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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Houston, Texas)

For Immediate Release

August 19, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT RNC GALA LUNCHEON

George R. Brown Convention Center
Houston, Texas

2:00 P.M. CDT

THE PRESIDENT: Lod Cook, thank you, sir. Thank you all for that warm welcome. Thank you so very much. (Applause.) Thank you, Lod. Please be seated. And let me just single out at the beginning of these remarks Lod Cook, who does so much, not just for the party and for candidates, but who's certainly done so much for Barbara and for me. Everything he touches works out, and I couldn't be more pleased to be at his side through this luncheon. And this gives me an opportunity to thank him and all of you who made this luncheon quite clearly a tremendous success.

I think this bodes well for what lies ahead. And I want to single out a couple of people. I thought that Boy Scout Color Guard was great. (Applause.) And so was the Boys Choir and the Houston Chorus; take great pride in them. And Reverend Claude Payne is, as Lod said, Barbara and my home parish minister at St. Martin's Church here, and we're just delighted to be with him.

And I want to single out, of course, a man that did a great job firing up the troops last night, getting our message of hope and opportunity across the country -- our distinguished keynoter, Phil Gramm. And he did a superb job last night. (Applause.)

And also -- we've got a lot, but let me just also add Rich Bond, who came in in this National Committee, grabbed a hold of it, taking our message out there. He is a feisty devil, and he's doing a first-class job, too. And so, really, this then, with this dramatic entrance, is the first of our whistle-stop tour. And I think the train sure beats the hell out of the bus, frankly. (Applause.)

I want to just salute the Vice President and Marilyn. Dan Quayle has served with great distinction. He's taken on a lot of substantive tasks and done them well. And he's done his job with dignity and honor. And he's taken the best shots the other side can fire. And if you ask me, he's given better than he's got. His head is up, he's ready to charge, and I am proud and honored to have him at my side in the convention and the days that lie ahead. (Applause.)

Now, I know the excitement's building. Each hour we get closer to the moment everyone's waiting for, packed house at the Astrodome, nationwide TV audience. And I'd be less than honest if I didn't tell you I've got a few butterflies. But I'll tell you, you're going to love Barbara's speech. (Laughter and applause.) But after she's through, then I get my turn tomorrow. And I want to spell out where I'm going to take this country with your help over the next four years. But, first, just a little bit about why we're here in Houston.

Some of you may have read an interview by my opponent, the one he gave to the USA Today last week. It was

MORE

absolutely incredible, and he talked about how he's already planning the transition, figuring out who should be deputy assistant under secretary in every Washington agency. Even where he will go to get away from the White House. Heck, I've expected to come forward Friday morning and find somebody measuring the drapes in the Oval Office. (Applause.)

This guy got a problem up here? Are they with the press corps?

I can't hear you. Please speak up. (Applause.)
This is a crazy year, when they have credentials for the --

AUDIENCE: What about AIDS? What about AIDS?

AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

THE PRESIDENT: As I was saying -- that guy -- hey, listen, for those of you who haven't been around my line of work lately, this is normal. Don't get worried. (Laughter and applause.) Don't get worried.

But let me just say this: I saw a demonstration out there on the television the other day, and let me be clear where I stand: Everybody has a right to protest, but I have a right to stand with our law enforcement people who have to put these protests in the proper perspective. Thank you, to those from the sheriff's office. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: What about AIDS? What about AIDS?

THE PRESIDENT: May I address myself to the gentleman's question? Our administration last year spent \$4.3 billion on AIDS. That is ten times as much for a person sick with AIDS as we spend on cancer. And this year, we've asked for \$4.9 billion -- the highest research and prevention program in the world. (Applause.) We have the best scientists working on the problem, and my heart is full of compassion, and we are doing what we can to get to the bottom of that. (Applause.)

Now, does anybody else have something they would like to say while we're all standing?

AUDIENCE: What about AIDS? What about AIDS?

AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years!

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much.

Anybody else like to be heard up here? Because I have one or two things only that I want to say. I was telling you how my opponent gave an interview to the USA Today, and he talked about planning his transition and picking out who's going to be the deputy assistant under secretary in each Washington agency, where he'll go to get away from the White House. I expected to go to the Oval Office on Thursday to find him there in the Oval Office measuring the drapes.

But I have a message: Put the drapes on hold. For, pretty soon, for you it is going to be curtains. We are going to take this to the American people. (Applause.)

And this week, right here in Houston, we've began this conversation with the American people, talking about the issues that shape the world, about the values that are close to home. And I'm talking about jobs and family and faith and about neighborhoods free from crime, and about a world free from fear. And if you listen to the other side tell it, you're for them if you're for change.

But this election is not just about change, because change has a flip side -- and that is called trust. And when you get right down to it, the election is going to be like every other: When you pull that curtain closed and cast your vote on November 3rd, trust matters. And the American people are going to say, I trust President George Bush, because he's made the tough decisions and he's conducted himself with honor and decency in that office. (Applause.)

You know, I used this example the other day -- that when a phone rings in the middle of the night at the White House, when a crisis comes half a world away, the American people do want to know that their leader has the experience, the background and the guts to do the right thing. And I am proud of the changes that we've made together. I am proud of our total victory in the Cold War, proud that in the past four years more people have taken the first breath of freedom than at any time in human history. That is major change. That is significant in terms of world peace. (Applause.)

But the job is not finished. There are plenty of wolves. The Soviet bear may be extinct, but there are plenty of wolves out there. And as long as I am President, no madman will get his finger on the nuclear trigger. And as long as I am Commander-In-Chief, America will remain safe and strong. I owe that to the American people. (Applause.)

Electing our leader who will protect our nation means trust in the traditional sense. But that's just part of the picture. Each election is a referendum on the future and what we want it to look like. And I stake my claim on a very simple philosophy: To lead a great nation, you must first trust the people that you lead.

And think about this fact: Nearly one out of every two delegates in Manhattan at that convention was on a government payroll. That's just not true in Houston. We are the party of real people. The preacher, the payroll meeter, the wage earner, the entrepreneur, the veteran; and yes, the volunteer -- God bless them. And look at every big issue we face. You'll see a choice -- a choice between we who put our faith in everyday Americans, and they who put their faith in a big, unresponsive government. (Applause.)

And if you haven't heard by now what that government first crowd has planned, let me just give you a couple of examples. First, they're calling for over \$200 billion in new spending, and another \$150 billion in new taxes. And now they're going to come back at me and say, wait a minute, we're the new breed. We're no Walter Mondale or we're no Michael Dukakis. And they may be right. I don't want to be unfair to Mr. Mondale or Dukakis -- (laughter) -- \$150 billion in new taxes is more than the two of them ever dreamed of offering the United States of America. (Applause.)

But I think we'd all agree that we trust the people, not the government, to create the jobs and to get this economy moving. You heard Phil Gramm talk about it. You saw that film showing what we've tried to do, blocked -- blocked by that Congress.

Let me just say another thing: We trust the parents, not the government, to make the decisions that matter in life. And we trust parents, not the government, to choose their children's schools -- public, private, or parochial. (Applause.)

And we fought for and we got a child care bill, where the parents choose the children's child care. And when the other side says government knows best, I say parents know better; parents know better than some bureaucrat in Washington, D.C., or some subcommittee chairman out there that's been there for 38

years and is mandating everybody in this country how to behave.
(Applause.)

And we trust the people, not a new government bureaucracy, to fix our health care system. And we've got a good proposal that provides health insurance to the poorest of the poor and still provides the quality of medical care that would be decimated if we turn to the government to do it all. (Applause.)

Well, you know that we've tried to get things through Congress. And now I'm going to take this fight to every corner of the nation, and make the case not just to reelect me, not just to reelect the Bush-Quayle ticket, but to give Congress back to the people. You heard it here today: The House has remained under the same control since Khrushchev ruled the Kremlin and since Castro's coup in Cuba. And today, the status quo is under siege.

The only way to break the deadlock in Washington is to clear out the dead wood on Capitol Hill. And I'm going to do what Harry Truman did -- take that case to the American people for a November decision. (Applause.)

Now, let me close with just a few words to my friends here in Houston and others from across this country. We've been talking about it; and for Barbara and me, this week is bound to have a very special meaning. This is our last big convention, last time, you might say, around the track. It is great to come back home to Texas, come home to where it really began for us in a political sense.

I remember back in 1948 traveling out there when Bar and I were living in Odessa and then in Midland, traveling out across the plains to towns like Wink and Notrees and Andrews and Kermit and Crane; towns where parents worried and watched when the kid crossed the street. Towns that sent their kids halfway around the world to fight for freedom to the DMZ or to Da Nang, or, yes, to Desert Storm. And I remember the rhythms of that part of our country, the rhythms of West Texas: Friday night football, Saturday night picnics, the Sunday sermon.

And Barbara and I raised a family, built a business and we made friends. And we shared the small triumphs and the sorrows, and as my good friend Dan Jenkins -- you remember Dan the Hornfrog Man, the TCU writer -- he put it this way, "We lived life its own self." And I remember when the work was done how we sat around the table late at night and we talked -- report cards, schoolyard fights, small things, big dreams. And I was not born in Texas, but in Texas 48 years ago, whatever it was -- 44 years ago, I came of age. And the lesson I learned here are the lessons -- and the lessons that Barbara and I learned here are the lessons that we have tried to live by.

The friends that we made here and throughout our lives are the friends who are in this room, some from Texas, some elsewhere, every one of whom we owe a vote of gratitude to. The friends who have stood by us when times are great and when times are tough. And now we are about to embark on the fight of our life and the fight to keep the American dream alive, but keeping faith in people. And I look forward to this fight. I can feel it. I can feel it building in my blood. And one thing that is the most comfort is that, through good times and bad, I have had you at my side. And we want to thank you for this fantastic show of support.

May God bless this great nation of ours. Thank you for our many blessings and may God bless the United States of America. Thank you very, very much. Thank you all. Thank you so very much. (Applause.)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Houston, Texas)

For Immediate Release

August 19, 1992

The President has selected Senator Jake Garn (R-UT), to be his personal representative at the Farnborough International Air Show in Farnborough, England on September 4-9, 1992.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

August 19, 1992

The President today declared a major disaster exists in the State of Nebraska and ordered Federal aid to supplement state and local recovery efforts in the area struck by severe storms and flooding on July 11-29, 1992.

The President's action makes Federal funding available to affected local governments in an eight county area. The counties include Jefferson, Johnson, Nemaha, Nuckolls, Otoe, Pawnee, Richardson, and Thayer.

Federal funding is available to eligible local governments on a cost-sharing basis for the repair or replacement of public facilities damaged by the storms.

Wallace E. Stickney, director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), named Warren M. Pugh of FEMA's regional office in Kansas City, Missouri, to coordinate Federal recovery operations in the affected area.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT: FEMA (202) 646-4600.

THE WHITE HOUSE

**Office of the Press Secretary
(Houston, Texas)**

For Immediate Release

August 19, 1992

The President today recognized Carol and Hurt Porter and the volunteers of We Care About Kids, Kid Care, Inc., of Houston, Texas, as the 866th Daily Point of Light for the Nation. Mr. and Mrs. Porter and the Kid Care volunteers offer a sense of well-being to children and families while providing nutritious meals and educational opportunities.

Kid Care, founded by the Porters in 1986, operates a food pantry for low-income families in Houston's public housing projects. The pantry, located in the Porters' home and supported by donations of food from businesses and community members, serves hot meals daily in the summer as well as during the school year. In addition to serving 9,000 meals each month, some 20 volunteers from area companies and colleges teach communication skills and nutritional information to the children and their families.

Mrs. Porter and two volunteer instructors from the Texas A & M Agricultural Extension Service conduct nutrition classes for 12 adults. Participants are taught inexpensive ways to prepare healthful meals. A bilingual volunteer instructor from the Fort Bend Independent School District teaches English as a Second Language classes for 15 adults each week. Students learn to read and speak properly by using practical tools, such as job applications and newspaper articles. During the summer months, the Porters chaperon 50 children on weekly field trips. Local businesses sponsor many of the activities, including a recent trip to the circus for 120 youths and a summer camp for 45 kids.

The Porters devote seven days a week to Kid Care and have developed lasting relationships with many of the families they have served. They are a constant source of support and guidance, and have even found full-time jobs for three mothers.

The President salutes Carol and Hurt Porter and the volunteers of We Care About Kids, Kid Care, Inc., for exemplifying his belief that, "From now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others."

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(Houston, Texas)

NOTICE TO THE PRESS

August 19, 11992

On Monday, August 24, President Bush will travel to Union, New Jersey and Ansonia, Connecticut. During his visit to Union, the President will address the students and faculty of Lincoln Technical Institute at approximately 10:00 am. The President will also attend a Victory '92 Fundraiser. President Bush will then travel by helicopter to Ansonia, where he will attend an Ansonia Community Luncheon at approximately 1:00 pm, and a Victory '92 Fundraiser as well. The President is expected to return to the White House at approximately 3:45 pm.

President Bush will travel to Chicago, Illinois and Detroit, Michigan on Tuesday, August 25. The President will depart for Chicago in the morning, and address the American Legion's 74th Annual National Convention at approximately 10:00 am. The President will then travel to Detroit to attend a Bush/Quayle Rally at approximately 2:20 pm. President Bush will arrive at the White House at approximately 5:15 pm.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 19, 1992

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

President Bush yesterday commented in a PBS interview that there would undoubtedly be changes in the Cabinet in the second term. He said this would be a normal situation historically, and he did not refer to any specific individual. The President believes his Cabinet is doing an excellent job.

The President called Jack Kemp, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, this morning to congratulate him on his speech to the convention, and to express his concern about Jack being singled out by the Houston Post this morning as departing from the Cabinet. The President assured Jack that he was referring only to the routine departure of Cabinet members that historically occurs in a second term.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Houston, Texas)

For Immediate Release

August 19, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate James Michael Reum, of Illinois, to be a Member of the Securities and Exchange Commission for the term expiring June 5, 1997. He would succeed Edward H. Fleishchman.

Since 1979, Mr. Reum has served as a Partner in the law firm of Hopkins & Sutter in Chicago, Illinois. He has also served as Associate Republican Counsel for the Committee on the Judiciary in the United States House of Representatives, 1974. From 1973-1974, and 1974-1978, he served as a corporate lawyer with the firm of Davis Polk & Wardwell.

Mr. Reum was graduated from Harvard College (B.A., 1968) and Harvard Law School (J.D., 1972). He also served in the United States Army Reserves/National Guard, 1969-1975. He was born November 1, 1946 in Oak Park, Illinois. Mr. Reum currently resides in Chicago, Illinois.

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POOL REPORT # 6

August 19, 1992

From Brown Convention Center

Fitzwater briefed the pool on the speech, developments in Iraq, and the departure of Carr.

Fitzwater said there would be "some new ideas about economic recovery" in a "generally thematic" address that will "certainly give the American people a very strong idea of how he intends to proceed in the second Administration with regard to the economy and on other domestic issues."

"I think people will find it to be a very reasoned, thoughtful speech by a Statesman - Leader who fought long and hard about these subjects and can defend them and draw a very strong contrast between how he wants to keep the economy going and the opposition efforts to raise taxes," Fitzwater said.

Fitzwater said there would be no apology for the 1990 tax increase in the budget deficit agreement with Congress.

On Iraq: Fitzwater said the Administration has been talking with the British and French about when to implement the no-fly zone across Southern Iraq. "We do have some details yet to be worked out though. But there is a general agreement that we are very concerned about the repression of the Shia in the South."

Fitzwater said "there are still some details to be resolved in terms of how we would proceed and what the role of each of the countries would be and the exact timetable (of the implementation)."

Fitzwater said "it is hard to say" when the ultimatum will be relayed to Iraqi authorities. Fitzwater said consultations with the two other nations often take a day or two on specific issues before decisions can be reached.

"Obviously we are in the final stages."

Firing of Carr: Fitzwater said Carr was fired by the Campaign yesterday but declined to go into detail. "This is a young man who has a long career ahead of himself. I'm not going to be in a position of hurting this fellow in any way. It happened. You know the basic facts of the incident. I'm just not going to go into the incident anymore... He was a young man who made a mistake and it's a tragedy and I just feel badly about it."

Kemp: Fitzwater said the President called Kemp to "assure Jack and all the other members of the Cabinet that they're doing an excellent job, they're doing a great service for us on the Campaign and here at the Convention and we're looking forward to working with all of them." Fitzwater said Bush called Kemp because the local newspaper "singled out Jack and we wanted to make sure he understood that was not the case."

Fitzwater appeared to back away from wholesale changes in the second Administration's Cabinet, saying the President had been "just pointing out that historical pattern, that there are always turnovers in the second term." Fitzwater said he was sure there would be some changes, "but real change is based upon the President changing the policies and changing the programs and recognizing what is wrong with America that needs to be corrected."

Stewart Powell - Hearst

(Filling in for McClatchy)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Houston, Texas)

Internal Transcript

August 19, 1992

INTERVIEW OF THE PRESIDENT
BY PETER JENNINGS OF ABC NEWS

The Houstonian
Houston, Texas

3:10 P.M. CDT

Q Can't talk politics without talking the polls. The running poll that we're taking shows that you're not getting a big bounce out of this convention. It's halfway through now. Are you at all surprised?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I haven't seen any results on it, but, no. I've got a lot of work cut out for me and I still remain very confident. I don't know anything about these polls.

Q The running poll we're doing Friday through Tuesday shows you're actually losing a bit.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I find that quite surprising. But, Peter, if I lived and died by the polls I would get dispirited. And I'm not, I'm quite confident.

Q Do you think that if there is not a bounce there yet -- and I grant you it's only halfway through the convention -- it might have anything to do with the convention and what some people think is a fairly negative tone out of here so far?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I don't. In the first place, I just find this difficult to believe and I'm not going to get into the polling. But I think we've got a very positive convention. I think the spirit here is strong. I think people are glad to see us fighting back. It's been a one-way street out there, and for nine months, why, it's been -- I as President have been hammered because I've been trying to get things done in Washington and have not engaged the opponents. So I think it's been a very upbeat, positive convention.

Q Sometimes people are a little surprised to hear you say that it's been a one-way street. No one in the country has a more powerful pulpit than the President. No one has better access to the media in general. What's this about a one-way street?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I'll tell you, you cite polls, I'll cite a statistic done by a Mr. Lichter, who said that 80-some percent of the coverage of the President has been negative. So I've learned not to complain about that, but I'm just citing that as an objective statistic.

And I've got to take my case directly to the American people. And that's the good, exciting thing about a convention. I think that's what has been happening here, and certainly it's going to continue.

Q The convention, as everybody knows, is designed to present your image to the American people -- people speak in your name. I'd like to know what you think of some of the things that have been said so far. The Party Chairman on Monday night said the Democrats are not America. Pat Buchanan said --

MORE

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q The Democrats are not America.

THE PRESIDENT: America?

Q Pat Buchanan said "there's a religious war for the soul of America and Clinton is on the wrong side." Do you buy that stuff?

THE PRESIDENT: I would leave each of these people to describe for them what they want, just as I would ask those who have heard me being bashed at the Democratic Convention over and over and over again to interpret whether they believe that stuff. I think what I want people to do is believe what I say.

Q We would ask Governor Clinton, I think, the same question, sir. These people speak in your name and it is your image they're trying to advance. My question is, do you think they speak fairly about the Democrats?

THE PRESIDENT: Did you ask him that question at the Democratic Convention when I was assailed?

Q Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: You did?

Q I think you know we did, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I'll go look at the tape and see what the answer was then, and be glad to respond then, when I see that this is a two-way street.

Peter, I can't speak for everybody that's out there supporting me. I can't agree with all the rhetoric. But I can certainly say I am very glad they're out there supporting me, because it's been a little lonely. And it's wonderful to feel that Rich Bond and Pat Buchanan and others out are saying what they think -- this is a free speech country -- and putting it in their words. And I'll put my message in mine.

Q And yet, sir, you're the person who speaks about a kinder and gentler America.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q Do you think Pat Buchanan gave a kinder and gentler speech in your name?

THE PRESIDENT: I think the speeches at the Democratic Convention were anything but kind and gentle. That's what I think.

Q Well, the difference is, sir, that the Democrats are your opponents here, and Mr. Buchanan is at least your nominal ally.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, but he was focusing in on the opponents; and the Democrats who spoke at the Democratic Convention were focusing in on their opponents. And they did it in a rather forceful and flamboyant way in which I did not agree. I don't cry about it. I don't try to seek redress. I would just go out and get my message out.

Q Do you want to put any distance between yourself and some of Mr. Buchanan's gay-bashing at this convention?

THE PRESIDENT: I want to just stand with what I've told you, Peter.

Q So what the country hears from you and what it hears from your surrogates are two entirely different things?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think it's true. I think when the Democratic National Committee goes with \$30,000 to dig up sleaze on the Bush kids, I don't think Bill Clinton really wants that.

Q I'm sorry, could you expand a bit on that? He doesn't want what?

THE PRESIDENT: For them to do that. And yet, they're doing it. Proudly stated, they're doing it. So you see, I think you've got to look at the individuals in this race, and that's what I want people to do about me.

Q You, in fact, on the subject of sleaze, told Time Magazine you'd fire people who engaged in that sort of thing. You have your Treasurer calling Clinton a skirt-chaser and then retracting it; you have one of the chiefs of your campaign, Mr. Mosbacher, saying the fidelity question in marriage is a legitimate issue. It does sound, sir, to some people that you want it both ways -- that you can put it out and apologize for it, but you get it out anyway.

THE PRESIDENT: Peter, I've had a happy marriage for 47 years. And suddenly, a week before the convention, outrageous lies are spread. And I don't understand that. I don't know why it is. I've said I want to stay out of the sleaze business. And I've told our people to stay out of it. But when somebody answers a question, then thinks that maybe that he or she have gone over the line and says they're sorry, I accept that.

Q I want to come back to this thing that you told Time Magazine. You said to Time that you would fire people who engaged in this. Do you think you have to fire someone to make your feelings felt if they're as strong as you say they are?

THE PRESIDENT: If I think the campaign is putting out something like that, I would. But I don't think that's what was happening here.

Q Governor Clinton said today that criticism of Hillary Clinton is an example of your party trying to turn it into a Willie Horton-like issue. What do you think of that?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know what he means by that.

Q You don't know what he means when he refers to Willie Horton?

THE PRESIDENT: No, he said trying to turn it to -- I don't see the connection, frankly.

Q I don't, either. I'm just asking whether --

THE PRESIDENT: Well, then, how the heck can I explain it if you can't? You asked the question.

Q All right. Let me come at the Hillary Clinton issue again. Do you think she's a legitimate target?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't -- no, I don't like going after the wife. I think if a wife is in the arena and if they're saying you get two for one, and here's my views as a defender of children or running of a foundation, I think that's slightly different than if the person was not injecting one's self into the issue business. I think if you're in the issue business, or in the philosophical definition business, you are -- I'll be honest with you -- I've seen a couple of ugly articles about Barbara that I haven't liked -- at all.

Q I was going to make the point that you are really the first of the barricades if anybody criticized Mrs. Bush.

THE PRESIDENT: You're darn right.

Q So I wonder if you sympathize with those who say Mrs. Clinton should not be an issue, she's not running for public office.

THE PRESIDENT: No, I can sympathize with that. I also think if you're out there on issues, taking your case to the people on issues, and you have an activist past and you're a very aggressive lawyer, sitting at the ABA Association presenting views, that is a little different than if you're not taking positions. I think most people would agree with that.

Q So your position would be really going back to that one remark that Governor Clinton said, that you get one, you get both, right?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, not necessarily. Look at the whole record. I mean, I don't know exactly what was said at the American Bar Association the other day at a meeting, but that's a public presentation of issues. And I think it's fair if that's going to be presented as a benefit to the candidate to be scrutinized. I think that's fair. What I don't think is that just going after somebody's wife is fair.

Q Just because she happens to be the candidate's wife?

THE PRESIDENT: That's right.

Q In his acceptance speech at the Democratic Convention, Al Gore said you're a good man. You're not a good President, he said, but he said you're a good man.

THE PRESIDENT: I hope they say that when this is over because I respect -- I like that.

Q Now, a lot of people here have been suggesting that Bill Clinton is not a very good man. Do you think Clinton and Gore are good men?

THE PRESIDENT: Sure. But I think they're wrong. I think they're wrong on the issues, I think they're wrong. I think I'd be a much better President. But, of course, I'm not going to challenge whether they're a good person or not. I've known Bill Clinton for some time -- and Senator Gore, and it's always been quite pleasant. Maybe that's what he meant.

Q So there's no question of you arguing with their character whatsoever; it's the issues as far as you're concerned?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, as far as I'm concerned, yes. I think character is going to be a question. I think people who see foibles in my character, if they think I can't make decisions or if they think I don't tell the truth or something, why, I think that will be an issue.

Q What do you think it does say, sir, for your political dilemma that after four years as President, 12 years in the White House, you're expected this week to make the political speech of your life? I've heard it said many times from Republicans. It isn't supposed to be that hard for a sitting President, is it?

THE PRESIDENT: No. It sounds like deja vu, though. As Yogi Berra said, deja vu all over again.

Q What do you mean?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, because I was here four years ago, not as President but with eight years in office, undergoing the same kind of appraisal. And it all worked out. So you just don't get discouraged. You take it on the chin over and over again. And then you come out fighting and take your case to the American people.

Q Is it nonetheless discouraging to you?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I don't get discouraged. I couldn't. If you're in this business, Peter, you've got to learn to take criticism. That what you think is fair, that what you think is unfair. You keep your head up and you do your best. In the final analysis you believe that the American people will say, hey, I may disagree with this guy on issue A, B, or C, but I trust him. He's experienced. He's knowledgeable. He knows where he wants to take this country, and I trust him. And that's how I think this is going to work out.

Q But nonetheless, sir, here you find yourself at your own convention with members of your own party eagerly hoping that you will in your acceptance speech this week redefine yourself after all this time. I don't get it.

THE PRESIDENT: Get what?

Q I don't get why, after all this time on the job, in the public arena, so well-known to the American people, your own party is asking you to redefine yourself.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think that there's a misperception. I've read in some of the media that I have no domestic agenda, I don't care about domestic issues. That is 100 percent nuts. It's wrong. It's crazy. And I have spent an awful lot of time, and I will explain to the American people why we have not been able to pass the best crime legislation that would help clean up these streets; the best health care reform bill; the best record in -- on the economy, to stimulate the economy. And I think there's a misperception. I think people don't know this.

You could ask better than I why they don't know it. Eighty -- 92 percent of the news, according to a Mr. Lichter who analyzes, has been negative on the economy. We've had anemic growth, but we've grown for four months. And yet when I see these polls you keep talking about, people think we're in recession. I should turn the question to you and say, why is that? Why is it that people make that conclusion from listening to the television news every night? I can't answer it, because there are some good things happening -- and there's a lot of bad things out there -- but it's not 92 percent negative.

Q Do you believe as your wife suggested a couple of times yesterday that the media is against you?

THE PRESIDENT: I wouldn't say against me, but I think it's presented a one-sided picture; yes, I strongly believe that. And the irony is I think the American people know this. I really believe that.

Q You're contradicting yourself to some extent because you say 92 percent of the people get the impression from the news --

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, they do. But I don't think they necessarily think that impression is fair. It's a different question. I don't think I've contradicted myself.

Q The other noticeable feature of this convention is all of the bashing of the Congress.

THE PRESIDENT: It's going to be a lot more because there's where the problem lies.

Q And, yet, in many respects, you've had your way with Congress.

THE PRESIDENT: Not many.

Q More than some other Presidents. And some of your most senior Republican colleagues say every time you've gone up there and really worked for something on the Hill you get what you want.

THE PRESIDENT: Not true. I wish it were. I wish it were. It's not true. And I think most members of Congress know it's not true. If that were the case, this economy would be doing much, much better. Because on January 20th, I made a proposal for six incentives to stimulate the economy and none had been passed -- none. And so I don't believe that's true. I wish it were.

Q You clearly mean to blame the Democrats.

THE PRESIDENT: Absolutely. The Democrat-controlled Congress. Look, the Congress has got bigger problems than I've got in terms of confidence. And the Congress has been under the control of the liberal Democrats for 38 straight years. Result? A post office that doesn't work and a bank that is an abject failure. And that's just a symptom of the problem. So, of course, I'm going to do that. I'm going to do what Truman did in 1948.

Q And yet, when I look up the figures this morning, I find out that in your 1992 budget proposal, 74 percent of your own party in Congress voted against your proposals.

THE PRESIDENT: But then, that would make your first question wrong, that so many -- if I just worked harder, we could have gotten it through -- I mean, if that's the case. I don't believe -- on most issues we have tremendous support from members of our Congress. I don't know what the -- what's the figure, please define it in detail.

Q According to Congressional Quarterly, in March of 1992, 74 percent of your own party voted against your budget proposals for this year.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, but 74 percent did not vote against the incentives to stimulate the economy. I don't know -- Congressional Quarterly -- was that the question they were addressing?

Q No, that was the figure they cited, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: But not on these points. Absolutely not.

Q No, this is on the budget proposal.

THE PRESIDENT: The party is unified on it, and we just can't bring the Democrats -- how about the -- did it mention the balanced budget agreement in there, where we almost got two-thirds, and at the last minute the Democrat leadership twisted the arms of 12 of the sponsors and made them vote the other way? Is that one in there?

Q I guess the point I'm trying to make, sir, is when you attack Congress, are you not, in many cases, also attacking your own party?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think so. I think it's mainly the Democrats. Because our party is quite united on most issues.

Q Last question -- because I can feel your staff hovering -- the tone we've seen at the convention this far, however it's interpreted by people, is that the tone of the fall campaign?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I don't -- I think the tone is going to be positive. I'm going to take this case to the American people. I'm going to set the tone of my campaign against the Governor tomorrow, tomorrow night. And it's going to be a hard-hitting campaign.

Q What do you mean by "hard-hitting"?

THE PRESIDENT: Take it, go -- work the extra mile, go the extra mile, work the extra hour, spell it out as clearly as you can. Let me now start to define his record. He has been ill-defining mine, with a lot of help, for the last nine months.

Q A lot of help from --

THE PRESIDENT: And now I'm going to take it right to the American people. And it's -- a lot of help from surrogates, a lot of help from a Democratic Convention misrepresenting the record -- and take it on out there. And it's going to be fun, and it's going to be hard work, and I'm going to outthrust him.

Q Be bloody?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I don't think so.

Q Anything it takes?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Extra hard work. It's going to go all out. And that statement -- I don't know -- what do you mean by "anything it takes"?

Q My question is, would you do anything it takes to be reelected?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, what does anything mean? Break the law?

Q You're the one who has to define it, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I don't think I have to define it at all.

Q Well, you're the one who can much better define it than I can, is my point.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, but, I mean, if you could define what you mean by "anything," but I'm going to go the extra mile, work extra hard, and win the election. And that's the way it's going to be.

Q Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT: That's what I mean by "anything."

Q Thanks.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you.

END

3:25 P.M. CDT

JENNINGS INTERVIEW

Jennings discusses the campaign with President Bush:

Jennings: We began by asking him how he felt about what was being said by others speaking here on his behalf. What did he think of his campaign chairman saying Democrats are not American, Pat Buchanan saying the Democrats are on the wrong side in a religious war for the country's soul.

President Bush: I would leave each of these people to describe for them what they want, just as I would ask those who heard me being bashed at the Democratic convention over and over and over again, to interpret whether they believe that stuff. I think what I want people to do is believe what I say. I can't speak for everybody that's out there supporting me. I can't agree with all the rhetoric, but I can certainly say I am very glad they're out there supporting me.

Jennings: Let me come with the Hillary Clinton issue again. Do you think she is a legitimate target?

President Bush: No. I don't like going after the wife. I think that if the wife is in the arena and if they're saying you get two for one and here's my view as a defender of children or running of the foundation, I think that's slightly different than if the person was not injecting one's self into the issue business. If you're out there on issues, taking your case to the people on issues and you have an activist past and you're a very aggressive lawyer sitting at the ABA association presenting views, that is a little different than if you're not taking positions. I think most people would agree with that.

Jennings: What do you think it does say for your political dilemma that after four years as President, 12 years in the White House, you are expected this week to make the political speech of your life? It isn't supposed to be that hard for a sitting president, is it?

President Bush: No. It sounds like deja vu, though. Yogi Berra said "deja vu all over again."... Because I was here four years ago, not as president, but with eight years in office, undergoing the same kind of appraisal and it all worked out. So you just don't get discouraged. You take it on the chin, over and over again. And then you come out fighting, take your case to the American people.

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Wednesday, August 19, 1992

News of the Day

The Daily Line for Republican Newsmakers

George and Barbara Bush – Protecting America's Values

The Convention Today

- Tonight when President Bush and Vice President Quayle are renominated, differences will be drawn between the two parties and the two candidates on the basic issue of values.
- George and Barbara Bush embody the traditional values of America.

Today: Republicans will show that George and Barbara Bush share with the American people the values and beliefs that make our country great – belief in God, commitment to family, hard work and responsibility.

A parent's right to send their children to the school of their choice – public, private, or religious – a welfare system that encourages families to stay together, and a child's right to pray in the classroom – these are the values George Bush believes in.

The policies of President Bush and the Republican Party promote personal responsibility, family stability and economic strength. America's most effective domestic program starts with parents who teach their children the difference between right and wrong.

George Bush believes parents, not bureaucrats, know what is best for their children. That's why his educational reform initiatives give parents the ability to send their children to the school of their choice – public, private or religious.

George Bush believes that welfare was never meant to be a lifestyle. Current welfare policies too often encourage the breakdown of families. George Bush's

welfare reforms give families the incentives to stay together.

George Bush believes God never should have been thrown out of the classroom. That's why he supports a constitutional amendment to allow voluntary prayer in our schools.

George Bush believes the best decisions for living are made at kitchen tables, not committee hearing rooms. George Bush says ask mom and dad. Bill Clinton says ask Big Brother. Or as Barbara Bush puts it, what goes on in your house is more important than what goes on in the White House.

George Bush believes success in life is powered by people, not government. He believes government should do for people only what they cannot do for themselves. Bill Clinton believes there is a government solution to every social problem.

President Bush embodies the traditional American values that made America great: service to country; volunteerism; entrepreneurship; family man; man of faith, integrity and trust; and a person whose life always has been – and always will be – devoted to leaving his country a better place.

(713) 654-1234 (hotel)
(713) 711-1950 (trailer)

Congressman Michel can be reached at the following numbers:

o You've kept an exciting program moving along. Keep up the good work.
o You've been throughout the week.
o Craig Fuller and Red Gaveney have told me how helpful

During politics:

o I've urged me to serving admirably as the President
Chairman of the Convention. I recommend you give him a call to
thank him for all his efforts on your behalf.

RECOMMEND: Recommended phone call

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
CRAGG L. FULLER

August 19, 1992

BUSH-QUAYLE '92
CONVENTION CHAIRMAN'S OFFICEPhone #: 713-546-9090
FAX #: 713-546-9093

TO: Rose Zambora

F. N. C. 688-0173

FROM: Craig Fuller

NO. OF PAGES (INCLUDING COVER SHEET): 1

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ANY QUESTIONS CALL: 713-546-9090



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daily 8/17
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 8/19

August 13, 1992

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

Dear Mr. President:

My enthusiasm and intensity runneth over! Never in my lifetime have I been so excited and hyped! I am now a full fledged Olympic junkie!

To express my appreciation to you is beyond any words in the dictionary. You gave me an experience I shall never never forget, but my own regret was that you weren't there to experience the same fervor that I experienced. Right before our very eyes we saw three world records shattered, and many more unbelievable feats. Now that I think about it, I think I will postpone my quest for the world's javelin record - We saw that broken by 29'!!!

Also, many thanks for the dinner on Tuesday night - I had no idea that Bruce Willis was married to Demi Moore and I think I can be safe in saying that you didn't either!

Go Houston! - Knock'em Dead!

All the best,

Spike
W. S. Heminway

WSH/eag

Sorry about the typewriter, but it would take you too long to read my terrible handwriting -



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August 12, 1992

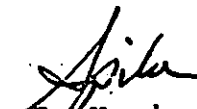
The Honorable John G. Weinmann
Chief of Protocol
Department of State
Room 1238
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Jack,

I can't tell you how much I enjoyed our excursion. Most of all, I appreciate the work that you and your associates did in making our stay so enjoyable. I know it wasn't all fun and games for you and you had to make sure everything went like clockwork, and it did!

Again, Jack, please accept my sincerest congratulations for a job so well done and I am especially happy for you that your accounting all came out even.

All the very best,


W. S. Heminway

WSH/eag

cc: President George H. W. Bush

daily 8/19

JONATHAN BUSH
641 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

Aug 16, 1992

Dear Mr President
A thought:

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN ^{8/19}

(CO)

Clinton is calling his program
"INVESTMENT IN AMERICA."

DO NOT BE MISLEAD

IT IS NOT INVESTMENT

IT IS GOVERNMENT SPENDING,

PURE AND SIMPLE

A great victory is in the making. Finally.
JN

Presidential Phone Calls



DATE: 8-19- TIME: 8⁰⁰
Ingoing/outgoing

WITH: Neup

SUBJECT: How Post Story

"Keep Out"

1. Congrat on speech
 2. Do not know what going to do in '96 - have strong views but want be known as helpful
- more notes -

FOLLOW UP: _____

1. How what happened in
Saw several 'Maurit' part of
not in
heart by Congress

8/19/92

5

Mr. President:

Patty thinks you should call Mary Fisher before she speaks tonight. She is scheduled around 8:15.

Per Patty she did a remarkable job on the LARRY KING show.

Also, the major networks are asking for the Mary Fisher video because of the incident this afternoon.

RZ

11:00 A.M. CDT/12:00 P.M. EDT NEWS UPDATE

PBS INTERVIEW (Houston/Helen Thomas, UPI) -- President Bush said that he was not referring to any specific individual when he disclosed during a television interview that there would be "plenty of new faces" in his Administration if he is re-elected. Bush, asked about the future domestic policies during an interview with Jim Lehrer on PBS, said: "I think you'll see a lot of changes. You'll see plenty of new faces." The President explained that "four years is heavy duty in a bureaucracy...and it's good to get revitalized." Bush gave no indication who would be in and who would be out if he is re-elected. "What I want to do is get re-elected," Bush said, and again stressed that "I'm going to do what Harry Truman did in 1948."

BRADY (Reuter) -- Secretary Brady said that he has not talked to President Bush about resigning, but talk of his departure was expected. "This is no news to me," Brady said on CBS Morning News and on Fox broadcasting when asked about reports he would be among those Bush dropped if he wins a second four-year term. "Even when he was vice president, George Bush talked about a sense of renewal. He talked about a four-year cycle as being a cornerstone of that sense of renewal," said Brady.

ECONOMY (Houston/Reuter) -- President Bush has promised an economic boom if he wins re-election in November, but most economists doubt he'll be able to deliver. They said that America still has some way to go before ridding itself of its big government budget deficit and other long-standing problems that have held back the economy. Bush admitted that growth has been anemic recently, but said the economy was ready to take off. "I think you are going to see a rather blooming economy," he told the MacNeil/Lehrer television news program. "We are poised for very strong economic growth." The consensus of more than 50 economists surveyed by the Arizona-based Eggert's group shows growth picking up to 2.9 percent next year. While that would be an improvement from this year's meager 1.9 percent rate, it would still be far short of the 6 percent growth that often characterizes a recovery.

'NO FLY' ZONE/ARABS (Kuwait/Reuter) -- Conservative Arab states on the Persian Gulf will back Western plans to protect Shiite Moslems in southern Iraq from air attack, officials and diplomats in the region said. But they said the Gulf states hoped the step would not lead to renewed fighting or the formal division of Iraq into three separate entities -- a destabilizing scenario they have long feared and wished to avoid. "In ideal circumstances we would prefer peace at any cost; the last thing we want to see is Iraq divided," a Gulf official said.

PEACE TALKS/PERES (Jerusalem/Reuter) -- Foreign Minister Peres said that Israel wanted to slice through procedural wrangling to jump-start Middle East peace talks scheduled to resume in Washington next week. "We mean business.... We are ready to start a meaningful dialogue," he told foreign reporters. Peres said his Labor government wanted to speed up the talks and give limited self-rule within a year to Palestinians living under Israeli military occupation.

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7AM Maria 266

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###

"All the News
That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992

50 CENTS

New York: Today, partly sunny, scattered late thundershowers. High 83. Tonight, showers, then clearing. Low 65. Tomorrow, sunny. High 77. Yesterday, high 81, low 66. Details, page C1.

British, French and U.S. Agree To Attack Iraqi Planes in South

A 'No Fly' Zone Is Planned Below 32d Parallel

By MICHAEL R. GORDON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 18 — The Bush Administration, stepping up its confrontation with Saddam Hussein, won British and French agreement today for a plan to shoot down Iraqi military planes if they venture into a wide zone throughout the southern part of the country occupied by dissident Shiite Muslims.

The plan for the "no fly" zone, below the 32d parallel, aimed at deterring the Shiite Muslims in Southern Iraq against air attack by the Iraqi military and at sharply curbing the authority of President Hussein, was described by a senior British official as ready to be implemented in the next several days.

Following a long Cabinet meeting in London today, Prime Minister John Major of Britain said the allies would establish control of as much as a third of the country. "They will be attacked if they fly in the area that is proscribed," Mr. Major said.

Allies Express Concern

The French also announced their support of the plan.

"The Baghdad regime has not been any more tender with the Shiite population than with the Kurdish population," said Foreign Minister Roland Dumas of France. "Thus the international community, and the allies in particular, are concerned about this situation."

No formal announcement has come from the Bush Administration on American participation in the plan. Today senior officials said that was because the Pentagon was still working out the details.

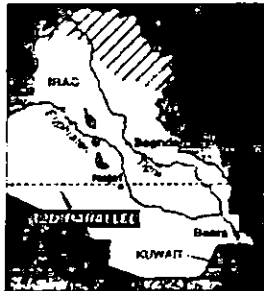
But the White House may also have let the allies take the lead to avoid any

suggestion that a firm stand toward Baghdad was being adopted for political reasons. The British and the French Governments are known to be sensitive to being seen as bowing to President Bush at a time when he is fighting hard for re-election.

The United States, Britain and France have been discussing the idea of setting up a secure zone for several weeks, after reports that Iraq was waging a brutal offensive against the Shiites. Last week, representatives of the three nations issued pointed warnings in the United Nations Security Council, telling Baghdad that they were considering action to stop the Iraqi military from attacking the Shiites.

American officials say that they do

Continued on Page A6, Column 1



The U.S. wants to create a "no-fly" zone that covers all of Iraq south of the 32d parallel.

Japan Announces Series of Steps To Try to Halt Stock Market Slide

By JAMES STERNGOLD
Special to The New York Times

TOKYO, Aug. 18 — With another steep drop in share prices deepening the sense of crisis in Japan's financial system, the Finance Minister an-

was that it showed that top Government officials have finally awakened to the severity of the trouble afflicting Japan's stock market and banking sys-

NEW YORK AGENCY CUTS APARTMENTS FOR THE HOMELESS

THREAT TO PROJECTS CITED

Public Housing Head Accuses
City Officials of Reneging
on Social Service Help

By JANE FRITSCH

Blaming an array of new problems in New York City's housing projects on a program to set aside thousands of apartments for homeless families, Housing Authority officials say they plan to sharply reduce the number of apartments given to the homeless in the future.

The shift in policy has created a division between the Housing Authority and other officials of the De Blasio Administration who are scrambling to find homes for thousands of families each year and say they are counting on the Authority to provide apartments.

At stake, say Housing Authority officials, is the future of the city's 324 housing projects, home to more than 600,000 people. Adding more homeless families, the officials say, could upset the careful balance of low- and middle-income tenants that has produced some of the most successful public housing in the country.

The head of the Housing Authority, Sally Hernandez-Panero, said she had told the Mayor's staff that the homeless families, many of them ill-equipped to live on their own, had brought theft, drug abuse and other crimes to once-stable projects.

Premised Services Lacking

"We told them that public housing is a short-term solution and they will pay a very big price in the long term," Ms. Hernandez-Panero said in an interview yesterday. "They'll destroy the lives of 600,000 other people."

Over the last four years, more than 8,000 homeless families have moved into city housing projects.

Ms. Hernandez-Panero, a longtime ally of the Mayor, was appointed by him to head the authority five months ago. The authority is a semi-autonomous agency created by the Federal Government with a three-member

REPUBLICANS ASSAIL CLINTON AS RADICAL AND BIG SPENDER AND ASSERT BUSH STRENGTHS



President Bush attending a karate exhibition yesterday at a middle school in Houston with the actor Chuck Norris, left.

Bush Is Said to Be Weighing Vow To Have Baker Oversee Economy

By DAVID J. PHILLIPBAUM
Special to The New York Times

HOUSTON, Aug. 18 — President Bush is said to be weighing a vow to build his credibility as an economic manager, President Bush said his speech-writing team had discussed the possibility of making the vow to have

with a fundamental economic message: the White House must solve the problem. I know it comes with a price tag, but I believe it's worth it. I believe it's worth it. I believe it's worth it.

THEMES FOR FALL

On Convention's 2d Day,
Speakers Try to Show
Diversity in Party

By ANDREW ROSENTHAL
Special to The New York Times

HOUSTON, Aug. 18 — The Republicans pressed their incriminating attack on the Democratic ticket at their National Convention today, as speaker after speaker portrayed Gov. Bill Clinton as a radical liberal who would coddle criminals and break the economy with higher taxes and more Government spending.

At the same time, the Republicans tried to paint themselves as the party of diversity, bringing a parade of speakers representing minorities, the disabled and even abortion rights advocates to the stage to praise President Bush and hammer away at the Republican themes for the fall campaign: Mr. Bush won the cold war, he represents "family values," he is a skilled diplomat and he won the war against Iraq.

After an opening night devoted to reassuring the party's conservative wing, today's events were an exercise in reaching a broader audience: from Barbara Bush's appearance at a morning meeting entitled "Black America Sees the First Family," to the keynote address tonight by Senator Phil Gramm of Texas, a proponent of Federal budget cutting, and a speech by Housing Secretary Jack F. Kemp, the apostle of tax cuts and popular conservatism.

'Don't Be Judgmental'

Mrs. Bush, the party's symbol of respectability, preached a message of tolerance and warmth on national television. "Don't be judgmental of others," Mrs. Bush said in an interview on CNN. "Everybody's different. Every-

Deriving Problems Seen

Financial experts generally said the measures did not go far enough. The best that could be said of the package, market experts and economists said,

Sabotage Feared In Bonds

The Sarajevo airlift was suspended after Muslims and Croats, rather than Serbs, were suspected of sabotaging relief efforts. Page A12.

Wang Laboratories, which dominated the office world with word processors until computers took over, filed for bankruptcy protection Page D1.

The American military's biggest relief effort in Africa began when a food-laden plane bound for Somalia landed in Kenya. Page A3

The Boston Celtic star who helped reinvigorate pro basketball in a legendary 13-year career retired because of a back problem. Page B9.

Character	File name & extension	Size
Character	File name & extension	Size

The severity of the decline in Japan is

Continued on Page D2: L2-75-2

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Mr. Baker, whose resignation as Secretary of State and appointment as Bush's chief of staff and campaign coordinator becomes effective Sunday, said to be resisting the idea as grimy and too confining.

The speech writers' deliberations also underscore the importance of the President and his advisers' place in finding some means of invigorating the re-election campaign and breaking through his encrusted image as the passive guardian of the economic status quo.

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Mr. Bush and his advisers view the speech Thursday night in which he will accept his party's nomination for a second term as a crucial opportunity to

(continued on Page A15, Column 1)

"At the New York convention, Clinton was like a used car salesman peddling his vehicle for change," said Mr. Graham, who along with Mr. Kemp is a leading contender for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1996. "The wax job was shiny, the hubcaps sparkled, the upholstery was spotless, the paint was new. But when you look under the hood, you discover he is

Continued on Page A16 (column 5)

Spent in The New York Times

Serbian forces have blown up six major bridges, burned hundreds of homes and businesses and wrecked both of the principal religious centers: a modern Catholic cathedral and a finely 15th-century mosque.

From nearby hills, Serbian gunners are still shelling Mostar, but there is little left to destroy. Streets once lined with tour buses are now littered with the debris of war, and a community that was once thought to symbolize friendship among Serbs, Croats and Muslims is now gone, a victim of bitter hatreds that are fueling this war.

Worse, Perhaps, Than Sarajevo

In the rubble lie the ruins of the dream of a peaceful future for Balkan republics: in other parts of what was once Yugoslavia, only Vukovar in northern Croatia has been so thoroughly destroyed.

"I was shocked to get here, because in my mind I had only pictures of Sarajevo," said Rupert Heudeck, chairman of the German medical relief organization Cap Anamur. "I was not aware of the fact that the destruction in this town may be even greater than Sarajevo."

For centuries, the three major ethnic groups that populate this corner of Europe lived together in Mostar. Croats were concentrated in modern neighborhoods on the eastern side of the Neretva River, while Serbs and Muslims lived amid historic monuments on the western. Connecting them were seven crossings that give Mostar its name, which means Bridge Town.

Tourists who converged here by the thousands each summer came mainly to view the Muslim quarter and the imposing mosque that stood at its center. Narrow cobblestone streets wound

continued on Page A13 (column 4)

The President on the left did not say what the President on the right said he did. Page A13



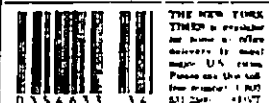
The Two Faces Of One Outlook

The Republicans may be fighting a "cultural war" against the Democrats, but there is also a cultural war being waged within the Republican ranks. It pits conservatism with a snarl against conservatism with a smile. News analysis, page A13

The frequency with which politicians and journalists now hop back and forth between two fields has raised questions on ethics. Dave Ald

The political sophistication of Barbara Bush, who is often described as the Republicans' "secret weapon," is now a secret poorly kept. Page A15.

A political "stock market" at the University of Iowa has the Bush-Clin-
ton race neck-and-neck. Page A17



REPUBLICANS ASSAIL CLINTON AS RADICAL AND BIG SPENDER AND ASSERT BUSH STRENGTHS

THEMES FOR FALL

On Convention's 2d Day, Speakers Try to Show Diversity in Party

By ANDREW ROSENTHAL
Special to The New York Times

HOUSTON, Aug. 18 — The Republicans pressed their lacerating attack on the Democratic ticket at their National Convention today, as speaker after speaker portrayed Gov. Bill Clinton as a radical liberal who would coddle criminals and break the economy with higher taxes and more Government spending.

At the same time, the Republicans tried to paint themselves as the party of diversity, bringing a parade of speakers representing minorities, the disabled and even abortion rights advocates to the stage to praise President Bush and hammer away at the Republican themes for the fall campaign: Mr. Bush won the cold war, he represents "family values," he is a skilled diplomat and he won the war against Iraq.

After an opening night devoted to reassuring the party's conservative wing, today's events were an exercise in reaching a broader audience: from Barbara Bush's appearance at a morning meeting entitled "Black America Salutes the First Family," to the keynote address tonight by Senator Phil Gramm of Texas, a proponent of Federal budget cutting, and a speech by Housing Secretary Jack F. Kemp, the apostle of tax cuts and populist conservatism.

'Don't Be Judgmental'

Mrs. Bush, the party's symbol of respectability, preached a message of tolerance and warmth on national television. "Don't be judgmental of others," Mrs. Bush said in an interview on CNN. "Everybody's different. Everybody has their own problems."

But behind the scenes, Republican strategists — driven by the conviction that religion and cultural divides are still powerful tools — unapologetically proclaimed their intention to follow Patrick J. Buchanan's declaration of a religious and cultural war with the Democrats.

After calling Mr. Clinton a threat to the nation's security on Monday night, the line of today's attack was on economic and social issues, coordinated by convention managers who were providing themes to speakers and reviewing their speeches in advance.

Contenders for '98 Speak

"At the New York convention, Clinton was like a used car salesman peddling his vehicle for change," said Mr. Gramm, who along with Mr. Kemp is a leading contender for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1996. "The wax job was shiny, the hubcaps sparkled, the upholstery was spotless, the paint was new. But when you look under the hood, you discover he is

Continued on Page A16, Column 5

Continued From Page A1

hawking a model from the 70's, a Carter mobile with the axle broken and the frame bent to the left." [Excerpts, page A10.]

Comparing the Democrats to the Communists in North Korea and Cuba, Mr. Gramm said Mr. Clinton would "disarm America" and put millions of people out of work in the military industry by cutting the Pentagon budget.

Mr. Kemp proclaimed, "The Democrats' New Covenant is not new," in a speech notable for the absence of his frequent calls for Mr. Bush to announce a major tax cut in his acceptance speech on Thursday night. "It's not change. It doesn't put people first; it puts government first. It doesn't empower people; it empowers bureaucracy. It doesn't encourage investment and growth; it spends, and spends and spends."

After a brief appearance this morning at an anti-drug rally, President Bush conferred in his suite in the Houstonian Hotel with a small group of advisers. They were trying to develop a speech for Thursday night that would start the process of regaining voters' confidence in him as an economic manager and of re-establishing the credibility of his promises.

Taking a step toward that goal, Mr. Bush signaled today that he would revamp his Cabinet if he were re-elected. "You'll see plenty of new faces, plenty of changes in this Administration," he said in an interview on the "MacNeil-Lehrer News Hour."

Mr. Bush also promised "a rather booming economy" in a second term and an even more aggressive stance with Congress, going on the offensive against individual lawmakers to sell his programs to the public.

As Mr. Bush tolled, the political climate heated up with an unusual convention-week exchange between the two campaign organizations. In new television advertisements, the Democrats zeroed in on the very weakness that occupied the White House speech team: Mr. Bush's "no new taxes" pledge of the 1988 campaign.

The commercial, which Democratic strategists said was intended more for tonight's news broadcasts than for actual paid broadcast, said, "On Nov. 5, 1990, George Bush signed into law the

second-biggest tax increase in American history."

The Republicans quickly called a news conference to accuse Mr. Clinton of negative campaigning. But they were hard-pressed to explain the tax increase, which has done more to undermine Mr. Bush's standing within his own party than any other single decision. Senator Pete V. Domenici of Arizona asserted that the Democrats had forced Mr. Bush to agree to the tax increase.

Vice President Dan Quayle, professing to be delighted that Mr. Clinton had brought up the subject, said: "Bill Clinton has promised to raise taxes on every single working American. That's one promise he'll keep."

Democrats Spy Discord

In the cavernous Astrodome, the lineup of speakers on the second day of the Republican convention seemed to imitate the Democrats' presentation in New York last month of minorities, women and the disabled. Of the 2,210 delegates, the National Black Republican Council says 103 are black, while The Associated Press said 73 are Hispanic, 24 Asian and three American Indian.

But the convention produced a far more mixed set of signals than the Democrats created. Some of Mr. Clinton's advisers watched with barely concealed pleasure as they saw a Republican Party that seemed more divided than in past elections, a problem that has been generally Democratic and not Republican.

While the Democrats tried to shove their most liberal groups into manageable boxes at their convention in New York last month, Mr. Bush arrived here with his base still in dire shape and so had to embrace the right. Uncertain of their ability to run on the economy, the Republicans were firing a scattershot of campaign themes, some borrowed from the last Presidential contest.

Speakers tried to tar Mr. Clinton with the American Civil Liberties Union, homosexual advocates, radical feminism and even the pollution in Boston harbor — a favorite subject for Mr. Bush during his 1988 race against Mi-

Behind the scenes, G.O.P. strategists follow Buchanan's lead.

chael S. Dukakis. Attorney General Dan Lungren of California stunned the morning session into silence by resurrecting the Willie Horton case of 1988 and hurling it at Governor Clinton as evidence that Democrats are soft on crime.

"Willie Horton, convicted murderer of a teen-age boy, was sentenced to life without parole and later given a weekend pass from prison from which he didn't return," Mr. Lungren said. "In another state, he brutally beat a man and left him bound and gagged to listen as he repeatedly assaulted the victim's fiancé."

Mr. Lungren added: "So you see, the Democratic leaders just don't get it. They were surprised that when they gave a weekend pass to someone who was sentenced to life without parole, he didn't come back voluntarily! How stupid!"

Don East, a delegate from Pilot Mountain, N.C., listened with distaste. "I don't believe in turning convicted murderers loose, but Willie Horton is not the only case where that has happened," he said. "I was a little surprised it was mentioned here, and it should not be part of the convention."

Republican managers defended Mr. Buchanan's reference in his speech on Monday night to the campaign as a "religious war." Torie Clarke, the campaign press secretary, said that "polling shows there is definitely a big upside" to Mr. Buchanan's kind of oratory, which James Lake, a senior campaign adviser, said would be especially helpful in solidifying the conservative base in states like California where Mr. Bush is fighting for his life.

'Totally Un-American'

But members of the liberal wing of the Republican Party quickly condemned Mr. Buchanan. "It seems to me totally un-American," said Representative Bill Green of Manhattan. "It's highly contrary to the wisdom of the Founding Fathers, who left us the Constitution to make sure we can't have religious wars in this country."

After months of criticism that its message was not getting through to voters, the Bush campaign moved to reinforce its advertising and communications staffs today, bringing in a veteran political strategist, Mitch Daniels. It also expanded the role of two advisers, Jim Lake and Roger Alles.

Mr. Daniels, an Indianapolis businessman who was White House political director in Ronald Reagan's first term and supervised Dan Quayle's 1988 vice presidential bid, will be charged with insuring that the Bush campaign's advertising strategy reflects the campaign's overall strategy and White House policy, officials said.

Mr. Lake, a Washington lobbyist, has worked part-time as a communications strategist during most of the campaign. He will assume a virtually full-time job coordinating much of the campaign's communications effort, from press relations to the "talking points" sent regularly to top Administration officials so that a unified front is presented on sensitive political issues.

Mr. Alles, the caustic and aggressive architect of Mr. Bush's 1988 advertising campaign, has no formal role in the re-election effort and has consistently denied that he wants one. But campaign officials said today that he would increase his current role as an informal adviser on political strategy.

One of the Republicans' main purposes for the day clearly lay in trying to undermine Mr. Clinton's efforts to rally support of female and minority voters by presenting its own multifaceted, multicolored face to the nation. With Asian-American speakers at the stage, the television cameras zeroed in on Asian faces in the audience.

The Rev. E. V. Hill of the Mount Zion Baptist Church in South-Central Los Angeles, who is black, said: "We have not reached our goals. There are still the poor, the homeless, those who suffer from racism. We are not what we ought to be, but we are not what we used to be, and with the firm hand of President Bush, we will achieve our goals in the next four years."

Bush Is Said to Be Weighing Vow To Have Baker Oversee Economy

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM
Special to The New York Times

Continued From Page A1

HOUSTON, Aug. 18 — To try to rebuild his credibility on economic matters, President Bush and his speech-writing team have discussed a proposal to have the President promise Thursday night to keep James A. Baker 3d at the White House after the election to manage economic policy, Administration officials said here today.

Mr. Baker, whose resignation as Secretary of State and appointment as Mr. Bush's chief of staff and campaign coordinator becomes effective Sunday, is said to be resisting the idea as gimmicky and too confining.

But discussion of the proposal illustrates a fundamental tactical puzzle that the White House must solve by Thursday. It needs to come up with a bold step or convincing promise of action that the President can make without reminding a national television audience that he is the man who broke the keystone pledge of his 1988 acceptance speech: "Read my lips. No new taxes."

The speech writers' deliberations also underscore the importance the President and his advisers place on finding some means of invigorating the re-election campaign and breaking through his encrusted image as the passive guardian of the economic status quo.

Bad Economic News

The need for an economic plan was given even greater urgency today after the Government announced that the pace at which builders broke ground for new homes slumped 2.8 percent in July. Combined with downward revisions for May and June, the skid meant that the housing sector not only was no longer pacing the lackluster recovery but was becoming a drag. [Page D1.]

Mr. Bush and his advisers view the speech Thursday night in which he will accept his party's nomination for a second term as a crucial opportunity to

convince voters that he intends to deal decisively with the country's economic problems. But so far they have dismissed all suggestions for drastic new remedies for the weak economy.

As the speech has gone through one draft after another, the President, officials said, has more or less decided against proposing the kind of specific new tax cuts that have been recommended by Jack F. Kemp, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, and others on the Republican Party's conservative flank.

Some of the President's advisers say that having broken the promise he made on taxes at the last Republican convention, Mr. Bush could open himself to ridicule with a comparably firm policy statement this year.

"It would be a home run or a tremendous disaster," one adviser said. "It's just too risky."

Instead, officials said that unless someone has a brainstorm, Mr. Bush intends to take a broad thematic approach to the economy that will place himself and the party on the side of reducing taxes and controlling spending without saying precisely which taxes and spending programs would be involved, other than measures he has already offered that have been blocked in Congress.

'Making People Trust Him'

"The President needs to use the speech to begin the process of making people trust him again when he talks about the economy," one official said. "That's not something you can do in one night, which is one reason that the 'big idea' approach has not gotten anywhere."

Mr. Bush's past speeches dealing with the economy have been seen as duds. In his State of the Union Message in January, for example, he offered a laundry list of disparate proposals that seemed to many analysts to have no enthusiasm or connecting theme.

"I mean to speak of big things," he said at the time. But then he urged Congress to "modify the passive loss rule" and to "fund our H.O.P.E. housing proposal" — words unlikely to instill confidence that better times were ahead.

The economy section of Thursday night's speech is being drafted primarily by Richard G. Darman, the budget director, and Robert B. Zoellick, the Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, who is one of Mr. Baker's closest associates and who will move with his boss to the White House next week.

Mr. Baker dealt with economic issues under President Ronald Reagan. He was White House chief of staff in Mr. Reagan's first term and Treasury Secretary in the second. Mr. Darman was his deputy throughout.

Mr. Darman was with the President at Camp David, Md., last weekend and flew here Monday with him on Air Force One. Interviewed today on the

Cable News Network, he said:

"A good deal of what the President has to say will involve the old plan because an awful lot of it makes sense and has not been enacted. But there will be some new things. But I wouldn't want to mislead you or your viewers. I think that the speech is likely to be more thematic."

Mr. Zoellick was still writing at a computer in the conference room of the Houstonian Hotel, where the President is staying, at midnight Monday.

Mr. Baker is at his ranch in Wyoming and will not arrive here until Wednesday, but he has kept in constant touch with the speech-drafting through Mr. Zoellick, aides said. The final draft of the speech is not expected to be completed and the decision made on what the President will say about Mr. Baker until sometime Thursday.

The principal speech writer is Raymond K. Price, who was Richard M. Nixon's chief speechwriter and has sporadically worked for other Republican Presidents since then. Robert M. Teeter, the campaign chairman, has been instrumental in drafting the parts of the speech not involving the economy.

Drawing the Distinctions

Officials who have followed the drafting process said the speech would deal in some detail with Mr. Bush's foreign policy successes and would try to draw distinctions between himself and Republicans on the one hand and Gov. Bill Clinton and Democrats on the other. The President will try to drive home his criticism of the Democratic Congress and will stress, officials said, his experience and personal values.

But the economic theme is by far the most important one, the officials said, since the President and his advisers believe that is the ground on which the election will be decided.

Since early in his Presidency, Mr. Bush has received conflicting advice about the economy from within his party.

One wing, represented by Mr. Kemp and others instrumental in the supply-side revolution of the Reagan years, holds that tax cuts are the key to economic growth. They have pressed the President repeatedly to propose lower taxes and to fight with Congress to win their enactment.

Another group that includes Mr. Darman, Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady and Michael J. Boskin, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, maintains that the budget deficit must be brought under control before tax cuts can be entertained.

Economic Watch

3 Wishes: Ways for Bush to Prime Economy

By PETER PASSELL

With unemployment seemingly stuck near 8 percent and consumers guarding their paychecks as if each would be the last, is George Bush fated to play out the election campaign as Herbert Hoover to Bill Clinton's rendition of F.D.R.?

The White House has taken pains to scotch rumors that he would announce some dramatic initiative for jump-starting the economy. And some economists hope they mean what they say, arguing that the present course is the best course for a stable, noninflationary economy.

But many of Mr. Bush's supporters think otherwise. While there are infinite variations on what the President might do to try to win public confidence in his economic prowess, three alternatives stand out:

1981 All Over Again Within months of entering the White House Ronald Reagan persuaded Congress to slash taxes, setting the stage for seven years of economic growth. Only in the late 1980's, when old-fashioned Republicans ganged up with liberal Democrats to resume the tax-and-spend policies of the past, did the economy run out of gas.

That, at any rate, is how Jack Kemp, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, and other supply-siders see it. Mr. Kemp, along with six New Right members of Congress, are publicly pressing the President to embrace the supply-side revolution as his own. This would include an across-the-board tax cut, a freeze in discretionary Government spending, radical welfare reform and a zero-inflation target for the Federal Reserve Board.

But the President's invitation to a supply-side party does not guarantee that anyone would attend, says Rudolph Penner, an economist at KPMG Peat Marwick. Most of the supply-side agenda would require legislation

Continued From First Business Page

to put it in place, and there is little reason to believe that Congress would entertain radical economic reforms of any sort before the election.

Indeed, much of what Mr. Kemp proposes has already been rejected by the legislators. Yet another brush-off could backfire, leaving the impression that Mr. Bush is an ineffectual leader. Or worse, a dissembling one. The President's advisers, who think the supply-siders are intellectual lightweights, would only advance supply-side initiatives that were sure to die. "Four years ago George Bush's word was his bond," said Jude Wanniski, president of Polyconomics, a consulting firm in Morristown, N.J. "Now the voters demand collateral."

Mr. Wanniski, who spearheaded the supply-siders' 1980 assault on Washington, has the collateral in mind. He believes the President could index capital gains to prices by executive order, cutting the effective tax rate with the stroke of a pen.

The effect would certainly be striking. A share of stock purchased for \$100 in 1979, for example, would be taxed only on the gain above \$200, since the price level has since doubled. Milton Friedman, who teaches at Stanford's Hoover Institution, argued that "the Bush Administration has been stupid as hell" in pursuing lower taxes on capital gains when "indexing the base makes more sense economically and politically."

The obstacle, apart from Mr. Bush's innate caution, is a legal one. C. Boyden Gray, the White House counsel, has ruled that the President does not have the authority to index capital gains. But Lawrence Zelenak, a professor of law at the University of North Carolina, thinks a determined President could succeed in stretching his powers. "Despite the invalidity of regulatory indexing," he wrote in the May 11, 1992, issue of Tax Notes "indexing would probably be immune from judicial challenge" because no one could make the case they had been injured by the initiative.

Embracing the Radical Middle If George Bush loses the election, goes the now-familiar refrain, it is because he could not coax back the suburbanites and blue-collar elite, sometime-Republicans who defected to Ross Perot. One way to win them over would be to adopt Mr. Perot's take-no-prisoners program for eliminating the budget deficit in five years.

But the Perot plan relied on tax increases and cuts in social entitlement spending. Thus in wooing votes from the radicalized middle, Mr. Bush might further alienate those stung by his 1990 betrayal of the read-my-lips pledge. And it would certainly anger affluent retirees who would take home less from Social Security, and pay more for health care. The Perot initiative "appeals to budget nerds like me," Mr. Penner said. But any plan that "asks for short-term suffering in the name of long-term gains is politically risky," he concluded.

There is also the worry that it would lengthen the recession. In the long run, a smaller deficit would free resources for private investment, lowering interest rates and presumably increasing growth. But it is hardly the medicine of choice for smoothing the business cycle. "I would be happy to wake up in five years with a 50-cent gas tax," said Robert Solow of M.I.T. But the immediate effect of Federal tax increases, he noted, would be fewer jobs and less income.

Born Again Keynesianism "We are all Keynesians now," Richard Nixon concluded in 1971. Fiscal fine-tuning is again out of fashion, at least in Republican circles. But by advocating tax cuts or spending increases, President Bush might connect with the people who count most — voters who fear for their jobs. And by dressing it up in supply-side rhetoric he might make it palatable to the right. "Distinguishing between Keynesian and supply-side stimulus is a matter of spin and timing rather than substance," said Benjamin Friedman of Harvard.

The President would not have to look far, were he so inclined. An appeal signed by 100 economists this spring called for a swift disbursement of cash to state and local governments to prevent cutbacks in construction projects. Mr. Bush might add some job-stimulating tax breaks and call it the fiscal policy for all seasons.

The one big drawback: no direct impact before the election. "The action might not be visible for six months," Mr. Solow conceded.

Is the White House likely to go for broke anytime soon? "They're in the grip of timidity and paralysis," Mr. Wanniski said, and they hope to increase the President's clout with the electorate by tried and true means. "They'll hand off through the right tackle," he concluded, "when they should be throwing bombs."

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A Dearth of Blacks In G.O.P.'s 'Big Tent'

Straining to Make a Show of Diversity
by Reaching Back to Some Former Aides

Special to The New York Times

HOUSTON, Aug. 18 — This was diversity night at the Republican National Convention, with a eclectic parade that included a rabbi, a governor who advocates abortion rights, the former pro quarterback Roger Staubach and the only black in the Bush cabinet, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Louis W. Sullivan.

Despite efforts to broaden the "big tent," it has not stretched over many blacks. Convention planners had to reach back to two long-gone Bush Administration officials to balance the convention show.

Fred McClure, the most prominent black official in the White House until he left to become a Dallas banker, sang the national anthem at the opening convention session. It was his most visible moment with the President since he sang "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" a cappella at a fundraiser for Senator Phil Gramm in the Astrodome in 1990. Condoleezza Rice, a National Security staff member who left two years ago, came from Stanford University to praise Mr. Bush's foreign policy.

Meanwhile, black delegates are in such short supply that two of the television networks had to use the same faces when searching for black audience reactions to the references to the Los Angeles riots in Ronald Reagan's speech Monday night.

In the Department of Symbolism, delegates have been sending off queries all week about a shindig on the final night at the River Oaks Country Club, one of the three clubs that the 1988 Democratic Vice-Presidential candidate, Senator Lloyd Bentsen, fleetingly resigned four years ago because of its all-white membership.

No Comment Yet On Strategy for '94

But will it be a good year for potatoes?

Asked by Bernard Shaw, the CNN anchor, if a Bush-Quayle victory in 1992 would make him the heir apparent in 1996, Vice President Dan Quayle answered:

"Let us get through this week. Let us get through the debate or debates. Let us see George Bush re-elected this November. And then we'll talk about 1994."

Perhaps Jack F. Kemp, James F. Baker 3d, William J. Bennett and Patrick J. Buchanan won't be running that year.

THE HOUSTON THING

Maureen Dowd
and Frank Rich

Woody Allen And Family Values

The New York tabloid headlines about Woody Allen began to provoke the family-values police among the Republican delegates today. The reviews have been somewhat less kind than those that greeted Mr. Allen's less-than-rapturously received last film, "Shadows and Fog."

"That's wacko Hollywood. I'm a big fan. Woody, why did you do this to us?" said Robert K. Dornan, a California Congressman interviewed by CNN on the convention floor.

The Recession Hits Home

A large sign above the Houston Shoe Hospital, at a shopping center not far from the wealthy River Oaks neighborhood, reveals the politics of pain, Republican style: "Topsiders Resoled Here."

The Politics Of Shopping

Overheard:

"One young Republican teen-age girl to another as they sampled the acres of Republican kitsch on display at the American Spirit Pavilion adjoining the Astrodome:

"This is almost as good as a Trek-kie convention."

Southern Belles For Safer Sex

Lovely to look at, somewhat surreal to behold, in hoop-skirted gowns of

violet, pink, blue and teal, a bevy of self-described Southern belles visited the Republican convention at midday, to dispense Texas hospitality and condoms.

Sashaying rather self-consciously into the Astrodome complex, the Southern Belles for Safer Sex were met with a surprisingly warm reception as they handed out the green and red prophylactics from dainty wicker baskets.

"Hi there, honey, would you like a condom?" said Tina Hester, chief belle, to the police officer at the front gate.

"Why, thank you ma'am," he said, taking two.

"Nobody is rude to a belle," Ms. Hester said, with satisfaction.

The belles are members of such groups as the National Organization for Women and Planned Parenthood staging a light protest against the Republican platform's position on abortion.

Political conventioners are so frequently accosted by pamphleteers that they tend to take what is handed to them without breaking stride. That, at least, was Michael K. Deaver's excuse.

The former Reagan White House chief of staff, who took two condoms from a belle in blue, said, when asked if he was pleased at the little bonus the day had brought, "What? What? I thought they were handing out cookies or mints." But, as he walked on, he kept the gift.

"My daughter will love this," he said, laughing.

Rocking the Astrodome

At a convention whose show business contingent is top-heavy with country music singers and faded Hollywood icons like Pat Boone and Charlton Heston, rock-and-roll, if not necessarily youth, still must be served.

Three Dog Night, a rock group best known for its 1970 hit "Mama Told Me Not to Come," gave a concert to a small but vocal crowd in the American Spirit Pavilion.

"They're making a comeback," said Torie Clarke, the Bush campaign spokeswoman. "It's retro-chic."

One rock critic has described "Mama Told Me" as a paean to "getting drunk at a party" and a "celebration of hedonism and substance abuse."

In "Wouldn't It Be Nice," his 1991 autobiography, the Beach Boys' Brian Wilson described the "ample supply of stimulants" he surveyed at the Hollywood Hills home of Danny Hutton, then and now a Three Dog Night lead singer, in the early 1970's.

Presumably the group now abides by the Republican Party Platform, which declares that "Dope is no longer trendy."

The Calendar Is Ticking

The Liberal/Media Lynch Mob Department:

"I don't mind the four more years," Murray Kempton of Newsday said today. "It's the three more days that is more than I can stand."

G.O.P. Is Flirting With the Dangers of Negativism

By R. W. APPLE Jr.
Special to The New York Times

HOUSTON, Aug. 18 — Richard N. Bond, the fiercely combative Republican chairman, says his party is fighting a "cultural war" with the Democrats. But there is also a cultural war taking place within the Republican ranks here, a war that pits conservatism with a snarl against conservatism with a smile.

Both are on display in the Astrodome this week, and both will probably be on display throughout the campaign. The question is, which will President Bush emphasize in his acceptance speech on Thursday night? Which will he emphasize in his campaign oratory and in his television commercials? And which, if either, will work?

It is hard to say. Mr. Bush is a political version of the 19th-century Yankee merchant, always genteel and mannerly in private but sometimes cunning and ruthless in business. He has said he would do whatever he needed to win reelection, and he commented when he arrived here, "I have always done better when I fight back."

Strategy of Divisiveness

He has also employed, this year as four years ago, accomplished political rabbit punchers who think divisiveness often wins elections.

Patrick J. Buchanan, Mr. Bush's erstwhile primary opponent, epitomized the scowling face of conservatism on the convention's first day. We are America, he said in effect, and the rest of you are not. But former President Ronald Reagan, eloquent still at 81 years of age, urged his fellow Republicans to keep their eyes fixed on his metaphorical "shining city on the hill."

Today Mr. Bond conceded that "George Bush and Pat Buchanan have some differences of opinion on a lot of subjects," but he also said, "Pat Buchanan's speech was brilliant, and I think that he is now on Bill Clinton's tail." James Lake, another top Republican manager, argued that Mr. Buchanan's denunciations of gays, lesbians, feminists and liberals in general would give needed help to the ticket in Orange County, Calif., a Republican bastion that in years past would have long since been locked up by the party.

'Not Comfortable With That'

But many in the party, equally conservative, made no secret of their displeasure at the tenor of Mr. Buchanan's speech and others like it, including one by Attorney General Dan Lungren of California this morning in which he revived the Willie Horton theme that the Republicans used against Michael S. Dukakis in 1988.

Asked how Mr. Buchanan's pitch would play in Wisconsin this fall, the state's governor, Tommy G. Thompson, replied, "I don't think it will," grimaced and walked away.

Senator Richard G. Lugar of Indiana, the most influential Republican spokesman on foreign policy on Capitol Hill, was more explicit.

"Pat's message is not a very appealing one for most Americans, and it's not a winning message," he said at a breakfast meeting with reporters. "You don't build majorities by excluding whole groups of people, and you don't have to be nasty to be conservative. I wish they'd cut it out, especially the attacks on Hillary. I'm not comfortable with that at all."

Mr. Lugar said he hoped the President and most Republican candidates would "try to make the Republican message more inclusive." Nothing would really matter, he said, unless the President offered the convention "a set of ideas that adds up to some potential for real economic change for average people, and not just broad principles and more attacks on Congress."

But the Republicans, even the conservatives, are deeply split between two approaches, each favored by one of the contenders for the party's Presidential nomination in 1996. They both spoke tonight. Housing Secretary Jack Kemp favors tax cuts to stimulate the economy, an idea that Senator Phil Gramm of Texas, who wants to balance the budget before anything else, calls "free-lunch politics."

In his speech tonight, Mr. Kemp did no lobbying for reduced taxes, but he eagerly identified himself with the Reagan approach. He said his party's purpose was "not to denounce the past, but to inspire our nation to a better future." Mr. Gramm did the same, bashing the Democrats' policies but avoiding divisive language, and pledging that "America's third century will be our greatest century."

Apparently in an effort to display diversity and mollify those rattled by the hard-liners, the Republicans sent to the platform this morning and tonight a diverse series of speakers, including about a dozen women, both advocates and opponents of abortion rights; three blacks; three Hispanics and three Asian-Americans.

Conservatives alone cannot elect a President. In recent New York Times/CBS News Polls, only 45 percent of Republicans and only 29 percent of all voters described themselves as conservatives. But 63 percent of the delegates here did so.

Frustrated and Bitter

Mr. Buchanan described for the delegates and the country the demons that lurked in the political landscape if the Republicans lost the White House: "abortion on demand, a litmus test for the Supreme Court, homosexual rights, discrimination against religious schools, women in combat units."

The former White House speechwriter slashed away at Governor Clinton, picturing him as a "draft-dodger" who lacked "the moral authority to call on Americans to put their lives at risk." He described Hillary Clinton as the standard-bearer of "radical feminism" and arch-enemy of the family.

This is a frustrated convention, unable quite to comprehend what has gone wrong after 12 years of soar-away electoral success, unsure exactly what to do about it. Frustration breeds bitterness, and much of that has spilled out in attacks on reporters, commentators and political analysts.

Mr. Reagan was never one for bitterness or meanness of spirit, even in the heat of combat, and his sunny optimism shone through his speech. He was partisan enough, questioning Mr. Clinton's foreign-policy credentials and

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heaping scorn on the Democrats who have dominated Capitol Hill for 60 years — "the gavel-wielding chairmen, the bloated staffs, the taxers and taxers and Congressional rule makers." He took a few gentle swipes at the man he ousted from the Presidency 12 years ago, Jimmy Carter.

Including the Outsiders

But his emphasis was on his own accomplishments and George Bush's abilities, not on any personal failings of Mr. and Mrs. Clinton.

The former President chose the rhetoric of inclusion, reminding the delegates, "we are all equal in the eyes of God — whether we come from poverty or wealth, whether we are Afro-American or Irish-American, Christian or Jewish, from big cities or small towns," and said, "we must all be equal in the eyes of one another."

Mitchell E. Daniels Jr., who served as political director in the Reagan White House, liked what his old boss had to say. Mr. Reagan, he said, "has saved conservatives from the perils of negativism before, and maybe he can get us on the right course again with the positive tone of his speech."

Later in the day it was announced that Mr. Daniels would be joining the Bush campaign team.

Networks Focus on Convention's Move to the Right

By ELIZABETH KOLBERT

During Patrick J. Buchanan's speech Monday night, CBS twice cut away to a big man on the convention floor who was wearing a sequined red cowboy hat. The man was sweating and yelling "Pat, Pat, Pat!" He certainly seemed to be enjoying the speech. In fact, he seemed to be enjoying it a little too much.

CAMPAIGN WATCH

Ideally at a political convention, the response of the delegates is supposed to cue the television audience. Their enthusiasm is supposed to be inspiring, and their excitement infectious.

On Monday night, though, it was hard for those in the television audience to feel that sympathetic bond. This was because every few minutes, commentators broke in to point out just how far to the right the Republican convention was aimed. Viewers were constantly reminded that this year the convention was being staged more for the benefit of those in the hall than for the average American watching at home.

The Price of Unity?

"This platform the Republicans adopted today reminds me of another Republican platform and another convention — the one of '64," CBS's Charles Kuralt said shortly before Mr. Buchanan's speech began. "That was the year the party's furthest

right wingers took over for the first time and drove through a breathtakingly conservative platform."

"Those folks were not so much interested in winning that election as in humiliating Nelson Rockefeller and the other moderates of their party," Mr. Kuralt continued. "And they didn't win. They lost in a landslide."

The Bush campaign took great pains to present a unified front to the television audience on Monday, suppressing a floor fight over their abortion plank and inviting the President's opponent in the primaries, Mr. Buchanan, to give the convention's first prime-time address. But as seen on television at least, this show of unity had a distinctly conservative cast.

Playing Up a Drift

In an interview with the President, NBC's Tom Brokaw pointed out that the Republican platform advocating a total ban on abortion was so far to the right that it contradicted even the President's stand, which favors exceptions for rape and incest. Mr. Bush tried to brush aside this problem, saying of his position, "If it's not compatible with the platform, never mind." But many television reporters predicted that the price of unity at the convention this summer would be problems for Mr. Bush in the fall.

The President's successful effort to suppress a floor fight on abortion, said CBS's Connie Chung, "could haunt him later on, particularly with one group he's had problems with before, and that's women."

Said ABC's Jim Wooten, "He's tiptoeing through some very dangerous territory."

The impression that the convention was not being aimed at what both

Convention Tops 'Murphy Brown'

Vice President Dan Quayle would probably be happy to hear that 11 million more Americans watched the Republican National Convention Monday night than tuned in to watch Monday night's episode of "Murphy Brown."

About 26.5 million Americans watched the convention on the three broadcast networks, ABC, NBC and CBS, and on PBS, according to Nielsen Media Research. An additional 1.2 million households tuned in to the conven-

tion on CNN.

"Murphy Brown," which aired just before CBS began its convention coverage, had an audience of 16.4 million, Nielsen reported yesterday. The episode, which featured a highly pregnant lead character, was a re-run.

The ratings for the first night of the Republican National Convention were about the same as the first night of the Democratic National Convention in New York City last month.

Television coverage of the Republican National Convention shows more dissonance than harmony. Word and Image, page C14.

parties like to call "mainstream America" was reinforced not just by the comments that viewers heard from the television reporters, but also by the images they saw on their screens. During Mr. Buchanan's speech, for example, CBS cut away to show the Rev. Jerry Falwell, Phyllis Schlafly and other prominent conservatives looking on approvingly. The network also showed groups of young men pumping their fists into the air in a militaristic show of approval.

In this context, the address by former President Ronald Reagan seemed oddly centrist for the man who gave contemporary conservatives their first taste of real power. Mr. Reagan waxed nostalgic about his own years in office, poked fun at

Bill Clinton and said relatively little about Mr. Bush. ABC's David Brinkley prefaced the former President's speech by noting that Mr. Reagan did not much care for Mr. Bush.

In the few opportunities they got to comment on the proceedings, Democrats tried to make the most of the Republicans' apparent drift to the right.

"If you read this platform, no one in the world would vote for this party," Robert Squier, a Democratic consultant, said Tuesday morning on the NBC News program "Today."

Appearing alongside Mr. Squier, Roger Ailes, President Bush's former media adviser, invoked higher authorities to defend the Republican plan.

"God managed to get into our platform," Mr. Ailes said. "He can't get into the Democratic platform. Of course, the Democrats think that's a splinter party, but I think God has a different idea."

Reagan's 'Lincoln' Quotation Disputed

By HERBERT MITGANG

In his speech to the Republican National Convention on Monday night, former President Ronald Reagan said the Democrats don't understand the principles "so eloquently stated by Abraham Lincoln."

Correction.

One reason the Democrats — or anybody else, including Lincoln scholars — don't understand these principles is that the 16th President never said what the 40th President claimed he said.

In Mr. Reagan's speech, he quotes Lincoln as saying: "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."

But Thomas F. Schwartz, curator of the Henry Horner Lincoln Collection at the Illinois State Historical Library in Springfield, said: "These fake Lincoln quotations have been known for more than three-quarters of a century. They've been exposed as untrue many times, but the words keep coming up, usually in a political or business context."

Words Cited In Derision

The words have not been cited by any Lincoln scholar, except in derision.

"These Lincoln quotations have been rattling around in Republican literature for some 50 years, even though they've been brought to the attention of party officials as phony," said Eric Foner, DeWitt Clinton Professor of American History at Columbia University. "Mr. Reagan is a master of invoking real, and sometimes unreal, figures and quotations on his side. He did something similar with Tom Paine."

Asked about the Lincoln quotations yesterday, Catherine Goldberg, the former President's spokeswoman, said, "I'm not aware that they are untrue."

She added, "I do know that he got the quotations out of 'The Toastmaster's Treasure Chest,' a book by Herbert V. Prochnow."

Ms. Goldberg maintained that Mr. Reagan did his own research and writing for the speech. "President Reagan is the author of the speech," she said.

For a number of years, Lincoln scholars have been aware that the actual author of the maxims used

Scholars say the words have long been exposed as untrue.

by Mr. Reagan is the Rev. William John Henry Boetcker, a minister from Erie, Pa., and a lecturer and pamphleteer who was born in 1873 and ordained in Brooklyn.

Mr. Boetcker first printed his 10 maxims in 1916 in a leaflet entitled "Lincoln on Private Property." Originally, one side of the leaflet contained some words by Lincoln; the other side had maxims by Mr. Boetcker. It was republished in 1917, 1938 and 1945 by the Inside Publishing Company, which Mr. Boetcker apparently controlled.

An organization called Committee for Constitutional Government distributed the leaflet, printing the maxims under Lincoln's byline, with the notation, "Inspiration of Wm. J. H. Boetcker." This reference to Mr. Boetcker was later dropped. The leaflet was used by the Republican National Committee Research Division, but without

FOR THE RECORD

any reference to Mr. Boetcker, leaving the impression that the maxims were uttered by Lincoln.

Two of the 10 maxims that Mr. Boetcker included in his homily were omitted by Mr. Reagan, possibly because they referred to debt — a sensitive subject to the Reagan and Bush Administrations. The maxims say: "You cannot keep out of trouble by spending more than your income," and, "You cannot establish sound security on borrowed money."

Housing Secretary Jack F. Kemp, too, quoted from Lincoln in his speech. But he selected lines from a talk delivered by Lincoln on Sept. 17, 1859, before he was nominated for President.

Buchanan Account Disputed

HOUSTON, Aug. 18 (AP) — In a climactic moment in his convention speech on Monday, Patrick J. Buchanan gave an account of a retirement home that was protected by Army troops during the Los Angeles riots last spring. But the manager of the home said today that during the worst of the riots it was actually shielded by elderly residents.

By the time the 18th Cavalry troops arrived early on May 1 at the Vermont Knoll Retirement Center, it was quiet, said the manager, Jewell Anderson. The Army's presence served as a deterrent to rioters who remained in the neighborhood, she added.

Terry Jeffrey, director of policy for the Buchanan campaign, said Mr. Buchanan got the information about the event from two soldiers he met at an Army compound in South Los Angeles. "I think he took the troopers at their word," the director said. "They were eyewitnesses to it."

The Republicans Play A Dissonant Tune

By WALTER GOODMAN

Watching the Republican National Convention is a split-screen experience. It is like a concert for two orchestras whose conductors are not on speaking terms. From the official side come easy-listening tunes scored for strings and trumpets. From the network side comes a dissonant threnody.

Whichever channel viewers turned to on opening night, except perhaps C-Span, which sticks more to the podium proceedings, they learned of dissonance and dismay in Republican ranks. Not until Ronald Reagan's speech, at the end of the evening, was there harmony. Anchors, reporters and observers agreed that the former President had struck an upbeat note.

But until then the show was a definite downer, relieved only by the occasional admiring word for Barbara Bush or, more startlingly, for Vice President Dan Quayle's steadfastness under pressure. (The C-Span audience could hear a delegate call Dan Quayle "a brilliant man.") No anchor neglected to mention the polls that showed Mr. Bush far behind, the continuing national distress over the economy, the party's disarray. Not to draw attention to these realities would have been negligent, yet the heavy drumbeat of disaster gave the coverage the aspect of an organized attack.

Dan Rather opened the CBS coverage with the announcement that "Republicans want to paper over differences." Mark Shields, the PBS commentator, said, "This is a pessimistic crowd." On CNN, William Schneider delivered an essay on "a Republican coalition that is about to collapse," and on ABC David Brinkley noted casually that even Mr. Reagan does not much like Mr. Bush.

A tone of skepticism prevailed. John Chancellor of NBC, noting Mr. Bush's repeated declarations that he was taking off the gloves to do battle, said he must have more gloves than Brooks Brothers. Mr. Rather, going over the official lineup of speakers, added, "This is what they hope you'll be reading about tomorrow." In preparation for Patrick J. Buchanan's endorsement of Mr. Bush — which Mr. Rather described in advance with a menu of metaphors as "raw meat," "sushi rhetoric" and "speech tartar" — ABC ran Bush-bashing clips from the Buchanan primary race.

All channels homed in on the ferocious anti-abortion plank in what Cokie Roberts of ABC called "a platform written by and for conservatives," and the failure of delegates favoring abortion rights to achieve a floor fight. William J. Bennett, the former Secretary of Education and an avowed conservative, who spent most of the evening serving as a let's-all-come-together presence on PBS, made the point that the Democrats had quashed dissent about abortion at their convention, but no one seemed particularly interested.

Reporters on the floor, like Connie Chung of CBS and Lisa Meyers of NBC, hustled to find abortion-rights delegates who would express their discontent. Both found Rep. Olympia J. Snowe of Maine. Lynn Sherr of ABC tracked down a California delegate who said she was a third-generation Republican who might not vote for Mr. Bush and "I don't really feel welcome here tonight." Dissent being news whatever the source, Ms. Sherr went on to produce a Buchanan delegate from Tennessee who said that at this point he was not supporting Mr. Bush.

In a striking moment of the joint coverage by PBS and NBC, Maria Shriver, working the podium, elicited from Richard N. Bond, the Republican national chairman, this line: "These other people are not America." He was talking about Democrats. Jim Lehrer could not provoke the indignant response he evidently wanted from his Republican guests, Mr. Bennett, Representative Susan Molinari of Staten Island, and Howard Baker, the former Senate Majority Leader, who got themselves a little tangled up explaining what Mr. Bond had meant to say although he may have chosen his language infelicitously. Finally Mr. Shields, the program's resident Democrat, came through, saying the comment had the "rancid stench of McCarthyism." David Gergen, his Republican counterpart, conceded that it was garbage.

A resounding theme of the evening's reporting was the ascendancy of the far-right wing of the Republican Party. Ms. Roberts called the Houston meeting "a convention of true believers." Charles Kuralt told CBS viewers, "Only the religious right is happy," and both he and Jeff Greenfield on ABC likened the proceedings to the 1968 convention that nominated Barry Goldwater and contributed to the Democrats' landslide victory.

Mr. Greenfield also classified the Buchanan speech as "dark conservatism," and Mr. Kuralt said it contained "ugly elements," including an

appeal to racism. But they agreed — and so did everyone else — that Mr. Reagan had come through in his old style and had left the crowd happy.

The Republican hit squad can be counted on to blame those elitists up in their sky boxes for the downbeat treatment of their big show, so unlike the coverage of the Democratic meeting.

The organizers would have preferred that more attention be paid, for example, to the women who addressed the convention, even though they found themselves to be making company of Alan K. Simpson, the Wyoming senator who led his party's assault on Anita F. Hill. On the other hand, camera operators seemed to be making special efforts to pick out black faces in a colorful hall that had strikingly fewer minority delegates than the Democratic convention. And moments of enthusiasm came through. Whether they were spontaneous or programmed, as Tom Brokaw suggested pointedly on NBC, who is to say?

Well, bad news has always been good news for journalists, and the Republican predicament is surely what this convention is all about. Still, although the attacks on television are the first refuge of politicians with problems, and although speeches like Mr. Buchanan's and comments like Mr. Bond's demand some reaction, much of the convention reporting did have an edge that hinted at partisan pleasure in the Republicans' troubles. No one wants to deprive the reporters of their fun, but possibly a little less animus with a little more analysis might enhance the credibility of network news as the political season heats up.

Barbara Bush, the Un-Secret Weapon

By ALESSANDRA STANLEY
Special to The New York Times

HOUSTON, Aug. 18 — The White House's keenest public relations expert was giving a lesson in the fine art of lowering expectations.

"I mean, it's nothing, and now I am getting really nervous," Barbara Bush said last week when asked about her speech on family values to the Republican National Convention on Wednesday night. She added roguishly, "If I could invent some new family value I may come up with one."

Self-deprecation — in her case, a well-honed oh-poooh-I'm-nobody routine — is one skill. Humorous barbs about the political condition is another. The First Lady, so often described as the Republican's "secret weapon," is becoming the worst-kept secret of the 1992 campaign.

'Clobber His Wife'

Though she still insists on describing herself in terms that suggest a cross between Mamie Eisenhower and Ethel

Mrs. Bush's warm image masks her strength.

Mertz, she is not fooling anybody about her political sophistication or her role as the keeper of the family grudge file.

And as her visibility and strategic importance to the Bush campaign increases, reporters and even a few Democrats are beginning to poke into the veils of charm that Mrs. Bush has raised as a screen around her. The scrutiny, an inevitable passage for all First Ladies, has been disconcerting for a woman accustomed to keeping a firm grip on her own image. She dislikes it and attributes it to partisan politics. "How do you get to George Bush?" she said of a rash of recent penetrating profiles. "Clobber his wife."

Edith Mayo, a curator of the First Ladies exhibits at the Smithsonian Institution, likened Mrs. Bush to, of all people, Jacqueline Kennedy for her skill at molding her public persona and for her upper-class savoir-faire. In Houston, Republicans are so eager for Mrs. Bush's popularity to shore up her husband's and pulverize his enemies that they view her in slightly less glamorous terms: as the Terminator.

BARBARA BUSH

She gave a rare hint of her inner steel last week. After deploring personal attacks delivered by one of her husband's advisers, Mrs. Bush fired a dart of her own at Bill Clinton. "He never denied he had a fling, did he?" she said in an interview.

'A Long Memory'

Later, one of her friends called the remark a retaliatory strike at Hillary Clinton, who repeated rumors about President Bush in an interview about the primaries. "She has a long memory," the friend said. "She has not forgotten the fact that Hillary raised the issue."

In public she has become a living symbol of her husband's kinder, gentler half. Her warm, grandmotherly image is so firmly affixed in the public's mind that Mr. Bush routinely invokes his wife as evidence that his Administration cares about the unfortunate.

Mrs. Bush, who expresses sympathy for AIDS patients and unwed teen-age mothers, last week sounded a note designed to appeal to moderate Republicans. She said abortion was a "personal" issue that had no place in the Republican platform. Afterward, she retreated from the fuss she created, insisting that she had no place in policy-making. "I'm through with abortion," she said. "I'm not running for President. George Bush is."

Tuesday morning, Mrs. Bush made her way to the American Spirit exhibition hall, a shopping mall of Republican souvenirs adjacent to the Astrodome, to sign copies of "Millie's Book," her best-selling book about the family spaniel. She was mobbed by several hundred frenzied Republicans who chanted, "We Love Millie!" as she passed. After one brief look at the snow-topped dot shaking hands in the distance, Lillian Clinkenbeard of Free-landville, Ind., announced, "She is so calm, so down-to-earth."

Boss at Home

At home, the good-cop, bad-cop roles are reversed. Friends say it is Mrs. Bush, the matriarch of the family, who runs the home and provides discipline — to their five children when the were growing up and now to the grandchildren. And though she can talk like any suburban mom who "dumps into any old house," all of her homes since 1981 have been redone by the high-society decorator Mark Hampton.

Her wit can be withering. One former aide, who spoke only on the condition of anonymity, recalled an episode

on the road when Mrs. Bush took him aside to compliment him on some work he had done. He said he tried for a modest response, replying meekly that "everyone worked very hard." Mrs. Bush, he said, "looked me in the eye and said, 'That's the most Pollyannish thing I've ever heard,' and walked away."

Neither Mr. Bush nor his wife forget slights, but Mrs. Bush masks her anger with far more grace than does her husband.

"She is a pretty strong lady," said her daughter, Dorothy Koch. "She toughens up when things get a little rough. I can't say she likes the campaign mode, but she gets stronger at a time when other people, like myself, get weaker."

'Transcends Politics'

Her political mettle, backed by favorable ratings in public opinion polls that are nearly three times higher than her husband's, scares Democrats. "She is popular because she transcends politics," said Carter Eskew, a

The keeper of the Bush family's grudge file.

media consultant who is advising the Clinton campaign. As if tipping his toe gingerly in very dark waters, Mr. Eskew added, "But if they dump her in the middle of a nasty political campaign it could be risky." Then he added, "Nah, she's such a tremendous asset, it's unlikely she could ever be hurt."

Mrs. Bush would like her coattails to extend to her sons. She issued a stern maternal warning to the media today. "My boys — my men — are the most honest young men, the most decent and wisest," she told a CNN interviewer. "I don't like whiners, but I must say that you, not you, but one has done a real job on one of our boys."

She was referring to Neil Bush, a director of the bankrupt Silverado Banking, Savings and Loan Association, which was sued by Federal regulators. Mr. Bush and other directors settled the case and Mr. Bush paid a \$50,000 fine. Mrs. Bush added, "I wish you'd leave him alone."

Scrambling For Time On the Air

REPORTER'S NOTEBOOK

By GWEN IFILL

Special to The New York Times

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Aug. 18 — Watching a Presidential campaign scramble for television air time is not a pretty picture. Gov. Bill Clinton's organization has resorted to all manner of genteel desperation to balance all the pretty red-white-and-blue pictures emanating from Houston.

Today's theme was discovery.

Mr. Clinton, arriving at the Statehouse to work at being a Governor for a few hours, complained that the Republicans seemed too preoccupied with the past instead of the future.

"You talk about slick," he said.

"These guys have talked about how prudent they were, and they have presided over the 10 biggest deficits in American history, Reagan and Bush."

"They've brought us to the position we're in, and now they're asking for a fourth term," Mr. Clinton said, lumping Mr. Reagan's eight-year tenure with Mr. Bush's four-year one.

"That's really the message of that speech last night. We want four terms. Three's not enough. And now we will discover America in our fourth term; sort of a Columbus theory of politics."

George Stephanopoulos, the campaign's communications director, who has dispensed daily dollops of campaign spin, declared: "The economy is dead in the water, and all they can do is attack Bill Clinton and attack his wife and kowtow to the far right."

"I mean, Pat Buchanan is 'Cape Fear' and Ronald Reagan is 'The Way We Were.'"

It's only a movie.

Hide-and-Seek Candidate

For a man who wants to be President, Bill Clinton has developed a genuine distaste for some of the universally public aspects of the job.

Last week, he dodged reporters at his hotel in Santa Monica, Calif., by taking out his Secret Service entou-

rage for a morning run 20 minutes earlier than scheduled.

And today in Little Rock, he completely fooled the waiting camera crew, which was positioned for the daily jogging picture at the front gate of the Governor's Mansion.

For several moments frustrated network producers thought Mr. Clinton had been smuggled out of the mansion in the back seat of a sedan that had driven out virtually unnoticed. But it turned out that he had devised a more ingenious solution. He simply ran out the back way.

The Accent Thickens

When Mr. Clinton travels South, it is not unusual for him to abandon his urbane ways long enough to become plain old Neighbor Bill, the Governor of Arkansas. His accent thickens, he uses the word "we" a lot and he speaks in an almost confidential tone about the problems the South has overcome. Race. Jobs. Politics.

"The other side is going to go down there to Houston, and they're going to say that Al Gore and I may have been

born in Arkansas and Tennessee, but we're just a bunch of crazy wild-eyed liberals," Mr. Clinton predicted last week at a meeting of Southern state legislators.

By "we" he meant the Democratic ticket. But for his audience, which chuckled appreciatively, the pronoun crossed party lines, making all Southerners victim of the Republican slurs he described.

"They're going to say they took us to New York City in a safe and no one saw us in an incubator there for 20 years," Mr. Clinton said with folksy disdain. "And we've got crazy ideas and came home and hid them for 20 years, waiting for the opportunity to spring them on the rest of the country."

"They're going to say every speech I gave on the Fourth of July in northeast Arkansas was a deliberate attempt to conceal my radical impulses. And that we just can't wait to get into power in Washington so we can take your guns away and trample family values and raise taxes on every poor working person in America."

British, French and U.S. Agree To Attack Iraqi Planes in South

A 'No Fly' Zone Is Planned Below 32d Parallel

By MICHAEL R. GORDON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 18 — The Bush Administration, stepping up its confrontation with Saddam Hussein, won British and French agreement today for a plan to shoot down Iraqi military planes if they venture into a wide zone throughout the southern part of the country occupied by dissident Shiite Muslims.

The plan for the "no-fly" zone, below the 32d parallel, aimed at defending the Shiite Muslims in Southern Iraq against air attack by the Iraqi military and at sharply curbing the authority of President Hussein, was described by a senior British official as ready to be implemented in the next several days.

Following a long Cabinet meeting in London today, Prime Minister John Major of Britain said the allies would establish control of as much as a third of the country. "They will be attacked if they fly in the area that is proscribed," Mr. Major said.

Allies Express Concern

The French also announced their support of the plan.

"The Baghdad regime has not been any more tender with the Shiite population than with the Kurdish population," said Foreign Minister Roland Dumas of France. "Thus the international community, and the allies in particular, are concerned about this situation."

No formal announcement has come from the Bush Administration on American participation in the plan. Today senior officials said that was because the Pentagon was still working out the details.

But the White House may also have let the allies take the lead to avoid any suggestion that a firm stand toward Baghdad was being adopted for political reasons. The British and the French Governments are known to be sensitive to being seen as bowing to President Bush at a time when he is fighting hard for re-election.

The United States, Britain and France have been discussing the idea of setting up a secure zone for several weeks, after reports that Iraq was waging a brutal offensive against the Shiites. Last week, representatives of the three nations issued pointed warnings in the United Nations Security Council, telling Baghdad that they were considering action to stop the Iraqi military from attacking the Shiites.

American officials say that they do

Continued on Page A6, Column 1

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not need a new Security Council resolution authorizing the establishment of a "no fly" zone. They say that Security Council Resolution 688, which prohibits the Saddam Hussein Government from repressing its people, provides the necessary authority. That resolution demands that Iraq "immediately end this repression" and calls on Baghdad to "ensure that the human and political rights of all Iraqi citizens are respected."

Mr. Major said he was reacting to what he called the "atrocities" Iraq has committed against the Shiites. He insisted that he had not been influenced by election considerations in the United States.

"It is that issue, not an electoral issue," Mr. Major told a television interviewer. "I am not just going into an election, and President Mitterrand is not going into an election and we both feel very strongly about this particular issue," Mr. Major added, referring to the French leader.

The decision to protect the Shiite Muslims in southern Iraq significantly diminishes Saddam Hussein's authority.

With the allied forces already protecting a Kurdish enclave in the north, the decision to have British, French and American planes prevent the flights of Iraqi planes and helicopters in the south, only central Iraq, less than half the country, would be fully within Saddam Hussein's control.

The allies' announcement comes as intelligence reports show that Iraqi forces have been preparing to renew their attacks against the Shiites.

They have been subjected to Iraqi air strikes, mostly from helicopter gunships, since the end of the Persian Gulf war. There have been no attacks involving fixed-wing planes since last month, when Iraq used combat planes against the Shiites for the first time since the gulf war.

Still, today's announcement leaves several key questions unanswered. For example, it is unclear what, if anything, the allies would do if Iraqi ground forces attack the Shiites in the south. In past months, Shiite villages have been pounded by artillery and then razed.

Several Technical Issues

While American British and French officials are agreed in principal on the zone, Western officials said that they were still discussing several technical issues.

They are agreed that the zone will cover an area below the 32d parallel. But the allies have been discussing over how far west the zone should go. The Americans believe that the zone should include all of the territory south of the 32d parallel, but some allied officials have reportedly expressed reservations about protecting such a large "area." If the zone encompassed all of Iraq south of 32d parallel it would include approximately 54,000 square miles, — an area about the size of Iowa.

Administration officials said Washington was still seeking formal Saudi Arabian permission to bring in the additional aircraft to police the zone. But one official said "things were going in the right direction."

An American official said Washington expected to have the arrangements in place to establish the zone within about a week.

Additional Fighters Needed

To monitor the zone on a continuous basis, the United States would probably have to bring in additional fighter planes. Neither Britain nor France has aircraft in Saudi Arabia or the gulf states. They would have to be flown to the area as well.

The allies are agreed that the United Nations need not be involved in the plan, since they believe their actions

are authorized by already existing United Nations resolutions.

To carry out the plan, the United States would likely station two or three Awacs radar reconnaissance planes along the Saudi-Iraq border. The Awacs would be protected by fighter escorts.

To respond quickly to any Iraqi incursion into the forbidden zone, three or four patrols might be kept in the air 24 hours a day over northern Saudi Arabia or southern Iraq. The American Air Force patrols would include F-15C fighters, while the Navy would operate patrols, using F-14 or FA-18 planes. Any Iraqi planes or helicopters that ventured into the prohibited area would be quickly identified by the Awacs planes which would pass the targeting information to the patrols so that they could shoot down the Iraqi intruders.

Reconnaissance Flights

In addition, the establishment of a "no-fly" area would enable the allies to conduct reconnaissance flights over southern Iraq to keep an eye on Iraqi military movements there and keep an eye on the Shiites.

To carry out its part of the plan, London is planning to send six Tornado fighters and two tankers to the gulf region, according to British military officials. The Tornado planes would probably be based in Saudi Arabia and used principally for reconnaissance, the officials said.

To explain the reason for the zone, the Pentagon today provided details on flights by Iraqi aircraft and helicopters in southern Iraq, much of which had previously been classified.

Pete Williams, the Pentagon spokesman, told reporters today that the Iraqi military conducted about 30 flights of helicopters and fixed-wing aircraft per day in the southern part of its territory. This includes flights of "Frogfoot" attack planes, which is similar to the American A-10. The Iraqi military has also flown PC-7 planes, a Swiss-made plane. Iraq has used both the Frogfoot and the PC-7 in attacks against the Shiites.

Major Change of Policy

Iraqi helicopters in Southern Iraq include the MI-8 HIP, the SA-343 Gazelle, and a few MI-25 Hines. In all of Iraq, there are about 150 flights of Iraqi fixed-wing and helicopters a day.

The creation of a no-flight zone is a major chance of policy for the Bush Administration, which decided not to intervene in the fighting in Iraq immediately after the gulf war, when the Shiites were appealing for American help. While the American military stood on the sidelines, the Shiite rebellion was brutally suppressed by Iraqi helicopters and ground forces.

But in an effort to diminish Mr. Hussein's authority over his own country and to respond to recent reports of stepped up attacks on the Shiites, the allies "stand-off" policy has changed.

"Are we to stand by and see in southern Iraq the systematic murder of a whole people? I don't believe that is acceptable," Mr. Major said today. "I don't believe that is what people would wish to see us do, when we have it in our power to stop it. We have it in our power to take action, and that is what we are seeking to do."

U.S. Says a Cambodian Ring Created Fake P.O.W. Photos

By BARBARA CROSSETTE
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 18 — Senior Defense Department officials say that they have exposed a ring of Cambodians who created and circulated at least six fraudulent photographs intended to represent American prisoners of war still alive in Southeast Asia.

"We have identified the people involved and talked to them," said an official who insisted on not being identified. "We know how they extracted the pictures and processed them and sent them to a refugee camp in Thailand."

It has not been uncommon for Cambodian refugees in Thailand to offer such pictures to the authorities, apparently in an effort to improve their chances of being approved for resettlement in the United States.

Six pictures the Defense Department says were fraudulent surfaced last year, some in multiple copies, at a Cambodian refugee camp known as

Site 2, on the Thai-Cambodian border. One of the pictures, showing three men purported to be Americans, was widely reproduced in the American press.

Defense Department agents traced the pictures back to Phnom Penh, officials say, where they "closed the loop" with the help of Soviet diplomats and Cambodian researchers.

The officials say that the group of Cambodians, several of whom held Government jobs but apparently were not acting in any official capacity, had routinely scoured Soviet publications for faces that could pass as Western, and then doctored those photographs.

Officials say that all six pictures appear to have been photographed from Soviet magazines and retouched in a Phnom Penh photo studio.

Outside U.S. Jurisdiction

In five of the six cases, the officials said, the Cambodians attached what seemed to be concocted American-sounding names to the faces in the photographs. But the officials said that the sixth photo gave them particular trouble because the Cambodian forgery ring seems to have obtained, through fliers circulated in Southeast Asia, the pictures and names of three Americans actually listed as missing: Col. John L. Robertson and Maj. Albro L. Lundy Jr. of the Air Force and Lieut. Larry James Stevens of the Navy. The forgers then tried to doctor a picture of three Soviet farmers to resemble those men, the officials say.

The Cambodians who are accused of having created fraudulent photographs cannot be charged by the United States with criminal offenses because they are outside American jurisdiction, Defense Department officials say.

Fearing Attack by All Sides, U.N. Halts Sarajevo Airlift

By STEPHEN ENGELBERG
Special to The New York Times

ZAGREB, Croatia, Aug. 18 — The United Nations suspended its airlift to the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina today, and officials voiced suspicions that the outgunned Muslim and Croatian forces in the area might be engaging in attacks in an effort to provoke Western military intervention.

Five days after the United Nations authorized the use of force to guarantee deliveries of food and medicine to civilians in Bosnia and Herzegovina, airborne and overland aid efforts have been challenged by forces in a conflict with a multitude of militias.

Today's incident involved the airlift to Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital.

Shortly after takeoff this morning, a British C-130 transport plane reported what appeared to be hostile fire from an antiaircraft battery.

The circumstances are under investigation. But a United Nations official said the aiming of antiaircraft radar at the plane, and the planting of mines over the weekend along the route of a United Nations convoy, did not appear to be the work of Serbian forces.

According to the United Nations official, the British plane was 31 miles due west of Sarajevo, over an area exclusively controlled by Croatian forces, and the mining took place in an area that is in the hands of Muslims.

"There is virtually no doubt that the mining was done by presidential forces," the official said, referring to the Muslim-dominated Government of the Bosnian President, Alija Izetbegovic. "Today's alleged shooting, if it took place, came from Croatian territory."

The United Nations official said the conclusions about the two incidents were preliminary, and he noted the difficulties in assessing blame.

The Pentagon estimates that as many as 19 separate militias are oper-

ating in Bosnia; their command and control is informal at best. Even if it were proven that one or another local commander had ordered an attack, it would not necessarily follow that the orders had come from the political leadership of the Muslims, Serbs or Croats.

Last week, the United Nations approved a resolution authorizing force to assure delivery of food and medicine to hundreds of thousands of beleaguered Bosnians in the war zone.

Most of the civilians under siege are Muslims, and would benefit most from relief operations. At the same time, however, Muslim and Croatian forces are hard-pressed by the better-equipped Serbs and would benefit from just about any Western military activity, particularly if protection of relief efforts drew the West into the fighting.

A spokesman in Zagreb for the British forces participating in the airlift said today that the radar detectors on a British C-130 transport plane lit up shortly after takeoff from Sarajevo at 8:57 A.M. Radar detectors show when another radar, like that on an antiaircraft battery, has "locked on" to the plane.

Frightening Puffs of Smoke

According to the United Nations official, the pilot saw puffs of smoke from the ground. Fearing a missile attack, the pilot set off flares and released chaff to fool the radar, an American official said. The plane was not hit, and officials could not confirm that the plane had been attacked.

The incidents threaten a United Nations effort to feed hundreds of thousands of people in Bosnia under siege by Serbian forces. Sarajevo has received more than 700 flights carrying about 250,000 tons of relief supplies.

Truck convoys have also begun to negotiate passage to other besieged towns. Bihać, a city in western Bosnia with as many as 350,000 refugees, and Gorazde, a city in the east with an estimated 70,000 refugees, have both benefited from truck deliveries.

United Nations convoys to Gorazde, which had received no food since April, raised what United Nations officials say are some of the most troubling questions about the intentions of the Bosnian Government.

Two Convoys to Gorazde

An earlier attempt to reach Gorazde had failed when a convoy, led by a Serbian armored personnel carrier, ran into a mine field and came under small-arms fire.

When the United Nations made a second effort on Saturday, United Nations soldiers spotted what they believed to be people in Bosnian uniforms planting a mine on the side of the road. On the return trip, the entire road had been covered with mines.

Don't Shoot the Iraqi Helicopters

In the latest emerging showdown with Saddam Hussein, Washington and its allies are rashly planning to shoot down any Iraqi aircraft that try to repress rebellious Shiites in southern Iraq. Such a policy would be legally untenable and politically unwise.

Some forceful action by the U.S. and its allies is clearly warranted if Mr. Hussein continues to flout the Persian Gulf cease-fire accord by interfering with United Nations operations. But the accord permits Iraq to fly aircraft and sets no restrictions on their use. Shooting them down would put the U.S. in the position of breaking an accord it is pledged to uphold.

Even worse, such precipitous action could subvert America's prime aims in Iraq, which are to keep that country disarmed and undermine its desperate dictator. The U.S. and its allies had those aims clearly in sight when they insisted on the U.N. inspectors' right to search for weapons of mass destruction, and threatened military action if inspections were thwarted.

But using force to back the Shiite rebellion would only weaken Arab support for keeping U.N. inspectors and relief workers in Iraq. And the threat to break up Iraq will only shore up Mr. Hussein by rallying the army to his side.

There is scant enthusiasm for intervening in support of the Kurdish and Shiite rebellions. Since the cease-fire the Iraqi Army, instead of turning on Mr. Hussein, has backed his efforts to repress the rebellion and hold the country together.

The repression has had the tacit support of others in the region. Turkey, which has many more Kurds than Iraq does, fears that their rebellion would spread and has stepped up its own repression, even conducting air strikes against Kurdish encampments in northern Iraq. Most states in the Middle East, concerned that the main beneficiary of Iraq's breakup would be Iran, have not protested repression of the Shiites.

Now Saudi Arabia seem to have changed its mind and wants to support the rebels. So do Britain and France. President Bush, casting for a way to whack Iraq and boost his own political fortunes, is pressing that effort on reluctant allies.

He wants to impose a "no fly" zone in southern Iraq. That would stretch the cease-fire accord beyond the breaking point. And it won't be enough to stay the Iraqis' hand. Even if the allies barred flights, Iraqi troops and tanks would remain the main engines of repression.

Mr. Bush seeks action under U.N. Resolution 688, a dubious justification. The resolution condemned Iraqi repression as a threat to international peace, demanded a cessation and called for humanitarian aid. But it did not authorize force to stop the Iraqis.

President Bush would be wiser to support U.N. enforcement of the cease-fire agreement without pushing beyond that agreement into new and dangerous territory.

The Politics of Exclusion

The Republican Party platform is warmly titled "The Vision Shared: Uniting Our Family, Our Country, Our World." The booklet bears a nostalgic photograph from the Ellis Island era: a family of three looks across New York Harbor at the Statue of Liberty, with the camera at their backs.

The Republican Party on display in Houston is far more exclusionist than these Ellis Island scenes would suggest. It's clear from the number of women and blacks present that the party has made strides. But on issue after issue — abortion, gay rights and race — the Republicans still have a long way to go before actions match their rhetoric.

Abortion is an obvious example. While very few Americans oppose abortion, the Republican platform takes the extreme position of guaranteeing that the rights of the fetus supersede those of the woman in all circumstances.

The platform goes out of its way to bash gay people. Its statement on this subject could be read to say that gay Americans don't deserve the guarantees that apply to other citizens. It opposes laws that would protect gays from discrimination. It also opposes laws that would allow same-sex partners to become parents or give foster care.

This convention is less lily-white than earlier ones. Four years ago, 90 percent of the delegates were white. That has dropped to 86 percent this year, with 5 percent of the delegates black, 4 percent Hispanic and 2 percent Asian.

Yet these gains have been more than offset by

race-baiting by those like the former Presidential candidate Patrick Buchanan and Dan Lungren, the Attorney General of California. Mr. Buchanan, in a portion of his speech dealing with the Los Angeles riots, seemed to portray the city's blacks and Hispanics as an alien force that the rest of the populace would have to subdue.

Mr. Lungren went further: He said that Republicans should stop apologizing for the Willie Horton ad of 1988, rightly acknowledged as one of the worst examples of race-baiting in recent politics.

Rhetoric like Mr. Buchanan's and Mr. Lungren's makes black Republicans feel unwelcome. Alan Keyes, former Deputy representative to the U.N. and a candidate for the Senate from Maryland, is one black who feels unwelcome. He tried for weeks to get time at the microphone at this Convention but was ignored until a news story appeared carrying his grievances.

"... it's the residue of racism," Mr. Keyes told Michael Kelly of The New York Times. "It's people who when they speak of a color-blind society mean that when a colored person comes into the room they go blind."

The party of Lincoln would do well to take Mr. Keyes's sentiments to heart — and open its eyes to all the citizens that make up the American family. That might bring the party closer to the vision of those moderate Republicans like former Gov. Thomas Kean of New Jersey who have long called for the politics of inclusion.

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The Washington Times

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CONVENTION UPDATE



■ President Bush lunched at a barbecue restaurant, dropped in on a karate exhibition at a school anti drug program and worked on his speech. "I want it to be good," he said.

■ Barbara Bush made the convention rounds and visited the American Spirit Pavilion to check out Republican souvenir booths. Asked about her text for her speech tonight, she said, "It's terrible."

■ Vice President Dan Quayle said in a CNN interview, "I had a bad campaign in 1988 personally and I am not going to repeat the same mistakes. . . You are going to see a new Dan Quayle."

TODAY

■ Barbara Bush
■ Lynn Martin, secretary of labor

■ William Bennett, former education secretary

Complete schedule of Page A8

■ Television coverage

FBS: 8-11 p.m.

C-SPAN: 11 a.m. 3 p.m., 8-11 p.m.

CBS: 10-11 p.m.

NBC: 10-11 p.m.

ABC: 10-11 p.m.

CNN: 11 a.m. 3 p.m., 8-11 p.m.

NOTABLE

■ Roger Ailes, the attack ad guru, said he will be giving the Bush campaign advice informally. Former White House aide Mitch Daniels will hold a formal role advising campaign advertisers.

■ Jack Kemp, secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, led an Associated Press survey of delegates as their

GOP points finger at Congress

By Major Garrett
THE WASHINGTON TIMES STAFF

HOUSTON — Republicans warned yesterday that Congress will team up with Democrat Bill Clinton to block President Bush's economic agenda and impose new taxes, more regulations, and a costly and compulsory health care system.

The resulting "change," they said, would be a deeper recession than the nation has endured in Mr. Bush's first term. They said only a Republican Congress could repair the damage wrought by decades of Democratic obstruction on Capitol Hill.

Delivering his party's keynote address, Texas Sen. Phil Gramm likened Mr. Clinton to "a used-car salesman peddling his vehicle for change."

"The wax job was shiny, the hubcaps sparkled, the upholstery was spotless, the paint was new," Mr. Gramm said. "But when you look



"They alone with their 101-member majority are responsible for the unholy mess Congress is in — and they ought to be held accountable for it."

— House Minority Leader Robert Michel

under the hood, you discover he is hawking a model from the '70s: a Carter mobile with the axle broken and the frame bent to the left. It was a lemon for the nation in the '70s — and it is still a lemon today."

Mr. Gramm and Jack Kemp, secretary of housing and urban development, argued that

America would be a safer, more prosperous and less troubled nation if Congress would stop blocking Mr. Bush's programs.

It is a familiar argument, but those two Republicans, positioning themselves for a run at the White House in 1996, tried to give it a new look before delegates at the 35th Republican

National Convention and millions of television viewers.

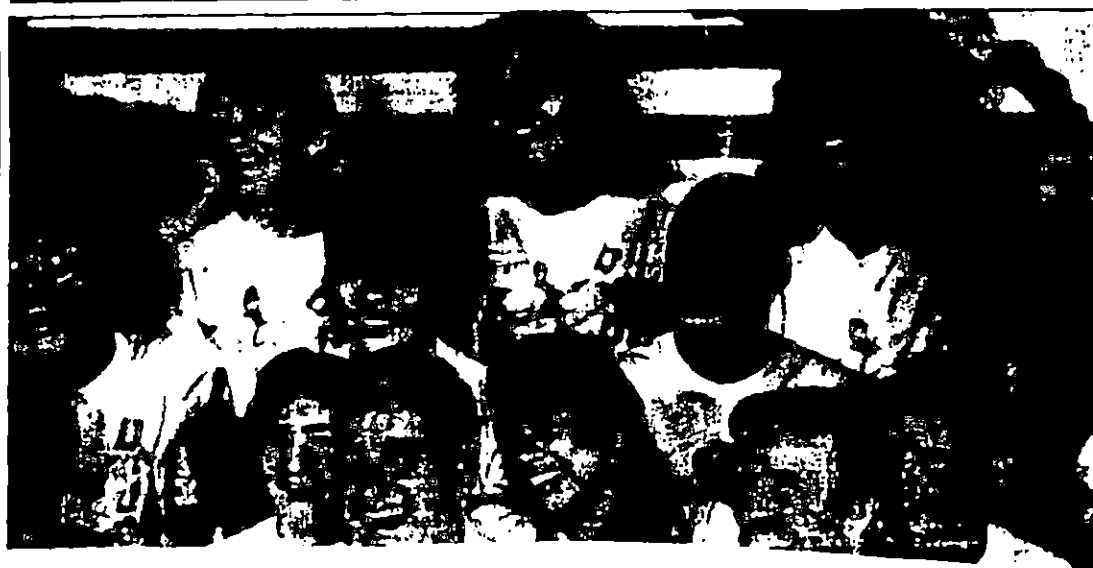
Mr. Gramm, a former economics professor at Texas A&M University, will likely lead the Republican charge against Mr. Clinton's economic proposals. Republicans say those plans will result in the largest tax increase in American history and cost almost 2 million jobs.

The Clinton campaign counters that its combination of tax increases for the wealthy, tax breaks for the middle class and unspecified government spending cuts would create jobs and bring down the deficit.

The two Republicans' efforts last night were part of a unified GOP theme to rekindle voter antagonism against Congress, possibly the only public institution held in lower esteem these days than the Bush administration.

"What nerve they have, these Democrats," Mr. Kemp said. "As the unemployment lines

see GOP, page A10



Big tent fills up on right

television ads in Houston and Washington that focus on tax increases and joblessness during the Bush stewardship.

QUOTABLE

■ "At the New York convention, Clinton was like a used-car salesman peddling his vehicle for change. . . . But when you look under the hood, you discover he is hawking a model from the 70s — a Carter-mobile with the axle broken and the frame bent to the left."

— Texas Sen. Phil Gramm

■ "We don't believe in an America that pursues equality by making rich people poor, but by allowing poor people to become rich."

— Jack Kemp, secretary of housing and urban development

■ "Do we turn our lives over to a smooth-talking, slick-looking dandy with no experience? Or do we put our trust in President Bush?"

— Barbara Franklin, secretary of commerce

THE OTHER GUYS

■ Bill Clinton — In Atlanta for an appearance today with former President Jimmy Carter.

■ Sen. Al Gore — Also in Atlanta for Habitat for Humanity event.

INSIDE



■ Vice President Dan Quayle leaps at second chance. Page A4.

■ Barbara Bush presents the kinder, gentler image. Page B1.

■ Stories. Pages A4, A6 & B1-2.

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Local/Politics: B8	TV: C1-2
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I got a kick . . . President Bush and martial-arts actor Chuck Norris watch a karate exhibition during an anti-drug program at a Houston school yesterday.

Medicaid funds shortfall may embarrass Clinton

By Michael Hedges
The Washington Post Staff

Bill Clinton is headed for a potentially embarrassing showdown with Arkansas medical professionals and the state's poor over a lack of funding for Medicaid programs and proposed cuts in services.

The Arkansas governor and Democratic Party presidential nominee interrupted his campaign this week to tangle with state officials in Little Rock who are trying to manage a ballooning deficit in state medical funding

without resorting to an election-year tax increase.

Also yesterday, U.S. District Judge Susan Webber Wright temporarily stopped the state from imposing Medicaid cuts after the Arkansas Medical Society sued, claiming the proposed changes would lead to a massive loss in services for the state's poor.

Arkansas officials are projecting a \$22 million shortfall in funds allocated for Medicaid payments in the state. The officials are looking for ways to close the gap until the state legisla-

ture meets in January to consider a new budget.

Rich Howell, deputy director of the Arkansas Department of Human Services, said Mr. Clinton and Lt. Gov. Jim Guy Tucker met yesterday with other state officials to discuss the budget crisis.

"We discussed options on how cuts in services should be made," he said. "There was no discussion of a tax increase."

Asked which options were considered, Mr. Howell said he was "not ready to release options yet" because "that would cause panic

throughout the state of Arkansas."

But the day of reckoning cannot be far off, officials said. By the end of this week, Mr. Clinton is expected to announce deep cuts in state Medicaid services.

Even those cuts will only be a temporary fix, experts said. By early next year, Arkansas will be facing a major tax increase, according to both Democrats and Republicans.

"They will have to raise taxes in clean up that mess," said state GOP Chairman Sheffield Nel-

see CLINTON, page A10

Fairfax schools to use nonteachers as subs

By Maria Kolarik
The Washington Post Staff

Hundreds of Fairfax County school employees with no teaching experience will be substitute teachers this fall as a result of a School Board vote three months ago, according to school officials.

"We're going to have carpenters and plumbers who will be substitutes," said Superintendent Robert R. Spillane.

"There are people in MIS (management information systems) that talk to computers all day that we may not have as a substitute under normal circumstances . . . and the board has

spoken and we're going to do our best."

The School Board on May 24 voted 5-3, with two members out of the room and one absent, to save \$200,000 in the substitute teacher budget by sending all qualified administrators to the classroom for 10 days. That includes Mr. Spillane and more than 300 employees who were vice teachers.

But about 200 administrators who have no teaching experience are also included because anyone with two years of college is qualified to serve as a substitute under county school

see SUBS, page A10

Ailing back sounds final buzzer for legend

By Tim Knott
The Washington Post Staff

Larry Bird announced his retirement from basketball yesterday in the no-frills, no-nonsense manner he favored as a player.

At a noon news conference in Boston, where he played for the Celtics for the past 13 years, he said his career as a player in the NBA was over.

He was a blue-collar superstar who embodied the essence of basketball.

He was the first to show up at practice and the last to leave. No

one outworked him. Opponents might have been able to out-jump or outrun or out-muscle him. But no one could outwork him. And no one could out-hustle him. He could rebound, pass and score, and for years he played the national one-man zone defense in the NBA.

Hampered by an ailing back, for which he underwent surgery after the 1991 season, Bird could not undo all the years of damage sustained from diving after loose

see BIRD, page A10

• Related stories on F1, D3.

Conservatives returning to fold

By Joyce Price
The Washington Post Staff

Two days into the Republican National Convention, many conservatives who previously were lukewarm or even hostile to President Bush's 1992 re-election campaign were returning to the Bush-Quayle fold.

Buoyed by endorsements from former GOP challenger Patrick Buchanan and other conservative leaders, the Bush campaign headed to a certain nomination tonight in Houston with a renewed parcel of supporters.

"This campaign is about philosophy and it is about character, and George Bush wins on both counts — going away," Mr. Buchanan said. "It is time all of us came home and stood beside him."

The Manchester Union Leader in see RIGHT, page A10



Larry Bird

Fight training for Bush

Boasts of tactic to curb Congress

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

HOUSTON — George Bush played Karate Kid yesterday — honorary black belt, no less — as he spent the day confidently honing weapons for the coming battle with Bill Clinton.

A particularly vicious flying side-kick wielded by a yellow-belt student intrigued the president. He playfully flashed an "A-OK" sign with thumb and forefinger when asked if he will use it on Mr. Clinton.

But there was no joking as he talked with awe about the "great start" he got from Monday's smashing grand entrance to the convention.

"You get here and you feel something happening, you feel something positive," Mr. Bush told children in an anti-drug martial arts program run by former karate world champ Chuck Norris.

He even felt brave enough to threaten a new tactic to keep Congress in line and to promise "a lot of changes in people" in a second term, including much of his Cabinet.

"I wouldn't say every single person," Mr. Bush said in an interview with Jim Lehrer of PBS' "MacNeil-Lehrer NewsHour."

He said he would adopt Congress-taming tactics of Democratic predecessors Franklin Roosevelt and Lyndon Johnson and "expose individual members" who say one thing at home and vote differently.

"You know, it is a different approach, but I've got to try something different because I want to move this country forward. And we've done it in world affairs," he said.

Asked if the public would see a fundamentally different second-term administration, the president replied: "I hope they're going to see a major commitment to making things better at home. . . . I know I've tried very hard, but I've got to get that more clarified and part of that is getting — getting control of . . . the Congress."

Mr. Bush looked confident yesterday: He popped his double thumbs-up sign at anybody who smiled and couldn't resist getting out of his hotel to create two colossal traffic jams.

Even in low-profile mode, the president kept busy:

- Giving interviews to six television stations from around the country as well as the MacNeil-Lehrer show.

- Reworking yet again tomorrow's acceptance speech, on which one official said six persons are laboring full-time under the guidance of chief speechwriter Steve Provost, who is credited with Monday's stemwinder.

- Keeping tabs on the crisis building in Iraq.

Mr. Bush learned there is such a thing as a free lunch at his beloved Otto's Barbecue, \$6.82 worth of brisket, sausage, slaw and iced tea. Cashier Lydia Moreno said "No, no, NOPE" as she wrestled to tuck his \$50 bill back into his shirt pocket.

Last night he and Barbara Bush went to the 1900-vintage Fine Arts Museum for a closed-door, private, absolutely no coverage party with 300 of their closest Houston friends — a real break with real friends who had invites to die for in a town where \$1,000 got you cold dinner in the back row.

GOP points finger at Congress

By Major Garrett
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

HOUSTON — Republicans warned yesterday that Congress will team up with Democrat Bill Clinton to block President Bush's economic agenda and impose new taxes, more regulations, and a costly and compulsory health care system.

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It is a familiar argument, but those two Republicans, positioning themselves for a run at the White House in 1996, tried to give it a new look before delegates at the 35th Republican National Convention and millions of television viewers.

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The two Republicans' efforts last night were part of a unified GOP theme to rekindle voter antagonism against Congress, possibly the only public institution held in lower esteem these days than the Bush administration.

"What nerve they have, these Democrats," Mr. Kemp said. "As the unemployment lines

lengthen to 11 million, they stonewall our pleas for action and then blame our president and our party for the economic decline."

Mr. Gramm also sought to remind voters of the secondary role congressional leaders played at the Democratic convention in New York.

"[House] Speaker [Jim] Foley and [Senate] Majority Leader George Mitchell were so far back in the crowd you had to press your nose right up to the TV screen and use a magnifying glass to spot them," Mr. Gramm said.

"It is clear Governor Clinton wants people to forget that Democrats run Congress so he can blame every problem on George Bush."

Voter hostility toward Congress has ebbed in recent months, and the momentum for change has been focused largely on the White House. To change that, Republicans appeared willing on the second night of their convention to sacrifice their own incumbents to save the president.

"Given a chance to present a vision for the future, Gramm transformed the Houston Astrodome into the Republican Hall of Blame," said a statement issued by Clinton communications director George Stephanopoulos. "He offered a colossal alibi: 'Don't blame us. We were only in charge.'"

While the president's surrogates were pointing to changes this November, reports surfaced that Mr. Bush was considering a massive staff shake-up should he win reelection.

Although nothing was announced, rumors underscored the idea that a second Bush term would bring a new brand of domestic policy.

CNN reported that the president would dismiss Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady, Budget Director Richard Darman, Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan, Energy Secretary

James Watkins and Mr. Kemp.

The president promised "a lot of changes in people" in an interview on PBS' "McNeill-Lehrer NewsHour," in one of seven television interviews the president granted.

Asked if he would sweep out all Cabinet members, Mr. Bush said: "I wouldn't say every single person."

Mr. Watkins and Dr. Louis Sullivan, health and human services secretary, heartily endorsed the president in convention speeches yesterday evening. The fate of Dr. Sullivan and Labor Secretary Lynn Martin, who will place the president's name in nomination tonight, was unknown.

Meanwhile, both presidential campaigns announced new television ads.

The Democrats released a meager \$50,000 media buy in Houston and Washington featuring a 15-second spot challenging GOP charges that Mr. Clinton repeatedly has raised taxes as governor of Arkansas.

Republicans countered with three spots depicting Democrats in Congress variously as pigs gorging at the public trough and obstructionists bent on grounding the U.S. economy. The GOP said it might spend as much as \$4 million if it used the spot in a national campaign.

The Republican finger-pointing on the economy contrasted sharply with its exclusive claim to winning the Cold War. While Democrats who would not yield to Mr. Bush's economic proposals were responsible for the recession, the argument went, Democratic votes for the defense buildup in the 1980s was unworthy of recognition.

"America stands today in triumph with economic and military power unrivaled in the history of the world," Mr. Gramm said. "None of these changes happened by accident. Two men more than any other people on the planet have been the catalyst for these changes, and their names are Ronald Reagan and George Bush."

see GOP, page A10

Big tent fills up on right

Conservatives returning to fold

By Joyce Price
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Two days into the Republican National Convention, many conservatives who previously were lukewarm or even hostile to President Bush's 1992 re-election campaign were returning to the Bush-Quayle fold.

Buoyed by endorsements from former GOP challenger Patrick Buchanan and other conservative leaders, the Bush campaign headed to a certain nomination tonight in Houston with a renewed passel of supporters.

"This campaign is about philosophy and it is about character, and George Bush wins on both counts — going away," Mr. Buchanan said. "It is time all of us came home and stood beside him."

The Manchester Union Leader in
see RIGHT, page A10

New Hampshire, a conservative daily newspaper that previously urged Mr. Bush to step aside so Republicans could nominate a more winnable ticket, urges its readers to support the president in an editorial in today's editions.

"It is time for conservatives to play the hand they've been dealt ... to unite and rally behind the president for the common good," the newspaper said.

The National Center for Public Policy Research, a conservative action group whose chairman, Burton Yale Pines, recommended alternatives to the Bush-Quayle ticket, now is in the Bush camp.

"From a conservative standpoint, [Mr. Bush] is still not perfect," said the group's president, Amy Moritz. "But we realize it's either Bill Clinton or George Bush, and in such a contest there's no question" Mr. Bush should be the choice.

Ms. Moritz said her group made its decision to back Mr. Bush in the past few days. "The concern we had was that he did not seem to be taking the challenge of his re-election seriously, but he now seems to be infused with a new spirit that we hope" remains in effect "not only throughout the campaign, but the next four years," she said.

In his convention speech Monday night, Mr. Buchanan, the columnist and commentator who ran an unsuccessful primary challenge against Mr. Bush, urged other disenchanted conservatives to join him in supporting the president.

"I do believe, deep in my heart, that the right place for us to be now -- in this presidential campaign -- is right beside George Bush," he said. "This party is our home, this party is where we belong. And don't let anyone tell you any different."

Edwin J. Feulner Jr., president of the Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank, said Mr. Bush's endorsement Monday night by former President Reagan — "whom most of us view as an idol and a hero" — made it possible for "conservatives to swallow some of their disappointment" and see that "there really is a difference and a choice."

The American Conservative Union, a 100,000-member organization whose board endorsed Mr. Buchanan for president by a vote of 16-2 in February, now expects to endorse Mr. Bush.

"We endorsed Pat Buchanan, and now that Pat Buchanan has endorsed George Bush, I don't see why we shouldn't close ranks and support Bush and Quayle," said Bob Billings, executive director of the organization, the nation's oldest conservative lobbying group.

Nobel Prize-winning economist Milton Friedman, who described the Bush presidency as being "very close to a disaster" in a recent article in *Forbes* magazine, nevertheless views the president as the lesser of two evils.

"The policies the past four years have been bad," Mr. Friedman said in a telephone interview yesterday. "But Clinton frightens me even more than Bush. And, on the whole, I expect the great bulk of people who are

either conservative or libertarian will support Bush when it comes down to it — but without the kind of enthusiasm they demonstrated for Ronald Reagan."

William Bennett, Mr. Bush's former drug policy czar who turned down an offer to be co-chairman of the president's re-election campaign, will nominate Mr. Quayle for vice president, said Peter Wehner, a research fellow and aide to Mr. Bennett at the conservative Hudson Institute.

Mr. Wehner described Mr. Bennett as a "loving critic" of the president who has concerns that Mr. Bush has not "laid out clearly what he wants to do in his second term." Nevertheless, he said, Mr. Bennett considers Mr. Bush "eminently preferable" to Mr. Clinton.

Another Bush critic, L. Brent Bozell, executive director of the Conservative Victory Committee, said yesterday that he, too, he would endorse the president's re-election bid.

"Last night, the [convention] rhetoric was excellent," Mr. Bozell said in a telephone interview from Houston. "It emphasized why conservatives should bite the bullet and vote for George Bush."

But he said he doesn't know whether the rhetoric is "enough to sway a population of disheartened Middle Americans" to vote for Mr. Bush in November.

Paul Weyrich, chairman of the conservative Coalitions for America, said yesterday he's "not against" the president but "won't be doing any work" for his re-election.

"The [anti-Bush] feeling [among conservatives] is so strong, there's little I can do to help," he said. "They feel the White House hasn't led during a period of difficulty in this country."

He said that is why "they were willing to jump to [Ross] Perot," even though they disagreed with Mr. Perot's positions on some key issues.

"I certainly don't want Bill Clinton to win," Mr. Weyrich said. But he predicted Mr. Clinton will "have to self-destruct" for Mr. Bush to be victorious.

Richard Viguerie, a conservative who heads United Seniors Association, a senior citizens group, said: "I'd love to be very supportive of this president. I understand the danger of a first Clinton term. I'd love to do what Pat [Buchanan] and President Reagan did" when they endorsed Mr. Bush.

But Mr. Viguerie, who earlier this year called for Mr. Bush to abandon his re-election bid, said he's not ready to do that and won't be until the president "tells [the American public] what he's going to do differently in his second term."

Others not ready to climb into the Bush camp include the Orange County Register in Santa Ana, Calif., and Howard Phillips, chairman of the Conservative Caucus Foundation, who is on the ballot in 25 states as a presidential candidate for the U.S. Taxpayers Party.

Mr. Phillips said he wasn't moved by Mr. Buchanan's plea Monday night. "I liked what Pat Buchanan said about Bill Clinton last night and what he said about George Bush in February," Mr. Phillips said yesterday.

Los Angeles Times

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REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

The Issues, A to Z

George Bush

Where He Stands

*A commitment to traditional values
and a limited role for government*

At the core of his plan . . .

ECONOMIC POLICY

Bush says the key to economic prosperity is limiting the size and scope of government, although federal spending, government regulation and the deficit have all increased during his Administration. "America is the most prosperous nation in history because it is also the freest," he says. "And that same commitment to limited government . . . must shape the reforms that we urgently need to undertake."

LOS ANGELES TIMES / WASHINGTON EDITION

SOCIAL POLICY

Bush has built his social policies around two pillars: supporting traditional "family values" and reforming government programs to increase choice for families in such areas as health, education and child care. "I trust parents, not the government, to make the decisions that matter in life," he says.

FOREIGN POLICY

Bush argues that with the end of the Cold War, the greatest threat to world peace is regional instability that the United States must seek to minimize in what he has termed "the new world order." He says: "The Cold War's end didn't deliver us into an era of perpetual peace. . . . The quest for the new world order is, in part, a challenge to keep the dangers of disorder at bay."



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ABORTION

- Supports a constitutional amendment to ban abortion except in cases of rape, incest or where the life of the mother is threatened;
- Seeks to overturn Roe vs. Wade, the Supreme Court decision guaranteeing the right to abortion;
- Opposes public funding of abortion except in cases where the life of the mother is endangered;
- Says he has not imposed an anti-abortion litmus test on Supreme Court appointees; in a recent ruling, one of his two appointees, Clarence Thomas, voted to overturn Roe vs. Wade, the other, David H. Souter, voted to uphold it;
- Issued rules that severely limit the ability of medical personnel in federally funded family planning clinics to discuss abortion with patients;
- Supports a ban on medical research using tissue from aborted fetuses and has used his veto to block legislation overturning the ban;
- Supports state laws requiring minors to receive consent from their parents before receiving an abortion.

AIDS

- Increased federal funding on AIDS-related activities to \$2.5 billion from about \$1.1 billion;
- Has been criticized by members of the National Commission on AIDS for not moving more aggressively to implement wide-ranging recommendations it issued last September, such as launching a comprehensive AIDS prevention program.

CHILD CARE

- Signed legislation providing \$18 billion in tax credits to help lower- and middle-income families pay for child care.

CIVIL RIGHTS

- After vetoing earlier version of the legislation, signed civil rights bill in 1991 that partially overturned several Supreme Court decisions restricting affirmative action;
- Backed aggressive enforcement of Voting Rights Act by Justice Department, which has led to a virtual doubling of the number of congressional districts in which blacks and Latinos are favored for election;
- Supported and signed landmark law prohibiting discrimination against Americans with physical or mental disabilities.

CRIME

- Repeatedly—and without success—proposed legislation applying the death penalty to additional federal crimes, limiting appeals by prisoners on Death Row and easing restrictions on the introduction of evidence gathered by law enforcement officials;
- Opposes Brady bill to require a waiting period for the purchase of handguns, but would increase penalties for crimes committed with a firearm;
- Banned imports of certain semiautomatic assault weapons in 1989, but opposes ban on producing such weapons domestically or on sales of such guns;
- Substantially increased funding for federal agencies involved in combatting crime, such as the FBI and the Drug Enforcement Administration;
- Expanded use of military in efforts to interdict drugs, and has nearly doubled spending on federal anti-drug efforts, such as treatment and education.

DEFICIT

- Has never submitted a balanced budget to Congress; has increased federal domestic spending by 7.3% annually, compared with 1% annually under President Ronald Reagan;
- In latest budget, proposes to reduce deficit from an estimated \$330 billion in 1992 to \$182 billion by 1997 through freezes on domestic discretionary spending and domestic federal employment, elimination of 246 assorted federal programs, a spending cap on all federal entitlements (except Social Security) and limiting their annual growth by a formula that takes into account inflation and the increase in eligible participants, reducing some federal subsidies to upper-income Americans, such as affluent farmers. Also calls for additional defense cuts of \$50 billion over next five years, which would include cancellation of B-2 bomber after production of 20 planes and a 21% reduction in active military personnel. Critics say the defense cuts are too small, given the end of the Cold War, and that the overall cap on entitlement spending leaves open the question of how to actually constrain such rapidly growing programs as Medicare and Medicaid.

EDUCATION

- Supports both public-school choice and federal assistance (through vouchers) for lower- and

middle-income parents who want to send their children to private schools;

- Has promoted the establishment of a private non-profit corporation to encourage the development of innovative "model" schools in each congressional district around the nation, and has urged Congress to provide \$535 million over three years to help communities develop such schools;
- Proposed allowing students to borrow up to \$25,000 for their college education and then repay the debt as a share of their income over time;
- Would allow families to deduct the interest they pay on student loans;
- Proposed national standards for educational performance and a voluntary nationwide examination system to test student competence in seven subjects;
- Substantially increased funding for Head Start program, although Democrats complain funding remains insufficient to allow all eligible underprivileged children to participate.

ENVIRONMENT

- Signed extension of Clean Air Act, which Reagan had blocked, but critics say that under pressure from business interests, he has weakened or delayed regulations implementing the law;
- Offered national energy strategy in 1991 that stressed efforts to increase domestic production, including opening the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil drilling, streamlining licensing to increase construction of nuclear power plants and relaxing regulations on electric utilities;
- Barred drilling for oil off the coast of New England, southern Florida and most of California for 10 years;
- Opposes legislation to require domestic auto manufacturers to increase their average fuel efficiency from current 27.5 miles per gallon to 40 miles per gallon by 2001;
- Ordered an accelerated phaseout of U.S. production of the chemicals linked to the depletion of the Earth's ozone layer;
- Opposed proposals at recent Earth Summit in Brazil to require industrialized nations to set binding targets for reductions in emission of carbon dioxide, the gas suspected of causing global warming; also refused to sign treaty aimed at protecting wildlife habitats, saying certain provisions threatened patents of U.S. biotechnology companies;
- Has permitted logging in some old-growth Oregon forests considered vital habitat for the endangered northern spotted owl and proposed rules to make it more difficult for environmentalists to challenge timber sales, mining and oil exploration on public lands.

FOREIGN POLICY

- Led worldwide coalition of nations that through military means ended the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait;
- Has been criticized for U.S. policies that aided Iraqi ruler Saddam Hussein in the years leading up to the invasion and for ending the war before Hussein was deposed;
- Negotiated agreement with Russia to cut both nations' nuclear arsenals by two-thirds over the next 11 years and eliminate all land-based missiles with multiple warheads; earlier signed agreement binding all members of NATO and the former Warsaw Pact to limit conventional forces and arms in Europe;
- Convened unprecedented Middle East peace talks between Israel and Arab neighbors; recently reached agreement to provide U.S. loan guarantees to Israel for resettling Russian emigres after new Israeli government agreed to curtail settlements in occupied territories;

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- Has supported substantial aid to the independent countries that emerged following the breakup of the Soviet Union;
- Has rejected calls for broad U.S. military intervention in the war between Serbia and its neighbors in the former boundaries of Yugoslavia, but has supported American participation in U.N. efforts to deliver food and medical supplies by force if necessary;
- Has supported keeping most-favored-nation trade status for China and vetoed legislation to require China to undertake reforms in the wake of the Tian An Men Square massacre.

GAY RIGHTS

- Supports current ban on homosexuals serving in military;
- Signed legislation ordering a federal study of hate crimes including attacks on homosexuals—the first time a federal law extended civil rights specifically on the basis of “sexual orientation.”

GOVERNMENT REFORM

- Proposed campaign finance reform legislation to ban political action committees, restrict congressional free-mailing privileges, bar members of Congress from rolling over money from one election to the next and require greater disclosure of unregulated “soft money” receipts collected by the national parties, but vetoed broader legislation establishing spending limits for congressional elections;
- Vetoed “motor voter” legislation to allow citizens to register to vote when obtaining driver’s licenses or at social service agencies;
- Supports the presidential line-item veto and a balanced budget amendment;
- Supports 12-year term limits for members of Congress;
- Signed ethics legislation that imposes new restrictions on lobbying by former government and congressional officials and limits honorariums for members of Congress;
- Has proposed far-reaching reforms in legal system, arguing that excessive litigation has diminished U.S. competitiveness; reforms include capping punitive damages imposed in lawsuits, shifting authority for setting such awards from juries to judges and encouraging alternative dispute resolution.

HEALTH CARE

- Seeks market-driven reforms in health system rather than greater government intervention. Along those lines, has proposed new tax benefits to help uninsured Americans buy health insurance, but has not yet produced legislation to implement the plan. Has proposed legislation to allow self-employed individuals to deduct all of their health care costs, to encourage states to limit damages patients could receive in malpractice suits and to reform the insurance market (such as preventing insurance companies from denying coverage based on pre-existing conditions). Has staunchly opposed congressional calls for national health insurance plan run by the government and the Democratic presidential ticket’s proposal to require all employers to either provide insurance or buy into a new federal insurance program, saying his alternative would offer greater choice and less bureaucracy.

INDUSTRIAL POLICY

- Generally opposes Democratic calls for government to increase partnerships with industry as misguided efforts to pick “winners and losers” in the private sector;

- Increased federal spending in some areas of civilian research and development, including such large-scale projects as the proposed space station.

INFRASTRUCTURE

- Signed measure in 1991 to spend \$151 billion over next six years on highway and mass transit programs, after offering initial proposal to spend less and focus the dollars more heavily on highways than public transportation.

JOB TRAINING

- Proposed ending program that provides job training to workers displaced by foreign trade;
- Proposed centralizing job training programs to create “one-stop shopping” skill centers;
- Proposed legislation to encourage development of apprenticeship programs for non-college-bound youths.

LABOR POLICY

- Opposes legislation to prohibit companies from hiring permanent replacement workers during strikes;
- Signed an increase in the minimum wage from \$3.35 to \$4.25 in 1989 after vetoing proposed increase to \$4.55;
- Vetoed legislation requiring many businesses to grant unpaid leaves to workers for the birth of a child or a family illness, saying such issues should be resolved by labor-management bargaining.

SOCIAL SECURITY, MEDICARE

- Has exempted Social Security from his proposed cap on entitlement spending; proposes increasing fees for Medicare recipients earning more than \$100,000 annually.

TAX POLICY

- Signed a five-year \$146.3-billion tax increase as part of 1990 budget deal, abandoning his “read my lips, no new taxes” pledge of the 1988 campaign;
- Supports broad-based cut in capital gains taxes, with reduction from current 28% to 15.4% for assets held for three years or more;
- Would establish temporary credit for first-time home buyers, equal to 10% of purchase price or \$5,000, whichever is less;
- Would restore partial tax-exempt status to individual retirement accounts and would allow withdrawals from those funds without penalty for first-time home buyers as well as for medical and educational expenses;
- Supports \$500 increase in current \$2,300 personal exemption for children under 19;
- Would make permanent the research and development tax credit and restore certain tax breaks for real estate developers eliminated in 1986 tax reform act;
- Vetoed tax bill this spring containing many of these provisions, as well as a \$42.4-billion middle-class tax cut, because it increased taxes on upper-income families by \$64 billion.

TRADE

- Has negotiated an agreement to link the United States, Canada and Mexico in a North American free trade zone, which would create the world’s largest common market;
- Has discussed follow-up efforts to create a free trade zone extending through all of South America;
- Has opposed congressional efforts to impose quotas on Japanese automobile imports, but has conducted broad negotiations on opening Japanese market to American products, such as paper, glass and computers, and reached trade agreements that require Japan to buy slightly more U.S. automobiles and auto parts.

URBAN DEVELOPMENT

- Would attract investment to inner cities by creating urban enterprise zones;
- Would attempt to increase home ownership through \$1 billion in grants to help public housing tenants purchase their units and by allowing low-income families to use federal housing vouchers for mortgage payments as well as rent.

WELFARE REFORM

- Has encouraged states to experiment with reforms that attempt to change the behavior of welfare recipients, such as cutting off benefits for recipients whose children do not attend school regularly or denying additional benefits to women who have children while on relief;
- Has urged Congress to increase the state family

Los Angeles Times

Bush's Agenda for Change Hit by Left, Right

By RONALD BROWNSTEIN
TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

HOUSTON—Anyone who tries to keep up with George Bush during a round of golf is confronted with a man constantly in motion. Anyone tracking the twists and turns of his political agenda is confronted with much the same phenomenon.

Bush first sought a Senate seat in 1964 as a backer of the godfather of modern conservatism, Barry Goldwater, rose in his party as a moderate, tacked back toward the right as Ronald Reagan's vice president and once again sought

NEWS ANALYSIS

the center in his 1988 race for the White House. Since assuming the presidency, he has governed in a way that has left voters and analysts across the ideological spectrum uncertain how to answer the most basic question: What does he really believe?

"The central philosophical principle is that George Bush wants to be President because he grew up wanting to be President," says

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Daniel J. Mitchell, an economic analyst at the conservative Heritage Foundation. "There's absolutely no evidence he wants to be President for any other reason than that."

Mitchell is harsher than most of the President's critics—but only by degree. Even some senior Bush Administration officials acknowledge that his first term has been marked by puzzling periods of inaction and a series of shifting signals on central questions.

Bush promised not to raise taxes, then did. He broke a decade-long stalemate and signed a historic extension of the Clean Air Act, then allowed aides to delay and water down regulations implementing the law. He embraced a balanced-budget amendment, but never submitted a balanced budget to Congress. He acrimoniously vetoed a civil rights bill, then signed virtually identical legislation a year later.

Now, after three years of governing in the gray zones, Bush is aggressively trying to define the presidential race in stark black-and-white terms. He tells audiences that a "grand canyon" of philosophical differences separates him from his challenger, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton.

He presents himself as an impatient reformer—an agent of change who would revive the economy and attack the nation's entrenched social problems through a far-reaching program of tax cuts, government restructuring and increased trade brought about by a U.S.-Canada-Mexico free trade pact.

And over the last two years, ambitious policy proposals have tumbled out of the White House—on education, health care, streamlining the legal system, welfare, banking reform, trade and reviving the economy through tax cuts for individuals and business. Many of these initiatives represent state-of-the-art conservative thinking—an attempt to update traditional Republican suspicion of centralized government with "new paradigm" insights aimed at reforming public programs by applying market forces, such as increasing consumer choice.

Several basic ideas link this agenda.

In economic policy, Bush believes that some government in-

vestments—in basic research on new technologies, for example, or on preschool programs for disadvantaged youths—can help boost long-term productivity and prosperity. But—unlike Clinton, who would dramatically expand such investments—Bush insists the most important thing government can do for the economy is get out of the way by limiting regulation, cutting taxes and spending, and avoiding expansion of its authority into new areas, such as guaranteeing coverage for those without health insurance.

"Our economic success wasn't hatched in some committee room on Capitol Hill or around a conference table in the White House," Bush declared in a speech last spring. "America is the most prosperous nation in history because it also is the freest. And that same

commitment to limited government . . . must shape the reforms that we must urgently need to undertake."

In social policy, Bush constructs his agenda around two pillars: promoting family values and increasing "choice" and "empowerment."

Family values is a new label for the traditional agenda of the social conservatives and religious fundamentalists who have become an increasingly important faction in the GOP: banning abortion, restoring school prayer and resisting any expansion of gay rights.

The focus on choice and empowerment reflects the priorities of a younger generation of conservatives, who want to confront social problems without directly increasing government's reach.

Rather than creating a new fed-

eral program to increase the availability of child care, for example, Bush pushed for and signed legislation that gave lower- and middle-income families tax credits to buy such services directly. He's approached health care the same way—urging Congress to help the uninsured buy insurance through tax breaks, rather than creating a new government system of universal coverage.

Most importantly, Bush has proposed giving parents greater "choice" in their children's education by providing them with vouchers that would defray part of the cost of sending them to private school if they wished. If more parents could afford to send their children to private institutions, public schools would be forced to reform or face an exodus of students, Bush argues.

"Competition," he says, "can be the greatest force for change in our schools in an entire century."

In foreign policy, Bush has described his priorities as constructing a "new world order" built on the principles of expanding democracy and opening markets to free trade through such initiatives as the recently completed North American Free Trade Agreement.

For different reasons, much of this agenda comes under fire from the left and the right.

On the right, the primary complaint is that Bush's record contradicts his rhetoric. On the stump, he rails against bloated government—but during Bush's first three years as President domestic spending increased an average of 8.7% annually. That's the most rapid increase under any President since John F. Kennedy, according to an

analysis by the libertarian Cato Institute.

Moreover, says Stephen Moore, the institute's director of fiscal policy studies, Bush has never vetoed a bill on the grounds that it spent too much money. "In almost every domestic area, he has either allowed or insisted upon an explosion in domestic spending," Moore charges.

Likewise, while praising his negotiation of a free trade zone linking the United States with Mexico and Canada, conservatives say Bush has devalued his pro-democracy rhetoric by pursuing close relations with China despite the Tian An Men Square massacre, and hesitating too long before embracing Boris N. Yeltsin and other reformers in the Soviet Union.

On the left, two indictments are lodged against Bush's proposals. Critics see some of his ideas—particularly his support for private school vouchers—as an attempt to undermine public institutions. Others say his ideas represent timid "tinkering." Experts maintain his health care tax credits, for example, would allow only about half of the uninsured to purchase coverage, and would do little to constrain the growth in costs.

Where critics on the left and right converge is in their doubt about the depth of Bush's personal commitment to any of these domestic reforms. It took the Administration more than two years to issue its education proposal, and three years to produce a health plan (key portions of which still have not been introduced as legislation). And there is virtually universal agreement in Washington that Bush has shown only desultory interest in steering any of these ideas through a Democratic Congress skeptical of them.

"The problem is Bush so infrequently has pushed these programs that you don't know how much of it reflects his own views," says Terry Eastland, a former senior Reagan Administration official and the author of a new book, "Energy in the Executive: The Case for the Strong Presidency."

That skepticism frames the challenge facing Bush: convincing voters that a man who has often seemed most passionately attached to the status quo has not only the vision but the will to bring change to a nation profoundly uneasy about its future.

GOP Leaders See Revived Economy, Hammer Congress

■ **Convention:** Massachusetts Gov. Weld criticizes the party platform's opposition to abortion. Keynote speaker Gramm credits Bush with ending the Cold War.

By JACK NELSON, TIMES WASHINGTON BUREAU CHIEF

HOUSTON—Four GOP leaders who may seek the White House themselves in 1996 delivered stinging attacks on this year's Democratic ticket Tuesday and offered visions of a resurgent economy under President Bush, as Republicans at their party's national convention sought to fan sparks of hope into fires of victory.

But one of Tuesday's speakers, Massachusetts Gov. William F. Weld, struck the first conspicuously discordant note of the convention by breaking with Bush's position and the party's platform of uncompromising opposition to abortion. "I happen to think that individual freedom should extend to a woman's right to choose. I want the government out of your pocketbook and your bedroom," he declared.

His remarks were met with a mixed chorus of cheers and boos.

Keynote speaker Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas sounded what are emerging as central themes of the GOP campaign. He credited Bush with ending the Cold War and opening the way for increased emphasis on domestic problems, and he charged that congressional Democrats "have used their majority to throttle the President's program and strangle the nation's economy in a partisan gridlock the likes of which we have not seen in this century."

Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp, who has frequently pressed for more aggressive action on the economy, gave Bush unqualified support in his speech, saying, "Our party offers a more powerful vision—an America committed to prosperity, opportunity and jobs for our people."

House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich of Georgia also joined in the chorus of attacks on the Democratic Party, saying it "rejects the lessons of American history, de-

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spises the values of the American people and denies the basic goodness of the American people."

In a new indication that the Bush campaign is pursuing a have-its-cake-and-eat-it-too strategy of decrying personal attacks on Democratic nominee Bill Clinton and his wife, Hillary, while continuing to make them, placards appeared on the convention floor saying "If Hillary Can't Trust Him—How Can We?"

Since Bush's convention managers have made a point of the fact that GOP rules give them control over all signs on the convention floor—they prevented abortion rights advocates from bringing any such signs into the hall Monday when the platform was being adopted—the presence of the Hillary signs presumably had official approval.

Here are the day's other key developments:

- Vice President Dan Quayle, with an eye on 1996, said voters will "see a new Dan Quayle" this fall and vowed not to "repeat the same mistakes that I made in 1988." In a CNN interview, Quayle said: "I'm going to rely on my own political instincts. They got me where I am."

- The troubled Bush campaign organization sought to sharpen its message by turning to two high-powered political veterans, including controversial media specialist Roger Ailes, to help oversee an often-aimless advertising team. The moves signal efforts by incoming Chief of Staff James A. Baker III to impose new discipline over a Bush team that can little afford to make more mistakes.

- In an interview broadcast Tuesday night, President Bush promised that voters would see "a lot of changes" in his Cabinet if he is reelected and held out the prospect that he might restructure "the executive branch itself." Some aides said Bush is weighing a plan to announce that Baker would remain in the White House after the election to manage the economy.

- Top Bush advisers said their hopes had been lifted by the chorus of attacks on Clinton by former GOP candidate Patrick J. Buchanan and others Monday night. Citing weekend polls that showed Bush beginning to narrow Clinton's lead, they expressed confidence that efforts to portray the Arkansas governor as a traditional tax-and-spend liberal were at last striking their mark. "This shows the essential mistrust that people in this country have for the Democratic Party," campaign counselor James Pinkerton said.

- Senior Bush campaign adviser Charles Black said Clinton will be

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vulnerable to GOP attack on the issue of family values because the Arkansas governor, at a fund-raiser sponsored by leaders of the Los Angeles gay community in May, delivered an emotional speech in which he vowed to lift the federal ban on homosexuals in the military and launch a massive federal program to combat AIDS.

Black, at a breakfast meeting with reporters, contrasted what he called "President Bush's commitment on family values, which doesn't believe you should have government preferences for homosexual lifestyles . . . versus Gov. Clinton, who went to California and spoke to the largest gay group there and tearfully embraced their agenda."

"When it comes to discussing the social agenda and family values, that's a legitimate issue," he said.

While the fundamental business of the convention is energizing this year's Bush-Quayle ticket, many delegates are also casting their eyes to 1996.

An Associated Press survey of more than half of the 2,210 delegates showed that Kemp is the clear choice to be the party's 1996 presidential nominee. He was supported by 34% of the delegates polled, with Quayle a distant second with 9.8%. Baker polled 6.6% and Gramm 4.9%. Several others drew scattered support, and 25.7% of the delegates said they were undecided.

Sen. Phil Gramm

As part of the Bush campaign's orchestrated effort to credit the President with the collapse of communism, Gramm cited the tearing down of the Berlin Wall, the liberation of East Germany and the breakup of the Soviet Union as results of "strong Republican leadership."

"Two men more than any other people on the planet have been the catalysts for these changes," he said, "and their names are Ronald Reagan and George Bush."

"Ronald Reagan sighted the Kremlin in the cross hairs, but it was George Bush who pulled the trigger," Gramm said.

Accusing the Democrats of wanting to "disarm" America, he declared that the last Democratic President, Jimmy Carter, had "decimated defense."

In fact, the cuts in the nation's defense spending began under a Republican President—Richard M. Nixon—and continued under another—Gerald R. Ford—until Carter began rebuilding Pentagon budgets in the last part of his term. Reagan dramatically accelerated the buildup.

Gramm praised Bush for putting together the international coalition



TAMMY LECHNER / Los Angeles Times

Jim Conran is all ears—and trunk—as he listens to speech.

against Iraq and criticized the Democratic leadership in Congress for opposing the use of U.S. military force to drive Saddam Hussein's forces out of occupied Kuwait.

Some Democrats ultimately voted in support of force after a spirited debate praised by many Republicans, but Gramm characterized the episode this way: "Ultimately, we shamed enough Democrats in Congress into supporting the President."

Jack Kemp

Stressing family values and the GOP's anti-abortion stand, Kemp said Republicans "don't believe children are just mouths to feed . . . they are hearts, minds and souls for our future. And they deserve our protection not only after their birth, but before they are born."

Republicans, he said, do not measure compassion "by the size of the safety net, but by the number of rungs on the ladder of opportunity. This is what distinguishes our party from the Democrats."

The Democratic "New Covenant" that Clinton espoused at the Democratic convention in New York, he said, "is not new . . . it's not a change. It doesn't put people first, it puts government first; it doesn't empower people, it empowers bureaucracy. It doesn't encourage investment and growth, it spends . . . and spends . . . and spends."

Los Angeles Times

Kemp said New York Gov. Mario M. Cuomo "gave away the Democrats' game" at their convention when he said Clinton, as President, would have the "courage" to raise taxes.

"The Democrats call that courage—I call that crazy," he declared. "In this economy, can you imagine anything more depressing and destructive than raising income tax rates and imposing a surtax? The Democrats' plan won't soak the rich, it'll soak the poor, soak the middle class and drown our economy."

Dan Quayle

Quayle, whose favorable ratings have dropped below 30% in some polls, is using the convention as a forum to try to redefine himself for a public that, surveys show, believes he is unqualified to be a heartbeat away from the presidency.

He has been granting interviews and making speeches in Houston, but his big chance will come Thursday night when he accepts renomination as the party's vice presidential candidate in a nationally televised speech in prime time at the Astrodome.

"I hope by the end of the week that I will be able to once again communicate—and this time communicate directly with the American people," said Quayle, who accuses the press of slanting stories against him. He told a CNN interviewer that he will talk about growing up in a small Indiana town and will emphasize the importance of hard work.

"I had a bad campaign in 1988 personally, and I am not going to repeat the same mistakes that I made in 1988, and 1992 is going to be an entirely different campaign," he said. "You are going to see a new Dan Quayle."

In 1988, Quayle's campaigning was rigidly controlled by handlers imposed by Baker, who ran the Bush campaign then as he will this time. Bush had not consulted Baker on the selection of the young Indiana senator, which Baker considered a political mistake.

Quayle, in the CNN interview, stressed that he will control his own campaigning this time. Despite reports that relations between the two have remained cool, Quayle insisted that "there is no animosity whatsoever between Jim Baker and myself. We have been good friends since 1980."

Campaign Team

The decision by the Bush campaign to turn beyond its ranks for help reflects what sources described as Baker's concern that the

team's communications and advertising efforts have been no more than mediocre. Officials said that Mitchell Daniels, a former top official in the Reagan White House, had been hired to impose political control over a Madison Avenue advertising team than until now has been given little guidance.

At the same time, Ailes, who was credited with suggesting the use of the Willie Horton case in the 1988 campaign, was said to have agreed to step up his role as an outside adviser to Bush and his campaign, although he made clear that he would not take a formal position in the operation.

A TV ad—made by a team not under Ailes' direct control—spotlighted Horton, a black prison inmate who committed a violent crime after he had escaped from a Massachusetts furlough program. The ad was used with devastating effect against the 1988 Democratic nominee, Massachusetts Gov. Michael S. Dukakis.

Ailes and Daniels have worked closely under Baker in the past, and their new roles extend a shake-up in which the incoming White House chief of staff has replaced key Bush advisers with his own trusted associates.

In New York, Ailes issued a statement denying wire service reports that he had been enlisted in the 1992 campaign. But Bush aides said his role as a behind-the-scenes adviser would grow increasingly important as the election neared.

Daniels served as political director in the Reagan White House while Baker was its chief of staff. He was tapped by Baker four years ago to manage Quayle's vice presidential campaign.

Senior Bush advisers have complained bitterly about the quality of the television advertisements produced for Bush by a Madison Avenue team led by New Yorker Martin Puris. But they have acknowledged that the consultants, few of whom have campaign experience, have received almost no guidance from campaign chairman Robert M. Teeter and other senior officials.

Cabinet Shuffle

Bush's statement about changing his team in a second term touched off a frenzy of speculation. Some Republican sources, who insisted on anonymity, named Kemp, Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady, Energy Secretary James Watkins and Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan as among those most likely to be excluded from a second-term Cabinet.

A well-placed Administration official noted pointedly that "with any new Administration there are

likely to be changes." But the official insisted that no firm decisions had been made about any second-term shake-up.

Indeed, those circulating rumors about the reshuffling seemed most motivated by a zeal to show that Bush was so committed to change that he was willing to sweep his Administration clean even of long-time associates.

Such an announcement, they suggested, would serve as a powerful signal of Bush's commitment to a second-term domestic agenda. At the same time, it could elevate Baker to virtual deputy-president status that would help voters to regard him, rather than Quayle, as Bush's effective running mate.

Other Speakers

Many of the other speakers who addressed the convention Tuesday sounded themes that Bush has signaled he will use in the fall campaign against Clinton.

Jeanie Austin, co-chairman of the GOP, said Clinton's complaint that Republicans sound like a broken record when they accuse him of "tax and spend, tax and spend."

"Well, yes, we do say their song is still 'tax and spend,' she declared, "because their record is still stuck on tax and spend, tax and spend."

Mayor Nao Nakasugi of Oxnard, Calif., sounding the family values theme, said that like his "mom and dad, more than half the families of Oxnard are Americans by choice, not by birth" and that for them "America is the promised land of opportunity where those who work hard get ahead; where achievement is admired and rewarded; where family is honored, and where the education of children comes first."

Atty. Gen. Dan Lungren of California accused Democrats of being soft on crime and of "trying to convince the pundits that whenever we Republicans raise legitimate concerns about wrong-headed Democrat crime policies, we should be shamed into silence. Well, we won't!"

Lungren, referring to the Democrats' attack on a 1988 Bush campaign add featuring a black convicted murderer who committed a rape while out on a furlough, said, "When we begin to talk about crime, they trot out their liberal icon and invite the press to worship at the altar of righteous indignation. The icon is . . . Willie Horton. When they utter those two words, we Republicans are to bow down in a frenzy of mea culpas. Well, this is one Republican—and law enforcement official—who won't be cowed."

Times staff writers William J. Eaton, Douglas Jehl and Paul Richter contributed to this story.

Los Angeles Times

Clinton Works on Arkansas' Budget Deficit

■ **Democrats:** The state is facing a \$20-million shortfall. A similar problem haunted Dukakis in his losing 1988 campaign. But campaign aides say they're not worried.

By DAVID LAUTER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—While his campaign aides sought to give as good as they got from the Republicans so far this week, Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton spent much of the last two days trying to solve a \$20-million shortfall in the Arkansas state budget that likely will require painful cuts in Medicaid payments.

The 1988 Democratic nominee, then-Massachusetts Gov. Michael S. Dukakis, faced a similar problem, having to cut millions of dollars from his state budget on the eve of his convention. The issue ultimately haunted him in his presidential campaign, helping the Republican ticket headed by George Bush raise doubts about Dukakis' competence.

But Clinton and his aides insist that the budget problems he faces as governor of Arkansas will have far less political impact.

Clinton contends that at a time when states from California to Maine are having well-publicized budget difficulties, the problems in Arkansas do not stand out as much as Dukakis' fiscal troubles did.

"These problems are rampant throughout the country," Clinton said earlier this week. He noted that most of the Arkansas problems involve Medicaid bills, which have soared nationwide due to the rapidly rising cost of medical care and the overall effects of the recession.

"We've got a nationwide explosion of health care costs," Clinton said. "This doesn't have anything to do with partisan politics, except that we don't have a national government that will provide health care for people."

In addition, in sharp contrast to Dukakis, Clinton has not claimed any "miracle" status in his governance of his state, which likely would make him far less vulnerable to downturns in state government.

Still, the cuts needed to keep the state budget in balance could create problems. Because Medicaid serves the poor and elderly, any program reductions almost automatically will hurt members of key Democratic constituencies, who might be able to bolster the GOP charge that Clinton is the "failed governor of a small state."

Clinton's critics charge that he could have headed off the current budget problems had he not been distracted by his presidential campaign.

He denies that charge, arguing that his Administration did as much as possible but has been a victim of the same problems plaguing other states.

Meanwhile, Clinton aides are trumpeting some good news about the state: the federal Bureau of Labor Statistics released figures Tuesday showing that Arkansas had the highest percentage growth rate in the country in private-sector, non-farm employment. Arkansas' 3% growth rate marked the second year in a row that the state topped the list in private-sector employment growth.

Will the Real Bill Clinton Please Stand Up

■ **Image:** The conventions are a study in contrasts. Democrats see a moderate voice for change. The GOP paints him as a 'slick,' big-spending liberal.

By RONALD BROWNSTEIN
TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

HOUSTON—The Bill Clinton that voters met at the Democratic Convention in New York was the hard-working son of a single mother, who learned more from his small-town grandfather than from any textbook, who has worked to lift up his impoverished state and who is moving the Democratic Party away from the liberal orthodoxes of its past.

The Bill Clinton on display at the Republican Convention here is quite a different fellow: He is the "failed governor of a small state," says Republican National Committee Chairman Richard N. Bond; He is a "slick" liberal who "sat up in a dormitory in Oxford, England, and figured out how to dodge the draft," says Patrick J. Buchanan; He is a big spender who has proposed "the largest tax increase in the nation's history," one that will cost "millions of Americans . . . their jobs," says Texas Sen. Phil Gramm.

If the top priority at the Republican Convention is improving voters' attitudes about President Bush, close behind is the need to take Democrats' portrayal of Bill Clinton—and turn it on its head.

At their convention last month, the Democrats framed the race as a choice between change and the status quo: a ticket of young, vigorous moderates with a plan for reviving the economy battling a tired incumbent who lacks vision, an agenda and the will to act.

The Republicans are working hard this week to reverse those contrasts. Where Democrats portrayed Clinton and running mate Al Gore as fresh and new, Republicans are trying to redefine them as inexperienced.

What Democrats sold as moderation, Republicans are recasting as stealth liberalism. Above all, what Democrats pictured as change, Republicans are seeking to portray as risk—a future that looks suspiciously like the days of malaise and Jimmy Carter.

"At the New York convention, Clinton was like a used-car salesman peddling his vehicle for change,"

Gramm said in his keynote address Tuesday night. "But when you look under the hood, you discover he is hawking a model from the '70s—a Carter-mobile with the axle broken and the frame bent to the left."

As presented during the convention's first two days, the GOP case against Clinton sprawls across many issues—from taxes to the environment to crime—and touches on questions about his character, his qualifications to conduct foreign policy and the legal writings of his wife, Hillary Clinton. Even some insiders complain that the campaign hasn't yet distilled its Clinton critique into a concise indictment.

Amid this sometimes confusing barrage of accusations, though, some clear priorities for the Republicans are emerging.

At the top of the list is challenging Clinton's attempt to claim the political center by linking him to liberal Democratic approaches that voters have rejected in the past. That's a familiar tactic for the Bush forces: Four years ago, Bush regained control of the presidential race by painting Democratic nominee Michael S. Dukakis as a cultural elitist contemptuous of middle-American values.

This time, some senior Bush officials acknowledge, it won't be as easy to polarize the race ideologically because Clinton—a death-penalty supporter and advocate of welfare reform—does not present as tempting a cultural target as Dukakis. But, GOP strategists say, crucial to their hope of staging a comeback is increasing the percentage of Americans who say that Clinton is too liberal—now only about one in five, according to the latest Times Poll.

"If we don't do anything else out of the convention, if we don't do anything else in the general election, we have to show the difference between Republican and Democratic principles—because it's become blurred," said Mary Matalin, the Bush campaign's political director.

To push Clinton to the left, Republicans are pinning their hopes primarily on accusations that the Arkansas governor offers a return to traditional Democratic policies of "tax and spend." Exhibit A is the charge that the \$150 billion in revenue-raising proposals in Clinton's economic plan would represent the largest tax increase in history.

In response, Clinton aides maintain that when the plan's roughly \$100 billion in offsetting tax cuts for middle-class families and business are figured in, Clinton's net tax increase is smaller than many others—including the

five-year, \$145-billion increase that Bush signed as part of the 1990 budget deal.

Republicans counter that Clinton's tally doesn't include potential new levies on business to fund Clinton's health care and job training initiatives.

Republicans have tried to fill in their portrayal of Clinton as a closet leftist by labeling him an environmental extremist who would unleash waves of new regulation and wipe out jobs. And they are challenging his claim that he represents mainstream social values—the cornerstone of his defense against the Republican ideological attacks.

Beyond the ideological assault, Republicans are rapping the Democrat's record at home—another tactic that proved successful four years ago. Clinton tried to minimize his vulnerability to such assaults in his acceptance speech by declaring there was no "Arkansas miracle"—just mode progress on difficult problems.

Few here would grant him even that. In his speech Gramm declared that Clinton's "failed leadership" has left Arkansas in last place on an array of concerns from average family income to environmental policy.

In other addresses Tuesday, California Atty. Gen. Dan Lungren accused Clinton of failing to adequately fund law enforcement; Health and Human Services Secretary Louis W. Sullivan accused him of mismanaging his state health care system.

Both of these charges—that Clinton is a liberal moderate garb, that his record at home does not match his rhetoric—address the same deeper objective, many analysts say. In both cases, the Republicans—hoping to revive earlier doubts about Clinton's integrity—are arguing that voters cannot trust an opponent whom many regularly label "slick."

Reinforcing that effort to raise doubts about Clinton has been a regular series of references to the personal controversies that nearly engulfed Clinton's campaign earlier this year. They range from Ronald Reagan's allusion to Clinton's assertion that he "didn't inhale" while sampling marijuana as a college student to comments by two GOP aides about the allegations of marital infidelity lodged against the Democratic nominee.

But Democrats insist that after the reversal of his new taxes' pledge two years ago, Bush cannot win election fought on the terrain of trust.

New Angeles Times

Hillary-Bashing Becoming Key Part of GOP Campaign

■ **Strategy:** She's accused of urging 'radical feminism,' trying to destroy the family. But attacks may be risky.

By DAVID LAUTER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—Barbara Bush may not like it but if the Republican Convention is any indication, Hillary-bashing is about to become a fixture of the presidential campaign.

Hillary Clinton, the high-powered, articulate and liberal wife of Democratic nominee Bill Clinton,

NEWS ANALYSIS

has rapidly become the woman Republicans love to hate. The status has some irony, for it mimics the history of Eleanor Roosevelt, the woman after whom Mrs. Clinton is named. Please see HILLARY, A3



SUSAN FARLEY / Newsday

Hillary Clinton

HILLARY: GOP Target

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ton has often said she would like to model herself if her husband makes it to the White House.

Monday night, Patrick J. Buchanan took off after Hillary Clinton, repeating charges that GOP Chairman Richard N. Bond had made last week—that she has “likened marriage and the family to slavery.” Television cameras caught Mrs. Bush, who had criticized Bond’s statement, looking perturbed and muttering to a companion during Buchanan’s remarks, but GOP strategists predict more such criticism to come.

Hillary Clinton may find herself in the spotlight again tonight, designed by GOP strategists as “family values night” and featuring speeches from Mrs. Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle’s wife, Marilyn.

The focus of the attacks has been on Clinton’s legal writings, with Buchanan, Bond and other Republican spokesmen accusing her of advocating “radical feminism” and seeking to undermine the family. “What does Hillary believe?” Buchanan demanded in his speech, going on to say that she believes “12-year-olds should have the right to sue their parents.”

Those attacks constitute a potentially high-risk strategy: Attacking a presidential candidate’s spouse marks a new wrinkle in politics that many voters—particularly younger, more affluent women—may dislike. Moreover, the attacks, even by the somewhat loose standards of presidential campaigns, fairly seriously distort what Mrs. Clinton has written.

Even some Republicans question the approach. One GOP strategist noted that private research has indicated that voters impose an “extremely high standard of proof” on allegations that a candidate’s wife is a legitimate issue.

Democrats have reacted with outrage. “Since when do you run for President by attacking a guy’s wife?” demanded Clinton campaign press secretary Dee Dee Myers.

The answer, Republican operatives argue, is that Hillary Clinton is one of her husband’s closest advisers. Her views may help shape his, they say. Or, they suggest, perhaps her views indicate ideas that her husband may really hold but would prefer not to talk about.

And despite the risks, the attacks on Mrs. Clinton fit into a basic Republican strategy—trying to find ways to pierce Bill Clinton’s carefully portrayed moderate stance and to convince voters that he is nothing but a new-style Democratic liberal in disguise.

As Clinton pollster Stanley Greenberg noted, the targets of nearly all such GOP strategies have been two groups whose defection to the Democratic ticket—if it holds up—would sink Bush’s candidacy irretrievably: older white Southerners and Northern, blue-collar ethnic groups. Both groups are generally conservative on cultural issues and presumed to be suspicious of well-paid, independent-minded women lawyers.

For most of the last two decades, Hillary Clinton has worked on issues of child welfare and education, serving until recently, for example, as chair of the Children’s Defense Fund, which has often lobbied for increased federal spending on children’s programs. In Arkansas, she chaired a task force that devised new statewide education standards.

She also introduced into the state—and the country—a preschool literacy program devised in Israel that won favorable attention in a handbook on literacy published in 1989 by the Barbara Bush Foundation for Family Literacy.

The attacks, however, have focused not on those activities, but on a series of legal articles she wrote in the late 1970s and early 1980s in which she advocated changes in the way children are treated in courts and other legal forums.

It was a subject that Mrs. Clinton knew could be controversial. “The very questions being asked invite fear and confusion,” she wrote in one 1977 article. “They touch deeply held and often conflicting convictions about family autonomy and childhood needs.”

Indeed they have. In a 1973 article on “Children Under the Law,” for example, she sought to explain the history behind the legal principles that limit the rights of children. Those limits, she noted, are based on the idea of dependency: “that certain individuals are incapable or undeserving of the right to take care of themselves and consequently need social institutions specifically designed to safeguard their position.”

“Along with the family, past and present examples of such arrangements include marriage, slavery and the Indian reservation system,” she wrote. “The relative powerlessness of children makes them uniquely vulnerable to this rationale.”

That passage is the basis for the GOP charge that she compared marriage to slavery.

Under laws of many countries throughout history—including the United States until modern times—married women had few legal rights and were considered legally dependent upon their husbands. In the 19th Century, married women in some states were forbidden to own property in their own names or to file lawsuits. And it was not until the early 1970s that the Supreme Court struck down state laws requiring a married woman to live wherever her husband chose or risk being charged with abandonment.

Mrs. Clinton’s basic argument in 1973 was that courts should stop assuming that all children are legally incompetent until they suddenly become fully competent at the age of majority—the traditional legal view. Instead, she argued, courts and other government bodies should take a more

case-by-case approach, assuming that children are competent to advance their own views unless evidence indicates the contrary. “There are certain children at certain ages in certain circumstances who can and should exercise responsibilities. The task is to determine what those conditions are,” she wrote.

Although anyone would agree that a newborn lacks competency to advance its own views, “it is more difficult to prove a 12-year-old child totally incompetent,” she wrote. That passage provides the basis for Buchanan’s assertion that she would allow 12-year-olds to sue.

Mrs. Clinton’s view was on the advance edge of theories on children’s rights in the early 1970s. Since then, however, laws and court decisions have generally headed in the direction she suggested.

Courts, for example, increasingly consult children—at least older ones—about their preferences before deciding custody in divorces. And the Supreme Court has upheld the right of a teen-age girl to obtain an abortion without obtaining permission from her parents. And courts have upheld the right of teen-agers, in some cases, to go to court to obtain permission for actions that their parents would forbid—obtaining needed surgery that a parent might find objectionable on religious grounds, for example.

Conservative legal commentators have found many of those developments disturbing, arguing that government should have no right to interpose itself between parent and child.

Mrs. Clinton has argued that although such intervention should be rare, some circumstances warrant it.

“Even among persons in the children’s rights movement, there is concern that extending rights to children against their parents is too difficult to control, and in all but the most extreme cases such questions should be resolved by the courts,” she wrote in a 1982 essay. Intervention should be “limited to decisions that could have long-term and possibly irreparable effects if they were not resolved.”

In such cases, she wrote, “children should have a right to be permitted to decide their own future if they are competent.”

COLUMN ONE

First Lady Takes the Gloves Off

■ Barbara Bush is speaking out on tough issues and is under fire by some in the press. The shift from her American Queen Mum image, and her convention speech tonight, show she's entered the political fray.

By JOHN M. BRODER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—For the first time in her long run in the public eye, Barbara Bush is taking a beating in the press.

Nothing personal, of course. But George Bush is on the mat and there's no fun in slapping him around anymore. So the nabobs of the cultural elite have turned on Barbara, the nation's revered Grandmother-in-Chief, heroine of the white-haired and chubby masses, the untouchable Bar.

The New Republic, ever ahead of the trend curve, started it off in late June with a touching little essay about the First Lady titled "Sacred Cow." She is described as Nancy Reagan with impeccable WASP manners, a backstage manipulator of a weak husband who makes Hillary Clinton look like a novice, and a "shameless" master politician who gets away with murder by alternately charming and intimidating the press.

But it fell to Vanity Fair, chronicler of modern American mores and purveyor of high-tone celebrity smut, to serve as picador of the President's wife.

In a long profile in the July issue, Vanity Fair informs us that the public Barbara Bush is just a cunningly constructed mask concealing the real First Shrew. We learn that her stepmother fears her, anonymous White House staffers describe her as "difficult" . . . "tough as nails" . . . "demanding" . . . "autocratic."

The author's own judgment is that she is "a caustic and judgmental woman, who has labored to keep her sarcasm in check—with incomplete success." There's no mistaking the Barbara Bush portrayed here—she is a hard, mean, manipulative woman hiding behind her fake pearls, her false modesty and her upper-class demeanor.

In short, Vanity Fair can't quite say it, but it rhymes with rich.

Why this sudden turn in Barbara Bush's image?

Mrs. Bush, sitting primly in a straight-backed chair in the formal West Sitting Room of the White House residential quarters during an interview last week, agreed that—until now—she has been treated very kindly by the press, portrayed for years as a sort of an American Queen Mum. Why the change now, she is asked.

"Let's guess," she says with a tight smile that barely conceals a hint of menace. "We've got four months before the election. How do you get to George Bush? Clobber his wife."

This is not the docile, restrained Barbara Bush we have seen until now. This is not so much a new Barbara Bush—she has always

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been a woman of immense will, wicked wit and hidden hurt—but a calculated use of the First Lady as a new weapon in her husband's depleted political arsenal.

This is Barbara Bush without the kid gloves, a combative, sharply partisan First Lady, who, like the President, will do whatever it takes to extend their lease on the White House.

This change in style and tone is a measure of her husband's desperation, and of her own frustration at a lifetime of self-imposed restraint. No longer will she limit herself to the safe subjects of family, literacy and good works. Starting with a series of media interviews last week, Mrs. Bush has begun to speak out on abortion (a matter of "personal choice"), negative campaigning (she upbraided GOP Chairman Richard N. Bond for attacking Hillary Clinton), unfounded allegations of marital infidelity ("disgusting") and the press itself (it is biased against her husband because of a "liberal" tilt).

Mrs. Bush addresses the Republican National Convention tonight—a first-ever prime-time convention address by a First Lady. But, like the seasoned political professional she is, she tried to play down expectations for the speech. "It's not going to be a great speech," she said. "It's just sort of a little Mighty Mouse. It's nothing."

The speech is clearly designed to bring before the public this comforting figure, this paragon of family values, this warm-hearted matron to assure us that George Bush really is a good and decent man who has been unfairly maligned for trying to do the right thing for his country.

But don't be surprised if she drops in a few zingers, as she did last week when asked about Democratic nominee Bill Clinton's "family values."

"He never denied he had a fling, did he?" she asked cattily. She had a back-of-the-hand slap for Hillary, too. "I certainly don't want to be co-President," Mrs. Bush said sweetly.

There's little doubt that Mrs. Bush is one of the struggling President's most powerful assets. Her approval ratings have been running 40 to 50 percentage points ahead of her husband's in polls this year. And there's no more dramatic evidence of her perceived value to the President than her appearance on the convention podium tonight.

After four years of demonstrating to the country that she is not Nancy Reagan, the President's wife tonight is staking out a new identity: Barbara Bush, mother of five, grandmother of 12, college dropout, uncomplaining spouse of 47 years, is not Hillary Clinton.

The strategy is not without risk, notes Ruth Mandel, director of the Center for the American Woman and Politics at Rutgers University.

"Barbara Bush has chosen to play the role [of political spouse] in a classically traditional manner. She has played the role to the pattern. Unlike Hillary, she has never presented herself as a woman with a political profile or public image independent of her husband's," Mandel said.

Accordingly, her convention appearance represents "a risky decision," Mandel said. "I think it weakens the President's image. Can you imagine if Hillary had been given a prime-time speaking role at the convention? There'd have been an uproar. Mrs. Bush has never projected herself as a policy adviser; she has primarily concerned herself with home and family. Why then is she making a prime-time speech at a national political convention?"

The message that the Bush campaign is sending is unmistakable, Mandel said: We're safe and they aren't. But giving Mrs. Bush a high-profile political role muddies the message, she said. Mrs. Bush's immense appeal derives from the fact that she has never appeared to lust for power or play the political game. Now, Mandel said, the White

House is "taking advantage of her popularity to reassure Americans that [Bush] is a nice guy."

When George and Barbara Bush moved from the vice president's mansion to the White House four years ago, it was widely suggested that she would serve as the President's conscience on issues from homelessness and AIDS to education and gun control.

It is she who has shown the nation the compassionate side of the first couple, as he has tried to follow in the macho footsteps of his predecessor, Ronald Reagan. It was she who cuddled the AIDS babies, read to underprivileged schoolchildren, visited countless hospitals and homeless shelters, while George sent the troops marching off to Panama and Kuwait and killed fish and game with First Buddy Jim Baker.

Beneath this performance, however, is a woman of enormous resolve and political savvy who has propped up her wavering husband at several critical junctures. On these occasions, she has been not so much George Bush's conscience, as his spine.

Two telling anecdotes from Richard Ben Cramer's exhaustive new book on the 1988 campaign, "What It Takes," are illustrative.

After Bush's embarrassing third-place finish (to religious broadcaster Pat Robertson and Kansas Sen. Bob Dole) in an Iowa straw poll in the fall of 1987, senior campaign staffers Lee Atwater and Bond were dissecting the loss and deciding what to do next. Barbara wandered into the staff section of Air Force Two and fixed her gaze on Bond.

According to Cramer's reconstruction, Barbara said: "So, Rich, when are you going back to Iowa to manage the vice president's campaign?"

Cramer continues: "Bond jerked in place, for an instant, like a specimen pinned to a lab table. 'Um . . . right away, Mrs. Bush!'"

"Good!" said Bar. Her mouth was smiling, but her eyes had Bond's, as her head tilted back an inch or two. . . . Because that's what George and I want."

Cramer's second story relates to Bush's indecision about launching a stinging attack ad against Dole, who was leading the vice president in the days before the crucial New Hampshire primary in early 1988. The spot accused Dole of straddling the fence on tax increases and other key issues. Bush wasn't sure he wanted to air the ad; it just wasn't nice. Atwater pressed Bush to hit Dole, to hit him hard. Bush wavered.

Barbara, who had seen the ad, and had seen those of Dole and the others that painted Bush as a wimp, a lap dog of Ronald Reagan, had made her decision. "I don't think ours is that bad," she told the staff. That was all the authority they needed. They put the ad on the air, helping Bush sweep the state and launching him toward the White House.

"Mrs. Bush is a very shrewd political animal," said Lewis L. Gould, a professor of history at the University of Texas-Austin who teaches a course in first ladies. "She is intelligent and can do very well at that game."

Perhaps the greatest element of that skill is that she does it so discreetly. Her kid gloves seldom leave fingerprints.

She is widely credited with altering the President's view on banning semiautomatic assault rifles, which her husband, a member of the National Rifle Assn., had felt should remain legal. She is also assumed to be the one who gave former Chief of Staff John H. Sununu the final push out the door last winter, after his government-

paid personal travel became a continuing Washington scandal.

Neither Mrs. Bush nor anyone on her staff would confirm her role in these or other policy matters. Former senior White House aide Ed Rogers said her influence on the President was the subject of "endless speculation" among the White House staff and the press corps, but few people know the truth, and those who do don't talk, he said.

In a May interview with the Los Angeles Times, Mrs. Bush said that she and her husband talk frequently on matters of policy and personnel, but that the discussions are and will remain private.

"If I thought someone was ill serving the President, you may be sure I would tell him. I would. . . . But I certainly wouldn't tell anyone else. That's what husbands and wives do. . . . I tell George right in there," she said, pointing toward their bedroom in the White House living quarters. "Quietly."

The outlines of Barbara Bush's life are by now familiar. The third child of an upper-middle-class family, she was reared in

Rye, N.Y., a tony suburb overlooking Long Island Sound. Her father, to whom she was devoted, was publisher of McCall's magazine; he delighted his daughter and her friends by bringing home huge home-sewing catalogues from which Barbara made hundreds of cut-out dolls. They lived in a spacious five-bedroom house on a large wooded lot, attended by a pair of live-in servants.

The chubby and mischievous Barbara had a difficult relationship with her mother, Pauline Robinson Pierce, who was the daughter of an Ohio Supreme Court justice. Mrs. Bush has described her mother as a cold and humorless spendthrift, more devoted to her garden and her antique collection than to her children.

Barbara was the acknowledged ringleader of a group of girls in her prewar suburban paradise. Although well-behaved at school, Barbara could be a cruel tormentor of her contemporaries, as recounted in a new book on the First Lady by Pamela Killian.

Killian quotes childhood friend June Biedler as recounting that before school Barbara would prearrange to freeze out one of the girls on the bus that day.

"She would determine who was speaking to whom when we got on the bus together," Killian quotes Biedler. "It would be all planned, nobody's going to talk to June this morning. You'd sit there on the bus with your friends and no one spoke to you. Dreadful feeling."

Another childhood friend, Posy Clarke, said: "She'd call ahead and say, 'We're not going to speak to June this morning.' Or she'd call June and say, 'We're not going to speak to Posy.'"

Barbara also aimed her stiletto at her friends' weaknesses, taunting one for her stammering and bullying others who couldn't take the teasing.

"We were all pretty afraid of her because she could be sarcastic and mean," Biedler recalled. "She was clever, never at a loss for what to say—or what not to say."

After attending public and private schools in Rye through 10th grade, her parents sent her to the private Ashley Hall finishing school in Charleston, S.C., where her manners were honed and she was prepared for college and a life of noblesse oblige.

Barbara Bush: Notes and Quotes

Here are some biographical notes on First Lady Barbara Bush, who will speak tonight:

■ **Age:** 67.

■ **Parents:** Pauline and Marvin Pierce. He was president of the company that published McCall's and Redbook magazines. She was the daughter of an Ohio Supreme Court justice and was a gardener, violin player, antique collector and a prominent civic booster.



Barbara Bush signs copies of "Millie's Story."

■ **Famous distant relative:** President Franklin Pierce, who served from 1853 to 1857 and was the only incumbent President who was willing to seek reelection but was denied renomination by his party.

■ **Children:** Five survive—George, Jeb, Neil, Marvin and Dorothy. Second-born Robin died at 3 of leukemia.

■ **As an author:** Mrs. Bush has written two books, under the byline of her dogs: "C. Fred's Story: a Dog's Life" and "Millie's Story." She contributed the royalties to charities.

■ **Famous confession:** "I married the first man I ever kissed. When I tell this to my children, they just about throw up."

■ **Candid quote:** "People can be so rude about the fact that George looks so young and I look so old. It's not nice."

■ **Her trademark:** Three- to five-strand artificial pearls.

■ **Favorite cause:** Promoting literacy. Once delivering a speech on the effects of illiteracy she said: "I hope I'm scaring you to death. I'm scared. What do I want you to do about it? . . . I'm cheering for teachers. In most cases, they are underpaid and overworked."

Source: Times wire services

It was during the Christmas break of her junior year, at a country club dance in Greenwich, Conn., 10 miles from Rye, that she met George Bush, scion of an aristocratic family of bankers and investors. She was swept off her feet by the tall, handsome senior at Phillips Academy, and spent the rest of her abbreviated school career thinking of nothing but George.

"I didn't like to study very much," Mrs. Bush recalled in an interview years later. "The truth is, I just wasn't interested. I was just interested in George."

She dropped out of Smith College at the beginning of her sophomore year and returned home. Bush by then was a Navy pilot flying combat missions in the Pacific. After being shot down over Chichi Jima, he was rotated home for Christmas leave in 1944. The couple was married Jan. 6, 1945, at the First Presbyterian Church in Rye.

"I married the first man I ever kissed," Mrs. Bush says.

After mustering out of the service later that year, Bush sped through Yale in 2½ years, then set out for a job arranged by a friend of his father's in the wilds of West Texas. The Bushes moved into a modest duplex they shared with a mother-daughter prostitute team.

With timely financial help from the Bush family, George prospered in the oil business. In 1949, the growing family moved to California, where they lived in five cities in a single year—Compton, Huntington Park, Bakersfield, Whittier and Ventura. Then on to Midland, Tex., and Houston.

In late 1952, tragedy struck with

the fatal illness of their second child, 3-year-old daughter, Robin. Her care and comfort fell to Barbara, because George was preoccupied with a new business venture. Barbara traveled back and forth to New York with the child for unsuccessful treatment for her leukemia. She died two months shy of her 4th birthday. George arrived at the hospital just hours before her death.

The following years brought three more children and, as Mrs. Bush recalled in a 1985 speech, "a period for me of long days and short years, of diapers, runny noses, earaches, more Little League games than you could believe possible, tonsils and those unscheduled races to the hospital emergency room; Sunday school and church, of hours of urging homework, short chubby arms around your neck and sticky kisses and experiencing bumpy moments—not many, but a few—of feeling that I'd never, ever be able to have fun again, and coping with the feeling that George Bush, in his excitement of starting a small company and traveling around the world, was having a lot of fun."

Barbara Bush never lost that feeling of being the neglected homebody as her husband rose in business and politics, through two terms in the House of Representatives, stints as U.N. ambassador and GOP chairman. She successfully repressed it until 1976, when the couple returned from China, where Bush had served as U.S. envoy. He took up the post of CIA director, a job that required long hours and that shut Barbara almost completely out of his professional life.

She entered a period of near-clinical depression, which she blamed on the women's movement that left her with deep feelings of inadequacy. "Suddenly, women's lib had made me feel that my life had been wasted," she said in 1989 interview.

George urged her to get counseling, but she refused. Brought up to believe that people solve their own problems, she pulled herself out of it with volunteer work and by touring the country showing slides of her adventure in China. She then threw herself into a crusade for literacy, having chosen that endeavor as a safe and politically profitable focus at the time Bush decided to run for President in 1978. He lost the 1980 race, but was chosen by Reagan to be his running mate.

□

The eight years of Bush's vice presidency were, for Barbara, a period of endless entertaining and hundreds of public appearances to promote literacy. She seldom spoke out on matters of policy or politics, except for her celebrated remark in 1984 about Democratic vice presidential nominee Geraldine A. Ferraro, to whom Mrs. Bush referred as "that \$4-million—I can't say it, but it rhymes with rich."

She was mortified that she had let slip the mask that had concealed the mean streak that had first emerged in childhood. She immediately apologized to Ferraro and kept her salty tongue in place for years afterward.

But this year, the mask is coming off, the tongue has been loosed. This is Barbara Bush's last campaign, and, win or lose, she's going to run it as herself.

She acknowledged in the interview last week that she had come "close" to deciding that the pain and dissembling of politics were no longer worth it to her.

"It's not too difficult [to endure], but too filthy, and it's just not fun to run when lies and things, hurtful lies, [are published]," Mrs. Bush said, the years and years of silent suffering etched on her face. "Having said that, I know that considering the alternate choice, that George Bush must be President. . . . But three more months. I can do anything for three months."

The Los Angeles Times

Marilyn Quayle in the Spotlight

■ **Politics:** Her speech to the convention speech tonight will give the vice president's wife a higher profile.

By ALAN C. MILLER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

HOUSTON—Marilyn Quayle had been here only a few hours before she went for the jugular.

Her audience was several hundred fellow attorneys of the National Republican Lawyers Assn. Her subject was legal reform. Her target was the American Bar Assn.

"You remember the ABA," she told the lawyers assembled in the Wyndham Warwick Hotel ballroom Monday. "It's that group whose latest exploits include attacking the Administration because we are too tough on violent criminals, giving honor to Hillary Clinton and Anita Hill, working against reform to maintain the status quo and their financial interest."

Don't expect Marilyn Quayle to remain demurely in her husband's shadow. Kinder and gentler is just not her style.

This evening, which is dedicated to family values, she plans to tell the Republican Convention about the baby-boomer dilemma—the choice that generation's women have faced balancing careers and raising their children. In Quayle's case, it was compounded by the demands political wives face.

She is expected to cite her decision to give up her law practice to take care of her family when her husband was elected to Congress in 1976. Friends point to the dinners at home each evening at 7, the time she became the gung-ho soccer coach for her son's team when no one else would, the familial worship at church.

But she is hardly the picture of a conventional homemaker. Sharply intelligent, notoriously demanding and fiercely ambitious, she had the doctor induce labor to deliver her first child because her due date conflicted with her Indiana bar exam. Although she has largely subordinated her own career to her husband's, she has done so as a full and upfront partner.

"They have a real partnership, and he values her advice," said Sheila Tate, who served as press secretary to Nancy Reagan and is Marilyn Quayle's confidante.

Some regard Marilyn Quayle as a force behind the vice president's rise—reflected in her roles in his campaigns and the effort to engineer his selection as George Bush's running mate in 1988. Tate dismisses such talk as sexist "non-sense."

During the last four years, she has made herself the guardian of her husband's oft-battered public image—once ordering his office staff to remove a photo of the vice president playing golf that she thought made him look fat. According to an interview she gave to the Washington Post, she first scribbled all over the picture, then ripped it to shreds.

In the process of highlighting her, the Republicans may be seeking to contrast Marilyn Quayle, who is a fundamentalist Christian, with Hillary Clinton, a Methodist, whom the GOP has sought to depict as a feminist extremist.

Marilyn Quayle's chief of staff dismissed such notions. "Just because she's a lawyer, a lot of similarities are being drawn," said Marguerite Sullivan. "I've never heard her discuss Hillary Clinton."

But as the respective spouses of the nominees on both major party tickets become more visible amid

the debate over family values, analysts say Marilyn Quayle faces other political hurdles.

She clearly aspires to assert herself—but must do so without overshadowing Barbara Bush. She undoubtedly wants to display the smarts that have won her respect in many circles—but without triggering embarrassing comparisons with her gaffe-prone husband.

The five-minute speech itself marks a higher profile for a woman who was stunned by the critical media onslaught that followed Dan Quayle's selection as the vice presidential nominee in New Orleans four years ago.

She let it be known in often harsh terms that she felt he was unfairly treated—not only by the media and the Democrats but by then-Bush campaign manager James A. Baker III, a potential rival for the 1996 presidential nomination who Bush recently named as his new chief of staff.

Friends say that she has hit her stride after initial dismay that she could not readily resume her law practice because of potential conflicts of interest.

She moved into a six-office suite—twice the size of the complex that Barbara Bush occupied before her—in the Old Executive Office Building across the hall from the vice presidential office. She has worked to increase awareness of the importance of early detection and treatment of breast cancer, which proved fatal to her mother at the age of 56.

She has also traveled around the country and worldwide to assist in disaster preparedness and response.

Recently, she has stepped up her political activities as well. She traveled to 28 states in the last two months on behalf of candidates and state party organizations, raising about \$1 million.

And, in the last year, she also became a novelist. She and her sister, Nancy Northcott, wrote a thriller about the overthrow of a Cuban dictator, "Embrace the Serpent." Despite unflattering reviews—Time magazine complained about "a clutter of clichés" and "arthritic prose"—the sisters are working on a second book.

She is a woman of unstinting high standards—a perfectionist who has been known to explode when her expectations are not met.

She seemed to voice her personal style when she discussed her favorite recreation, horseback riding, with the Washington Post last year. "I ride hard, I ride fast," she said. "There is no room for error. And if there is error, you hurt yourself very bad."

She is fiercely devoted to her three children—Tucker, 18, Benjamin, 15—and intensely protective of their privacy. Campaign sources say she would be highly reluctant to use them in campaign ads.

Friends describe her as a warm and generous woman, who will pull such pranks as placing a whoopee cushion on her husband's chair.

But she can also be unyielding on moral issues—typified by her response to an interviewer's question about whether a child of hers would have an abortion. In a word: No. Asked if the child would make the decision, she said: "We will make it with her."

Referring to the tough media attention the Quayles have faced, Tate said: "Anyone in those circumstances would get a little guarded with the press. I marvel at the resilience of both of them."

New Angeles Times

Quarter-Million Bosnians Face Terror, Hunger

By CHARLES T. POWERS
TIMES STAFF WRITER

ZAGREB, Croatia—More than a quarter-million Bosnian Muslims, under threat from the Serbian "ethnic cleansing" program, are facing a campaign of terror and hunger that could reach "tragic proportions" in the weeks ahead, U.N. relief officials said Tuesday.

Spokesmen for the Office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees said they are increasingly concerned over the fate of about 250,000 Muslim Slavs clustered in the area around Banja Luka in north-central Bosnia-Herzegovina, where U.N. refugee investigators have met with steadily growing hostility from Serbian officials who control the region.

"We're facing a very serious crisis," said Peter Kessler, U.N. refugee office spokesman in Zagreb. "These people have been terrorized. They are running out of food, and winter is eight weeks away."

"We are trying to help bring in food supplies," Kessler went on, "but we have only 66 trucks, and we need 200 at least. It is a horrible situation, and we are in a race against time."

Over the past several days, the United Nations has sent "protection officers" into cities and towns in the region around Banja Luka in an effort to discourage terrorizing of the area's Muslim residents, most of whom now want to leave their homes because of the Serbian campaign to drive them out.

The refugee agency also discovered, as it probed into the region for the first time, that the number

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BOSNIA: 250,000 Muslims Face Terror

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of would-be refugees is higher than expected. Although most of the Muslims remain in their homes, on the whole they have submitted to the pressure and are ready to leave, U.N. personnel said. Most of the Muslims have been without jobs for more than a year, have run out of money and are beginning to run out of food.

The United Nations is resisting entreaties from the Muslims—and simultaneous pressure from Serbian officials—to organize a mass evacuation because the agency, as Kessler said, "is not going to become a party to 'ethnic cleansing'—the program of moving non-Serbs out of areas claimed by Serbs."

But the protection officers, charged with gathering information on possible human rights abuses but armed with nothing more than their clipboards and their white vehicles with "U.N." painted on the side, have met with hostile receptions in most places, Kessler said.

"We're trying to establish a presence," Kessler said, "and we're trying to get as many witnesses down there as possible. We want to plant the idea that someone is watching all this and acting as witnesses."

A U.N. protection officer and another agency staff member who had gone to the Bosnian community of Sanski Most were "basically run out of town" over the weekend, Kessler said.

Muslim residents of Sanski Most, he said, have been forced to fly white flags over their houses. According to the U.N. investigators, the white flags, evocative of surrender, indicate that the Muslims have agreed to sign over their homes and possessions to the city administration, now run by Serbs.

"It's frightening," said another U.N. official. "It's like being forced to wear an armband or a Star of David on your coat, as the Jews were forced to do by the Nazis."

The refugee officials said they were urging human rights organizations such as Amnesty International, the International Rescue Committee and Helsinki Watch to send representatives to the area to try to halt the harassment of Muslims.

"The message we are trying to get across to the local officials there," Kessler said, "is that they will be held accountable for the safety and welfare of these people when all of this is over."

The issue of "war crimes," he said, is not mentioned directly to the officials but remains implicit. "What's going on there is similar to the sorts of things that have happened in other conflicts where there have been war crimes trials," he said.

In most towns in the region, mosques have been destroyed and hundreds of men of fighting age have been removed to detention camps, according to refugee officials and townspeople. The residents of Bosanska Kostajnica told reporters over the weekend that Serbian gunmen terrorized the Muslim neighborhood at night, riding through the streets firing guns into the air. About 800 Muslims are left in the town, and their leaders say they want to go as soon as possible.

In addition to the estimated 250,000 Muslims around Banja Luka, there are about 28,000 to 35,000 in an area northeast of Bosanski Novi, a group that the Serbian authorities urged the United Nations to

'It's like being forced to wear an armband or a Star of David on your coat, as the Jews were forced to do by the Nazis.'

U.N. OFFICIAL

evacuate last week. U.N. officials refused. Another 300,000 Muslims are also sealed off in the area known as the Bosanska Krajina, between Bihac and Velika Kladusa in the northwest corner of Bosnia.

The latter group, for the time being, has appeared determined to resist expulsion. Observers note, however, that food supplies, particularly in Bihac—which has a population of 70,000—are running low.

The Muslims targeted for expulsion say they are frightened of the winter, when garden vegetables will no longer be available and when many of them will be unable to heat their homes.

Beyond the United Nations' dilemma over whether or not to help evacuate the Muslims lies the question of where they might be taken if they are evacuated.

Croatia, with a population of 4.3 million, has already accepted 334,000 Bosnian refugees, and relief officials say the country may be unable to accept additional large

numbers.

Germany has so far accepted about 200,000 refugees from the fighting in the former Yugoslav republics. The rest of Western Europe has been reluctant to accept the displaced victims of the conflict.

Other Balkan developments, according to news agencies:

- Nearly 1,000 women and children escaped the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo and the terrors of war Tuesday. The 17-bus convoy carrying the refugees from the fighting left for Belgrade, the Serbian and Yugoslav capital. The United Nations provided two armored cars as escorts.

- Radar from unidentified forces locked onto a British Hercules C-130 aid plane as it was leaving the Sarajevo airport Tuesday, according to the British Defense Ministry and U.N. officials at the airport. Locking on with radar is a possible first step to firing, but there was no confirmation that the plane was fired on. The airport was closed indefinitely to relief airlifts, but not to flights of peacekeeping troops, U.N. spokeswoman Nadia Younes said in New York.

- A congressional report released in Washington on Tuesday documents a campaign of terror in Bosnia that includes random and targeted murders. The document, the first official U.S. government report on the horrors, says that the "ethnic cleansing" of Muslims in Serb-inhabited areas has largely been accomplished.

- Prime Minister John Major's office announced Tuesday in London that Britain is offering the United Nations an army battalion to escort aid columns in Bosnia. After a 5½-hour Cabinet meeting, Major said it is urgent to step up aid to the war victims because they are facing the coming winter unprepared.

A British government source, speaking on condition of anonymity, said Britain is ready to make available on request up to 1,800 ground troops and support staff to escort relief convoys with the "blue helmets" of the United Nations. But the troops would not defend convoys that come under attack from warring militias as they attempt to deliver their humanitarian cargo, the source said.

- Leaders of Bosnia's warring factions agreed Tuesday to U.N. supervision of all heavy weapons around Sarajevo. "If this agreement works, there will be no shelling in Sarajevo," said Zaim Backovic, a deputy commander of the Bosnian forces.

U.S. Donations for Somalia Lagging

■ **Charity:** Gifts are only 1% of the total that went to Ethiopia in 1985.

By DAVID G. SAVAGE
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—American private donations for food relief in Somalia this year amount to less than 1% of what relief agencies collected in 1985 at the height of the Ethiopian famine, an aid official said Tuesday.

"Thousands of children and adults who need help desperately are dying in silence," in part because Americans and Europeans have failed to respond quickly to the tragedy, said Peter J. Davies, president of InterAction, a coalition of American relief agencies.

Those agencies have received well under \$1 million in donations to Somalia this year, he said. That compares to \$110 million in contributions to Ethiopia between October, 1984, and March, 1985.

A raging civil war, combined with drought, has led to widespread starvation in the East African nation. But until recent weeks, the famine received little attention in the West and was overshadowed by the violence and death in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In Somalia, at least one-fourth of the children under age 5 have already died, U.S. officials said, and an estimated 1.5 million of the nation's 6.5 million people are in danger of starvation.

Relief officials said the United States has

been suffering from "compassion fatigue" because of economic and social difficulties at home and problems around the world that have drawn American attention and resources. At the United Nations, Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has complained that the West has shown far more concern over the fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina than for Somalia, even though far more people are dying in East Africa.

Davies and Bush Administration officials stressed in a briefing Tuesday that the problem of famine relief in Somalia goes far beyond obtaining food and money. So far, relief efforts have been stymied by the violence and anarchy that helped create the famine.

"The bane of relief work in Africa is young teen-age boys with guns," said Andrew Natsios, the Administration's special coordinator for Somali relief. "This is not a civil war with two sides or three sides or four. It is anarchy. There is no government."

Relief agencies have had to hire scores of armed Somalis to protect food stocks, but even that does not assure that mothers and their starving children will be fed.

"The relief agencies are passing out food to women, the women take the food, walk down the street, someone shoots them dead on the street, steals the food and we have this repeated over and over again," Natsios said.

Trade in relief supplies "is the main commercial enterprise" in Mogadishu, the State Department said in a new report on

Somalia. Not only are thugs stealing food, merchants are hoarding it to wait for prices to rise, officials said.

U.S. officials said they want to pour more food into Somalia to help drive down prices. "There is a lot of food that is being hoarded right now," Natsios said. "It's as good as gold. Since this crisis began, food prices have gone up by 500%."

If extra food pours in, merchants will have an incentive to sell what they have quickly, he said. The U.S. government has provided \$85 million in aid to Somalia over the last year, and last week the Administration announced that it will deliver an additional 145,000 tons of food to the region, some of it by way of emergency airlifts.

Those airlifts may begin as early as today, Pentagon officials said. Four C-141 cargo planes will ship food from the Kenyan port of Mombasa, where 150 U.S. military personnel are stationed, said Robert Wolthuis, a deputy assistant secretary for defense.

The Pentagon has also agreed to fly in 500 Pakistani soldiers to provide extra security in the Somali capital under the auspices of the United Nations.

Davies said that the private relief agencies not only provide additional food but also pay for most of the personnel who actually distribute the food and medical help.

"I cannot stress too strongly that these voluntary agencies desperately need—and I repeat, desperately need—the public's financial support," he said.

Los Angeles Times

U.S., Allies to Enforce 'No Fly' Zone in S. Iraq

■ **Persian Gulf:** Action is intended to protect Shiites.
Britain, France warn that violators will be shot down.

By ROBIN WRIGHT
and WILLIAM TUOHY
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

LONDON—Britain and France announced Tuesday that the U.S.-led Gulf War coalition will create a "no-fly" zone over southern Iraq to protect besieged Shiite Muslims there. They said they will shoot down any Iraqi aircraft that violate the zone.

The word came as Bush Administration officials expressed concern over the significance of a newly rebuilt Iraqi air base in the south and over intensified Iraqi attacks on U.N. guards and relief workers in the north.

"There is clear evidence now of the systematic murder, genocide, of the Shiites," said British Prime Minister John Major as he announced establishment of the exclusion zone south of the 32nd Parallel.

"We propose to monitor the whole area from the air. We will instruct the Iraqis not to fly in that area," Major said. If Baghdad defies the coalition, Iraq "will be attacked," said the prime minister, who cut short a vacation in Spain to return to London for the five-hour emergency Cabinet meeting that preceded the announcement.

In Paris, French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas also said the Western allies will forbid Iraqi military flights over southern Iraq. He added that the U.N. Security Council is discussing the establishment of a safety zone for the Shiites similar to the coalition-protected Kurdish area in the north established last year during Opera-

tion Provide Comfort.

Although Washington did not echo the British and French announcements Tuesday, U.S. officials have already outlined a plan that would send American aircraft into southern Iraqi airspace to protect the Shiites. And Administration officials said Tuesday that most of the equipment and personnel needed for such an operation is either in place or on its way. They said the zone could be established

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IRAQ: U.S., Allies to Protect Southern Shiites

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within the next few days.

The Pentagon last week dispatched a 30-person air warfare command staff as well as Special Forces units in preparation for creating the air shield over the southern quarter of the country.

Britain, which already has some warplanes based in Iraq's neighbor, Turkey, is expected to send six high-performance Tornado combat aircraft and two in-flight refueling planes to help police the exclusion zone, while France is likely to provide a similar number of aircraft and the United States substantially more. The allies would then mount 24-hour air patrols in the zone.

"If we find an Iraqi aircraft in the air over southern Iraq, we will shoot it down," a British military source said.

But a senior U.S. official said the coalition members have not yet decided whether their response to the Iraqi crackdown should be limited to attempts to impose the zone.

"It's a lot easier to go after the air," the official said. But he drew a contrast between the number of Iraqi troops in the region—believed to be about 60,000—and the fact that air strikes against the Shiites have been relatively limited.

Until now, another official said, Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's forces have launched only two significant aerial campaigns against the Shiite insurgents, the first in May and the latest in mid-July. Only the second raid involved "full-blown fighter aircraft," a source said.

"The question is, what kind of scope are we really talking about here?" the official said of a coalition response. "The response could be extremely extensive—U.N. troops on the ground and that sort of thing—or it could be fairly limited."

The British and French announcements came against the backdrop of U.S. and Arab

concerns about the reconstruction of a military air field bombed during the Persian Gulf War, new roads that provide security forces better access to rural Shiite areas and the draining of parts of the southern marshland—in which the Shiites are hiding—in recent weeks.

All are interpreted by the coalition as signals that Iraq plans to escalate its campaign against Shiite insurgents. One well-placed official described the airfield as "a major base capable of handling fixed-wing fighter aircraft" and said it has become a major source of concern for U.S. officials monitoring the Iraqi crackdown.

In what may reflect a split between a White House eager to challenge President Hussein and the Pentagon's concern about a military quagmire, however, others said the base is "not all that important" and "did not really change the balance of power."

One official noted that its significance is more symbolic than strategic. "Iraq's been trying to restore its infrastructure, and this is another indication of the incremental process," said one official.

Pentagon spokesman Pete Williams said Tuesday that Iraq is building more roads into Shiite population areas and draining marshes used as a refuge for more than 200,000 rebels who fled urban areas after their uprising against Hussein failed in March, 1991. The number of flights by Iraqi helicopter gunships also has increased.

In contrast to the northern Kurds, the southern Shiites, who constitute at least 55% of Iraq's 17.5 million people, have received little attention since the departure of American troops after the Gulf War, even though Baghdad's treatment of them has been far harsher.

In 1980, Hussein ordered the secret execution of Shiite dissident leaders and their relatives. And at the beginning of the war with Iran, the Iraqi dictator expelled almost a quarter-million Shiites, while ordering Draconian measures to keep the community in line.

One of the prime areas of Hussein's current crackdown is the borderland marshes to which the Shiite rebels fled. Baghdad has not, however, differentiated between defectors and tribal Shiites who have lived in the marshes for centuries.

Meanwhile in the north, Hussein also appears to be escalating the campaign against U.S. forces and international relief workers. A Swedish U.N. guard was shot and wounded Monday in a road ambush, and three Danish U.N. guards narrowly missed being injured by a hand grenade thrown at a house where they were staying.

The separate incidents are the latest in the escalating series of attacks against the lightly armed U.N. forces and unarmed Western relief workers in the Kurdish north. Since the end of June, at least 13 attacks have occurred—blamed by the Kurds on Baghdad and by the Iraqi government on Kurdish guerrillas. One U.N. guard has been killed.

Western analysts say they believe that the incidents are part of a deliberate Iraqi intimidation campaign designed to erode the cohesion and commitment of the coalition.

Wright reported from Washington and Tuohy from London. Times staff writers Douglas Jehl and Stanley Meisler in Washington contributed to this article.

A Swedish U.N. guard was shot and wounded Monday in a road ambush in Iraq, and three Danish U.N. guards narrowly missed being injured by a hand grenade thrown at a house where they were staying.

Los Angeles Times

Every Minute a Child Dies

The United States is scheduled to commence a desperately needed airlift Thursday that is expected to deliver 145,000 tons of food to Somalia. That food—double the amount already delivered this year by the United Nations, the International Red Cross and other agencies—could mean the difference between life and death in this poor East African nation, ravaged by war, drought and famine.

The U.S. military will not unload or distribute the food; the heroic and overburdened relief workers who have risked their lives for months will do that. The thugs who hire themselves out as security guards ostensibly to help these workers instead often divert the food to their families or the warehouses of businessmen seeking to make a killing on the black market in neighboring Ethiopia and Kenya.

For this reason the United Nations is expected to airlift 500 peacekeepers to Somalia. Thousands of these guards may be needed ultimately to protect the food.

Delay could mean death for many of the 1.5 million Somalis now in imminent and mortal danger. Nearly 4.5 million, three-quarters of the population, are malnourished. Hundreds of thousands (no one can say for sure how many) may have died since the infamous Mohammed Siad Barre, the nation's former leader, fled in January of 1991, triggering an escalation of the crisis.

Every minute in Somalia, according to relief workers, a child expires. The children die from starvation, dehydration and diseases that could be cured if medicine and food were available.

Many with gunshot wounds perish because of shortages of blood for transfusions. Some die just blocks away from the Mogadishu port, where huge shipments of food await distribution.

Western nations and charities are sending increasingly large shipments of food and medicine. The U.S. airlift could help enormously to stem the starvation in Somalia. The Bush Administration is to be commended for moving, however belatedly.

Los Angeles Times

Elephant in the Tent: Who's a Republican?

Reagan's answer made a lot more sense than Buchanan's

Two distinct visions of the elephant's Big Top—and of America itself—were on display at the Republican National Convention Monday night in speeches from erstwhile presidential candidate Patrick J. Buchanan and former President Ronald Reagan. Americans were treated to something like a prime-time version of "Honey, I Shrank the Tent," followed closely by the summer sequel, "Honey, I Blew Up the Party."

The contrasting appeal of these two figures—Buchanan, winner of zero primaries, and Reagan, winner of two landslide presidential elections—is evident enough in the electoral record.

But in a nation celebrated for its diversity, the small-tent concept and the big-tent concept of Republicanism were starkly at odds in opening-night speeches designed to warm up the party faithful. There's no question that the former President's inclusiveness stood far above the nastiness served up by his former communications director.

In his unnecessarily divisive attack on homosexuals, Hillary Clinton and abortion rights, Buchanan hurled his polemicist's spear. But though conservatives have dominated the agenda-setting for this gathering, the party shows signs of internal restiveness. And the central Republican message and its appeal to Americans are very much in need of definition. Moderates and pragmatists, sensing that the narrowness of rhetoric like Buchanan's can drive people out of the tent, understandably were uneasy.

In fact, some who justifiably might have felt they were targets of Buchanan's lancing have been in the hall this week on official party business. For example, Frank Ricchiazzi,

an openly gay delegate from Orange County, has been active in his party for as long as some of the Young Turks of the religious right have been alive. And entertainer Tanya Tucker, a single mother of two who is an uncomfortable fit with the GOP party line on "family values," sang the national anthem. These two Republicans are like many Americans—and they are a reminder of the risk to the party of excluding those who otherwise share its views.

So this question of diversity is very much at issue down on the convention floor in Houston this week. The narrow extremists are active, visible and audible, but they do not necessarily

reflect the sentiments of mainstream rank-and-file party members. And the Republican Party must understand that it is competing for the allegiance of a diverse nation in this and future elections.

Compare the Reagan performance. The former President took his own shots at the Democrats, which was to be expected in the ritual roasting at a party convention. But the former President also said: "Now let's not dismiss our current troubles, but where they [Democrats] see only problems, I see possibilities—as vast and diverse as the American family itself." This was an unambiguous appeal to a nation's sense of purpose, regardless of who we all may be as individuals.

But a former President by definition represents his party's past electoral triumphs, not its future direction. It is up to others now to shape the course. With an economy in very rough shape indeed, and with some old Republican themes overtaken by world events, those who put up the Big Top should start with a diverse America as a given.



Which way the GOP?

Los Angeles Times

Put a Lid on the Drumbeats for War

■ **Iraq: Arab backing is doubtful and Hussein's nuclear potential has been curtailed, so why the rush for military action?**

By **ROBERT E. HUNTER**

The war clouds are gathering again over Iraq. This time, the potential *casus belli* is Saddam Hussein's brutal oppression of his Shiite population. This is in addition to the United Nations' effort to cleanse Iraq of all weapons of mass destruction and the means for making them. No doubt, the Iraqi dictator richly deserves any punishment meted out by the world, led by the United States. But is it wise for the United States to engage in renewed combat in Iraq? That's far from clear.

There are two strong foreign-policy arguments for holding Iraq to a stiff standard. The United Nations is finally coming into its own. With the end of the Cold War, the Soviet Union (now Russia) began letting the world body assume some of the tasks assigned to it by its charter. This helps to reduce the prospect of the United States having to act virtually alone to reinforce principles of international law.

The Iraqi dictator regularly flouts the will of the United Nations by challenging its mandate to eliminate his ability to produce nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and the missiles to deliver them. If the United Nations prevails, it will get a useful shot in the arm. There is immense value in delivering a message that a broad coalition of states is serious in opposing the spread of mass-destruction weapons, nuclear arms in particular. If the point is made in Iraq, even with military force, others are likely to think twice before seeking such weapons.

But if Iraqi compliance can be secured only through the use of military force, there are further risks. The current imbroglio contains another U.S. objective: the removal of Saddam Hussein. Indeed, much of the U.S. focus on reducing Iraq's military capabilities—and now, belatedly, on protecting the Shiites—stems from a desire to get rid of Iraq's president. Washington understands that it is one thing to gain international support in order to keep Iraq from getting nuclear weapons or oppressing a minority; it is quite another thing to get backing for economic sanctions or military actions that are designed to drive a foreign leader from power.

This is part of Saddam Hussein's game. He wants to shift the world's focus to children being starved by sanctions and

also to represent the Bush Administration's efforts as a struggle between the West and the Arab-Islamic world. For him, the possibility that his provocations could cause Iraq to be bombed contains a bit of Br'er Rabbit and the Briar Patch. A limited military attack on his country could increase his power at home if he can successfully invoke patriotism and argue that the United States and its allies are ganging up on non-Western people.

President Bush must also make a broader calculation. Before he unleashed Desert Storm, he carefully constructed a coalition of more than 30 countries. One key purpose was to prevent Saddam Hussein from getting away with his David-and-Goliath reasoning and to prevent a massive outpouring of sympathy from the "Arab street." In the main, the tactic worked.

But anti-Western hostility did increase in much of the Arab world, especially beyond the Persian Gulf states that had been placed immediately at risk. The election victory of the Islamic Salvation Front in Algeria—subsequently overturned by force of arms—partly stemmed from the Gulf War. Islamic radicalism has clearly increased in the West Bank, Gaza and Jordan. And Turkey and Egypt have expressed fears about a renewed attack on Iraq; their leaders calculate that the potential political damage is not worth the benefits of a punitive strike against Iraq.

At the very least, the United States must have the full support of the U.N. Security Council. But even if it has the votes, it needs to think about the overall advantages. What is the rush? In late 1990, there was serious debate in the United States about whether economic sanctions would be enough to force Iraq to quit Kuwait. That debate ended when the war began, and the balance of evidence since then seems to validate that choice.

But after all the destruction to Iraq's base for building mass-destruction weapons, it is most doubtful that it could return to its aggressive ways without a major influx of war supplies and high-technology equipment from outside. Certainly, it cannot get nuclear weapons unless economic sanctions are broadly flouted by a variety of the world's leading nations.

A year and a half after Desert Storm, time is clearly on the side of Saddam Hussein's opponents, provided they show resolution as well as patience in continuing to quarantine his country.

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Commentary

PERSPECTIVES ON CAMPAIGN '92

Bush, Part II: Cause for Optimism



Inspired presidential leadership has made it possible now to address problems left festering during a dismal period.

By WILLIAM K. MUIR JR.

Do you remember the last time this country was free of so-called political deadlock in Washington, when there was a Democrat in the White House and Democratic majorities dominated both the Senate and the House? In 1979, three years into his term, the Democratic President, in cahoots with his Democratic Congress, had created double-digit inflation, interest rates approaching 20% and unemployment rates at 7% and rising. That was when the Democratic President threw up his hands in surrender and said:

"A majority of our people believe that the next five years will be worse than the past five years. The productivity of American workers is actually dropping. We remember when the phrase 'sound as a dollar' was an expression of absolute dependability, until inflation began to shrink our dollar and our savings. There is growing disrespect for government and for churches and for schools. [We have] a system of government that seems incapable of action. [All we see is] paralysis and stagnation and drift. It's a crisis of confidence . . . a growing doubt about the meaning of our own lives and in the loss of unity of purpose for our nation. The symptoms of this crisis are all around us."

And things kept getting worse. In 1980—the last year of Democratic dominance—interest rates hit 21%. Inflation soared over 12%. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan and the United Nations sat intimidated and silent. Iran brazenly seized our embassy in Tehran. The Soviet navy was being welcomed in friendly ports in the South

Pacific. The Nicaraguan democratic revolution was betrayed by a loony bunch of communist zealots, who proceeded to invite Soviet arms and advisers onto this continent to undermine our Central and South American neighbors. In the United Nations, the United States was an enfeebled giant, a laughingstock. "Kick me" was the motto of our foreign policy. Our military was so weak, our economy was so in shambles and our confidence in our ideals of personal freedom and democracy so bereft that our single means to defend ourselves was to withdraw from the Olympics.

Today, all that defeatism and torpor is gone. America's military might is dominant and it centers a United Nations coalition of partners from the Americas, Europe, the Middle East and Asia in securing international peace collectively. Communist totalitarianism has been exposed for the evil it was throughout most of Eastern Europe, Africa and the Americas and thrown on the ash heap of history, and in Cuba, China and North Korea it is in its final hour. Nascent democracies, with free elections and free press, are trying to make their way in the Philippines, Chile, Nicaragua, southern Africa and throughout the former Soviet Union and its one-time satellites.

Here at home, interest rates have been restored to their lowest levels in a quarter of a century. Inflation last month fell to an annual rate of 1.5%. Unemployment, because of the transition to a less military economy, is higher than any time in the last decade (but still two points lower than in 1982), but all the conditions for an upturn are in place. Productivity is at an all-time high, personal indebtedness is down and inventories and interest rates are low. Our leadership has succeeded in breaking down barriers to free trade in North America and virtually everywhere in

the world. And, perhaps most auspicious of all, we have welcomed and absorbed millions of vibrant and hopeful immigrants to our shores, and they are reinvigorating our cities, our schools and our economy.

None of this happened by accident. It occurred because of inspired and confident presidential leadership over the last 12 years—a leadership that treated problems as possibilities, that unshackled American entrepreneurial abilities from oppressive taxes and regulations, that permitted the American economy to create 20 million new jobs (net) and turned the baby-boom generation into a productive and prospering asset, recharged our traditions of personal generosity and volunteerism and rededicated the nation to its unfinished work of spreading the ideals of personal freedom and democracy over the world.

The presidential leadership of Ronald Reagan and George Bush has made it possible now to address important problems that have had to be left festering during America's resurgence from its dismal period.

Those problems are four: drugs, which eat away at the civilized fabric of our inner cities; violent crime; the troubling growth of the non-working poor, and the burdens imposed on our health system by AIDS, the plague of our times, and longevity, the miracle of our times. None of these problems will disappear effortlessly; but neither is any one of them insuperable, at least if addressed with the Republican ideas and presidential leadership that returned our country from the Democratic dismay and the defeatism of the late '70s back to our nation's real traditions of hope and personal responsibility.

William K. Muir Jr. was a speech writer for then-Vice President Bush. A former chairman of UC Berkeley's political science department, he is the author of "The Bully Pulpit: the Presidential Leadership of Ronald Reagan" (ICS Press, 1992).

GOP Women Serve Grit, Not Tea



They're not in the spotlight for decoration; they're tough and on the attack to reverse the macho party's decline.

By ELAINE CIULLA KAMARCK

HOUSTON—Men used to like the Republican Party more than women did. The macho party espoused rugged individualism and was always ready for a fight with the bad guys (communists, remember them?). Twice the Republicans chose the Marlboro Man in a suit, Ronald Reagan, to be President. Mostly the gender gap worked to the detriment of the Democrats, who could never get enough women to vote for them to overcome the number of men voting for the Republicans. After the 1984 election, I called a Democratic friend in Alabama to commiserate. As we pored over polls showing that only one in 10 white males had voted for Walter Mondale, my friend drawled, "Why, Elaine, I'm beginning to have to doubt my masculinity."

So it was a little bit strange to find myself in the middle of the Bush-Quayle media room the other morning as a bevy of well-dressed ladies in pearls (who could just as easily pass for ladies who lunch) pulled together a counterattack against Bill Clinton's preemptive television ads on taxes. At the center of this whirlwind were Mary Matalin, Leslie Goodman, Katherine Murray and Chris Seeger. An older man (he's usually seen in a senior advisory role, but he looked so ineffective that, out of courtesy, I won't name him) meandered in from

time to time and whispered with Matalin. But basically the decisions and the energy came from the women. During one of the lulls in the activity I asked the assembled women why the Republican attack team was all female. "Hormones," was the immediate response, and then they were back to work.

On Monday night, the convention spotlight was on Condoleezza Rice, a foreign policy expert who served Presidents Reagan and Bush on the staff of the National Security Council. Rice, who is black, is probably best known by the general public for not being allowed into a summit meeting between Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev by the Secret Service, who could not believe that she belonged in the room; she did. Tonight, in an unprecedented move, both of the candidates' wives, Barbara Bush and Marilyn Quayle, will address the convention. Mrs. Bush is more popular and more likable than her husband; Mrs. Quayle is widely reputed to be smarter than her husband. On Wednesday night, another Republican woman, Labor Secretary Lynn Martin, will nominate George Bush.

The fact is, you can't turn around at this convention without hearing about yet another prominent Republican woman. Is this all a clever public relations plot to try to deflect attention from the fact that the Republican platform has a position on abortion that constitutes cruel and unusual punishment to women? Undoubtedly, some of the hype is just that—hype. (The Washington Post called the colorful and combative Matalin, who is deputy manager of the Bush-Quayle campaign, and

her equally combative colleague, press secretary Torrie Clark, the Thelma and Louise of the GOP.)

By emphasizing the array of different types of women who are important to the Republican Party, the Bush team clearly hopes to indicate that the GOP really is a "big tent" into which all are welcome. Women who are strongly pro-life have nowhere to go but to the GOP, and women who are strongly pro-choice will go to the Democrats; thus the fight is, as always, for the great big middle.

But there's another explanation for the prominence of women at this convention. The men of the macho party are exhausted and confused. They have, starting with the President himself, managed to get themselves (and the country) into big trouble. For much of the summer, the men of the Bush campaign seem to have been Dukakized, fumbling while Clinton & Co. landed punch after punch. It was during this time that the women, led by Matalin and Clarke and joined later by Mrs. Bush and Mrs. Quayle, began to fight back. Matalin was somewhat too aggressive and got into trouble over one of her hard-hitting attacks, but she seems to have finally woke up the men.

If they were to make a Western movie about the GOP circa 1992, it would feature an attack on the homestead that left the men wounded and in danger of dying. It would end with the women hitching up their skirts, taking the men's weapons and saving the day. At least that's what the women of the macho party hope to do.

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Los Angeles Times

MIKE LUCKOVICH ATLANTA CONSTITUTION



The Washington Post

George F. Will

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992

Conflicting Signals, Worried Republicans

HOUSTON—Republicans huddled here—the comfortable in search of comforting thoughts—cling to clichés the way survivors of shipwrecks cling to spars. Many of the clichés are numerical.

Since the world's oldest two-party competition coalesced in 1856, the parties' presidential candidates have received 1,208,665,869 votes. Republicans have won 51.8 percent of the two-party vote. But since 1952 Republicans have received 53.3 percent; since 1968, 55.1 percent.

In the 132 years since a Republican first won the presidency, Democrats have held that office just 52 years. They would have to win the next seven elections, through 2016, to catch up with Republican years.

In the 1980s, Reagan and Bush won 1,439 electoral votes, more than any party ever won in a decade. In 1988 Bush won by 10 or more percentage points in 28 states with 263 electoral votes—only seven short of the winning number. In the last 36 years three Republicans seeking reelection (Eisenhower in 1956, Nixon in 1972, Reagan in 1984) won landslides, averaging 58.9 percent of the two-party vote.

But at this point Republicans run out of numerical Novocain. Other numbers hurt.

One reason Bush could become just the second incumbent since Hoover to be defeated is that Clinton, in order to win, does not have to make an astonishing improvement on what Dukakis did. In contrast, Dukakis, to win in 1988, would have had to increase by 25 percent Mondale's 1984 total of 41 percent of the vote. Such leaps are rare. In 1952 Eisenhower, a world hero running in a war-weary country, made a 22 percent improvement on Dewey's 1948 portion of the total vote. In 1976 Carter made a 34 percent improvement on McGovern's 1972 total.

Dukakis, in his percentage of the total popular vote, ran the Democrats' second strongest race in 24 years—stronger than Humphrey in 1968, McGovern in 1972, Carter in 1980 and Mondale in 1984. Bush's victory margin of 7.8 points was well below the Republican average of 13 points in the other six Republican victories since 1952. To win, Clinton needs a smaller jump from Dukakis's total than Dukakis made over Mondale's total.

Bush is the first president since Hoover to become president by election and to succeed a president of his own party. Hoover was not reelected. And the last time a party won a fourth consecutive election—1944—the nation was at war.

So, precedents send conflicting signals to worried Republicans. But then, Republicans here are also emitting conflicting messages.

People who attend conventions of either party are people prone to forgetting "how small, of all that human hearts endure, that part which laws or kings can cause or cure." Political activists—it hardly matters what they are active about—are alike in exaggerating the importance of their activity.

This is a human foible: Pickle makers probably think pickle-making makes the world go 'round. But this foible makes a convention of a conservative party somewhat peculiar.

A convention of conservatives is, supposedly, a gathering of people philosophically committed to believing in the merely marginal importance of something—politics—that obviously is at the center of their lives. Now, these convention-going conservatives will, of course, insist that they are in politics to put politics in its proper place, which they say is off in a corner of life. But they say other things that contradict their conservatism.

For example, many surly conservatives here are most critical of Bush because there was a recession "on his watch," and because the recovery (there have been five consecutive quarters of growth) is anemic. But by blaming Bush for this, these conservatives are implicitly subscribing to the notion that presidents can, and therefore should, control the economy's destiny, even to the point of preventing business cycles. There was a time when conservatives understood that presidents shouldn't even if they could, and they can't.

Furthermore, Chris DeMuth, president of the American Enterprise Institute, correctly argues that conservatives who say the economy can be discombobulated by this or that action (or inaction, such as a failure to cut capital gains taxation) are implicitly subscribing to the heresy that a capitalist economy is a fragile thing, requiring deft and detailed management by government. The spread of that falsehood profits only its natural adherents on the political left.

The same is true of the way some conservatives talk about "values." What kind of conservative feels compassless unless a politician supplies him with a "vision"? Some conservatives say America is great but its "values" will be in mortal danger if Republicans lose an election. If so, in what sense are they really rooted values?

Time was when conservatives were like Prime Minister Harold Macmillan. When he was asked if he would give the British a sense of "purpose," he replied that people seeking a "purpose" should consult their bishops, not their politicians.

An English parson once began a sermon, "As God said—and rightly..." Some Republicans talk like that. Their sincerity is as obvious as their ideas are dubious, which is to say, immensely.

The Washington Post

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Lynn Martin, No Yes Woman

This Republican Beggars to Differ but Still Gets Along

By Charles Trueheart
Washington Post Staff Writer

Presumably George Bush wants Lynn Martin to be herself tonight when she nominates him for a second term as president. But on the day eight years ago when Martin made her biggest impression on Bush, she was not herself. She was Geraldine Ferraro.

Bush was running for reelection as vice president and couldn't have been looking forward to debating Ferraro, the sharp-edged New York congresswoman who was his Democratic challenger. Not his strength, debates. Facing a woman would be tricky too.

So he drafted Martin, the two-term Illinois congresswoman, to play Ferraro and spar with him in three practice debates. The first time out, Martin recalls, "Barbara Bush pulled me aside and said, 'You get him. You go after him.'" Martin took the assignment "at full value," donning a

steely partisan countenance even when Bush attempted some pre-session joshing. "I was like ice," she says.

The two women pols with their jut jaws and rinsed locks are only superficially alike, but the resemblance must have made for good theater. Martin, who says she respected her friend Gerry's often-different views and was cheered by her nomination, researched Ferraro's record thoroughly, and delivered to Bush the courage of her Democratic colleague's convictions.

Martin recalls saying nothing rude to unsettle the well-mannered vice president, whom she knew only barely at the time. But she did tell Bush at one point, "Don't be patronizing."

It threw him—and Martin likes to think that it threw him a lot less the second time, on live television, when the real Ferraro said something very much like that to Bush. Martin

thinks Ferraro had planned to say it no matter what.

Lynn Morley Martin, who lost to Democrat Paul Simon in a 1990 Senate race, has since become President George Bush's secretary of labor. She is a presence in the Cabinet, as at the Republican National Convention, and this reminds everyone that the people around Bush don't all "look the same, talk the same and walk the same."

Martin's casual formulation is a friendly Midwestern Republican way of describing affirmative action; the phrase is a veritable mantra in her sometimes errant, wisecracky patter. It's also very much the point she will be making, even if she does so only in her sidewise way, tonight.

But the symbolism is more complicated. Not only is the 52-year-old Martin a woman ("and have been for most of my life," ho ho ho), she differs with her president on an important issue: abortion. What does it say about this president that he would put forward an abortion rights advocate to sing his praises to a party

See MARTIN, B7, Col. 1

MARTIN, From B1

that has reaffirmed its intolerance for abortion?

"I can't imagine that the only people who should work for a president are those who sycophantically agree on everything," Martin says. "It would be the most boring Cabinet in the world and it would be of no use to the president."

She says it speaks well of Bush that he would embrace her, and she digresses to indulge a partisan remark or two, one tinged with what must be personal gall as well. But she is ever polite.

"It's been a little interesting," she says, actually meaning *frustrating or maddening*, "for those of us who ran two years ago for the Senate to hear this called 'The Year of the Woman.' When Republican women ran, it was 'The Year of the Incumbent.' We have been there, and I have been there. . . . Republican women have taken heavy risks and . . . in that year we received very little credit."

You can hear Illinois in the nasal plateaus of her speech. You can easily imagine the vivacious, tough-talking schoolteacher Martin was when she first got into politics, in 1972, as a candidate for the Winnebago County Board. Her schoolroom skills were evidently transferable; as she later said, the House of Representatives is "just like a day-care center—everybody would do a little better after a little nap."

Martin served two years each in the Illinois House and then the Senate (divorcing her first husband, John Martin, in 1978). There she received the ultimate accolade of that day, if not this one: She could be "one of the boys." What this means, says Chicago Democratic political consultant David Axelrod, is that "she's not intimidated by or uncomfortable with politics in its rawest form."

Elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1980 to fill John Anderson's Rockford seat, she quickly leveraged her skills and connections with her fellow Illinoisan Robert Michel to land a plum Budget Committee assignment. In a characteristically antic remark, she confessed to the Chicago Tribune that serving on that committee so early in her tenure was like "getting sex education at age 6. It's a little too soon to understand—there's a lot of stuff you really shouldn't know until a lot later."

But in time, thrust into an important negotiating role with the Democratic leadership, she won bipartisan admiration and marked herself a com-

camera-happy Howard Baker and
a Reliable Source. Page B3

er. She was elected vice chairman of the House Republican Conference in '84, and lost narrowly in a bid four years later to become chairman of the conference. At the 1984 Republican convention in Dallas, she seconded Bush's nomination—and, she remembers with a winning cackle, tripped as she mounted the podium.

Martin may have been a party loyalist, but she never shied from taking her own positions—for abortion rights and the Equal Rights Amendment. After a visit to South Africa with her Democratic colleague William Gray, she defied the Reagan administration by voting to support economic sanctions; she also opposed the Bush administration by voting to override the president's veto of family leave legislation, among other selected demurrals from the administration line.

Her colleague Dick Durbin, a Springfield Democrat who served with her in the Illinois legislature and the U.S. House, says, "There are enough exceptions in her political philosophy to suggest she has an open mind." Durbin thinks of her as a Charles Percy Republican. And also a George Bush Republican? "The old George Bush," Durbin corrects.

What undid Martin's elective career, and handed her her first and only loss, was the 1990 Senate race. The boys in Washington waltzed her with the prospect of slaying a Democratic dragon and winning a seat in the Big House. But the wisenheimer quickly got into trouble by making a mordant remark about "rednecks" in downstate Illinois. And like a lot of other Republicans that year, she walked the no-new-taxes plank just as Bush was retreating from it. Simon dusted her.

So, in the peculiar way that Wash-

ington works—in the way it once worked for him—Bush rewarded her losing Senate effort with responsibility for a \$42 billion, 18,000-employee federal agency.

There she sits, a week before her Houston speech, in an office an acre big with one of those panoramas of the Capitol that only Hollywood imagines. She's tall and angular. Her eyes startle, they're so gray and hollow. She pours iced tea, tucks her legs up on the couch, and rambles—George Bush-style, at times—in answer to a question about what she'll say in Houston when she nominates her boss and benefactor.

Her thoughts alight on this notion: "He's coming to us as a president and he will leave a nominee. They are two very different things. And he can't give up one to be the other. But if he's just one he won't be good at the other. . . ."

Speaking of herself in the second person, she says, "You're saying again to the American people, what is it, why we at the convention selected this person again as the nominee. . . . And how will that change your life." She adds: "Or if you don't elect him, what will happen?"

Oh, that. Will she use her few minutes on the stage to stick it to Clinton and Gore?

"I don't say mean things about people," she says, examining the backs of her hands. "I do lack a killer instinct. . . . I get too nervous when people say, 'Go get 'em,' that kind of thing. I think that might demean his nomination."

But she doesn't mind, in this conversation, throwing sudden jabs Bill Clinton's way. As she talks about Bush's tolerance for her support of abortion rights, she casts the by-the-book Republican Party aspersion on the Democrats' failure to allow an

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antiabortion governor, Bob Casey, to address their July convention.

"I was actually surprised," Martin says, "when Bill Clinton said there would be a litmus test [for pro-abortion rights Supreme Court nominees]. I find that very worrisome. What if his next litmus test isn't something I agree with?"

Martin has been a natural and willing surrogate for Bush this year. On the campaign trail a few weeks ago, she nominated Al Gore for "the Rottweiler award." During NBC's coverage of the Democratic convention, she registered to Tom Brokaw her crocodile surprise that the Democratic Congress and its leaders were not being showcased: "You know, these were all the good old boys in charge and they still are. That's kind of amazing. They've just sort of pushed that out of the way. I don't blame them, but it is interesting."

Martin clearly enjoys politicking, maybe more so, her associates say, than being secretary of labor—never an easy post in a Republican administration.

Martin has not been a prominent player even in some labor crises, such as last spring's rail strike. In a particularly embarrassing juxtaposition, she appeared as guest host on ABC's "Home" show during the strike negotiations, helping Gary Collins discuss leg-hair removal techniques, supermarket tomatoes and insect repellents. She did, however, get in a plug for some Labor Department programs.

As part of her departmental education, Martin undertook to work a number of different jobs—burger-flipper, hospital orderly, welder, lens-grinder, drywall—and did so without inviting a retinue of cameras to observe her stunt.

She speaks ardently about the security of the American worker and the revolution in the workplace. But she is most convincing when she stresses her own—and by inference her president's—commitment to eliminating the "glass ceiling," the barrier that stunts the rise of women and minorities to positions of responsibility. This is the way to make sure everyone at the Labor Department doesn't look, talk and walk the same way.

But to many union members and Democrats, among others, Martin has been at best a disappointment at the Labor Department, all the more so during a time of stubbornly high unemployment.

The Labor Department is preeminently an enforcement agency, riding herd on business compliance with federal wage, pension and workplace laws. "It's one of the most regulatory agencies in the government," says a former senior official in the department—"minimum wage, civil rights, health and safety, pretty fundamental issues that drive business crazy."

But Ken Young, who retired late

last year as a chief aide to Lane Kirkland at the AFL-CIO, says that Martin, in her 18 months at the department, "has permitted reductions in staff in areas of enforcement where there's heavy unemployment. History shows that's the time when employers are likely to bend and violate the law, and workers are restrained in speaking up because they'll lose their jobs."

What's more, Young says, "She has had no impact at all on economic policy. I can't think of anything Mrs. Martin has done for working people, and I am not drawing a distinction between people who are union and non-union."

A year into Martin's term, Kirkland borrowed a line from Dwight D. Eisenhower when he was asked to sum up her achievements: "If you give me a week I might be able to think of something."

Does she have an influential voice in economic policy?

Martin sounds muted and rueful, but keeps a stiff upper lip. "It's true that for many years the Department

of Labor has not been at the table, period. I think in today's world that's a mistake. So we try to push to the table. We try. Sometimes we win and sometimes we lose."

She doesn't sound wedded to this job. She is, in fact, wedded (since 1987) to Harry Leinenweber, a federal judge in Chicago. He brought his five children to the marriage, and she her two. "We have a commuter marriage," Martin says, suggesting that her days in Washington might well be numbered. "I've been going back and forth now for 12 years."

She says Bush, "when" he is re-elected, deserves to choose a new Cabinet. But for now she's tinkering with her speech, listening to all kinds of advice and pondering some verities about the presidency and this president.

"I am not a famous orator," but she hopes to "do all right."

Rep. Henry Hyde, the Illinois Republican, has this advice for Martin: "Be yourself."

Also: Watch your step.

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Rowland Evans
And Robert Novak

Bearing Down On Saddam

HOUSTON—President Bush, in a high-risk decision that could stunt the recovery of his ailing reelection campaign, is trying to force Saddam Hussein out of power by splitting Iraq.

James A. Baker III, back in the White House running things, has prudently guarded against political attack. Every responsible Democratic leader now supports Bush's still-unannounced policy: to split off the southern one-third of Iraq from Saddam's Baghdad

*Removal of the
president's nemesis
could transform
Bush's campaign
overnight.*

stronghold, converting the newly isolated Shiite territory into "independent Iraq" with a peaceful Kuwaiti border and a U.S.-backed government.

Thus, the danger lies not in Democratic charges of election-year politics but in the possibility of failure. If the plan goes awry, slowly building confidence produced by the national convention here could collapse.

Campaign strategists are willing to take the risk. Removal of Bush's nemesis is seen by Baker as a one-shot success—the only one—that could transform Bush's campaign overnight.

Iraq policy rose to the political surface here when the New York Times reported an imminent U.S. bombing attack on Baghdad, coinciding with the convention, in retaliation for Saddam's lack of cooperation with U.N. inspectors. While the willingness to use force is real, Bush-Baker plans are more sophisticated.

Baker's analysis is threaded with his usual political astuteness: Play Bush's commander-in-chief card, his unblemished political asset. That automatically puts the nation's focus on the inexperience of Gov. Bill Clinton and his avoidance of military service during the Vietnam War.

For his part, Clinton has publicly pledged to support anything Bush chooses to do to bring down the Iraqi dictator. So have his party's military spokesmen: Sen. Sam Nunn and Rep. Les Aspin, chairmen of the Senate and House armed services committees.

Three weeks ago in an Oval Office session, Nunn and Aspin quietly underwrote whatever anti-Saddam strategy Bush picks. Aspin specifically inserted language in the defense authorization bill reasserting the United Nations' right to stop Saddam's human rights outrages in the Shiite south.

Prospects that the United Nations, under U.S., British and French domination, will escalate demands for inspection of the Defense Ministry and other suspected sources of illegal weapons development are the lesser part of Baker's emerging strategy. By threatening to intervene in the south, Baker intends to convince Iraq's inner core of generals and Baathist leaders that clinging to Saddam will divide and destroy their nation. The Kurdish-dominated north is already separated from Baghdad.

Denying air space and ground transport to Saddam from what is called Iraq's "southern triangle," stretching to the Kuwaiti border and embracing Basra and major Shiite cities, will be Baker's signal to Baghdad of imminent dismemberment. Cut off from Baghdad, the Shiite south could control its own future with U.N. inspectors and human rights officials on the ground.

"Think of Saddam's regime as a table whose base has now shrunk so far that a push at the top will tip it over," Prince Bandar, the Saudi ambassador and Baker's indispensable Arab contact, told a friend here Monday. Public execution of some 40 leading Iraqi businessmen, following last month's aborted coup, was a shocking revelation of how far that base has shrunk. Saddam's official food taster is believed to be the son of his chef.

As for bombing Baghdad ministries: Saddam is expected to barricade against U.N. inspection, Baker believes that too will weaken Saddam with the diminishing military elite that still backs him. Bush approved the strategy of escalating inspection demands in a top-level White House meeting last week and sent his Air Force generals to the Persian Gulf to start planning operations.

"If Saddam lets us into his Defense Ministry, then we go a step further. Maybe we demand access to his private offices," a policy adviser told us. "We will continue to escalate as long as necessary, and sometime he will say no or admit total impotence. When he says no, we bomb."

Baker has another option: Demand war-crimes trials. But he and the president worry that might implicate military men beyond Saddam's inner circle who could include the very post-Saddam successor the United States is looking for. However, the threat of mass trials remains.

There is no set timetable. Baker is counting on the United Nations taking action along the lines of his strategy well before the Nov. 3 election—perhaps before this week is out, perhaps next. The sudden focus on the bad man from Baghdad is more evidence that with Baker now boss, the Bush campaign is showing a pulse.

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The Washington Post

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Yeee-Haw! Phil Gramm's Texas Sideshow

The Convention Keynote Speaker,
Strutting His Hour on the Stage

By Lloyd Grove
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, Aug. 18

Here in Texas, they call it "Gramm-standing." The expression refers to Sen. Phil Gramm—today's keynote speaker at the Republican convention—and his insatiable hunger for grabbing the limelight while running roughshod over his rivals.

The term gained currency in April 1989, when Gramm took credit for snagging a federal grant for a sewage project that Rep. Albert Bustamante (D-Tex.) had personally shepherded through the Economic Development Administration. The junior senator from Texas had done nothing, Bustamante complained.

"Albert Bustamante is jealous of the fact that he can't do anything in his district and I get things done," Gramm said dismissively in the wee hours of this morning, as he fielded questions about his White House intentions in 1996. "Unfortunately for Albert, he wants to be in competition with me. And when you get in competition with me in Texas, you don't win."

Gramm made these remarks—which Bustamante's press secretary called "trash"—as he held court at a country-western hoedown, thrown in his honor by the National Rifle Association. Thousands of convention-goers crammed into the Astro Arena, a hall with the ambiance of a hardened bomb shelter, to drink beer from plastic cups and watch a film celebrating Gramm's life and times—a privilege for which they'd paid \$75 a head. "Phil Gramm, a new leader for America," narrator Charlton Heston intoned (visual: Gramm's face superimposed

See GRAMM, B2, Col. 1



BY MARGARET THOMAS—THE WASHINGTON POST

Texas Sen. Phil Gramm, grabbing the limelight in Houston.

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Feisty Phil Gramm

GRAMM, From B1

over a flapping flag), as the honoree surveyed his domain from an imperial box in the \$500 VIP section.

The man of the hour was introduced in the flesh by Heston, and greeted by yells of "Yeee-haw!" as he descended to address them—his wife, Wendy, at his side.

"This is an event that I believe is gonna be the greatest social event at this convention," he twanged, "just as George Bush's speech is gonna be the greatest speech at this convention."

By all appearances, it looked as if Gramm were holding a convention of his own.

He'd been on the run since dawn of the previous day—getting honored at a breakfast for the National Republican Senatorial Committee, which he chairs; hosting a luncheon for the delegates from Iowa, the nation's earliest presidential caucus state; and meeting with Republican contributors and other political players in various private sessions.

"I think anybody who's ever been a city councilman, much less a United States senator, is interested in being president of the United States," Gramm said—though he coyly insisted that none of these exertions, much less all the Texans wearing "Gramm '96" buttons, has anything to do with this interest.

"I'm up for reelection in 1996, so my committee is called 'Gramm '96,'" he explained with a winning grin.

But surely he couldn't run for senator and president simultaneously?

"Yes I can. . . . A lot of Democrats have done it," Gramm said, invoking the unusual Texas law passed for the convenience of Sen. Lyndon Johnson during the campaign of 1960, and later exploited by Sen. Lloyd Bentsen in 1988. But that was for *vice* president.

According to the September issue of *Vanity Fair*, Marilyn Quayle hit the roof after Gramm sent delegates various invitations under the aegis of "Gramm '96" instead of the more generic senatorial campaign committee, and that Gramm was ordered by the Bush-Quayle campaign to change the sponsorship of several events.

"I heard the story," the senator said, suddenly darting his eyes at a nervous aide, "but she never called to tell me."

And then he left to greet his guests in the Astro Arena.

Gramm, 50, is clearly a horse of a different color from good-looking, charming wannabes such as South Carolina Gov. Carroll Campbell, Massachusetts Gov. Bill Weld, Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp and even Vice President Quayle. Balding and stoop-shouldered, peering through wire-rimmed glasses, he looks like a mole squinting into the sunlight—albeit a mole with very sharp claws.

Take the experience of Sen. Kent Conrad, a North Dakota Democrat.

In February 1989, Conrad tangled with Gramm before the Senate Energy Committee, where Gramm testified on behalf of the multi-billion-dollar superconducting super-collider, to be built in Texas. Conrad was incensed that Gramm, who'd gained his fame as the arch-enemy of deficit spending (mainly as an author of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings budget-balancing law), had continually attacked the pet project of Conrad's senior colleague.

Gramm had mocked Sen. Quentin Burdick's proposed research center at North Dakota State University as a pork-barrel boondoggle to promote "weeeee science."

"Here you are, one of the foremost advocates of being tough on spending, in here advocating a spending project that would benefit your constituents," Conrad scolded Gramm. "It's not high on my list," he added.

After the hearing, Conrad confirmed, Gramm phoned him with a threat.

"You really got me where it hurts," Gramm told his colleague, "and now I'm going to get you."

As far as Conrad knows, Gramm hasn't yet delivered on his threat.

Indeed, several of Gramm's colleagues describe him as a fierce defender of Texas pork, as well as other interests close to his heart.

A Democratic senator, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said Gramm pulled out all the stops last year to prevent the Bush administration from transferring regulatory authority from the Commodities Futures Trading Commission to the Securities and Exchange Commission. Wendy Gramm, the Texan's wife, chairs the CFTC.

"Gramm browbeat and hammered [Treasury Secretary] Nick Brady, just clobbered him," the Democrat recalled. "And Nick Brady . . . would not take on the fight."



BY PATTY WOOD FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas at his "Red, White and Boots" fund-raiser in Houston Monday night.

Fear of Gramm, his colleagues say, is probably what makes him so effective, and Gramm seems to delight in being the Democrats' *déle noire*.

"I think the statement was," said Gramm, recalling one of the old chestnuts he never tires of repeating, "that I didn't come to Congress expecting to be loved, and I've not been disappointed."

One GOP politician here says Gramm's Texas support must reflect the Republican base, because nobody votes for him out of affection.

"He's a rammer," said Sen. Conrad Burns of Montana, contrasting Gramm's style to his own preference for cloakroom consensus-building.

Gramm is also known as a first-class strategist who on any given issue decides immediately what he wants and, just as important, figures out how to get it. It is a trademark he established when he arrived in the House, as a Democrat, in 1979, having spent a decade as an economics professor at Texas A&M University. He quit his seat in 1982 after the House leadership accused him of "spying" on Democratic caucuses for the Reagan administration and threw him out of the Budget Committee. He was resoundingly reelected that year as a Republican.

"He's very smart, extremely facile to the edge of glibness, and he appears to have a towering ambition," said Sen. Tim Wirth, a Colorado Democrat who has served with Gramm in both the House and the Senate. That ambition is flowering this week with his keynote address and his deft use of his oost at the helm of the Senate campaign committee.

Since he took over the campaign committee in 1990, Gramm has been tireless in raising money for GOP candidates around the country and picking up IOUs. For Illinois Senate contender Rich Williamson, facing an uphill battle against Carol Moseley Braum, Gramm not only contributed \$1 million in committee funds, he also raised an additional million by spending a day in Illinois recently appearing at 16 fund-raisers. Should he win a Senate seat, Williamson will be hard-pressed not to support Gramm for whatever office he seeks.

As for his Gramm's vaunted combativeness, Wirth said, "He'll be mocking, but he does not do things that are openly nasty."

Not usually, anyhow. Many still remember Gramm's performance during the 1987 Supreme Court nomination battle of Robert Bork, when he personally attacked two of his anti-Bork colleagues, Ted Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Joe Biden (D-Del.): "The American people know what the people who cheated in college think, but we want to give them a chance to hear the qualifications of a guy who was a straight-A student."

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signed to the task ahead. "It's just not fun to run" when campaign rhetoric gets "too filthy," she said. But: "I can do anything for three more months."

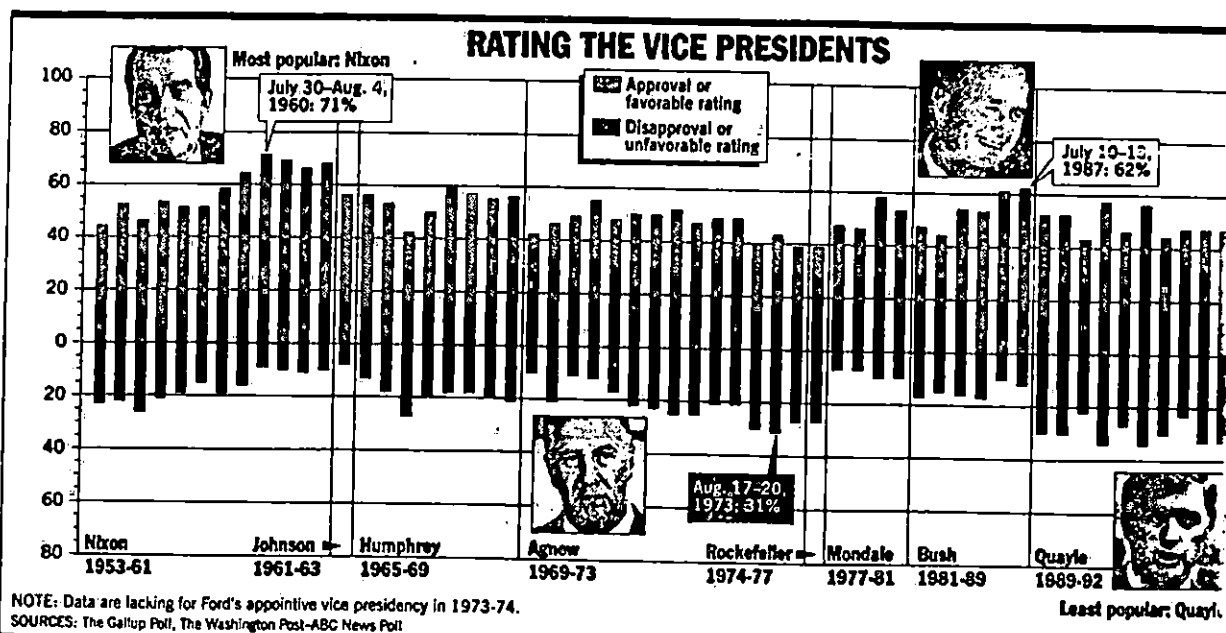
In the eyes of Republicans, she can do no wrong. In fact, she could reinvent the wheel and get credit for it. Certainly they are counting on this Silver Fox to be a huge asset, especially alongside lawyer-activist-mother Hillary Clinton, a prime target so far at the convention. According to a Wall Street Journal-NBC News poll released Friday, she has a 63 percent popularity rating with voters compared with Hillary Clinton's 34 percent.

Barbara Bush maintains that she does not appreciate such comparisons, or the idea that she might find friendlier audiences out there in voterland than her husband. "Nobody is jealous of me," she said. "I mean, look at me. Who would be? It's easy to like me. They like George and they respect him. But he has to say no to people because he has to do what's right for the country, and that's hard."

It won't be her first speech at a GOP convention; she spoke four years ago in New Orleans. In 1984 in Dallas, Nancy Reagan's "speech" was more of a Hollywood production, with Ronald Reagan waving back from a giant television screen. Neither woman filled the political mission that Eleanor Roosevelt did in 1940 when FDR sent her to Chicago to urge the nomination of Henry Wallace as his running mate.

"But Eleanor didn't have to sell the New Deal all over again," says University of Texas historian Lewis Gould. "Republicans, on the other hand, are undergirding the primary message of family values, choosing an issue they think works for them and a person to deliver it who is far more popular than either of their candidates."

"What it suggests is that Mrs. Bush has presented herself very effectively as First Grandma and Bush has lost most of his credibility," Gould continued. "If having the First Lady speak is one of the strongest weapons in your arsenal, your arsenal needs some new weapons."



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Granny Get Your Gun: The Other Mrs. Bush



Barbara Bush and son George at the convention: Behind her grandmotherly image is a politically shrewd woman.

By Donnie Radcliffe
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, Aug. 18

When the First Lady takes the podium Wednesday night at the Republican convention, which Barbara Bush will be speaking?

The devoted wife, loving mother, down-to-earth grandmother who put her family first 47 years ago when she left college to marry George Bush? Or the cagey political partner who will capitalize on her image as the most popular First Lady in decades, to keep her man in the White House?

Most probably both.

Barbara Bush and her family value a message—both in carefully chosen words and unmistakable im-

age—have made it to center stage this year, casting her in a more visible campaign role than she has ever played before. With a favorable rating as high as 75 percent—more than twice that of her husband's—it's obvious why.

After 3½ years in the White House, she is what Americans regard as the kinder, gentler side of George Bush. But behind the non-threatening white hair and wrinkles ticks the mind of a politically shrewd woman who choreographs her moves as carefully as her husband does his own.

Take, for example, last week's amazing performance on the subject of abortion. For Bush's entire public career, she has dodged the issue while leaving abortion-rights advocates

See ANALYSIS, B4, Col. 1

ANALYSIS, From B1

cates thinking she is secretly one of them. Last week, in a group interview with reporters, she again turned aside questions about where she stood on the issue.

"On abortion, I have to ask you something," began the Boston Globe. "Why is it so many of your friends think that you are more pro-choice?"

"I have no idea. I have no idea," she responded, clearly uncomfortable with the subject.

"Because you never expressed it to them, never talked about it?" the Globe persisted.

"I've always felt that if I ran for president, George Bush would back me 100 percent. That's the best I can do," she said.

A little later, abortion came up again.

"No, we can't return to that," she began. "I've given my answer."

"Well, I'm returning to it," insisted The Washington Post, "and I want you to tell me how can the Republican Party, which..."

"I don't know the answer," Mrs. Bush interrupted.

"... which wants less government," continued The Post.

"I do not know the answer to this," Mrs. Bush said.

"... wants less government in our lives," The Post went on, "comes out for a platform that..."

"I don't know the answer to your question," the First Lady interrupted again, "and so in all honesty don't ask it. I don't know the answer to your question. Pro or con. I just don't want to get into abortion. I've had it with abortion."

A few hours later, the reason she had "had it" became obvious. The day before—for the first time publicly—she expressed what came perilously close to advocating abortion rights in

As it happened, U.S. News & World Report, fearing it would be scooped, released the news prior to publication, so the story broke last week anyway. Strangely, Barbara Bush never mentioned it again in her heavy schedule of interviews.

Could the First Lady, the very embodiment of spontaneity, have been party to such a calculated campaign tactic?

You betcha, as she might put it.

But officials demurred. "Her life is not all politics," insisted the White House.

Barbara Bush picked her issue 14 years ago. She chose literacy, heavily layered with family values.

"I'm a traditionalist," she said in 1981, "if traditionalism means family, loyalty, integrity, truth."

In 1984 she spoke of "parental love... innate, instinctive in man or wom-

an." She added that she did not think "men and women should have children and not take the responsibility."

In 1988, she pointed out that George was "always there when the children needed him."

Sound familiar?

After 3½ years, her message of family values has been taken up by the party as a whole as one of the main themes of the 1992 campaign. It's a positive theme, stressed so far at this convention over other topics like the economy, in which the administration is on the defensive. Wednesday night she will be talking about them on prime-time television.

Explaining her choice of an issue, she said her methodical research had convinced her that the root cause of society's ills was illiteracy. "She began to see the connections the inability to read had with crime rates, juvenile delinquency, world peace, teenage pregnancies and unemployment, and that illiteracy echoed through the whole fabric of society," said her friend Janet Steiger, the Federal Trade Commission chairman, who will join her on the dais Thursday at a Harris County Republican tribute to the First Lady.

Under the umbrella of literacy, her rhetoric was geared toward home and family. And by the time George Bush stood in front of the U.S. Capitol delivering his inaugural address in 1989, Barbara Bush's cause had found its way into his "kinder, gentler" message: "There are the homeless, lost and roaming. There are the children who have nothing... those who cannot free themselves of enslavement to whatever addiction... Young women to be helped are about to become mothers of children they can't care for."

"By osmosis things sometimes work," she said later. "So I felt very good about his speech. He talked about the things, the issues important to me."

Previewing Wednesday night's speech last week at the White House, she characteristically played down its significance. "Don't expect anything,"

she warned, "because you're not going to get it."

Curiously, at the same time, senior Bush campaign aides were building her up. "I'd keep a close eye on Mrs. Bush," said one. "She might surprise you."

This is, of course, exactly the sort of responsibility Barbara Bush claims she doesn't want. To hear her tell it, expectations about what she is going to say make her "very nervous.... I can't change family values. I can't come up with a zinger. It isn't going to be a great speech.... I mean," she complained in that self-effacing way she resorts to at times, "it's nothing."

She even went so far as to say this week that people wouldn't find it worth staying up to watch, reinforcing again that harmless grandmotherly image marred only rarely by a public slip—or a pointed criticism—like her "rhymes with rich" shot at Geraldine Ferraro.

Yet she is tough and combative when she has to be. Few presidents' wives have seemed as suited to the challenge of a campaign, no matter how mean and personal it becomes.

Even for her, though, this year has hit "an all-time low," with the punches landing on her husband and children particularly "hurtful." To stay above the fray earlier this year she "damned near bit her tongue off," says one source. Privately, she was furious about Hillary Clinton's published comments this spring in Vanity Fair asking why Bush was not questioned about a rumored illicit affair, calling it "lower than low." But publicly, Mrs. Bush dismissed the remarks with a ladylike, if firm, "baloney." Last week, when rumors of the affair resurfaced, she turned up the volume, calling the reports "ugly," "deceitful," "harmful" and "just mean."

Still, she didn't forget the wry, disarming exit line. "It's funny," she later told an interviewer, laughing about it. "Nobody ever asks if I've fooled around."

She hasn't been laughing—not yet, anyway—over two recent unflattering articles about her. The New Republic

recently called her a "stealth-Nancy in Keds"—as in Nancy Reagan, who was deeply involved in her husband's business. This month's Vanity Fair goes further, portraying her as a control freak who sends shudders of terror through the White House. How could this happen?

"Let's guess," she explained. "We've got four months before the election. How do you get to George Bush? Clobber his wife. The truth is, nobody ever said I was a saint. But I wasn't what that [Vanity Fair] article said either."

If the media have given her a relatively easy ride so far, it might well be because she can be as funny, frank and compassionate as she is sly, caustic and argumentative. And of course, she is always quotable, answering reporters' questions most of the time—the way any politician does—because she's a quick study who prepares assiduously for her media encounters. Behind the scenes she leaves nothing to guesswork.

Even if someone were looking for a weakness, she seems almost uniquely invulnerable to attack. Unlike Hillary Clinton, who has spoken and published on controversial issues, Barbara Bush has virtually no record to examine. Her family is her career. And her only issue has been literacy, hardly the material for political broadsides. Should she, however, go on the attack and begin to create a trail of public remarks and private advice, that could change.

Tonight on "The MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour," she floundered in unfamiliar waters on policy issues and seemed to adopt the party line of blaming the media, admonishing Judy Woodruff: "You're saying nothing nice. Where were you during the Democrat convention defending us?" When she sternly told Woodruff, "Now come on, be fair," Woodruff responded diplomatically, "I'll try to be, Mrs. Bush. Thank you for the advice." The interview ended with Mrs. Bush warning, "I'm going to listen to your questions. I'm going to monitor you."

Gearing up for the fight of George Bush's political life, Barbara Bush is re-

The Washington Post

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WE'VE HEARD THAT...

■ At least one member of the president's family is not hiding her light under a bush. When Nancy Ellis saw a Houston protest sign instructing "Honk if You're for Choice," the president's sister enthusiastically ordered her driver to "Honk! Honk!"

■ RNC Chairman Rich Bond jumped on California Sen. John Seymour minutes before the senator's speech Monday, complaining about unauthorized abortion-rights language in the text that made reference to Barbara Bush. "This wasn't cleared!" Bond is quoted as snapping. And lo and behold, the language was changed when Seymour spoke.

■ Barbara Bush had to step past four people in the President's Box Monday night to shake Pat Buchanan's hand after his speech. Buchanan didn't go to her, as protocol would expect.

■ Ron Brown did not have a good day. As the DNC chairman tried to hold a press conference across from the Astrodome yesterday, carloads of scrub-faced Republicans wheeled into the restaurant parking lot with cowbells, large signs and booming voices. They banged on the windows for a full 45 minutes, screaming slogans like, "Hey, hey, ho, ho, Bill Clinton's got to go!"

■ The tell-all Ted Kennedy book by former staffer Richard Burke, dropped by Putnam's last week as a too-hot potato, looks like it's been picked up by St. Martin's Press. "If I were buying the



Rich Bond knows which words to use.

book," Chairman Thomas McCormack says, "chances are a confidentiality agreement would prevent me from saying so." Sounds like a yes, no?

■ Bill Clinton, Tipper Gore and Bush political operative Mary Matalin all celebrate birthdays today. But Clinton and Gore will be celebrating together.

■ Yves Graux, Barbara Bush's longtime coiffeur, is in Houston to style the Silver Fox's locks for her big speech tonight. It's his first time on the road with her.

■ The best celeb the GOP has been able to produce on the floor so far is Charlton

Heston, who hasn't drawn this much attention since he was Moses.

■ There are 15 intercom extensions at Bob and Georgette Mosbacher's huge River Oaks house. One is to the "wine room."



The Boxed-In, Part 2

■ Among those sitting in the Vice President's Box last night:

Marilyn Quayle; Texas millionaire Trammell Crow Sr. and his wife, Margaret; Senate candidate Charlene Haar of South Dakota; Roy Innis, Congress of Racial Equality national chairman; Labor Secretary Lynn Martin; radio host Rush Limbaugh; Pat Robertson; Howard Baker; U.S. Olympic Committee President Bill Hybl; Cap Cities/ABC Chairman Tom Murphy; Malcolm Forbes Jr.; and Pat Buchanan.

And the highlights from the President's Box: T. Boone Pickens, Bruce Willis, Cheryl Ladd and former Olympic swimmer Donna de Varona.



Howard's End

■ The ironies of history are many. As Ronald Reagan delivered what may have been his valedictory address to the convention Monday night, a small figure moved through the stands of the Astrodome, searching for an angle to get a clear view of the podium. It was Howard Baker Jr., a man who once loomed large in GOP circles and even flirted with the presidency. Just six years ago, after the Iran-contra scandal had paralyzed the Reagan administration, the former senator from Tennessee rallied from retirement to become chief of staff and rescue the president's credibility.

All Baker wanted was a spot from which he could photograph the man for his extensive collection. "I talked with him last month," said Baker, now a Washington lawyer. "He's slowing down a little... but not very much. He's remarkable."

He clicked away.



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Moderates Looking Beyond Bush

Losers in Bitter Platform Battle Find Consolation in Planning Strategy for '96



"We're the largest untapped political force in the country, we moderate Republicans."

—Rep. Jim Leach of Iowa

By David S. Broder and Jonathan Freedland
Washington Post Staff Writers

HOUSTON, Aug. 18—It was three hours since the abortion rights forces had seen the collapse of their effort to force a Republican National Convention floor debate on the platform's antiabortion plank. It was two hours until those same moderates would hear former president Ronald Reagan and his self-proclaimed legatee in the conservative movement, Patrick J. Buchanan, define the Republicans' 1992 message to the nation.

In this brief respite, they gathered around the pool at an elegant private residence and on the patio of a Mexican restaurant to do what Republican moderates have learned to do in recent years: lick their wounds and vow that four years hence, they will be better prepared to battle the right for control of the party they once claimed.

Poolside at the home of former Environmental Protection Agency administrator William D. Ruckelshaus and his activist-feminist wife, Jill, and on the patio of the restaurant where the Ripon Society, a moderate Republican organization, was feting Massachusetts Gov. William F. Weld, there were brave expressions.

"We're the largest untapped political force in the country, we moderate Republicans," said Rep. Jim Leach of Iowa. "They can't ignore us in the next election."

But others at this convention didn't pretend optimism. On the Astrodome floor, former Indianapolis mayor William H. Hudnut III, a minister himself, raged to a reporter that the invocation, which compared abortions to the Holocaust and sought divine aid for a Republican victory, was "the most offensive prayer I've ever heard."

"There are a lot of broken hearts in here," he said, "and I think out around the country, that Republicans would present such an extreme platform and message. . . . I hope that sometime the moderates find their voice, but the apparatus has been captured by the right and they're not going to yield it."

As Hudnut recalled, moderate Republicans—or as they used to call themselves, progressives—first tasted intraparty defeat in 1964, rallied during the Nixon-Ford years and then saw Reagan lead a complete conservative takeover in 1980.

Many of them, like Leach, had backed George Bush in 1980 and when Bush became president almost four years ago, they

See MODERATES, A22, Col. 1

In Platform Defeat, Moderates Look to '96

MODERATES, From A21

thought their day had returned. It has not turned out that way, and in retrospect, some of them think they know why.

Said Mary Louise Smith, chairman of the Republican National Committee under President Gerald R. Ford and another early Iowa backer of Bush: "I think the night George got his phone call from Ronald Reagan, offering him the vice presidency, he made up his mind he would not argue with the forces that had brought Reagan to power. His whole political philosophy was changed by his decision to be part of the Reagan team."

Gregg Edwards, a Ripon member from New Jersey, said it is now clear that "moderates cannot rely on George Bush to set the tone." Even though his Greenwich, Kennebunkport, Episcopal and Yale background made him a natural early ally of the Pillsburys, the Hillmans and the Goodyears who are prominent among the moderate Republicans here, Bush is now seen by the moderates as a man who has thrown in with the working-class Reagan Democrats and the Christian right with its strong anti-elite, antiabortion views.

They also acknowledge that the fundamentalists have simply out-organized them in the precinct

warfare for control of party organizations and convention delegations. "Look," said George Pillsbury, a Minnesota moderate, "I ran for office and I packed caucuses with friends, but the fundamentalists did it through their churches. They were better organized—and still are."

Ruckelshaus made the same point about his visit Monday to the delegation from his former home state of Washington. "At least 75 percent of them are fundamentalist Christians," he said. "There's no sense my criticizing their stand on abortion. That's why they ran. The only way to change it is to find moderates who are willing to work as hard as these people do."

Dolly Madison McKenna, a Texas Republican candidate for Congress, was one of several moderates who said one defeat of the platform battle have steeled their determination to mount a counter-offensive in 1996. "We've got to use exactly the tactics the other side did," she said, "going to the precinct meetings and the caucuses . . . with a sleeping bag and thermos flask, just like they did."

Historically, the moderates have talked a better game of internal Republican politics than they have played. But the early success of fund-raising efforts for Republican female candidates who support abortion rights has convinced people like Jill Ruckelshaus and Greta Greenwald that they have more financial and organizational resources than they had known.

Equally significant, said Rep. Marge Roukema (R-N.J.), is the emergence of a set of potential leaders for the moderate cause, including Weld of Massachusetts, his fellow governors Pete Wilson of California and John R. "Jock" McKernan Jr. of Maine, and former governor Thomas H. Kean of New Jersey. Roukema also suggested that James A. Baker III, newly tapped by Bush to be White House chief of staff, might fill the bill.

Weld was the most active and visible of the group here and, if reelected in 1994, could be part of the expected large field of presidential contenders in 1996. Rep. Nancy L. Johnson (R-Conn.) said she thought 1996 might see a replay of the 1964 nomination battle between Nelson A. Rockefeller and Barry Goldwater, the last time an avowed Republican progressive challenged the conservative favorite for the nomination.

But it would be preferable, Johnson suggested, if the moderates spent the next four years organizing enough strength to establish themselves as "a constituency any of the candidates would have to woo, just as they now all court the conservative groups."

"That way," she said, "whoever wins, we would not find ourselves shut out the way we have been here."

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992

Republicans Aim Barbs at Hillary Clinton

Some GOP Advisers Question Wisdom of Such Attacks; 'Downside Potential' Seen

By Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, Aug. 18—The Republican gathering here was expected to be a festival of Clinton-bashing. As it turned out, the target has been not only the candidate, but also his wife, Hillary.

Republican National Committee Chairman Richard N. Bond sounded the theme last week when he described Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton's wife as "that champion of the family, Hillary Clinton, who believes that kids should be able to sue their parents, rather than helping with the chores as they were asked to do."

Barbara Bush expressed displeasure with Bond's remarks, but President Bush said Hillary Clinton was fair game because she was billing herself as a key adviser to her husband.

Former Republican presidential candidate Patrick J. Buchanan went the furthest, raising the threat posed by "Clinton & Clinton" and describing Hillary as a champion of "radical feminism."

In a speech to the convention, Buchanan repeated claims that Hillary Clinton had compared the institutions of marriage and the family to slavery and had proposed giving children the right to sue their parents.

Not all Republicans think the attacks are such a good idea. "Middle-aged men attacking a woman is just the wrong messenger and the wrong message," said one official. "It is going to create a lot of sympathy for her and make us look heavy-handed. There are more subtle ways of causing voters to raise their eyebrows than having a bunch of men attack a woman."

Charles R. Black, a senior Bush campaign adviser, also backed off at a breakfast this

morning from the criticism of Hillary Clinton. "I'm not walking away from anybody here [but] my personal view and advice is: Don't waste time on her," he said.

Republican pollster Neil Newhouse said attacks on Hillary Clinton alone would not affect many votes but might be useful as part of an overall effort to fix an image of Bill Clinton in voter's minds as a man they cannot trust.

"I think it may resonate just a little bit with older voters," he said. "Keep in mind we're trying to put together a kind of patchwork of coalitions here to boost our numbers back up and with every piece of the puzzle helping."

"I think what we're trying to do is basically paint a portrait of someone who you want to think twice about trusting, and

See CLINTON, A24, Col. 1

Many Republican Attacks Have Been Aimed at the Other Clinton

CLINTON, From A21

this is part of that portrait," Newhouse said.

"This by itself may not move many votes," he said, "but, combined with other doubts about him, could raise enough of the trust factor to give Bush an edge."

However, Newhouse warned, "There's certainly a downside potential... among younger, Republican pro-choice women who are professional and may be leaning away from our party because of the abortion issue."

Another Republican pollster, Linda DiVall, said she suspects that "most people will probably side with Mrs. Bush, that she's [Hillary's] not on the ballot... I think the focus is going to naturally revert back to him. I don't think that Hillary's going to be a point of attack that's going to carry much weight."

For their part, Clinton strategists say the Bush campaign won't get anywhere with the attacks. "People care much more about what a president's going to do about jobs and education and health care than hearing scare attacks about non-issues," Clinton

campaign communications director George Stephanopoulos said.

The core of the criticism of Hillary Clinton concerns articles on children's rights she wrote for academic journals in 1973 and 1979.

In the 1973 article, written for the Harvard Educational Review while she was working at the Children's Defense Fund in Washington, Hillary Rodham discussed the changing status of children under the law from the "prized possessions" in 18th century England to the independent beings to whom courts had recently begun to extend separate legal rights.

It was in that article that Clinton wrote a passage that is the basis for the assertion that she likened marriage and family to slavery.

"The basic rationale for depriving people of rights in a dependency relationship is that certain individuals are incapable or underserving of the right to take care of themselves and consequently need social institutions specifically designed to safeguard their position...," she wrote. "Along with the family, past and present examples of

such arrangements include marriage, slavery, and the Indian reservation system."

Hillary also proposed expanding the legal rights of children by reversing the existing legal presumption and assuming they were competent to make decisions for themselves unless proven otherwise, a point further developed in the 1979 article.

She said in that article: "Decisions about motherhood and abortion, schooling, cosmetic surgery, treatment of venereal disease, or employment, and others where the decision or lack of one will significantly affect the child's future, should not be made unilaterally by parents. Children should have a right to be permitted to decide their own future if they are competent."

But Hillary was also careful to emphasize the limits of her proposal, a point omitted in the conservative critiques. She said that "in all but the most extreme cases, such questions should be resolved by the families, not the courts."

She added, "I prefer that intervention into an ongoing family be limited to decisions that could have long-term and possibly irreparable effects if they were not resolved."

Several family law experts interviewed today said the criticism of Hillary Clinton's writings were unfair and taken out of context.

"I don't consider them the slightest bit wacky," said Duke University law professor Kate Bartlett, who said she is supporting candidate Bill Clinton.

Bartlett said "a very fair interpretation" on the sentence involving marriage and slavery "is that she is referring to the time when married women could not own property and could not enter into contracts and had virtually no protection against physical abuse."

Stanford law professor Michael S. Wald, a Democrat, said that Hillary Clinton "is not talking about children going off and suing their parents because they don't like their bedtime." He said that courts had generally "moved in the direction" of Hillary Clinton's proposals on such issues as abortion and noted that her reference to cosmetic surgery appeared targeted at a specific case involving a Jehovah's Witnesses family who refused to allow their child to have surgery for a cleft palate.

Brigham Young University law professor Lynn Wardle, a conservative, said he found

Hillary Clinton's proposal to presume children competent to make their own decisions "provocative," but that her writings were "much more reasoned than the shrill kind of radicalism that comes out of some activist organizations."

He said Hillary Clinton was "not outside the mainstream at all" of academic writings on the subject. However, he added, "If you're talking about, 'Was she in the mainstream in Main Street, Peoria?' The answer is: Heavens, no."

Gary Bauer, president of the conservative Family Research Council, said he thought the interpretation of Hillary Clinton's statements was "as fair as anything else in the rough and tumble game of American politics" and not "a twisting in any way of what she said." He noted that Vice President Quayle's speech on the family "had one line about [television character] Murphy Brown and that became the subject of national debate."

Staff writer Ann Devroy and staff researcher Mark Stencel contributed to this report.

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Dreaming a Dream and Giving 'Em the Business

By David Von Drehle
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, Aug. 18

Met Tie Sosnowski. "He's the perfect example of the Bush administration," in the opinion of his proud mother Doris of Grapevine, Tex. Tie is tall, slim, blond, smooth, with big white teeth and a hydraulic handshake. Put khaki trousers and red suspenders on him and he could be poster boy for the College Republicans. But that's not what mom means.

What she means is, Tie's an entrepreneur. Barely out of school, he already owns 30 tons of the old Berlin Wall, and he's selling chunks to the Republicans here. That's not all. He installed six Russian artisans in a Moscow apartment building and fed them Mars bars for 17 days while they painted the faces of GOP presidents on wooden nesting dolls—priced here at \$125 per set. "Tie's a little difficult to paint," said Tie.

There are hundreds like him too, moving product, turning a buck, pitching a pitch, dreaming a dream, in the vast Astro Arena next to the convention hall this week. At 240 booths, entrepreneurs are pushing a staggering array of stuff—from key chains that emit swear words at the touch of a button to leather-bound sets of Encyclopaedia Britannica. It might best be called Mall of the Republicans.

Some fault this party for poor management of the national economy. But in this little corner of that great big marketplace, they are making the late Sam Walton look like a piker. Conventioneers can buy: ■ Bush-Quayle bicycle reflectors. Baby bibs, for "wee-publicans." Faux-Chanel fabric covers for beepers. Spangled caps and striped birdhouses. Lamps made from horseshoes. A book called "The Men Who Lost the Presidency," which, surprisingly, is not about Democrats.

■ Yoked shirts splashed with sequins, jackets trailing leather fringe, cowboy hats in pastel shades. Red-white-and-blue silk flowers in boot-shaped pots. Golf bags, go! balls, putters and pitching wedges, all embossed with Old Glory. Foods galore, like chocolate truffle-covered popcorn, cherry jalapenos, jalapeno black beans, jalapeno jellies, bean dip, onion dip, chili mix and giant chocolates shaped like cow pies.

■ Sculptures of Nancy Reagan. Pink-tinted sunglasses with lenses shaped like Texas. Computer disks encoded with the names of everyone in America who has given more than \$250 to a presidential campaign (product name: Fat Cats). Flower seeds.

■ And, of course, "Millie's Book," the bestselling tale of the president's dog.

You might say "Millie's Book" is the archetypal merchandise at Mall of the Republicans, in the sense that some publisher has made a killing trading on the presidential mystique. Making a killing is the whole idea around here, and some people have come up with truly original ideas. Like Michael Coburn, a real estate man from Bethesda, who is selling framed plywood fragments from the convention stage for \$150 apiece. Or like Kay Maselle and Maureen Harkins, who do a booming business in canned armadillo road kill—"It's not real," said Harkins conspiratorially.

Richard Lynn Stack, entrepreneur and author, figured, why overdo originality? He simply wrote his own book about Millie, volume three in his Josh the Wonder Dog series.

"The Queen of Arabia goes on a visit to the White House and gets very sick," explained Stack's wife Marla June. "She is cured by Josh through a combination of a lot of prayer and a home remedy. Josh meets Millie and they fall in love."

Mostly, people hawk elephants. Elephant brooches, pins, necklaces, barrettes, buttons, ear-

rings, belt buckles, tea towels, confections, bookends, bottle openers, cocktail napkins, swizzle sticks, cream pitchers, sugar bowls, cookie jars, ashtrays, toothpick holders, salt shakers and \$3,500 bronze statues. Elephants in onyx, applique, brass, glass, plastic, marble, ceramic, wood, pewter, rhinestone, leather, praline and lame.

The elephants are jute at Judy's Bags and Gifts, run by Judy Sandlin of Alexandria, Tenn. "See, the trunk and the tail are both pointed up. That's double good luck," she said. If she makes a lot of money on them, she deserves it, she figures.

Why? Because she is the risk-taker. "I am, as far as I know, the only person in America willing to put up the money and send it to the mountains of Thailand, where they make these," she said. "The money always comes first."

So true. That's the entrepreneurial spirit the Republicans have been extolling for half a generation. Alive and kicking. Just because a person doesn't found a software company, say, or invent junk bonds doesn't mean the game is foreclosed.

Jack Stazo, for example, is heavy into Cap Snaps. His own invention, these are plastic figurines that attach snugly to the button on the top of any standard baseball cap. Elephant-shaped, of course, but "just look at the promotional possibilities," he said breathlessly. "We got Longhorns for University of Texas, Razorbacks for Arkansas, we could make little footballs, little helmets. Hey!"

The art of the deal: "You from Washington, you say?" Stazo put his arm around an out-of-town reporter. "Imagine a Redskin on your hat. You and I could talk to those coaches up there. Whaddaya say? Get yourself a little piece of the action?"

The reporter demurred, but Stazo has other prospects in the capital. "No problem," he said. "Barbara Bush came by the booth this morning. . . . I gave her a business card."

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992

Party Animals Find Pleasure Is Good Business

Area Politicians Bring Campaign For Money, Friends to Houston

By Kent Jenkins Jr. and John F. Harris
Washington Post Staff Writers

HOUSTON, Aug. 18—It's a tough job, hitting three parties a night and staying out till dawn. But the big political contributors loosen their ties and their wallets after dark, and congressional candidate Larry Hogan Jr. is here to take some bucks back home to Maryland.

"I got in last night at 4 a.m.," said Hogan, a Republican who is challenging Democratic Rep. Steny H. Hoyer in Maryland's 5th District. "Every potential contributor in the country is here, and there'll never be a better place to let them know about our campaign. I'm working harder here than I was at home."

While President Bush and other big names dominate the Republican National Convention here, Hogan and hundreds of other candidates are doing the Houston Hustle. Whether they're after money for a campaign this fall or friends for campaigns to come, Houston is the perfect political marketplace this week. And the countless parties and receptions scattered about town are where the deals get made.

While Hogan works the political action committees, Northern Virginia businessman Earle C. Williams, who has already entered the 1993 Virginia gubernatorial race, is holding his own breakfast for the state's delegation Wednesday. Michele Dyson, the Republican candidate in Maryland's 4th District, is working a circuit of groups that support women candidates. And a handful of potential candidates for Maryland governor in 1994 are here to shake hands and size each other up.

"This is the only place in the world to be if you want to run for something," said Carol Arscott, a convention delegate from Howard County. "If you're looking to move up, you probably don't know a lot of [Republicans] from around the state very well. This is a chance to get to know them, and to get them to develop a good feeling about you."

The high-stakes partying can produce both instant gratification and ego-busting frustration. For Hogan, the rewards started Sunday night, when he walked into a reception and was handed an unsolicited check for \$1,000 from the political action committee of Phillips Petroleum, the oil giant.

"We had been talking with these groups, but I hadn't asked them for anything," Hogan said. When the guy found out who he was, he said, "I have something for you." "I'll take that any time," Hogan said.

Meanwhile, Williams is learning just how tough politics can be. A retired defense contractor making his first run for elective office, Williams realized that many downstate party activists had not met him. But he was shocked when he introduced himself to one of the Virginia delegates and was met with a blank stare.

Williams's name, the man said, "doesn't ring a bell."

Most of the time, though, things fall somewhere in between. Dyson, who is opposing Democratic state Sen. Albert R. Wynn in the 4th District, already has received contributions from several women's groups and is attending their receptions in part to say thanks. But she

See MONEY, A28, Col. 4

Parties Yield Rich Financial Rewards

MONEY, From A21

speaks to almost every group, and hopes to impress others who will contribute money or time.

She has kept up a frenetic pace. Today she was scheduled to attend two events sponsored by Georgette Mosbacher, wife of former Commerce secretary, now Bush campaign official Robert Mosbacher, who held a reception at the family's home. Groups ranging from the National Women's Political Caucus to the National Order of Women Legislators have had Dyson in.

Dyson acknowledges that tapping into this national women's network was the primary reason she attended the convention. She has had only limited contact with other Maryland Republicans; she is staying in a hotel apart from her state delegation and has attended few state events.

"At first I wasn't going to come," Dyson said. "But I think it's important for me to be here when [women's groups] introduce the candidates . . . Volunteers and in-kind contributions would be a real help to my campaign. Women are going to change the face of the Republican Party."

This political bazaar did not assemble itself by accident. Senior Republican Party officials did everything they could to bring political consumers and suppliers together.

Hogan's first stop after he arrived in Houston Sunday was a reception sponsored by the National Republican Congressional Committee, where representatives of more than 250 political action committees were present. His dance card has also included events sponsored by the housing industry, two oil companies and a national food manufacturers association.

"The party has been telling people about our campaign, so they usually know who I am when I introduce myself," Hogan said. "And even if they don't, as soon as I mention who I'm running against, they get all excited."

Hogan said Hoyer gets low ratings from major business groups, but conceded he will have to work hard to unseat the five-term incum-

bent, who has risen to become a senior member of the House's Democratic leadership. Hoyer also has received numerous business contributions of his own.

"Steny Hoyer is in a powerful position, and he's a guy a lot of these folks would like to get rid of," Hogan said. "I almost didn't come here, but it's not a bad idea to be hanging out with the leaders of the party. It's never going to hurt to let people know who you are."

Among the candidates and possible candidates in the two states' future elections, money is not the real issue. They are engaged in a courtship ritual that sometimes resembles an awkward first date.

Williams is the only one of three Republicans seeking the Virginia governorship who came to Houston, and he said he has done no fund-raising for his campaign here. White House aide Bobbie Kilberg, of McLean, is considering a run for lieutenant governor, but said that any campaigning here would be premature.

Among the early field of potential Maryland gubernatorial candidates, Anne Arundel County Executive Robert R. Neall arrived in Houston this afternoon, and 1990 GOP nominee William S. Shephard is concentrating here on renewing his ties to state activists.

For those hopefuls, small personal gestures now could pay big dividends later. Republicans say that although Williams has established himself as a party fund-raiser in past years, he needs to convince fellow Republicans that he can be a party leader.

"He has paid his dues on the finance side, but not on the activist side," said Fairfax County Board Chairman Thomas M. Davis III, a Williams supporter who is here as a delegate. Added another Virginia Republican, "I don't get the sense Earle is especially at home here."

J. Marshall Coleman, the GOP's 1989 gubernatorial nominee in Virginia, said the convention presents Williams with an opportunity to create new political ties. "He's sort of got the show all to himself," said Coleman, who attended the national convention in 1988.

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GOP Women Complain About Role in Shadows

Morella Charges Party Misses Opportunity To Spotlight Female Candidates, Officials

By Maralee Schwartz
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, Aug. 18—Rep. Constance A. Morella (R-Md.) wanted to send her party a message today when she quoted Abigail Adams's warning to her husband John as he helped form this nation's government two centuries ago: "If particular care and attention is not paid to the ladies, we are determined to foment a rebellion and will not hold ourselves bound by any laws in which we have no voice or representation."

Morella is one of a number of female Republican officeholders and candidates here who are disappointed that the Bush campaign and the

Democrats, she said, mainly showcased their seven female Senate nominees. The Republicans have only one woman running for Senate this year, Charlene Haar of South Dakota, and she is seconding Vice President Quayle's nomination.

Kay Bailey Hutchison, Texas state treasurer and temporary chairman of the convention, said that it is unfair to suggest women got more attention at the Democratic convention. "Women are getting a lot of attention at the Republican convention in prominent roles," she said, noting that Labor Secretary Lynn Martin is nominating Bush Wednesday night.

Republican pollster Linda DiVall also said that the two conventions had different objectives.

While much of the Democratic convention last month in New York focused on the image of the party, DiVall said the Republican convention's "first objective is to highlight President Bush and his team."

The Democratic convention, said campaign spokeswoman Torie Clarke, "was a reflection of how little Bill Clinton had to highlight" from his administration as governor of Arkansas. Clinton ranks in the bottom half of governors in terms of appointments of women to high-level government posts, according to the National Women's Political Caucus.

Bush has appointed a greater percentage—42 percent—of women to senior government posts than any of his predecessors in either party, the caucus said. Three women have Cabinet rank in his administration, which is more than any previous administration. Clarke said it is this record and these women who are being highlighted by Republicans here.

She fiercely rejected any suggestion that more than two dozen female House members and candidates were left out of the program because the majority of them favor abortion rights or that the women who were chosen to speak, including those who are abortion rights supporters like Martin, owe their jobs to Bush.

"They are there because of their accomplishments," Clarke said. "And because they help George Bush and his reelection effort." She added that it was "insulting" for anyone to suggest that speakers were chosen solely on the basis of sex or not chosen because of they support abortion rights.

But Morella pointed out that of the 10 female Republicans serving in Congress—one in the Senate and nine in the House—seven are abortion rights supporters and only two are addressing the convention. Johnson of Connecticut addressed the convention this morning, and Rep. Olympia J. Snowe of Maine was added this week to Thursday's program. In contrast, Morella said, two of the three antiabortion female members are appearing before the delegates and the cameras.

Dolly Madison McKenna, who worked in Bush's 1970 Senate campaign, served in the Nixon White

House and is now running for a House seat in Texas, said that perhaps the campaign viewed her and other female Republican candidates who support abortion rights as a risk. "In part, they may be afraid of people who are less controllable. . . . They were afraid it would be a messy convention," she said. "From their perspective, we are less well-known quantities."

Morella says that showcasing the female candidates would have been a plus for the party. "It would be a way to show diversity in the party and give the pro-choice Republicans a chance to vote for the ticket," she said.

*"They were afraid
it would be a messy
convention."*

—Dolly Madison McKenna,
House candidate from Texas

GOP convention planners did not see fit to include them in any significant way in the four-day event, choosing instead to feature women in the administration along with Barbara Bush and Marilyn Quayle. "It's a missed opportunity," Morella said.

Elizabeth Hager, a six-term state representative in New Hampshire running for her party's gubernatorial nomination in the Sept. 8 primary, said she could not understand why "they aren't bringing us to the podium, even just for a photo op," recalling that the Democrats asked the party's female Senate nominees to speak in prime time on the first night of their convention and presented more than 50 of their female candidates on the podium the following night.

"One can make a strong rationale why we should have and would have" spotlighted the female candidates, said Rep. Nancy L. Johnson (R-Conn.), who addressed the convention this morning. But she said the party wanted to present "a number of articulate women of diverse backgrounds . . . and wanted to get to all levels of government."

Johnson also said that comparing the Republican situation to the Democratic was not valid. The

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Tax, Budget Hopes Meet Fiscal Reality

Bush Aides Acknowledge Proposals Fall Short of Reducing the Deficit

By Steven Mufson
Washington Post Staff Writer

In the weeks before the Republican National Convention and in Houston this week, various members of the Bush administration have called for a balanced budget and lower taxes—without cutting Social Security benefits, touching veterans' programs or making deeper cuts in military spending.

The numbers don't add up, even without any new tax cut proposals by the president—and several top administration officials privately acknowledge it. They say that the nation will have to live with either higher taxes, budget deficits of \$100 billion to \$200 billion a year, or changes in Social Security retirement age and cost-of-living adjustments—or some combination of all these measures.

While publicly vowing to work for lower taxes, some top officials privately believe that anywhere from \$60 billion to \$90 billion a year in new taxes will be needed in a second Bush administration to bring the deficit down to what they say is a reasonable level.

And while publicly backing the balanced-budget amendment—and hammering congressional Democrats for their role in rejecting it earlier this summer—senior officials say privately they do not believe in the need for a balanced budget. Some senior Bush aides say an acceptable federal budget deficit could run anywhere from 1 percent to 3 percent of the nation's economic output, or between \$60 billion and \$200 billion a year.

Four years ago at the Republican convention, candidate George Bush made his fateful campaign pledge—"read my lips: no new taxes"—only to break his word and make a \$137 billion tax increase part of a 1990 budget compromise.

This week as Republicans gather to renominate Bush, the president and other members of his administration have hinted at new pledges that budget experts say could be just as hard to keep if he wins a second term.

Financial markets seem to understand the mathematical impossibility of what the administration is considering. As the odds of a Bush tax cut proposal appeared to grow more likely, long-term interest rates jumped up because of fears of a larger deficit. "If the Republicans resort to some kind of voodoo Bush-onomics that no one understands and even fewer folks have thought through," it could destabilize the markets, warned Carl B. Weinberg, chief economist of High Frequency Economics, a New York consulting firm.

White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater tried to calm jittery markets last week by assuring them that the administration would do nothing to make the deficit worse. But in a Sunday interview on ABC, Treasury

While backing cuts in entitlements in general, Bush and his top aides have ruled out specific cuts in most such programs.

Secretary Nicholas F. Brady said, "I am not going to upstage anything the president might say at the convention about taxes, but he feels very strongly that the American people are overtaxed."

As part of its proposed 1993 budget now before Congress, the administration already has asked for a seven-part package of tax cuts—featuring a cut in the capital gains tax, breaks for first-time home buyers and real estate developers, expansion of individual retirement accounts and investment tax credits—parts of which, budget experts say, could cost the federal government tens of billions of dollars a year in lost tax revenue by the latter part of the decade.

Yet when Democrats proposed offsetting tax increases, as required under the 1990 deficit reduction agreement, the administration accused them of wanting to stunt any stimulus the package would give the economy. The Democrats, Brady said, wanted to "load it up with taxes and make it ineffective."

The administration has claimed that it can keep a lid on taxes—perhaps even lower them—and narrow the deficit over the next four years through tight controls on "entitlement" programs.

Since most Americans don't know what programs are "entitlements," this pledge is politically innocuous.

But the word entitlements is actually a euphemism for popular social programs that automatically benefit people who meet certain criteria. Entitlement programs include Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, veterans' benefits, unemployment insurance, food stamps and farm price supports.

These programs, as Bush officials often note, account for more than half of government spending, yet do not require annual appropriations by Congress. Past legislation allows higher and higher spending in those categories.

But while backing cuts in entitlements in general, Bush and his top aides have ruled out specific cuts in most such programs. They have

vowed to protect Social Security, veterans' benefits, unemployment insurance, food stamps, even the vastly underutilized veterans' hospitals.

In an interview Sunday with David Brinkley on ABC, Bush said, "I don't think you need to touch Social Security or Social Security COLAs [cost-of-living adjustments] in order to get the budget in balance over a five-year period."

Earlier this summer, the administration agreed to extend the duration of unemployment benefits.

In a speech this week before a group of veterans, Bush said, "If Congress sends me legislation to dismantle the VA system [of veterans' hospitals], I will whip out that veto pen and knock down that Scud missile headed right for the well-being of every family represented here."

Instead, the administration mostly wants to target two entitlement programs, Medicare and Medicaid. Yet these programs aren't big enough to get the spending cuts needed. To eliminate the deficit as would have been required under the balanced-budget amendment Bush supported, Bush would have to cut about \$250 billion of spending, largely from those

two programs. The two programs together will add up to less than \$200 billion in spending this year. Even by 1997, Medicare and Medicaid would only add up to \$350 billion.

Moreover, Bush wants to achieve those savings at the same time he proposes to expand health care coverage to the nearly 40 million uninsured Americans. The administration has proposed a far-reaching health plan that would cut some Medicaid costs. But the administration's own experts still believe the plan would cost nearly \$30 billion a year.

"I've had budget after budget up there to show how to get in balance," Bush told David Brinkley on ABC last weekend. "Got one there sitting right now. Tough decisions in it."

But the Bush budget proposal only reaches balance in 1998 through two sleights of hand. It forecasts economic growth far in excess of what Bush's own Council of Economic Advisers predicts. And it includes a cap on the growth of entitlements programs without telling Congress or voters how Bush plans to meet that cap.

That's because it can't be done. Bush said in a television interview last weekend that his budget has 30 proposals for limiting entitlements. But the Office of Management and Budget's mid-session review of Bush's budget document counted up his administration's proposed cuts in entitlements, plus cuts proposed by House Budget Committee Chairman Leon Panetta (D-Calif.) and the conservative Heritage Foundation—and it still did not add up to enough cuts to bring the growth of entitlements programs below the suggested growth cap.

In 1997, even if all three sets of proposals were enacted, the administration would miss its target cap by \$45 billion. To close that gap, the administration would still need some big measures. It could, for example, make much deeper cuts in defense. Or it would have to increase the revenue collected through all personal and corporate income taxes by 7 percent.

In any case, the administration has never formally proposed an entitlements cap in legislation. And when it listed its own, Panetta's and the Heritage Foundation's options for cuts, it printed the following disclaimer in large type: "specific options included are illustrative" and "inclusion of a particular option here does not necessarily imply support for such an option—and should not be construed to imply support—by the administration

"If Congress sends me legislation to dismantle the VA system, I will whip out that veto pen..."

President Bush, in a speech to veterans

The Washington Post

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POLITICS

Buchanan's Riot Story Of Bravery Disputed

HOUSTON, Aug. 18

That retirement home Patrick J. Buchanan described in his speech to the Republican convention as being protected by troops who risked their lives during the Los Angeles riots last spring—it wasn't. The elderly residents defended the home themselves, according to an Associated Press report.

Although troops arrived later, early pleas for help during the worst of the violence were ignored, manager Jewell Anderson told the AP today. By the time the 18th Cavalry showed up early May 1, there was no threatening and cursing mob near the home as described by Buchanan in his speech.

The rioters were held off by about 70 elderly residents, who formed a ring around the building, Anderson said.

Buchanan's description of the young troops, risking their lives to defend the old people, was one of the most emotional moments of his Monday night speech.

Terry Jeffrey, director of policy for the Buchanan campaign, said Buchanan got the information from two troopers he met at an Army compound in south Los Angeles.

Reagan's Non-Lincoln Quotes

■ Republicans are fond of quoting their party's first president, Abraham Lincoln, and Ronald Reagan is no exception. But according to a historian of the Lincoln era, Lincoln never said what Reagan said he said.

Eric Foner, a Columbia University history professor, said many of the quotations that Reagan attributed to Lincoln in his speech to the Republican convention Monday night—such as "you cannot help the wage earner by pulling down the wage payer"—were actually the words of the Rev. William Boetcker of Erie, Pa.

Boetcker printed his ideas as a philosophy of life in 1916, and his words were so popular with Republicans that they were reprinted in leaflets along with quotations from Lincoln.

Over time, Foner said, Boetcker was largely lost to history, and his quotations were attributed to Lincoln. "In 1950, they were printed in the Congressional Record as Lincoln's," Foner said. At that point, historians got on the case and rediscovered Boetcker.

Reagan is innocent of any effort to deceive, a GOP spokesman said today. The

former president got the quotes from a book called "Past Masters' Treasure Chest," a compendium of quotations.

Strong Denials From Ailes

■ It's a sign of the troubles in the Bush campaign ad operation that Roger Ailes was busy denying all over Houston today reports that he would return to the operation in his 1988 role as impresario of ads. Bush aides acknowledge that they need a political "artist" to oversee the Madison Avenue team of ad makers, and the assumption has been that Ailes might be persuaded to come back.

Ailes said today he's sorry, but no way. He has "returned to television," with three shows in production for the fall, and has signed contracts with other clients. Backing out of those kinds of commitments would end his career, he said. "I made a commitment to get out of politics," he declared, and outside of "informal advice" to the president on major speeches and debates when called on, "I am not getting back in."

The Bush ad team has been squabbling and struggling from the outset, mainly because of a broad disagreement at the top of the campaign and White House over what kind of ads should be made and what they should say. The one set of ads aired so far—close-up shots of Bush talking about the balanced budget, welfare "reform" and other issues—was not widely admired in GOP circles. Some Republicans called those ads a waste of the \$5 million they cost. Their airing, in 15 individual states, ended this week.

Safer Sex for Conventioneers

■ There they were in the blazing noon sun wearing antebellum dresses and big hats with bows, carrying baskets of colorful condoms. They are the Southern Belles for Safer Sex and they spent part of the noon hour here parading along the street across from the Astrodome distributing condoms to conventioneers and promoting family planning.

The Belles, members of the Pro-Choice Coalition of Kentucky, said: "With the Republican Party wanting to ban a woman's right to an abortion, we thought it would only be proper to bring our pro-family planning message to Houston. We would hate to see one of these delegates contribute to an unwanted pregnancy during all the hoopla this week."

—Maralee Schwartz,
E. J. Dionne Jr.
and Ann Devroy

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992

Clinton Rebuts GOP Attacks With TV Ads

By Howard Kurtz
Washington Post Staff Writer

Bill Clinton's campaign, in an unusual bit of counter-programming, aired two new television ads yesterday in an attempt to blunt attacks being rained on the Democratic presidential nominee at the Republican National Convention.

The 15-second spots, being shown only in Houston and Washington, are something of a media stunt, because the campaign is counting on news coverage to bring them to a broader audience. But the unprecedented tactic of airing commercials during the opposing party's convention is part of a Clinton strategy to let no charge go unanswered.

One ad, responding to President Bush's charge Monday that Clinton is proposing the largest tax increase in U.S. history, says: "On Nov. 5, 1990, George Bush signed into law the second biggest tax increase in American history. Under Bill Clinton, Arkansas has had the second lowest tax burden per person in the country. Those are the facts. Back to the show."

The second spot says there has been "no growth in private sector jobs" during the Bush administration, while Arkansas this year "leads the nation in job growth and incomes have grown at twice the national rate."

Frank Greer, Clinton's media adviser, said campaign officials "didn't like the first day of their attacks on Bill Clinton and Al Gore, so we're going on the air. We want to set the record straight in response to their distorting our record."

Bush campaign officials produced a rapid-fire response, saying in a press release that the 1990 budget agreement was "forced on the president by a Democratic Congress obsessed with spending." The statement added that "Clinton is too slick by half" and that "Arkansas tax revenue is low only because Arkansas citizens have been kept so poor under Bill Clinton."

The Democratic National Committee is paying for the ads, which will not count against Clinton's fall spending limits.

Republican consultant Don Sipple said the Clinton camp has shown "a skillful approach to counterpunching. They know the Bush people are attacking Clinton as the failed governor of a small state and they want to inoculate him on the tax issue and the jobs issue. These guys are acutely aware of the ghost of Dukakis past."

While presidential candidates usually disappear during an opponent's convention, Clinton has strived to remain visible. On the "CBS Evening News" Monday, Clinton's live interview with anchor Dan Rather gave him more air time than Bush.

Clinton Camp Sizes Up the Rhetoric

Democrat's Strategists Say They Expect Lead to Shrink

By David Maraniss
Washington Post Staff Writer

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Aug. 18—Bill Clinton and his strategists, monitoring the Republican National Convention in Houston from their perch in Arkansas, expressed conflicting sentiments about the GOP's blistering opening attacks on the Democratic presidential nominee and his wife, Hillary.

Clinton campaign officials maintained that some of the rhetoric, especially from Patrick J. Buchanan, Bush's erstwhile primary opponent turned general-election attack dog, seemed so strident that it might frighten undecided voters.

On the other hand, strategists here said they expected the four days of Clinton-pounding to have a marked effect in the polls, perhaps cutting the Democrat's lead by 10 or 15 points.

"There's no doubt they're going to cut the lead, but it's like someone said of a Mike Tyson punch—that it landed so hard it changed your sense of smell," said James Carville, Clinton's chief strategist.

The question is whether the Republicans can deliver a punch this week with that kind of impact where it changes the whole smell

and feel of the campaign. So far, it kind of smells the same." Clinton, who has spent the last two days dealing with Arkansas budget problems, said he has not watched the GOP convention on television but has read reports from his staff and portions of the most critical speeches.

He described Buchanan's speech Monday night as "just amazing." Buchanan portrayed Hillary Clinton as the ideological leader of a "Clinton-Clinton" administration that would push a radical-feminist agenda.

"Pat Buchanan in his life has never done as much as Hillary to strengthen families and children," Clinton said. "The very idea that he would be up there attacking her shows you how impoverished they are for ideas, how out of touch they are, how irrelevant a lot of what they're doing is. But it's what they know to do—divide and use those wedges to personally attack."

George Stephanopoulos, a Clinton aide, characterized the opening 36 hours of the convention as "It's Yesterday in America," a satirical reconfiguration of former president Ronald Reagan's 1984 theme, "It's Morning in America." Of the two main speakers on opening night, Stephanopoulos said, "Pat Buchanan is 'Cape Fear,' and Ronald Reagan is 'The Way We Were.'"

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992

GOP Plans a 'Family Values' Offensive

Pitch to White Middle Class Casts Bush as Defender of Social Norms

By Thomas B. Edsall
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, Aug. 18—When Barbara Bush speaks to the Republican National Convention Wednesday night, she will be an important symbol of a concerted effort by the Republican Party to win the heart and soul of middle-class white America.

With pocketbook issues currently working to the advantage of Bill Clinton and the Democratic Party, Republican strategists plan their own offensive on the question of "family values"—a convenient catch phrase for a series of deeply polarizing sexual, cultural and racial conflicts arising from the changing role of women, the gay rights movement, the deterioration of the nuclear family and the emergence of minority-preference civil rights policies.

Describing the party's goals, a Republican strategist uses the language of social science to distinguish between two sharply different world views:

"Our purpose is to define George Bush and the Republican Party as the proponent of fundamental social norms in terms of the family, in terms of sexual behavior and in terms of reward for work. Conversely, we intend to define Clinton and the Democrats as advo-

cates of individual fulfillment, without regard to generally held values and beliefs."

The touchstones of this conflict will be gay rights, school choice, welfare policy and a sustained Republican drive to portray Barbara Bush as the epitome of grandmotherly maternalism in contrast—sometimes explicit, sometimes implicit—to a Hillary Clinton defined as the essence of hard-edged feminism.

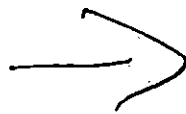
These themes have already shaped President Bush's campaign appearances.

"I stake my claim to a simple belief: The president should try to set a moral tone for this nation," Bush told the Knights of Columbus earlier this month in New York. "I believe that a central issue of this election year should be: Who do you trust to renew America's moral purpose, who do you trust to fight for the ideas that will help rebuild our families and restore our fundamental values?"

While often couched in generalities, the purpose of values themes in elections is to create a series of "us" versus "them" situations that pit the mass of working- and middle-class voters against a whole set of different, but in varying degrees interrelated, targets.

On Monday night, Patrick J. Buchanan pushed con-

See VALUES, A24, Col. 1



The Washington Post

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GOP Strategists Are Planning A 'Family Values' Offensive

VALUES, From A1

servative values themes to the edge of the envelope when he declared: "The agenda that Clinton & Clinton [Bill and Hillary] 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's not the kind of change America needs."

For the past 20 years, the two architectural geniuses in designing campaigns dominated by values themes have been Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) and the late Lee Atwater, who ran the 1988 Bush campaign.

In 1990, Helms steadily cut into the lead held by his Democratic challenger, Harvey Gantt, first with a commercial that portrayed Gantt as the advocate of legislation mandating gay teachers in public schools—a commercial that drove many normally Democratic women with moderate incomes into the arms of the GOP.

Helms followed up the gay ad with a commercial that has already become a classic in the melding of values, race and workplace self-interest: the picturing of white hands ripping up a job rejection slip issued because the employer was forced to meet a racial quota.

Two years earlier, Atwater had combined a whole set of values themes to give Bush, a patrician member of the upper class, a deep populist hue: Willie Horton, the death penalty, the American Civil Liberties Union and the 'no new taxes' pledge.

These themes went right to the heart of Democratic vulnerabilities among key working- and lower-middle-class white voters who believed the party of Franklin Roosevelt had become the party of special preferences, using tax dollars collected from workers to pay for welfare and programs benefiting prisoners more than victims of crime.

In 1992, however, there are two major differences from the climate of the 1988 election.

The first is that members of the Clinton campaign—not only the candidate, but such key advisers as

Stanley Greenberg and James Carville—are acutely aware of the Democratic liabilities on values issues. These liabilities have weighted down the presidential wing of the Democratic Party over the years with the nominations of George McGovern, Jimmy Carter, Walter F. Mondale and Michael S. Dukakis, along with the prominent role of Jesse L. Jackson in the presidential politics of the 1980s.

Carville learned the power of values when he worked in the 1984 Texas Senate race that saw Phil Gramm (R) crush Lloyd Doggett (D) in part by capitalizing on a gay fund-raising event held in behalf of Doggett. Greenberg, in turn, has specialized in the study of the racial and cultural concerns of white Reagan Democrats. He was one of the few Democratic consultants in 1988 to immediately recognize the power of the furlough of first-degree murderer Willie Horton to establish an image of Dukakis as a liberal more concerned with prisoner rights than with the security of law-abiding citizens.

Clinton, in turn, has from the start of his presidential campaign sought to minimize Democratic liabilities on values issues. He has stressed his commitment to a relatively tough welfare-workfare policy, carried out the death penalty as governor of Arkansas and accepted the Democratic nomination "in the name of all those who do the work, pay the taxes, raise the kids and play by the rules." At the same time, his highly publicized conflicts with Jesse Jackson have played well with socially conservative white voters.

The second major change in the values debate, is that Bush, by breaking his 'no new taxes' pledge, effectively severed much of the underlying linkage of values issues to the pocketbook.

As long as the GOP retained its firm reputation as the anti-tax party, Bush could present himself as standing tall for hard-working American voters against a Democratic Party portrayed as determined to direct government policy and tax dollars toward the non-working, minorities and social radicals.

In the short term, the Republican

values assault appears likely to focus on gay rights.

At a breakfast this morning, Charles Black, a senior adviser to the Bush campaign, said "a legitimate issue in the election is the contrast between President Bush's belief in family values [and Clinton's strong endorsement of non-discrimination against gays]. He [Bush] does not believe you should have government preferences for the homosexual lifestyle, and he does not believe that government leaders should promote the gay lifestyle, versus Governor Clinton, who went to California and spoke to the largest gay group there and tearfully endorsed their agenda. There is clear difference on family value issues."

On AIDS, for example, an implicit distinction can be made by emphasizing the individual's role in contracting the disease. On Monday, Joyce Terhes, the Maryland state party chairman, made this point when she said the GOP platform calls "for compassion for persons with AIDS. At the same time, we recognize the crucial role of personal responsibility in maintaining good health."

Black argued that engaging in a values debate inherently works to the benefit of the GOP because the "conservative themes . . . that we are articulating here and the president articulates every day are not only useful in consolidating the Republican base, but they are also positions adhered to by a lot of ticket splitters, independents and conservative Democrats.

"Governor Clinton has the opposite problem: To consolidate the Democratic base, he has had to move left . . . and the independents, ticket splitters and conservative Democrats who decide the election, you are at odds with their position."

In fact, however, the GOP has been running into problems similar to those of the Democrats on issues ranging from abortion to the role of evangelicals in setting party agendas. As the controversy over Buchanan's speech and the criticism of attacks on Hillary Clinton have shown, the emotions generated by values issues do not always fall neatly along party lines.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992

Coherent Message At Midpoint, GOP Is Still Reaching Elusive for Coherent Message

At Halftime, GOP Hunts for Theme

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, Aug. 18—The Astrodome, like Madison Square Garden, turns out to be a place where visiting teams need time to adjust. Halfway through their convention in the Dome, Republicans are no closer to delivering a coherent message to the public than the Democrats were at a comparable point in their Garden party last month.

The featured prime-time speakers the Republicans have presented—former president Ronald Reagan and defeated presidential challenger Patrick

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J. Buchanan on Monday night; 1996 possibilities Jack Kemp and Phil Gramm tonight—did more to showcase their own ideas and personalities than to answer the questions voters have about Bush.

That leaves much to be done in the few hours of free television time left to the GOP, starting with Wednesday night's speeches by First Lady Barbara Bush, Second Lady Marilyn Quayle and Lynn Martin, the Labor secretary selected by Bush to deliver his nominating speech. Even more will rest on the acceptance speeches Bush and Vice President Quayle give Thursday evening.

The Democrats had a similar
See MESSAGE, A24, Col. 1

MESSAGE, From A1

ilar problem. They began getting it together only on the third night, when New York Gov. Mario M. Cuomo made his stirring presidential nomination speech and nominee Bill Clinton staged his march from Macy's to symbolize the start of a new era in his party's long history.

Until then, the New York convention had been a pastiche of mixed-up themes, telling voters less about Clinton's credentials and vision than about the random thoughts of such diverse personalities as cerebral Bill Bradley, sloganeering Zell Miller, professorial Barbara Jordan, moralistic Jimmy Carter and passionate Jesse Jackson.

It would have been easier for both parties to program the early part of their convention weeks had the nominees been content with their pre-convention images. But Clinton saw the necessity of "reintroducing" himself to the American people after the battering his character had taken during the long Democratic primary season. Judging from the "bounce" he and running mate Albert Gore Jr. got in the polls, the effort was a success.

Now Bush will attempt the same thing, seeking to change his image from that of a world statesman uncertain how to grapple with the worrisome economic and social problems at home to a domestic reform president with a clear strategy and commitment to spurring governmental change and economic growth.

Because none of the early speakers wanted to preempt the nominees' own refurbishment efforts—and perhaps were uncertain what the new looks would be—they were necessarily vague in their descriptions.

But the problem was compounded for both parties by the need to send reassuring messages to constituencies that have little in common with each other. That has turned out to be even truer for Republicans than Democrats.

To be sure, there are common elements in all the speeches. Every Republican orator claims the GOP deserves credit for winning the Cold War, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the breakup of the Soviet Union. Every Republican blames the long-entrenched congressional Democrats for blocking important parts of the Bush program.

No major Republican constituency is going to take offense at any of those messages. But beyond that, what voters heard from Gramm, Kemp and Buchanan were three very different varieties of the conservative message, aimed at three different sets of voters who agree on very little and don't like each other very much.

Buchanan's message, the harshest and most controversial of the three, was a full-throated version of the social-issue sermon cherished by the Christian right but less than welcomed by both the old-fashioned economic conservatives and the supply-siders.

"There is a religious war going on in this country," the onetime TV commentator said. "It is a cultural war, as critical to the kind of nation we shall be as the Cold War itself. . . ."

The enemies in the "war," as identified by Buchanan, are homosexuals, radical feminists, defenders of abortion, environmental extremists and the "liberals" who espouse their causes. In a closing passage that some White House officials said they were uncomfortable watching, Buchanan made a connection between the mobs in the Los Angeles riots and these other enemies. As the troopers of the 18th Cavalry, "M-16s at the ready . . . took back the streets of Los Angeles, block by block," he said, "we must take back our cities, and take back our culture and take back our country."

The message was divisive even among delegates. Edward L. Tarpley Jr., a Louisiana district attorney and former Democrat, said, "Issues like abortion and homosexuality are at the core of what conservatives stand for. On those two issues, there can be no compromise."

But New Jersey delegate Elizabeth Bauer said, "I think he was defeating the policy of inclusion that we're trying to show." And Sen. Richard G. Lugar (R-Ind.) told reporters this morning that Buchanan's "was not an appealing message at all, not a winning message. . . . I hope we can focus on the economic issues, rather than cultural wars."

The economic message was central for both of tonight's featured speakers, Housing and Urban Development Secretary Kemp and Texas Sen. Gramm, widely viewed as men

who will challenge Buchanan, Quayle and probably others for the 1996 presidential nomination. But the two men spoke to different priorities—and constituencies.

Gramm, a professional economist, former Democrat and influential member of the Budget Committees in both the House and Senate, put his emphasis on slashing government spending and reducing deficits—an approach long favored by traditional Republican conservatives and their business constituents.

"The change Republicans want today is to stop the growth of government, to control spending, to balance the budget and to cut taxes again." While balancing the budget may seem "the hardest thing we must do to right our economy," he said, it is "pretty simple" if Republicans just say no to programs that are worth less than the taxes they will cost.

In other settings, Kemp has derided this kind of traditional conservatism as "root-canal economics." He has pressed Bush to make a major new tax cut the cornerstone of his reelection drive.

Tonight's speech—aimed at younger voters, entrepreneurs, Reagan Democrats and minorities who are rarely courted by traditional conservatives—did not mention the budget, the deficit or the need to curb spending. Its prescription for economic growth was to slash capital gains levies, reduce tax rates on working families and steer capital to "poor Americans who want their shot at the American dream."

In what could be read as a rebuttal to Buchanan's attack on the values of the Los Angeles rioters, Kemp said that "we can't expect people to defend property rights when they are denied access to property. . . . It's not the values of the poor that are flawed; it's the values of the welfare system that are bankrupt."

The speech that reverberated best with all the varieties of conservatives—and even the relative handful of moderates in the convention—was, not surprisingly, Ronald Reagan's. It was Reagan who formed the current Republican coalition by incorporating elements of all their agendas into his program, and wrapping it all in his patented mixture of nationalism, optimism and goodwill.

Skirting past the economic problems and their answers (in a way Bush cannot afford to do on Thursday), touching lightly and humorously on the Democrats' efforts to redefine their "values" in more conservative terms, the 81-year-old Reagan invoked the spirit of a nation of shared values, instinctive compassion and unlimited potential, "a country that is forever young."

As Lugar put it, Reagan presented "the smiling, gracious face of conservatism, not partisan, not nasty." New Jersey delegate Mary Virginia Weibert said, "Everybody went out of here walking on air."

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992

Bush Woes Blamed On Hill Democrats

GOP Speakers Take Aim at Congress

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

HOUSTON, Aug. 18—With caustic attacks on congressional Democrats and grim warnings about Bill Clinton's plans for the country, Republicans mobilized Cabinet officials, governors and members of Congress tonight to argue that President Bush could match his foreign policy successes with a program for change at home.

While speaker after speaker blamed Congress for blocking the president's domestic initiatives, Bush used an appearance on the "MacNeil-Lehrer NewsHour" to promise some change at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue. He said that he would "revitalize" his administration in a second term and make "a lot of changes in people, maybe in structuring the executive branch itself."

As a way of responding to a restive electorate that sees Bush as indifferent to domestic affairs, some of Bush's advisers have urged him to use his acceptance speech Thursday to announce that his new chief of staff, James A. Baker III, would take a super-Cabinet position in a second term, described by aides as a "secretary of economic and domestic affairs."

But a source familiar with Baker's discussions with the president said "there's absolutely no truth to rumors" that Bush would announce any definitive new role for Baker this week. "It is baloney," the source said. "It is factually incorrect. No discussions of such a nature have occurred."

While rumors about Bush's next moves swept the convention floor, Republicans on the podium used speech after speech to highlight three themes: That contrary to popular perceptions, Bush does have a domestic program; that it has been foiled by the Democrats who control Congress; and that whatever Bush's shortcomings, Democratic nominee Clinton would make things much worse.

"The Constitution makes the president commander in chief of the Army but not commander in chief of

See REPUBLICANS, A23, Col. 1

■ Other stories on the GOP Con-

The Washington Post

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GOP Speakers Blame Bush's Woes on Hill Democrats

REPUBLICANS, From A1

the Congress," declared Sen. Phil Gramm (Tex.) in his keynote address to the 35th Republican National Convention. "The Democrats who control Congress by overwhelming margins have used their majority to throttle the president's program and strangle the nation's economy in a partisan gridlock the likes of which we have not seen in this century."

"America's problem today is not that the president's plan to energize the economy has failed," Gramm said. "Our problem is that it has not been tried."

As for Arkansas Gov. Clinton, Gramm suggested that his election would be nothing short of a national catastrophe. If Clinton's economic program were passed, Gramm said, "private investment would collapse and millions of Americans would lose their jobs."

In an address that drew frequent cheers, Jack Kemp, the secretary of housing and urban development, linked the crumbling of the Soviet Union to his favorite theme, the triumph of the ideas of "liberal democracy, individual freedom, entrepreneurial capitalism."

These were the driving principles behind Bush's proposals to cut taxes, Kemp declared, but "Congress said no," a phrase he repeated like a mantra three times in his speech.

Scoring Clinton's promise of a "New Covenant" and using some of Clinton's favorite slogans, Kemp declared: "The Democrats' New Covenant is not new. It's not change. It doesn't put people first, it puts government first. It doesn't empower people, it empowers bureaucracy. It doesn't encourage investment and growth. It spends and spends and spends."

Although the response on the convention floor to tonight's speeches was occasionally tepid, delegates and some party officials said the mood had improved since the Republicans began gathering here this weekend.

"I feel a marked difference on the floor, a much more positive environment, [a feeling of] let's go for it, let's do it," one Republican operative said.

While Republicans attacked, Clinton's campaign and the Democratic National Committee issued a steady stream of responses. "Phil Gramm turned the Astrodome into the Republican Hall of Blame tonight," said George Stephanopoulos, Clinton's communications director. "His facts and figures were as authentic as Astroturf."

The Democrats also sought to tweak the Republicans by airing brief ads in the Houston and Washington media markets, pointing to Bush's breaking of his "no new taxes" pledge and to slow job growth during his term. The ads conclude: "Those are the facts, back to the show."

If there was a hyperbolic quality to some of the speeches tonight, they generally avoided the sharply personal tone of Monday's addresses, particularly that of Bush's opponent in the Republican presidential primaries, Patrick J. Buchanan. Tonight's speeches were more tightly focused on economic policy and on proposals made by Bush and Clinton.

In one address, Secretary of Health and Human Services Louis W. Sullivan touted Bush's health care plans and said Clinton's proposals would mean "huge tax in-

creases" and "waiting-room gridlock." In another, House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (Ga.) accused Clinton of wanting to increase federal spending to finance "the big city Democratic machines." And Michigan Gov. John Engler charged that new fuel efficiency standards favored by Democrats "will cost 40,000 auto workers their jobs in my state alone."

The speeches were made on a day when the president, who had roused the party faithful on his arrival in Houston Monday night, took a lower profile. He toured an anti-drug abuse program with martial arts actor Chuck Norris and had lunch with the locals at Otto's Barbecue. Bush is working on his Thursday night acceptance speech, and tried to play down the expectations placed on it by friends and enemies.

"Lower them a little, will you?" he asked reporters at Otto's. "Lower them down just a little, lower the high bar. . . ."

But Kemp may have raised them again with a line he added at the end of his talk, to loud cheers. "And Mr. President," he said, "give 'em hell Thursday night."

Bush raised the stakes himself with his comments on television. "You'll see plenty of new faces, plenty of changes." Many conservative Republicans, unhappy with the handling of budget and economic issues, have urged publicly and privately that Bush also announce that Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady and Office

of Management and Budget Director Richard G. Darman not be included in his second Cabinet. Bush has strongly resisted such changes.

For the second consecutive day, Republican speakers paid a backhanded tribute to the success of last month's Democratic National Convention in New York by arguing that the image of moderation projected at Madison Square Garden was misleading.

In making this case, California Attorney General Daniel E. Lungren recalled former U.N. ambassador Jeane J. Kirkpatrick's assault on the liberalism of the 1984 Democratic convention in San Francisco. "The San Francisco Democrats, now cloaked in respectable Madison Square Garden colors, wish for us a collective amnesia," Lungren said.

In a further effort to link Clinton with liberals past, Lungren reminded delegates of Willie Horton, the convicted murderer furloughed under a Massachusetts program who became the centerpiece of Bush's assault on Democratic nominee and Massachusetts Gov. Michael S. Dukakis in 1988.

"Think about it!" Lungren said. "When we begin to talk about crime, they trot out their liberal icon and invite the press to worship at the altar of righteous indignation. The icon is spelled with two words: Willie Horton. When they utter those words, we Republicans are to bow down in a frenzy of mea culpas!"

Republicans hope to use this convention to make all things new and cast themselves as a forward-looking party. Vice President Quayle wants to do that at least as much as anyone, and today he told an interviewer on CNN: "You are going to see a new Dan Quayle."

"I had a bad campaign in 1988 personally and I am not going to repeat the same mistakes," he told CNN's Bernard Shaw. "I'm going to rely on my own political instincts. They got me where I am. I am a determined individual."

Although the abortion issue was settled as a platform matter Monday when the convention ratified a statement of principles that included a strong antiabortion plank, the matter continued to be raised at and around the convention. Republican supporters of abortion rights rallied behind Bush while promising to fight another day.

"I'm proud to be pro-Bush and pro-choice," Rep. Nancy L. Johnson (Conn.) said in a formal speech to the convention that drew applause. "If you're pro-choice, join the organizations in our party that are pro-choice so your voice will be heard. Americans are overwhelmingly in favor of government and political parties staying out of this issue."

Massachusetts Gov. William F. Weld also declared his strong support for abortion rights but called for unity. "We shouldn't let this issue divide us," he said. "We should focus on uniting and winning in November."

To that end, Republicans sought to open a counter-offensive in defense of Bush's domestic program.

"When the president proposed school choice," said Wisconsin Gov. Tommy Thompson, "the Democrats in Congress said: 'Can't do that. The special interests won't like that.'"

"From Massachusetts and Michigan to London and Moscow, privatization—reducing bureaucracy and saving tax dollars—is on the cutting edge of progress," said Ellen R. Sauerbrey, GOP leader in the Maryland House of Delegates. "But when President Bush has tried to take the same approach nationally, what does the leadership of the U.S. Congress say? They just say no!"

In an address of slashing attacks and some humor, Gramm accused Clinton and the Democrats of running away from their own congressional leadership.

"Did you notice at their convention in New York, the Democrats hid their congressional leaders?" Gramm asked. "Speaker [Thomas S.] Foley and [Senate] Majority Leader George Mitchell were so far back in the crowd that you had to press your nose right up to the TV screen and use a magnifying glass to spot them. . . ."

While Gramm praised Bush's domestic programs, he opened his address by highlighting Bush's strong suit: The collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War.

"When you count the number of nations that have been liberated from Soviet tyranny," Gramm said, "when you total up the population freed from the Marxist yoke, when you add up all the puppet despots whose support from Moscow has now been yanked away, ours is the greatest victory in the history of freedom."

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992

Allies Endorse U.S. Plan For 'No Fly' Zone in Iraq *Baghdad's Aircraft Would Be Shot Down*

By John Lancaster
Washington Post Staff Writer

British and French officials said yesterday they have agreed to a U.S. proposal to block Iraqi air attacks against Shiite Muslims in southern Iraq, declaring that any Iraqi aircraft violating the "no fly" zone will be shot down.

British Prime Minister John Major, accusing Iraqi President Saddam Hussein of "systematic murder, genocide" against the Shiites, said following a five-hour cabinet meeting yesterday that allied aircraft would patrol a broad area of southern Iraq to enforce the ban.

"We will instruct the Iraqis not to fly in that area. They will be attacked if they fly in the area that is proscribed," Major said in an interview with a British television station, the Reuter news agency reported from London.

[In another development, the head of the U.N. inspection team that left Baghdad yesterday said Iraqi officials supplied information about previously unacknowledged ballistic missile programs.

[Nikita Smidovich, who arrived in Bahrain after an 11-day stay in Iraq, also said the Iraqis provided improved security for his 22-member team, did not obstruct their inspection of eight sites and gave "good information" on Iraq's ballistic missile program. Details on Page A14.]

In Paris, French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas echoed Major's remarks on the new security zone, saying the allies would extend much the same protection to the Shiites as is already provided to Iraq's Kurdish minority north of the 36th parallel.

Bush administration officials have said the new security zone would include the vast chunk of Iraqi territory south of the 32nd parallel, effectively grounding Iraqi flights in

all but a narrow strip across the country's central portion.

U.S. military officials say the ban can be enforced using Air Force and Navy aircraft already in the Persian Gulf region, and analysts expressed doubt that Iraq would risk any more of its already diminished air force by trying to defy it. Nevertheless, the plan is not without risks for the Bush administration, which fears the possible creation in southern Iraq of a breakaway state under the control of fundamentalist Shiites linked to neighboring Iran.

"What you really need to encourage is a new, more liberal and federated Iraqi political structure, and the danger is you wind up encouraging separatism or civil war," said Thomas McNaugher, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution. "You're trying to protect people and bring pressure to bear on Saddam, but you're also playing to a religious group that has ties to Iran and dissidents in Saudi Arabia. It's very tricky in the region."

For many months, Saudi Arabia's Sunni Muslim leaders had been wary of lending support to the Shiites. But a source familiar with U.S.-Saudi negotiations said yesterday the Saudis have agreed to allow use of their air bases to enforce the security zone.

A British official said yesterday there is "broad agreement" among the allied partners on the need for a security zone, and all that remains is "ironing out details."

The security zone proposal was spurred by what Pentagon officials

See ZONE, A14, Col. 1

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992

Britain and France Accept U.S. Plan For 'No Fly' Zone to Protect Shiites

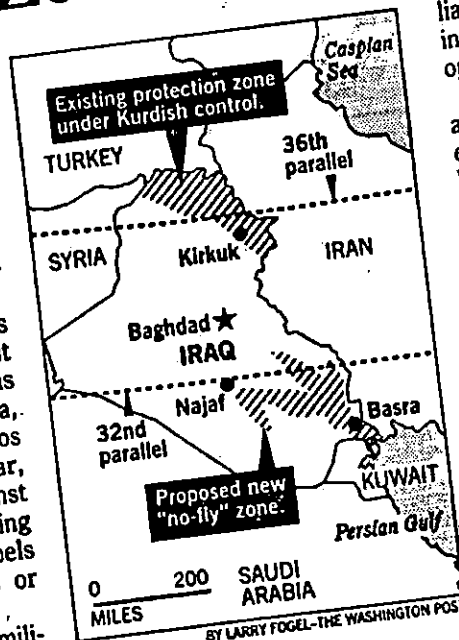
ZONE, From A1

described as an escalating military campaign against Shiite Muslims in southern Iraq. Shiites constitute nearly 60 percent of Iraq's 18.2 million people and have long chafed under Saddam's Sunni Muslim government.

The center of Shiite resistance is in the south, which includes a vast area of lakes and marshes as well as major Iraqi cities such as Basra, Nasiriyah and Amarah. In the chaos that followed the Persian Gulf War, Shiites staged a rebellion against Saddam's forces, but the uprising was soon quelled and the rebels were driven into the marshes or across the border into Iran.

In recent weeks, the Iraqi military's attacks on the Shiites have escalated from a relatively low-level counterinsurgency campaign to what Pentagon chief spokesman Pete Williams yesterday described as "a more generalized attack against the Shia population."

At his regular press briefing yesterday, Williams read from U.S. intelligence reports describing fre-



quent helicopter strafing attacks and artillery bombardments. The Iraqis also are using the guise of public works improvements—in this case, a massive irrigation project—to deprive the guerrillas of the natural protection by draining the marshes in which they operate. Wil-

liams said. Roads are being built into Shiite areas to permit military operations there, he added.

The Iraqis currently maintain about 30 fixed-wing aircraft in southern Iraq, including Soviet-built Su-25 Frogfoot ground assault jets, and 40 helicopters, including Soviet-built Mi-25 Hind gunships, Williams said.

U.S. officials say they have spotted use of Iraqi fixed-wing aircraft against the Shiites only once—on July 23—but Williams said Iraqi government forces have conducted frequent training missions as well as combat sorties using helicopters. Of similar concern, a Pentagon official said, are frequent bombardments of Shiite villages using ground artillery.

U.S. officials contend the military operations are being conducted in defiance of U.N. Resolution 688, which was passed in the aftermath of the gulf war and prohibits Iraqi "repression" against its own people. U.S. officials have argued that the resolution gives the allied partners license to impose the security zone without seeking additional authorization from the United Nations.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992

Who Really Won the Cold War?

Credit where credit is due—on both sides.

Who won the Cold War? Who were its heroes and its slackers? Half-truths may confuse you if the presidential election debate turns to foreign policy this fall. Worse yet, they will thwart effective U.S. leadership in stopping the present international drift toward chaos and disorder.

The Republicans have been scripting their version of the story since the day Mikhail Gorbachev decided to call off the Cold War. They insist that the man who called the Soviet Union an "evil empire" brought its end single-handedly. As in a western movie, the gunslinging sheriff tracked down the gunslinging cattle rustler, winged him with a bullet in his pistol hand and brought him back to the county jail. The sheriff had to go alone because the Democratic slackers would not join a posse. A new version has his deputy sheriff, George Bush, holding his horse during the shootout.

Democrats offer alternative half-truths. Some were horrified at the "evil empire" speech, although they surely did not believe it was a "virtuous empire." They argued that the collapse of the Soviet Union was wholly due to internal factors, sometimes even adding that U.S. military policy prevented its earlier demise. Thus Ronald Reagan was no hero because the cattle rustler didn't even have a gun and would have surrendered voluntarily.

The true story does not make good campaign rhetoric. The American decision to meet the Soviet challenge after World War II rested on bipartisanship. Without it, the United States more likely would have retraced the path it took after World War I, a bitter partisanship leading to isolationism and another world war.

President Truman took the formal decisions, but he counted heavily on Republican Sen. Arthur Vandenberg. Even through the troubled time of the Vietnam War, a few serious-minded leaders in both parties kept constant the basic thrust of U.S. military strategy directed toward the Soviet Union.

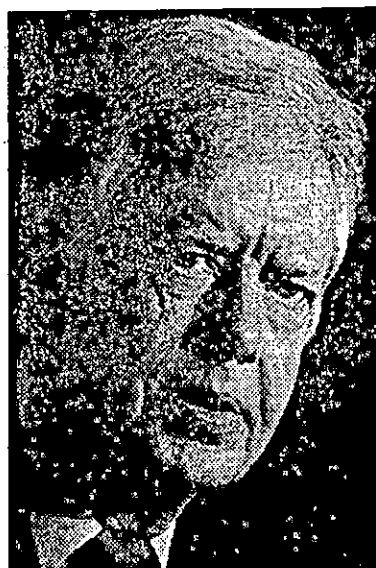
The Republicans presided over the largest reduction in defense spending in the postwar period—38 percent between 1968 and 1976. Much-abused President Carter began the defense buildup that President Reagan was to claim entirely as his own. The



Vandenberg



Truman



Carter



Reagan

B-2 bomber, the intermediate-range missiles for Europe, a rapid deployment force (without which the Desert Storm operation would have been impossible) and several other crucial programs were all initiated by President Carter. He also made the first effort to seek deep cuts in strategic arms instead of the codification of planned buildups in the SALT I treaty.

President Carter's human rights policy, launched in his letter to Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov, sounded the same theme as President Reagan's evil empire speech. The effort to bring

about democratic transitions in Central America began with Carter, and after criticizing it, President Reagan continued the policy. In sum, the record shows more continuity than change.

Through the 1980s, what has been particularly troubling about some Democrats is their view that U.S. military power figured little in the fading of communism. Many Russians, including Russian generals, assert the contrary. By inveigling them into the military competition, they complain, particularly a "qualitative" arms race and a war in Afghanistan, the United

States drove them into economic crisis. Those who wholly discount this Russian version apparently see no need for military power to enforce a New World Order.

Fortunately, other Democrats, particularly leading figures on the armed services and intelligence committees of Congress, understand that military power does count, that the results of diplomacy are directly related to the military power that backs it.

But just as an allergy to military power will not allow a president to lead in building a New World Order, neither will an affinity for military power alone. President Bush conceived the phrase, but has failed to give it substance.

At the end of great wars in the modern world, the major powers have held peace conferences to establish new orders. The end of the Cold War is no less dramatic than the end of the Thirty Years War, the Napoleonic Wars or the world wars of this century. Yet no major equivalent to the Peace of Westphalia, the Congress of Vienna, Versailles or Potsdam for creating a New World Order has occurred. Instead, we see the world drifting into disorder—Yugoslavia, Somalia, Peru and parts of the former Soviet Union. President Bush's empty slogan is as troubling as the allergy of some Democrats to guns.

The post-Cold War challenge demands at least a modicum of bipartisanship. Half-truths about who won the Cold War will not forge the necessary consensus to use American influence to promote democracy and free markets around the world. Bill Clinton made a first step with his position on Yugoslavia. Equally encouraging, he has not reflected an antipathy toward military power characteristic of some members of his party. Let us hope that he can convert them. And if he wins, let us hope that the Republicans do not reject Clinton's bid for a new foreign policy consensus.

In the meantime, take with a grain of salt any stories you may hear this fall about who were the heroes in the Cold War.

The writer is former chief of the National Security Agency.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992

Colbert I. King

Once This Was the Party of Frederick Douglass

HOUSTON—More than a hundred years ago, Frederick Douglass boasted, "The Republican Party is the ship, all else the sea." If Douglass were in Houston to read this year's rigidly conservative platform, or witness the marginal role of black Republicans in this convention, he would quickly grasp why most African Americans haven't sailed on the GOP vessel for years.

The Houston gathering is a pale imitation of the party Frederick Douglass touted. Douglass's GOP was the major political party of social progress. Despite some backsliding during the post-Reconstruction period, Republicans led the fight to abolish slavery, give blacks the vote and guarantee due process to Americans regardless of race. These victories earned the GOP the allegiance of most blacks well into Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal.

But the capture of the party by conservative extremists and the past 12 years of Republican White House control have given African Americans little reason to consider boarding that ship again. That seemed to be the message received by Tom Smith, the black Republican mayor of Asbury Park and member of the New Jersey General Assembly, who is attending his first GOP convention. He didn't disguise his disappointment with the right-wing platform.

"There's no hope in it," he said of a platform that talks tough about the need for more tough judges, tougher anti-crime laws and tough treatment of welfare recipients who don't behave like the middle class. Smith said the platform offers little to adult African Americans, who may be moderate but are far from the Republican political and religious right who embrace the so-called wedge issues.

Any doubt about where people with moderate views fit in today's Republican Party was laid to rest by arch conservative Phyllis Schlafly. "Total victory," she crowed about the defeat of pro-choice Republicans. "None of this litmus-test, big-tent garbage."

To understand why conservatives are having their way, Frederick Douglass would only have to take a stroll around the convention hall. Of the 2,210 delegates attending the convention, only 107, or less than 5 percent, are black, according to the Joint Center for

Political and Economic Studies. Stack that against the 771 black delegates who attended the Democratic convention in New York, and their broad representation on the credentials, rules and platform committees.

Opening day at both conventions gives an indication why African Americans have abandoned the GOP in droves. Last month's Democratic convention was gavelled open by Ron Brown, who holds the critical post of Democratic national chairman. He was backed up by another African American vice chairman and 80 black members of the Democratic National Committee.

The Republican convention also opened with a black near the top of the schedule. He was former Reagan administration aide Fred McClure, who was given the honor of singing the national anthem. McClure's GOP national committee has only four black members: three from the Virgin Islands and one from the District of Columbia. McClure could gaze over an auditorium in which 15 states had no black delegates.

Black Republicans weren't idle though; on opening day they sponsored a "Salute to Lee Atwater" starring Health and Human Services Secretary Louis Sullivan. The convention did hear from Maryland black conservative and U.S. Senate hopeful Alan L. Keyes. His appearance followed his charges that convention organizers had refused him an invitation to speak. Keyes had also released an open letter to President Bush asking, "What impression does it create when you go to Illinois to help raise half a million dollars to defeat Carol Mosely-Braun, while your staff treats me like the invisible man?" That blast got Keyes a spot on the podium twice, including a prime-time slot. Who says that playing the race card in the GOP can't win?

But it fell to Pat Buchanan to remind African Americans why treading water alone in shark-infested seas may be preferable to setting sail with him in the Republican Party. For one who invokes the name of God at every turn, Pat Buchanan can be mean and intolerant, as he demonstrated on Monday night, when he bashed gays and pro-choice advocates, misrepresented Hillary Clinton's views on children and did his version of David Duke's number on the need to "take

back our culture" from a nameless but-you-know-who-I'm-talking-about enemy.

Thanks to American history, most blacks past the age of 40 carry with them a keenly developed second sense of peril. And they know damn well what and who Buchanan is talking about.

But changing the ways of the GOP is off the screen at this convention. Take the case of Lugenia Gordon, who heads the New York-based Freedom Republicans. Gordon, a disciple of Frederick Douglass and Harriet Tubman, has sued to change party rules that hamper blacks from serving as delegates and members of the Republican National Committee. She came to Houston and told the GOP rules committee: "Today black Americans, the very citizens who more than any other can understand and testify to the traditions of the GOP, feel alienated from the Republican Party." Gordon asked: "What would the founders of the GOP say were they to attend a meeting of the Republican National Committee and learn that the only full black members are from the Virgin Islands? That the RNC has a specially designated auxiliary reserved for black Republicans?"

Having heard Gordon on the subject before, the party stuck to past scripts and ignored her. But she'll continue her lawsuit challenging the party rules as racially discriminatory. She won a victory in district court earlier this year when Judge Charles R. Richey in Washington found that the Civil Rights Act applied to the GOP and Democratic conventions. The Federal Elections Commission, which must enforce the court order, has appealed. So the feisty Mrs. Gordon is now pitted against the FEC and the RNC. She said if Frederick Douglass were here today, he "would spit in their faces."

That part might be debated. But is there any doubt that Douglass would be up in arms over his party's 12-year retreat on civil rights, its divisive handling of racial issues and its indifference to the problems crushing blacks who remain trapped in America's inner cities? Its a good bet that if Douglass and his co-abolitionists were aboard that Republican ship today, they would be up on charges of mutiny.

The writer is a member of the editorial page staff.

The Vice Presidency: Unkind History

Lessons for Quayle

Franklin D. Roosevelt twice traded in his vice president on a new model. John Adams spent four years knowing his vice president was a political enemy who wanted to take his job—and did. Richard M. Nixon's same state from running on the same vision discouraging people from the president takes his place. This has happened in the past, the vice president has been chosen twice by the president. And on one occasion the vice president has been chosen twice by the president. And on one occasion the vice president has been chosen twice by the president.

Thomas Jefferson, James Madison and James Monroe, in succeeding each other as president, needed to know his vice president was a political enemy who wanted to take his job—and did. Richard M. Nixon's same state from running on the same vision discouraging people from the president takes his place. This has happened in the past, the vice president has been chosen twice by the president. And on one occasion the vice president has been chosen twice by the president.

One vice-presidential candidate, president. Harry S. Truman, became president in 1945, the new vice president was sick. When Roosevelt chose Henry A. Wallace, whom the party got rid of four years later because he was thought to be too much of a leftist and because the president was sick. When Roosevelt chose Henry A. Wallace, whom the party got rid of four years later because he was thought to be too much of a leftist and because the president was sick.

Sen. Thomas Eagleton (D-Mo.) was dumped even before the election. Presidential nominee George McGovern had once undergone psychiatric therapy. Switching horses, however, didn't help McGovern, who was dubbed by Nixon. And only once has the vice president deliberately run a foul of the boss. John C. Calhoun, whose bitter opposition to Andrew Jackson's tariff policies grew into a personal feud, resigned under pressure in 1832 to battle Jackson from the Senate. Refusing to be a good soldier, Calhoun in effect dumped Jackson.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992

Truly Slick

TALK ABOUT slick! George Bush has something truly slick, if not downright oily, going with the newest version of the oldest political game in the world. It's called "Who, me?" The rule is that you encourage others to make all the truly sleazy or crooked or demagogic points against the opponent while you merely gasp and fan yourself and flutter that *gasp* you wish they would stop. The makers of these remarks then apologize, sort of, through a big grin, and everyone sits back and awaits the next "unauthorized" attack. It is never a long wait.

Maybe this stratagem is as clever as some Republicans in Houston seem to think. To us it doesn't look so clever, since its implication, which is bound to sink in with repetition, is one of weakness, of refusal to take responsibility for what is done in your name.

Of course, part of the problem is that no one has exactly defined what is and is not sleaze or what does constitute irrelevance or out-of-bounds assaults in the campaign. Ronald Reagan, in his rousing political Democrat-bash Monday night, showed, once again, that he is the tonal master, knowing how to hit hard without crossing the line into nasty, unattractive abuse. He took on candidate Clinton and the Democratic Party in that good-humored but devastating "there you go again" voice made familiar in his debate with Jimmy Carter. Others, including notably Sen. Alan Simpson and Patrick Buchanan, did their familiar claw-on-the-side-of-the-face thing.

Mr. Buchanan is interesting here. He has moved on from King George, as he derided Mr. Bush last winter, to Prince Albert, as he now derides Sen. Gore. Mr. Buchanan's spectacular flip-flop from the 32-foot board should be a bit awkward to accommodate for a party that makes so much of the claim that Mr. Clinton has shifted from one position to another without hesitation or scruple. It seems like only yesterday, and in fact it practically was, that Mr. Buchanan was telling the American public of Mr. Bush: "He says one thing and does another." "He's the biggest taxer in history, the biggest spender, run the biggest deficits." "Mr. Bush had what he called a new conservative State of the Union, but when you looked at it, the proposals were small and pathetic and timid." "Why has the United States failed to recognize the peoples of Slovenia and Croatia who are rising up for their freedom even as we did 200 years ago? Why is Mr. Bush playing footsie with Li Peng and Deng Xiaoping? Excuse me, but were these not the gentlemen who sent the tanks to roll over the children in Tiananmen Square . . . ? What happened? One month later a secret visit from Eagleburger and Scowcroft, the kowtow twins of Kissinger Associates."

But in a political world where nothing matters and nothing lasts, except of course the protestations by switchers like Mr. Buchanan that they and they alone are pillars of unbending principle, all this stuff from one day is gone down the memory tube the next. And in truth he seems more suited to his current attack than he was to mere Bush-bashing. For the themes being most assiduously cultivated in these "who, me?" attacks made on behalf of George Bush are right up the Buchanan alley: imputations of moral inferiority, warnings about the dangers homosexuals pose to the society, allegations of failed patriotism on the part of opponents and the rest. All this is the stew that the Republicans are stirring while George Bush frowns in unconvincing disapproval.

And finally there are, of course, the question of the Clinton draft status during the Vietnam War and the attempt to savage the candidate's wife.

The Vietnam issue is likely only to stir up all the old debate over the circumstances under which Vice President Quayle found his way into the Indiana National Guard. And even Mr. Buchanan may face a question or two. On television after the Buchanan speech, the commentator Mark Shields started it off: "I did find it a little bit disingenuous for Patrick Buchanan, whose bad knee kept him out of military service and who is almost a compulsive jogger to this day, for him to be criticizing Bill Clinton's lack of military service." Mr. Buchanan will complain that this does not do justice to the full facts of his case. Doing justice to the full facts of any case, including Bill Clinton's, is not something for which he is himself famous.

As for Hillary Clinton, the Republicans may risk looking a little foolish and overkill-minded in their preoccupation with her, the kind of focus that gets people to saying they should be concentrating on other things. But the candidate's wife and her beliefs are a legitimate object of inquiry. We would add that when George Bush complains that it is by definition "sleaze" to go after his children, he is off the mark, as they are also legitimate objects of inquiry, since these presidential children are not exactly minors after all, but grown men involved in financial arrangements that bear on their father's office. Just so, Mrs. Clinton's views and professional activities are within the realm of fair comment.

The problem is elementary fairness and honesty in debating them. Mrs. Clinton wrote two articles about the legal status of children that are the basis for the distortion of her positions. She noted in one, a scholarly piece in the November 1973 Harvard Educational Review, that the law refers to the family in setting the rights of children. She likened that to the way the law had sometimes consigned other groups thought incapable of managing their own affairs to institutional settings in the past. Such settings "along with the family" had at one time or another included "marriage, slavery and the Indian reservation system," she wrote. The reference to marriage was to the fact that for much of the nation's history the property and rights of married women were given to their husbands.

She refers in the second piece to rare occasions when children ought to have a right to sue their parents. Chores have nothing to do with it, as one of her slick assailants on this issue, Republican National Chairman Richard Bond, well knows. What do the right-to-lifers to whose views his party defers think about those occasions when, for religious or other reasons, parents would deny life-saving medical care to their children?

Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Bond and the others in Houston have caricatured Hillary Clinton and are hoping to frighten the electorate with the result. The question is whether the voters will be more frightened by this concoction of theirs than they are by the economic situation. We think it's a long shot that they will and that, meantime, even with the daily disclaimers of responsibility, the president risks being made to look foolish and frantic by his campaign's run against the Clinton bogeys.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992

D.C.'s GOP Delegation Feeling the Chill in Their Northern Outpost

HOUSTON, Aug. 18—Conservative Republicans often accuse the District of Columbia of being far to the left politically, but here at the national convention, D.C. Republicans are far to the north.

The District's GOP delegation is staying at one of the least desirable hotel locations available here, all the way across town from convention headquarters at the Astrodome.

The dome is south of downtown Houston, but the D.C. group is billeted at a hotel on the far north side near Intercontinental Airport. Harry M. Singleton, the District's incoming national committeeman, estimates that the distance from hotel to hall and back again is about 60 miles.

"It takes us about 30 to 35 minutes to get here," Singleton said. "It's really spread out and it's tough to get around. That doesn't make things easy."

Singleton notes that the District is not alone in its misery. GOP delegations from Wisconsin, Louisiana and Pennsylvania are also staying near the Washingtonians.

The District's predicament elicited chuckles from Donald W. Huffman, former chairman of the Virginia Republican Party. After being relegated to a hotel several miles outside New Orleans in 1988, the Virginians have landed a prime spot about 10 minutes from this convention's hub.

"I got on the housing subcommittee this year specifically to make sure we got a place," Huffman said. "We're enjoying it."

Of the District's outpost, Huffman quipped, "That's about the right place for them. They don't do much for the Republican Party anyway."

Just Saying No—Again

■ Nancy Reagan made famous the phrase "Just Say No" as part of her fight against drugs. But a senior Maryland Republican brought the familiar words out of mothballs yesterday, and her target was the Democrats.

Del. Ellen R. Sauerbrey, of Baltimore County, the minority leader of the House of Delegates, spoke to the convention yesterday morning, portraying Democrats as champions of big government and impediments to individual innovation.

From the main podium in the Astrodome, Sauerbrey contended that the GOP wants to privatize many government services, sell public housing units to their tenants and subsidize private schools. But ask the Democrats about these things, she said repeatedly, and, "They'll just say no."

"George Bush and all Republicans believe in empowering people," Sauerbrey said. "Not expanding bureaucracies."



Jose Santaballa and Gloria Fisher, both of Fairfax County, show support for Bush among two groups.

In the Spirit of Brotherhood . . .

■ By all accounts, the Rev. Marion G. "Pat" Robertson's cup did not runneth over with charity Monday night for the speech of fellow conservative Pat Buchanan.

Robertson, whose Christian broadcasting empire is based in Virginia Beach, joined the Virginia delegation on the floor of the Astrodome to hear Buchanan's prime-time address. According to one Virginian seated near Robertson, his voice rose "to stentorian volume" while he made several sarcastic remarks about the length and delivery of Buchanan's speech.

Some who overheard Robertson's biting critique said the evangelist may perceive Buchanan as a competitor in national conservative circles.

Down With Governmental Bloat

■ With the prodigious quantities of free food and drink available to delegates here, it's wise to be wary of post-convention bloat.

Thomas M. Davis III, a convention delegate who is chairman of the Fairfax County Board of Supervisors, said he is taking no chances.

To ensure that his cherubic face doesn't turn jowly, Davis skipped this morning's convention proceedings—there was nothing much on the schedule anyway—to swim 44 laps at the Holiday Inn pool. He took a break halfway through to share thoughts with a reporter.

Davis said he thought it was important for him to come to Houston so the moderate wing of the party would be represented. Davis estimated that conservative activists outnumber moderates in the Virginia delegation by two to one.

The Walls Have Tape Recorders

■ Excuse me, but your quote is showing.

Leaders of the Virginia Republican delegation advised members in a welcome-to-Houston letter to think twice before dispensing any pearls to reporters.

"The media knows what story they are looking for before they ask you a question," the letter warns. "If you agree to be interviewed, remember that unflattering stories or some form of controversy are what they might be looking for from you."

—Compiled by Kent Jenkins Jr. and John F. Harris

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992

The TV Column

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

Peter Jennings will chat up President Bush on tonight's edition of "ABC World News Tonight" in an interview to be taped earlier in the day in Houston...

Tom Brokaw talked to the Prez via satellite on Monday from Indianapolis. A brief portion of the interview showed up on "NBC Nightly News," and all of it was aired in the first hour of that night's joint PBS-NBC coverage...

But CBS News anchor Dan Rather—who was bruised in an on-air skirmish with candidate Bush in early 1988—and his "Evening News" are not in the game this time around...

Joe Peyronnin, CBS News vice president, said yesterday: "We have had a request for an interview with the president to be conducted by Dan Rather for 'Evening News' before the White House for some time. They have rejected it, we have repeated it, along with a request for Mr. Bush's appearance on 'CBS This Morning,' 'Face the Nation' or other programs of his choice. I am hopeful they will accept one or all of our requests. Meantime, CBS News is committed to fair, accurate and independent coverage of this convention..."

One consolation for Dan: Last week, "CBS Evening News" came within two-tenths of a rating point of "ABC World News Tonight," the closest CBS has been to ABC—in a "normal program week"—since the two tied for first place the week ending Oct. 6, 1989...

CBS has been closing the gap with ABC for some weeks now...

Last week ABC won with an 8.5/19, followed by CBS at 8.3/19 and NBC at 7.8/18...

The close finish gave "Evening News" executive producer Erik Sorenson a chance to tweak Steve Friedman, his counterpart at "Nightly News," who had been sure the Summer Olympics on NBC would provide a "bounce" in the numbers for the third-place show much as the Winter Games had helped "Evening News"...

Sure enough, during the Games, "Nightly" tied CBS for second two weeks in a row. But last week it slid right back to third...

"Steve has been promising a big post-Olympics bounce for NBC News," Sorenson said yesterday in Houston. "Instead, they've bounced right back into third. It's satisfying that we've gotten as much Olympic bounce as they did..."

Friedman responded, "All I said was that the Olympics would help us and they did. The last two weeks we were neck-and-neck, and this week we're only one share point back. And Dan is running third in the key 25-54 men demographics—we were first—and 25-54 adult—we were second, right behind Peter—this week..."

Sorenson said, "This fall will be very competitive." He credits regular segments on health and personal finance and "Eye on America" for some of the improvement. "The country is looking at itself, and I think we've done a reasonably good job of highlighting some of those issues..."

"And, after years of media bashing on Dan, he's proved to be very resilient. He's the senior anchor at the networks now and we're benefiting..."

Kent Kountdown

Both sides were taking a breather yesterday in the battle between NBC News correspondent Arthur Kent and the network...

ABC News correspondent and weekend anchor Carole Simpson has won the National Association of Black Journalists' Journalist of the Year Award...

It will be presented on Aug. 22 during the NABJ's "Salute to Excellence" awards ceremony in Detroit, part of the 17th annual convention and Jobs Fair...

Among previous winners were Maureen Bunyan of WUSA and Bernard Shaw of CNN...

Those Democratic National Committee spots—"those are facts, now back to the show"—are being aired only in Washington and in Houston. They show up during the convention and a couple of times during the day (next to the news shows, for instance) on the network affiliates, at least on Tuesday and Wednesday. They're aired right at the media in the two towns...

You'd better be sitting down for this one, TV Column fans: Nielsen will be changing its household count for the national and local ratingzzz on Sept. 1. No details yet (hey, it's still 921,000 TV homes for the nationals, 431,151 for the 25-city overnights and 18,199 for Washington) but the viewers-per-ratingzzz point are expected to climb a little...

Opening night of the GOP convention drew a three-network rating of 16.1 in the national

Nielsens and a 30 share, exactly the same overall average for Night 1 of the Democratic convention in New York a month ago...

CBS, which went political from 9:30 until 11:41 p.m., averaged a 5.6/10 in that time period, compared with a 5.3/10 for ABC, another 9:30 starter, and a 5.2/10 for NBC, which left PBS at 10 for its own convention coverage...

According to Nielsen overnights in the 25 big cities, the PBS/NBC coverage from 8 to 11:53 averaged a 3.0/5, compared with a 3.2/6 for the first night of the Democrats in July...

In Washington Monday night, convention coverage on NBC-owned Channel 4 got the top audience, a 6.6/13 for the 1½-plus hours from Houston. ABC coverage on Seven did a 5.5/10 from 9:30 on and CBS coverage on Nine averaged a 4.9/9. Each local ratingzzz point represents 18,199 TV homes...

PBS's Channel 26 averaged a 3.2/5 from 8 to 11:53...

CNN said it averaged a 2.3/4 from 8 to 11 on Monday, which, in the CNN cable universe, translates to 1.2 million households, down slightly from the opening night of the Dems in July...

NBC subbed a rerun of "The Tonight Show" Monday night when it became clear the speechifying would run late. Pat Buchanan's scheduled nine-minute talk, which ran half an hour, was the tip-off. The network expected Jay Leno to be back on with a regular show last night...

Barbara Bush is due on "Good Morning America" today during the 7:30 half-hour talking to Charlie Gibson live in Houston...

Vice President Quayle will be on GMA Friday morning...

Jose Pellow, who has been a producer of "Donahue" the past four years, has been named senior producer of "Geraldo." He replaces Dan Weaver, who's decided to return to California, and Ray Giuliani, who has gone to work for an upcoming syndicated effort...

Rivera tangled with a Ku Klux Klansman Sunday in Janesville, Wis., as his crew taped a Klan rally. The talk-show host claimed John R. McLaughlin, 42, of Champaign, Ill., called him "a spic, then a dirty Jew, then threw something at me and kicked me in the left leg" before he hit him back...

A spokesman said yesterday that Rivera "was sliced up pretty bad. He has scars on his forehead and on his cheek and his right hand is bandaged where the Klansman bit him"...

Rivera and McLaughlin were both charged after the melee and are scheduled to answer misdemeanor battery and disorderly conduct charges respectively on Aug. 31 in Janesville...

After tetanus shots and a test for the AIDS virus, Rivera has taken the week off to recuperate...

And why are we not surprised to learn that the whole affair will be seen on the Sept. 14 show, kicking off the new season for "Geraldo"...

Oh, and HBO says the premiere of "The Larry Sanders Show" starring Garry Shandling Saturday night averaged an 8.9/15 and outdrew the three big networks on the cable systems carrying HBO...

That two-hour Fox movie Monday night, "Bonnie and Clyde: The True Story," averaged an 8.7/15 in the national Nielsens. Locally, the movie did a 9.9/16 on Channel 5...

TV Ratingzzz

Following are the top 20 network prime-time shows last week, ranked according to the percentage of the nation's 92.1 million TV households that watched, as measured by the A.C. Nielsen Co. A share represents the percentage of actual sets-in-use tuned to a particular program when it aired.

Rating	Share	Network
1 16.0	28	ABC
2 14.8	27	ABC
3 14.4	25	CBS
4 14.2	24	ABC
5 13.0	29	CBS
6 12.8	23	NBC
7 12.8	22	NBC
8 12.7	22	CBS
9 12.5	21	CBS
10 12.4	23	CBS
11 12.2	24	ABC
12 12.2	23	CBS
13 11.8	24	ABC
14 11.8	21	CBS
15 11.4	20	NBC
16 11.4	19	NBC
17 11.3	19	CBS
18 11.2	22	CBS
19 11.1	21	NBC
20 11.1	20	CBS

With the Olympics out of the way, CBS returned to first place in the primetime ratings, averaging a 9.9/19 for the week, compared with a 9.1/17 for NBC, an 8.6/16 for ABC and a 7.1/14 for FOX...

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992

HIGHLIGHTS

- Coverage of the Republican National Convention around the dial.
- New episodes of "Beverly Hills, 90210" and "Melrose Place" on WTTG.
- New timeslots for "Home Improvement" and "Doogie Howser, M.D." on WJLA.
- Plus, the conclusion of a two-part "Seinfeld" on WRC.

Convention Coverage

C-SPAN provides gavel-to-gavel coverage of the Republican National Convention beginning at 8 p.m.

CNN's Bernard Shaw and Catherine Crier anchor coverage of the GOP convention beginning at 8 p.m.

PBS's Robert MacNeil and Jim Lehrer are joined by NBC's Tom Brokaw and John Chancellor (CC). Three hours (Channels 22, 26 and 32 at 8 p.m.).

NBC's coverage features Brokaw and Chancellor (CC). One hour (Channel 4 at 10 p.m.).

ABC's anchors are Peter Jennings and David Brinkley (CC). One hour (Channel 7 at 10 p.m.).

On CBS, Dan Rather is the anchor (CC). One hour (Channel 9 at 10 p.m.; further coverage beginning at 11:30).

Convention Night in Review (CC). With host Paul Duke (Channels 22, 26 and 32 at 11 p.m.).

Primetime Movies

The Dream Team (1989) (CC) (R). Michael Keaton leads four psychiatric patients separated from their therapist on the streets of New York (Channel 9 at 8).

Let's Get Harry (1986). A group of friends are out to save Mark Harmon from South American drug dealers (Channel 20 at 8).

Series

Unsolved Mysteries (CC) (R). Segments include the investigation of an abducted Tennessee pastor, the search for the killer of two Texans, and the story of an amnesia victim (Channel 4 at 8).

Beverly Hills, 90210 (CC). It's time for the summer-ending clambake at the beach club (Channel 5 at 8).

The Wonder Years (CC) (R). Kevin and Winnie set each other up with dates for the spring formal (Channel 7 at 8).

Doogie Howser, M.D. (CC) (R) and Vinnie are off to Palm Springs for spring break (Channel 7, 8:30).

Seinfeld (CC). In the conclusion, Kramer is accused of being a serial killer as Jerry and George continue to search for him in Los Angeles (Channel 4 at 9).

Melrose Place (CC). Sandy lands her first role in a slasher film and Rhonda thinks it has gone to her head (Channel 5 at 9).

Home Improvement (CC) (R). Tim's garage is invaded by Jill's pottery class (Channel 7 at 9).

Wings (CC) (R). The gang compares their video dates (Channel 4, 9:30).

Arresting Behavior (CC). Bill and Danny disguise themselves as prostitutes for a sting operation and turn up one of Bill's neighbors (Channel 7, 9:30).

Late Night

The Tonight Show With Jay Leno (CC). With Brandon Lee and Los Lobos (Channel 4, 11:35).

The Arsenio Hall Show. With actress Maria Conchita Alonso, Tony Curtis, and Pete Rock and C.L. Smooth (Channel 9 at midnight).

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Of Conventions and Courage

By MARK HELPRIN

HOUSTON — In his magnificent "The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt," historian Edmund Morris writes of the Republican convention of 1884, in Chicago: "Tuesday June 3. Warm, radiant spring weather. The lake 'velvety-violet,' the trees along Michigan Avenue dense with new leaves. Atop the arched glass roof of Exposition Hall, a hundred flags flutter and snap. . . . Inside, an immense luminous space, so bright with red, white, and blue bunting that at first it sends a tiny stab of pain into the eyes. An acre or more of light cane chairs. . . . Somewhere, a band is playing Gilbert and Sullivan."

This aesthetic, apart from the bunting, so much more subtle and calm than the whoring colors that please the eye of television, was in its time merely the expression of a turbulent process underlying it. In 1884 the great issues were corruption and the spoils system. The incumbent Republican president, Chester A. Arthur, had such a weak hold upon the needs and imagination of his party that he forfeited the nomination to James G. Blaine, who, being even less honest than Arthur, went on to lose the election.

The struggle among the two main factions and an idealistic reform wing foreshadowed, in structure, the current division of the Republican Party into an accommodationist wing that controls the apparatus of power, the conservative wing that claims the party's heart, and the Buchanan separatists who are a third party without the energy to bolt.

Disillusion in 1884 was such that George William Curtis, a party elder, judged the convention in these words: "I was at the birth of the Republican Party, and I fear I am witness to its death." Common wisdom then as now was to mock political conventions as exercises in false piety, but hopelessness and revulsion can always be expected in the face of great chaos and fluidity, where control eludes all factions as interests clash and are reconstructed in a new, single braid formed of many threads. It is the transient feeling of having lost power that engenders what mercifully becomes transient cynicism.

At the very convention that caused



Theodore Roosevelt

George William Curtis to despair, young Theodore Roosevelt, a New York assemblyman, made his first address to a national body. He called for time and climbed up onto one of the cane chairs to stand high as he spoke. After Blaine, the way was eventually opened to him in the process of death and rejuvenation that, even if not obviously, accompanies complex systems such as evolving political parties, and runs beneath the superficial aesthetics that are to its workings merely a clue. For as the failed aesthetic of a great political convention elicits the customary contempt, its underlying forces are working quite brilliantly to shape a future course.

* * *
• One hundred and eight years and 12 Republican presidents after Curtis imag-

ined the death of his party, his partisans have come to Houston, in the bright Texas heat, not to choose their nominee but in the hope that they will witness his awakening. That is the one great question of this convention, indeed, the only question, with all else being of subsidiary radiance.

The mood of the convention, while superficially optimistic, is subdued by anxiety that the president will not abandon calculation for courage, and that therefore his voice will be separate from the voice of the people. Republican partisans want him to make clear distinctions, state his positions strongly, and adopt a stance of electrifying defiance, for if he does not, they fear he will go down. Everything that happens before his speech on Thursday night is inconsequential, and, yet, is telling in its own way.

• As Peggy Noonan crosses the bright white carpet of the speakers' platform in the Astrodome, treading across what seems like a snowfield lifted from the western mountains, a dozen cameras focus on her and reporters congregate like paparazzi. She merely wants to look out from the lectern, but the press speculates that she has written the speech the president desperately needs. The speculation is groundless.

• From the porches of the hotel that serves the press, you can hear startlingly powerful cicadas and the mournful steam whistles that once sounded for Faulkner, Thomas Wolfe and James Agee. But this is

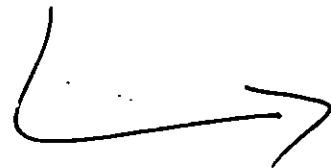
not the Old South, it is 1992, and the whistles come from a toy train in an amusement park. Here, as demonstrators nearby shout "Children are dying!" and presidential helicopters make practice landings on the Astrodome's immense white-hot parking lots, parents are shepherding their sunburnt boys and girls to the gates of roller coasters and water slides, as if politics did not exist. They have a life of their own, a life with which politics and politicians seldom make any real connection, and it is, indeed, the life of the nation. Everything that happens in the Astrodome will be judged at their pleasure and by their standards, even if they seem not to know it.

• At the gilded events that do not appear on the master calendar, those close to the

president evince absolute loyalty and impeccable calm. Aware that the Republican Party may soon suffer the fate of a reception tent in a hurricane, and that with Democrats in control of both houses of Congress, the executive, the presidency, most state and local governments, the press, publishing, Hollywood and the universities, they will be exiled to half-a-dozen think tanks and the editorial pages of this newspaper, they wait with admirable bravery. "It's like Robin Hood," someone says. "Clinton's arrow is sitting in the middle of the bull's-eye. The president has to split that arrow with his own."

• Two transvestites, very long in the tooth, are buying papier-mache Republican elephants at a supermarket near the convention site. They rush an exhausted newspaper reporter and, after inquiring if he has AIDS and receiving a polite but firmly negative answer, volunteer that they will soak the elephants, whom they have christened "Bush" and "Quayle," in gasoline, and burn them in front of the Ritz-Carlton Hotel. Asked if this will help fight AIDS, they reply that it is a step in the right direction.

• The lectern where the president will speak is safely set back from the edge of the platform, and has the feel of the bridge of a sportfishing boat. Though two teleprompters will silently scroll his text in black and white, a paper copy will lie before him. He will turn the leaves without looking, signaled by a dot in the tele-



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prompter text. Should the cathode-ray tubes fail, the paper, which will not, will await his eye at the proper page. The platform is spacious and comfortable, the podium an excellent, secure place from which to deliver an address, even if the long view into the Astrodome is blocked by the camera platform, because, by looking into this dark box, the president will be looking out at the whole country.

Not all is well here, however, for behind the rostrum stands a faux Babylonian temple that looks like it might have been Cecil B. DeMille's birthday gift to Mussolini. It suggests the worst aspects of incum-bency — grandiosity, staleness, inaccessibility — and will, ironically, make George Bush, a man of great physical stature, look like a pygmy.

- Of the 15,000 in the press, who outnumber delegates by almost seven to one, it is probably safe to say that 14,992 are Democrats. Thus, Republicans may compare themselves to a gathering of ducks at which 85% of those in attendance are duck hunters.

A newspaper correspondent stumbling into CBS News is greeted with "Welcome to mind control." After responding, "Yes, but what would we do without you?" he is told, "I mean the Republicans," who control minds with access badges, gates, schedules, etc. Informed that this is control not of the mind, but the body, the CBS man cites as brain-washing the many briefings and press releases. Asked whether, if these were not available, he would call the Republicans secretive and stonewalling, he admits that he would. A duck hunter at a duck convention will be satisfied only one way, and the ducks are guaranteed not to like it.

- Among the trees in a field near the Astrodome, the Houston Police mounted patrol makes its temporary camp. Its officers vehemently dispute press estimates of the numbers in the pre-convention abortion wars, insisting that each side has only about 1,000 fully mobilized supporters. At certain demonstrations, horses and press outnumber the participants, who receive more coverage than the war in Europe, and benefit from the careless assumption that the only place in America without unanimity on the subject of abortion is the Republican Party.

The mounted patrol is used to presidential comings and goings. Several years ago, after allowing the Marines to ride their horses, they walked one of their mounts into the interior of the presidential press helicopter, where the animal had his picture snapped as his head protruded from the pilot's window.

This cavalry unit has 30 mounted riders, and they have had a long day. With their Bristol-blue shirts, gold insignia, and Sam Browne belts, the sunburnt, mustached men bivouacking their horses in the trees at dusk as the cicadas deafen the air are much like their forebears of the Civil War. They know that history will soon be made, very close by, and they are as tranquil as Mosby's men, or Jackson's. Some things change. Some stay remarkably the same.

* * *

Today, if a young Theodore Roosevelt stood on a chair and asked to be recognized, he might be carted off to a mental hospital, except that the Astrodome is so vast that no one in authority would ever see him.

But the courage of Theodore Roosevelt, his simplicity and power of speech — that which comes from the mind of one man rather than from a committee — are what the country longs for: Not the trappings of power, not politics, not pleasantries, but electrifying oratory announcing electrifying acts.

The president is bound by the conditions through which he achieved his position and by which he maintains it. Taken together, they represent a complexity beyond human understanding, so quickly do they multiply and change. It is this confusion, however, that a leader is bound to break. And he can do so not by calculation but only by courage, the quality that allows us to go beyond where we can see. A people requires from its leaders, above all, the ability to cast aside their own interests and to forge ahead, even at great risk, where no way is readily apparent.

General Patton, who was fond of quoting French aphorisms, said very clearly, and in English, the one sentence that should guide George Bush as he accepts his party's nomination tomorrow night — "All that is necessary now is to take chances."

Mr. Helprin, a novelist, is a contributing editor of the Journal.

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Saddam's Work in the Marshlands

Earlier this month the United Nations Human Rights Commission Special Rapporteur on Iraq, Max van der Stoep, produced the following interim report on the situation of the Shi'a in Iraq's southern marshlands. We reprint excerpts below:

The southern marsh area of Iraq is a vast maze of lakes and waterways, clotted with reedbeds and islands, which is inhabited by a unique people who trace their origins back to before 3000 B.C. The exact number of people who live in the marshes is unknown, but several hundreds of thousands live in small towns and villages on the edges of the area. Millions more populate the cities of Baasra, Nassiriya and Amara, which are located near the marsh area.

According to a variety of reports brought to the attention of the special rapporteur, there appears to be a resurgence of grave violations of human rights by the government of Iraq against the population in the area, in various ways. Viewed together, the special rapporteur has considerable cause for concern that there is in fact a specific policy aimed at the marsh Arabs in particular.

In this connection, the special rapporteur is especially cognizant of a videotape in his possession wherein the present prime minister is heard to instruct, late last year, several Iraqi army generals to "wipe out" three specified marsh Arab tribes. The same videotape, portions of which have been broadcast on various national television networks, shows Iraqi army personnel apparently training to carry out assaults on the population, with some portions of the videotape appearing to show actual interrogations and raids in progress.

In this context, then, the many recent reports of full-scale military attacks on southern marsh villages are extremely disturbing and may be seen as the manifestation of a preconceived policy.

Certain of the recent reports of military attacks on the civilian population were taken up by the special rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions in an urgent appeal to the government of Iraq. Expressing the same and many other concerns, the special rapporteur on human rights in Iraq has also addressed a letter to the government of Iraq. Clearly, the greatest immediate concern is for the lives of the people. Military attacks on civilians, whether on the basis of orders against particular individuals or as part of indiscriminate mass bombardments, clearly violate the rights to life, personal integrity and due process of law. Indeed, such attacks constitute assaults against the essential principles of any rule of law compatible with the very notion of human rights.

In the special rapporteur's report of 18 February 1992 to the Commission on Human Rights, certain concerns were raised in relation to the marsh Arabs who are also Shi'a Moslems. At that time, the special rapporteur considered the policies affecting them as partly related to their religious beliefs. However, it is here worth recalling that the special rapporteur also cited a series of articles in *Al-Thawra* (the [ruling] Baath party newspaper) which characterized the marsh Arabs as an inferior and "un-Iraqi" people. These sinister and ominous references may now be viewed in relation to the current wave of repression.

The most blatant violations of human rights being perpetrated by the government are constituted by the military attacks against the civilian population. In

the past, small military operations have been explained by the need to seek out so-called criminal elements who had sought refuge in the marshes. These persons were generally said to be either military deserters or participants in the March 1991 uprisings and who are accused of murder and rape.

However, the special rapporteur cannot understand how indiscriminate bombardments of civilian settlements could possibly be justified by police actions directed against a small number of individuals. As pointed out by the special rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions in his recent urgent appeal concerning these attacks, the government of Iraq must respect the rights to life and physical integrity included in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Further, the tactics employed by the government in using military attacks are completely incompatible with their obligations to provide for due process of law such that innocent persons are not wrongly penalized and such that guilty persons are nevertheless dealt with according to the rule of law, including a fair and public trial.

In the face of confirmed reports of artillery bombardments and reliable reports of considerable troop movements and fixed-wing aircraft flights in the region, it would seem clear that the level and nature of force being employed in the region for whatever purpose exceeds by far the standards detailed in the Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials and the Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials.

According to information received by the special rapporteur, a series of military attacks are alleged to have commenced as of early July 1992. Initial artillery attacks are said to have been aimed at certain tribes. . . . The main activities appear to have focused on villages southwest of the city of Amara. In the villages of Adil, al-Salaam, Mainona and al-Majar, curfews were in effect prior to the commencement of bombardments. Following the bombardments, reliable reports indicated that local hospitals and medical clinics showed significant increases in patients being treated for related injuries. As a result of the continuing military operations, there have also been reports of disappearances.

At the same time as the local population has been suffering stepped-up military attacks, the government of Iraq has apparently also been proceeding with the forced relocation of marsh Arabs and inhabi-

tants of the neighboring villages. According to certain reports, the programs of village amalgamation are justified by the government by the necessity to bring these people closer to better medical and other services. Some marsh Arabs are said to have been given new homes closer to places of fixed employment.

The precise "necessity" of these relocations has still to be sufficiently explained, but it is clear that many of the persons affected were unwillingly moved, in violation of their human right to freedom of movement. On this point, the special rapporteur cannot but recall the program of forced relocations, village amalgamation and internal expulsion that constituted part of the "Anfal Operations" waged by the government of Iraq against the Kurdish population in the late 1980s.

In addition to the program of forced relocations of the local population, the government of Iraq has held the marsh area subject to an internal economic blockade for some time. By restricting the inflow of basic foodstuffs and medications needed by the inhabitants, it is alleged that the government is trying to draw people out of the relative protection of the marshes in order to control the population and arrest those labeled "criminals."

In this connection, it has also come to the attention of the special rapporteur that the government of Iraq has acted to cause the international non-governmental humanitarian agencies previously working in the area to withdraw, thus leaving the local population with even fewer sources of assistance. As the United Nations family of humanitarian agencies also scales down its presence, concern for the well-being of the people increases.

Perhaps the greatest threat to the inhabitants of the southern marshes is posed by the enormous water diversion program which is proceeding at a rapid pace. Known as the Third River Project, the government program to create another central waterway in the region for the purpose of irrigating salted flats will clearly result in the draining of much of the marsh area of its watercover, surrendering the silty soils to the dry air. As the reedbeds become exposed, they die, further contributing to the deterioration of the environment; this process is said to have been sped up by the occasional burning of reeds.

Insofar as the marsh Arabs are integrally linked to this special natural environment, they are threatened both in terms of their daily needs (which are largely met through fishing) and in terms of the survival of their ancient culture. Quite apart from potentially serious environmental effects, the program may also be seen as a method to facilitate government control over the population in the area. In the opinion of the special rapporteur, the government's program of the Third River Project should be immediately brought to a halt pending a comprehensive environmental assessment and consultations with the affected population.

Considering the developments recounted above, the special rapporteur is of the opinion that, irrespective of the reply the Iraqi government may send to his appeal of 29 July 1992, there is an urgent need to send a team of human rights monitors to the specific region of the southern marshes. These monitors would constitute an independent source of reliable information following the course of events in the marsh area.

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Reagan's Secret

By nearly all measures, Ronald Reagan's speech to the convention Monday night was a large success. As one non-admiring network reporter was heard to say to a colleague on the floor afterward, "He's done it again." Yes, but how does he do it?

Is it the bobbing head? The voice? The amiable countenance of an Irish cop? Is it the shoes? No, as Michael Jordan had to remind Spike Lee, "No, Mars, it's not the shoes."

It's this: "I live for the future."

Perhaps as much as anything, this line marks the divide between Ronald Reagan and his critics. He's an optimist. They, most of the time, are Spenglerian brooders.

Ronald Reagan sees a country of opportunity, possibility and individual achievement — the "shining city on a hill." They see the homeless, people with AIDS, single mothers — a country of unfulfilled ideals.

With his vision, Ronald Reagan won two presidential elections and left a legacy that won a third election. They, his critics, kept losing.

His critics diminish democracy by arguing that Mr. Reagan somehow fooled the country for eight years. Millions and millions of people vote in our presidential elections, and we believe that in its collective wisdom, the electorate knows what it is doing.

Mr. Reagan's convention speech did indeed "do it again," and a close parsing of it would suggest to a disinterested person the secrets of the Reagan appeal.

Like most Americans, I live for the future.

The Reagan speech was suffused with the expressions of a politician almost solely preoccupied with forward movement, driven by the country's intellectual, technical and economic skills. He pushed his politics and his people toward the cutting edge. He is a relentless apostle of progress.

We believe that no power of government is as formidable a force for good as the creativity and entrepreneurial drive of the American people.

When Mr. Reagan talks about "ideals," they are ideals that "in-

vented revolutionary technologies." His America has "a powerful sense of energy." The world is being transformed and "while no transition is without its problems," it will leave America more "dynamic." (Set in this context, what exactly is the meaning of "conservative"?)

The speech returns repeatedly to variations on this theme of striving and future accomplishment. *Emerson was right. We are the country of tomorrow. Our revolution did not end at Yorktown.* Again, to his critics it is all hopelessly Pollyannish, this "morning in America" stuff. But his critics, mostly writers, are the sort of people who've always tended toward brooding about details left undone and life's sorrows. And they're sure that this sense of life's melancholy gives them a more complete sense of the human condition. Maybe so, but Ronald Reagan, with the mind-set of an engineer or builder, offered a vision of the human condition, a prospect really, that had a greater political appeal.

Most likely, Ronald Reagan's critics don't care to learn anything about politics from him. But his party should.

It's impossible to imagine Ronald Reagan talking in the way Pat Buchanan does about keeping foreign people and foreign products out of the U.S. Nor would he ever give the impression that his political actions drew their energy from reservoirs of bitterness and antipathy. Certainly politics gets rough at times, but during the years of the Reagan presidency his and the party's personality were defined in terms of tomorrow's potential, not today's problems.

Today's voters may be too fixated on the present dark mood to find appeals to future progress attractive. But the mood in 1980 was dark, too. Optimism, at any time, resides somewhere inside nearly every voter. We doubt there's a politician who more masterfully and completely explored the potential of this powerful human need than Ronald Reagan. He offered a textbook lesson in his technique Monday night. Read the speech.

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Late-Inning Rally?

When they're trailing but get a base runner in the late innings, baseball players in the dugout don "rally caps." Unless we miss our bet, Republicans in Houston's Astrodome are putting on their own re-election rally caps.

The media notices are still bad, of course, as the journalistic pack muses darkly about the "religious right" it barely knows and pursues asides about "skirt-chasing." Woody Allen and Mia Farrow are getting more serious coverage. Yet on more important matters in Houston, the GOP seems to be shaking the Beltway despond that has weighed it down in recent months. Republicans are starting to get their message out. Maybe they feel liberated now that they've left the vapors along Pennsylvania Avenue.

Rolling into Houston Monday, President Bush said he's behind because Democrats have been at the plate for nine months straight. He's onto something here, though the tactical decision to sit on the sidelines seems to have been Mr. Bush's. Now at least he and his allies are fighting back. If he offers an agenda this week, as new Chief of Staff James Baker hinted, Mr. Bush might even emerge with an election mandate.

On Monday night, onetime TV pugilist Pat Buchanan slapped a base hit by endorsing President Bush and saying his typically subtle things about Democrats. Some of Pat's swings were a little wild for us, but most seemed to buoy the spirits of delegates who'd been reading too many opinion polls. When Mr. Buchanan cracked about the bias of "commentators, looking down from their sky boxes and anchor booths," the delegates hooted their agreement.

Ronald Reagan then stepped up to clear the bases with a speech that revealed all of his trademark humor and optimism. There was something, well, Reaganesque about an 81-year-old man saying "goodbye" with a speech full of his trademark humor and optimism (see below).

More important for this November, Republicans are beginning to remember to stand for something. Most notably, a string of Governors and others rose Monday to talk about the benefits of the North American Free Trade Agreement. Jim Edgar of Illinois, an election battleground, said 39% of his state's exports go to Canada and Mexico. Carroll Campbell of South Caro-

lina, home to Roger Milliken and the textile lobby, said 73,000 people go to work each day in his state in businesses backed by foreign investment.

Merits aside, this free-trade support will give Republicans a psychological boost. It lets them go on the offense, forcing Bill Clinton to choose between his avowed support for open markets and his party's special interests. It also shows faith in an America that is able to compete against any country in the world. One could even call it "visionary."

Last night, a forward party of Republicans offered what amounts to a conservative domestic reform agenda. Lamar Alexander challenged Democrats to accept "choice" for public and private schools, Jack Kemp talked about empowering the poor, and Louis Sullivan compared Mr. Bush's market-driven health-care plan with Gov. Clinton's price controls and rationing. In his keynote address, Texas Senator Phil Gramm dissected both the Democratic Congress and Mr. Clinton's economic plan. Maybe the "pragmatic" Bush Republicans have begun to understand that the only way they can win is by offering sharp contrasts on the issues.

President Bush himself seemed to ignite some of the new enthusiasm with his own speech upon arriving in Houston. Finding congressional leaders at the Democratic convention last month "was like playing, 'Where's Waldo?' in the Astrodome," he cracked. "They gave a new meaning to the word 'closet liberal.'" Democrats claim to be for "change," he said, but they oppose term limits and other conservative reforms.

Most significantly, Mr. Bush said, "I held out my hand to those crazy guys in Congress and they slapped it." We hope this really does signal a change in strategy from the cut-any-insider-deal habit of most of his first term. It's possible Mr. Bush has decided that George Mitchell isn't playing by the Marquess of Queensberry rules after all.

The emerging Republican theme here is that Mr. Bush's first term was to save the world, while a second will be devoted to domestic and economic issues with a new Congress. This is a plausible re-election rationale, and potentially a convincing one. Mr. Bush's task on Thursday night will be to show, not only with words and action, that he's willing to fight for it.

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Familiar Agenda

A Bush Second Term Would Probably Keep Foreign-Policy Focus

But Top Advisers Consider
Tax Cut, New Incentives
For Savings, Investment

One More Swing at Deficit?

By MICHEL MCQUEEN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

HOUSTON — In the days before the Republican convention, some of President Bush's top advisers carried a laminated index card listing his first-term accomplishments on the left side ("fall of communism, Desert Storm, legislation") and his second-term goals on the right ("stimulate economy, educate work force, family values").

It was a useful reminder for Bush aides. Although it has been clear for more than two decades that George Bush wants to be president, it still isn't clear to many people exactly what he wants to do as president. In a second term, he would, for the first time, be free from election worries. But how would he use that freedom? That remains the subject of fierce debate in Houston this week.

Despite efforts by his supporters to play down foreign policy right now, a second-

Call for Tax Cuts

With time running out, President Bush is putting together a call for a new round of tax cuts, and new faces for a second administration. See article on page A14. In other developments:

- GOP congressional candidates are recasting their campaign strategies, A14.
- Small-business owners still are expressing their loyalty to Bush, B2.

term President Bush would almost certainly continue to focus on it. He and his advisers have already begun thinking about transforming the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and other relics of East-West confrontation into vehicles for managing today's conflicts in Europe and other places, particularly the Mideast. And he would surely want to nurture democracy in Russia, which will enter into another precarious winter just before a new Bush term would begin.

Faced with the prospect of going down in history as a man who presided over the biggest budget deficits in U.S. history, Mr. Bush might also make one more serious effort to tackle that problem. "There is a debate within the Republican Party on growth vs. deficit reduction," says a prominent conservative Republican lawmaker. "But there is no debate within George Bush. He holds that traditional Republican view that big deficits are unacceptable and that when it comes to the economy or domestic issues, you can't do much, and anything you do do, will probably hurt."

Some who work closely with Mr. Bush also foresee, in a second term, a sharper focus on domestic matters—if only because his sense of public service leads him to deal with whatever crosses his desk. "There will be heavy emphasis on domestic issues because there are things that have to be dealt with," says Sheila Tate, Mr. Bush's former press secretary.

In an interview with the Public Broadcasting Service yesterday, Mr. Bush said he would "make a major commitment to making things better at home" in his second term. "I would want to accomplish a change domestically on education, health care, and the whole anti-crime and anti-drug front," he said.

In the White House, policy advisers already have quietly started working on an ambitious agenda for the early days of a Bush second term that goes far beyond anything mentioned in the GOP platform or in Mr. Bush's acceptance speech—a speech that is likely to include tax proposals.

Among the ideas being considered for the second term is an extensive round of tax changes that would lower tax rates and provide new incentives for savings and investment. The boldest version would pay for the cuts with a new tax on consumption, such as a value-added tax; a more modest approach would eliminate existing tax loopholes. One likely proposal: capping the amount of employer-provided health insurance free from taxes.

At the Treasury Department, Secretary Nicholas Brady has been aggressively pushing a plan to eliminate the double taxation of corporate profits. Under existing law, those profits are generally taxed when earned and again when paid out as dividends. Also high on the administration's list is a sweeping health-care initiative that would use tax incentives to push the country away from national health insurance and toward a system based on free-market principles. And education reform, possibly encouraged by a commitment to spend more federal dollars, is under study.

Top advisers hope to sit down with the president immediately after the election, if he prevails, and begin talking about a "100 days" agenda.

But such talk, in the end, may produce more rhetoric than action. Fundamentally, Mr. Bush believes that the nation has "come to rely on government too much,"

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President Bush

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WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992

Continued From First Page
says Thomas "Lud" Ashley, a longtime friend of Mr. Bush and a former Democratic congressman from Ohio. He says Mr. Bush, for 40 years, has expressed skepticism about Washington's ability to solve social problems — hardly an attitude leading to activist government.

Mr. Bush would also find an arena vastly more complicated than that four years ago. Congress would be awash in new members who may be less entrenched than their predecessors, but whose Democratic leaders would be even more contentious after four years of increasingly partisan warfare. "The likelihood of a Republican Congress is very small," says William Schneider, an American Enterprise Institute analyst. "If his program for change is elect a GOP Congress, that doesn't look like it's in the cards."

The public's anxious mood, stoked by months of economic uncertainty, would also cut short any post-election honeymoon. And the budget deficit that so crimped Mr. Bush's ambitions at the beginning of his first term would be even larger at the beginning of his second.

Indeed, just as Mr. Bush spent much of his first term cleaning up problems left over from his predecessor, he might spend much of his second cleaning up problems from the first. And Mr. Bush's tendency to rely on a trusted circle of old friends and advisers would be hobbled; these men and women are clearly exhausted after four years of service at his frenetic pace.

The result, say Democratic critics such as New Jersey's Sen. Bill Bradley, would be "drift at best, Hoover at worst." He adds: "The way Bush conducted his first term and his total absence of any involvement in making life better for Americans makes it hard for me to believe a second term will be any different. He has never shown any willingness to take bold action domestically, and there's a real question of what he believes."

History also argues against bold initiatives. "The first given, which is a shocking fact, is that second terms are almost always less productive than first terms. It has nothing to do with George Bush," says Stephen Hess, a veteran of the Nixon and Ford administrations who now is writing at the Brookings Institution. "There's a form of lame-duckism that sets in."

With such complications on the home front, Mr. Bush — who has never seemed surefooted on domestic policy anyway — might be even more inclined to follow his natural bent toward foreign policy.

"All of the pressures are toward isolationism in the country — pressures from the grass roots, pressures from special interests," Mr. Hess says. "Bush, as a traditional internationalist without a concern for getting re-elected, would be in the best position to push against that trend and to keep the U.S. connected with that world."

In addition to redoubling his efforts to institutionalize the "New World Order," Mr. Bush might seek to strengthen the Group of Seven arrangement through which the major industrial countries coordinate international economic policies, a mechanism that has languished during his first term. And he might take a much more active role in promoting free trade, especially in Latin America.

Presidential historian Michael Beschloss likens this process to President Truman's efforts to shape world affairs after the end of World War II. "Truman tried to give some predictability and shape to the

Cold War," Mr. Beschloss says. Similarly, Mr. Bush would "make an effort to bring some kind of process and predictability to a world that is still very chancy."

Some conservatives cling to the hope that in a second term, George Bush would be revealed as a true believer and fervently pursue the deeply conservative social and economic agenda laid out in the GOP platform. Ernest Angelo, a Republican national committeeman from Texas who has despaired of Mr. Bush's economic team, believes that the more than 100 new people in Congress are likely to be conservatives looking at the world as Mr. Bush — or at least Mr. Angelo — does.

"I think the Congress will be improved. I think there will be more Republicans and more Democrats inclined to fiscal responsibility and more inclined to the policies the president will support," Mr. Angelo says. He believes Mr. Bush's re-election would come with a conservative mandate he didn't have in his first campaign and thus "he will not take as nearly a compromising approach to Congress."

But if, as expected, the Democrats continue to control Congress, pursuing such an agenda could be a recipe for continued gridlock in Washington. And if, on the other hand, Mr. Bush abandons the conservative agenda, he might face constant skirmishing from his right that would hamper his ability to proceed.

On appointments, Mr. Bush suggested in his PBS interview yesterday that he would bring in "plenty of new faces" in a second term to revitalize his administration. But many who know him say that would be out of character for the 68-year-old president. And in fact, Mr. Bush has already signaled his intention to stick with the tried and true: Last week's White House staff shakeup brought back a reluctant James Baker to act as his chief of staff in the three months before the election with a cadre of people Mr. Baker has groomed through three cabinet agencies.

Mr. Bush "tends to go back to people he's had a longstanding relationship with," says Gary Bauer, a conservative activist who served as a domestic policy adviser in Mr. Reagan's second term. "and the new people in the party tend not to have had a long history as Bushites."

Less likely to be included would be conservative idea men such as Housing Secretary Jack Kemp or former Education Secretary William Bennett, who are less predictably loyal than most Bush aides and haven't developed the personal chemistry with the president that he seems to like.

But one thing that has bedeviled Mr. Bush's critics and supporters alike — his unwillingness to stake out predictable ideological ground — isn't likely to change. The word "balance" is one of Mr. Bush's favorites, aides say; in meetings, he often gestures to emphasize how he wants policy issues to come out. That is why, despite hopes of activists on either side of any number of policy debates, the most strongly ideological are still likely to be frustrated at the end of a Bush second term.

"Bush is a politician who is difficult to characterize," says Peter Teeley, U.S. ambassador to Canada and longtime Bush associate. "I don't expect that to change. Bush is a pragmatic man, and he will try to weigh both sides and he will come up with an answer that often won't satisfy the extremists on both sides."

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WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992

Free-Trade Pact Provisions Would Curb Competition in Agricultural Products

By BOB DAVIS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Special provisions in the North American Free Trade Agreement would restrict competition in agricultural products, propping up supermarket prices and limiting the value of the pact for consumers in the U.S., Mexico and Canada.

The final version of the pact hasn't been made public. But some farm analysts have been able to inspect the document so that they can prepare analyses that will accompany the release of the accord. According to several analyses of the agricultural portions, made available to this newspaper, 45% of the \$5.5 billion in agricultural trade between the U.S. and Mexico will be subject to special quotas and other provisions that will last as long as 15 years.

"The normal increase in shipping costs [over that time] will come at the same time as tariffs are decreased," said Dale Hathaway, director of the National Center for Food and Agricultural Policy, an agricultural think tank here. "Food prices will be more expensive generally," he calculated, although the accord would "mitigate" the increases.

'Very Small Effects'

Daniel Sumner, assistant secretary of agriculture for economics, generally concurred. Prices of tomatoes in the winter might drop a percentage point or two, he said, while prices of apples might rise slightly. "When you get to consumers' food budget, we see very small effects," he said, "and I couldn't tell you whether it will be positive or negative."

The agreement generally eliminates tariffs among the U.S., Mexico and Canada over 15 years, and is being promoted by the Bush administration at the Republican convention as a model of free trade. But it is becoming clear that much of the agreement carves out special deals for powerful industries, considering consumer interests only secondarily.

"We haven't run numbers on savings to consumers in particular sectors," said a spokeswoman for the U.S. trade representative's office. "Our job is to get barriers down so U.S. companies can be more competitive. We can't make companies pass on savings to consumers, but that would be a good benefit."

In the agricultural sector, among the most highly protected and politically potent, the three countries couldn't even agree on a single document. Instead, each essentially negotiated different bilateral agricultural pacts, with Canada refusing to eliminate its sharp import restrictions on dairy products and poultry. As a result, the U.S. continued to block Canadian farmers from the highly protected U.S. sugar, dairy, cotton and peanut markets, the analyses said.

Tight Rules

The U.S. did agree to reduce restrictions on those commodities to Mexico, but only under tight rules designed to keep Mexico from importing these commodities, processing them, and exporting them duty-free to the U.S. For instance, the rules would prevent Mexico from importing milk into Mexico, processing it into cheese and shipping it into the U.S. tariff-free. Similarly, citrus juices receiving duty-free treatment must be produced entirely from citrus grown in North America, the analyses said, even if that means higher prices for consumers.

U.S. tariffs on frozen orange juice, sugar and peanuts would only be eliminated over 15 years; tariffs on dairy and fruits and vegetables will be phased out over 10 years. During that time, imports of those products from Mexico would also be subject to quotas, which would be increased during the transition period.

Nevertheless, some critics of the trade pact want even more protection. Luther Markwart, executive vice president of the American Sugarbeet Growers Association, says he fears Mexico will import cheap sugar for domestic use and export Mexican sugar to take advantage of higher prices in the U.S. "I can't see how the safeguards are going to work," he said.

Mark Ritchie, director of the Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy, a Minneapolis think tank that has opposed the pact, criticized one of its true free-trade provisions: elimination of U.S. restrictions on imports of Mexican cattle. He predicted that Mexican cattle shipments to the U.S. would increase tenfold to 20 million head a year while Mexico feeds its domestic market with cheaper beef bought in Latin America with pesos or bartered oil. Cattle prices would plummet in the U.S., he said, harming U.S. producers of dairy goods, cattle and corn.

John Ford, a Washington representative of the American Corn Growers' Association, said he was concerned that a prospective drop in U.S. corn purchases by cattlemen would more than counteract increased corn shipments to Mexico. According to the agricultural analyses, Mexico will eliminate tough trade restrictions on corn over 15 years, with an initial tariff-free quota of 2.5 million metric tons, which will grow 3% annually during the transition period. The quota and tariff would be eliminated after 15 years.

Backers of the agreement point to the deal to open Mexico's protected corn market as one of the biggest U.S. gains from trade talks. But Mr. Ford said, "We're concerned we'll be a net loser."

Mr. Sumner, the agriculture department economist, said the corn growers' "fear is misplaced." U.S. pork and cattle exports to Mexico will rise under the trade pact, he said, and the animals will feed on U.S. corn that's exported as well.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992

How to Hit Iraq

By Anthony H. Cordesman

WASHINGTON
If the United Nations is to succeed in Iraq, and if international efforts to deter and repel aggression are to have future meaning, the United States must be ready to use limited but ruthless force in Iraq. We can't afford to let Saddam Hussein defeat the U.N. sanctions by constantly challenging them at the margin and by using military forces to attack his own people.

If we do, the gulf victory will become a strategic defeat, we will eventually face the same problems in the gulf and with the world's oil supply that we did before the war. Any future U.N. peacemaking efforts anywhere will be jeopardized.

The justification for the use of

A political and military battle plan.

force would be major attacks by Iraq on Shiites and Kurds, and categorical denial of U.N. inspections. The ministries and facilities suspected of harboring the technology or components for weapons of mass destruction can be destroyed with cruise missiles or precision-guided weapons.

It would be a mistake, however, to try to kill Saddam Hussein or to destroy his regime. Even if we did, his successors might make matters even worse for the Iraqi people.

We must strike at targets crucial to his regime and do serious damage to them even if it means military and civilian casualties. We must be prepared to strike again and again despite Iraqi claims that we are killing the innocent. And we must strike until we force Saddam Hussein to accept the settlement we dictate.

While we may take losses in air strikes, we can effectively use air and missile power against valuable targets. Although Saddam Hussein retains about 40 percent of the military power he had when the war began, he has lost much of his air- and ground-based air defense capability. His ground forces opposing the Kurds and Shiites depend on highly vulnerable bases and stockpiles.

Saddam Hussein depends on a limited

number of critical command and control facilities. For control over Iraq, he relies on Presidential and Republican Guards, whose barracks are open to attack. His air bases and key surface-to-air missile facilities and sensors are relatively vulnerable.

We need to use force with a proper understanding of the political and strategic situation. We cannot react to the latest provocation or start military action without a clear picture of our final objective. We need to convince the world we are acting in support of the U.N. and not simply to meet domestic political needs or out of hatred for Saddam Hussein.

There is no faster way to destroy U.N. and U.S. credibility than to strike without giving him every chance to avoid the use of force, and to attack before the U.N., our allies and the world appreciate that we have no alternative.

We must convince our allies in the region, especially Turkey and Saudi Arabia, that our actions will not create more problems than they solve. And we must make it clear to our allies that any use of force will be sustained enough so that Saddam Hussein cannot "win" in the sense that he can ride out our attacks, ignore the limited damage and claim martyrdom and a moral victory. The history of escalation tells us that token strikes, negotiating pauses and empty compromises fail and do not save lives. If force is too limited, it encourages sustained escalation and enemy acceptance of growing losses.

Enforcing the U.N. mandate will protect the most threatened Iraqi citizens, remove the critical peril Iraq poses to the region and steadily destroy its military regime.

What we must not do is demonize Saddam Hussein, make him and his regime the target and, going beyond the U.N. mandate, try to shape Iraq politically. Killing one man is no guarantee we would solve Iraq's problems.

Any military action must take into account that Iraq is deeply divided and on the edge of a civil war among its ruling Sunni minority, separatist Kurds and Shiite majority. The Baath Party and other authoritarians are likely to keep power if Saddam Hussein is killed, and, if they do not, we may end in triggering a civil war and creating another Yugoslavia.

Anthony H. Cordesman, adjunct professor of national security studies at Georgetown University, is national security assistant to Senator John McCain, Republican of Arizona.

Buchanan, Conservatism's Ugly Face

By Michael Lind

WASHINGTON — Henry Adams observed, "is the systematic organization of hatreds." In Houston, the country club Republicans supplied the organization and the Buchanan-Robertson brigades supplied the hatreds. Even as the Democratic fringe was being shown the door by

the party's new leadership, the G.O.P. was surrendering to its own fringe, the San Jacinto Republicans.

San Jacinto is the marshy site near the convention center where, in 1836, Gen. Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna managed to turn his overwhelming advantages over Sam Houston's small army of rebel Texans into a debacle. Santa Anna's tactics — take no prisoners, burn everything — only reinforced Texan resistance to his reactionary authoritarianism. There is a moral here worth considering, as the Repub-

When the saints go marching out.

licans, scorching the earth as they go, march off into the fever swamps. Santa Anna would find himself at home in the pantheon of Patrick J. Buchanan, an acknowledged fan of two 20th century Roman Catholic tyrants, Francis-

co Franco and Augusto Pinochet.

The traditional values upheld by Santa Anna — reactionary Catholicism, militarism, contempt for pettifoggish parliaments and civil right hatred of subversive immigrants — are closer to those of the Buchanan brigades than the values of live-and-let-live Texans like Jim Bowie, Davy Crockett, William Barret Travis (divorced womanizer) and Sam Houston (a divorced atheist known among the Cherokees as Big Drunk).

What would hell-for-leather heroes of the Texas Revolution think of Mr. Buchanan, a Washington journalist who, though he never spent a day in battle, rants obsessively about soldiers and policemen — a brave patriot who having earlier identified the greatest threat to America after the cold war as (largely Jewish) neo-conservative professors, now mans the ramparts to protect the Republic from lesbians?

Whether the San Jacinto Republicans lead the G.O.P. to re-enact the fate of the San Jacinto Mexicans or not, one thing is clear: Pat Buchanan with the help of Pat Robertson, undisputed leader of the masses of the American right. That means the chances for a responsible, intelligent conservatism are in danger. The William F. Buckley and Irving Kristof who detoxified the right are being succeeded by a generation of Buchanans and Rush Limbaughs setting up a retox ward.

As the saints come marching in, watch for a lot of others — Reagan Democrats, moderate Sun Belt suburban Perotistas, neo-conservatives — to go marching out. There is no tent in Houston, only a revival tent. No doubt, in the weeks ahead moderate will try to erase this impression.

What can decent Republicans like Jack Kemp offer mainstream Americans who are repelled by the militant fundamentalism of the Buchanan brigades? A capital gains tax cut? Enterprise zones? These are not ideas that send middle Americans to the barricades — even to the polls.

Most likely the voters in November will remember what they have seen this week: conservatism with an ugly face. So far, the convention's mascot has been The Snarl, in all its varieties — the self-conscious sneer of Rick Warren, the pugnacious frown of Pat Buchanan, and above all the tight-lipped grimace of Pat Buchanan. Like a dark parody of the Cheshire Cat, the San Jacinto Republicans, they fade into the swamp gas, leaving nothing but a disembodied scowl.

Michael Lind is executive editor of *The National Interest*.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992

The Disaster That Didn't Happen

By Michael Scammell

The big news from Russia — one year after the abortive coup — is that there is no news. No news, that is to say, of the kind we had grown used to over the 83 years of Soviet rule. No news of five-year plans and great leaps forward. No purges, invasions, arrests or saber-rattling. No longer do we have to study who was standing where during the May Day Parade to find out which leaders are in and which are out, or pore over speeches clotted with Marxist jargon.

These days it is all in the newspapers and on TV. There is a President at odds with his Parliament and legislators who snarl at the press (and a press that snarls back). Parties wrangle and the military wants to hold on to as much power as it can.

The very normality of it all is shocking. How quickly we forget that even Mikhail Gorbachev's Russia was recognizably the Russia of Brezhnev, Stalin and Lenin. Though he will go down in history as the first Soviet leader to understand that the empire had become a Potemkin village, a glorious façade without substance, Mr. Gorbachev's aim was to rescue Communism, not bury it. President Boris Yeltsin's goal has been the opposite.

Does this mean that Mr. Yeltsin has succeeded? Was the abortive coup the last convulsion of a system in its death throes? Or is the present democratic regime itself a Potemkin Village, with Mr. Yeltsin doomed to regress and to repeat the same cycle of attempted reform and defeat?

Some pundits lean toward the theory that history will repeat itself. Like Hollywood moguls, they love sequels. Mr. Yeltsin's changes, they argue, are superficial. They cite his style of leadership, described as autocratic, and his penchant for ruling by decree.

But Mr. Yeltsin is facing a real dilemma. The Parliament includes a majority of Communist conservatives and hard-liners, most of whom were appointed before the coup. These are people who would not be re-elected if there were a popular vote.

If Mr. Yeltsin, who was elected by a popular vote, were to defer to Parliament, he would be neglecting his duty

Michael Scammell, a professor of Russian literature at Cornell, is writing a biography of Arthur Koestler.

to represent the popular will. Yet by overriding Parliament with decrees, he invites charges of dictatorship.

This conflict appears to have influenced Mr. Yeltsin's decision to create a Russian Security Council with sweeping powers to set the political agenda independently of parliament. Some commentators point to the uncomfortable similarity between Mr. Yeltsin's council and Mr. Gorbachev's National Security Council, which was formed in the last months of his regime and included many of the coup's leaders.

While Mr. Yeltsin's council is more balanced than Mr. Gorbachev's, alarm bells went off when Yuri Skokov, a former defense factory director, was

A non-conspiracy theory for Russia.

appointed secretary. Mr. Skokov is a close ally of another council hard-liner, Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoi. And both belong to the conservative Civic Union, whose leader, Arkady Volsky, is a contender to replace Yegor Gaidar as Prime Minister.

Whether all this amounts to a "quiet coup," as The Moscow News has warned, remains questionable. But the council's creation, along with rumors of the impending resignation of Andrei Kozyrev, the liberal Foreign Minister, is causing jitters.

Waves were also made earlier this month when the deputy chief of the Russian defense staff, Gen. Mikhail Kolesnikov, accused the West of double-crossing Russia over aid and warned that Russia was becoming a tool of Western capitalism.

There is a need to keep things in perspective, though. Mr. Kozyrev is still in office. General Kolesnikov was hardly the first to warn against Western economic interference in Russia, and the fact that the general was speaking openly — on the record — is cause for satisfaction rather than fear.

Rumors of coups are an inevitable consequence of the supercharged atmosphere in which Russian politics is still conducted. Because of the unfamiliarity with pluralism and free debate, plots are seen to lurk behind every hint of opposition. When Mr. Gorbachev spoke out against Government policies earlier this year, Mr.

Yeltsin himself cried conspiracy.

Russia's leaders are struggling with other legacies. One is the practice of ideologizing issues in a vain search for total solutions. For conservatives, various forms of Russian nationalism have replaced Communism as a unifying ideology. For liberals, "democracy" — often a wholesale adoption of Western institutions — has come to represent utopia.

In this late echo of the 19th century debate between Slavophiles and Westerners, one might possibly have the roots of a genuine two-party system. Sadly, such a prospect collides with another Russian tradition, that of communitarianism. Parties, Russians are quick to remind us, can represent only a "part" of the electorate. They yearn for unanimity, which explains why President Yeltsin, a liberal, feels obliged to co-exist in one government with Vice President Rutskoi, a conservative.

The concept of a loyal opposition has had a hard time taking hold in Russia. Hence the desperate attempts either to silence the opposition or to draw it into coalitions.

In spite of all this, President Yeltsin has done better than could have been expected. Most of his original administration is still in place. He has made a start on promised reforms. He has negotiated disarmament treaties and loan agreements and maintained more or less peaceful relations with Russia's commonwealth neighbors.

The Russians have shown themselves to be a mature, if innately conservative, people. And while it is true that Mr. Yeltsin's popularity has plummeted, it is not clear how trustworthy the polls are. Most ratings appear to be weighted in favor of the cities, and of the intellectuals in the cities, who have never been great fans of the blunt, unpolished President. It is they, very often, who are feeding conspiracy theories to Western correspondents, and who would welcome his demise.

It would be a mistake to replace one conspiracy theory with another, but a little more caution would be in order. We have seen what governments of intellectuals can do in all the Communist regimes of our century, starting with Lenin's and ending (one hopes) with Mr. Gorbachev's. It is time in Russia at least to call a halt to impossible schemes and dreams. Long live the politics of compromise! Long live Boris Yeltsin! □

Anna Quindlen is on vacation.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992

Don't Shoot the Iraqi Helicopters

In the latest emerging showdown with Saddam Hussein, Washington and its allies are rashly planning to shoot down any Iraqi aircraft that try to repress rebellious Shiites in southern Iraq. Such a policy would be legally untenable and politically unwise.

Some forceful action by the U.S. and its allies is clearly warranted if Mr. Hussein continues to flout the Persian Gulf cease-fire accord by interfering with United Nations operations. But the accord permits Iraq to fly aircraft and sets no restrictions on their use. Shooting them down would put the U.S. in the position of breaking an accord it is pledged to uphold.

Even worse, such precipitous action could subvert America's prime aims in Iraq, which are to keep that country disarmed and undermine its desperate dictator. The U.S. and its allies had those aims clearly in sight when they insisted on the U.N. inspectors' right to search for weapons of mass destruction, and threatened military action if inspections were thwarted.

But using force to back the Shiite rebellion would only weaken Arab support for keeping U.N. inspectors and relief workers in Iraq. And the threat to break up Iraq will only shore up Mr. Hussein by rallying the army to his side.

There is scant enthusiasm for intervening in support of the Kurdish and Shiite rebellions. Since the cease-fire the Iraqi Army, instead of turning on Mr. Hussein, has backed his efforts to repress the rebellion and hold the country together.

The repression has had the tacit support of others in the region. Turkey, which has many more Kurds than Iraq does, fears that their rebellion would spread and has stepped up its own repression, even conducting air strikes against Kurdish encampments in northern Iraq. Most states in the Middle East, concerned that the main beneficiary of Iraq's breakup would be Iran, have not protested repression of the Shiites.

Now Saudi Arabia seem to have changed its mind and wants to support the rebels. So do Britain and France. President Bush, casting for a way to whack Iraq and boost his own political fortunes, is pressing that effort on reluctant allies.

He wants to impose a "no fly" zone in southern Iraq. That would stretch the cease-fire accord beyond the breaking point. And it won't be enough to stay the Iraqis' hand. Even if the allies barred flights, Iraqi troops and tanks would remain the main engines of repression.

Mr. Bush seeks action under U.N. Resolution 688, a dubious justification. The resolution condemned Iraqi repression as a threat to international peace, demanded a cessation and called for humanitarian aid. But it did not authorize force to stop the Iraqis.

President Bush would be wiser to support U.N. enforcement of the cease-fire agreement without pushing beyond that agreement into new and dangerous territory.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992

The Politics of Exclusion

The Republican Party platform is warmly titled "The Vision Shared: Uniting Our Family, Our Country, Our World." The booklet bears a nostalgic photograph from the Ellis Island era: a family of three looks across New York Harbor at the Statue of Liberty, with the camera at their backs.

The Republican Party on display in Houston is far more exclusionist than these Ellis Island scenes would suggest. It's clear from the number of women and blacks present that the party has made strides. But on issue after issue — abortion, gay rights and race — the Republicans still have a long way to go before actions match their rhetoric.

Abortion is an obvious example. While very few Americans oppose abortion, the Republican platform takes the extreme position of guaranteeing that the rights of the fetus supersede those of the woman in all circumstances.

The platform goes out of its way to bash gay people. Its statement on this subject could be read to say that gay Americans don't deserve the guarantees that apply to other citizens. It opposes laws that would protect gays from discrimination. It also opposes laws that would allow same-sex partners to become parents or give foster care.

This convention is less lily-white than earlier ones. Four years ago, 90 percent of the delegates were white. That has dropped to 86 percent this year, with 5 percent of the delegates black, 4 percent Hispanic and 2 percent Asian.

Yet these gains have been more than offset by

race-baiting by those like the former Presidential candidate Patrick Buchanan and Dan Lungren, the Attorney General of California. Mr. Buchanan, in a portion of his speech dealing with the Los Angeles riots, seemed to portray the city's blacks and Hispanics as an alien force that the rest of the populace would have to subdue.

Mr. Lungren went further: He said that Republicans should stop apologizing for the Willie Horton ad of 1988, rightly acknowledged as one of the worst examples of race-baiting in recent politics.

Rhetoric like Mr. Buchanan's and Mr. Lungren's makes black Republicans feel unwelcome. Alan Keyes, former Deputy representative to the U.N. and a candidate for the Senate from Maryland, is one black who feels unwelcome. He tried for weeks to get time at the microphone at this Convention but was ignored until a news story appeared carrying his grievances.

"... it's the residue of racism," Mr. Keyes told Michael Kelly of The New York Times. "It's people who when they speak of a color-blind society mean that when a colored person comes into the room they go blind."

The party of Lincoln would do well to take Mr. Keyes's sentiments to heart — and open its eyes to all the citizens that make up the American family. That might bring the party closer to the vision of those moderate Republicans like former Gov. Thomas Kean of New Jersey who have long called for the politics of inclusion.

A Police Escort to Shop

At least once a month, police officers pick up 68-year-old Pecola Jones in her apartment in Crown Heights, Brooklyn. She loves it. And so do the other seniors from her building who sally forth for an afternoon of safe shopping with a police escort from the local precinct.

Their day out is part of an imaginative citywide program that seeks to mitigate the impact of urban crime on aging Americans who prefer to spend their autumn years at home.

Three out of four Americans stay put after retiring. A recent poll by the American Association of Retired Persons discovered that if they had their druthers, 85 percent would "stay home and never move." There is even a reverse migration; once they hit 75, thousands of seniors flock back to the Northeast from Florida.

If their health permits, most seniors find aging in place vastly superior to living in a nursing home. But staying put can become a dangerous luxury;

frailty and fear can turn their homes into prisons.

That's particularly true in New York City, where 21 percent of the men and 41 percent of the women over 65 live alone. Low incomes, inadequate transport — only about 10 percent of New Yorkers over 75 can navigate subway stairs — and fear of crime keep thousands of them homebound. There they become sitting ducks; police statistics show increasing numbers victimized in their own homes, mostly by strangers.

To help, organizations like the National Sheriffs' Association and the International Chiefs of Police are visiting senior centers to talk about locks and self-protection. And just last month, all five city boroughs began setting up 10-block-long "safe corridors" manned by extra police for elderly shoppers.

Escorting Pecola Jones to the local supermarket isn't going to solve the crime problem among the elderly. But it's good to know that the nation's law enforcement agencies are finally on the case.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992

THEMES FOR FALL

On Convention's 2d Day, Speakers Try to Show Diversity in Party

By ANDREW ROSENTHAL

Special to The New York Times

HOUSTON, Aug. 18 — The Republicans pressed their lacerating attack on the Democratic ticket at their National Convention today, as speaker after speaker portrayed Gov. Bill Clinton as a radical liberal who would coddle criminals and break the economy with higher taxes and more Government spending.

At the same time, the Republicans tried to paint themselves as the party of diversity, bringing a parade of speakers representing minorities, the disabled and even abortion rights advocates to the stage to praise President Bush and hammer away at the Republican themes for the fall campaign: Mr. Bush won the cold war, he represents "family values," he is a skilled diplomat and he won the war against Iraq.

After an opening night devoted to reassuring the party's conservative wing, today's events were an exercise in reaching a broader audience: from Barbara Bush's appearance at a morning meeting entitled "Black America Salutes the First Family," to the keynote address tonight by Senator Phil Gramm of Texas, a proponent of Federal budget cutting, and a speech by Housing Secretary Jack F. Kemp, the apostle of tax cuts and populist conservatism.

'Don't Be Judgmental'

Mrs. Bush, the party's symbol of respectability, preached a message of tolerance and warmth on national television. "Don't be judgmental of others," Mrs. Bush said in an interview on CNN. "Everybody's different. Everybody has their own problems."

But behind the scenes, Republican strategists — driven by the conviction that religion and cultural divides are still powerful tools — unapologetically proclaimed their intention to follow Patrick J. Buchanan's declaration of a religious and cultural war with the Democrats.

After calling Mr. Clinton a threat to the nation's security on Monday night, the line of today's attack was on economic and social issues, coordinated by convention managers who were providing themes to speakers and reviewing their speeches in advance.

Contenders for '96 Speak

"At the New York convention, Clinton was like a used car salesman peddling his vehicle for change," said Mr. Gramm, who along with Mr. Kemp is a leading contender for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1996. "The wax job was shiny, the hubcaps sparkled, the upholstery was spotless, the paint was new. But when you look under the hood, you discover he is

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hawking a model from the 70's, a Carter-mobile with the axle broken and the frame bent to the left." [Excerpts, page A10.]

Comparing the Democrats to the Communists in North Korea and Cuba, Mr. Gramm said Mr. Clinton would "disarm America" and put millions of people out of work in the military industry by cutting the Pentagon budget.

Mr. Kemp proclaimed, "The Democrats' New Covenant is not new," in a speech notable for the absence of his frequent calls for Mr. Bush to announce a major tax cut in his acceptance speech on Thursday night. "It's not change. It doesn't put people first; it puts government first. It doesn't empower people; it empowers bureaucracy. It doesn't encourage investment and growth; it spends, and spends and spends."

After a brief appearance this morning at an anti-drug rally, President Bush conferred in his suite in the Houstonian Hotel with a small group of advisers. They were trying to develop a speech for Thursday night that would start the process of regaining voters' confidence in him as an economic manager and of re-establishing the credibility of his promises.

Taking a step toward that goal, Mr. Bush signaled today that he would revamp his Cabinet if he were re-elected. "You'll see plenty of new faces, plenty of changes in this Administration," he said in an interview on the "MacNeil-Lehrer News Hour."

Mr. Bush also promised "a rather booming economy" in a second term and an even more aggressive stance with Congress, going on the offensive against individual lawmakers to sell his programs to the public.

As Mr. Bush toiled, the political climate heated up with an unusual convention-week exchange between the two campaign organizations. In new television advertisements, the Democrats zeroed in on the very weakness that occupied the White House speech team: Mr. Bush's "no new taxes" pledge of the 1988 campaign.

The commercial, which Democratic strategists said was intended more for tonight's news broadcasts than for actual paid broadcast, said, "On Nov. 5, 1990, George Bush signed into law the

Portraying the election as all things good vs. all things evil.

second-biggest tax increase in American history."

The Republicans quickly called a news conference to accuse Mr. Clinton of negative campaigning. But they were hard-pressed to explain the tax increase, which has done more to undermine Mr. Bush's standing within his own party than any other single decision. Senator Pete V. Domenici of Arizona asserted that the Democrats had forced Mr. Bush to agree to the tax increase.

Vice President Dan Quayle, professing to be delighted that Mr. Clinton had brought up the subject, said: "Bill Clinton has promised to raise taxes on every single working American. That's one promise he'll keep."

Democrats Spy Discord

In the cavernous Astrodome, the lineup of speakers on the second day of the Republican convention seemed to imitate the Democrats' presentation in New York last month of minorities,

women and the disabled. Of the 2,210 delegates, the National Black Republican Council says 103 are black, while The Associated Press said 73 are Hispanic, 24 Asian and three American Indian.

But the convention produced a far more mixed set of signals than the Democrats created. Some of Mr. Clinton's advisers watched with barely concealed pleasure as they saw a Republican Party that seemed more divided than in past elections, a problem that has been generally Democratic and not Republican.

While the Democrats tried to shove their most liberal groups into manageable boxes at their convention in New York last month, Mr. Bush arrived here with his base still in dire shape and so had to embrace the right. Uncertain of their ability to run on the economy, the Republicans were firing a scattershot of campaign themes, some borrowed from the last Presidential contest.

Speakers tried to tar Mr. Clinton with the American Civil Liberties Union, homosexual advocates, radical feminists and even the pollution in Boston harbor — a favorite subject for Mr. Bush during his 1988 race against Mi-

Behind the scenes, G.O.P. strategists follow Buchanan's lead.

chael S. Dukakis. Attorney General Dan Lungren of California stunned the morning session into silence by resurrecting the Willie Horton case of 1988 and hurling it at Governor Clinton as evidence that Democrats are soft on crime.

"Willie Horton, convicted murderer of a teen-age boy, was sentenced to life without parole and later given a weekend pass from prison from which he didn't return," Mr. Lungren said. "In another state, he brutally beat a man and left him bound and gagged to listen as he repeatedly assaulted the victim's fiancée."

Mr. Lungren added: "So you see, the Democratic leaders just don't get it. They were surprised that when they gave a weekend pass to someone who was sentenced to life without parole, he didn't come back voluntarily! How stupid!"

Don East, a delegate from Pilot Mountain, N.C., listened with distaste. "I don't believe in turning convicted murderers loose, but Willie Horton is not the only case where that has happened," he said. "I was a little surprised it was mentioned here, and it should not be part of the convention."

Republican managers defended Mr. Buchanan's reference in his speech on Monday night to the campaign as a "religious war." Torie Clarke, the campaign press secretary, said that "polling shows there is definitely a big upside" to Mr. Buchanan's kind of oratory, which James Lake, a senior campaign adviser, said would be especially helpful in solidifying the conservative base in states like California where Mr. Bush is fighting for his life.

'Totally Un-American'

But members of the liberal wing of the Republican Party quickly condemned Mr. Buchanan. "It seems to me totally un-American," said Representative Bill Green of Manhattan. "It's highly contrary to the wisdom of the Founding Fathers, who left us the Constitution to make sure we can't have religious wars in this country."

After months of criticism that its message was not getting through to voters, the Bush campaign moved to reinforce its advertising and communications staffs today, bringing in a veteran political strategist, Mitch Daniels. It also expanded the role of two advisers, Jim Lake and Roger Ailes.

Mr. Daniels, an Indianapolis businessman who was White House political director in Ronald Reagan's first term and supervised Dan Quayle's 1988 vice presidential bid, will be charged with insuring that the Bush campaign's advertising strategy reflects the campaign's overall strategy and White House policy, officials said.

Mr. Lake, a Washington lobbyist, has worked part-time as a communications strategist during most of the campaign. He will assume a virtually full-time job coordinating much of the campaign's communications effort, from press relations to the "talking points" sent regularly to top Administration officials so that a unified front is presented on sensitive political issues.

Mr. Ailes, the caustic and aggressive architect of Mr. Bush's 1988 advertising campaign, has no formal role in the re-election effort and has consistently denied that he wants one. But campaign officials said today that he would increase his current role as an informal adviser on political strategy.

One of the Republicans' main purposes for the day clearly lay in trying to undermine Mr. Clinton's efforts to rally support of female and minority voters by presenting its own multifaceted, multicolored face to the nation. With Asian-American speakers at the stage, the television cameras controlled by convention managers zeroed in on Asian faces in the audience.

The Rev. E. V. Hill of the Mount Zion Baptist Church in South-Central Los Angeles, who is black, said: "We have not reached our goals. There are still the poor, the homeless, those who suffer from racism. We are not what we ought to be, but we are not what we used to be, and with the firm hand of President Bush, we will achieve our goals in the next four years."

The New York Times

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Bush Is Said to Be Weighing Vow To Have Baker Oversee Economy

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM
Special to The New York Times

HOUSTON, Aug. 18 — To try to rebuild his credibility on economic matters, President Bush and his speechwriting team have discussed a proposal to have the President promise Thursday night to keep James A. Baker 3d at the White House after the election to manage economic policy, Administration officials said here today.

Mr. Baker, whose resignation as Secretary of State and appointment as Mr. Bush's chief of staff and campaign coordinator becomes effective Sunday, is said to be resisting the idea as gimmicky and too confining.

But discussion of the proposal illus-

trates a fundamental tactical puzzle that the White House must solve by Thursday. It needs to come up with a bold step or convincing promise of action that the President can make without reminding a national television audience that he is the man who broke the keystone pledge of his 1988 acceptance speech: "Read my lips. No new taxes."

The speech writers' deliberations also underscore the importance the President and his advisers place on finding some means of invigorating the re-election campaign and breaking through his encrusted image as the passive guardian of the economic status quo.

Bad Economic News

The need for an economic plan was given even greater urgency today after the Government announced that the pace at which builders broke ground for new homes slumped 2.8 percent in July. Combined with downward revisions for May and June, the skid meant that the housing sector not only was no longer pacing the lackluster recovery but was becoming a drag. [Page D1.]

Mr. Bush and his advisers view the speech Thursday night in which he will accept his party's nomination for a second term as a crucial opportunity to

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convince voters that he intends to deal decisively with the country's economic problems. But so far they have dismissed all suggestions for drastic new remedies for the weak economy.

As the speech has gone through one draft after another, the President, officials said, has more or less decided against proposing the kind of specific new tax cuts that have been recommended by Jack F. Kemp, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, and others on the Republican Party's conservative flank.

Some of the President's advisers say that having broken the promise he made on taxes at the last Republican convention, Mr. Bush could open himself to ridicule with a comparably firm policy statement this year.

"It would be a home run or a tremendous disaster," one adviser said. "It's just too risky."

Instead, officials said that unless someone has a brainstorm, Mr. Bush intends to take a broad thematic approach to the economy that will place himself and the party on the side of reducing taxes and controlling spending without saying precisely which taxes and spending programs would be involved, other than measures he has already offered that have been blocked in Congress.

'Making People Trust Him'

"The President needs to use the speech to begin the process of making people trust him again when he talks about the economy," one official said. "That's not something you can do in one night, which is one reason that the 'big idea' approach has not gotten anywhere."

Mr. Bush's past speeches dealing with the economy have been seen as duds. In his State of the Union Message in January, for example, he offered a laundry list of disparate proposals that seemed to many analysts to have no enthusiasm or connecting theme.

"I mean to speak of big things," he said at the time. But then he urged Congress to "modify the passive loss rule" and to "fund our H.O.P.E. housing proposal" — words unlikely to instill confidence that better times were ahead.

The economy section of Thursday night's speech is being drafted primarily by Richard G. Darman, the budget director, and Robert B. Zoellick, the Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, who is one of Mr. Baker's closest associates and who will move with his boss to the White House next week.

Mr. Baker dealt with economic issues under President Ronald Reagan. He was White House chief of staff in Mr. Reagan's first term and Treasury Secretary in the second. Mr. Darman was his deputy throughout.

Mr. Darman was with the President at Camp David, Md., last weekend and flew here Monday with him on Air Force One. Interviewed today on the

Cable News Network, he said:

"A good deal of what the President has to say will involve the old plan, because an awful lot of it makes sense and has not been enacted. But there will be some new things. But I wouldn't want to mislead you or your viewers. I think that the speech is likely to be more thematic."

Mr. Zoellick was still writing at a computer in the conference room of the Houstonian Hotel, where the President is staying, at midnight Monday.

Mr. Baker is at his ranch in Wyoming and will not arrive here until Wednesday, but he has kept in constant touch with the speech-drafting through Mr. Zoellick, aides said. The final draft of the speech is not expected to be completed and the decision made on what the President will say about Mr. Baker until sometime Thursday.

The principal speech writer is Raymond K. Price, who was Richard M. Nixon's chief speechwriter and has sporadically worked for other Republican Presidents since then. Robert M. Teeter, the campaign chairman, has been instrumental in drafting the parts of the speech not involving the economy.

Drawing the Distinctions

Officials who have followed the drafting process said the speech would deal in some detail with Mr. Bush's foreign policy successes and would try to draw distinctions between himself and Republicans on the one hand and Gov. Bill Clinton and Democrats on the other. The President will try to drive home his criticism of the Democratic Congress and will stress, officials said, his experience and personal values.

But the economic theme is by far the most important one, the officials said, since the President and his advisers believe that is the ground on which the election will be decided.

Since early in his Presidency, Mr. Bush has received conflicting advice about the economy from within his party.

One wing, represented by Mr. Kemp and others instrumental in the supply-side revolution of the Reagan years, holds that tax cuts are the key to economic growth. They have pressed the President repeatedly to propose lower taxes and to fight with Congress to win their enactment.

Another group that includes Mr. Darman, Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady and Michael J. Boskin, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, maintains that the budget deficit must be brought under control before tax cuts can be entertained.

What's Sunday without The Times?

Bush can convene Cabinet in Houston

HOUSTON (AP) — No need for President Bush to rush back to the White House to meet with his Cabinet. Nearly all of them are within shouting distance of the Astrodome.

Politics is supplanting government business as administration decision-makers mingle with GOP convention delegates, deliver pep talks and get a share of the spotlight. The men and women responsible for much of the business of government are deeply involved in the business of politics this week.

When the president delivers his acceptance speech, all but one member of his Cabinet expects to be in the hall, including the traditionally

"non-political" secretaries of state and defense.

The Bush Cabinet has a large contingent of potential 1996 presidential contenders.

Outgoing Secretary of State James A. Baker III and Defense Secretary Dick Cheney are often mentioned. Housing Secretary Jack Kemp is a favorite of conservatives, and Education Secretary Lamar Alexander, a former governor of Tennessee, also has presidential ambitions.

Of course, Mr. Baker already has a foot in both worlds — politics and diplomacy. Right after the convention, he is leaving the State Depart-

ment to take over as White House chief of staff and assume overall direction of the troubled Bush reelection campaign.

As a former Wyoming congressman, Mr. Cheney is familiar with the ritual politics of conventions. He's steering clear of the convention except for a planned trip to the hall to be in the VIP section for Mr. Bush's speech tomorrow night.

The only Cabinet member missing from the convention scene is Attorney General William Barr. He remained in Washington.

Mr. Baker and Mr. Cheney are avoiding overt political roles. Not so the other Cabinet secretaries. Six of

them were on the convention program on the second evening session.

Mr. Kemp was getting a prime-time slot along with Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas, the convention keynoter.

Getting less prominent spots on the program are Mr. Alexander, Commerce Secretary Barbara Franklin, Health Secretary Louis Sullivan and Energy Secretary James Watkins. William Reilly, who has Cabinet-level status as head of the Environmental Protection Agency, also is on the program.

U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills spoke to the convention Monday night.

KERRY DONLEY

Scrimmage over Redskins stadium

We in Alexandria, and in fact the entire region, have recently witnessed a dramatic turn of events relating to our beloved Washington Redskins. In perhaps the world's most political town, Bill Clinton's selection of Al Gore as a running mate played second banana to Jack Kent Cooke Stadium at Potomac Yards. Now that the hype has subsided, many of us can critically examine this concept and its implications for the future.

I believe the stadium proposal raises questions that are fundamental to our way of government, and these issues must be addressed before we take up the land use aspects of a major sports facility. Everyone who has followed this issue knows this was a backroom deal that was formulated over the past few months, even while Alexandria officials were considering the zoning for Potomac Yard. No mention was ever made of a sports complex in our zoning deliberations, and the closed dealings of the stadium totally have ignored the locality that may bear the brunt of its adverse impacts.

With Potomac Yard presently zoned for mixed-use development, the possibility exists that our local zoning authority may be usurped in favor of the proposed stadium. Zoning authority traditionally rests with local government under its police power, and to circumvent Alexandria's zoning code and master plan in order to promote a football stadium is a threat not only to Alexandria but to other jurisdictions in Virginia as well. Today it is a stadium in Alexandria, but tomorrow other projects may threaten another Virginia locality and their governmental powers. Should the Virginia General Assembly override Alexandria's land use designs for Potomac Yard, they would in essence rewrite Virginia law for the sake of a football stadium.

Gov. Douglas Wilder has proposed that Virginia issue \$130 million in bonds to provide the basic infrastructure for the stadium at Po-

A question of process

tomac Yard. It is reported that the repayment of these bonds will come from tax dollars paid by all Virginians. A parallel is drawn to Virginia's attempt to woo United Airlines, a proposal that would have added thousands of permanent jobs instead of temporary and transient jobs associated with the stadium. I seriously question this expenditure of public funds, especially when the Commonwealth faces myriad unmet needs in areas such as education, transportation, and human development.

Additionally, the stadium proposal carries with it the condemnation of 30 acres of private land to be used for a parking lot. It is reported that this land would be turned over to Jack Kent Cooke after 10 years for private development. I for one struggle to find the public purpose for this exercise of eminent domain, and instead see this action as a gift to a billionaire. In my eyes, the Commonwealth of Virginia would be overstepping its bounds should it exercise its condemnation authority in

such a manner.

Many have suggested that the stadium is the result of the City Council's refusal to approve Alexandria 2020, a mammoth mixed-use development once considered for Potomac Yards. What is not mentioned is that Alexandria did approve the largest single development in the City's history. Zoning was passed for mixed-use development of this site consisting of 2.75 million square feet of office-commercial space, 300,000 square feet of retail uses, 625 hotel rooms, and 3,500 dwelling units. What has been approved may eventually turn out to exceed 9 million total square feet of predominately residential development in keeping with goals established by the city.

It is my belief that the stadium proposal would have been pursued no matter what action the council may have taken concerning the zoning at Potomac Yard. The key element here is the Commonwealth of Virginia now stepping forward and paying \$130 million for infra-

structure costs. Since tax dollars will now bring down these costs, the ultimate price tag to the developer reduced together with a much faster development time frame. This fact increases the return on investment and the infrastructure subsidy mitigates the risks to the RF&P Corporation making a stadium at Potomac Yard a much better deal from the developer's perspective. Again, I am compelled to question the use of public funds for the benefit of private interests.

In summary, before we consider the merits of the proposed stadium other fundamental questions of propriety must be answered. Should the citizens of Alexandria and the Commonwealth of Virginia succumb to back-room deals? Should the General Assembly support the stadium project that overtly disregards local authority and determination? In this instance, is the condemnation of private land for a questionable public purpose an overzealous exercise of eminent domain? These are basic questions of government and the carry implications for the entire Commonwealth and not solely the quality of life for Alexandrians for decades to come.

Kerry J. Donley, a Democrat, is a member of the Alexandria City Council

MORTON KONDRACKE

James Baker's incoming White House "dream team" intends as quickly as possible to "sharpen the differences" between George Bush and Bill Clinton, but Mr. Baker's first, agenda-setting speech indicated just how far behind the intellectual curve the Bush team is.

In area after area, Mr. Baker's valedictory at the State Department last Thursday closely tracked with Mr. Clinton's speech to the Los Angeles World Affairs Council on where America is and needs to go.

Mr. Baker, Mr. Bush's new top honcho, is just now getting around to sounding themes that Mr. Clinton has been enunciating for months — such as the need for America to be "strong at home" in order to be "strong abroad" in a "new era" in which power will be based on competitiveness in the global economy.

It's a good sign for the Republicans that Mr. Baker grasps the depth of America's anxiety entering the new era and means to put together a Bush agenda to "target America," but Mr. Bush himself has yet to do so. Mr. Clinton has.

The speech that Mr. Baker gave at the State Department was one that Mr. Bush should have delivered in his State of the Union last January. Campaign aides indicate it is very like the speech Mr. Bush will give

Morton Kondracke is a senior editor for Roll Call, the newspaper of Capitol Hill.

Signs of playing catch-up

this week in Houston — "more like a State of the Union than an acceptance speech," one aide said.

A first draft of Mr. Bush's speech, prepared by former Nixon aide Ray Price, was described by White House advisers as "too theoretical" and empty of substance. It was to be reworked, and a debate was under way within the administration late last week about the possibility of including in it a new proposal on health insurance.

Mr. Baker said he would be helping Mr. Bush fashion a "conservative" agenda covering "lifetime learning," job training, expanded investment, research and development, defense industry conversion, governmental reform and social services that "empower" and reduce dependency.

Mr. Clinton has already addressed those topics, but Baker aides say the new campaign team means to quickly make Mr. Clinton out to be a "redistributionist," an advocate of government bureaucracy

as opposed to free markets (as in health care) and a high-taxer.

"We can't have people thinking this is just a contest between two moderates," a White House aide said.

Mr. Baker's use of the goal of making America "safe and strong at home" as well as abroad implies that Mr. Bush will try to be tougher on crime than Mr. Clinton, aides said. The word "safe," though, also implies acknowledgment that Americans feel insecure about their jobs and health insurance.

At the Republican Convention, speakers — especially Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas and former candidate Pat Buchanan — are expected to excoriate Mr. Clinton's record in Arkansas and his avoidance of the Vietnam draft.

They will also raise questions whether Mr. Clinton actually would maintain the "strong" foreign policy he advocates. Mr. Clinton's waffles on the Gulf war, his 1987 opposition to the reflagging of Kuwaiti tankers, and his avoidance of comment on the August 1991 coup in the Soviet Union all are likely to be reviewed.

Aides to Mr. Baker are especially peeved that Mr. Clinton repeatedly charges that foreign countries "feel sorry" for the United States. The Bush campaign can be expected to go into high dudgeon at the charge, inasmuch as it will be run by people who have been making foreign policy for the past four years.

The key conceptualizers of Mr.

Bush's new agenda will be Robert Zoellick, incoming White House deputy chief of staff, who drafted Mr. Baker's State Department valedictory, and Dennis Ross, incoming assistant for policy planning.

They will replace Henson Moore, former deputy chief of staff, who's been offered a job on the White House intergovernmental relations staff, and Clayton Yeutter, who's been asked to move to the Bush-Quayle re-election campaign.

Outgoing White House Chief of Staff Sam Skinner and Mr. Yeutter reportedly understood until last Wednesday that they would remain at the White House when Baker & Co. arrived. Baker aides said, however, that the White House was already too clogged by layers of bureaucracy, and that clear lines of authority needed to be established.

Arriving in their new jobs on Aug. 23, Mr. Baker's gang will have limited kibitzing authority during the Republican Convention. Its members will, however, have a hand in redrafting Mr. Bush's acceptance speech.

Along with Budget Director Richard Darman and his deputy, Bob Grady, the Baker group — dubbed "the dream team" by Bush campaign spokeswoman Torie Clarke — undoubtedly will form the command crew of a second Bush administration. Mr. Baker, if he gets Bush re-elected, presumably will be co-president for a while before he tries to win the Oval Office for himself.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992 *

WILLIAM CLEVELAND

A need for more detail

I have watched with great interest as the controversy has swirled about whether to build a stadium for the Redskins in Potomac Yard. I was the only member of the Alexandria City Council not to sign a letter of protest to the Virginia General Assembly. Understanding how the nature of an issue like this forces groups and individuals into a "for us or against us" mentality, I want to take this opportunity to put my position on this matter clearly on the record.

My refusal to sign the letter my colleagues sent to the legislature does not mean I support the stadium project. Quite frankly I do not know enough about the project to comment yet. I believe that when the citizens of Alexandria elected me to this office, they had a right to expect that I would exercise careful, reasoned judgment before making decisions that affect all of our daily lives. To date, I have not been given an opportunity to exercise such reasoned judgement because we have not been given any details about the stadium proposal. By not signing the letter, I was asking to have all the facts and options clearly presented to us prior to making a decision.

In addition, I refused to sign the joint Council letter because I feel as a legislative body we have not served our constituents properly on the larger issue of the development of Potomac Yard. It is ironic that members of the council lead the charge in opposition to the stadium when it was those same members that helped put us in this current dilemma.

The property at Potomac Yard is the largest undeveloped tract of land in Alexandria. Everyone associated with the history of the property knows sometime soon that property will be developed. It is much too valuable to remain simply an undeveloped railroad yard. For some time now, the Alexandria City Council has had before it a proposal to develop the land. We refer to that project as the 2020 plan. The plan is a fiscally, environmentally, and aesthetically sound plan for the development of the area. However, despite my best efforts, the council has taken to political posturing and has refused to adopt the original plan, thus leaving this most valuable land vacant and bringing us to where we are today.

And where is that?

Open to any offer that is best for the owner of the land.

We are currently fighting to keep a project we think we don't want off that land — the stadium. If we win this battle, I can only wonder what we will have to go to Richmond to fight against next. Maybe it will be a prison, maybe an incinerator, maybe a permanent home for the Ringling Brothers' Circus. It is well within the power of this council to affirmatively develop that space within the best interests of this city. But that power should be utilized only after we have exercised reasoned judgement. If we abdicate that responsibility, we could well be relegated to fending off any number of potentially unsuitable projects and eventually getting saddled with one that we do not want at all.

Ultimately, this issue of developing Potomac Yard should be one of thoughtful, reasoned judgement followed by political leadership. That has always been my approach and I shall continue in this manner to advance our community's best interest.

William C. Cleveland, a Republican, is vice mayor of Alexandria.

BEN WATTENBERG

I expect to be 59 years old next week. I have been a Democrat all my life, at earlier times quite active. I have frequently been at odds with the loudest voices in my party, often over the issue of foreign policy. During the last quarter of a century I began to believe that I might never see the Democratic Party get it right.

Perhaps my gloom was too hasty. I believe the central issue of our time remains international. The domestic economy has been on hold, but further prosperity is just around the corner. Our social values pose real problems, but we are dealing

Ben Wattenberg, a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, is author of "The First Universal Nation," published by The Free Press.

Clinton's foreign policy nudge

There is, in Mr. Clinton, a robust echo of that which could yield the next moment of American greatness.

with that wisely, by yelling at each other in an election season.

The scourge of our century has been warfare, aggression, oppression, repression, invasion, killing fields, genocide, mass destruction,

and now a whiff of barbaric "ethnic cleansing" in the Balkans that can trigger who knows what. Too many Americans have been killed in the titanic struggles of this era; our treasury has been drawn down. And we have been the lucky ones, history's winners.

The end of the Cold War has lowered the scale of potential disaster. That offers hope, but not certainty, that there is a way out.

As we go through this election time, we should be asking which party and which candidate is more likely to secure us safe passage to a safer home.

If there is an answer for our species, it concerns liberty. If there is a

liberty answer, it will come from America.

The American grand role in recent times — for both Republicans and Democrats — has been to establish the global Liberty Party. In the beginning, this was principally a defensive task against those who would destroy liberty — fascists and communists. Both American parties worked at it, the Democrats better early on, but toward the end, I am sad to say, the Republicans better than the Democrats.

Now we move on. The next phase may not so much concern defending liberty as purveying it. A world with more liberty and more democracy is a world with less war, less terrorism,

less oppression and less poverty.

I believe that George Bush has been a pretty good foreign policy president, and during the Gulf war a great one. He not only knows three magic vision words, he said them first: "New World Order."

But Bill Clinton may do better at executing such a new order. Mr. Bush might be better in the back room cutting deals; Mr. Clinton might be better out on the showroom floor. Mr. Bush might be a better diplomatist; but Mr. Clinton a better publicist, when the latter is becoming more important than the former.

One speech does not a swallow make, but Mr. Clinton's recent talk to the Los Angeles World Affairs Council sets the season.

Mr. Clinton acknowledges a part of Mr. Bush's success, but says Mr. Bush has been "oddly reluctant to see WATTENBERG, page F4

WATTENBERG

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commit America's prestige on the side of people inspired by American precepts and example." He cites the snub of Boris Yeltsin, the sluggish pace of aid to Russia, the plea against "suicidal nationalism" in Ukraine, the hanky-panky with China after the slaughter in Tiananmen Square, the passive drift with Serbia.

"My administration," says Mr. Clinton, "will stand up for democracy... [it will] reinforce the powerful movement toward democracy and market economics... create a Democracy Corps.... We will link China's trading privileges to its human rights record... we will create a Radio Free Asia... to carry news and hope to freedom-loving people in China and elsewhere."

Mr. Clinton closes with John Kennedy's 1960 call, that there was "a new world to be won." President Kennedy was not a great foreign policy president because of the Cuban Missile Crisis. Rather, he advanced the ball because, with grace and vigor, he was able to tell the world that America had an answer.

There is, in Mr. Clinton, a robust echo of that, which could yield the next moment of American greatness, all this still to be tested as we go down this election road.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992 •

KEN ADELMAN

“You know, I’ve never pretended to be much for words,” George Bush said during his first rally in Houston Monday afternoon. “for me, eloquence is action.”

We do know. That’s precisely why he’s in such trouble.

For George Bush never understood the importance or power of words. He remains among those politicians who — as Ronald Reagan’s ex-speechwriter, Tony Dolan, said — “think that what governing is about are meetings, conferences, phone calls, rules and decisions.”

That couldn’t be wronger. “Ideas are the stuff of politics,” Mr. Dolan said. “Ideas are the great moving force of history.”

Take, for instance, two potent words that constitute Mr. Dolan’s gift to Mr. Reagan and to us all: Evil Empire.

As Mr. Reagan quipped at the convention Monday night, “We stood tall and proclaimed that communism was destined for the ash heap

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Lagging word power

of history. We never heard so much ridicule from our liberal friends! The only thing that got them upset was two simple words: ‘evil empire.’ ”

Yet no two words so ended that scourge. Mr. Reagan was right to remind us on Monday that “the sky would not fall if America restored her strength and resolve,” nor if “an American president spoke the truth. The only thing that would fall was the Berlin wall.”

Mr. Reagan’s speech, as always, was wonderful. Mr. Bush’s speech tomorrow is, as always, problematic.

It may — nay, must — be good. But so few of his are, since he cares so little about language. “You know, I’ve never pretended to be much for words.” His selection of that vile phrase proves the point.

But the presidency is all about words. To “be much for words” is to be a good president.

When Mr. Bush whines, as he did during that opening rally on Monday, that “for nine months the other side

has had a one-way conversation with the American people,” he was harshly criticizing his past nine months.

Why this “one-way conversation with the American people” when Mr. Bush had the greatest pulpit in the world — the White House — with which to communicate to us?

The presidential podium was forever relabeled by Teddy Roosevelt as the “bully pulpit” — “bully” being Teddy’s favorite term, meaning just terrific. This pulpit was thus “bully,” since it furnished such terrific access to the American people.

Hence it’s appropriate that the single book that George Bush should read is so named. “The Bully Pulpit: The Presidential Leadership of Ronald Reagan,” recently published by the Institute for Contemporary Studies (the think tank I work with), was written by University of California at Berkeley political science professor, William Ker Muir Jr. He is, ap-

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propriately enough, a former Reagan speechwriter.

Mr. Muir’s book is allegedly about speechwriting. It’s actually about leadership, as the one is indistinguishable from the other.

A true leader “must give his people character,” Mr. Muir quotes Robert Frost as saying. Or, as James MacGregor Burns explained, acts of leadership help “release human potentials now locked in ungratified needs and crushed expectations.”

In less grandiose terms, an adept leader conveys ideas that connect people with honorable objectives. This is something George Bush managed just once during his presidency, between the undertaking of Desert Shield and the unleashing of Desert Storm. It’s no coincidence that period marked his presidency’s high point.

A leader must raise the people’s sights and prod them to pursue goals larger than themselves. To, as Mr. Muir says, “think purposefully.” To wonder what they will do rather than what will happen to them.

Leadership thus transforms the listener from victim to purposeful actor. Speech becomes the motivator.

This key point was made beautifully by Ronald Reagan in Monday

night’s speech, especially when he said, “We were meant to be masters of destiny, not victims of fate.”

Providing such guidance and inspiration was Mr. Reagan’s historical mission, just as it was Winston Churchill’s, Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s, and even John F. Kennedy’s.

“What was distinctive about the presidency of Ronald Reagan,” Mr. Muir writes, “was the centrality of its character-shaping purposes.” Mr. Reagan’s agenda helped in “preparing Americans for the task of living free.”

Throughout the past four years, Mr. Bush has acted as if governing was involved only “about meetings, conferences, phone calls, rules and decisions.” He admitted, “For me, eloquence is action.”

Actually eloquence only resides in words. As Malcolm Muggeridge said in his love note to language: “From the very beginning of my life, I never doubted that words were my metier. There was nothing else I ever wanted to do except use them; no other accomplishment or achievement I ever had the slightest regard for, or desire to emulate. I have always loved words, and still love them, for their own sake. For the power and beauty of them; for the wonderful things that can be done with them.”

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992 •

PAUL GREENBERG

HOUSTON
ow will we know if the Republican National Convention has been a success?

By three tests.

Test One: Can George Bush re-establish his relationship with a demoralized party and a disappointed people?

At this point, the president is not so much a presence in American life as an absence. He seems removed from the country's concerns and unable to articulate its hopes — the most malaise-struck president since Jimmy Carter. Mr. Bush seems less a leader in these dog days of August

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Three checkpoints

than a victim — one more incumbent Americans look down on.

It is no secret that the electorate is unhappy with politicians in general. They seem to occupy a place in American affections somewhere down there between the media and the lawyers. But while Americans are quick to chastise, we are also quick to forgive — if asked. It's the politician who doesn't know enough to ask forgiveness, or who has too much false pride to admit ever making a mistake, who's in trouble this restless year.

One of the president's jobs at this convention will be to acknowledge that some things have gone wrong, seriously wrong, on his watch. However phrased — and it must not be put defensively — such a confession

would let Americans know that the chief magistrate of the republic is not completely out of touch with reality, and is even capable of affecting it. A few more speeches that sound as if they had been ghosted by Pollyanna and all is lost.

A measure of somber candor about the state of this uneasy Union would provide a perfect opening for some hopeful words about the future. We are a Western people, and not much given to dwelling on past mistakes. Which explains both our saving optimism and our dangerous neglect of history. Most Americans want to resolve the past, and move on. The president must do both if he hopes to begin his comeback here.

The new North American free trade zone would make a perfect

opening for Mr. Bush, representing as it does both accomplishment and hope. Its scope almost matches that of the American imagination. The electorate yearns for a leader, yet the presidency hasn't been used as a "bully pulpit" for some time. A decisive defense of free trade would also spotlight Bill Clinton's great weakness. (Watch him waffle on the free trade issue when he isn't ignoring it.)

Test Two: Can George Bush revive the conservative movement that has been the driving force behind the Republican resurgence of the past decade? Does he want to? Or will this convention make the grave mistake of neglecting its center in order to attract those on the periphery? Republicans who believe they can broaden the party's appeal may find that they have only diluted it. If

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Republicans can't be sold on Republicanism, who can be?

A national nominating convention is a great quadrennial ritual, powwow and revival meeting. It derives its attraction not from the vaguely interested or actually antagonistic who are only wandering around the edge of the big tent, but from the preacher at the very center, backed up by the choir and echoed by the amen corner. Stop stoking the fire at the center, and there will be no source of heat or light. And the crowd will melt away, rather than come see what all the excitement is about. The Republican Party's fortunes have depended on wedding ideas to interests since Mr. Lincoln set the pattern. To moderate its message in hopes of attracting those who wish it ill would be folly. And it would ensure defeat.

Test Three: Can this convention draw a bead on Bill Clinton? The GOP hasn't so far. The scattershot attempts to criticize everything about him aren't working. And it won't. The first report of a planned September Storm of attack ads is not encouraging. The Republican strategy apparently is to depict the Democratic Party's moderate new leader as a kind of secret, wild-eyed,

left-wing, liberal. That tact won't work because it isn't convincing. George Bush may think this is 1988 all over again, but it isn't. Bill Clinton isn't Michael Dukakis. He's a lot smarter — and smoother. He doesn't have enough character to be a wild-eyed, left-wing liberal. He's so moderate he has no clear convictions at all — unless you count a deep and continuing devotion to his own "political viability," a telltale phrase he himself used decades ago in a revealing letter.

George Bush is up against the original Designing Man, yet he has scarcely alluded to that major weakness in his rival. Instead, the Republicans have tried to paint Bill Clinton as some kind of undercover radical. That way lies irrelevance — and defeat.

The Republicans can get serious and regain the old Reaganesque mastery of common memory and hope, striking a responsive chord in an unsettled people. Or they can spin their wheels — and attempt to match all the vague, superficial appeals of the Clinton Democrats with their own.

As the underdog in this campaign, George Bush can follow Harry Truman's clear, fighting and successful example from the 1948 campaign — or Thomas E. Dewey's. We shall see.

WALTER MEARS

Calling on the champ

HOUSTON
Ronald Reagan's reprise for President Bush, with more curtain call campaigning due in the fall, is an attempt to reclaim the straying Republicans and disenchanted conservatives for the GOP ticket.

With Mr. Reagan's "we need George Bush," and the fiery endorsement speech of sometime challenger Patrick Buchanan, the president's embattled campaign got the double-barreled sendoff his strategists sought on opening night at the Republican National Convention.

They know a comeback will have to begin by cementing the Republican base, which has been eroding, according to the polls so far. At this point, the pollsters report, Mr. Bush could count on just under 70 percent of the voters who identify themselves as Republicans; when he won his first term, he got more than 90 percent of them.

So Mr. Reagan told the convention and the party at large Monday night that he'd come to wholeheartedly support the re-election of Mr. Bush, "a trustworthy and level-headed leader... a steady hand on the tiller."

And Mr. Buchanan, the conservative who tackled Mr. Bush in the presidential primaries, reaping

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early protest votes but losing every one, told his supporters "The right place for us to be now, in this presidential campaign, is right beside George Bush.

"This party is my home, this party is our home, and we've got to come home to it," Mr. Buchanan said.

Mr. Bush's support also has fallen sharply among the relatively conservative Democrats who became part of Mr. Reagan's 1980 and 1984 coalitions. They never rallied to Mr. Bush as to Mr. Reagan, but the president did get nearly half that bloc of voters in 1988.

Not now.

"Right now, most of them are parked temporarily with Bill Clinton or undecided," said Charles Black, senior advisor to the Bush campaign. He said the so-called Reagan Democrats can be recaptured with emphasis on the Republican message on issues like family values, crime and drug control. Republican opposition to abortion plays well with that constituency, too.

But the economic slump has rendered those issues less compelling than in the past three elections. Conservative on social issues, the blue collar voters who once rallied to Mr. Reagan are concerned now with their jobs and the economic future.

"They are our people," Mr. Buchanan said. "We need to let them know we know they're hurting. They don't expect miracles, but they need to know we care."

Mr. Black said both Mr. Reagan and Mr. Buchanan have agreed to campaign for the Bush ticket this fall. He said there's a general commitment from Mr. Reagan, with details to be worked out later, and that while the former president won't be campaigning intensively, he will appear for Mr. Bush in key states across the nation, not only at home in California.

Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Black said, is

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anxious to get out and take the campaign trail for Mr. Bush. That's obligatory for a Republican planning to bid for the 1996 nomination, as Mr. Buchanan almost surely will.

Mr. Reagan did more campaigning for Mr. Bush in 1988 than other presidents had done when their vice presidents ran to succeed them. He campaigned in 15 states for Mr. Bush and other Republicans, saying he wanted a successor who would carry on his policies.

There were some hitches earlier in this campaign — an awkward Bush visit last winter, a report, later denied, that Mr. Reagan had told friends Mr. Bush was having campaign trouble because he didn't seem to stand for anything.

Continuity, including the succession of major Reagan policies and programs, were central promises of the 1988 Bush campaign. But that was in the days of peace and prosperity, before the slump that lopped off the second half of that slogan and sent Mr. Bush's job approval ratings sliding from record highs to record lows.

Mr. Bush has his own record to defend now. Reminiscences won't suffice. The campaign is about answers for the next four years, not celebrations of the past 12.

With the voters in a mood for change, looking back won't help.

Then, too, Mr. Reagan's popularity has slumped since the White House years; polls show Jimmy Carter, the Democrat he defeated, gets higher approval ratings now.

A new Los Angeles Times poll says 88 percent of the people don't think Mr. Reagan's endorsement of Mr. Bush will have much effect on the election.

Endorsements and celebrity stand-in campaigners seldom do. Still, the active backing of conservatives like former boss Ronald Reagan and former rival Pat Buchanan should help Mr. Bush on the right, where he's always been suspect, particularly since he reneged on his 1988 promise to tolerate no new taxes.

That's a special mission; more generally, celebrity campaigners can be most effective as fund-raising attractions and to turn out crowds. Persuading voters is another matter. Candidates have to do that themselves.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992 *

**TERRY
EASTLAND**

Abortion refocused

A pro-abortion rights press has but one way to frame a question about abortion to Vice President Dan Quayle (who was asked first) and to President Bush, both of whom are declared pro-life Republicans. The question, thoughtfully adjusted for each man's age, is this: What would you do if your granddaughter or daughter came to you and said she wanted to have an abortion? And what would you do if she decided to have one?

The basically similar answers to those questions, asked first of Mr. Quayle by CNN's Larry King and then of Mr. Bush by Stone Phillips of "Dateline NBC," are now at least as well known as the abortion plank in the GOP platform, which calls for a constitutional amendment declaring the unborn child has a "fundamental individual right to life."

Mr. Quayle said he would "counsel" his daughter and "support her on whatever decision she made." Mr. Bush said he'd encourage his granddaughter "not to do that but of course I'd stand by my child" and "love her." Asked whether "in the end, the decision would be hers," he responded: "Well, who else's could it be?"

Abortion rights activists have declared that by their answers the vice president and the president have revealed themselves as really pro-choice, and therefore hypocritically seeking to take choice away from all women save their own. In fact, their answers are more reasonably understood not as statements of public policy but as indications of what any good parent or grandparent would

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do when a child or grandchild has committed any wrong, whether legally defined as such or not — they would love that individual. After all, to love is not necessarily to affirm the behavior at issue.

Still, from a perspective that seeks to enlarge the public debate, the answers Mr. Quayle and Mr. Bush gave to the abortion hypothetical could have been better, and there is little doubt that the question will be asked again, by members of the press if not also by Bill Clinton and Al Gore.

The better answer is one that re-frames the question and thus refocuses the debate. The King-Phillips question assumes that the key issue in abortion politics is "choice." While polls do show majorities in favor of choice, they also show even larger majorities in favor of abortion regulations designed to reduce the number of abortions, there now being 29 performed for every 100 live births.

Thus, the better answer to the abortion hypothetical is one that, while duly indicating the enduring love a parent or grandparent would have for a family member who chooses abortion, emphasizes the need to change the legal culture so as to discourage abortion.

This answer invites the further question: Just how should the legal culture be changed? It has long been the strategy of those supporting abortion rights to paint those in the pro-life camp as favoring criminal penalties for women (although none of its leaders do.) And more than one pro-life politician (George Bush in 1988) has apparently thought that to favor life in utero is to support law that would send women to prison.

But the pro-life position does not demand that. And while criminal penalties usefully might be applied to doctors who perform, especially, third-trimester abortions (except to save the life of the mother), criminal law is not the only kind of law there is. Civil law also is available, and it could require the communication of literally vital information: about fetal development and alternatives to abortion, for example. And, like the Pennsylvania law upheld this summer in *Planned Parenthood vs. Casey*, civil law could mandate a waiting period before an abortion can be performed. All of this law would be designed to achieve more births and fewer abortions.

If this discussion is skillfully initiated and maintained, Bill Clinton would be forced to explain to reconcile his absolute commitment to "choice" — and thus to abortion on demand — with his statement that he is not for abortion. How the nation can reduce its tragically high number of abortions ought to be the central issue so far as abortion goes — in this or any other campaign.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992 •

RALPH KINNEY BENNETT

Andrews Air Force Base is just a short limousine ride from Capitol Hill — but far enough away that the nation's legislators can be well-shielded from the prying eyes of the general public. While a "reform" spirit continues to sweep the Hill, it's useful to recall something that happened at Andrews last fall: the Congressional Golf Tournament.

There, well-tanned senators and congressmen dressed in gaudy golf clothes gathered at the base officer's club. As they indulged in food, drink and camaraderie, they were able to contemplate a veritable tumultus of consumer goods piled before them: VCRs, crystal, electronic gadgets, clothing, liquor, magnums of champagne. This vast pile, provided by lobbyists, was to be handed out as prizes for various feats on the golf course that day.

But somehow or other it was decided that everyone could take what

Of Hill arrogance and acquisitions

they wanted. Suddenly, elbowing each other aside, the men began stuffing their \$400 leather golf bags (also courtesy of some lobbyist) in what a participant described later to the Wall Street Journal as a "feeding frenzy."

Such sordid scenes remain largely hidden from public knowledge because Congress truly does live in a world apart. It's not just the perks and salaries; it's much more. Congress, by and large, sees itself not working for the people as public servants, but governing them. It does what it wants and it takes what it wants.

The House check-kiting scandal is an obvious example. Remember the early days when it was first revealed that the House Bank, staffed

by patronage employees, was allowing overdrafts to "float" for months and even years? Officials insisted that these overdrafts were paid out of members' bank balances — and that therefore no "public funds" were ever used. It never occurred to them that every dollar of the House bank overhead and every dollar of staff salary is the taxpayers' money.

Watch lawmakers on the Hill and you will see a separate race of public figures. While burdening the people with massive regulations, they have exempted themselves routinely from all of them — such strictures as the Equal Employment Opportunity Act, the Freedom of Information Act, the Americans with Disabilities Act, and all of the Civil Rights Acts.

Look, too — if you believe that

Congress might somehow be taught to hold the line on national spending — at what Congress spends on itself. In fiscal 1992, congressional spending on itself will jump 17.5 percent to more than \$3 billion. This reflects not only the pay increases for the legislators themselves, but many other costs. There are now 20 committees and 87 subcommittees in the Senate, 27 committees and 155 subcommittees in the House, and 37,000 employees on Capitol Hill — five times the level from 1970.

Congress has become a priesthood of legislators, staff and lobbyists. It is a priesthood of Byzantine complexities, temples within temples, rites within rites. And it employs a variety of obscure procedures designed to create an illusion of openness.

My favorite device of all is the concept that the more important and vital the hearing, the smaller the hearing room. Committees do not want you to know what goes on when they get together with lobbyists to thrash out legislation. So what is not settled over the telephone or in an informal session beforehand is discussed in tiny hearing rooms where access is extremely limited.

Robert Potts, former chief of staff of the Senate Republican Policy Committee, once told me a story that I think best illustrates the aloofness of the congressional priesthood:

One morning Mr. Potts attended a hearing in which the secretary of the Treasury was testifying. It was just a small room and there weren't many people there. While the secretary was testifying, a man and his family — tourists — came into the room, and were thrilled to be seeing democracy at work close-up.

At one point, the secretary had to leave the room, and there was a break. This man got up and raised his hand and said, "Mr. Chairman, Mr. Chairman," very quietly and politely. He said he knew something about the point being discussed and he had something helpful he would like to say. He was ignored by all present.

"Why didn't we just let this guy say what he had to say?" Mr. Potts now wonders. "It wouldn't have hurt anything. But no, we were the Senate and he was just a citizen."

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The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992 •

HANS BINNENDIJK

Snags in the velvet divorce

Divorce appears inevitable in what one wag has called the state of "Czech-NoSlovakia." The Czech lands are scrambling westward while Slovakia risks being ensnared in Balkan-style conflicts, deepening new fissures in Europe. The United States should develop policies designed to limit further polarization in Europe.

Unfortunately, a predominate trend in Europe today is the search for a purer form of nation-state in which ethnic and political borders are coterminous. In Germany, the process resulted in political union, as it might for Romania and western Moldova. In such multi-ethnic states as Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, and now, Czechoslovakia, the process has indeed led to destruction of an existing state.

In the Czech and Slovak case, divorce was not always inevitable. There is no dark history of ethnic violence between these groups. The June parliamentary elections created no mandate for divorce. But they did undercut bungling centrist parties and yielded pluralities for the right in the Czech Lands and for the left in Slovakia. A July opinion poll shows that 75 percent in the Czech lands and 49 percent in Slovakia still want some form of federal state. Others in Slovakia wanted a looser confederation, but few wanted immediate independence. More than 80 percent in both republics want the issue decided by referendum.

But leaders of both pluralities perceived an interest in tearing apart the existing state, and responsibility for the division must be borne equally by both sides. Slovak leader Vladimir Meciar opened with demands for confederation to rectify years of second-class citizenship and the unequal impact of Prague's shock therapy economic policies. He reached too far, calling for separate Slovak economic, defense and foreign policies.

On the Czech side, Civic Democratic Party leader Vaclav Klaus called Mr. Meciar's bluff, surprising him with an all or nothing response. His bold move is based on the electoral map that gives the political right control in the Czech lands but not in the nation as a whole. Mr. Klaus' choice was to continue economic reforms in half a nation or face deadlock in the whole nation. Mr. Klaus prefers amputation.

The United States has several objectives to pursue now that divorce is a near certainty. It must help ensure that the divorce is indeed soft as velvet. It must also try to offset German economic dominance in the Czech lands. And it must seek to avoid clashes between Slovakia and Hungary over the Hungarian minority in southern Slovakia.

The key question is which state will be the legal successor to Czechoslovakia, and here the United States has some leverage. Prague wants to inherit the estimated 2,800 bilateral and multilateral treaties ratified by Czechoslovakia, and it is willing to assume the entire Czechoslovak international debt to make it happen. Prague is also trying to force Slovakia to secede, legitimizing the Czech lands as the sole successor state. These maneuvers threaten the velvet divorce and should be countered by the West. Since the blame for the separation is shared equally, both states should inherit equal privileges from the international community.

After separation, the new Czech state will be even more vulnerable to

German political influence than it already is, and this worries many in Prague. The Czech lands were absorbed by Germany just prior to World War II, and Czech memories are long. Nearly three-quarters of all the foreign investment now flowing into Czechoslovakia is German. If separation disrupts commercial links with Slovakia and trade links with the East, the Czech dependence on Germany will soar. That would not be all bad because Germany could accelerate Czech admission to the European Community. But to keep some diplomatic balance in Prague, the United States should seek to encourage greater American investment in the Czech lands and to use its influence to discourage a trade war between the republics.

Perhaps the most serious impact of divorce could be heightened tension over 580,000 Hungarians living

in Slovakia. In the euphoria of nationhood, Slovakian will become the national language, and the Hungarian minority stands to lose many of its language rights. The Hungarian Parliament is already championing autonomy for many Slovak areas that historically have belonged to Hungary. But Slovak officials claim that only two of Slovakia's 34 districts have a Hungarian majority and they reject any thought of autonomy for Hungarians.

Ethnic tensions are exacerbated by a dispute over the Gabčíkovo Dam that Slovakia hopes to have partially operational by October. The dam, which would divert and control the flow of the Danube, was built with Hungary's active support. Now Budapest charges it will produce an ecological disaster, but the investment has been made and Slovakia plans to proceed.

The referendum, favored by former President Vaclav Havel as a way to save the nation, is unlikely to take place despite its popularity, because neither leader wants to risk a policy reversal.

The United States can act together with its European allies to dampen these tensions. Bratislava must recognize that minority rights should not be reversed or economic penalties will be imposed by the West. At the same time, Hungary must be warned that encouraging secession in a neighboring state will also carry penalties. If the West acts quickly, this ethnic problem might be dealt with before it explodes. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe's newly created high commissioner for minorities might take on these problems as a first assignment.

It is too late for the United States to try to reverse the division of Czechoslovakia. Earlier Western efforts might have moderated the positions of Messrs. Meciar and Klaus. The best that can be done now is to limit the damage.

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JONATHAN ADLER

First of two parts.

Some have called it "Eco-Kid Power," while to others it is the "Newest Parental Nightmare." The latest craze sweeping this nation's youth is environmental consciousness, due in no small part to the spread of ecological issues into the classroom. This movement has reached almost every school district in the nation, as children are increasingly taught the importance of being green. For example, more Pennsylvania high school students are taking environmental education classes than physics.

While it is entirely appropriate for children to learn about the environment — particularly discussions of scientific subjects such as the food chain, the life cycles of various species and the fundamentals of meteorology — much of what is taught to children is simple-minded and inaccurate. To read most classroom materials, for example on acid rain, is to be told that acid rain is decimating the trees of North America. That the most comprehensive scientific studies of this phenomenon concluded otherwise seems immaterial.

Amidst the growing environmental disinformation spread through the classroom are various myths and half-truths that help to give children an incomplete understanding of environmental issues.

Take, for example, one of the

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The little green schoolhouse

most prominent axioms in environmental education: Recycling is always good. In one guide for parents and educators — "This Planet Is Mine" — Mary Metzger and Cynthia Whittaker claim recycling is "by far the most common-sensible and energy-saving waste reduction technique." This sentiment is echoed in the Environmental Protection Agency's "Let's Reduce and Recycle: Curriculum for Solid Waste Awareness," where children in grades K-6 are told that recycling reduces pollution and saves natural resources, energy, money and landfill space.

What children are rarely told is that while recycling is often a sensible means of disposing of solid waste, it is not so clear that recycling is always of benefit to the planet. The bleaching of recycled paper, for instance, causes more water pollution than bleaching paper from virgin pulp. Similarly, the reuse of certain consumer goods, such as cloth diapers, requires greater energy use than their disposable counterparts.

In a similar vein, the popular children's book "50 Simple Things Kids Can Do to Save the Earth" declares that "we are making so much garbage that in many places, there is not enough room to bury it all." A handbook produced by the Council for Solid Waste Solutions instructs children on how to establish school recycling programs because "overflowing landfills are threatening Mother Earth." However, as the research of A. Clark Wiseman of Re-

sources for the Future has demonstrated, all of the solid waste produced in America in the next 1,000 years could easily fit in a single landfill accounting for less than one-tenth of 1 percent of the United States. While such a landfill will certainly never be built, this fact demonstrates that there is ample space in which to dispose of America's garbage through landfilling, should such an approach be desired. If there is more than enough space to dispose of America's garbage, can we really say that there is too much trash?

Increasingly prevalent in environmental messages aimed at children is the need to use less and "conserve" energy, water and other resources, for one day we might run out. This pressure results in part from school materials, such as the EPA children's activity books on water conservation, which proclaim, "We need to save water! This is also called 'conserving' water — not wasting it, we'll have enough for the future!" Children are also taught to monitor the "wasteful" activities of their parents and classmates. Even Muppets Kermit the Frog and Miss Piggy were enlisted to promote the "conservation" message, appearing in a public service announcement for the National Wildlife Federation.

Unfortunately, this effort to watchdog use patterns reflects a simplistic view of natural resources. While children are told of impending

shortfalls, the vast majority of non-renewable resources — from aluminum to zinc — have declined in price over the past century, indicating an increase in their availability. Even if a given resource were to become scarce, its price would rise, and the economy would promote increased efficiency and the development of alternatives. This is a pattern that has repeated itself throughout history.

What children must also learn is that there are tradeoffs inherent in any serious attempt to reduce the use of energy. While "conservation" implies using less, the proper goal should be "efficiency" — using less to accomplish more. Otherwise, reducing energy consumption would require sacrificing personal mobility, autonomy and even higher living standards. Driving to and from school or the office may burn fuel, but it often saves time that can then be devoted to other important activities.

Because children are so often taught these common misperceptions about environmental issues, it should be no surprise that they pester their parents about saving the Earth. However, these days environmental education involves much more than mere misrepresentation of the facts. Increasingly, children are exposed to political activism and what amounts to environmental indoctrination in the classroom.

Tomorrow: Eco-children's crusade.

ABRAHAM FOXMAN / MIRA BOLAND

As Congress considers the Department of Housing and Urban Development appropriations bill in the next few weeks, one of the issues it might consider is whether HUD rules should permit a HUD contractor to spend \$644,000 to hire Louis Farrakhan's Nation of Islam to provide security for a federally subsidized housing project in Los Angeles, and whether there should be similar arrangements elsewhere.

While the Nation of Islam has recently been acclaimed by some for its anti-drug work, the group has an uglier face that includes racism, anti-Semitism, sporadic confrontations with the police, and threats of violence.

For anyone interested in the qualifications of Louis Farrakhan's private army, the Fruit of Islam, and its Nation of Islam colleagues, here are some of its accomplishments:

- In November 1991, two Fruit of Islam guards were sentenced to 20 and 25 years to life without parole for

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Fruit of Islam on U.S. tab?

murder in the second degree and shooting into an occupied car, after they shot and killed a patron at a club in Inglewood, Calif., where they were serving as security guards in March 1990. The patron had referred to the women in the club as "bitches." Witnesses in the case were threatened. One of the guards had prior felony convictions for robbery and resisting arrest.

- At a Pittsburgh housing project in July 1991, a Nation of Islam security supervisor was arrested and charged with firebombing an apartment in retaliation for the beating of a Nation of Islam security guard at the project. The case is pending.

- At the Mayfair Mansions project in the District in April 1988, Nation of Islam security guards beat an alleged drug dealer, and attacked a news cameraman filming the inci-

dent. One member tried to remove the tape from the news camera. Seeking to extricate the media from the resulting flap, the reporter and the cameraman did not press charges.

- At the University of the District of Columbia in March 1988, two students protesting Mr. Farrakhan's appearance at the school were allegedly assaulted by several Nation of Islam security people. The students said the guards hit and kicked them and tore up their signs. One received hospital treatment for a concussion.

- In 1987, a federal court in Atlanta convicted Khalid Abdul Muhammed, a senior Nation of Islam official, of the fraudulent use of a false Social Security number to obtain a loan. Testimony at the trial and sentencing hearing revealed Mr. Muhammed had attempted to suborn a follower to give perjured testimony about the scheme. According to an FBI agent's account of conversations with Mr. Muhammed's followers, Mr. Muhammed said after his arrest that FBI agents should be dismembered and informants beheaded. Mr. Muhammed, whose real name is Harold Moore Vann, was "Minister of Defense" and "Supreme Captain," according to the Nation of Islam newspaper, the Final

Call. In those posts, Mr. Muhammed performed security and disciplinary functions and led the Fruit of Islam, the Nation's security arm in patrols of housing projects. Despite his brush with the law, Mr. Muhammed remains a senior official.

The Nation of Islam has obtained substantial funds from Libya — notably a \$5 million loan — and its leaders have traveled to Tripoli for meetings with Moammar Gadhafi in 1987 and 1989 marking the anniversary of the U.S. air raid. According to a Canadian parliamentary investigation, Libya also channeled funds via BCCI (Canada) to a Libyan intelligence front to finance trips to Tripoli by the Nation of Islam and others. The gathering in Libya included other American radical groups and international terrorist outfits.

Mr. Farrakhan himself visited Libya in 1986. On his return, Nation spokesman Khalid Abdul Muhammad told a press conference that if the government tried to jail Mr. Farrakhan or harmed him, Nation members would "walk up to the car where your police officers are taking a break and blow their damn brains out."

The Nation of Islam has also enjoyed a close relationship with the El Rukn gang, which terrorized the

South Side of Chicago for nearly a generation with murders, drug trafficking, and protection rackets. Rukns have been recruited into the Fruit of Islam, Mr. Farrakhan's security force, and have been honored guests at the Nation of Islam's Savior's Day conventions. In 1987, the El Rukn chief and top aides were convicted of offering to commit bombings and assassinations on U.S. soil for Libyan payment.

While some hope the Nation of Islam will curb gang violence as well as drug dealing, the group's actions in the wake of the Los Angeles riots suggest otherwise. In May, the group announced a defense fund for the four gang members charged in the assault of truck driver Reginald Denny, and a spokesman compared them to heroes of the American Revolution. According to the Los Angeles Times, Khalid Muhammad, identified as national assistant to Minister Louis Farrakhan, said, "When white people did the same thing ... it was called the Boston Tea Party. All of you are invited to the Los Angeles tea party."

The perversity of using public money to employ a bigoted, violence-

tinged group is perhaps shown by analogy. In the last two years, various Ku Klux Klans have mounted "anti-drug patrols." If these have a demonstrable impact, should the Klan be hired as a security force? Some Klans use neo-Nazi skinheads and outlaw bikers for security. Will the Hell's Angels next be imposed on housing project residents?

Residents of crime-ridden areas need help. But some way of beefing up police patrols or using legitimate security firms without the racist or violent baggage the Nation of Islam carries must be found. Indeed, its record of confrontation with the police and others suggests the Nation of Islam may endanger the very people it is supposed to protect.

HUD Secretary Jack Kemp's worthy idea of neighborhood empowerment should not be distorted by turning these neighborhoods over to their most violent elements, who've shown no great regard for the rights of others, the safety of their fellow citizens, or civil order. Its racism and anti-Semitism aside, the Nation of Islam's propensity for violence renders it unsuitable to carry out security functions. Using taxpayer's money adds insult to injury.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992 •

The Beltway comes to Houston

Houston is getting an unexpectedly close look at life inside the Beltway. It can't be a pretty sight.

While Ronald Reagan and Pat Buchanan were speaking inside to excited conventioners the other night, AIDS activists and homosexuals were doing their bit outside. The latter busied themselves burning U.S. flags and effigies of President Bush. They mixed it up with mounted police in events staged for the media. The folks behind the TV cameras obligingly beamed the action into local homes and around the world.

The day before, some 1,000 like-minded souls — gay activists, feminists, communists, anarchists and other left-wing groups — crashed a party outside the home of Houston Mayor Bob Lanier. Neighbors who dared to venture out to see what all the noise was about were treated to spiked hairdos, drums and assorted invective, not all of it particularly original. "Get the [unprintable] out of the way," said one. Another more creative type got the crowd going with: "Eat the rich!" An equally popular chant was: "We're here! We're queer! We can spell potato!"

Onlookers didn't seem to appreciate that kind of expertise. "I don't know what the hell they're getting on about," one onlooker told the Houston Chronicle. "They seem to be hollering about two or three different things."

What they are hollering about, of course, is Washington. These are Washington's dependents, people who gave up trying to help themselves in hopes that well-meaning people inside the Beltway would take on the job. AIDS activists want government to take a little more money from folks like the ones they passed in Houston so somebody somewhere over at the Department of Health and Human Services or the Centers for Disease Control can cure them of a deadly disease.

Feminists want people at the Department of Labor to get them compensation they think the private sector owes them.

Somewhere in all this week's bonfires and marches, there was undoubtedly the occasional good intention. If so, it has backfired, not just because it was not the best way to approach Houstonians for their support, but because it encourages those at risk of AIDS to suppose that distant federal officials are better able to eliminate that risk than they are, because women who count on those same officials to extort business for their favors may find it makes them less attractive to potential employers. Government officials who heighten such expectations can expect more marches.

This is the business to which so much of Washington has been reduced, much to the personal dismay of Houstonians. To their credit, Republican conventioners inside understand the risk of government dependence. They sum up platform differences with their Democratic counterparts as "Faith in individuals versus faith in government," a distinction that colors many of the GOP's planks. Where Republicans favor vouchers to put more health-care decisions in the hands of consumers, for example, Democrats argue for a federal commission to make health-care decisions for them.

The founder of the Young Republicans at Morehouse College, Said Sewell, may have put party differences best when he told a Congressional Quarterly publication, "A lot of blacks were brainwashed into thinking what John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson did was good. But it created a debt of loyalty, we owed them and it made us less independent."

People who passed their time at the convention burning flags probably won't get his message. But it's one that folks who haven't seen the Beltway in action up close need to hear.

August in Moscow: One year later

It seems like forever, but it was just one year ago today that citizens of the Soviet Union woke up to the news that Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev had been taken ill the day before in his dacha in the Crimea and that a state of emergency had been declared. A eight-man team led by security chief Vladimir Kryuchkov would be in charge of the safety of the people. Suddenly, the past, which had only recently been left behind during the years of glasnost, seemed to have caught up with the Soviet Union again. It was bone-chilling news not just for the Soviets, but for the rest of the world as well. We watched transfixed for three days as the forces of progress led by Boris Yeltsin in the Russian parliament defeated the forces of reaction. The proud citizens of Moscow gave the lie to the oft-repeated truism that Russians were too lazy, too apathetic, too accustomed to authoritarian rule to throw off the yoke of the red czars.

In effect, those days in August also marked the end of the Soviet empire. That was apparent to most people, except Mr. Gorbachev, who was dusted off and brought out to opine on the coup in a news conference this week. He still quite hasn't gotten that fact. Mr. Gorbachev is still pushing the idea of "a union of states, which would be capable of uniting efforts of peoples under new conditions with a view to resolve issues of common interest." For good measure, Mr. Gorbachev accused Mr. Yeltsin of neo-Bolshevism in forcing his reforms through. Well, the last head of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union certainly ought to know something about that.

The big question this August is, of course, whether there will be another coup. Rumors have been rumbling through Moscow all summer. Many predict some kind of crisis this fall as another winter of shortages

closes in. It has even been mooted that perhaps a coup of sorts has already taken place, given the fact that Mr. Yeltsin was forced in April to compromise with the Russian parliament on his reform program, accepting into his government three so-called "red industrialists" to counterbalance his beleaguered reformers. He also agreed to sustain unprofitable state enterprises and hold off on privatization and fuel price hikes.

No doubt about it, the next year will be no easier for Mr. Yeltsin than the past one. The challenges he faces are formidable. The political conditions for the continuation of reform must be created if the Russian economy is not to continue its decline. Figures released this week by the Russian news agency Itar-Tass show a 27 percent decline in exports for the first six months of this year compared to last year. Mr. Yeltsin will face another confrontation with the Congress of People's Deputies and possibly a constitutional referendum on that institution.

Equally important is managing the relationship with the republics, particularly the potentially explosive Baltics. As long as the Red Army can argue that the civil rights of Russians residing in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are being violated, there is a latent pretext for military action, as happened in Moldavia. Persuading the army to implement the troop withdrawal he has promised the West will be another major challenge for Mr. Yeltsin.

On the whole, it seems unlikely that the past will repeat itself as far as the August coup is concerned. Most Russians, even the generals, know that the clock cannot be turned back and that Mr. Yeltsin is the only thing that stands between Russia and chaos as the country lurches in fits and starts toward the future. Even Mr. Gorbachev ought to have realized that by now.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992 •

The mayor's finances

The D.C. Office of Campaign Finance continues to turn up troubling irregularities in Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly's handling of her finances. Several weeks ago the OCF flagged \$2,878 in honorariums and hotel costs paid on Mrs. Kelly's behalf by a company that subsequently won about \$6 million in city business with no competition. Acknowledging no wrong on her part, Mrs. Kelly returned the money, but only after the conflict of interest became public.

Apparently hampered by her own conflicts, OCF Director Marianne Coleman Niles, whose reappointment by the mayor is pending, was unable to bring herself to speak clearly in that instance. She issued a finding that basically slapped Mrs. Kelly on the wrist for bad judgment in what was to most everyone else an obvious violation of the city's weak, though extant, ethics law.

As OCF officials have continued to page through Mrs. Kelly's financial reports, more ethical improprieties have surfaced. They reveal a pattern of either outright boldness or glaring naivete. Within the reports the OCF discovered a \$2,000 contribution to the Sharon Pratt Kelly (SPK) Committee, the mayor's 1994 re-election political action committee, from, of all places, the D.C. Housing Finance Agency. The money was earmarked for tickets to Mrs. Kelly's birthday gala in February, which ostensibly served as a fund-raiser to pay off campaign debts and establish a second-term re-election effort.

But it happens that the DCHFA is not a private group. It is a public entity established by the D.C. Council in 1985 and funded by public dollars from the federal government and District taxpayers to finance the development of low- and moderate-income housing. It also provides loans for low-income residents to buy homes in targeted areas.

District law very clearly prohibits government agencies from contributing public funds to any political campaign or campaign organization. Yet, the agency's executive director, M.L. Carstarphen, doesn't seem to know that, since she approved the check. And neither does Mrs. Kelly seem to know, since she ac-

cepted it. That both Mrs. Carstarphen and Mrs. Kelly are having trouble with the concept of separation of public and private money, favoritism and the conflicts therein is unsettling.

Mrs. Carstarphen since has reimbursed DCHFA. So did Mrs. Kelly, making for a double repayment. It is "one of the things we have to resolve," said Vada Manager, a spokesman for the administration. Resolutions go far deeper than that, but that point has escaped Mr. Manager, at least judging by this observation on the issue: "It appears the government has been reimbursed and everyone is fine." That is not at all the case.

At the heart of the problem is how the mayor sees her own actions. She seems to operate under the theory that reimbursing the government sets everything straight. Yet paying back the money is the least that would be required if this were a plea bargain in a criminal case.

Still unaddressed is the administration's failure to understand what constitutes unethical behavior. Reimbursement may set the books straight, but that's all it does. There appears to be no recognition of ethical lines of demarcation for accepting money — whether those donations are called campaign contributions, honorariums, speaking fees or reimbursement of hotel costs. And what makes the overall picture even murkier is that money handling seems to be a restricted affair. Husband James R. Kelly III serves as treasurer of the SPK Committee and her aunt, Aimee Pratt, vice chairman. That in itself would be of little note except for the very bad pattern that appears to be forming.

When she was running for office, Mrs. Kelly condemned the business-as-usual old-guard politicians who abused the public trust and public money. She promised to sweep government clean of that behavior. As mayor, when she established her political action committee not too long ago, Mrs. Kelly noted, "One of the mistakes people have made in this city is to finance political activities through the government at taxpayers' expense." Today, with the gulf between what she is practicing and what she has preached, those words have an especially hollow ring. Her behavior is leaving some who want to continue to believe in her at a loss.

GOP points finger at Congress

By Major Garrett
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

HOUSTON — Republicans warned yesterday that Congress will team up with Democrat Bill Clinton to block President Bush's economic agenda and impose new taxes, more regulations, and a costly and compulsory health care system.

The resulting "change," they said, would be a deeper recession than the nation has endured in Mr. Bush's first term. They said only a Republican Congress could repair the damage wrought by decades of Democratic obstruction on Capitol Hill.

Delivering his party's keynote address, Texas Sen. Phil Gramm likened Mr. Clinton to "a used-car salesman peddling his vehicle for change."

"The wax job was shiny, the hubcaps sparkled, the upholstery was spotless, the paint was new," Mr. Gramm said. "But when you look



"They alone with their 101-member majority are responsible for the unholy mess Congress is in — and they ought to be held accountable for it."

— House Minority Leader Robert Michel

under the hood, you discover he is hawking a model from the '70s: a Carter-mobile with the axle broken and the frame bent to the left. It was a lemon for the nation in the '70s... and it is still a lemon today."

Mr. Gramm and Jack Kemp, secretary of housing and urban development, argued that

America would be a safer, more prosperous and less troubled nation if Congress would stop blocking Mr. Bush's programs.

It is a familiar argument, but those two Republicans, positioning themselves for a run at the White House in 1996, tried to give it a new look before delegates at the 35th Republican

National Convention and millions of television viewers.

Mr. Gramm, a former economics professor at Texas A&M University, will likely lead the Republican charge against Mr. Clinton's economic proposals. Republicans say those plans will result in the largest tax increase in American history and cost almost 2 million jobs.

The Clinton campaign counters that its combination of tax increases for the wealthy, tax breaks for the middle class and unspecified government spending cuts would create jobs and bring down the deficit.

The two Republicans' efforts last night were part of a unified GOP theme to rekindle voter antagonism against Congress, possibly the only public institution held in lower esteem these days than the Bush administration.

"What nerve they have, these Democrats," Mr. Kemp said. "As the unemployment lines

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GOP

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lengthen to 11 million, they stonewall our pleas for action and then blame our president and our party for the economic decline."

Mr. Gramm also sought to remind voters of the secondary role congressional leaders played at the Democratic convention in New York.

"[House] Speaker Tom Foley and [Senate] Majority Leader George Mitchell were so far back in the crowd you had to press your nose right up to the TV screen and use a magnifying glass to spot them," Mr. Gramm said.

"It is clear Governor Clinton wants people to forget that Democrats run Congress so he can blame every problem on George Bush."

Voter hostility toward Congress has ebbed in recent months, and the momentum for change has been focused largely on the White House. To

change that, Republicans appeared willing on the second night of their convention to sacrifice their own incumbents to save the president.

"Given a chance to present a vision for the future, Gramm transformed the Houston Astrodome into the Republican Hall of Blame," said a statement issued by Clinton communications director George Stephanopoulos. "He offered a colossal alibi: 'Don't blame us. We were only in charge.'"

While the president's surrogates were pointing to changes this November, reports surfaced that Mr. Bush was considering a massive staff shake-up should he win reelection.

Although nothing was announced, rumors underscored the idea that a second Bush term would bring a new brand of domestic policy.

CNN reported that the president would dismiss Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady, Budget Director Richard Darman, Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan, Energy Secretary

James Watkins and Mr. Kemp.

The president promised "a lot of changes in people" in an interview on PBS' "McNeil-Lehrer NewsHour," in one of seven television interviews the president granted.

Asked if he would sweep out all Cabinet members, Mr. Bush said: "I wouldn't say every single person."

Mr. Watkins and Dr. Louis Sullivan, health and human services secretary, heartily endorsed the president in convention speeches yesterday evening. The fate of Dr. Sullivan and Labor Secretary Lynn Martin, who will place the president's name in nomination tonight, was unknown.

Meanwhile, both presidential campaigns announced new television ads.

The Democrats released a meager \$50,000 media buy in Houston and Washington featuring a 15-second spot challenging GOP charges that Mr. Clinton repeatedly has raised taxes as governor of Arkansas.

Republicans countered with three spots depicting Democrats in Congress variously as pigs gorging at the public trough and obstructionists bent on grounding the U.S. economy. The GOP said it might spend as much as \$4 million if it used the spot in a national campaign.

The Republican finger-pointing on the economy contrasted sharply with its exclusive claim to winning the Cold War. While Democrats who would not yield to Mr. Bush's economic proposals were responsible for the recession, the argument went, Democratic votes for the defense buildup in the 1980s was unworthy of recognition.

"America stands today in triumph with economic and military power unrivaled in the history of the world," Mr. Gramm said. "None of these changes happened by accident. Two men more than any other people on the planet have been the catalyst for these changes, and their names are Ronald Reagan and George Bush."

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992 •

Big tent fills up on right Conservatives returning to fold

By Joyce Price
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Two days into the Republican National Convention, many conservatives who previously were lukewarm or even hostile to President Bush's 1992 re-election campaign were returning to the Bush-Quayle fold.

Buoyed by endorsements from former GOP challenger Patrick Buchanan and other conservative leaders, the Bush campaign headed to a certain nomination tonight in Houston with a renewed passel of supporters.

"This campaign is about philosophy and it is about character, and George Bush wins on both counts — going away," Mr. Buchanan said. "It is time all of us came home and stood beside him."

The Manchester Union Leader in
see RIGHT, page A10

RIGHT

From page A1

New Hampshire, a conservative daily newspaper that previously urged Mr. Bush to step aside so Republicans could nominate a more winnable ticket, urges its readers to support the president in an editorial in today's editions.

"It is time for conservatives to play the hand they've been dealt... to unite and rally behind the president for the common good," the newspaper said.

The National Center for Public Policy Research, a conservative action group whose chairman, Burton Yale Pines, recommended alternatives to the Bush-Quayle ticket, now is in the Bush camp.

"From a conservative standpoint, [Mr. Bush] is still not perfect," said the group's president, Amy Moritz. "But we realize it's either Bill Clinton or George Bush, and in such a contest there's no question" Mr. Bush should be the choice.

Ms. Moritz said her group made its decision to back Mr. Bush in the past few days. "The concern we had was that he did not seem to be taking the challenge of his re-election seriously, but he now seems to be infused with a new spirit that we hope" remains in effect "not only throughout the campaign, but the next four years," she said.

In his convention speech Monday night, Mr. Buchanan, the columnist and commentator who ran an unsuccessful primary challenge against Mr. Bush, urged other disenchanted conservatives to join him in supporting the president.

"I do believe, deep in my heart, that the right place for us to be now — in this presidential campaign — is right beside George Bush," he said. "This party is our home, this party is where we belong. And don't let anyone tell you any different."

Edwin J. Feulner Jr., president of the Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank, said Mr. Bush's endorsement Monday night by former President Reagan — "whom most of us view as an idol and a hero" — made it possible for "conservatives to swallow some of their disappointment" and see that "there really is a difference and a choice."

The American Conservative Union, a 100,000-member organization whose board endorsed Mr. Buchanan for president by a vote of 16-2 in February, now expects to endorse Mr. Bush.

"We endorsed Pat Buchanan, and now that Pat Buchanan has endorsed George Bush, I don't see why we shouldn't close ranks and support Bush and Quayle," said Bob Billings, executive director of the organization, the nation's oldest conservative lobbying group.

Nobel Prize-winning economist Milton Friedman, who described the Bush presidency as being "very close to a disaster" in a recent article in *Forbes* magazine, nevertheless views the president as the lesser of two evils.

"The policies the past four years have been bad," Mr. Friedman said in a telephone interview yesterday. "But Clinton frightens me even more than Bush. And, on the whole, I expect the great bulk of people who are

either conservative or libertarian will support Bush when it comes down to it — but without the kind of enthusiasm they demonstrated for Ronald Reagan."

William Bennett, Mr. Bush's former drug policy czar who turned down an offer to be co-chairman of the president's re-election campaign, will nominate Mr. Quayle for vice president, said Peter Wehner, a research fellow and aide to Mr. Bennett at the conservative Hudson Institute.

Mr. Wehner described Mr. Bennett as a "loving critic" of the president who has concerns that Mr. Bush has not "laid out clearly what he wants to do in his second term." Nevertheless, he said, Mr. Bennett considers Mr. Bush "eminently preferable" to Mr. Clinton.

Another Bush critic, L. Brent Bozell, executive director of the Conservative Victory Committee, said yesterday that he, too, he would endorse the president's re-election bid.

"Last night, the [convention] rhetoric was excellent," Mr. Bozell said in a telephone interview from Houston. "It emphasized why conservatives should bite the bullet and vote for George Bush."

But he said he doesn't know whether the rhetoric is "enough to sway a population of disheartened Middle Americans" to vote for Mr. Bush in November.

Paul Weyrich, chairman of the conservative Coalitions for America, said yesterday he's "not against" the president but "won't be doing any work" for his re-election.

"The [anti-Bush] feeling [among conservatives] is so strong, there's little I can do to help," he said. "They feel the White House hasn't led during a period of difficulty in this country."

He said that is why "they were willing to jump to [Ross] Perot," even though they disagreed with Mr. Perot's positions on some key issues.

"I certainly don't want Bill Clinton to win," Mr. Weyrich said. But he predicted Mr. Clinton will "have to self-destruct" for Mr. Bush to be victorious.

Richard Viguerie, a conservative who heads United Seniors Association, a senior citizens group, said: "I'd love to be very supportive of this president. I understand the danger of a first Clinton term. I'd love to do what Pat [Buchanan] and President Reagan did" when they endorsed Mr. Bush.

But Mr. Viguerie, who earlier this year called for Mr. Bush to abandon his re-election bid, said he's not ready to do that and won't be until the president "tells [the American public] what he's going to do differently in his second term."

Others not ready to climb into the Bush camp include the Orange County Register in Santa Ana, Calif., and Howard Phillips, chairman of the Conservative Caucus Foundation, who is on the ballot in 25 states as a presidential candidate for the U.S. Taxpayers Party.

Mr. Phillips said he wasn't moved by Mr. Buchanan's plea Monday night. "I liked what Pat Buchanan said about Bill Clinton last night and what he said about George Bush in February," Mr. Phillips said yesterday.

'Clinton plan: Is that the change we want?'

FROM COMBINED DISPATCHES

Excerpts from the keynote speech prepared for delivery to the Republican National Convention yesterday by Texas Sen. Phil Gramm:

... America's problem today is not that the president's plan to energize the economy has failed. Our problem is that it has not been tried. It is not that the president did not ask for change, but that the Democrats who run Congress killed those changes.

Democrats and Republicans agree on one thing: We both want change. The debate is not about who is for change; it's about the direction of the change. ...

The change Republicans want today is to stop the growth of government, to control spending, to balance the budget and to cut taxes again. The change Democrats want is to go back to the tax-and-spend policies they gave us in the '70s, the last time there was a Democrat in the White House.

Did you notice that at their convention in New York, the Democrats hid their congressional leaders? ... It is clear Gov. Clinton wants people to forget that Democrats run Congress so he can blame every problem on George Bush.

But if you needed a magnifying glass to see the Democrat leaders of Congress, you needed a microscope to see the details of the economic

plan which Gov. Clinton had previously touted before every special interest group in America. And the reason is obvious. The change Clinton has promised the special interests is not the change America wants. It is a plan that only lobbyists, lawyers, labor bosses and big city machines could love.

The Clinton plan calls for a new domestic spending spree totaling over \$100 billion a year — the largest increase in American history. ...

The Clinton plan doubles payroll taxes and increases taxes on small business and family farms. It is, in fact, the largest tax increase in the nation's history. ...

The Clinton plan through new taxes and mandated costs, will eat up one-half of all business profits. Private investment would collapse and millions of Americans would lose their jobs. ...

The Clinton plan repeals congressional spending limits, kills the balanced budget amendment and sends the deficit up by \$100 billion. ...

The Clinton plan: Add up the spending, add up the taxes, add up the regulations, add up the deficit.

Is that the change we want?

At the New York convention, Clinton was like a used-car salesman peddling his vehicle for change —



Photo by Glen Stubbs/The Washington Times
Massachusetts Gov. William Weld slams tax-and-spend Democrats.

the wax job was shiny, the hubcaps sparkled, the upholstery was spotless, the paint was new. But when you look under the hood, you discover he is hawking a model from the '70s — a Carter mobile with the axle broken and the frame bent to the left. It was a lemon for the nation in the '70s when it sent inflation through the roof and income through the floor, and it is still a lemon today.

Excerpts from the text of yesterday's

speech by Massachusetts Gov. William Weld:

Coming from a state dominated in the past by big-spending Democrats like Ted Kennedy, "Tip" O'Neill and Mike Dukakis, I've had the opportunity to see, up close and personal, what unbridled Democrat power can do to a budget, to an economy, to communities, and to a state. It's a disastrous prescription for higher taxes, bigger government and soft-minded, coddling approaches to crime.

My platform in 1990 was "tough on taxes, tough on crime." Ladies and gentlemen, Republicans are both, and the Democrats are neither. The Democrats' taxing and spending habits remind me of that old definition of a baby: a huge appetite on one end and no sense of responsibility on the other.

Since the Republicans returned to power in Massachusetts, we have cut taxes, spending and the state payroll. But we are still digging ourselves out from the economic damage that the Democrats inflicted on our state.

The Democrats and Gov. Clinton also lack discipline and toughness when it comes to crime. In Arkansas, the average convict serves only 17 percent of his sentence. In Arkansas, the average convict is released after serving only 16 months in prison, but the average sentence there is almost 8 years long.

Excerpts from the prepared text of the speech by House Minority Leader Bob Michel:

... It was no coincidence that Bill Clinton kept the Democratic leaders of the Congress in hiding at the Democratic convention. Bill Clinton's acceptance speech of almost one hour did not once mention the central political fact of Washington today:

The Democrats chair and control every committee and every subcommittee of the House.

They control the schedule, all the administrative functions and every rule under which we debate. They alone, with their 101-member majority, are responsible for the unholy mess Congress is in — and they ought to be held accountable for it.

What are you ashamed of, Mr. Clinton?

• Are you ashamed because the American people are dismayed, disillusioned and disgusted at what 38 years of Democratic misrule have done to a great institution?

• Are you ashamed that the Democratic-controlled House bank was forced to close and the Democratic-controlled House Post Office scandals led to grand jury investigations?

How dare you Democrats tell us you can run the government.

You can't even run a branch post office.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992 *

Fight training for Bush

Boasts of tactic to curb Congress

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

HOUSTON — George Bush played Karate Kid yesterday — honorary black belt, no less — as he spent the day confidently honing weapons for the coming battle with Bill Clinton.

A particularly vicious flying side-kick wielded by a yellow-belt student intrigued the president. He playfully flashed an "A-OK" sign with thumb and forefinger when asked if he will use it on Mr. Clinton.

But there was no joking as he talked with awe about the "great start" he got from Monday's smashing grand entrance to the convention.

"You get here and you feel something happening, you feel something positive," Mr. Bush told children in an anti-drug martial arts program run by former karate world champ Chuck Norris.

He even felt brave enough to threaten a new tactic to keep Congress in line and to promise "a lot of changes in people" in a second term, including much of his Cabinet.

"I wouldn't say every single person," Mr. Bush said in an interview with Jim Lehrer of PBS' "MacNeil-Lehrer NewsHour."

He said he would adopt Congress-taming tactics of Democratic predecessors Franklin Roosevelt and Lyndon Johnson and "expose individual members" who say one thing at home and vote differently.

"You know, it is a different approach, but I've got to try something different because I want to move this country forward. And we've done it in world affairs," he said.

Asked if the public would see a fundamentally different second-term administration, the president replied: "I hope they're going to see a major commitment to making things better at home. . . . I know I've tried very hard, but I've got to get that more clarified and part of that is getting — getting control of . . . the Congress."

Mr. Bush looked confident yesterday: He popped his double thumbs-up sign at anybody who smiled and couldn't resist getting out of his hotel to create two colossal traffic jams.

Even in low-profile mode, the president kept busy:

- Giving interviews to six television stations from around the country as well as the MacNeil-Lehrer show.

- Reworking yet again tomorrow's acceptance speech, on which one official said six persons are laboring full-time under the guidance of chief speechwriter Steve Provost, who is credited with Monday's stemwinder.

- Keeping tabs on the crisis building in Iraq.

Mr. Bush learned there is such a thing as a free lunch at his beloved Otto's Barbecue, \$6.82 worth of brisket, sausage, slaw and iced tea. Cashier Lydia Moreno said "No, no, NOPE" as she wrestled to tuck his \$50 bill back into his shirt pocket.

Last night he and Barbara Bush went to the 1900-vintage Fine Arts Museum for a closed-door, private, absolutely no coverage party with 300 of their closest Houston friends — a real break with real friends who had invites to die for in a town where \$1,000 got you cold dinner in the back row.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992 *

Rival TV ads target Congress, Bush tax pledge

By Hugh Aynesworth
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

HOUSTON — Republicans yesterday counterpunched Democratic leaders' efforts to grab a piece of the action during the Republican National Convention — where Bill Clinton was taking a verbal shellacking.

Democrats yesterday unleashed two television ads designed to convince voters that much of what was said about their Democratic nominee here Monday was a pack of lies, reminding voters of President Bush's broken pledge on taxes.

Hours after the Democrats unveiled their ads, Republicans came back to rebut what the Democrats charged. And they introduced three rough-cut television spots of their own that they said were "in serious developmental stage."

Vice President Dan Quayle ridiculed the Clinton ads, telling Michigan delegates, "Guess what issue he picked? He picked the issue of taxes. 'Thank you, Bill Clinton.' He charged that Mr. Clinton wants to 'raise taxes for every single worker in America.'"

Two other Republicans — Gov. Carroll Campbell of South Carolina and Sen. Pete V. Domenici of New Mexico — disputed the Clinton campaign ads. Mr. Campbell called them "a quick break from the truth."

"If they had any credibility we would worry about them," he said at the end of a 20-minute rebuttal news conference. "But since they're so easy to shoot down, maybe they ought to do some more."

Asked if the GOP ad preview — admittedly weeks away from implementation — was simply to counter the Democrats' new ads, Mr. Domenici said it was not.

"We had this scheduled for quite some time," said Mr. Domenici.

Betsey Wright, senior Clinton campaign aide, appeared with Democratic National Chairman Ron Brown at a news conference near the convention site to respond to the attacks on Mr. Clinton and announce the new ads.

"There were 41 pure lies," Mrs. Wright said in response to a hard-hitting GOP attack that painted the Arkansas governor as "the enemy" and said his Arkansas record shows he would cost the nation jobs and more taxes if elected president.

The Democrats' presentation to about 40 reporters was harassed by a group of 80 young Republicans outside the news conference site, a restaurant just south of the Astrodome where the GOP convention is being held.

The 15-second spots began airing

yesterday in only two markets — Houston and Washington.

The Democrats' ads were designed to remind voters of Mr. Bush's most mentioned promise of the 1988 campaign — the one he could not keep: "Read my lips — no new taxes."

"And now a short break for the facts," one ad begins, adding, "On November 5, 1990, George Bush signed into law the second-biggest tax increase in American history."

"Under Clinton," it goes on, "Arkansas has the second-lowest tax burden in the country."

"Those are the facts. . . . Back to the show."

The second Democratic ad — "more facts" — is similar. It begins with the announcer saying, "America has had no growth in private-sector jobs and wages have fallen [screen shows Labor Department statistics]." Then a graphic, with the announcer saying: "This year under Clinton, Arkansas leads the nation in job growth, and incomes have grown at twice the national rate."

While the Democrats sought to compare Mr. Bush's economic record with that of Mr. Clinton in 11 years as governor of Arkansas, the Republicans' thrust was heavy against the Democratic-controlled Congress.

The first Republican ad shown to the media yesterday was called "Change," and rather than attack Mr. Clinton, who is not even mentioned, it makes a pitch for Republicans regaining control of Congress.

"Since 1954, a lot has happened. When America wanted change, we changed presidents. But for 38 years one thing hasn't changed: the Democrat Congress," the announcer intones.

"For nearly 40 years the Democrats in Congress have made all the decisions — raising our taxes, spending our money and regulating our lives."

"To change America, change the Democrat Congress."

A second, called "Greed," was described as "a generic" concept. It was geared to use by GOP congressional candidates trying to upend long-entrenched Democrats by spotlighting specific areas of waste and malfeasance against the opponent.

A third ad, which Mr. Domenici said was "more for your entertainment" than for public consumption, was called "Pigs" and showed how congressmen — mostly Democrats, of course — wasted billions on free trips, perks, banking privileges and a \$31,500 salary increase.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992 *

Ailes, Daniels agree to advise Bush push

HOUSTON (AP) — The Bush campaign said yesterday two veterans from past election victories — former White House aide Mitch Daniels and ad-maker Roger Ailes — will be giving advice as it gears up for the fall election.

Mr. Daniels will hold a formal role advising the campaign advisers. Mr. Ailes said he will hold no formal position in the campaign but would be "helping on an ad hoc basis."

"I'm not officially participating, but if I'm asked a question, obviously I will help. If I had a day off, I'd do it," said Mr. Ailes. He predicted he would talk to Mr. Bush about once a week during the fall stretch.

Tony Mitchell, the Bush campaign's deputy press secretary, said Mr. Daniels would be working as an adviser to the ad team. "He'll be primarily working with the ad group and helping them with their campaign themes and messages," Mr. Mitchell said.

Mr. Ailes dismissed the speculation his influence would expand and insisted he would not play any formal role except to "tell them what I think when they call me."

Mr. Ailes, a close friend of both Mr. Bush and Mr. Baker's, has worked for Republican presidential campaigns dating back to Richard Nixon in 1972.

Four years ago, his most notable Bush ads included photos of then-Democratic nominee Michael Dukakis sitting awkwardly in a tank and pictures of prisoners walking through revolving doors. The ads sought to portray the Massachusetts governor as weak on defense issues and soft on crime.

Since retiring, Mr. Ailes has insisted he was focusing on commercial opportunities with his New York ad firm and had no intention of returning to politics.

Mr. Daniels, who was White House political director for Ronald Reagan in 1984, left Wash-



Roger Ailes

ington to run the Hudson Institute, a conservative think tank in Indianapolis. He returned to help manage Dan Quayle's troubled campaign in 1988. Afterwards, he became an executive of a drug company.

Mr. Daniels is expected to have a "big role" overseeing the campaign's communications operation, the adviser said, calling it the more significant move of the shake-up.

He said the move occurred because the campaign was not entirely satisfied with current communications director Will Feltus.

Watching Mrs
Bush on TV
in Houston



OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTO 19AUG92 DU P034598 -011



Speech prep.
Houston

OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTO 19HUG92 DU P034620 -001

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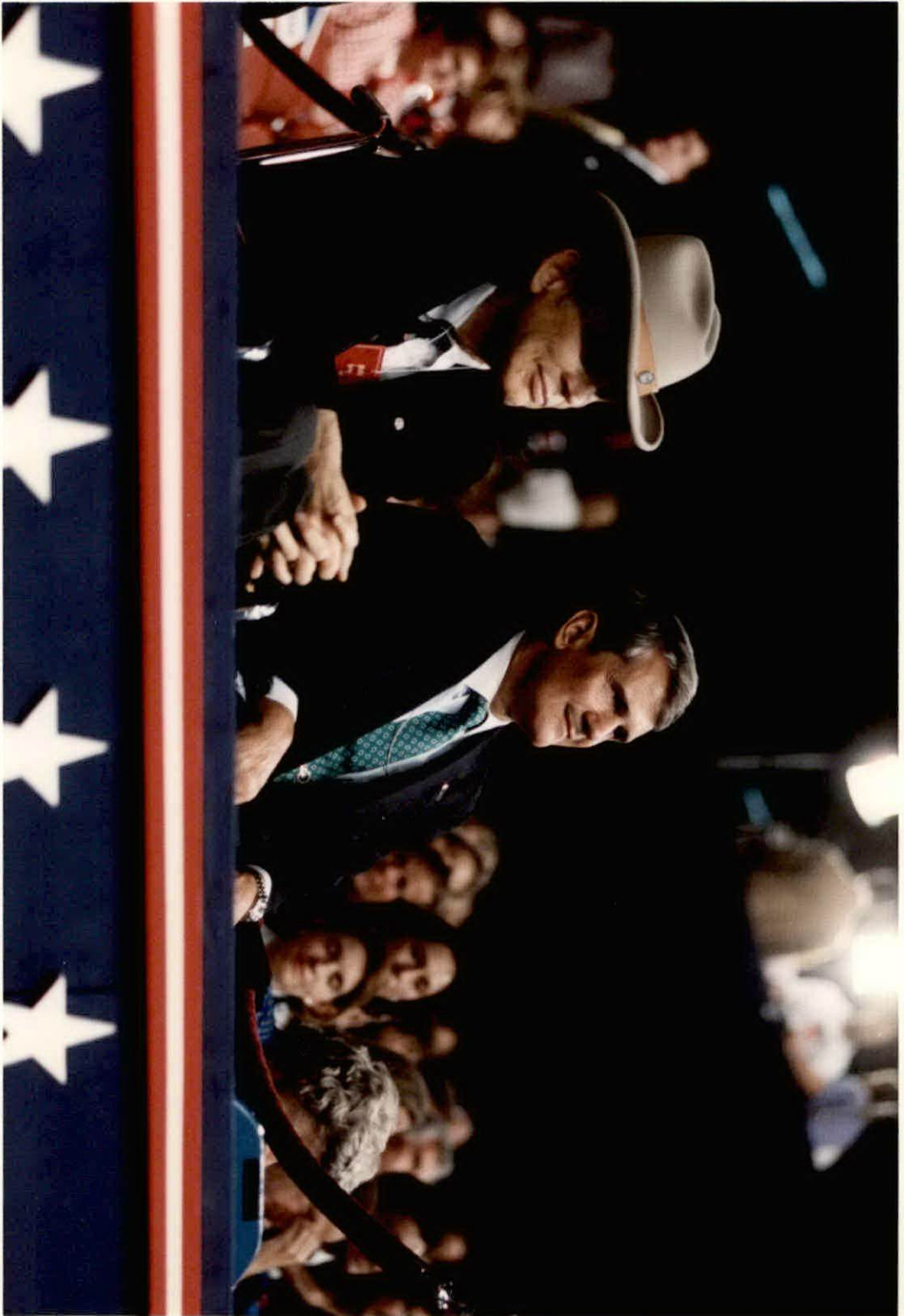
Speech Prep
Houston

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Houston



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Peter Jennings
Houston

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Sharon Bush
at Convention

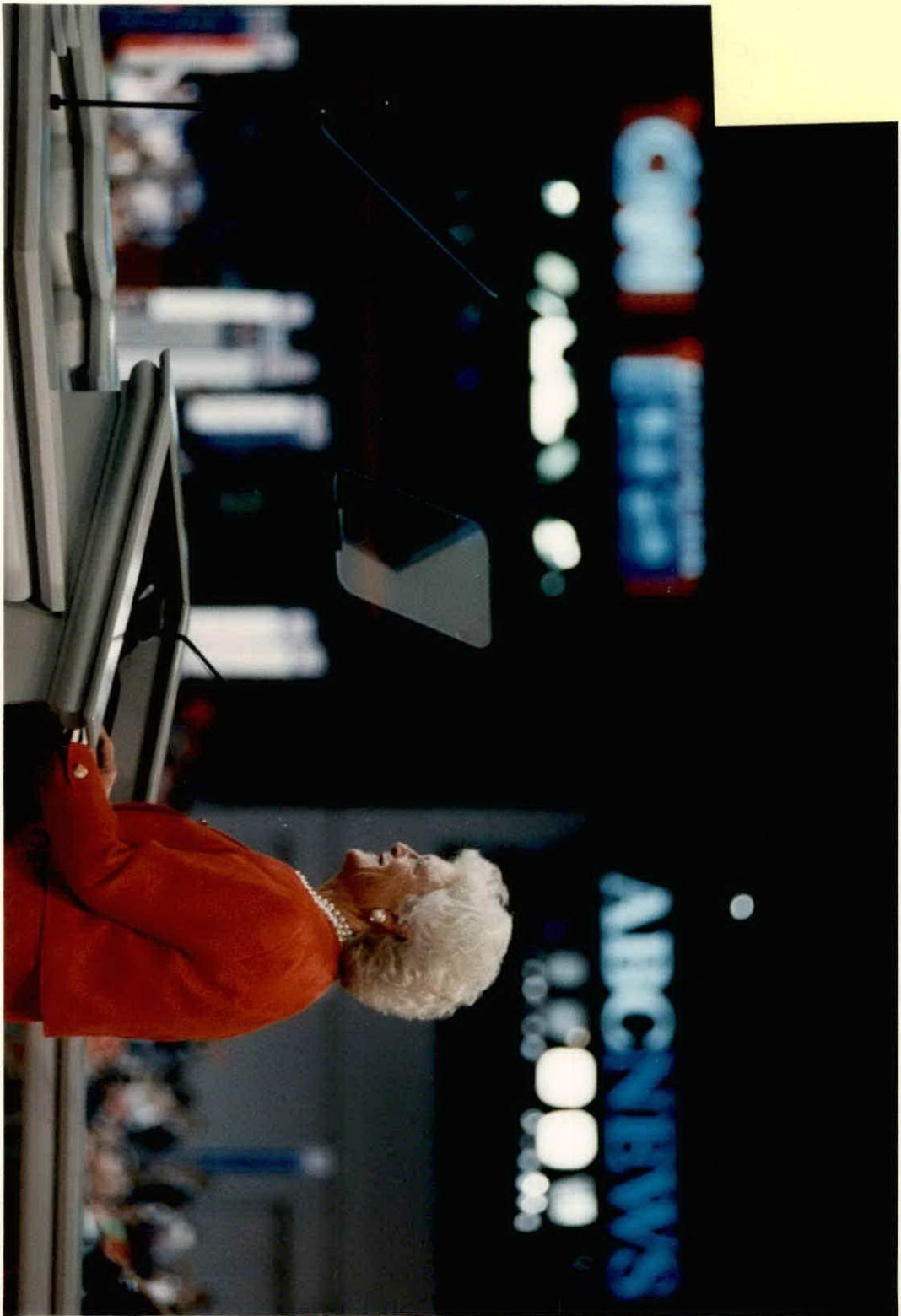
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at convention

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addressing
convention



OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTO 19AUG92 OU P034601 -018

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. and Mrs. Doug Sanders
Suite 115
8100 Washington Avenue
Houston, Texas 77007



THE PRESIDENT

August 19, 1992
(Houston, Texas)

Dear Scotty and Doug,

Thanks for the great golf glove. The convention
is off to a great start and I'm all fired up. We
will win!

Hastily off to the next event,

Warm regards,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "Lyn", written in a cursive style.