

Revolt Against Gov. Carlson's Re-Election Bid Shows Social Issues Still Deeply Divide the GOP

By JOHN HARWOOD

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ST. PAUL, Minn. — Seeking re-election this fall, Republican Gov. Arne Carlson boasts of above-average job growth, below-average unemployment and a state budget that's moved from deficit to surplus. And he knows just what he'll get in gratitude at his party's convention next month.

"If I'm lucky, a hot dog," says the governor.

He certainly won't win the endorsement of the 2-100 GOP delegates. Under siege by conservative Christian activists who have flooded Minnesota's Independent Republican party caucuses, the pro-abortion-rights, pro-gay-rights incumbent concedes he'll get swamped in convention balloting. Mr. Carlson's strategy now is "total disengagement" from the proceedings, while bidding to win the decisive nominating primary in September.

For some national Republican strategists, his predicament carries worrisome echoes of the party's recent past — and perhaps its future. "If social issues, on a litmus-test basis, are made the defining issues in the Republican Party, we are doomed," says former GOP National Chairman Rich Bond, who watched President Bush struggle with a damaging hard-fight primary challenge from Pat Buchanan in 1992. In Minnesota, the intra-party warfare threatens not only GOP prospects in the governor's race, but in several contested House campaigns and the bid to hold the Senate seat of retiring Republican Sen. Dave Durenberger.

Religious-right activists, increasingly assertive since the Rev. Pat Robertson's path-breaking 1988 presidential campaign,



Arne Carlson

see those hazards as simply the price of progress. "It's a coming-of-age of a movement that's been around the edge of the party," says Ralph Reed, executive director of the Virginia-based Christian Coalition. In the recent elections of such Republicans as Georgia Sen. Paul Coverdell and Texas Sen. Kay Hutchison, Mr. Reed says, conservative Christians were pragmatic enough to mobilize behind candidates they considered less-than-perfect on abortion or other social issues. At the same time, they have little choice but to challenge Republicans fundamentally at odds with their agenda.

'No Loaf at All'

"If he [Carlson] were half a loaf, he'd be home free," insists Allen Quist, a farmer and former state legislator who is challenging Mr. Carlson for the nomination. "The problem is he's no loaf at all."

It took a political miracle for Mr. Carlson to get elected in the first place. In 1990, then state auditor, Mr. Carlson lost the Republican gubernatorial nomination to antiabortion conservative Jon Grunseth. But Mr. Grunseth was derailed by allegations of sexual improprieties, and Mr. Carlson's hastily revived campaign managed a narrow victory over unpopular Democratic incumbent Rudy Perpich.

As governor, the combative Mr. Carlson proceeded to spurn the Christian right, most notably by signing gay-rights legislation. "He made serious mistakes," says former U.S. Rep. Vin Weber, a conservative who is nonetheless trying to salvage the incumbent's nomination as the GOP's best hope in November.

Mr. Carlson is paying the price in cities like Rochester, where several hundred of Mr. Quist's followers recently dominated the election of Olmsted County delegates to the state convention. "The Republican Party must define itself," says Howard Ives, the young airline pilot who heads Mr. Quist's local steering committee. Mr. Ives, who sends his daughter to a Christian school, is one of the thousands of antiabortion

Democrats who have lately drifted into the GOP and now are displacing longtime Republican stalwarts.

"Their test is one of purity," complains Gregg Orwoll, a retired lawyer for the Mayo Clinic. After a lifetime of party work, beginning with selling "Alf Landon for President" signs at age 10, he says indignantly, "It's not only an insult, it's a joke."

Mr. Carlson, 59 years old, a Swedish immigrants' son who grew up in Fiorello LaGuardia's New York, isn't laughing. Minnesota's party system puts a premium on precisely what he doesn't have — a core of several thousand highly motivated supporters willing to turn out for caucuses and conventions. His rival boasts a small army of "Quistians," who include fellow conservative Lutherans, other evangelical Protestants and Catholics knitted together by distaste for Mr. Carlson's tenure.

In the larger September primary, expected to draw 350,000 or more Republicans, the Carlson camp hopes to portray Mr. Quist as too politically extreme, and even personally bizarre, for the governorship. As a legislator in the 1980s, Mr. Quist drew notice for his interest in sexually related issues, once visiting an adult bookstore as part of an anti-AIDS campaign. After his first wife, then 6½ months pregnant, died in a car accident eight years ago, Mr. Quist had the fetus displayed alongside her in an open casket. Notwithstanding his own "traditional family" conservatism — he sparked a furor recently by suggesting that men have a "genetic predisposition" to be the heads of their household — his second wife is a

former feminist activist who once operated a bookstore that sold lesbian literature.

"There's nothing strange about me," says Mr. Quist. He cites his wife's background as proof of his tolerance, says the display of the fetus was part of his grieving process, and says his legislative endeavors frequently drew majority support.

Urging a 'Cultural War'

Yet he's clearly sensitive to the charge of extremism. While he exhorts supporters to enlist in a Buchanan-style "cultural war," he insists in an interview that he decided to run only after poring over state budget documents and concluding that Mr. Carlson wasn't fiscally conservative. Aside from abortion opponents, he claims support from a wide-ranging "antiestablishment" coalition including economic conservatives, Ross Perot supporters, gun-control opponents and advocates of home schooling. Sipping a diet Coke near the State Capitol, Mr. Quist says he's doing well among Republican Muslims too, a contention that draws a chuckle from his daughter, Lisa. "I'm sorry, Dad," she says.

Mr. Carlson, in jeopardy of becoming the first Republican governor defeated for renomination in more than 20 years, dismisses Mr. Quist's supporters as "strictly religious" in motivation and uninterested in coalition-building. On the desk in his office, he displays a book entitled "Divided We Fall."

Some Minnesota Republicans are more sanguine. The lackluster Democratic gubernatorial field is also ideologically divided. And former Republican Gov. Al Quie, who straddled disparate factions when he served in the late 1970s, sees the current skirmishing as a means for coming to terms with the overriding problems of family breakdown and cultural conflict. "The main issues of the country are moral," the former governor says. "What we're trying to do is get a vocabulary for it. It's not easy in politics."

Agrees to Textron

By AMAL KUN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Moving to enter the engine market, AlliedSignal tentatively agreed to Inc.'s turbine-engine bid of \$375 million.

The sale of the Textron Turbine Engine Division had been rumored since Wall Street analysts concluded with AlliedSignal's corpn yesterday Lawrence A. of AlliedSignal, said the major step forward in aerospace business.

Textron, based in said the planned sale of company's strategy to forming assets" and existing businesses, w Cessna business jets, B auto parts to financial s James F. Hardymen man and chief executive proceeds from the sale general corporate purpose reduction, repurchase and acquisitions.

AlliedSignal said to help it expand its engine by extending its product the larger 70-seat to 115 craft market. AlliedSignal, N.J., makes engines with 19 to 30 seats.

The company said broadly are shedding shock creating opportunities riers. Such short-haul routes 600 miles, are the fastest of the airline industry

"The penalty of leadership is that the small dogs all bark."

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