing into Bosnia-Herzegovina but are divided over whether this country should commit ground troops in the Balkan conflict, a new Los Angeles Times Poll has found.

The national survey of 1,460 adults,

conducted over three days ending Friday, also shows that most of those polled now think President Bush has been too lenient in his dealings with Iraq. And two-thirds would back the renewed use of force if Saddam Hussein refuses to agree to U.N.-mandated weapons inspections.

By a 54% to 33% margin, Americans agree with the statement that "the United States has an obligation to use military force in Bosnia if there is no other way to get humanitarian aid to civilians and

prevent the warring parties from practicing atrocities." Two-thirds would back the use of U.S. air power to keep such help flowing to the region. Even a sizable slice of those who feel we have no obligation to help would still favor the use of air power.

The public is noticeably less inclined to favor the introduction of U.S. ground forces in the fighting, however; 43% favor that, but an almost equal number—44%—are against.

Bush has so far managed to keep a relatively positive profile with the public when it comes to his handling of the

Bosnian situation. Only 27% of those polled feel that he is not being tough enough, while half think he is handling it "about right" and 20% are unsure.

When it comes to Iraq, however, much of the public has turned sour on Bush. Fifty-five percent say he has not been tough enough in dealing with that country, while just 36% feel that he has handled Iraqi relations "about right." And 50% now say the Persian Gulf War was not a success for the United States—more than the 42% who maintain that it was an American triumph.

Such feelings may be helping to mute Bush's expected political advantage over

the Democratic presidential nominee, Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, in the foreign policy arena. Although 61% of registered voters still think Bush can handle foreign affairs better than Clinton, just half—47%—think Bush has made the world a safer place in his time in office. Only 21% say Bush's handling of relations with Iraq will make them more likely to back him for reelection in November. An almost equal amount—22%—say Bush's policy toward Iraq makes them disinclined to vote for him.

Results from The Times' survey have a sampling error of plus or minus 3 percentage points.

Agreement on Free Trade Exposes Latinos' Divisions

■ **Economy:** Business leaders see a boon for Mexico and themselves, but many workers fear for their U.S. jobs.

By JESUS SANCHEZ
TIMES STAFF WRITER

In a plush ballroom at a downtown Los Angeles hotel, members of the Latino business elite assembled before the glare of television lights and cameras last week in an impressive show of support for the recently signed U.S.-Mexico-Canada free trade agreement.

"If we stand behind this . . . we are going to be the beneficiaries," said Latin American business consultant Lucia De Garcia after the news conference, where a coalition of 50 business leaders pledged to lobby for Congressional support of the free trade treaty.

But a few miles away in the working-class community of Bell, Latinos were less enthusiastic about the trade pact.

"You don't know who will benefit. Opinion is split," said printer Carlos Mendoza. His own analysis: "The ones who will benefit the most are the big factories that pay workers \$5 [an hour] here but can pay only \$1 in Mexico."

Despite expectations of ethnic solidarity, many Latinos in Southern California and throughout the nation remain ambivalent and divided over the North American Free Trade Agreement. They are torn between a desire to help revitalize the Mexican economy and fear for their own economic futures north of the border.

Overall in the United States,
Please see **TRADE, A12**

TRADE: Mixed Sentiments From Latinos on New Pact

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many Latino entrepreneurs and business leaders support the pact, while labor officials oppose it. Sentiment also varies among Latinos according to class and income level. And although some believe the trade agreement will lead to an era of heightened political clout for Latinos in the United States, the Latino Congressional contingent is split over the issue.

"The feeling is that Latinos want to support some measure that helps the economy of Mexico," said Raul Hinojosa-Ojeda, an assistant professor of urban and regional planning at UCLA who has studied the trade pact's impact on employment. "But they don't want it to be done at their expense. All people in California are afraid about their jobs."

The lack of unconditional support from Latinos—especially those with ties to Mexico—for the trade accord may undermine efforts in what is expected to be a tough fight to win Congressional approval. Both the Salinas and Bush administrations have wooed Latinos to back the trade pact, which also must be ratified by legislators in Mexico and Canada.

"The Latino community is not a monolith," said Marco Firebaugh, a consultant to the state Senate Committee on California-Mexico Affairs. "If you think you would need a cross-section of Latino communities [to support free trade] I don't think it's there."

The knife that has undercut Latino support for the trade agreement has been the fear of job losses. Many economists expect the agreement, which would create the world's largest trading bloc, eventually will generate thousands of high-skill, high-paying jobs in the United States after a short-term reduction in low-skilled, low-paying employment.

But such a scenario poses a double threat for Latinos. Hinojosa-Ojeda points out that Latinos, compared to the population as a whole, are overrepresented in the low-paying, low-skill jobs that are prime candidates for being relocated to Mexico. Meanwhile, Latinos are less likely to reap the benefits of free trade because they are underrepresented in high-paying fields that stand to gain the most under the trade pact.

Turmoil in Mexican agriculture could send more immigrants north, further intensifying competition for low-paying U.S. jobs. The trade pact would probably hasten the exportation of labor-intensive jobs in electronic equipment, food processing, rubber and plastics, fabricated metal products and furniture to Mexico, said Hinojosa-Ojeda.

"The closer you are to Mexico generationally, the more likely you are to be an unskilled, under-educated worker in . . . a vulnerable" sector of the economy, said Antonio Gonzalez, California director of the Southwest Voter Research Institute in Los Angeles.

Latino support for the trade agreement has faded as the recession gained strength and layoffs spread. "Every working person in this country and this state has grown more wary about potential job losses," said Firebaugh. "If Latinos were predisposed to support a free trade agreement, I think you have seen that level out a bit."

But Latinos also stand to benefit from the closer economic and cultural ties a free trade agreement

would bring. The large Latino populations in Southern California and other border areas also would gain from increased trade with Mexico, trade pact supporters point out.

The Latino middle and upper classes with bilingual, bicultural skills "are well positioned to serve as the cultural bridges between the two countries," said Manuel Pastor, professor of economics at the International Public Affairs Center at Occidental College. Latinos could play a major role in developing the policies and programs to speed the integration of both economies, said Hinojosa-Ojeda.

Courted by both Latin American and U.S. officials, Latino business and political leaders in the United States stand to gain additional clout, said Tony Bonilla, chairman of the National Hispanic Leadership Conference in Corpus Christi, Tex.

"There has long been a desire on the part of Latinos in this country to have a greater impact on U.S.-Latin American relations," said Bonilla. "We have been shut out to a large extent in the past."

"We know the language. We know the culture," said De Garcia, the Latin American investment and marketing consultant. "We are the ones who are going to reap the benefits."

But such expectations may never be realized, said Rep. Esteban E. Torres (D-Pico Rivera), a trade pact opponent.

"Latino business leaders are mistaken," said Torres. "They have been courted and wooed to believe that they will be large participants in this process. But by and large this is designed to impact and effect large scale, multinational industry."

The contradictory feelings generated by the trade agreement are reflected in the Latino workers and small-business people along Gage Avenue in Bell, a patch of modest homes and businesses amid the swath of huge factories and industrial parks that straddle the Long Beach Freeway.

Melvin Lopez, a 25-year-old real estate agent, said he does not support the trade agreement because he knows too many people who have lost their jobs. Five of his

acquaintances were laid off when their container factory moved to Mexico.

"People here should be making these things," said Lopez. "We've already lost jobs—not just to Mexico, but to Japan and everybody else."

At a corner auto upholstery shop, Mario Garcia trimmed off excess material from the interior roof of an Oldsmobile as he wondered whether Mexican companies could effectively compete against corporate America.

"I didn't think it would happen," said Garcia, who immigrated to the United States from Mexico 25 years ago. "Maybe Mexico is not ready for this."

When customers settle into the peach-colored chairs at Carol's Beauty salon, some talk about ways their small businesses could capitalize on free trade, said owner Irma C. Pacheco, who is from Guatemala. Most of her clients, however, rattle off names of family members and friends in the United States who have lost jobs in recent months.

"I just hope this works out for the best," said Pacheco, who said she is not taking sides.

**'The feeling is that
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But they don't want it to
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All people in California
are afraid about their
jobs.'**

RAUL HINOJOSA-OJEDA
Assistant professor of urban and
regional planning at UCLA

U.N. Resolutions Must Be Enforced

But U.S. should not go it alone against Iraq

One point of potential confrontation with Iraq has now eased, only to be succeeded by another.

U.N. inspectors trying to nail down the status of Saddam Hussein's ballistic missile programs say they are satisfied with the access to Iraqi facilities they achieved this week. That removes at least the imminent prospect of punitive U.N.—meaning mainly American—air strikes to force Iraq's compliance with Security Council resolutions. The U.N. inspectors report finding "significant additional information" on three major Iraqi missile programs. What they don't know is how many missiles—all of which are supposed to be destroyed under the cease-fire agreement that ended last year's war—Iraq still secretly possesses.

ACCOUNTABILITY: Weapons can sometimes be hidden from prying eyes. Overt military attacks, in an age of highly sophisticated aerial reconnaissance and intercepted radio communications, almost never can be. For weeks Hussein's air force has been bombing and strafing rebellious Shiite areas in southern Iraq, just as Kurdish areas in the north had earlier been subjected to attack. In the case of the Kurds the anti-Hussein coalition drew a line, barring Iraqi aerial activity north of the 36th parallel. Now the United States, working with Britain, France and other coalition members, is apparently preparing to decree a second air exclusion zone, this time south of the 32nd parallel. In other words an aerial umbrella would be opened up to protect Iraq's Shiites, a majority of the population. Clear warning is to be

served that any Iraqi war-plane or helicopter venturing into the exclusion zone will be shot down.

CREDIBILITY: Three points must be made about this evolving commitment.

First, it is necessary for U.N. members to enforce all resolutions dealing with Iraq's aggression and its aftermath, including Security Council Resolution 688, which requires Baghdad to treat all Iraqi citizens humanely. The piecemeal butchery of Shiites and Kurds in Iraq cannot be tolerated. The authority and credibility of the United Nations must be upheld.

Second, the new commitment must realistically be understood as potentially open-ended. The Shiites, like the Kurds, are vulnerable to attack and will require outside protection so long as Hussein holds power. Which leads to point three:

This must not be a wholly U.S. undertaking. While no other country can match the air power the United States has in the area, many countries—Western and Arab—have the means to contribute to the air patrol activities required. Every effort should be made to enlist the broadest possible involvement. The military risks in this operation seem small; Hussein is unlikely to send what's left of his mediocre air force up against better planes and pilots. It is the political stakes that are high. Saddam Hussein will go on defying U.N. resolutions as long as he can get away with it. The urgent task of the United Nations—and not of the United States alone—is to be ready to take whatever actions are needed to uphold and enforce those resolutions.

EDITORIALS



of THE TIMES

Stand Up and Be Counted

Impressive voter registration efforts show promising early results

Democracy depends on a participating citizenry. The opportunity to make a difference at the ballot box appears to be attracting more interest this year despite widespread skepticism and feelings of disenfranchisement.

Voter registration efforts in Los Angeles appear to be making an impressive difference. This is due in part to a grass-roots campaign to engage those who aren't registered—estimated at one-third of the 5.5 million county residents who are eligible to vote.

Times staff writer Timothy Williams reported that registration workers say that thousands of new voters are being attracted to the political process. Contributing factors are the Los Angeles riots, the presidential election campaign

and rising frustration over elected officials.

The deadline for registration is Oct. 5, so the numbers of new voters will not be reflected on the county registrar's rolls until mid-October.

Meanwhile, volunteers from various organizations are braving the heat and manning posts across the county to sign up voters. Their efforts range from setting up tables at shopping centers to more sophisticated programs such as that of Latino Vote '92, which is using private-sector data to identify neighborhoods with large numbers of Latino potential voters. Latino Vote '92 is trying to increase the low registration level among Latinos to reflect that group's actual population.

Other groups, including the

Southwest Voter Registration Education Project, are taking a personal approach, going door to door. Korean-Americans have undertaken an aggressive registration effort. Groups representing various minorities are enthusiastically recruiting young voters.

These diverse efforts are providing easier access to registration materials, which otherwise are available only at government buildings and public libraries or by contacting the registrar of voters.

The real test will come in November when it's time for the new voters to exercise their right to cast ballots. Will they? Or will they succumb to apathy and pass up the polls? Making a difference at the ballot box requires making an appearance there.

Baker's Double-Dipping as White House Pol Would Be Unethical Anywhere Else

■ **Elections:** As city candidates know, it's illegal to run a campaign on the public payroll.

By BENJAMIN BYCEL

While we don't set his working hours or evaluate his job performance, White House Chief of Staff Jim Baker still works for you and me.

As his prestigious new title indicates, the soon-to-be former secretary of state is still a full-time government employee subject to the prohibition of doing campaign work on public time. And yet the headlines read:

"Baker to Head White House Staff and Guide Bush's Campaign."

At a minimum, it is ethically wrong to have Baker and his team of top assistants running the campaign from the White House while being paid by the taxpayers.

If the mayor of Los Angeles boldly announced that he was bringing in his former campaign manager to run his office while guiding his reelection campaign, the City Ethics Commission would step in.

City and state laws, similar to federal statutes, bar any elected official from using government employees to do campaign work, let alone direct their campaigns while on government time. Moreover, city

employees are banned from using city offices, stationery, vehicles and equipment for campaign purposes.

Months ago, the Los Angeles Ethics Commission made it clear to all incumbents who may run for any office that mixing an election campaign with government pay is as forbidden as drinking and driving.

The President's own designated ethics cop, C. Boyden Gray, arrived at the same conclusion less than a year ago when he banned the use of White House money or equipment for political activity.

"The simplest rule to follow," Gray wrote to the White House staff, "is the common sense instruction that anything

that is obviously campaign related should not be done, whether or not one could 'legally' justify doing it here."

But then situational ethics took over, as they do so often in politics. After reconsideration, Gray and Justice Department attorneys argued that since other chiefs of staff had engaged in campaign activity, Baker and his crew could do political work while on the public payroll.

A Bush campaign official told the media that the whole issue was moot anyway, because whatever it may look like, Baker will not be running the campaign and will not be even "intimately" involved.

While Baker may not run the minute-

by-minute operation, it is hard to believe, especially after the President's own words, that Baker will not direct the overall campaign from the White House.

In Los Angeles, as we approach the highly contested 1993 races for mayor and City Council, taxpayers can rest assured that the City Ethics Commission will not allow a similar situation to happen here.

And we should expect no less in Washington. President Bush can have Jim Baker either as his chief of staff on our dime or his campaign manager on his own.

Benjamin Bycel is executive officer of the Los Angeles Ethics Commission.

Commentary

PERSPECTIVE ON THE GOP CONVENTION

Even Bush's Strong Suit Is Weak



His much-touted foreign policy record is a string of failures and lacks a strategic vision beyond the Cold War.

By CHRISTOPHER LAYNE

Taking his leave of the State Department, James A. Baker III said that the Bush Administration can claim a successful foreign-policy stewardship based on its handling of: the Cold War's end; relations with the Soviet Union and its successor states; German reunification; the Gulf War. In truth, the Administration's foreign-policy record is one of failure, not success.

To begin with, the Administration found excuse after excuse to withhold assistance for Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms when such support might have prevented the Soviet Union's potentially catastrophic unraveling. Even the August, 1991, Moscow coup did not instill a sense of urgency in the Administration. Earlier this year former President Richard M. Nixon described as "pathetically inadequate" the Administration's efforts to help Russian President Boris Yeltsin's reforms. Russia's fate is an important concern because when empires collapse, major wars are often the result.

Although the Administration ultimately bowed to the inevitable by facilitating German reunification, its initial reaction was to try to stop it by imposing insuperable conditions; reasserting the right of the Big Four World War II allies to determine Germany's fate; sending Secretary Baker to East Berlin in December, 1989, to prop up the East German government. These actions, and the repeatedly voiced (off the record) U.S. unease over Germany's

great-power emergence have noticeably chilled U.S.-German relations—an estrangement harmful to America's long-term interests.

Although it fortuitously happened to be in office at the time, the Administration did not end the Cold War; it was a hobo on the freight train of history. The locomotive was

driven by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Gorbachev, who bypassed Washington to nail down German reunification's details.

The United States may yet be haunted by the Administration's insistence on having its own way with Moscow, on Germany and arms control. One-sided peace settlements seldom last. On the contrary, they create grievances that cause future conflict. With another Moscow coup a real possibility, Russia today eerily resembles the Weimar Republic: a humiliated, territorially amputated great power rocked by domestic, economic and political upheaval.

The Administration's Persian Gulf policy has also failed. Before 1990, the Administration not only allowed Baghdad to obtain U.S. technology and loans despite intelligence warnings that these were being diverted for military purposes, but it even planned joint U.S./Iraq military exercises. The Administration belief that it could "moderate" Iraq's behavior was a colossal political misjudgment for which it would be held politically accountable.

Even Desert Storm has proved hollow because military victory yielded no geopolitical gains. Saddam Hussein is still in power. Removing him would either bring to power a new regime that would follow Saddam Hussein's external and internal policies (CIA Director Robert Gates' view) or lead to Iraq's disintegration. The latter would make Iran, rearming and seeking nuclear

weapons, the region's dominant power. The Administration failed to think about the difficulties of maintaining close stability (or the desirability of reducing the need for involvement by cutting U.S. dependence on Persian Gulf oil) before plunging into war. With the Administration seeking a pretext to renew hostilities, the Persian Gulf has emerged as the geopolitical equivalent of the Hotel California in the Eagles' song ("You can check in but you can't check out").

Most damningly, the Administration has allowed the economic basis of America's power to erode. President Bush denies U.S. power has declined but the facts say otherwise. The Administration does not understand that foreign and domestic policy are intertwined.

The Administration lacks a strategic vision of America's post-Cold War world role but it is not clear that the Democrats have one. Gov. Bill Clinton deserves credit for recognizing both the importance of helping Russia and the domestic/foreign policy nexus. In other respects, however, the Democratic Party's foreign policy rhetoric differs little from the recycled Wilsonianism and Cold War bromides that underpin the Administration's New World Order.

The real foreign-policy dividing line today is neither partisan nor ideological. It is between indiscriminate interventionists, who want to base foreign policy on projecting American values abroad, and realists who believe that it must be prudently based on tangible interests because there are limits to America's power to remake the world.

A Clinton Administration could scarcely do worse in foreign policy than the Bush Administration has done. Whether it could do better is an open question. A lot hinges on the answer.

Christopher Layne teaches international politics at UCLA.

Mrs. Bush Stands Tall in the Hogwash



She's widely admired for her personal and political demeanor, yet she's saddled with a party on the low road.

By ELAINE CIULLA KAMARCK

HOUSTON—George Bush has sustained the longest decline in presidential popularity ever recorded—57 percentage points. Compared to that, the continued high popularity of Barbara Bush stands out as an anomaly worthy of explanation. She is not glamorous like Jackie Kennedy. She does not exert control over the White House, especially in comparison to her two immediate predecessors, Nancy Reagan and Roslyn Carter. She is not a politician or a career woman. The secret to Barbara Bush is that she is the most powerful average American in the country.

Like the blunt-talking Ross Perot who captured the hearts of an America fed up with politics as usual, Barbara Bush comes off as a beacon of good, solid common sense in a political world that most Americans find distasteful.

Take the question of family values. The Republicans have chosen it as one of the cornerstones of the Bush reelection movement. You can't turn around at this convention without hearing someone extol the virtues of the Republican Party as the true repository of family values.

Upon his arrival in Houston Monday, the vice president went immediately to a God and Country rally sponsored by the Christian Coalition. In case anyone missed the point about family, the room was packed with children and babies who sometimes squalled in distress as their parents bellowed out their approval of Dan Quayle's rhetoric. "It is irresponsible," he roared, in a reference to his famous attack on the TV character Murphy Brown, "to portray unwed motherhood as preferable. . . . I don't care what the media say, I don't care what the critics say, I will never back down."

The first 36 pages of the Republican platform are devoted to families and family values; an entire evening of the convention will be given over to family values. The heroine of this effort will be Barbara Bush, who has become for this

crowd the embodiment of the issue they are trying to ride to hold onto the White House. She is slated to speak in prime time Wednesday night in an effort to get some of her own popularity to rub off on her husband.

And yet Mrs. Bush seems a somewhat reluctant heroine—perhaps because the drama in which she is asked to take part has such a seedy and unpleasant side. The Republicans have mounted a three-pronged attack—on abortion, homosexuality and Hillary Clinton—attempting to paint all three as serious threats to traditional family values. They are working especially hard to make this race into one between the popular, traditional Barbara Bush and the baby-boomer career woman, Hillary Clinton. But in an interview late last week, Mrs. Bush said that abortion and homosexu-

gathered here in Houston, very few Americans would require the victim of a rape or incest to carry the child to term. The average American is not a homosexual, but, with the exception of the homophobes gathered here in Houston, most Americans are tolerant and they do not place homosexuals at the top of their list of personal concerns.

Most American women of Barbara Bush's generation had no real option but to be the best wife and mother that they could be. But their daughters have options; their daughters are, like Hillary Clinton, pioneers, whether they are lawyers, Navy pilots or telephone repair women. Their mothers probably alternate between envy and sympathy for them—but by and large their mothers support them.

The Republican extremists are trying to use Barbara Bush in an cynical political ploy in an obsolete political debate. But Barbara Bush, like the

MIKE LUDWICH
 ATLANTA CONSTITUTIONAL



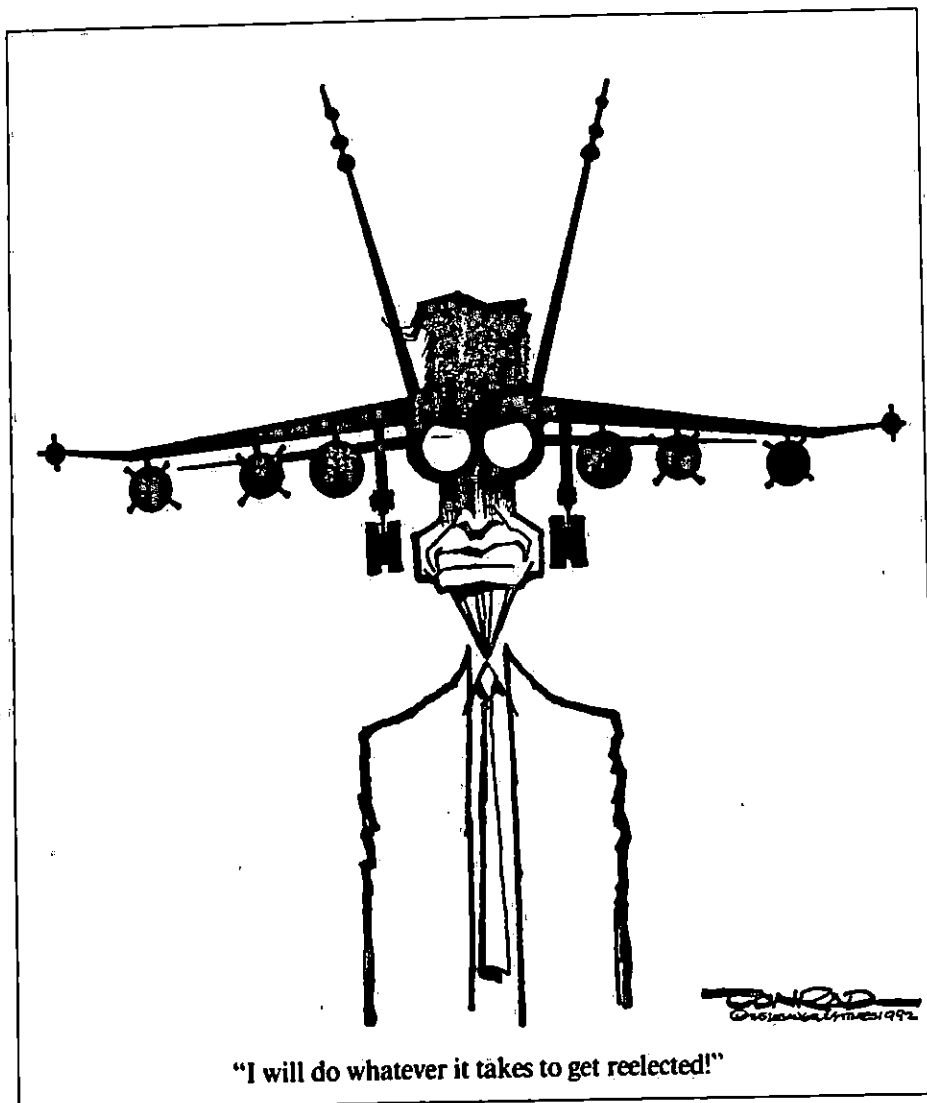
ality were deeply personal issues that did not belong in the platform and, perhaps more significant, she rebuked party chairman Rich Bond for his attacks on Hillary Clinton.

This shows why Barbara Bush is so popular. The average American is, we know, uncomfortable with abortion, and yet, with the exception of the extremists

average Americans who feel compassion for people whose lives they wouldn't want to live, and who work and mother at the same time, has said, for the time being at least, *no*.

Elaine Ciulla Kamarck is a senior fellow at the Progressive Policy Institute, Washington.

LOS ANGELES TIMES / WASHINGTON EDITION



TV-convention 'marriage' is ending

After four decades together, conventions are newsless, networks are marginalized.

HOUSTON — Advisory to the 2,210 delegates hereby assembled in humid Houston:

Enjoy the speeches, the hoopla, the hot air and the balloons, for this will surely be your last chance to be part of a once-every-four-years, four-evening, televised-in-prime-time spectacle known as the Republican National Convention.

Or, for that matter, the Democratic National Convention.

The reason is that, in an era of tighter budgets and increasing competition, the networks have become weary of providing free TV time to essentially newsless events.

The conventions have lost such key ingredients as surprise and drama.

They have become political commercials, so professionally staged that any spontaneous act or unscripted word is regarded as either organizational failure or ideological treachery.

When, reporters ask, with the trace of a smile, was news last committed?

When, executives ask, did the ratings last justify the time and expense?

1968 is one answer.

During riots that scarred the Democratic convention that year in Chicago, NBC's ratings were 16.1, CBS' 14.1 and ABC's 8.5 — high water marks that have never been equaled.

Since then, the numbers have dropped with each convention, as the politicians surrendered to the requirements of television and television to the requirements of the marketplace.

Still, it was not until the turning-point year of 1984, when Ronald Reagan launched a 49-state massacre of Walter Mondale, that the networks summoned up the courage to cut back on the number of hours set aside for prime-time coverage.

Up to that point, they'd still been governed (more or less) by a sense of civic responsibility, covering just about every roll call and speech. Gavel to gavel, it was called.

In 1980, for example, NBC devoted 22 hours to the Democratic convention and the same number to the Republican convention.

Four years later, NBC, like CBS and ABC, cut its coverage to 11 hours per convention.

What did this mean in viewership?

It meant that each TV household watched a total of two hours of the Republican convention, and 2½ hours of the Democratic convention in 1984.

Let's face it: These were hardly statistics to inspire a new generation of network executives.

Another standard of measurement:

In 1988, combined ratings on ABC, CBS and NBC for all four evenings of convention coverage

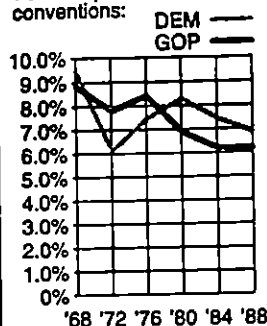


By Marvin Kalb, director of the Shorenstein Barone Center on Press, Politics and Public Policy at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government.

A look back at conventions

TV viewership

A look at the percentage of television audience that watched political conventions:



Source: Nielsen Media Research

By Sam Ward, USA TODAY



UPI

DETROIT 1980: Reagans wave to crowd after his nomination.



AP

CHICAGO 1968: National Guard confronts demonstrators.



UPI

ATLANTA 1988: Anchor David Brinkley has covered every convention since 1952.

were 20.8.

For the Democratic convention last month in New York, the ratings number was down to 17.3 for the three networks.

Prospects for this Republican convention are only marginally better — but only, it seems, if there's military action against Iraq.

In light of these shrinking horizons, the three major networks — ABC, CBS and NBC — together devoted four hours of planned coverage to the Republican convention Monday night, and convention planners squeezed their best into that minimal window of opportunity — Patrick Buchanan, former Sen. Paul Laxalt and the old Gipper himself, Ronald Reagan.

But whereas, in the old days, the three networks composed the entire tapestry of TV coverage, now they are in danger of being marginalized by the rise of alternative sources — CNN, C-SPAN, MTV and other cable channels.

PBS and NBC also are engaged in an extraordinary experiment, pooling their resources.

It's called "competition."

John Chancellor, NBC's veteran commentator, who's here covering his 20th convention, explained that "the networks are running from" coverage.

Laurence Tisch, CBS' chairman, once suggested viewers go elsewhere if they want more coverage. It wasn't clear if he was kidding.

What is clear is that the networks and the conventions are close to a divorce after more than 40 years of extraordinary collaboration in the name of public service.

Now, few any longer speak about public service. The politicians speak about image and victory, the networks about ratings and competitive pressures.

Does anyone speak for the public?

Marvin Kalb was a network news correspondent for 31 years — 24 with CBS and seven with NBC.

► TV coverage, 3D

Today's debate is on **PAYING FOR CONVENTIONS**
and whether taxpayers should pick up the tab.

Supporting conventions is a good public investment

OUR VIEW Political conventions allow parties to showcase their visions for leading the nation.

Every four years, a slice of democracy can be bought with a buck.

Four quarters: That's the cost to each of the millions of taxpayers who help fund the presidential elections through the income-tax checkoff.

Conventions, critical to the election, get some of the money. Both national parties received \$11 million for their '92 conventions. A third party could qualify for funds in '96 if it received more than 5% of the popular vote in '92.

A buck is small change, but it pays off. Political conventions are showcases for party vision, values and leaders.

Political speeches often are rallying

Public funding

What parties received for their conventions from taxpayers:

1976: Democrats \$2.2 million; Republicans \$2 million.

'80: Each party \$4.4 million.

'84: Each \$8 million.

'88: Each \$9.2 million.

'92: Each \$11 million.

Source: Federal Election Comm.

oints that help define the future, such as FDR's "New Deal" in 1932 and Ronald Reagan's "America is Coming Back" in 1984.

Conventions are political greenhouses where ideas often germinate from local leadership to take root in public policy that affects the course of the nation.

The convention provides an opportunity for the electorate to watch democracy in action. To participate in the pageantry — if only viscerally. It is an important shared experience.

Public funding helps keep elections clean.

Besides money for the conventions, the Federal Election Commission says the \$1 checkoff provides:

► Primary candidates with federal funds to match donations of \$250 or less from individuals. Ten candidates this year shared \$34.7 million by July 30.

► Major-party nominees in the general election get a fixed amount (\$55 million in 1992).

Political conventions provide the Big Tent for national politics. Public funding is needed to keep the lights on.

► Convention index, 3A

Stop convention subsidies

OPPOSING VIEW This is a four-day TV commercial for the established parties, courtesy of the taxpayer.

We don't have royal families in the USA, but the American people get to foot the bill for a couple of coronations anyway. We just call them political conventions.

The Republican and Democratic conventions are a \$22 million raid on the Treasury — and that doesn't include the huge sums citizens of New York and Texas shell out for extra police protection, trash collection and temporarily hiding the homeless.

Public money was originally intended to stop corporations from bankrolling conventions because they were buying too much influence. So the Federal Election Commission shut the front door on corporate financing by barring direct money gifts.



By Martha Burk, head of the Center for Advancement of Public Policy in Washington.

But the back door was opened wide by allowing donations through the conduit of civic committees; private contributions soared higher than ever. Now the parties have the best of both worlds — \$22 million from the public and as much as they can get from fat cats hoping to collect favors after the election.

And, the Republicans and Democrats passed rules excluding "non-established parties" and independent candidates from this bonanza.

There was a time when conventions served a purpose. Parties chose their nominees when the delegates got together and voted. Now candidates are chosen in the primaries long before the opening convention gavel. The result: a four-day TV commercial for the established parties, courtesy of the taxpayers.

Polls show 82% of Americans are sick of both parties and think they will never solve the country's problems. These voters would undoubtedly rather spend \$22 million on something worthwhile — like 13,664,596 school lunches for needy kids that the money could buy. Federal funds are too scarce to be squandered. We should insist on getting the government out of the coronation business.

JOE URSCHEL

Candidates' wives now center of attention

How much do you know about would-be first and second ladies?

This is truly shaping up to be the mother of all elections.

We've always had the wives of the presidential and vice-presidential candidates to consider.

But this year, in the crossfire over family values, these women are being judged not just as political wives — but as political mothers as well.

Wednesday, Barbara Bush will speak to the Republican convention and is expected to be surrounded by children and grandchildren in what will only be the latest and grandest volley in this "family-er than thou" posturing that has overtaken the campaign.

Each of these women seems to have been assigned to a distinct and neat stereotype and is being evaluated in that context: Barbara Bush, the traditional mom; Hillary Clinton, the working mom; Tipper Gore, the prim, overprotective mom; Marilyn Quayle, the manipulative mom.

How well do the stereotypes fit? And how well do you really know the candidates' wives?

A test:

1. Who said, "I was not raised to do anything except get married and have children?"

2. Which woman's parents divorced when she was 4 years old?

3. Who said of her youth: "I was rather rebellious and decided early on that I would be a lawyer.... There was no question that I would... be something professional."

4. Contemplating life in Washington, she said, "I thought, man, it's going to be tea and crumpets and I would just go nuts."

5. The children fear her more than their father.

6. Her husband refers to her as his "favorite political philosopher."

7. An esteemed scientist described her this way: "I very rarely use the word 'brilliant,' but she retains, she grasps in the way a few very brilliant people can."



Joe Urschel's column appears on Tuesdays and Thursdays.

8. On her first visit to her future in-laws' home, she "came to breakfast with every eyelash in place. She was dressed for an evening ball."

9. Has relocated her household 29 times since getting married.

10. Has been described as "much more political than Nancy Reagan."

11. Advised young women graduating from college, "Wait — you've got years to have a family."

12. Is "better organized, more in control, more intelligent and more eloquent" than her husband.

13. "Makes her husband look like a wimp," according to Richard Nixon.

Answers: 1: Tipper Gore; 2: Tipper Gore; 3: Marilyn Quayle; 4: Marilyn Quayle; 5: Barbara Bush; 6: Barbara Bush; 7: Marilyn Quayle, according to Sam Broder, director of the National Cancer Institute; 8: Tipper Gore, according to father-in-law, Albert Gore; 9: Barbara Bush; 10: Barbara Bush, according to Carl Anthony, author of *First Ladies*; 11: Barbara Bush, who dropped out of college to get married; 12: Hillary Clinton, according to Bill Clinton; 13: Hillary Clinton.

COMMENT

A tough sell: Bringing blacks to the GOP

While talking of 'big tent' diversity, Republicans' commitment to blacks' concerns is suspect.

HOUSTON — Clarence Carter was on a roll.

Like a street-corner hustler with a deal that's too good to be true dangling from one hand and the arm of an unsuspecting tourist tightly in the other, he stood in the back of a press briefing room talking to a reporter in whispered tones.

But what he was trying to sell was not knock-off watches or imitation designer handbags. Instead, Carter was hawking the president of the United States.

Just about everybody at this Republican convention is pushing George Bush, but Carter, by far, has the toughest assignment. He's the guy responsible for pitching the president and his Republican Party to black voters, only 10% of whom voted for Bush in 1988.

The last time black voters took a Republican presidential candidate seriously, the Russians were ahead in the space race and thousands of Americans spent their winters sunning on Cuban beaches.

Still, Carter doesn't despair, even though he should.

He says that when black voters hear the truth about Bush's long record of support for equal opportunity and black economic development, a lot of them will return to the Republican fold. Maybe.

But chances are he'll never get to test his theory.

Within the Republican National Committee, Clarence Carter is a one-man band. He runs — make that, he is — the GOP Office of African-American Affairs, a job best

defined by its lack of staff and budget. Carter doesn't even have a full-time secretary to help him get his job done.

"More than 50% of the speakers at this convention are going to be either women or minorities," Carter says to the reporter he's cornered. "This party is really committed to opening itself up."

But despite all the talk from Republicans about the party's "big tent" philosophy, there is scant evidence that the GOP is doing more than mouthing a commitment to racial diversity.

Of the 2,210 delegates at this convention, only 103 are African-American. And while party officials brag about the large number of speakers who are female and minority, only a few of those who have been asked to take to the speaker's rostrum are black.

And there is a suspicion among some within the small ranks of black Republicans that the party is wavering in its commitment to diversity.

"I think this was a passion for Lee Atwater," says David Byrd, a former Republican National Committee staffer who now works in the Department of Health and Human Services. "But it may not be at this point in time a passion for the party."

Nor a true interest.

Over the years, the Republican Party has earned the scorn of African-Americans. It has consistently been wrong on questions of civil rights — an issue that is as important to blacks as Israel is to Jews.

And while the GOP has supported federal handouts to farmers, defense contractors and the bailout of the savings and loan industry, many of its leaders speak contemptuously of federal aid to the poor.

All of which probably explains why party leaders seem less than serious about making room in their "big tent" for black voters.



By DeWayne Wickham, a columnist for Gannett News Service and USA TODAY.

Republicans' Biggest Liability

By JOHN H. FUND
HOUSTON — The Republicans are meeting here in a dispirited mood. To understand the reasons one has only to look back at the 1932 Republican convention in Chicago that renominated Herbert Hoover. The parallels are eerie.

History records that the 1932 Republican convention began and ended in a demoralized spirit. The president seemed unable to react to the public's demand for change and dissatisfaction with his economic policies and tax increases. Conservative Republicans charged he had strayed from the policies of his successful Republican predecessor. Other Republicans opposed the party platform's hard-line position on the most divisive social issue of the day—Prohibition.

Hoover went on to run a defensive campaign against the ebullient Democratic challenger, Gov. Franklin D. Roosevelt. Carefully pitching himself as a moderate, Roosevelt promised to balance the budget and cut the bureaucracy by 25%, and denied he would raise taxes. He swept the country, winning 58% of the vote and all but six states. The New Deal was ushered in, and the GOP would not retake the White House for 20 years.

Bookies for Bush

Despite these similarities, there are also crucial differences between the Hoover-Roosevelt race and today's contest between George Bush and Bill Clinton. In 1932, unemployment stood at around 20% and the economy was in free fall. President Hoover was not a skilled campaigner and made poor use of radio. In 1992, unemployment is under 8% and the country is anxious about the economy, not in open revolt. President Bush has shown he can come from behind, as he did in 1988 when he overcame Michael Dukakis's 17-point lead. I.G. Index, a British bookmaker and futures trader for institutions, predicts a Bush victory. Its track record in past elections has been admirable. In the British elections this spring it caught some of the last-minute surge in Tory support that resulted from last-minute voters contemplating what a Labor government would cost them.

Still, Republicans gathered here are worried that George Bush doesn't understand why his presidency is in trouble and may not be able to articulate why he deserves a second term. "I don't think George Bush will carry my state," says one Republican governor. "He doesn't have the necessary fire in the belly."

But while Republican officeholders fret

about Mr. Bush's chances, they are almost as worried that the anti-incumbent mood may be transformed into an anti-Republican one. Republicans have gone from salivating over the misfortunes of the Democratic-controlled Congress to warning that President Bush's "reverse coat-tails" could dash their once-bright hopes of making major gains in Congress.

Since Ross Perot's withdrawal and the Democratic convention in mid-July, support for several Republican candidates has dropped by about six percentage points. In the latest Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll, Democrats have opened up a 14-point lead in polls that ask how people intend to vote for Congress. That's the widest gap between the parties in more than three years. Worse yet,

1980," he says. Internal polls taken in late July show that several GOP incumbents are highly vulnerable. Among them is Rep. Jim Ramstad of Minnesota, who represents a district that hasn't gone Democratic since the 1950s. Yet he now trails an obscure Democratic challenger.

Incumbents of both parties became even more worried when Rep. Guy Vander Jagt of Michigan, chairman of the committee charged with electing House Republicans, lost his primary on Aug. 4. A poll taken by his campaign three days before the election had showed him leading his challenger by 47% to 24%.

Rich Galen, Mr. Vander Jagt's campaign manager, explains the apparent anomaly by saying that polls this year aren't fully accounting for the fact that

While GOP officeholders fret about Bush's chances, they are almost as worried that the anti-incumbent mood may be transformed into an anti-Republican one.

the return of Reagan Democrats to their ancestral party means that only 32% of voters now identify themselves as Republicans, the lowest number in a decade.

Such numbers are a sharp slap in the face for a party that had viewed 1992 as the chance of a lifetime to reshape Congress. "Republicans were flying high earlier this year," says political analyst Charles Cook. "The check-kiting scandal, the House Post Office, the midnight pay raise, the Keating Five scandal had all combined to drive Congress's ratings into the ground. There was talk of Republicans gaining 30 to 40 House seats and ideological control of the House."

Rep. Vin Weber, an influential Republican who is retiring this year, says his party must find a way to shore up support for its congressional candidates. He notes that only once every 20 years do Americans elect a Congress at the same time they redraw every House seat and elect a president. This year is one of those occasions. "This is truly a make-or-break year," he says. "Republicans have one shot at real change in Congress in the 1990s." He believes a similar situation applies to the control of key state legislatures.

Mr. Weber says Republicans are also suffering from the lack of a coherent message so far from President Bush. "Republican candidates don't know what to talk about. It's the complete opposite of

voters are "so mad at politicians that some of them won't accurately convey that to pollsters." Jeff Eisenach, a strategist for the grass-roots organization GOPAC, says that some voters will enter the polling booth and decide on the spot that they can't back the incumbent.

The possibility that Mr. Vander Jagt's defeat may not be an aberration prompted several prominent conservative Republicans to announce Saturday that they would no longer focus their energies on re-electing George Bush. "We all want George Bush to win, but only he can save himself," says Paul Weyrich, head of the Free Congress PAC. Instead, many conservatives plan to put their time, talent, money and resources into key congressional races and ballot measures such as the term-limit propositions that 15 states will vote on. "The mood out in the country among Republicans is a lot like 1974, the Watergate election," says David Keene, chairman of the American Conservative Union. "It became a rout with every candidate for himself."

Should President Bush succeed in using the convention to re-energize his Republican base and woo back Reagan Democrats, Republicans believe they can still have a good year. Huge gains in the House or Senate are highly unlikely, but the party is fielding one of the most impressive lists of candidates for Congress in recent memory.

Terry Considine, father of the term-limit movement, is the GOP Senate nominee in Colorado. Former Colorado Sen. Bill Armstrong believes he will win if President Bush can give Republicans and culturally conservative Democrats a reason not to stay home. "Turnout could be very low this year," says David Hobbs, a GOP House candidate running in Jim Wright's old Texas district. Mr. Hobbs has knocked on more than 8,000 doors and finds that many voters are so frustrated and angry they have become passive. "Republicans have to convince people that if they vote they can make a difference in Washington. Right now voters believe no one is listening to them."

Indeed, the big under-reported political story of 1992 is that voters increasingly view both major political parties as irrelevant and obsessed with maintaining their political privileges rather than finding real solutions to problems. Democratic Sen. Bill Bradley says both parties will have to either reform themselves or face other Ross Perot-like challenges. He believes Republicans will lose the White House this year and may fragment into civil war. However, he concedes the same thing could happen to the Democrats during the 1990s should they lose.

A Democratic Advantage

Right now the danger Republicans face is that for the moment they are bearing the brunt of the public's anger. This is largely their own fault. For years they have paid far too much attention to the presidency and not enough attention to that co-equal branch of government, Congress, not to mention state legislatures and other local offices. Democratic incumbents in Congress may be more plagued with scandal than Republicans, but they have one key advantage in a year when the voters are in the mood to throw the rascals out: They have become experts in distancing themselves from their presidential ticket.

During the 1980s Republican candidates embraced their national ticket enthusiastically. They are not used to making one appeal to voters on the presidential level and another for Congress. Should President Bush not come out of the Houston convention with major momentum—Big Mo in Bushspeak—behind him, they may have to learn to do precisely that. Their very survival may be at stake.

Mr. Fund is a writer on the Journal's editorial page.

Truman and Bush—No Comparison

By ALBERT R. HUNT

HOUSTON — George Bush is adopting the strategy of all presidential candidates trailing in the polls: Embrace Harry Truman, the patron saint of underdogs.

David McCullough's acclaimed biography of President Truman is in the hands of many Republican bigshots this convention week. As long ago as last spring, Rep. Newt Gingrich sent the president a copy of Jim Rowe's remarkably prescient 1947 memo on how President Truman could win a huge upset in 1948. Mr. Bush told the Georgia Republican that the Rowe memo was an instructive model for his own campaign.

George Bush, despite the polls, may have close to a 50-50 chance of being re-elected. But Harry Truman and 1948 aren't the models. "Give 'em hell Poppy" just ain't "Give 'em hell Harry."

Forty-four years ago Harry Truman had a clear message running against the Republican right and the Democratic left. Moreover, the Rowe memo was written 14 months before that election; most of the terms of the political debate had been set well before the next August.

That hasn't happened this year; even George Bush supporters are hard pressed to argue that this is a man with a clear message or agenda. There's as much chance that George Bush is a changed man, someone who suddenly has a sure sense of where he wants to lead the country and is itching to confront and combat Danny Rostenkowski, as there is of a snowball fight in Houston this week.

"George Bush has some real strengths but he's not Ronald Reagan," says David

Keene, a longtime conservative who worked for George Bush in the 1980 campaign. "A politician in his 60s or 70s doesn't wake up and say, hey I'm a different person now."

To be sure, there are a few parallels to 1948. The conventional wisdom among press pundits is that George Bush is dead;

Mr. McCullough's book re-tells the time in October 1948 when Newsweek magazine surveyed the 50 top political writers. Barnstorming through Indiana, Truman aide Clark Clifford got a copy of Newsweek, saw that all 50 predicted a win by Thomas Dewey and tried to hide the magazine. The crafty president caught his aide, read the piece and said: "I know every one of those 50 fellows. There isn't one of them that has enough sense to pound sand in a rat hole."

The Rowe memo — he wrote about the GOP's "Big Tent" theory — predicted the Republicans' foreign policy attack against Truman: "Everything that is good about American foreign policy is Marshall; everything that is bad is Truman." Substitute Jim Baker for secretary of state George Marshall and it's 1992. On Congress, Mr. Rowe advises Harry Truman that the president "is vastly more flexible than Congress" and "can always act much faster." The Democratic incumbent, he



Harry Truman

wrote, should consciously "select issues upon which there will be conflict with the [Republican] majority of Congress."

But George Bush hasn't mounted any sustained conflict with the majority of Congress. And while it's still true that the White House can move faster than Congress, it doesn't much matter if the president doesn't know where he wants to move.

Take, for instance, Mr. Bush's relations with his Housing Secretary, Jack Kemp, a man who has more ideas and concerns about the economy, the poor, minorities and the cities than almost anyone else in the Republican Party. This very compassion and conviction unsettles George Bush.

After the Los Angeles riots, it became politically desirable for Mr. Bush to associate himself with one of the few members of his administration who was identified with domestic problems. A week later the New York Times ran a story headlined: "As Los Angeles Smoke Lifts, Bush Can See Kemp Clearly." Within weeks the clouds reappeared, and the president has basically stiffed Mr. Kemp ever since.

Education Secretary Lamar Alexander is another cabinet member interested in fashioning an agenda for the administration, and here the president has paid lip service. But few think there's much conviction. A month ago, while campaigning at a Catholic school in Philadelphia, Mr. Bush misstated a key element of what supposedly is his own education program.

George Bush deserves enormous credit for his brilliant handling of the Persian Gulf War. But what else is memorable about the Bush presidency? He came to the

White House with an extraordinary resume: former congressman, former party chairman, former United Nations ambassador, former envoy to China and former CIA director. But in none of those posts did he leave any lasting legacies.

Privately most of the party's smarter conservatives don't delude themselves that the president will change. But they successfully pushed through an extremely conservative platform and are trying to get commitments that key posts in any second term will be filled with activists precisely because they believe George Bush is weak and now is the time to capitalize on their political leverage.

If George Bush wins this election it'll be because he runs a good campaign and spotlights the Democrats' weaknesses. Bill Clinton and Albert Gore are running an effective campaign. But it's more on themes, like generational change, than issues, and that makes their lead potentially more ephemeral. Like the Labor Party in the United Kingdom last year, the Democrats clearly have changed; but like British voters, Americans may need more convincing that it's for real before giving them responsibility again.

In that case they'll turn to George Bush not because he offered the country a clear sense of how he will lead America or because he gave them hell but because voters decide the alternative isn't worth the risk and the incumbent is a competent caretaker. As for any Trumanesque mantle, Michael Duffy and Dan Goodgame's recently published book on the Bush presidency, "Marching in Place," notes that, as president, Ronald Reagan put Harry Truman's old sign "The Buck Stops Here" on his Oval Office desk. When George Bush became president he "sent the thing back into storage."

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

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How to Ruin Free Trade Before It Starts

By PETER S. WATSON

Shortly before President Bush announced completion of the historic North American Free Trade Agreement, Rep. Richard Gephardt gave a speech proposing a cross-border "transaction tax" on trade. It would supposedly offset NAFTA's ill effects, such as environmental degradation and lost American jobs.

That such a tax would defeat the purpose of free trade — the elimination of tariffs and other barriers, including the taxes that strangle commerce between nations — has apparently not prevented Gov. Clinton from sharing Mr. Gephardt's doubts about NAFTA, or from considering his remedies. Mr. Clinton's response to the NAFTA announcement was to wonder whether there were "other things that need to be done, either within or outside the agreement," to ensure labor and environmental standards.

Mr. Gephardt's proposed tax is based on the experience of the European Community, which he regards as a "case study" for NAFTA. He especially admires the EC's programs for "transitional adjustment," such as the European Social Fund and the European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund.

These "adjustment programs" have cost European taxpayers nearly \$100 billion since 1986. Even so, Mr. Gephardt feels that the U.S. needs something like them. He wants the U.S. "to adopt a cross-border transaction tax, the revenues to be used by each country to fund the necessary programs in worker training, infrastructure development, environmental protection and in other important areas."

Where would such a tax end? For that matter, where would it begin? In his speech outlining the plan, Mr. Gephardt mentioned no specific revenue require-

ments for these new programs, nor did he name which goods would be taxed (agricultural products? auto parts? textiles?) and at what rate. Doubtless a costly, new self-perpetuating bureaucracy — some kind of U.S.-Mexico Border Trust and Development Fund — would sort out the details.

But Mr. Gephardt did not stop there. In the same speech he proposed a "derivative right of action for U.S. shareholders to sue U.S. companies doing business in Mexico, or any other country." Thus litigation costs would be added to a burdensome new tax. So would regulatory costs. Mr. Gephardt wants to "dramatically expand the budget for EPA's international and border operations." He thinks the EPA should "treat the failure to abide by environmental laws as an unfair trade practice."

All of this would depress and distort trade just when NAFTA is poised to unleash it. If implemented properly, NAFTA will create the world's largest free-trade zone — involving 360 million people and over \$6 trillion in annual output. Perhaps most important, it will allow Mexico to continue its sweeping economic reforms. A stronger Mexico is clearly good for the U.S. American exports to Mexico have almost tripled since 1987 and this year are expected to total \$44 billion.

A Gephardt tax, together with its regulatory apparatus, would defy logic and place a new burden on trade just when the U.S. has succeeded in opening Mexico's markets. It would hurt Texas and California most: People in those states have already seen the gains from trade with Mexico and are the most eager for more. Unfortunately, this point seems to have been lost on my colleague Don Newquist, the chairman of the U.S. International Trade Commission, who has written

recently in favor of the Gephardt tax.

Moreover, the tax isn't needed to protect the environment on the border. EPA's own administrator, William Reilly, has called NAFTA "the greenest international trade treaty the world has ever seen." NAFTA, he notes, will improve Mexico's environment by providing "sustainable development" in the border region. And it will create more national income from which Mexico can fund clean-up programs. Besides, the U.S. retains the right to enforce existing American health, safety, and environmental standards and to deny entry to goods that do not measure up.

Similarly, a Gephardt tax isn't needed to re-train American workers. President Bush has doubled the fund for the Economic and Dislocated Worker Adjustment Assistance Program. Total funding for worker adjustment is approaching \$923 million. Thus, the workers who lose their jobs because of NAFTA will be given new opportunities. New taxes aren't needed to help them.

NAFTA will be implemented gradually, over the course of 15 years. Both workers and their industries will have time to adjust to the increased competition that results from it. A Gephardt tax, on the other hand, would stunt the very trade growth and job creation the trade agreement was designed to promote.

The best response to the demands of economic transition would be simply to give NAFTA a chance to work. Surely, the worst response would be an undefined new government program costing billions of dollars, funded by a new tax.

Mr. Watson is vice chairman of the U.S. International Trade Commission.

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No Domestic Agenda?

The mantra of "change" resonates through most political years, but seldom more than this one. Incumbents are endangered, a Ross Perot upsets all calculations, voters obviously want something different. Which brings us to the party platform Republicans adopted yesterday in Houston.

Platforms aren't meant to be taken too seriously, of course. They tend to be crammed with a lot of not-so-good-natured partisan banter, including in the Republican case repeated references to the "Democrat Party," in-your-face grammar perhaps responding to incessant Democratic convention banter about the spelling of potato. But if platforms don't matter, the parties that write them do. Any President will be pulled in the direction of his own constituency, not least the activists who write platforms. With that as a guide, which party promises "change"?

In the Democratic platform, change was mostly change from previous Democratic platforms. The 1992 platform suggested, for example, conceivable occasions that might call for military force. Most important, by endorsing an "entrepreneurial" economy the Clinton platform and economic program threatened to steal at least the rhetoric of economic growth, and may succeed unless the Bush campaign responds persuasively. Still, when it comes to substance the Democrats would boost taxes a bit on millionaires, build some trains and roads, try to figure out what to do about health care, and look for ways to let parents pick among public schools for their children. This is change?

The Republican platform, by contrast, is loaded with proposals for entirely real and even sweeping change in American society and American politics. Like most mantras, of course, "change" has a chameleon quality. Proposals for actual change may not be to everyone's taste, in some cases not even to ours, see below. Still, consider how different American life would be if laws were enacted such as:

- **THE COURTS:** Provide that in lawsuits, to deter frivolous claims, the winning side could collect its costs from the loser. Put limits on civil use of RICO, the federal Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations law. Limit punitive damages, and prohibit fees to expert witnesses from being conditioned on a verdict. In criminal trials, admit evidence police collect in good faith despite technical legal errors. Subject drug users to penalties such as loss of government assistance and suspension of drivers' licenses.

- **SCHOOLS:** Encourage measures to ensure that parents have the right to choose the best school for their children, whether public or private. Declare a policy that "schools should teach right from wrong." Provide alternatives to stultifying teacher certification. Set ambitious national educa-

tion goals. Provide \$1,000 scholarships to middle- and low-income families to be spent at any school of their choice.

- **TAXES:** Provide fully deductible Individual Retirement Accounts to encourage saving, and allow them to be used for education, initial home purchases and medical emergencies. Provide federal enterprise zones with tax incentives for depressed neighborhoods. Cut the capital gains tax to 15%, and zero in enterprise zones and for sales of principal residences. Increase the exemption for dependents, both immediately and substantially over time. Providing the deficit comes under control, repeal the 1990 tax increases and make other tax reductions as well.

- **BUDGET AND DEFICIT:** Require Congress to enact a legally binding budget before considering spending measures. Sideline the concept of the "current services budget," under which year-to-year increases count as reductions if they fall below a preset baseline. Pass a balanced budget amendment requiring a supermajority for tax increases. Provide the President with a line-item veto, plus new powers to rescind spending and lower specific appropriations.

- **THE CONGRESS:** Stop exempting Congress as an employer from laws such as the minimum wage and employee civil rights protections. Cut spending on congressional staff and operations by 25%. Forbid congressional candidates from carrying campaign funds from one election to the next. Have nonpartisan redistricting commissions draw lines for congressional districts.

- **TERM LIMITS:** And by the way, pass a constitutional amendment to limit the number of terms Representatives and Senators may serve.

- **WHILE AT IT:** Repeal the earnings limitation on Social Security recipients. Repeal the Davis-Bacon Act. Abolish rent control. Provide for easier adoptions. Reduce federal land holdings in Western states. Reform the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and the Legal Services Corp. Abolish the Interstate Commerce Commission. Implement a policy that "land that is not truly wet should not be classified as a wetland."

Not everyone will agree with this collection of ideas. Many of them may be visionary, especially since special interests intent on one plank will reject the whole lot. While we think that many of the ideas do deal with the nation's most pressing problems, they are not exactly a rifle-shot approach. But "no domestic agenda" they are not. If enacted, change they emphatically would be. We're not sure what these observations mean politically or spell for the nation's future. But while Republicans may not be winning public relations battles over change, the sweep of their platform suggests that they're still the party of ideas, still the place to look for change if that's what you want.

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Caveats on the Platform

We suppose every party should be allowed its indulgences, say for example the Democrats' lionization of Anita Hill. So it is not surprising that when they get their turn the Republicans flip out from time to time.

On the endlessly publicized abortion issue, as we've already elaborated, we don't like Republican absolutism anymore than Democratic absolutism. But at least we can sympathize with their emotions. We note that those who most harshly criticize the abortion plank tend to sweep along its opposition to school birth-control clinics. Surely characterizing this as "extreme right" misrepresents what is undoubtedly a widely shared public attitude.

There is no gainsaying the fact that urban sophistication has appeared to take pleasure in mocking and taunting people of plainer faiths, and that the latter react with self-assertion. So we have the GOP platform endorsing a Pornography Victims Compensation Act, encouraging lawsuits against purveyors of pornography from those who allege they are its victims. This is a truly bad idea on many levels, not least undercutting the constructive planks in the same program directed at discouraging already excessive litigation.

On the economic front, we have the perennial chestnut of ethanol fuel made from corn or other agricultural products. Why Republicans want to end subsidies to all energy sources ex-

cept one has always escaped us. At least this appears in a section about farming rather than one about energy, making the purpose clear.

The real whopper Republicans committed, though, was to put themselves on record in favor of "structures" to stop immigration by "illegal aliens." On their way home from Houston, delegates favoring this measure ought to take the opportunity of their visit to Texas to educate themselves about border "structures."

They should detour down to the Rio Grande and look at what they have just proposed. They would see, for instance, that in many places in many seasons cows and pigs can ford this barrier "river." In El Paso they could see the trench and fence built by the Kennedy administration, now universally known as the "tortilla curtain." But if Republicans are serious about a 2,000-mile Berlin Wall on the American border, they should stop complaining about frivolous spending proposals from Democrats. If they're not serious, as we assume, it's a gratuitous piece of nativist nonsense.

These caveats are important not so much for this election as for the future of the party. One of the problems of the Republicans is to forge a party that is conservative on economic and social issues, but is at the same time responsible and civil. While that may be a lot to expect of a political party, it would help to avoid little bursts of pettiness and inconsistency.

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Beyond Bush

Within the GOP, Disparate Strains Fight For the Party's Soul

**Should It Focus on Deficit
Or on Spurring Growth?
Be Activist or Isolationist?**

Calls for a Truce on Abortion

By DAVID SHRIBMAN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
HOUSTON—The struggle for the future of the Republican Party is exploding in full force here.

Win or lose this fall, George Bush — an Eastern aristocrat with Texas ties, the son of a moderate Connecticut senator and an uneasy convert to the rites of Reagan conservatism — is a transitional figure, a bridge from the major strains of 20th-century Republicanism to a future that isn't yet visible.

"We have an election to win this year and we have to get ready for the future—

Recasting the Message

Bush suggests his past accomplishments abroad are prologue to achievements to come at home. Meanwhile, Mary Matalin may be the toughest campaigner on the GOP team. See articles on page A18.

and those are not necessarily the same thing," says Rep. Vin Weber of Minnesota, a young conservative who has emerged as one of the leading theorists in the party.

As a result, the Republican Party, girding for a battle with Gov. Bill Clinton, is also a party at war with itself. As jockeying begins for the right to succeed Mr. Bush either in the White House or as party leader, important fault lines on critical issues already are becoming visible.

Blood Feuds

Some want economic growth through more tax cuts; others are dedicated to balancing the budget through spending cuts. Social libertarians trumpet abortion rights and gay rights, while voices from the religious right want the party to crusade against abortion and deplore alternative life styles.

At the same time, there are blood feuds between those who preach a theology with strains of isolationism and protectionism, and more traditional postwar Republicans who hold fast to free trade and internationalism. And there is utter confusion over how the party should position itself on race relations.

Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp, Texas Sen. Phil Gramm, Massachusetts Gov. William Weld and conservative commentator Patrick Buchanan—all visible presences at the Republican National Convention here, all potential presidential contenders in 1996—personify the different directions in which the party is being pulled.

Gramm vs. Kemp

Mr. Gramm, a former Democrat and economics professor, wants to dispatch U.S. trade negotiators all over the world to negotiate free-trade treaties, including one that would reach all the way from the Arctic to the Antarctic in the Western Hemisphere, and others with all the former republics of the Soviet Union. Mr. Kemp, the former quarterback, wants to eliminate the capital-gains tax in inner cities; "radically" change "the stupid welfare system" and send GOP recruiters into the inner cities.

Mr. Buchanan wants to build a 66-mile double wall, 14 feet high, along the Mexican border. And Mr. Weld, a tight-fisted, tax-cutting governor whose views on abortion and gay rights make him a long shot for 1996, is pressing to extend libertarian ideals into questions of personal life styles. "I want the party to lighten up a bit on the social issues," he says.

All the party's fissures, and there are many, are becoming visible as the cement of the Republican coalition — anti-communism — falls away and as the coalition's chief mason, Ronald Reagan, fades further into the past. "Now the Republicans have to find something else, and work out their differences on these other issues," says James Reichley, a Georgetown University political scientist.

'Holy Mess'

Part of the Republicans' conflict, to be sure, is cultural. There is discomfort for some over the high profile of Christian fundamentalists, who made up a fifth of the platform committee and molded the party's manifesto in their own image, but who make many younger conservatives uneasy. There are tensions about the presence of neo-conservatives in the party, many of them former Democrats. There is despair in some quarters over abortion-rights activists, and questions about the role of libertarians. "It's a holy mess," says former Education Secretary William Bennett, "but it's a damned interesting holy mess."

Beneath the cultural strife lies the more fundamental contest, one ultimately much more critical to the future of the party. "The Republican Party is at a crossroads," says Steven Hess, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution. "It needs a new agenda for a new world." Mr. Kemp adds: "The Democrats did a good job of redefining themselves; we've got to do a better job."

As a result, the Republicans who are gathering on the floor of the Astrodome, wearing funny hats and holding colorful signs, are also engaged in one of the classic political-philosophy struggles of our time.

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wrestling with what Mr. Bennett calls "the big questions."

None is bigger for this party than economics. For months now, Sen. Gramm — whose efforts to get an early start on the 1996 campaign included a gala celebration last night with Charlton Heston and Randy Travis, called "Red, White and Boots" — has been an evangelist for reducing the deficit, which he terms "the unfinished work of the Reagan-Bush era." Mr. Gramm, who disparages the tax-cut wing of the party as acolytes of "free-lunch" economics, wants drastic cuts in spending, including on entitlements.

Not so fast, says Mr. Kemp. "You can't fix the budget," says the former Buffalo congressman, "without fixing the economy." In cabinet meetings, party forums and public appearances, Mr. Kemp has become the leading voice for tax cuts to invigorate the economy: a tax exemption or credit for children, a reduction in the capital-gains tax, a "flatter, fairer, simpler, lower tax rate" to "spur new enterprises and new jobs and get the country moving again."

This dispute flared into the open six weeks ago, when Mr. Kemp went before the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and said: "I'm asking Sen. Gramm and my party to put off the push for a constitutional balanced-budget amendment until we get our economy growing fast enough to provide the revenues and the tax base to meet our social and fiscal goals." Mr. Gramm's response: "To reach that conclusion you have to be somewhat detached from reality."

Even some of the Republicans who agree with the doctrine of tax cutting are troubled by the activist impulses of Mr. Kemp, who has sought to use his department as a bludgeon against poverty. "We have to go to war with the regulatory agencies," says Mr. Buchanan, adding pointedly, "and places like HUD."

While Mr. Kemp explores new ground with economics in Washington, Mr. Weld experiments with social politics in the same third-floor office that Michael Dukakis occupied for a dozen years as Massachusetts governor. Mr. Weld has changed things there, taking down the oil portrait of Samuel Adams that Mr. Dukakis loved and replacing it with a portrait of James Curley, elected to office from a prison cell. He has also cut the state work force 11% and slashed welfare spending

in half since taking office 20 months ago.

But Mr. Weld, like Mr. Dukakis, is a liberal on social issues, and he has combined his drastic budget cutting with initiatives on gay rights and abortion rights. He has submitted bills, rejected by the state Legislature, that would have codified Roe vs. Wade and eased parental-consent regulations by permitting abortions for those under 18 with the consent of one parent rather than two. He believes the GOP should abandon its platform position opposing abortion. "We tolerate different views on fences along the Mexican border," he says, alluding to Mr. Buchanan's immigration stance. "We should tolerate different views on abortion."

Despite the robust majorities in last week's platform hearings for tough anti-abortion language, many in the party, including leading conservatives, are wearying of the abortion fight. Mr. Gramm says the GOP should have litmus tests for

"fiscal responsibility" and "a commitment to the sovereignty of the individual," but not on abortion. Mr. Kemp wants the party "to be big enough for men and women of conscience to agree to disagree and to be civil about it."

But there remain Republicans for whom abortion is a signal issue. "The party has to stand for something," says Mr. Buchanan, who warns that abandoning the abortion plank would prompt the creation of a third party that would siphon off "some of the best people" who have entered the GOP.

Mr. Weld's activism on gay rights is equally controversial. He has appointed a number of homosexuals to high office, including at least two judges, and appointed a gay man to head the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination. "If that makes me the most pro-gay governor in the country — and it must, because I read about it every day — then so be it," says Mr. Weld. "I say: Why is it any skin off your teeth if we don't discriminate? I don't see the big deal here."

But just about every other leading voice in the party does. "I can't see holding up alternative life styles as an alternative to the American family," says Mr. Gramm.

"You trifle with the family at great risk to society." The GOP platform explicitly opposes single-sex marriages and calls for barring single-sex couples from becoming foster parents.

America First?

The question of the U.S. role in the post-Cold War world was debated all spring. Mr. Buchanan's "America First" primary campaign began as a curiosity but eventually prompted Republicans to re-examine many of their guiding assumptions.

Mr. Buchanan has called for strong measures to stem illegal immigration, for aggressive protection of U.S. industries, for substantial cutbacks in U.S. security commitments to other nations and for massive withdrawals of troops from bases abroad. These views are a dagger at the heart of a generation of mainstream American foreign-policy thinking.

Mr. Weld's view: "I think Buchanan is nuts on this." Mr. Gramm is no less outspoken: "This is not the time to build a wall around the U.S. and hide under a rock," he says, adding that the U.S. still needs a strong defense posture. "In a world where the lion and the lamb are about to lie down together, I want America

to be the lion."

At the heart of the GOP debate over the American international posture are trade questions, and here Mr. Buchanan, the only one of the four who opposes the just-negotiated North American Free Trade Agreement, also stirs debate by calling for tariffs and quotas to protect U.S. workers and industries. None of the others agree. "Our challenge is to move from winning the Cold War to promoting world trade and ensuring the U.S. continues to be at the center of the explosion of world commerce," says Mr. Gramm.

Race Issue

Racial issues have been in the background of the Republican National Convention, which is nearly an all-white gathering. Almost all Republicans give lip service to opening the party up to minorities, but the GOP has made few strides in recent years.

Mr. Kemp has emerged as the Republicans' leading voice on this issue, calling for the party to court blacks and members of other minorities, appealing to them by offering incentives for entrepreneurship in inner cities. House Republican Whip Newt Gingrich of Georgia, noting Mr. Kemp's days as a pro football player, once re-

marked that Mr. Kemp has showered with more blacks than most Republicans have ever met.

Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Gramm see civil rights as a theoretical problem rather than a matter of political urgency, and in their electoral calculations both of them count on courting white, conservative voters rather than reaching out to black voters.

"Republicans were not there in large numbers in the civil-rights movement," says Mr. Kemp. "History seldom gives a party a second chance. . . . We'll never be whole until black and brown Americans and immigrant people are comfortable in our party."

None of these issues will be resolved in the next three days, or even in the next three years before campaigning for the 1996 presidential election begins in earnest. But the debate is beginning — and Republicans believe that its resolution cannot be put off.

"We can't wait and run on the same things in four years," says John Sears, a veteran Republican strategist. "We have to form a new coalition. One of the problems the Democrats had was they never redefined themselves, and the party just limped along."

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

Campaign Aide Matalin Pulls Almost Anything but Her Punches for Bush

By JAMES M. PERRY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

HOUSTON—Nine years ago, Mary Matalin was so poor she fed her dog stale bread and curdled milk. "It was the worst year of my life," she says.

Things are a little better now. Ms. Matalin—she'll be 39 years old tomorrow—is the highest-ranking woman in the Bush-Quayle re-election effort. And she may be the toughest campaigner, male or female, in the entire organization.

Outspoken, feisty, a demanding boss, Ms. Matalin stands out in this overwhelmingly male-run campaign not just because she's a woman, but also because she's ethnic, working-class, Catholic. She's the self-described "chick" from South Chicago, where her father worked in a steel mill, in a middle-class world where buttoned-down shirts and buttoned-up psyches prevail.

Unlike most of her cautious companions in this campaign, Ms. Matalin works close to the edge, and that sometimes gets her in trouble. She was rebuked by President Bush himself when she issued a news release, headlined "Sniveling Hypocritical Democrats: Stand Up and Be Counted," in which she attacked Gov. Bill Clinton's record and noted that members of his staff regularly fight off what one of them calls "bimbo eruptions."

"I've been duly and properly chastised," she says, "and it won't happen again."

She has also been chastised, privately, for maintaining a personal relationship with James Carville, Mr. Clinton's chief strategist and perhaps the most single-minded political consultant in America. He is, in Ms. Matalin's words, "sui generis."

"I love eccentrics," she says.

Ms. Matalin is officially the campaign's political director, charged with putting an effective Bush-Quayle organization in place in all 50 states. But she leaves most of the technical details to her assistant, David Carney, a New Hampshire native she calls her "stud-muffin." Here at their Houston headquarters, they share a punching bag. When they sock the bright red bag, it erupts with the sound of a cheering crowd. Given the desperate shape of the Bush campaign these days, you can hear plenty of crowd noises in the Matalin-Carney suite.

What Ms. Matalin does is to plot strategy, put out fires and give positive spin to Mr. Bush's prospects on radio talk shows all over America. Wearing black jeans and a white T-shirt, she paces back and forth as she gives the spin to WCCO radio in Minneapolis-St. Paul. "It's hot here," she says, "but everything's going wonderfully, thanks to your wonderful congressman, Vin Weber, who helped us write such a wonderful platform."



Mary Matalin

She denies she practices negative politics. She calls it "command focus." Whatever it is, she makes no apology for it. "It's hard to break through to the voters," she says. "You've got to be acerbic. There's this cone of silence around the Clinton campaign. The reporters have been sucked into some sort of Clinton cult. So we have to be even more aggressive and vigilant."

Like her friend Mr. Carville, she believes the best defense is a good offense. Early this year, as Mr. Bush was challenged in New Hampshire by conservative commentator Patrick Buchanan, some strategists preached caution. In a private meeting, a top aide said an attack on Mr. Buchanan would only make conservatives angry. Ms. Matalin disagreed. "Let's chop his balls off," she said. She lost the argument. Now, most Bush strategists agree she had the right idea.

Her friends argue it's too easy to dismiss Ms. Matalin as simply another killer political operative. "The public side of her emphasizes too much of the hard edges," says Tom Rath, a GOP strategist

from New Hampshire who has worked with her. "She's extremely thoughtful, and she's a very sound strategist."

She's also a family person, still in constant touch with her now-retired father; her brother, a laid-off steel worker who plays guitar in rock bands; and her sister, who teaches learning-disabled children in Alexandria, Va.

Her grandparents met on the boat that brought them to this country from Dubrovnik, in what is now war-torn Croatia. They pronounced the family name, "Mah-ta-LEEN." Today, it rhymes with "Made-line."

The Matalins lived in the Croatian neighborhood in South Chicago; the Irish lived down the street. Ms. Matalin's father, Stephen, crossed that invisible border and married a young Irish woman, Eileen Emerson. Relatives on both sides disapproved.

Eileen, who died in 1980, remained a Democrat all her life; Stephen, as he worked his way up from the steel plant floor, became a Republican. "He was the first Reagan Democrat I ever knew," says Mary Matalin.

Eileen Matalin was a hairdresser, and not a very good one. "She came home one day with bright orange hair," says her daughter. Thereafter, she worked in schools for hairdressers as an administrator, and ultimately owned her own beauty school. "All my high school friends went to beauty school," says Ms. Matalin. But she went to Western Illinois University—and discovered Republican politics. Her honors thesis was, "Is there a conservative trend in America?" When she started the thesis, she was sure the answer was no.

When she finished, she was sure it was yes. She has been an ardent Republican ever since.

She worked on a Senate campaign in Illinois, then came to Washington and landed a job at the Republican National Committee, where her first boss was Rich Bond, who is now the party's chairman. Eventually, she enrolled at Hofstra University Law School in New York.

"I lived in this terrible neighborhood in Bayshore, and drove an old junky car to school," she says. "I fed the dog stale bread and curdled milk." She even got married, but that wasn't any better. "He just wanted to play house," she says. They were quickly divorced.

She dropped out of law school—the professors, she says, were "raving liberals"—and returned to Washington, finally hooking up with the man she says was the best politician she has ever known, the late GOP strategist Lee Atwater. Their association didn't begin auspiciously: He fired her after George Bush came in third in the Iowa caucuses in 1988, where Ms. Matalin had been working, but took her on again because she was the only person he knew who understood the complicated delegate-selection rules in Michigan.

Understood Atwater's Jokes

Mr. Atwater was another eccentric. He smoked cigarettes only on Fridays, breakfasted on fried shrimp, and told jokes only he (and, eventually, Ms. Matalin) understood. An example: "We were so poor we only had blue Chevrolets when we were growing up." Ms. Matalin says she understood it right away. Nobody else does.

After Mr. Bush was elected president, Mr. Atwater became Republican Party chairman, and Ms. Matalin became his chief of staff and a power in GOP national politics. She was devoted to Mr. Atwater, and grieved when he died of brain cancer. She is also devoted to George Bush. "I just love that man," she says. She admits it's something her friend Mr. Car-

villle doesn't comprehend.

She worries about tomorrow's birthday—and about the next one. "I've never been hitting 40 before," she says. When the

campaign is over, she says she expects to drift off into painting, or maybe pottery. "Something artsy-craftsy," she says.

Sure.

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TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

Bush Sets Sights On Revitalizing U.S. Economy

President, in Comeback Bid,
Says Foreign Triumphs
Will Be Echoed at Home

By MICHEL McQUEEN
And DAVID SHRIBMAN

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

HOUSTON—President Bush, vowing to pull off "the most stirring political comeback since Harry Truman gave them hell in 1948," arrived at the Republican National Convention on a mission to stir up his dissipated troops.

In his speech here and earlier before the Veterans of Foreign Wars in Indianapolis, President Bush signaled an emerging campaign message: The president's triumphs abroad presage accomplishments at home.

Mr. Bush sought to portray himself as the president who won the Cold War and "changed the course of human history"—and now is prepared to fix the economy. Mr. Bush indicated that the campaign will argue that the president's achievements in foreign relations make possible just as dramatic changes in the nation's domestic life.

These themes were buttressed by former President Ronald Reagan and former presidential contender Patrick Buchanan, who painted the Democrats as extremists who sat on the sidelines while the Republicans were winning the Cold War.

"We stood tall and proclaimed that communism was destined for the ash heap

of history," said Mr. Reagan. "We never heard so much ridicule from our liberal friends. The only thing that got them more upset was two simple words: Evil Empire. But we knew then what the liberal Democrat leaders just couldn't figure: The sky would not fall if America restored her strength and resolve."

Mr. Buchanan described the Democrats' convention as "the greatest single exhibition of cross-dressing in American political history," a time when "liberals and radicals came dressed up as moderates and centrists." Several times he mocked homosexuals. He attacked Hillary Clinton, charging that her views represent "radical feminism." And referring to the Democratic ticket as "Clinton and Clinton," he said: "The agenda Clinton and Clinton would impose on America—abortion on demand, a litmus test for the Supreme Court, homosexual rights, discrimination against religious schools, women in combat units—that's change, all right. . . . (But) it is not the kind of change we can abide in a nation that we still call God's Country."

For all the pre-convention rhetoric about tax cuts, neither Mr. Reagan, the most visible proponent of supply-side economics, nor Mr. Buchanan, a leading conservative, mentioned tax cuts in their remarks.

Mr. Bush's remarks at an arena in the Astrodome convention complex, combined with podium speeches by Messrs. Buchanan and Reagan, were designed to help lift the spirits of delegates discouraged by intraparty discord, a drifting campaign and the soaring poll ratings that the Clinton ticket has received since its convention a month ago.

Arriving in Houston after delivering a national security address in Indianapolis, the president called the Democrats in Congress "the sultans of the status quo," and charged his opponents as being the tools of "ossified, entrenched, change-allergic" special-interest groups. Mr. Bush ridiculed Gov. Bill Clinton's self-portrait as artist of the political comeback. "We're not running against the Comeback Kid," the president said. "We're running against the Karaoke Kid, and they'll sing any tune they think will get them elected."

Mr. Bush set out to paint a stark picture of how Mr. Clinton wants to change the country. "They say they believe in a strong America, but they propose gutting the national defense of this country," he said. "And they say they want to put people first, but they're proposing the largest tax increase in the history of the United States of America. I guess that's change. But by the time they're through, change is all you're going to have left in your pocket."

Many of the themes the president explored last night were foreshadowed last week by Secretary of State James Baker, who is leaving his post to give direction to the campaign. But the president's remarks also had an important subtheme: By repeatedly alluding to his own days as a Navy pilot, the president underlined that he was a veteran and tacitly but unmistakably reminded his audience that his rival avoided service in the Vietnam years.

That notion was buttressed by Mr. Buchanan, who compared Mr. Bush's enlistment in the Navy shortly after Pearl Harbor with Mr. Clinton, who, he said, "sat up in a dormitory in Oxford, England,

and figured out how to dodge the draft."

Then Mr. Buchanan, who received a physical deferment from military service, added: "Which of these two men has won the moral authority to call on Americans to put their lives at risk? I suggest, respectfully, it is the patriot and war hero, Navy Lt. j.g. George Herbert Walker Bush."

In an evocative speech, President Reagan portrayed his protégé as experienced and dependable. "The presidency is serious business," he said. "We cannot afford to take a chance. We need a man of serious purpose, unmatched experience, knowledge and ability."

Despite some of the rhetoric, the party's wounds were evident as the business of readying for the fall campaign began. The two Republican governors who had pressed for a fight on abortion rights, John McKernan of Maine and William Weld of Massachusetts, demurred but called a news conference to argue, as Mr. McKernan put it, "it would have helped the campaign to have people stand up for 20 minutes and say they were for George Bush and were pro-choice." Moments later, appointed Sen. John Seymour of California, who is facing a tough election battle, took the podium and opened his remarks with the comment, "I'm pro-choice."

Similarly, a group of Republican supporters of gay rights met far from the convention site to complain of being shut out by convention planners and that gays were singled out for criticism by the platform writers. "I think it belies our history and is bad politics for 1992" to exclude anyone from a party "that is based in empowering people," said Rep. Bill Green of New York City, who expressed worries about the prominence of what he called "the far right" in GOP politics.

'Bill Clinton's
foreign-policy
experience is
pretty much confined to
having had breakfast at
the International House
of Pancakes.

REPUBLICAN
CONVENTION
★92

— FORMER PRESIDENTIAL
CANDIDATE Patrick Buchanan in
prepared remarks to the Republican
National Convention last night.

Congress Is the Problem

By Christopher Cox
and Michael Horowitz

A campaign that ignores Congress's contribution to voters' rage, however valuable for Gov. Bill Clinton, will be a profound disservice to our political system: This is a theme the Republicans should sound loud and clear in Houston. Mr. Clinton's unstated assumption that he can work with Congress echoes Jimmy Carter's debate point against Gerald Ford that large numbers of Ford vetoes revealed a system too adversarial for the country's good.

By the end of Mr. Carter's term, such sensible Administration members as the President's counsel, Lloyd Cutler, were calling for a parliamentary system, shaken as they were by the Congress they encountered. Similarly, David Broder of The Washington Post lamented in 1988 that the House, "the part of the Federal Government which the founders intended to be the most sensitive to shifts in the political climate, is the most immune to change."

But if Congress can avoid public scrutiny and accountability during this campaign, it is certain to become more imperious. Future members may pay modest dues for gym privileges and bounce no checks, but on the issues they will listen to no one.

Voters don't want to return to authoritarian Congresses and collapsed one-term Presidencies. They expect the President to use his powers to bring Congress into line. President Bush's central problem is the voters' perception that he has not done so.

Congress requires external discipline, and its problems run deeper than scandals and perks. With more than 20,000 employees, its spending on itself has grown by more than 700 percent in two decades. In 1970, it cost

\$343 million to run Congress; by 1980, the figure had risen to \$1.2 billion. This year, Congress proposes to spend an astonishing \$2.3 billion on itself.

There is now so much Congressional staff that it seriously interferes with the rational consideration of issues. Such Democrats as Representative Andrew Jacobs of Indiana recognize that, without this unnecessary bloat, "Legislators would be forced actually to know something about the

Here's how Bush can tame the bloated monster.

issues that they're voting on and not rely so much on their staff."

The explosion of staffs has caused other major problems. In the name of oversight, vast staffs and a growing number of subcommittees have fueled an increasingly counterproductive micro-management of executive agencies. An ever-more partisan 5,000-employee General Accounting Office has had an extraordinary 25 percent budget rise just since 1990. This and other rapidly growing "legislative agencies" now view themselves as elements of a shadow executive branch.

Most seriously, Congress's indulgent spending has jeopardized the integrity and democratic character of the political system. With so much of their budgets directed at their re-elections, members have created the functional equivalent of incumbents-only public campaign financing.

With opponents overwhelmed, it is small wonder Congress has felt free of messy voter constraints: How else to explain that the House, on a recorded vote, defeated an effort to cut a \$500,000 subsidy for the House beauty shop? Left to their own devices, most incumbents will never vote to give challengers an even chance.

Even Governor Clinton has pro-

posed a 25 percent cut in Congressional staff, but he can only promise to act. President Bush can force Congress to reform itself — by vetoing the legislative appropriations bill.

Recent presidents have been far too willing to approve, without review, whatever money Congress votes for itself. While the Office of Management and Budget assigns examiners to watch the budget of the Civil War Battlefield Monuments Commission, for example, no one reviews the \$2.3 billion legislative branch budget.

Even so, in a remarkable display of appetite for change, 143 members of Congress — only two short of veto strength — have voted against this year's Congressional appropriation. It is reasonably clear that, with Presidential leadership, a veto will be sustained.

From Mr. Bush's perspective, the coming cycle of appropriations bills may represent his last chance to force the system to take him seriously. Mere complaints about past failings of Congress will be ineffective. The President's own reform proposals will continue to be ignored by Congressional leaders, and the lack of results treated by voters as self-fulfilling evidence of his complicity in the system's nonperformance.

A veto strategy that focuses on the coming appropriations bills opens the door to another important fight on which a determined President can prevail. He can insist that he will not sign appropriations that do not provide him with line-item veto authority. (Left alone, Congress won't even allow a vote on this reform.) The fact that Mr. Clinton has called for such authority only underlines that such a fight would be for the Presidency itself.

The President must serve as a bold and successful agent of change, taking on Congress in a battle that requires the support of only one-third of the members of either house. It won't be easy or without risk, but historic efforts to restore balances of power never are.

What is clear is that the kinder, gentler approach to Congress just doesn't work. □

Christopher Cox, a Republican, is a member of Congress from California. Michael Horowitz is a senior fellow of the Manhattan Institute for Public Policy Research.

Bush Is Down. Now Watch Out.

By Richard Ben Cramer

HOUSTON
George Bush has got 'em right where he wants 'em. His plane is on fire, he's miles from the target, he's hurtling down with a ton of bombs strapped underneath and there's no one in the air or on the ground who thinks he can get out of this one.

Perfect!

This is George Bush at his most dangerous, as Saddam Hussein and Bill Clinton may find out, at their peril.

At the Republican National Convention in Houston, all the talk from those-in-the-know is about desperate political measures. Can James A. Baker, on his way back to the bridge, make the White House and campaign churn the water together? Can Ronald Reagan keep the ships on the right flank from deserting the battle?

Can the U.N. inspectors or the U.S. Air Force push Saddam Hussein to a blunder that could give the President this week! just in time! — a 20-

Richard Ben Cramer is author of "What It Takes: The Way to the White House."

point bump out of his convention, as Bill Clinton got one month ago?

People say Bush needs the speech of his life to cut through the hopeless confusion of his Administration, to make up for his own addled lack of vision, to "define himself" anew. He needs a rabbit from a hat, a miracle — at least a genius speech writer. Baloney.

They miss the point.

There's only one fight the G.O.P. and the Bushies have to win this week, and that's the fight within the President's own breast. Four years ago, the wise guys, the pundits and pollsters were all ready to write Bush off. After all, the man was a wimp! He was 17 points down to Michael Dukakis. Bush had no positions of his own, no platform, no plan. The Bush campaign was about nothing.

In Boston, Dukakis's brainy young savants were choosing up offices in the West Wing of the White House. Then they froze as George Bush began to take their hero apart. In three weeks, the Governor's lead was gone, but more

important, so was the wimp. We know what happened — he won 40 states.

But what did it take?

George Bush never did define himself or present a plan for America. But he took one look at Michael Dukakis and defined him as he appeared through the Bush-eyes.

Who was this little guy?

Mike Dukakis didn't know how the world really worked. He was just another Jimmy Carter, a technocratic tinkerer, who could no more be trusted with America's fate in a hostile world than could any other liberal Harvard woolly-head — a do-good little Governor from a little state who was going to give away the store! Where'd he ever been?

What gave him the right to tear everything down, to pick on those good Republicans who had labored so hard to build up this country? The guy was a little bully.

So then, Bush, so immaculately polite, could come at Michael (and Kitty) Dukakis with a broken bottle in each fist. He could run against criminal-coddlin' and for the Pledge of Allegiance. Bush could do whatever it took because it wasn't about nothing, anymore. He had one conviction, honestly held: Mike Dukakis should not be President.

When Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait, there was no one who'd predict that the U.S. would go to war. It was too dangerous. It was politically impossible. The U.S. didn't have the allies in the U.N., the assets in the region or the will in Congress.

But you had to see Saddam Hussein through the Bush-eyes. Here was a tinhorn, never been anywhere, had no sense of how to behave. Jeez, Bush and Bake had been bending over

backward, trying to bring him into the circle, make him a friend! And what does he do? He spurns George Bush, beats up on a neighbor. (Those pictures on TV!) He showed no respect for women, children... the guy was just a bully.

So George Bush shredded every option but a war against Iraq. He told the American people that Saddam Hussein was no different from Hitler — and he meant it. George Bush marched in to a morning meeting at the White House and announced to his startled staff: "I don't care if I get

He has to have a sense of personal mission.

one vote in Congress. We're going in."

Now, you can see the old bomber pilot strapping on his plot-map and revving himself up.

He's "sick and tired," he says, of "all this abuse" from the Democrats. "I've held out my hand to those crazy guys [in Congress]," he said last night, "...And I've gotten it bitten off." "I've been blamed for everything except that crazy scoring system they used in the Olympic boxing!"

Saddam Hussein is going to comply with those resolutions — all of them! Bill Clinton had better stop "running down this country!"

George Bush is the warrior WASP, and he's backed himself into the corner where he fights best. He's got himself convinced that he's been hit unfairly, too many times. Any Andover man knows how to take care of a bully.

When I asked Bush's men about the vicious '88 campaign, Lee Atwater, the campaign manager — now deceased, alas — explained it in electoral terms. They had to pile up the negatives on Dukakis's head, to bring him down in the polls.

But Roger Ailes, the media man, who I think understood George Bush much better, explained that the attack campaign was more important to George Bush personally. You have to give this guy a sense of mission, Ailes said. And once George Bush narrows his focus to a personal opponent, once he has that sense of personal mission, and personal combat, then, as Roger Ailes said: "The only way to stop Bush is to kill him." □

The New York Times

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

Observer

RUSSELL BAKER

The Way They Were

Convention memoirs: 1956-1992.

The nastiest convention: Chicago, 1968, Democrats naturally. If you'd seen war combat it was probably tame. If you hadn't, the onslaught of Mayor Daley's unleashed cops against defenseless political romantics was an astonishing spectacle. Dangerous if you were in it.

Everybody seemed fair game for a skull clubbing, or at least arrest. Television showed gendarmes hauling John Chancellor of NBC off the convention floor. "This is John Chancellor, somewhere in custody," he said. Delegates entering the hall passed through battalions of Chicago cops using their pistol butts to nail up "We Love Mayor Daley" placards.

They don't make 'em like that no more. Neither party has met in Chicago since. Probably never will. That's how bad 1968 was. It's a pity because Chicago was a great convention town.

The meeting hall was down by the stockyards, so when the wind was right the pols were washed in the varied reeks of cattle slaughter. Up in the Loop big shots stayed at the delicate little Blackstone Hotel with its "smoke-filled room" where the Republican bosses had decided to make Warren Harding President in 1920.

Just across the street towered a grotesquely vast Hilton, and a dozen other hotels seemed just around the corner. It made for a humanizing coziness in years when Mayor Daley was not testy.

I never stop in Chicago now without recalling the overpowering odor, very much like vomit, which permeated my hotel that entire week, courtesy of a heroine of the left, I was told, known as "Sally the Stink." Her contribution to the struggle against Lyndon Johnson was a chemical concoction with which she odorized enemies' turf, to show they nauseated her, I suppose.

The Republicans' nastiest convention occurred in San Francisco in 1964. It was dominated by the new wave of Western radicals behind Barry Goldwater. They were just starting to call themselves "conservatives," which was Goldwater's word for a policy of hostility to the welfare state and bellicosity in foreign policy, and were there to certify the nomination Goldwater had won in primaries against Nelson Rockefeller.

Not yet accustomed to the sweet smell of power, they behaved with un-Republican rudeness when vanquished Rockefeller tried to speak, then gave such a heartfelt execution-

er's cheer to General Eisenhower's stock denunciation of the press that it not only sent terror through the press platform but even left the hero of World War II visibly shaken.

The most pleasant convention was also in San Francisco where the Republicans in 1956 renominated President Eisenhower. It was an endless feast, for there was no news to interfere with the knife-and-fork work. I recall offending a waiter at a magnificent restaurant by ordering a seafood appetizer and a seafood entree.

"What!" he exclaimed with unconcealed contempt, "you want fish two times?"

The nuttiest convention occurred at Atlantic City in 1964 where Democrats renominated President Johnson. Again there was little to do and only one decent restaurant in which to eat the hours away. We bought salt-water taffy, watched a diving horse, resisted sales pitches for Teflon frying pans on the Boardwalk and watched Johnson torment various senators by dangling the Vice Presidency before them.

Convention memoirs, 1956-92.

Fannie Lou Hamer, a black civil rights worker, came up from Mississippi to tell a tale of horror about her treatment by Southern lawmen, but though Johnson was to become the most Homeric champion of black rights since Lincoln, her appearance wasn't allowed to ruffle the fun at his party. When the renominating was done he staged a mammoth fireworks show ending with L.B.J.'s face etched in a fireworks portrait that looked to be, oh, a mile or two high.

The most democratic convention was the Democrats' of 1956 in Chicago where Adlai Stevenson told the convention to choose its own Vice-Presidential candidate. It chose Senator Estes Kefauver by a whisker over Senator John F. Kennedy.

By 1972, conventions seemed washed up. They had declined into scripted television shows, and the sensible place to watch them was at home on television, which was where they were really happening anyhow, if happening wasn't an exaggeration. □

What's Still Missing on M.I.A.'s

The reason for all the theories that American prisoners of war remain alive in Indochina, almost two decades after the end of the Vietnam War, now becomes painfully clear. From 1973 on, official Washington misrepresented what it knew and shrugged off new leads, betraying its obligations to the families of the missing and to the public at large.

Even now, as a Senate select committee pursues its careful investigations, the White House has yet to offer any explanation or apology for the deceptions of Administrations past. The Vietnam syndrome cannot be declared properly buried until the executive branch itself sets the record straight on those missing in action, the M.I.A.'s.

It is too much to expect a resolution of every single case. That has not been possible in any war, and too much time has now gone by.

But it's hard to justify the Nixon Administration's public closing of this issue while the trail was still hot. In 1973, when Hanoi returned 591 American prisoners of war, the Pentagon's own records showed that hundreds more Americans had survived capture and were quite possibly still alive. Even so, the Nixon Administration proclaimed that all prisoners had been returned, thus reducing any

incentive for Hanoi to pursue the remaining cases.

Some of the Americans probably died in captivity. But others were held in Laos, possibly captured while carrying out secret missions. And still others might have been held by local authorities, without direct knowledge by Hanoi.

The Senate committee began piecing this story together several weeks ago. Last week, former Reagan Administration officials offered additional evidence suggesting that some captives may indeed have remained alive years after the war. Ross Perot's long-awaited testimony, meanwhile, proved disappointingly vague and unsubstantiated.

By careful comparison of government records, the committee continues to refine its estimates of captives alive in 1973 — more than 100, it now seems. It pursues leads from the former Soviet Union. And it usefully presses Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia to cooperate. Its efforts are likely to produce the first credible accounting of M.I.A.'s since the war.

George Bush is not to blame for his predecessors' mishandling of the issue. But he has in fact been closely involved with government decision-making in this area for most of the 19 years since U.S. troops left Vietnam. The damaged credibility of the executive branch requires the President to address the issue himself.

Finally, Help for Somalia

High marks to President Bush, and to whoever nudged his pen, for ordering the Pentagon to airlift food to millions of starving people in Somalia. What one U.S. aid official calls "the world's worst humanitarian disaster" has been caused by devastating drought and a senseless clan war that forced two million farmers from the land. Besides the airlift, Washington will fly in 500 armed United Nations guards and seek a Security Council resolution authorizing "additional measures" to assure arrival of humanitarian relief.

The Bush Administration should have done this months ago. Distribution has been the main problem in getting food aid to the interior and to the capital, Mogadishu, the scene of savage street warfare. Human rights groups charge that the U.S. was dragging its feet, fearful of an election-year quagmire in the Horn of Africa; the Administration says

it has long been ready to move but was waiting for the U.N. to take the lead.

Whatever the case, urgently needed aid is now en route, and Somalia's capricious warlords will have to contend with U.N. guards and the U.S. Air Force. Nobody pretends to have pat solutions for the chaos that followed the ouster in 1991 of Somalia's longtime dictator, Mohammed Siad Barre. But to say that nothing could be done, that Somalia was too messy and remote, would have been a shameful, unthinkable abdication.

The new measures should sober belligerents and begin to comfort the afflicted. After similar humanitarian missions in Kurdish Iraq and Bangladesh, the U.S. armed forces will gain precious experience in what may be an increasingly needful role. Even in this political season, Mr. Bush warrants bipartisan applause for his Somalia mission.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

The Republicans: Unchanged

The platform that the Republican Convention adopted yesterday in Houston rings with partisan passion, but as a document to promote President Bush's campaign for re-election it lands with a disappointing thud.

Americans everywhere are grumbling over economic stagnation and long for new ideas. This platform supplies a ritualistic roster of old ones — dogma that's not only tired but also discredited. By comparison, the 1992 Democratic program floats, lighter than air, on some utopian assumptions about growth. But at least it's a program.

Just how much the public wants action is dramatically documented in the latest New York Times/CBS News Poll. Does the country need real change? An astounding 92 percent of the public answered "yes." Would electing Bill Clinton bring about real change? Fully 63 percent answered "yes." Would re-electing President Bush bring about real change? A mere 15 percent said "yes."

So what bold ideas does the platform advance? None. The Republicans proclaim their enduring devotion to a balanced budget amendment. They call for reneging on the 1990 Congressional budget agreement to hold down the deficit. They embrace deregulation so eagerly that they almost claim credit for President Carter's monumental oil and gas deregulation. And they embrace supply-side economics with a zeal that erases the memory of the huge Reagan-Bush deficits.

Underlying all the platform's economic propos-

als are two convictions: that tax hikes, for whatever purpose, hurt the economy; and that private investment is productive while public spending is inherently wasteful.

The Republicans surely have a strong argument that the proposals for public investments advocated by the Democrats could easily turn into euphemisms for old-fashioned pork if President Bush were not on hand with vigilant vetoes.

But the Republicans drive their argument out the window.

The test for investment is not whether it is private or public but whether it is productive. In truth, studies show that public investments — wisely selected — make substantial contributions to economic growth. Public investments in highways, fiber-optic telecommunications and training for disadvantaged workers can boost productivity more than equal amounts of private investment. The platform takes the cramped view that taxpayers see no benefit in helping educate other people's children; but most Americans aren't that short-sighted.

The platform writers have not seen a tax cut they don't like, a tax hike they don't despise. Mr. Clinton's proposed hike in payroll taxes to finance worker training is automatically wrong; yet tax giveaways to upper-income families or real estate investors are presumed to promote productivity.

The Republican platform rehearses the G.O.P.'s greatest hits. That may placate conservatives. But it will do little, in this financially fearful time, to address most Americans' fears.

Clinton Team Challenges G.O.P. In Effort to 'Set Record Straight'

By GWENIFILL
Special to The New York Times

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Aug. 17 — Aides to Gov. Bill Clinton began a campaign of long-distance retaliation today, issuing sharp challenges to the Republicans to provide a counterpoint to the convention in Houston.

George Stephanopoulos, communications director for the Clinton campaign, told reporters here that President Bush should dismiss two prominent Republicans — United States Treasurer Catalina V. Villalpando and Robert A. Mosbacher, President Bush's campaign chairman — because both referred Sunday to Mr. Clinton's personal life.

President Bush has said he would dismiss anyone in his campaign who injected what he called "sleaze" issues into the contest.

"He's going to have a busy day," Mr. Stephanopoulos said.

On Sunday, Mr. Mosbacher said at a breakfast meeting with delegates in Houston that Mr. Clinton's marital background "should be one of the yardsticks" by which voters judge him.

And Ms. Villalpando, whose signature appears on United States currency, told New Jersey delegates that Mr. Clinton was a "skirtchaser" and not qualified to be President.

Clinton campaign workers distributed articles referring to both comments at a briefing for reporters here today.

An Apology

Ms. Villalpando issued a statement today apologizing "deeply" for her remarks. Mr. Mosbacher said that he had made his comment only in response to

The Democrats are ready to return Republican fire.

a question directed to him and that the Clinton campaign officials had taken his remarks out of context.

The Democrats have made arrangements to respond quickly to events at the Republican convention, dispatching campaign and party aides to Houston and purchasing advertising time on television stations there.

Clinton campaign officials confirmed today that their "response" advertising in Houston would be intended to catch the attention of Republicans and the thousands of journalists reporting on them. The advertising could begin as soon as Tuesday.

Ronald H. Brown, the Democratic national chairman, held a joint news conference in Houston today with Betsey Wright, a top official of the Clinton campaign, saying the Democrats were on hand to "set the record straight, to respond, to indicate that this is not 1988 revisited for Democrats."

"We are not a turn-the-other-cheek party anymore," he said. "We are going to respond, and respond in kind."

Ms. Wright added that the Republicans had "made it clear that they're here as much to attack Governor Clinton, his family, his cat, his record, as they are to tout their own proposals."

Braced for an Attack

Mr. Clinton's aides are convinced that the Republican strategy will be to deflate Mr. Clinton's current popularity by raising questions about his record in government and his trustworthiness. So the Democrats are preparing to do the same to Mr. Bush.

Mr. Clinton spent the day today

THE DEMOCRATS

working on Arkansas government business, including a plan to erase a \$20 million shortage in the state's Department of Human Services.

He told reporters that the remarks from Ms. Villalpando and Mr. Mosbacher, a former Cabinet official, had come from Administration officials who "desperately, desperately, desperately want to hold on to their jobs in Washington."

Referring to Mr. Bush's comments, Mr. Clinton said, "He says this has no place in the campaign. Then his people come right back with it. That's typical. That's like when he said, 'Read my lips,' or when he promised 15 million new jobs."

"There's been so many times when he's said one thing and had his people do something else, I can't keep up with it," he said.

Referring to a tabloid report last week that Mr. Bush had engaged in an extramarital affair, Mr. Clinton said, "All I can tell you is, when I took his side, when it happened to him, you didn't see a whole rash of my staff people saying the contrary, did you?"

Raising the Question of Trust

Mr. Stephanopoulos followed through on that theme, saying that if Mr. Bush did not dismiss the two prominent Republicans, it would raise the question of whether "we trust him to tell the truth and trust him to keep his word, or is he just a hollow man running a very hypocritical, very cynical campaign."

The Democrats also distributed, both in Houston and in Little Rock, an "annotated" version of the Republican platform.

That interpretation of the Republican platform draws heavily on research by the Democratic Policy Committee and on newspaper clippings, attacking the general statements that are usually found in campaign platforms with the detailed rebuttals usually found in campaign position papers.

By emphasizing some of the more conservative positions taken by the Republicans on tax limitation and the exclusion of homosexuals from the military, the Democrats criticized the platform as "extremist."

The Clinton researchers are contending that President Bush has reversed himself since 1988 on environmental protection and has failed to fulfill campaign pledges on welfare reform and education.

In one case, the Clinton campaign accuses the Bush Administration of a "complete flip-flop" on a platform plank that says the protection of wetlands should not come at the expense of "disparaging" a landowner's property rights.

While campaigning for President in 1988, Mr. Bush said that much of the loss of wetlands came from the "inevitable pressure for development" and asserted that there should be "no new net loss of wetlands."

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

A Vulnerable Incumbent

*A Limping Bush Arrives at the Convention
Without Reagan's 1984 Aura of Inevitability*

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

Special to The New York Times

HOUSTON, Aug. 17 — Seemingly invincible only a year ago, George Bush returned to his adopted home town today haunted by the specter of a one-term Presidency.

Incumbency bestows manifold blessings on a President, and Presidents seeking re-election usually come to conventions with their themes set and their tactics fixed. The odds are stacked in their favor. But not always, and not this year, no matter how full of fight this President seemed as he made his first appearance before the party faithful.

Mr. Bush arrived in Houston without the politically priceless air of inevitability that so enveloped Ronald Reagan in 1984. He seemed more like Jimmy Carter in 1980, a proud but gravely

wounded warrior, seemingly at the mercy of events rather than bestriding them, hoping to replenish himself by borrowing strength from fellow Republicans in better political health.

Like Mr. Carter, Mr. Bush has spent the year on the defensive, beginning with a primary fight, an indignity incumbents are supposed to be spared. Mr. Carter sought and won the public blessing of his erstwhile tormentor, Edward M. Kennedy, and tonight Mr. Bush brought forward his challenger, Patrick J. Buchanan, as a symbol of unity and yet another peace offering to the conservative forces that dominate the 1992 Republican National Convention.

Still Securing His Base

Later, the President turned the spotlight on the man from whom he took the torch of leadership four years ago, Ronald Reagan. It was a curiously nostalgic choice in a year of dissatisfaction with politics and insistent demands for change, especially for a campaign that speaks constantly about looking forward, not back.

Only 37 percent of Americans said in the latest New York Times/CBS News Poll that they retained a favorable opinion of Mr. Reagan. But Mr. Bush is regularly criticized for lacking star quality and ideological soundness, and

Continued on Page A9, Column 3

Blessings of Incumbency Are Less Sure for Bush

Continued From Page A1

Mr. Reagan still has plenty of both, even at 81 years of age.

The former President's appeal to Republicans, and especially to conservatives, remains substantial, and Mr. Bush's managers think the President still has work to do in securing his base. It is late in the game for that; by now, he should be reaching out to undecided voters, but the turmoil of this election year has thrown him badly off schedule and sapped his strength.

As if to address the central conundrum of the Bush campaign — how to portray the President, a man responsible for many of the policies voters dislike, as a credible agent of change — Mr. Reagan described himself as one. He took "inspiration from the past, like most Americans," he said, but he lived for the future.

Like the former President, Barbara Bush has also been drafted to step into the spotlight. On Wednesday night she will make a major speech, taking on an openly partisan role that would have mortified Mamie Eisenhower or Bess Truman. But the situation is grim, her approval rating is almost three times as high as her husband's, and with 4 children and 12 grandchildren she is a family values poster girl.

There is no despondency in Houston, and the convention hoopla and malarkey is undiminished.

The party still likes George Bush, even though it has never loved him the way it loves Ronald Reagan. It greeted Mr. Bush with gusto when he appeared in the Astroarena for a preliminary call to arms, promising that it would soon be "curtain time" for the Democratic ticket.

The Language of Doubt

But the party has begun to speak the language of doubt, and its officeholders have begun to speak the language of fear as self-confidence has flowed back into the veins of the opposition.

Republicans here talk about electoral locks and landslides about as often as they talk about Herbert Hoover, and no one has breathed a word about long Presidential coattails.

"It's doable," they say. "We can come back," they assure one another. "You can't tell anything until after Labor Day," they say. These are the

NEWS ANALYSIS

kinds of things people say and only half believe, hoping to reassure themselves when they're down — the patent medicine that has kept the Democrats going for a dozen years now.

Ever since things turned sour for the President only a few months after the allied victory in the Persian Gulf war, Republicans have been blaming someone else for his troubles. It was the chief of staff's fault, they said, so first John H. Sununu and then Samuel K. Skinner were thrown to the wolves. It was the fault of Congress, so attacks were mounted against the Democrats on Capitol Hill. It was the speech writers' fault, so the campaign reached back to the Nixon years for Raymond K. Price and put him in charge of drafting Mr. Bush's make-or-break address to the convention on Thursday.

The Miracle Worker Returns

It was the campaign manager's fault, so James A. Baker 3d, the miracle worker of 1988, was called in to

provide organizational expertise. In his farewell speech to the State Department last week, many Republicans felt, Mr. Baker stated the case for his old friend better than Mr. Bush himself has done it.

But Mr. Baker has not yet taken charge. He will not even be here for most of this week, even though Houston is more his town than Mr. Bush's; his family has been numbered among the city's elite for three generations.

"There is still no campaign plan, not even with the convention under way," said one of the party's senior strategists. "We do on Monday what seems logical on Monday, but by Wednesday we're off in another direction. Everyone is focused on the speech Thursday night, and no one has the slightest idea what we do after that."

The Pattern for Incumbents

The speech is the key to the bounce. By next weekend, the Republicans are counting on a big lift in the polls, which now show Mr. Bush trailing Gov. Bill Clinton by about 20 points. They hope to cut the Democratic nominee's margin

in half, which would put them within striking range for the fall campaign.

But the pattern since the Eisenhower era is not encouraging.

Since 1956, according to the Gallup Organization, the incumbent President has either led in every one of its general-election polls and then won, or trailed in every one of its polls and then lost, with the single exception of 1980. In that year Mr. Carter had narrow leads over Mr. Reagan twice, but still lost, which is not a very good omen for Mr. Bush, either.

"Bush's problem is that races involving incumbents tend to take shape pretty quickly," said William Schneider, the political analyst. "The central question is whether voters feel the incumbent does or does not deserve to be re-elected, and nothing much changes after they have made up their minds about that."

What the Republicans are hoping is that in this year of shallow allegiances and quicksilver realignments, voters will rethink their attitudes toward Mr. Bush again, just as they have done over the last year or so.

The Economic Environment

Major economic indicators in election years. For 1992, latest available figures are shown. Winners are pictured.

	1972	1976	1980	1984	1988	1992
						
	REPUBLICAN Richard Nixon	DEMOCRAT George McGovern	DEMOCRAT Jimmy Carter	DEMOCRAT Walter Mondale	REPUBLICAN Michael Dukakis	DEMOCRAT Bill Clinton
Gross Domestic Product	+5.0%	+4.9%	-0.5%	+6.2%	+3.9%	+1.4%
Unemployment	5.6%	7.7%	7.1%	7.5%	5.5%	7.7%
Inflation	3.2%	5.8%	13.5%	4.3%	4.1%	3.4%
Prime rate	5.25%	6.84%	15.26%	12.04%	9.32%	6.50%

Sources: Bureau of Economic Analysis, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Federal Reserve Board

The New York Times

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

Excerpts: From Talk By Reagan

HOUSTON, Aug. 17 (AP) — Following are excerpts from remarks prepared for delivery tonight by former President Ronald Reagan at the Republican National Convention.

We were meant to be masters of destiny, not victims of fate. Who among us would trade America's future for that of any other country in the world? And who could possibly have so little faith in our American people that they would trade our tomorrows for our yesterdays?

To hear the Democrats talk, you'd never know that the nightmare of nuclear annihilation has been lifted from our sleep. You'd never know that our standard of living remains the highest in the world. You'd never know that our air is cleaner than it was 20 years ago. You'd never know that we remain the one nation the rest of the world looks to for leadership.

It wasn't always this way. We mustn't forget, even if they would like to, the very different America that existed just 12 years ago: an America with 21 percent interest rates and back-to-back years of double-digit inflation; an America where mortgage payments doubled, paychecks plunged and motorists sat in gas lines; an America whose leaders told us it was our own fault, that ours was a future of scarcity and sacrifice and that what we really needed was another good dose of government control and higher taxes.

THE THREAT OF COMMUNISM It wasn't so long ago that the world was a far more dangerous place as well. It was a world where aggressive Soviet Communism was on the rise and American strength was in decline. It was a world where our children came of age under the threat of nuclear holocaust. It was a world where our leaders told us that standing up to aggressors was dangerous, that American might and determination were somehow obstacles to peace.

But we stood tall and proclaimed that Communism was destined for the ash heap of history. We never heard so much ridicule from our liberal friends. The only thing that got them more upset was two simple words: "evil empire."

But we knew then what the liberal Democrat leaders just couldn't figure out: the sky would not fall if America restored her strength and resolve. The sky would not fall if an American President spoke the truth. The only thing that would fall was the Berlin wall.

LESSON OF LINCOLN I heard those speakers at that other convention saying "We won the cold war," and I couldn't help wondering, just who exactly do they mean by "we"? And to top it off, they even tried to portray themselves as sharing the same fundamental values of our party.

What they truly don't understand is the principle so eloquently stated by Abraham Lincoln: "You cannot strengthen the weak by weakening the strong. You cannot help the wage earner by pulling down the wage payer. You cannot help the poor by destroying the rich. You cannot help men permanently by doing for them what they could and should do for themselves."

If we ever hear the Democrats quoting that passage by Lincoln and acting like they mean it, then, my friends, we will know that the opposition has really changed.

Now let's not dismiss our current troubles, but where they see only problems, I see possibilities — as vast and diverse as the American family itself. Even as we meet, the rest of the world is astounded by the pundits and finger pointers who are so down on us as a nation.

Well I've said it before and I'll say it again — America's best days are yet to come. Our proudest moments are yet to be.

Excerpts From Bush Speech at Rally

HOUSTON, Aug. 17 (Reuters) — Following are excerpts from remarks this afternoon by President Bush at a Republican rally in Houston, as transcribed by Reuters.

Four years ago, Dan Quayle and I teamed up, and I told him then, speaking from some personal experience, that the job of Vice President was a real character builder, and I was not exaggerating, but look, this guy stood there and in the face of those unfair critics, he has never wavered. And he simply told the truth and let the chips fall where they may. And he said we need families to stick together and fathers to stick around, and he is right.

He says we need an America that stands behind our law enforcement officers, and he is right about that. And he also said we've got to take on those trial lawyers and all those who inundate this country with frivolous lawsuits, and he's right about that. Let that A.B.A. turn off to the left — we are with the American people.

So when the establishment in Washington hears all this, they get all uptight about it, about him, they gripe about it, that folks in the real world understand and they nod their head, and he has been a super Vice President, and he will be for another four years.

I couldn't help but notice an interview that my opponent gave to the USA Today last week. It was absolutely incredible — you haven't heard it yet.

He talked about how he's already planning his transition, figuring out who should be deputy assistant undersecretary in every Washington agency, even where he can get away from the White House for a day or

the United States of America.

I guess that's change, but by the time they're through, change is all you're going to have left in your pocket. And we're not going to let that happen to the United States.

Don't kid yourself, America: we're not running against the comeback kids, we're running against the karaoke kids, and they'll take any tune, any tune they think will get them elected. Say one thing in one place and then whisper something else in another, and we're not going to let them get away with it.

You know, I've never pretended to be much for words, but for me eloquence is action. And for the next 78 days, we're going to go out there to ask the American people a simple question: Who do you trust to do what's right for the United States of America? It's a question of trust.

Forty-four years ago, Barbara and I started out, out in the West Texas, the Odessa-Midland, area, and I remember traveling across that country to Wink and Kermit and Notrees and Andrews, places where parents worried and watched when a kid crossed the street, the kind of towns that sent those kids halfway around the world from the DMZ to Da Nang and to Desert Storm. And Barbara and I loved the rhythms of West Texas. You remember the Friday night football and Saturday picnics and Sunday sermons. And we raised a family and built a business, made friends that have lasted us an entire lifetime. And we worked hard.

But when the work was done, we sat around the table late at night, and we talked. Talked about report cards, same thing you all do. Schoolyard fights, small things, big dreams. And no matter what the other side says, America is still a land of dreams, dreams as vast and wide as those plains out there in West Texas.

And our dreams, our ideals and our ideas, have awakened dreams from Managua all the way to Moscow. And with faith in our people, we will reawaken those dreams right here in the United States of America.

My opponent wants to protect the jobs of the past, and I have a plan to create the jobs of the future so that the sons and daughters of steel workers and linemen, can build their dreams. And my opponent wants to change our schools oh, just a little bit. And I have a plan to revolutionize our schools so that, so that our kids can do as well in the science labs and math room as they now do in the swimming pool and out there on the basketball court. And my opponent — and Dan touched on this — ridicules or attacks me as we talk about family values.

Well, let me tell you something: we are going to keep on trying to strengthen the American family to make American families a lot more like the Waltons and a lot less like the Simpsons.

Now that I'm getting warmed up, let me tell you about another target that I'm going to get in the cross hairs.

The Democratic leaders of the United States Congress don't like our ideas — they are the sultans of the status quo. They are the only people in America who could drive to work with a blindfold every morning because they've been going the same way, controlling that Congress for 38 years.

You're darn right: You talk about gridlock. We know where the gridlock is: it's under those leaders that control the Congress, both the Senate and the House and we're going to change it, we are going to get the American

people to change it.

I was very lucky — I didn't get to see the Democratic convention — but up in Manhattan last month you didn't see those Congressional leaders. Finding them was like playing "Where's Waldo?" in the Astrodome. They gave a new meaning to the word "closet liberal."

Don't kid yourselves: look at where their support is coming from, that same ossified, entrenched change-allergic support groups out there supporting the Democratic leaders of the Congress. And we're going to make

ON TRUST

"For the next 78 days, we're going to go out there to ask the American people a simple question: Who do you trust to do what's right for the United States of America? It's a question of trust."

the American people understand it. I'm going to do what Harry Truman did: I am going to take that message to change the Congress all across this country.

I've held out my hand to those crazy guys — I've held out my hand to them only to have it bitten off. And I'm tired of it. And we're going to change that Congress.

And we are going to link that Clinton-Gore ticket right in close to those Democratic leaders — they are one and the same. And we're not going to let the American people forget that.

ON DEMOCRATS

"For nine months the other side has had a one-way conversation with the American people, and now it's our turn — and they have called our great country a mockery and sounded the saxophone of change"

two — and I half expected, when I went over to the Oval Office to find him over there measuring the drapes.

Well, let me say, as the first shot out of the barrel: I have a message for him. Put those drapes on hold, it is going to be curtain time for that ticket. And I mean it.

For nine months the other side has had a one-way conversation with the American people, and now it's our turn — and they have called our great country a mockery and sounded the saxophone of change, and that sound sure sounds familiar: they say they want to shake up Washington, but they oppose limiting the terms of Congressmen and that's a change, just changing the subject.

They say they believe in a strong America, but they propose gutting the national defense of this country. And that's called changing their tune.

And they say they want to put people first, but they are proposing the largest tax increase in the history of

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

TRIBUTE BY REAGAN

Party Leadership Averts Divisive Open Debate on Abortion Issue

By ROBIN TONER

Special to The New York Times

HOUSTON, Aug. 17 — President Bush roared into his convention city tonight with a vow to revive his lagging re-election campaign, and Ronald Reagan bestowed his blessing as an anxious Republican National Convention began a search for its old electoral magic.

At a rally near the Astrodome, Mr. Bush delivered a rousing attack on his Democratic opponents that suggested a bruising, hard-fought fall. "For the next 78 days, we're going to go out and ask the people of America to answer a very simple question: Who do you trust to do what's right for the United States of America?" [Excerpts, page A8.]

Mr. Reagan, in remarks prepared for delivery tonight, asserted that the nation needed Mr. Bush to continue the work of insuring peace abroad and conservative reforms at home. "A lot of liberal Democrats are saying it's time for a change, and they're right," declared Mr. Reagan, who rode to power with a similar call 12 years ago. "The only trouble is they're pointing to the wrong end of Pennsylvania Avenue." [Excerpts, page A8.]

The Republicans began their 35th national convention by approving a platform that reaffirms the party's implacable opposition to legalized abortion and support for a constitutional amendment that would outlaw it. It marked the official end of a struggle by supporters of abortion rights to buck their President and ease their party's stance, but the dissension simmered nonetheless.

Floor Fight Averted

Many delegates here talked openly of their disagreement with the party's abortion plank, but the Bush campaign was in firm control of the proceedings and averted a floor fight on the issue. Mr. Bush said today in an interview broadcast by CNN that he was "unashamedly pro-life." But Mary Dent Crisp, the chairwoman of the National Republican Coalition for Choice, asserted, "The men in power have won a short-term battle, but the ultimate battle — the November election — is still ahead."

Republicans opened their four-day convention with predictions of a rousing Bush comeback and chants of "four more years." President Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle arrived here today, and they appeared together at a rally in an arena adjoining the Astrodome.

In unusually detailed remarks that amounted to a kind of kick-off address, Mr. Bush once again said that the battle starts here and now. "For nine months, the other side has had a one-way conversation with the American

Continued on Page A8, Column 1

Bush Arrives at Convention And Sets a Combative Tone

Continued From Page A1

people," Mr. Bush declared. "It's our turn now."

He added that after reading recent interviews with Mr. Clinton, he "half-expected to find him over at the Oval Office, measuring for drapes." The President, in a spirited performance, clearly intended to signal a rejuvenated campaign, declared, "I'm a fighter," and added: "Let me say, the first shot out of the barrel — put those drapes on hold. It's going to be curtains time come November."

Another War to Win

At the same rally, Vice President Quayle sounded another theme for this carefully scripted week: "Our President won the cold war. Let's give him a new Congress and let him win the domestic war."

Mr. Clinton came under heavy fire from an array of Republican speakers today, who accused him of being a failed Governor, a secret taxpayer and spender, a committed liberal masquerading in moderate trappings, and a man utterly unequipped to conduct American foreign policy.

The news media came under a carefully coordinated attack as well, with numerous Republicans portraying journalists as irredeemably biased in favor of Mr. Clinton. "Bill Clinton, who's suddenly become the darling of the news media, Mr. Wonderful," scoffed Richard N. Bond, the Republican national chairman, in his speech to the convention's morning session.

But the real business of this convention was regaining control of a Presi-

The President rouses delegates with a slashing attack.

dential campaign in which Mr. Bush lags behind Mr. Clinton by 17 percentage points in the latest New York Times CBS/News Poll. To do that, Republicans are trying to remind their national television audience of the achievements and qualities that once sent Mr. Bush skyrocketing in the polls.

Lugar Welchs In

The Republicans used much of their opening day to highlight Mr. Bush's record in foreign policy, casting the Reagan-Bush years as an era of strength and fortitude that helped end the cold war. Bush campaign strategists say that while voters are now consumed with domestic policy, the role and responsibilities of Commander in Chief will eventually be important factors in their decision.

Today, several speakers talked of the risk of turning American foreign policy over to a Governor from Arkansas. "He is inexperienced, unprepared and unlikely to build soundly on the foundation so carefully laid by Ronald Reagan and George Bush over the past 12 years," said Senator Richard Lugar of Indiana, a senior Republican on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Mr. Quayle, at a forum this afternoon sponsored by the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, echoed the attack. "Bill Clinton's foreign policy experience is a summer internship with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee," Mr. Quayle said. "In the area of foreign policy, we ought to compare the experience of Bill Clinton with the experience of George Bush, and it is no comparison at all."

THE OVERVIEW

The Republicans were also trying, as every party does, to conclude some leftover business from the primaries. Patrick J. Buchanan, the conservative commentator who proved a troublesome challenger to Mr. Bush in the New Hampshire Primary, delivered an endorsement of his former rival tonight and a fierce attack on Mr. Clinton.

"The American people are not going to buy back into the failed liberalism of the 1960's and 1970's, no matter how slick the package in 1992," Mr. Buchanan said in remarks prepared for delivery. Denouncing the Democratic candidate's wife, Hillary Clinton, as a champion of "radical feminism," Mr. Buchanan asserted that "Clinton & Clinton" would impose a "far-left agenda on the nation."

Mr. Buchanan also raised the issue of Mr. Clinton's draft record, which many Republicans say could be damaging to the Governor in the South. "When Bill Clinton's turn came in Vietnam, he sat up in a dormitory in Oxford, England, and figured out how to dodge the draft," Mr. Buchanan said. Mr. Clinton has repeatedly denied that he sought to avoid serving during Vietnam.

As expected, the Republicans quickly approved a platform that delighted the party's conservative wing: an impassioned endorsement of restricted government, free enterprise, and a social agenda that ranges from opposition to gun control to support for tuition subsidies for private and religious schools.

The approval went smoothly, after a final but futile flurry of activity by abortion-rights supporters. But the delicacy of the issue was apparent. Even as he reiterated his anti-abortion stance, Mr. Bush told CNN, "There are a lot of other things that people care about."

Doesn't Like the Tactics

Ms. Crisp said the coalition for choice would not make an endorsement in the Presidential election this year, but many other Republicans seemed to be swallowing their qualms. Jean Sullivan, a delegate from Alabama, voiced a weariness with both sides in the abortion debate. "I don't think it should have any place in politics," she told a reporter this afternoon. "I don't like the tactics of either side."

And Bush campaign officials insisted that the Republicans publicly discussed the issue much more fully than the Democrats did. Mary Matalin, the deputy manager of the Bush campaign, contended that the Democratic convention had "muzzled" Gov. Robert Casey of Pennsylvania, an abortion opponent.

But by nightfall another drama had begun: Mr. Bush arrived for what many Republicans acknowledge is a make-or-break week for his lagging campaign. At the rally near the Astrodome, shortly after Air Force One touched down at Ellington Field, Mr. Bush did what Republicans have urged him to do for months. He attacked Mr. Clinton and his running mate, Senator Al Gore of Tennessee, harshly and by name.

"They've called our great country a mockery and sounded the saxophone of change," Mr. Bush scoffed. "Don't kid yourself — they'll say anything, anything to get elected."

Mr. Bush's speech, inside an arena packed with supporters punching the air with their signs and filling the night with their chants and cowbells, clearly energized a group that has longed for a more aggressive campaign. "Dy-no-mite!" said Gloria Olson, a delegate from Bismark, N.D. "I was fired up. That's what we want — we want him to come out fighting."

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

MORTON KONDRACKE

Trade pact round in election ring

President Bush had every right to think he'd score a major substantive and political victory by reaching a free trade pact with Mexico, but Democrats are shrewdly undercutting the impact of his achievement.

In Congress, House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt and Senate Finance Chairman Lloyd Bentsen are claiming that the North American Free Trade Agreement Mr. Bush initialed Wednesday does not go far enough to protect American workers or the environment.

And Bill Clinton greeted the president's Rose Garden announcement by saying he will have to study its details before he can make a judgment.

The bottom line is that the Democrats are raising doubts about Mr. Bush's accomplishment without seeming protectionist or openly pandering to the AFL-CIO, which adamantly opposes the treaty.

Republicans surely will make such charges, but Messrs. Clinton, Gephardt and Bentsen all say they favor NAFTA in principle, just not Mr. Bush's agreement in particular.

The Democrats thus will be able to curry favor with the unions and with workers worried about losing jobs to foreign competition — by promising a better deal down the line, or no deal if a better one is not to be had — while not suffering the negative press they'd get by coming out flatly against the agreement.

Free trade Democrats are even hinting that NAFTA stands a better chance of passing Congress if Mr. Clinton is elected, revises the treaty somewhat and submits it to a Democratic Congress, than if Mr. Bush is re-elected and tries to push it through.

Over time, the treaty will eliminate tariffs on all goods made in and shipped between the United States, Canada and Mexico, significantly increasing the volume of trade between the three countries and employment opportunities in each.

Mr. Bush deserves credit for picking up on the proposal to negotiate made by Mexico's reformist president, Carlos Salinas de Gortari, and for getting to an agreement. However, there is no chance that a full NAFTA treaty, several hundred pages long, can be vetted by Congress, revised if necessary, debated and voted upon this year.

And so, it will become an election-year pinata. Republicans will claim (and rightly so) that it represents the dawn of a new era in world trade — the first step towards a Western Hemisphere free trade zone stretching from the Arctic Circle to Tierra del Fuego and capable of out-producing both the European Community and Japan's budding "yen bloc" in Asia.

The AFL-CIO and kindred Democrats oppose the treaty on the grounds that it will cost hundreds of thousands of jobs in the United States as industries flee southward to take advantage of low Mexican wages and environmental standards.

In fact, every neutral study indicates that the pact will be a net job-creator in the United States, even though jobs in lower-skill industries will disappear. The Institute for International Economics estimates

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Morton Kondracke is a senior editor for Roll Call and a nationally syndicated columnist.

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that Mr. Salinas' trade-liberalization policies in Mexico already have created 300,000 U.S. jobs since 1987, and will create another 400,000 by 1995 if tariffs keep dropping.

Instead of adopting the trade unions' stance — at a time when unions are unpopular — Mr. Gephardt, Mr. Bentsen and Mr. Clinton have adopted a politically crafty middle position, identifying strongly with the idea of NAFTA, but raising doubts whether Mr. Bush has negotiated the best deal possible for workers and the environment.

Mr. Clinton has received credit in the press for independence by going before union audiences and preaching free trade, while at the same time agreeing with Mr. Gephardt that the president must provide adequate safeguards for dislocated workers and the environment.

Administration officials assert they have done both in the NAFTA talks, but endless argument is likely to take place over whether it's so.

One good point on the administration side is the failure of Congress to approve the administration's request to double environmental cleanup spending along the Mexican border. A House appropriations subcommittee headed by Democratic Rep. Bob Traxler of Michigan (a hotbed of anti-NAFTA sentiment) kept the appropriation at last year's level.

The administration says also that Mr. Salinas already has increased spending on environmental enforcement tenfold and has quadrupled the number of environmental inspectors on Mexico's side of the border. With the increased wealth that free trade will bring, U.S. officials say rightly, Mexico will be able to afford still more cleanup.

Some Democrats, unionists, environmentalists — and Ralph Nader — say U.S. corporations will escape U.S. environmental controls and set up dirty plants in Mexico, but even Democratic members of the administration's NAFTA advisory panel on the environment say most U.S. multinationals are abiding by U.S. standards when they set up plants in Mexico.

On the jobs front, the administration says it has promised as much

money as necessary to retrain workers displaced by Mexican low-wage competition, and that the NAFTA draft provides a 15-year phase-in for industries most likely to be affected.

The Democrats say this isn't enough. Mr. Gephardt claims NAFTA should be accompanied by huge expenditures to retrain U.S. workers, upgrade Mexican labor standards and repair roads and sewage systems along the border. The European Community spent \$100 billion over five years to integrate Portugal, Spain and Greece into Europe, but he says Mexico and the United States can't afford that, so he wants to impose a half-percent user fee on U.S.-Mexican trade — a new tariff to finance the reduction of tariffs.

Free traders among Mr. Clinton's aides say they hope their candidate will not go along with that Gephardt idea, and that, after studying the Bush pact, he remains fundamentally upbeat about NAFTA.

That's the big test for Mr. Clinton: Does he go for a short-term hit against Mr. Bush, or make it clear that, if he's elected NAFTA will become a reality? If he doesn't take the latter course, he is pandering.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

SAMUEL FRANCIS

Risks of tumbling into a free fall zone

The constant descriptions in the nation's press of the U.S.-Mexico Free Trade Agreement as creating "the world's largest free trade zone" make the pact, concluded last week, sound like one those tourist traps you see when you drive the wife and kids to Florida. "Pecan fudge and chenille rugs at World's Largest Free Trade Zone — 20 miles ahead." But this is one trap American tourists should stay clear of.

The main argument for the agreement, which Congress will eventually get to vote on but not to amend, is that it supposedly will create a common market of some 370 million new customers. Even though some American businesses will beat feet across the border to take advantage of low-wage Mexican labor — and will take their jobs with them — the opportunities to export American goodies to Mexico will soon create thousands of new jobs here.

Samuel Francis, a columnist for The Washington Times, is nationally syndicated.

Maybe so and maybe no. Either way, it's still not clear the agreement is good for the American economy.

In the last few years, under what are called maquiladora agreements, American businesses have already moved to Northern Mexico, where low-wage, low-skill Mexicans crank out products sent back to this country under special low tariffs or none. Those jobs used to belong to Americans, but their employers, seeing a chance to avoid paying high American wages and putting up with tough government laws and regulations, find it more profitable to skip the country. Under the new agreement, they'll have even more incentive to export American jobs.

The agreement's fans say no. By lifting Mexican living standards with new jobs for Mexicans, the agreement will enable Mexicans to consume more American-made products. The demand for those products will in turn create more jobs in the United States. But no one seems able to explain why the companies that will produce those new jobs won't themselves bid adios to this country and its workers. If

Mexican conditions are so attractive, why won't many more American firms just export themselves?

The fact is, for all the predictions and prognostications about the utopia the agreement will generate in Mexico, no one knows what will happen there. The best guess is that the immediate effect of the agreement on its economy will be to throw thousands of Mexicans out of work or off their small plots of land, pushing them into the cities' sprawling urban slums. If you thought the Los Angeles riots were fun, just wait for the fireworks in Mexico City. For that matter, just wait for the fireworks in this country's cities as minority workers lose their own jobs to their Mexican compadres.

Mexico has been booming in recent years under reforms promoted by President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, but the trade agreement itself or many other variables could upset his government and plans. As noted, no one knows what will happen there in any case, and certainly not under the impact of the agreement. And if no one knows, how can we bank on the supposed benefits the agreement will bring to our economy?

But even if the agreement helps Mexico as anticipated, that also may not be so great for us. As John Cregan of the U.S. Business and Industrial Council points out, Mr. Salinas' goal is to turn his country into

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"another Korea" by sucking in billions in foreign investment to create jobs for cheap labor.

The "real danger" from the agreement, Mr. Cregan warns, is that in five or more years, "Mexico could become a thousand-mile-long cargo ship with German-, Japanese- and Chinese-produced goods headed for the American market." Nissan,

It's still not clear the U.S.-Mexico trade agreement is good for the American economy.

Hyundai, Volkswagen and Mercedes, he points out, have already sunk billions into Mexico. "Where does George Bush think those cars are headed?" he asks.

Finally, even if everything proceeds according to plan, why is it a good idea to encourage an American economy increasingly dependent on exports? To do so is to make American businesses and jobs hostages to the political and economic fluctuations of the foreign countries where the exports are sold.

Not only could Mexican instability send an American economy dependent on it into a vortex, but also export dependence subjects its victims to possible political blackmail. That was the lesson of the Arab oil embargoes of the 1970s and of the bludgeoning of export-dependent South Africa with sanctions in the 1980s. Nations that depend on other nations' economies find control of their own future slippery.

The free trade agreement is being greeted with the usual bubble-blathe about a "global economy," but there's no such thing. The world is still made up of independent nations with separate governments, cultures and interests, and each one looks after itself. Maybe Congress should think about America's interests before it stampedes the free trade agreement into law.

The Washington Times

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BRUCE FEIN

Time to end reign of persecutions?

Statutory authorization for the Office of Independent Counsel lapses next Dec. 15.

Initially established in 1978, the OIC has turned the power of criminal prosecution into an instrument of political persecution against high level executive officials. President Bush should pledge to veto any congressional attempt to extend the life of the OIC to vindicate legal and political fairness and enlightened but risky foreign policy gambits.

More than 50 years ago, during the New Deal heyday, Attorney General Robert Jackson warned of prosecutorial abuses invited by omnipresent, intrusive and detailed federal regulation. In an address to federal prosecutors on April 1, 1940, Jackson worried: "With the law books filled with a great assortment of crimes, a prosecutor stands a fair chance of finding at least a technical violation of some act on the part of almost everyone. In such a case, it is not a question of discovering the commission of a crime and then looking for the man who has committed it, it is a question of picking the man and then searching the law books, or putting investigators to work, to pin some offense on him. It is in this realm — in which the prosecutor picks some person whom he dislikes or desires to embarrass, or selects some group of unpopular persons and then looks for an offense, that the greatest danger of abuse of prosecuting power lies. It is here that law enforcement becomes personal, and the real crime becomes that of being unpopular with the predominant or governing group, being attached to the wrong political views, or being personally obnoxious to or in the way of the prosecutor himself."

The OIC is designed for the type of political persecution Jackson apprehended. It enjoys virtually unlimited access to money and resources to investi-

gate every nook and cranny of an executive official's life. For instance, Independent counsel Lawrence E. Walsh has expended more than \$42 million in hounding Iran-Contra suspects, a sum that approximates 50 percent of the annual budget of the Criminal Division of the Justice Department. But wouldn't political repression be charged against President Bush if he instructed the division to devote half its resources to investigating the chairmen of all

congressional committees for criminal transgressions? An IC is similarly repressive because the office by statute targets only allegations of wrongdoing by select, high level executive officials. Indeed, the duty of the IC is to investigate endlessly to ferret out even inconsequential wrongdoing that would not ordinarily warrant the attention or resources of a fair-minded prosecutor.

The OIC is further skewed in favor of prosecution because its staff is characteristically ambitious for fame and remembrance. The targets of an investigation are celebrated political figures. Staff are attracted to the independent counsel in hopes of earning at least a footnote in history or profits from book authorships or movies. Mr. Walsh, for instance, intends a book recounting his Iran-Contra exhilarations and travails. One former Walsh foot soldier, Jeffrey Toobin, has already capitalized on his Iran-Contra recollections in "Opening Arguments: A Young Lawyer's First Case: U.S. v. Oliver North." Book sales and history are made, of course, only if prosecutions are forthcoming, not by declinations to brandish the criminal law.

Independent counsel investigations also typically bristle with partisan politics. They are triggered by allegations of corruption or misconduct by high ranking executive officials. Members of Congress affiliated with a political party at odds with the incumbent president rejoice at the appointment of an independent counsel. Thus, the recent demand of the House Judiciary Committee for an independent counsel to investigate the Bush admin-

istration's pre-Gulf war policies toward Iraq was a transparent effort to undercut Mr. Bush's re-election campaign. Congressional committees may also conduct concurrent investigations in coordination with the independent counsel in hopes

of facilitating a prosecution by uncovering incriminating evidence. For instance, the Democrat-controlled Iran-Contra committee worked closely with Mr. Walsh in turning over information and discussing committee investigative strategy.

Congressional Democrats seek to employ the OIC to find executive branch scapegoats for short-term political gain. For instance, no independent counsel would have been appointed to investigate the Iran-Contra affair if the Iranian arms shipments had freed all the American hostages, and if the Contras had

**Independent counsel
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topped the despotism of Sandinista Daniel Ortega before the affair became public in November 1986. And Congress would not be urging an independent counsel to investigate Iraq-U.S. relations if President Saddam Hussein had not invaded Kuwait.

The OIC hangs like a sword of Damocles over any executive official associated with an enlightened initiative that might prove unpopular if not greeted with instant success. The Reagan administration was primarily responsible for the 1990 displacement of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua by Violetta Chamorro's National Opposition Union (UNO). The administration deftly kept the Contras alive during years when Congress via the Boland Amendment would have permanently entrenched the unelected Sandinista despots. The Contra resistance forced the Sandinistas to accept elections. After the indictments of Caspar Weinberger, Oliver North and John Poindexter, no executive official would even propose a far-sighted initiative akin to President Reagan's Contra gambit for fear of politically partisan independent-counsel retaliation. But executive flaccidity guarantees foreign policy failures.

The OIC's inherent unfairness and oppressiveness is confirmed by its confinement to accusations against executive branch officials or officers of the president's national campaign committee. Congress has fiercely resisted a statutory amendment that would expand OIC jurisdiction to its own members, although their incidence of sinning is notorious.

Despite its manifold defects, the OIC might derive prudential justification if history proved that prior to its birth in 1978, executive branch investigations of wrongdoing by executive officials were frequently corrupted because of a conflict with the president's political interests. But history proves the opposite.

The Whiskey Ring scandals of the administration of U.S. Grant were fully prosecuted with the assistance of a special counsel operating within the executive branch. The celebrated Teapot Dome accusations im-

The history of the OIC convincingly proves that it is inherently unfair and partisan.

plicating high level executive officials, including an attorney general and secretary of interior, were pursued without taint by special counsels appointed by President Calvin Coolidge. President Harry Truman insisted on a special counsel to ensure tenacious investigation of alleged crimes in administering the tax laws, and replaced an attorney general unsympathetic to that aim.

Public opinion and the threat of impeachment forced President Nixon to the appointment of special prosecutors to investigate the Watergate scandal. After firing special prosecutor Archibald Cox, Mr. Nixon was forced to appoint Leon Jaworski as a replacement. The latter fully investigated Watergate accusations, successfully prosecuted many (including a former attorney general and Mr. Nixon's chief of staff), and drove Mr. Nixon into resignation.

The congressional reports that accompanied the 1978 OIC statute failed to identify even one case in which an investigation within the executive branch was corrupted by a political conflict of interest. Indeed, immediately prior to the enactment, Bert Lance, close personal friend of President Jimmy Carter and former director of the Office of Management and Budget, was fairly investigated and prosecuted by Mr. Carter's Justice Department for alleged financial crimes.

A major reason for the executive's unblemished prosecution record is the power of Congress to investigate executive branch crime in discharging its constitutional oversight responsibilities. That power was affirmed by the Supreme Court in *McGrain vs. Daugherty* (1927), and was instrumental in ensuring Teapot Dome and Watergate were properly investigated and prosecuted. History convincingly shows that Congress and public opinion make a successful executive branch coverup of wrongdoing a chimera even to an evil-minded president.

The Constitution, in any event, accepts some conflicts of interest. For instance, the House and Senate are empowered to discipline their members, including the sanction of expulsion. Congressional Democrats and Republicans clearly confront political conflicts of interests in voting in favor or against disciplining a member of the same or a different political affiliation. The same type of political conflict arises from the constitutional power of the House and Senate to resolve election disputes.

The Constitution expressly accepts that countervailing political, institutional or other values may trump dislike for conflicts of interest. The history of the OIC convincingly proves that its inherent unfairness and partisanship, and the executive branch docility it induces, are far worse than the infinitesimal possibility of executive branch corruption in the enforcement of the law.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

KENNETH SMITH

Sometime soon, perhaps this summer, the Federal Bureau of Land Management will issue its 10-year management plan, a matter of some importance since BLM owns about one-eighth of the United States. Sometime soon, therefore, the Bush administration is in for a big green surprise: no timber sales.

Not that the agency won't propose some sales, mind you. Those sales help provide lumber to build the nation's houses, facilitate access to government lands for those seeking recreation, even improve wildlife habitat. But having watched environmentalists tie up more and more timber sales in judicial red tape, the agency must now cede increased authority to what is becoming the real BLM in this country, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.

Under the old system, F&WS could halt individual sales if, as the Endangered Species Act mandates, those sales would jeopardize threatened animals. But BLM and timber companies could proceed with remaining sales while the agencies attempted to resolve the disputed ones.

No more. According to the last decision of the so-called Endangered Species Committee, also known as the God Squad, F&WS objections to a single sale would tie up all the other sales in the plan: "If BLM, in consultation with F&WS, is unable to identify appropriate timber management and owl conservation strategies that will not jeopardize the continued existence of the Northern Spotted Owl, it is the ESC's desire that the F&WS issue an opinion on the plan as a whole and not on individual sales."

If Fish and Wildlife pans the plan, the decision could be appealed to the ESC. But in the meantime, all timbering in the plan would come to a halt, an environmentalist dream.

Obviously, this is bad news for the timber towns of the Pacific Northwest and anyone else who depends

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Lumbered timber industry



Artwork by Nancy Chanian. Special to The Washington Times

on sound timber management. It's also a comment on the kind of reporting that held out the ESC's decision to allow 13 of 44 disputed timber sale as a victory for timber interests, despite the fact that there are still court injunctions holding up those 13 and despite the increased BLM oversight handed over to F&WS. "There are so many laws, so many twists and interpretations in those laws," says BLM Director Cy Jameson, "that it's hard to get a land manager from A to B now."

It's also another manifestation of the disarray in which the Bush administration finds itself as it prepares to ask voters for another four years to do whatever it is that it's trying to do. Senior White House officials had told ESC Chairman and Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan they wanted an exemption from Endangered Species Act rules for some of BLM's 44 requested sales to limit the economic fallout of a complete ban. The idea was to help protect jobs as the economy struggled to get back on its feet.

Polls show the public favors jobs

over owls anyway. And the White House knew that Jack Ward Thomas, spotted owl guru for the Forest Service, has said that even if all 44 sales were exempted, "the probability of extinction, total extinction of the species in 100 years remains low."

Officials understood from the beginning that two of the seven ESC members, Environmental Protection Agency chief William Reilly and Tom Walsh, stand-in for environmentalist Oregon Gov. Barbara Reynolds, would oppose exemptions regardless of the facts. Mr. Reilly had told the president as much during lunch the day before the ESC convened. Said one top political appointee: "With Reilly it really is a philosophical thing. He likes owls more than people."

(Wreaking havoc in the administration is getting to be a habit for Mr. Reilly. His recent memo to thousands of EPA employees, on being hamstrung at the Rio conference by the White House, leaked just in time to provide ammunition to the pres-

ident's Democratic challengers. Controversy over an earlier memo, concerning Mr. Reilly's pressure on the president to sign the biodiversity treaty at Rio, probably started with a leak from Mr. Reilly's own staff to sympathetic environmental groups and ultimately to the New York Times. The Times reporter has admitted the leak did not come from the vice president's office.)

That left Secretary Lujan, Agriculture Secretary Edward Madigan, Army Secretary Michael Stone, Council of Economic Advisers Chairman Michael Boskin, and John Knauss, head of the National Atmospheric and Oceanographic Administration; whose unanimous support for the exemptions was necessary if the administration was to muster the five votes required by law to provide them. Messrs. Lujan, Madigan, Stone and Boskin clearly supported exemptions, leaving Mr. Knauss in position to hold the committee and, in effect, the president, hostage with his fifth and deciding vote.

Take hostages is exactly what Mr. Knauss did. He made it clear that his

support would come at a price: the language cited above in which the ESC asked F&WS to express its opinions on the BLM plan as a whole and not on individual sales.

Mr. Lujan thought the Knauss amendment went too far. He called White House Chief of Staff Sam Skinner to express his concerns personally. Back came word from the White House to make whatever accommodations were necessary to get the five votes. The White House was concerned that a deadlocked ESC would send signs of disarray. So in the end, the White House got its nearly useless exemptions for 13 sales, and Mr. Knauss won increased land management oversight for environmentalists at F&WS.

A spokesman for Mr. Knauss, David Cottingham, says his boss' amendment is consistent with court rulings and was never intended to delay sales and harm timber communities. Robert Gordon of the National Wilderness Institute, a market-oriented environmental group, doesn't buy that explanation. "Knauss' and Reilly's political maneuvering to 'save' the environment at the expense of families and their futures is at absolute odds with the Bush administration's plans for job creation. It's a tragedy when presidential appointees use an almost negligible impact on owls to subvert the president's goal of environmental balance. This [God Squad] thing just doesn't work."

In one sense, the White House got what it wanted. There was no public appearance of disarray, and the press reported the agreement as a victory for proponents of economic growth. Mr. Knauss may also have improved his credibility with the environmental community. But the price paid to him — more power for the Fish and Wildlife Service — was high. Mr. Madigan was the last to agree to it when he raised his arm for the fifth and final "yes" vote, one that is likely to come back and haunt people trying to make a living in the timber industry — or in the houses that the industry generates.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

**PAUL
GREENBERG**

Barbarity of politics uber alles

The politicization of almost everything in American discourse proceeds almost unnoticed, perhaps because it is so nearly complete.

The president of the United States is asked what he would do if an adult grandchild wanted an abortion. When he responds that he would stand by her, that he would love and console her even if he did not agree with her decision, George Bush is immediately accused of not living down to the caricature others have of him.

The only father-daughter relationship allowed Mr. Bush is roughly that between Jephthah and the daughter he sacrifices in the Book of Judges. According to the gliberal canon, the president is supposed to be this one-dimensional zealot on the subject of abortion, but he turns out to be tolerant and compassionate, to mention a couple of family values.

We the Media can't have this, not in mod America, where the only kind of thought allowed is political. So the president must be seen as a politician softening his position. ("Bush, in a Personal Context, Takes a Softer Stand on Abortion" — the New York Times.)

It has become inconceivable that someone might hate the sin yet love the sinner, a concept clearly unknown in American journalism circa 1992. This explains why political thought is rapidly becoming a kind of nonthought, a one-dimensional approach to ideas that reduces them all to political tactics.

Such an approach has no room for the president and father who can answer a question about what he would do if his grandchild had an abortion by saying: "I'd love her and help her, lift her up; wipe the tears away and we'd get back in the game." Only if one looks at life whole does such a statement make sense. Today's barbarism does not consist of attacking thought but of specializing it, of divorcing it from wisdom, of extracting the part from the whole.

Yes, a man can hate the idea of aborting his grandchild — hate it

like the devil, like sin, like death itself — yet remain a father to his daughter. If there is no room for such a natural constellation of values in the politics of 1992, then the fault lies not with George Bush's halting attempt to express those values, but with a political thought so narrow in its range that it cannot grasp the simplest things about life, which seem complicated only when reduced to some schematic political design.

Of course Mr. Bush labors under a great disadvantage in dealing with the press; he is a gentleman. When he speaks in good faith, he may expect to be heard in the same way. To judge by the full transcript of his rambling answer to a persistent interrogator, he spoke in unrehearsed detail. Naturally his answers would be presented as a premeditated political repositioning. ("The principal risk for the Republicans over the next 10 days, however, is that they extol 'family values' in a way that pleases their party's right flank, but leaves the middle unmoved. . . . Mr. Bush himself may be reaching for the 'ambivalent middle.'" — Robin Toner in the New York Times.)

Maybe one has to be a mediaperson, as opposed to a person, to appreciate such analysis. Once again political commentary has left reality behind. In a society allowed to hold only one idea in its mind at a time, and that idea political, of course all others would not compute.

Another, perhaps insuperable barrier to Mr. Bush's making his point is his syntax, which is almost Eisenhowerian in its vagueness. (As he himself once put it: "Fluency in English is something that I'm often not accused of.") The language seems to buck and sway under him like an unruly bronc. It is hard to believe that someone so given to verbal wanderings had any clear political aim in mind when he answered these personal, not to say impertinent, questions.

But today's politicians are allowed only political thoughts. Not any other kind, including paternal. This is how ideologies ignore ideas. There is no room for them in the mod media's cramped little simulacrum of a world. Say anything and it tends to come out politics, usually of the less elevated sort.

Despite his extensive resume and the trappings of presidential office, George Bush seems a simple man in many ways, but he is not simplistic. He can leave that attribute to the political analysts.

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ALSTON CHASE

Life is filled with coincidence. Recently, California Rep. William Dannemeyer introduced a resolution calling for a presidential commission to investigate nagging questions about the role that chlorofluorocarbons — the chemicals used in refrigerators — play in depleting stratospheric ozone.

And as bad luck would have it, not long before Mr. Dannemeyer introduced his proposal, my refrigerator went on the fritz. One moment the raspberries in the freezer were hard as marbles. The next instant they were a dripping mass of jam. The fridge will cost several hundred dollars to fix. But we are lucky. At least this machine, which ran faithfully since my wife and I married in 1964, had the foresight to go kaput before 1995. After that date, repair will cost hundreds of dollars more.

Refrigeration will be more expensive because in 1987 the United States signed the United Nations Montreal Protocol, calling for a ban on the production of CFCs by the year 2000. And last February, the Senate accelerated this timetable. Frightened by NASA reports, which turned out to be false, that an "ozone hole" was forming over the Arctic, it passed a resolution introduced by Sen. Al Gore and accepted by President Bush mandating an end to CFC manufacture by 1995.

The best known replacement for CFC refrigerants — HFC 134A — is five times costlier and requires elaborate new machines whose life expectancies are three to seven years,

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Heat is on for world's fridges

as compared with 30 years for earlier equipment.

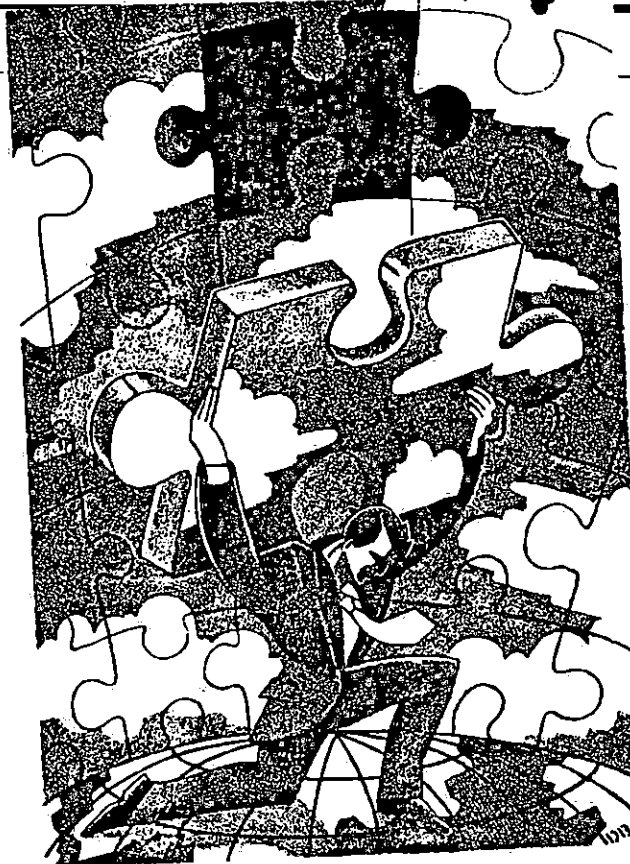
The worldwide cost of going cold turkey on CFCs is estimated to be a staggering \$5 trillion. It will require scrapping 610 million refrigerators and freezers, 120 million cold storage lockers, 100 million refrigerator trucks and train cars, and 150 million car air conditioners. According to some estimates, 20 million to 40 million people may die in Third World countries each year from lack of proper refrigeration.

Given these costs, we should be certain that CFCs are hazardous before they are scrapped. But we are not. Rather, serious scientific questions remain.

The idea that CFCs cause ozone depletion is a hypothesis, not a fact. Conceived by chemists F. Sherwood Rowland and Mario Molina in 1973, this theory suggests that CFCs are transported into the stratosphere, where sunlight breaks them down into chlorine atoms. The chlorine destroys the ozone layer, which filters ultraviolet (UV) radiation from the sun, thus exposing people to more rays and increasing risks of skin cancer.

This theory gained currency after the National Aeronautics and Space Administration "discovered" the Antarctic ozone hole (discovered long ago but hitherto ignored) in

Artwork by D.B. Johnson/Special to The Washington Times



1985. In 1988, it was endorsed both by NASA's "Ozone Trends Panel" and by Mr. Gore, who chairs the subcommittee that oversees NASA activities. That year, the panel's "Executive Summary" claimed ozone had decreased 2 percent to 3 percent from 1969 to 1986, and blamed CFCs for the decline. But data supporting these conclusions were not released until December 1990, nine months after the United States had agreed to more stringent revisions of the Montreal Protocol.

Now that independent scientists

have had the chance to study these data, many are asking questions. They find that the facts don't confirm the Rowland-Molina theory. They wonder:

- Why worry about the 7,500 tons of chlorine annually produced by CFCs, when volcanoes emit 35 million tons of it each year?

- Why, when stratospheric ozone levels today are what they were in 1962, do government scientists say there is a decline? Historical data show that ozone levels fluctuate wildly, paralleling 11-year sunspot

cycles. NASA can show a negative trend only by comparing present levels with those in 1970, when sunspot activity (and ozone concentrations) had peaked.

- Why were ozone holes observed in the past, long before CFCs were common? A Cambridge University study done in Norway from 1926 to 1945 found ozone concentrations below those later found in the Antarctic ozone hole. Similarly, the smallest amounts ever recorded in the Antarctic were made by French scientists in 1958.

- Why is ultraviolet radiation declining instead of increasing? According to NASA, UV radiation should have increased a whopping 6 percent since 1969. But a 1988 study by the National Cancer Institute found an actual decrease in ground levels of UV radiation during this period.

- How dangerous is the predicted rise in ultraviolet radiation really? According to NASA's worst-case scenario — that CFC production remains at 1976 levels — radiation would peak at 20 percent above what it is today. But as exposure to these rays is also 1 percent higher for every six miles one lives closer to the equator, this predicted increase is less than one would experience by moving from San Francisco to Carmel, Calif.

These doubts are among reasons why Congress should support Mr. Dannemeyer's call for a presidential inquiry. The ozone issue has been good for Mr. Gore, who may parlay it — and other environmental scare stories — into the vice presidency. But it may not be so good for America. Rather, by putting politics ahead of science, we may have sold our birthright for a \$5 trillion mess of unrefrigerated postage.

FRANK GAFFNEY JR.

By refusing to seek appointment of an independent counsel to investigate the Iraqgate scandal, Attorney General William Barr has gone well beyond "stonewalling" congressional requests for such a probe.

More than any of the shocking revelations disclosed to date — including those suggesting Bush administration officials tampered with evidence, misled Congress, subverted the Commodity Credit Corp. and obstructed justice — Mr. Barr's action appears to confirm the validity of at least some of these allegations.

This conclusion seems inescapable given the following considerations:

- If the Bush administration were as certain as it says it is that no senior officials were involved in criminal wrongdoing, it could safely acquiesce to congressional requests for an independent counsel. After all, in that case, there would be no need to retain the sort of control over — and opportunities for the White House to interfere with — an investigation that arises when the Justice Department is in charge.

- Even if the administration were unsure whether violations occurred, it would have a powerful incentive to agree to the appointment of a special prosecutor. Doing so would likely preclude any further, damaging revelations or congressional inquiries for many months — certainly through the election. At the very

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Smoke and sand on Iraqgate inquiry

least, the administration's continued unwillingness to respond to charges or cooperate in their investigation could be justified on the grounds that such matters were the subject of formal judicial proceedings.

- It can, therefore, be deduced — if not yet demonstrated — from its decision to stymie an independent probe of Iraqgate that the Bush administration must be convinced that criminal wrongdoing has occurred, involving individuals at the highest levels of the U.S. government. Only the conclusion that senior officials would be prosecuted and probably convicted by a truly impartial judicial inquiry could make the renewed mau-mauing from Congress and the press about Iraqgate that is certain to flow from the Barr stonewall seem the lesser evil.

This conclusion is further bolstered by the extraordinary statements made last Wednesday by Federal District Judge Marvin Shoob in an interview in *The Washington Post*. In June, Judge Shoob called for an independent counsel to investigate the Justice Department's handling of the prosecution of Christopher P. Drogoul. Mr. Drogoul was the former Atlanta branch manager of the Banca Nazionale del Lavoro (BNL), who was charged with 347 counts of conspiracy and fraud in connection with Iraqi loans guaranteed by the CCC. Judge Shoob was



William Barr

the federal judge assigned the case.

In denying the request for a special prosecutor, the attorney general insulted the judge, claiming Judge Shoob "did not understand the case" against Mr. Drogoul. The judge re-

sponded by charging that the attorney general's formal response to Congress made "several 'totally untrue' assertions about the Atlanta-based court proceedings."

In addition, Judge Shoob raised serious questions about, among other things: the suspicious timing and circumstances of the indictment brought against Mr. Drogoul; the failure to indict other BNL officials; calls from the White House to the U.S. Attorney's office in Atlanta that smack of interference in the handling of a politically sensitive case; and the plea bargain that seems designed to prevent Mr. Drogoul from revealing in public what he knows about the Iraqi loans and the support they might have enjoyed in official Washington.

What is more, Judge Shoob is not the only federal official who believes that the Justice Department has behaved in a manner worthy of independent scrutiny — if not in a way that constitutes an obstruction of justice. On Aug. 3, the Atlanta Constitution reported that a former special agent in charge of the FBI's Atlanta office, William Hinshaw, accused the Justice Department of having "delayed indictments for nearly a year in the \$5 billion scandal involving fraudulent loans to Iraq" by BNL. Mr. Hinshaw said, "We put the horse in the gate, but they [Justice] wouldn't open the gate."

Too much is at stake in the post-mortem on Iraqgate to permit the attorney general to get away with sandbagging an independent investigation. The future conduct of U.S. foreign policy will surely be less prudent — and possibly more corrupt — if officials are not held ac-

countable for past misdeeds involving the improper expenditure of billions in taxpayer dollars, the doctoring of congressionally subpoenaed evidence and interference with criminal prosecutions arising from such actions.

Since no court can overturn Mr. Barr's decision, Congress must consider alternatives. Given the complexity and the multifaceted nature of the charges that require independent investigation, the obvious choice would be to create a joint, bipartisan select committee on Iraqgate. This committee should build upon and greatly expand the excellent investigative spadework performed by House Banking Committee Chairman Henry Gonzalez, Texas Democrat, who should be named its co-chairman — perhaps together with Senate Agriculture Committee Chairman Patrick Leahy, Vermont Democrat.

Alternatively, these congressional leaders, their committees and the seven or so other panels currently examining aspects of the Iraqgate scandal can continue to work independently. In contrast to a single, focused investigation, however, such an approach involves an irreducible amount of duplication, inefficiency and risk that some wrongdoing will inadvertently fall through jurisdictional cracks.

Either way, Congress must ensure that we get to the bottom of the charges of misfeasance and malfeasance in connection with U.S. policy toward Iraq prior to the Gulf war. Under no circumstances should the Bush administration's transparent decision to obstruct judicial investigation of Iraqgate — and possibly justice, itself — go unchallenged.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

L. BRENT BOZELL III

Pulling punches on PC productions

Linda Bloodworth-Thomason is one of the most active liberals in Hollywood today. If not producing an episode of "Designing Women" in which Anita Hill is glorified, she is producing the official introductory video for Bill Clinton at the Democratic National Convention. Always outspoken, her calling card is a desire to challenge the conventional wisdom.

It is interesting, then, that a recent episode of "Designing Women," which regularly champions the tenets of feminism, questioned the value of feminism.

Indeed, a trend questioning the correctness of standard liberal fare on entertainment television is emerging on several fronts.

"Melrose Place," Fox's hot new summer spinoff of "Beverly Hills 90210," has already weighed in on the trendy abortion issue. On the Aug. 5 episode, a young wife unexpectedly became pregnant and contemplated having an abortion. Her friends were supportive of her "choice" throughout the episode, but at the show's conclusion, the young wife reconsidered her decision, and chose life. "I want this baby!" she declared, after returning from the abortion clinic.

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

Are the Hollywood TV moguls, then, bending to public pressure demanding an end to their leftist programming?

During the 1990 season, one show after another featured teen-agers losing their virginity. A 1990 episode of "Beverly Hills 90210" featured a lead character's desire to lose her virginity to a new boyfriend, and the show even included a perfunctory sex-education subplot: At a special assembly about AIDS, students were told that the best way to prevent AIDS was sex with protected partners through condoms; abstinence was barely mentioned.

Now, fast-forward to a February 1992 episode of this same series, and there's a different twist. For this "safe sex" episode, the impassioned editor of the high school newspaper and her equally impassioned friends lobbied the Board of Education to approve the distribution of condoms at the school. At the parent's meeting, the discussion on both sides was both logical and rational. The most persuasive argument was raised by

a young student who argued that condoms should be available because "kids are having sex and [kids] are kids. ... If you have a swimming pool in your backyard, you can tell your children not to go in it. ... But if you know they are going to find a way into that water, don't you think you should teach those kids to swim?"

But in a strange subplot to this episode, the two strongest advocates of condom distribution also happened to be virgins, one who initially abhorred her celibate status but came around after a pro-morality pep-talk; the other who announced that she was waiting until her wedding night. "I just don't want kids to get sick — or worse — because their parents have their heads stuck in the sand," said one of the chaste teens, explaining her role in the condom drive. Ultimately, the board voted down the condom request, much to the dismay of the students. At episode's end, "90210" provided a public service announcement that first promoted abstinence but then warned young viewers, "If you are active ... protect yourself."

Police corruption is high on the menu of liberal social causes in Hollywood. As a recent study of the Center for Media and Public Affairs documented, one in every three policemen is now portrayed in a negative light by entertainment television. Note, however, the story lines of

popular cop shows this season, like NBC's "Law in Order" and ABC's "The Commish." While the bad guys continue to be establishment figures and often the police themselves, the good guys are ... noble law enforcement officials striving for a higher justice.

The logic is almost Orwellian. Prime time has noble law-and-order heroes but consistently turns out cop-bashing story lines. Characters who face pregnancies are choosing life for the unborn child, while presenting abortion as a perfectly acceptable alternative. Television is putting a positive spin on abstinence and morality but condones teen-age sexuality. Feminism can be openly questioned — but only by feminists.

Is this the beginning of a shift — albeit snaillike — to traditional values in television? I think not. Regardless of the bones tossed in the direction of the family values camp, the message remains the same: Secular humanism and moral relativism still rule the airwaves. The mother can choose to keep her child, but the child has no right to life. The teen-ager may choose abstinence, but there is no moral code to which he or she is beholden. There are good cops, but one should still question our system of justice.

Is Hollywood, then, bending to public pressure demanding an end to its leftist programming? Since 1980, the Big Three networks have

lost 25 percent of their prime-time audience, while family-oriented cable channels, like Nickelodeon, Disney, and the Family Channel, have seen an increase of 13 percent in their audience share in the past two years. In addition, successful boycotts led by groups like the American Family Association and Focus on the Family have made advertisers more responsive to consumers and more careful about the shows that they sponsor. Hollywood is clearly on the defensive, but there is no evidence that Hollywood heavyweights like Mrs. Bloodworth-Thomason are willing to bend to conservative pressure.

A third dynamic, I think, is at play, and it has nothing to do with ideology. By definition, the creative artist of today is called upon to challenge the status quo. He relishes the opportunity to tweak the establishment with a cutting-edge perspective. But the institution being challenged today may not be Middle America and its support for traditional values; it may be the Hollywood left and its intractable political correctness.

In theory, there should be nothing more appalling to the self-described liberal than "political correctness." It might explain why a feminist like Linda Bloodworth-Thomason is willing publicly to question feminism. Why in an ardently pro-abortion industry someone is willing to champion childbearing, why in a morally corrupt community someone is willing to raise abstinence as an issue. It will be interesting to see if this trend continues and how far it goes.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

Past mistakes in Somalia . . .

It has taken much too long, but at least the disaster in Somalia has arrived in the headlines. The pictures of emaciated children with empty eyes and distended bellies have finally prodded the world community into action. On Friday, the Pentagon announced an airlift of 145,000 tons of food, and this weekend saw the beginning of a massive U.N. effort to reach the millions of Somalis in danger of starving to death as a C-130 Hercules cargo plane carried 18.7 tons of high-protein biscuits to Baidoa, a town northwest of the capital of Mogadishu.

A welcome beginning has been made. The tragedy is that the relief is coming so late. Clearly, the logistical problems presented by the power struggle between self-styled President Ali Mahdi Mohammed and his rival warlord, Mohammed Farah Aided, who are battling for power in the capital of Mogadishu, are massive. Relief workers are being killed, supplies looted. Yet much could have been done to prevent the crisis from reaching the point where as many as 1.5 million people may be wiped out.

In particular, many are pointing to the ineptitude of the U.N. effort. In this Sunday's New York Times, Trevor Page, newly appointed head of the World Food Program in Somalia, was highly critical of the organization. "We've had inexperienced people who don't know what they are seeing, who don't know what the implications are and didn't blow the whistle," Mr. Page said. Observers familiar with the Somali situation agree. As the crisis escalated, U.N. assessment teams came and went, none of them including Somali representatives. Report after report on the changing sit-

uation were issued. This may be fodder for the U.N. bureaucracy but helps not at all in filling empty stomachs in Somalia, a small, poor country with no international clout now that the end of the Cold War has deprived it of whatever strategic value it had. Few were inclined to pay much attention.

In addition, it appears only recently to have dawned on the United Nations and others that Mogadishu is not all of Somalia. As the situation in the capital slid into anarchy, the level of incomprehension abroad and frustration with the inability to ensure delivery of supplies has kept rising. The fact is that Somalia has the second-longest coastline in Africa, facing the Gulf of Aden in the north and the Indian Ocean to the east. There are plenty of ports, large and small, through which aid could reach other areas of the country. That should now be an important part of the U.N. effort.

Getting aid into the north — a former British colony that seceded under the name Somaliland last spring after a devastating civil war — has been prevented by the isolation imposed on its government by the international community. Yet, relatively orderly conditions and a democratically elected government — as well as the major port of Bebera — make Somaliland an obvious candidate for shipments of aid.

Irish Foreign Minister David Andrews, returning from a fact-finding mission, recently described Somalia as "like a land forgotten by God." Surveying the state of Somalia, it's easy to despair. But it is important to remember that there are things that can be done to alleviate suffering and save lives. Doing them will take a continued commitment, courage and imagination.

D.C. boosterism in Houston

The District of Columbia isn't quite the "national disgrace" now that it was last week. Republican conventioners in Houston dropped that phrase in favor of one that held that the District merely needed "closer and responsible scrutiny" from the people who send it federal tax dollars.

D.C. Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly doesn't even concede that much. At a posh Houston restaurant this week she joined a D.C. promotions group in effusive praise of the District. "Go back and say what a grand town Washington is," she instructed listening staff, convention delegates and media. Paul Cohn, owner of Zei's nightclub in Washington and co-chairman of the D.C. Convention Celebrations Committee, invited people to come "spend some dollars in the District." Evidently it takes a little push to get people to come see how grand it is.

The people best qualified to sort out these contrasting views of the nation's capital — D.C. residents — are not much in evidence in Houston. The problem for Mrs. Kelly and Mr. Cohn is that residents are increasingly in short supply in the District itself.

According to census figures, the District's population fell by more than 31,000 over the past decade. Houston, whose boom-and-bust history suggests the future holds no guarantees, has nonetheless grown by more than 35,000. The long-term trends are even more ominous for the District, which has lost some 165,000 residents since 1965. Houston has gained more than half a million people over that period.

The two towns have their similarities: both Southern, both racially mixed, both giving new meaning to the word "humid." But the differences are telling.

The District of Columbia is what Money magazine has referred to as a "tax hell." The District's top income-tax rate of 9.5 percent, the one reserved for the

wealthiest of the wealthy, kicks in at \$20,000. It's not easy for poor folks to break out of poverty when the District insists on taking nearly one-tenth of their income. Neither Houston nor Texas has an income tax.

Taxes are hell on business in the District too. According to a forthcoming Cato Institute study, a medium-size manufacturing company with \$24 million in gross sales in the District would pay \$645,000 in total taxes. The same company based in Houston would pay \$455,000 in federal, state and local taxes.

District delegates to the convention didn't like earlier platform references to their hometown's "bloated bureaucracy." Cato's figures let you decide for yourself. The District spends \$5,900 per school pupil. Houston spends \$2,900 per pupil. Average monthly compensation for District workers is \$2,930. Houston's city employees collect an average \$2,060.

Houston actually had more murders in 1990 than the District, according to the FBI, but Houston's population is bigger. Adjust the figures for population and District was once again the nation's murder capital with 77.8 homicides per 100,000 residents. Houston's rate was 34.8 per 100,000.

Throw in other D.C. policies like rent control, like making the District a union-shop town — no right-to-work stance in D.C. — and you can see why, as Charlotte Low Allen put it recently in the City Paper, the nation's capital has become "the incredible Shrinking District." Residents are leaving — blacks faster than whites, she reports.

Does all this mean that the District is a "national disgrace"? No. But if population flight means anything, District policies may be a disgrace. Changing those policies is the job of Mrs. Kelly, perhaps with help from people like Paul Cohn. Avoiding such policies is the job of George Bush and Republican delegates in Houston.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

... and the future United Nations

Richard Nixon once commended George Bush for his ability to use the United Nations without being used by the United Nations in the Persian Gulf war. It's a valuable point: Too often, the price the United States has paid in exchange for such "international legitimacy" as the United Nations is able to convey has been too high. The pursuit of worthy goals gets sidetracked in a wrangle among nations on the Security Council or in the General Assembly or among international civil servants in the Secretariat, and what emerges is an insipid, least-common-denominator stew. In the Cold War period, it was enough to cause reasonable people to say that the time had come to call the whole thing off — that the United States should just act unilaterally as circumstances dictated, and never mind the talking shop.

The end of the Cold War has ended the rigidly anti-U.S. position the Soviet Union ritually took on the Security Council, and with it the automatic vetoes that made the notion of "collective action" laughable. The permanent, veto-power seat of the communist regime in China remains, but Beijing has not insisted on exporting its ideology. If it has not been willing to support certain policies, it has been willing to abstain. In short, the United Nations has a new lease on life. It's important, however, to take note of the areas in which the United Nations is likely to be most and least useful in the future.

The Security Council holds the promise of being the United Nations at its best. It offers a useful forum for the permanent members — the major powers — to see how much they can actually agree on. Its product — resolutions — puts governments on the record in a way that encourages them to abide by what they have said. The Security Council is, of course, an institution somewhat out of date, at least as regards its permanent members. A review of its composition is under way. The Japanese government has said that Tokyo would like a permanent seat, and Japan certainly deserves one. Recently, Germany has gone public with its desire for a seat as well, and it, too, deserves one.

The German soundings are of more than passing interest. Previously, the uniform line out of the government has been Germany's preference for a European seat on the council — one shared with its 11 fellow members of the European Community. But that was before the EC took and failed its first major test as a foreign-policy-making body, namely, in dealing with the former Yugoslavia. The new German position on

Security Council membership may be a comment on that collective failure (a failure in which a frustrated Germany was, by and large, on the correct side).

Other nations may press claims — India, for example, on grounds of population alone. These are less serious, however. A Security Council in which Germany and Japan are added to the permanent mix would be a body whose collective opinion might carry substantial weight.

The General Assembly, too, has been liberated from Cold War rigidities. The "Zionism equals racism" resolution, the worst of the General Assembly from its darkest days, has been repealed. Its membership has also been expanding, as new nations are born. It may continue to force nations to take positions on subjects on which there is no need for them to have a position, thus globalizing and exacerbating certain regional or local conflicts, but that is the nature of this animal. At least it can be said that far more of the nations casting equal votes in this forum have democratic governments at home.

The future of the Secretariat is the most interesting question. Though Boutros Boutros-Ghali has been effective in many ways, this is the area in which the United States needs to be most wary along the lines of Mr. Nixon's admonition. There is a rough analogy between the Security Council and a legislature and the Secretariat and an executive branch. But this is a very loose analogy, and too much deference to it is likely to mean trouble.

Mr. Bush may have learned this in the recent spat with Saddam Hussein over the team of U.N. inspectors stuck in a parking lot outside Baghdad's Agriculture Ministry, which they wanted to look into. Saddam held out for more than two weeks, during which angry mobs menaced the inspection team. As things were getting truly dicey, Iraq finally reached an agreement with Rolf Ekeus, the international civil servant who is in charge of the inspections.

Although the agreement allowed access to the ministry, it included concessions to Iraq that should have been unacceptable. The United States was, however, crippled in its ability to declare them so and to punish Saddam's defiance as a result of the authority conveyed upon Mr. Ekeus. This problem bears careful consideration in the future. Perhaps national governments that have taken a leading role on an issue are better placed, in some instances, to enforce Security Council resolutions than is the Secretariat.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

In Texas, Bush hits the ground punching

By Rod Dreher
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

George Bush came out swinging in Houston last night with a feisty arrival speech outlining his themes for the fall campaign and some fabulous zingers to punch them up.

"We're not running against the Comeback Kids. We're running against the Karaoke Kids," Mr. Bush quipped. "They'll sing any tune to get elected." (Democratic campaign strategist James Carville is going to have to get out a lint brush to keep that one from sticking to his boys this fall.)

And this, punctuating Mr. Bush's promise to campaign on the family values issue: "We are going to keep on trying to strengthen the American family, to make them a lot more like the Waltons and a lot less like the Simpsons."

Maybe so, but some of those big Republican hairdos spotted on the floor have a lot more in common with Marge Simpson's towering coif than with Libby Walton's modest Depression-era pinback.

Announcing the Rich Bond Desperation Rhetoric Watch. The GOP chairman has come up with some doozies as his party's standard-

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MEDIA

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bearer has pirouetted downward in the polls. Last week Mr. Bond was on TV fantasizing about a Clinton presidency that would have "Jane Fonda sleeping in Lincoln's bed and attending a state dinner for Fidel Castro." Last night, Mr. Bond told NBC's Maria Shriver that the Democrats "are not America."

David Gergen, former Reagan White House communications director now providing commentary for PBS, called Mr. Bond's remark "garbage."

CNN's Mary Tillotson, who inflamed the White House last week by asking the president to comment on the Jennifer-with-a-J tale, reported from the Astrodome floor last night without being roughed up by irate Bushies. No truth to the rumor that Miss Tillotson was briefed on fist-cuff techniques by journalist-pugilist Geraldo Rivera, who was picked up by police in Wisconsin for scrapping with a Klansman.

1968 *deja vu*: A bonfire of picket signs outside the Astrodome and talk of possible tear-gassing of demonstrators made it all seem a bit like the Dems' legendarily ugly gathering in Chicago. This time it was the protesters from Act-Up who got out of hand, not the police. The AIDS activist group has promised more of the same in coming days.

And in a line reminiscent of '60s-vintage Nixonian rhetoric, George W. Bush, the president's eldest son,

slammed "the Eastern press" in a floor interview with Dan Rather.

After being pounded by wave after wave of bad press, which seemed to reach a high-water mark the weekend before the GOP convention, Republicans again attacked the news media yesterday for so-called bias against the beleaguered president.

It's a classic Republican strategy that has been effective before but will have a more difficult time washing this year. For one thing, some of Mr. Bush's harshest criticism has come from conservative quarters in the media.

Right-wing scribes Rowland Evans and Robert Novak regularly have slammed the slack, disorganized Bush campaign in their syndicated column. Following the lead of columnist George F. Will, the editorially conservative Orange County Register called on Mr. Bush to stand down. A strongly worded editorial in Sunday's Houston Post, which generally has supported Mr. Bush, labeled the president's first term "lousy," "a great disappointment."

For another, Bill Clinton was flayed alive by the media during the Democratic primaries. Despite the syrupy geyser of coverage the Clinton-Gore buscapades have received from some quarters, the claim that Mr. Clinton has received a free ride from the press is hardly credible.

At this point, Republican poobahs blaming the president's troubles on a biased news media come across as desperate King Canutes saying anything at all to keep the unfriendly tide at bay.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

Unsure steps give right wing jitters

By Ralph Z. Hallow
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

HOUSTON — This is a convention waiting for something to happen.

President Bush's savviest advisers know he needs to recapture his dispirited and wandering conservative base.

NEWS ANALYSIS

But when asked if Pat Buchanan's and Ronald Reagan's speeches will make any difference when conservatives and the rest of the electorate decide what to do Nov. 3, the Bush advisers throw up their

hands.

They know that everything rests on the president and that even yesterday he was getting conflicting advice on what to say Thursday in his acceptance speech, which they agree will be the most important of his long political career.

His good friend Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady recommended and nearly got approval for a value-added tax as a trade-off for a 3-point cut in personal tax rates recommended by Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp

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and some conservative campaign advisers.

A VAT, which is a national sales tax, would have introduced a major new layer of taxes through the back door and would have split not just conservatives, but Republicans in general.

A VAT proposal would have demolished what promises to be one of Mr. Bush's best lines in the campaign, conservatives said. In a speech on his arrival here yesterday, Mr. Bush said Bill Clinton and Al Gore say they "want to put people first, but they're proposing the largest tax increase in the history of the United States of America."

"I guess that's change," he said. "But by the time they're through, change is all you're going to have left in your pocket."

But a VAT ultimately would be the biggest hidden tax in history, said Bush campaign co-chairman Vin Weber, a conservative who is retiring from Congress this year.

Only Vice President Dan Quayle's objections — voiced Sunday night — sank the Brady VAT proposal, Mr. Weber said. It was the kind of close call that makes those near the president nervous.

To varying degrees, depending on how close they are to the intense arguments going on among Mr. Bush's top advisers, the delegates here know he has to do more than ask "Who do you trust more, me or Bill Clinton?" and more than belittle his opponent's record as governor of Arkansas.

They know, in Mr. Weber's words, that the president has to "give people a reason" to vote for him.

Greg Petersmeyer, a senior Bush adviser, says the economy will be the reason because that is what concerns the electorate the most. But he

is unsure precisely what will excite the imaginations and hopes of the voters.

Some of this convention's free-floating anxiety was assuaged by Mr. Bush's speech yesterday because it demonstrated to delegates that he had changed into the hunter-killer politician he can be but hates to be until it's absolutely necessary.

The speech also warmed conservatives' hearts.

Mr. Buchanan came through the

way those who followed his campaign knew he would; even when the president's surrogates attacked him during the GOP primaries, he promised to support the party's nominee.

"I want to congratulate President Bush and remove any doubt about where we stand: The primaries are over. The heart is strong again, and the Buchanan brigades are enlisted, all the way to a great comeback victory in November."

Bush aides believe many Bu-

chanan supporters turned to Ross Perot after Mr. Buchanan all but conceded the nomination to Mr. Bush. With Mr. Perot out of the race, Buchanan supporters are seen as unlikely to move to what they consider the "socialist" Clinton-Gore ticket.

Conservatives considering turning their backs on Mr. Bush may not have their minds changed by Mr. Buchanan or Mr. Reagan, Bush aides said, but those endorsements certainly won't hurt.

The Bush campaign tried to round up some major personalities of the conservative movement for a news conference here today, but only two were available: former Reagan budget director James C. Miller III and former Reagan adviser Martin Anderson, a man forgotten by all except right-leaning intellectuals inside the Beltway.

But conservatives can bask in the most conservative Republican platform in modern history.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

Buchanan blasts, Reagan reassures

By Major Garrett
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

HOUSTON — Former President Ronald Reagan, who helped make George Bush president, and Pat Buchanan, who tried to end his reign, urged conservatives yesterday to support the president to preserve Republican control of the White House.

Two of the nation's best-known conservatives delivered a powerful one-two punch against Democratic nominee Bill Clinton and the Democratic Party during the opening day of the 35th Republican National Con-

vention.

Mr. Buchanan, who fought Mr. Bush bitterly in GOP primaries, played the familiar role of rhetorical street fighter. Mr. Reagan, who chose Mr. Bush as his vice president in 1980, spoke grandly of the nation's unrealized glories.

Mr. Buchanan gave no quarter to Mr. Clinton or the moderates of his own party who fear too much overt social conservatism could undermine the party nationally.

The speeches capped a day devoted to rallying the conservative

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GOP

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base, which has fractured in reaction to Mr. Bush's moderate leanings on economic and foreign policy.

Earlier, convention delegates approved a platform peppered with attacks on congressional Democrats and perhaps the most conservative language on family values in party history.

The conservative healing and unity in the party — and a nod to Mr. Buchanan and the 3 million who voted for him — was apparent when first lady Barbara Bush invited Mr. Buchanan's wife, Shelley, to the presidential viewing box.

Mr. Buchanan drew enthusiastic cheers and applause from delegates gathered on the floor of the Astrodome to rescue Mr. Bush's endangered political career.

In his most biting assault, Mr. Buchanan accused Mr. Clinton of dodging the Vietnam War draft, derided the Arkansas governor's foreign policy experience, denounced his support of feminism and gay rights, and sneered at his running mate's environmental policies.

"George Bush was 17 when they bombed Pearl Harbor," Mr. Buchanan said. "He left his high school class, walked down to the recruiting office and signed up."

The frenzied crowd, sensing the commentator's following comments, began yelling, "Where was Bill? Where was Bill?" as Mr. Buchanan continued.

"I'll tell you where he was. When Bill Clinton's turn came in Vietnam he sat up in a dormitory in Oxford, England, and figured out how to dodge the draft."

Ultimately, Mr. Buchanan said, the Democratic nominee lacked the character to rule the nation and the philosophical moorings to lead the "middle class."

"My friends, this campaign is about philosophy and it is about character and George Bush wins on both counts — going away," Mr. Buchanan said. "And it is time all of us came home and stood beside him."

Mr. Reagan followed a softer, more uplifting course. He said Mr. Bush needed to complete tasks left unfinished after four years of unprecedented global upheaval.

He said Democrats wrongly dismissed Republican attempts to win the Cold War. Having won the Cold War, he said, Republicans should be trusted to solve the nation's lingering domestic ills.

For that to occur, he said, the nation should change the leadership in Congress, not the White House.

"Now, it's true — a lot of liberal Democrats are saying it's time for a change," Mr. Reagan said. "What should change is a Democratic Congress that wastes precious time on partisan matters of absolutely no relevance to the needs of the average American. It's time to clean house."

Mr. Reagan, who has longed to put his imprint on the end of the Cold War, credited Mr. Bush's steady leadership during the fall of the Berlin Wall, the end of the Soviet Union and the emergence of democracy in Central America.

"He is a trustworthy and level-headed leader who is respected around the world," the 81-year-old Mr. Reagan said.

Mr. Buchanan did his best to tug social conservatives back into the fold by describing Mr. Clinton as the commander in chief of an assault on Christian values.

"There is a religious war going on in our country for the soul of America," Mr. Buchanan said. "It is a cultural war, as critical to the kind of nation we will one day be. And in that struggle ... George Bush is on our side."

The GOP platform, as it turns out, is far more conservative than the Republican Party nationally and the majority of delegates here to save Mr. Bush's endangered political career.

It condemns the distribution of condoms and clean needles to combat AIDS, supports prayer in school, and denounces the use of federal funds for "blasphemous" art and "biased" public broadcasting.

A survey by the The Washington Post and ABC News showed that 70 percent of the 107 delegates on the GOP platform committee described themselves as "conservatives" while only 44 percent of the 2,210 delegates described themselves that way.

But Mr. Buchanan carried the social-conservative attack against Mr. Clinton and his wife, Hillary. He said the governor's wife advocates a "radical feminism" that would place women in combat and undermine the traditional family.

He also dismissed the Democrats' successful attempt to cast themselves as moderates during their July convention in New York.

"I watched that giant masquerade ball at Madison Square Garden where 20,000 radicals and liberals came dressed up as moderates and centrists in the greatest single exhibition of cross-dressing in American political history," Mr. Buchanan said.

Mr. Reagan appealed to dreams and hopes of voters troubled by a recession that has marred much of the Bush presidency.

"There is widespread doubt about our public institutions and profound concern not merely about the economy, but about the overall direction of this great country," Mr. Reagan said. "But just as we have led a crusade for democracy beyond our shores, we have a great taste to do it together in our own home. I would appeal to you to invigorate democracy in your own neighborhoods."

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

Atoning for tax 'mistake' tops agenda

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

HOUSTON — A buoyant and bellicose President Bush arrived at his party convention yesterday with a tax cut up his sleeve to stop the political bloodshed he caused by betraying his "no new taxes" pledge from the last convention.

"Now it's our turn," Mr. Bush told a screaming crowd of loyalists. "Get

ready for . . . the most stirring political comeback since Harry Truman gave 'em hell in 1948," he said with a fire and spirit pumped up by "The Eyes of Texas" and a bit of "Dixie."

Mr. Bush said his "message of hope and opportunity" can overcome the Democratic surge that left him leading only one post-convention state poll, for Utah's six electoral votes, which is 265 short of the winning number.

In two interviews and two speeches, he indicated he will propose spending cuts as well as tax cuts but gave no details on either. He previewed an acceptance speech in which he will try to set right his worst first-term "mistake" — reneging on no new taxes — as well as defend family values and rekindle national pride for the victory in the Persian Gulf war.

"What a wonderful welcome

home," Mr. Bush said as he was met by a virtual elephant stampede of 8,000 frenzied delegates and fans in an arena often used for rodeos.

It wasn't just the eyes of Texas but the eyes of the nation upon him as he darted from one irritant to the next, attacking trial lawyers and the American Bar Association's "turn to the left" and ridiculing the Clinton-Gore ticket.

"They have called our country a

mockery and sounded the saxophone of change," Mr. Bush said. "We're not running against the Comeback Kids. We're running against the Karaoke Kids. They'll sing any song."

"It's not a question of winning the election as much as it is helping the United States of America move ahead, and I believe I'm the one to do

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The Washington Times

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BUSH

From page A1

it and I believe in the final analysis I'm the one the American people will trust to bear that burden, to have that mission," Mr. Bush said in an interview with CNN.

Mr. Bush first alluded to the tax-cut plan in his speech to war veterans en route to his beloved Texas for tomorrow's renomination. Some advisers also were touting the topic, but everyone parried requests to spell it out.

"I don't want to just give away all the hole cards for this speech I'm going to give on Thursday," Mr. Bush told CNN while making clear his intention to propose such a plan.

"As you know, I've been talking about tax cuts," he told Tom Brokaw in a separate interview with NBC News. He straddled a bit there by praising Republican Senate Leader Robert Dole's Sunday remarks urging him not to cut taxes "across the board."

Campaign Chairman Robert Teeter, who flew to Houston with Mr. Bush on Air Force One, said the acceptance speech may not spell it out either, since it won't be a "detailed policy speech."

Mr. Bush declined to talk about tax-cut specifics but said tax cuts would stimulate the economy.

"Some say the way to create jobs is with more taxes. I disagree," he said. He has called his decision to abandon his 1988 no-new-taxes pledge the biggest mistake of his presidency, and Mr. Teeter indicated Mr. Bush's speech on Thursday will seek to make amends.

Mr. Bush seemed to borrow Ronald Reagan's 1984 "Morning in America" theme and dismissed critics who blame him for a national decline.

"America is the land of eternal spring," he said. "As we listen ... we may think that the cold winds of winter are blowing, but I sense a different wind, the American wind, the warm breeze of renewal and rebirth."

The president's Marine One helicopter dropped into the convention site on the sprawling Astrodome grounds last night for an unprecedented opening-day welcoming ceremony also attended by his running mate, Vice President Dan



Photo by Glen Stubbe The Washington Times

President Bush greets backers yesterday at the GOP convention in Houston.

Quayle.

Mr. Bush and his wife, Barbara, followed a line of pompon girls into the Astro Arena, where the last strains of Dixie still echoed from "American Trilogy" by country star and Bush fan Randy Travis. The president walked through the mob of people in funny hats who waved official and unofficial signs, including one that said, "We're going to give Clinton an achy-breaky heart."

Flanked by heart surgeons Michael DeBaakey and Denton Cooley on one side and Warren Moon, star quarterback of the Houston Oilers, on the other, Mr. Bush seemed excited and finally in his element.

The spectacle was a far cry from original plans to arrive in Houston quietly today without the risk of upstaging last night's choreographed pitch to conservatives starring Ronald Reagan and Pat Buchanan.

Finally abandoning the last pretext of not campaigning to renew his White House lease for four more years, Mr. Bush attacked Democratic congressional leaders in far more vivid terms than he has ever used.

"I held out my hand to those crazy guys. I held out my hand only to have it bitten off," Mr. Bush said, promising to link the Clinton-Gore ticket to congressional leaders who he said ducked the cameras during the New York convention.

"They gave new meaning to the term 'closet liberal,'" he scoffed.

In an earlier statement taken by Veterans of Foreign Wars members as a clear shot at Mr. Clinton's avoidance of the draft, Mr. Bush said he always would "stand by those who stood up for our America." He recalled his own service and specified the National Guard along with the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marines.

"Many refused to serve," he said without elaboration before launching into a denunciation of Mr. Clinton's proposed defense cuts, which he said are four times too much.

"Courage will be of no use if fighter planes can only be found in museums and our ships are all in mothballs," Mr. Bush said during a stop at the national VFW convention in Indianapolis.

In an interview after the VFW speech by CNN's Bernard Shaw, the president wouldn't be drawn into discussing Mrs. Bush's wish in an interview Thursday that abortion be excluded from the GOP platform.

"If I were to disagree with her, I'm not sure I'd want to bring it up here. I think I'd tiptoe in and talk to her about it very quietly," Mr. Bush said.

"I can understand her position on that, but ... I'm the president," he said, adding that he agrees with the platform plank and will run on it. "I am unashamedly pro-life," he said.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

Tax cut paramount among Bush supporters

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

HOUSTON — Conservative and moderate Republicans welcomed President Bush to the Republican convention yesterday with an urgent call for tax cuts, and White House officials seemed receptive to the idea.

"There are plenty of people who want us to cut taxes. It's an open question now," said a senior administration official aware of the discussions of the tax proposals Mr. Bush is likely to announce in his nomination-acceptance speech Thursday night.

"There has got to be a hard look at cuts," former GOP Chairman Frank Fahrenkopf said.

"Tax cuts are always a good idea. ... They would create jobs," former

New Jersey Gov. Thomas H. Kean said.

Mr. Kean said he has been pushing the White House to implement immediate cuts in the capital gains tax, a move conservatives in Congress feel the president has the legal basis to do without approval from Congress.

Through late last week, according to senior aides, Mr. Bush kept busy calling in economic advisers — government and private — as he scrambled to feed the appetite of Republican delegates here for a tax cut.

Mr. Bush, in an interview yesterday with CNN, refused to say whether he would propose a tax cut.

But Vice President Dan Quayle, who arrived here yesterday hours before Mr. Bush, said: "We believe in reducing taxes."

Delegates to the convention

joined in Mr. Quayle's comments, calling on Mr. Bush to revive his reelection efforts and the Republican Party's chances by proposing tax cuts.

"Tax cuts are very necessary, because we've got some unfair taxes. ... I hope he would cut taxes," said Indiana delegate Ernest Neimeyer, a Lake County commissioner. At a minimum, he added, "we have to hold the line on taxes."

Katie Lillich, a Colorado delegate from Denver, said Mr. Bush should call for tax cuts and also tell the American people "how well off the country still is."

Ever since Mr. Bush in late 1991 reneged on his 1988 campaign promise never to raise taxes, the Democrats have used the issue to portray Mr. Bush as shifty and unfaithful to his campaign pledges.

Mr. Clinton, while proposing taxes of his own on the nation's most wealthy, has had his staff repeatedly note that the tax increase under Mr. Bush was the biggest in the nation's history and came at a time when the nation was already ailing from a bad economy.

Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp has led one drive to get Mr. Bush to propose immediate cuts in income tax rates. Other ideas have followed, and senior administration officials said the president is still considering cuts as the highlight of his Thursday address.

"We are likely to have some kind of a tax-cut proposal," said conservative Rep. Robert Walker of Pennsylvania. He has joined other House members in calling for an immediate cut in the capital gains tax.

Mr. Walker also suggested that Mr. Bush will propose income tax cuts for families, possibly as an expansion of the personal deduction.

The president has made similar suggestions in the past but has been thwarted in Congress.

Mr. Bush raised the possibility of cutting taxes last week in a series of interviews. The president made comments that he felt he could use the acceptance speech to at least call for Americans to support his demand that Congress approve his tax-cutting package.

But some Republicans are worried that Mr. Bush might propose a tax cut without any plan to pay for it.

Former Illinois Gov. James Thompson said, "If there is a tax-cut proposal, there will have to be a balance ... such as entitlement [program] cuts."

CLARENCE PAGE

There is an old story about a cat who jumped onto a hot stove once and found the experience to be so profoundly unpleasant that he never jumped on a hot stove again. Of course, he never jumped on a cold stove, either. Ruth Jandrucko of Miami, who was mugged in a parking lot in 1986, can identify with that cat. Ever since she was mugged, the 65-year-old woman says she panics at the sight of black men.

She's not alone. As a black man who has had the experience of being passed over by taxis, seeing women wait for the next elevator rather than get on alone with me or seeing people suddenly lock their car doors at a red light when they see me

Clarence Page is a nationally syndicated columnist.

The festering claims of social fears

A national phobia has grown up around a distorted picture of poverty and its bitter fruits.



standing on the nearby corner, I know she's not alone. Shelby Steele, the black, middle-class conservative writer, calls these "little slights" that I should best ignore while keeping my eyes on life's larger prizes.

I try. Still, it's tiring. And enraging.

Anyway, what separates Mrs. Jandrucko's story from countless other cases of individuals coping privately with the aftermath of a violent crime, according to USA Today, is this: She has persuaded Florida authorities to sympathize with her enough to award her full disability and \$50,000 in worker's compensation, since she says she can no longer work at the racially integrated com-

pany where she was employed before the incident.

Maybe Dan Quayle is right. Maybe we do have too many lawyers. The news sparked inspiration of a financial kind in the imagination of the friend who called to tell me about it. "I've got a business proposition for you, Clarence," she said. "We can consult people on things to be afraid of so they can collect workmen's compensation."

Prejudice for profit? Now, there's a twist on Reagan-era enterprise. Ah, yes, I can see it now:

Can't work in high-rises because you fell off a ladder and now you panic at the sight of anything taller than a chair? Sue. Can't get to work

because a fast-closing door caught you in the rear and now you panic at the sight of doorknobs? Sue. Spurned by a baseball player and now you panic at the sight of sports fans? Sue.

Maybe my friend, who happens to be white, and I are being too heartless. Or maybe we're just being too jealous.

After all, I might like some compensation for the two unpleasant occasions in my Southern Ohio youth when I was assaulted by roving bands of young white males who happened to have rural Southern accents. They weren't after my money. They just wanted to beat me up. They didn't like black people. Who knows? Maybe each one of them was mugged by a black man, too. I didn't stop to ask.

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PAGE

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I escaped serious injury, but I confess that the experience causes me to flinch even today when I am approached by a pickup truck that has a gun rack in the rear, a Confederate flag on the bumper and a hound dog riding shotgun. I know better than to expect all good ol' boys to be racial bigots, but prejudices are not rational.

Yet, if my unpleasant personal experiences had left me with a phobia so fierce that I panicked at the sight of white people, I would have a tough time not only finding work but also

living in this country — my home, which I love despite its flaws and occasional foolishness.

Unfortunately America is infested with a national fear of young black males that exceeds rational basis. Since urban blacks commit more crime proportionately (although not numerically) than whites, many people reason that it's better to be safe than sorry and dodge all young black males.

Of course, most victims of black criminals also are black, although that brings little comfort to whites caught in the spillover. I received a memorably poignant letter from an aging white Chicago woman whose family I know. She was mugged with extraordinary brutality by several

young males who happened to be black. She wanted me to know that her resulting wariness of all young black males on the street was based on something more than irrational prejudices.

She was writing in response to an essay I had written about how sad I felt that, when my cute little 3-year-old son grows up in 10 years to become a teen-ager, chances are good that he will suddenly be perceived as someone you should cross the street to avoid.

If we haven't taken steps to heal this problem by then, don't tell me how proud you are of America's racial progress.

A national phobia has grown up around a distorted picture of poverty

and its bitter fruits, like crime, and the news story about Mrs. Jandrucko's personal phobia symbolizes it. Since the '60s, when poverty, high crime and broken families usually were reported as a problem that touched all races, it has been transformed through the distortions of media and political processes into something else: a black problem.

By every index, poverty, high crime and broken families continue to plague white communities, too, but, by transforming all of these problems into black "pathologies," it is easier for Americans to think of blacks as a "problem people," in the words of Dorothy I. Height, president of the National Council of Negro Women, rather than as fellow

Americans with problems.

Mrs. Jandrucko's case symbolizes a country that avoids engaging its national racial hangups directly in a way that can lead to long-term healing. Instead, we make short-term payouts while our irrational fears fester.

If Mrs. Jandrucko has a severe psychological problem with black folks that resulted from one bad experience, maybe we'd all be better off if she received psychological help instead of help in avoiding black folks. Maybe that's another good argument for national health insurance. We need to plug the gaps in physical and psychological care we have in this country. We need to bridge some social gaps, too.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1992

Clinton aide asks Bush to keep word, oust pair

By Ronald A. Taylor
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

While Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton focused on state business yesterday, his chief campaign spokesman called for President Bush to follow through on a pledge to keep low blows out of the 1992 campaign.

Clinton communications director George Stephanopoulos called for the ouster of U.S. Treasurer Catalina Villalpando and Republican campaign chairman Robert Mosbacher for reviving infidelity and womanizing allegations in statements about Mr. Clinton and former San Antonio Mayor Henry Cisneros.

"I think he ought to fire the treasurer and he ought to fire his campaign chairman," Mr. Stephanopoulos said. "The president was very clear in his Time magazine interview that anybody in the sleaze [business] would be fired. No ifs, ands or buts.

"I think you have to make the president live up to his word," he added. "All we're saying is, 'If that's true, prove it.'"

In a Time interview published Sunday, Mr. Bush said he would fire any staffer who injected a candidate's private life — including marital infidelity — into the White House race.

On Sunday, Ms. Villalpando called Mr. Clinton and Mr. Cisneros, who is to campaign for Mr. Clinton as a major link to the Hispanic community, "skirt-chasers."

"Can you imagine — two skirt-chasers campaigning together," she said in remarks to members of the New Jersey delegation.

Mr. Cisneros, who had served four two-year terms as mayor, announced in 1989 he would not seek a fifth term amid allegations he was having an extramarital affair. He later confirmed he was in love with a campaign aide, and his wife filed for divorce, but the couple later reconciled.

Mr. Mosbacher, former secretary of Commerce, told delegates Mr. Clinton's alleged infidelity "should be one of the yardsticks"

against which the candidates are measured.

He said assertions by Gennifer Flowers — published in a supermarket tabloid — that she and Mr. Clinton had a 12-year affair were more believable than allegations contained in a book that Mr. Bush had an affair with Jennifer Fitzgerald, a former aide.

Ms. Villalpando later apologized "deeply" for her remark. Mr. Mosbacher said yesterday that such remarks had "no place in this campaign."

Mr. Bush yesterday reiterated his distaste for having reports of a candidate's private life become injected into the campaign debate. "The program is to stay away from the sleaze business," he said.

Yesterday's statements from the Clinton campaign surfaced during a briefing in Little Rock, Ark., and reflected an intense but routinized response to opposition assaults.

Clinton campaign officials have said that one of the lessons learned from the 1988 presidential race is to never let attacks go unchallenged.

Within minutes after GOP attacks on Mr. Clinton are published or aired, a small group of Clinton campaign staffers — called the rapid response team — prepares a response.

Organized and led by chief Clinton strategist James Carville, the group has access to a wide range of resources to take the candidate from the defense to offense. Many political experts expect the 1992 race will generate extraordinary levels of mudslinging.

Former Clinton chief of staff Betsey Wright is heading a team of campaign staffers dispatched to Houston to challenge GOP statements about the Democratic presidential ticket.

On the third floor of Clinton-Gore headquarters in Little Rock, Ricki Siedman, who worked on the staff of the Senate Judiciary Committee during the last summer's tumultuous confirmation proceedings for Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas, directs the staff on a day-to-day basis.

Clinton campaign spokeswoman Dee Dee Myers declined to describe in detail how the team functions. "They pay attention to everything," she said.



Villalpando

Bob
Birthday



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working on
speech

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SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

Tuesday, August 18, 1992

B Houston

Houston, Texas

B Republican National Convention

8:30 am Intelligence Briefing
(Scowcroft)

8:45 am National Security Briefing
(Scowcroft)

9:40 am The President departs for
Alexander Hamilton Middle School
for Address to "Kick Drugs Out of
America" Foundation
(McBride)

10:50 am Arrives Houstonian

1:30 pm Appointment with Mr. Ditto
(Zamaria)

2:30 pm Pre-Brief for Interviews
(Smith)

3:00 pm Interview with Jim Lehrer, PBS
(Smith)

3:15 pm Interview with Local
Affiliates
(Smith)

3:55 pm Interview with Russ Hodge,
RNC Network
(Smith)

6:10 pm The President and Mrs. Bush
depart for Private Reception
at the Museum of Fine Arts
(McBride)
Archer reception

7:20 pm Arrive Houstonian

B RON Houston

UNPUB 8/17/92
9:00 pm

6688-LL8

Time	Event
8:17	Skinner In
8:30	Adm. Hove In
8:52	Skinner Out
8:55	Hove Out
9:15	Yes Greaux In for haircut
9:28	" " Out
9:32	POTUS depart suite
9:45	POTUS, sec. Alexander, Marvin Bush, Margaret Bush, + Chip Meister depart for Hampton Middle School
9:45	"See tab"
11:48	Bob Teeter In
12:10	Teeter Out
12:20	POTUS departs for OTD's Rest.
6:38	
6:40	
1:08	POTUS departs OTD's for Houston
1:38	Phil Dillho In (Roger Ailes In)
1:49	Phil Dillho Out
2:15	Skinner In
2:28	Skinner, Ailes Out
2:31	D. Smith In
2:36	Fitzwater, Skinner, Pakkin (Lynn) In
2:48	All Out
3:01	POTUS Arrives Interview Room/begins w/ Jim Lehrer
3:17	POTUS completes Lehrer Interview
3:22	POTUS begins Local Affiliates Interviews
3:24	Tracy Rollett (WFAA Dallas) begins
3:31	Tracy Rollett concludes interview
3:35	Lisa Codely (WRTV Charlotte)
3:39	Lisa Codely concludes interview
3:42	Wayne Dawson (WTVN - Cleveland)
3:47	Wayne Dawson concludes interview
3:50	Jim Harrington (WXYZ - Detroit)
3:55	Jim Harrington concludes interview
3:58	Maryann Gaiders (WLS - Chicago)
4:04	Maryann Gaiders concludes interview