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Presidential Questions



If you could ask the candidates about the key disability issues, what would you ask?

What does the 1992 election campaign mean for people with disabilities?

The Americans with Disabilities Act is now in force. We're all waiting to see how well it will be implemented and enforced. What other issues are there? What should we be asking Bill Clinton and Al Gore, George Bush and Dan Quayle?

Traditionally, people in the disability community have largely camped out with the Democratic Party. But in recent years that reality has become blurred and muddled.

Remember, that it was Republican George Bush who acted as a catalyst to get the Americans with Disabilities Act enacted into law. Democrats controlled the Congress which passed the ADA in the first place, but ADA had bipartisan support from some Republicans all the way. Bush gets a lot of credit for getting ADA signed and implemented.

Bush has also appointed people with disabilities in his administration, for example, Evan Kemp as chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. And Vice-President Dan Quayle has a

senior advisor — George Covington — on disability issues.

On the other hand, Kemp has complained that the White House sometimes doesn't take him seriously because he is disabled. And Quayle is reported to have helped weaken Housing and Urban Affairs guidelines for access to multi-family housing for

People with disabilities need to consider the candidates carefully with regard to the issues that concern us most.

people with disabilities.

Some Democrats in Congress have demonstrated strong support for people with disabilities, but the national leadership has not exactly been in the

vanguard of support. In 1988 Michael Dukakis made no attempt to appeal to the disability constituency. Now what about Bill Clinton this season?

In his acceptance speech to the Democratic convention in New York, Clinton made references to people with disabilities. But his remarks suggested that he considers people with disabilities as people to be taken care of, not as people of active independence. He said he wants government to help pay college costs for energetic young people who can return to their communities and work off the debt by helping the poor, the frail and the people with disabilities.

What kind of attitude does that suggest?

Remember, too, that Clinton was a target of a sit-in protest at the Governor's Office in Little Rock late last year. People with disabilities were demanding Clinton reverse a decision to slash funding for attendant care services. Clinton did reverse the decision, but what does this episode say about his ideas and

attitudes about people with disabilities? So the political landscape this year is difficult to read clearly. People with disabilities need to consider the can-

didates carefully with regard to the issues that concern us most.

What are those issues?

To find out, MAINSTREAM asked readers from around the nation what questions they would ask the candidates if they had the chance.

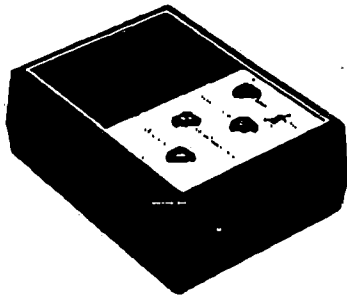
We've got a solid list of questions. They were suggested by the following people: Gary McNichols of Concord, CA, director of risk management for TOSCO refining company; Richard B. Offner, director of the Rural Institute on Disabilities, University of

Montana; Paul Longmore, historian, Palo Alto, CA; Diane Coleman, attorney and co-director of the Center for Assistive Technology Project, Nashville, TN; Delbert Lewis, member of Arkansas Advisory Committee to U.S. Civil Rights Commission, Little Rock, AR; and Mark Johnson, advocacy and community affairs specialist, Shepherd Spinal Center, Atlanta, GA.

Here, then, are the questions these MAINSTREAM readers want the presidential candidates to answer:

1. Would you describe people with disabilities as ordinary people? Is it government's duty to eliminate barriers for disabled people OR to provide long-term care for disabled people?
2. Many persons with disabilities are dependent on their Medicare coverage which has become one of

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...Quayle is reported to have helped weaken Housing and Urban Affairs guidelines for access to multi-family housing for people with disabilities.

the major disincentives to work/marriage. Do you support federal legislation to remove work/marriage eligibility requirements for Medicare so that Medicare is available to more people with disabilities?

3. Do you plan to appoint people with disabilities to your administration? Will you appoint a person with disabilities to oversee disability policy? Are any people with disabilities now serving in your election campaign?
4. Do you think people who need assistance in daily living should be able to choose between facility or home care, and how much control should people with disabilities have over the people who are assisting them?
5. Do you support national legislation mandating states to support personal assistance services?
6. Should federal funding for the Assistive Technology Act of 1983 continue instead of being passed off to the states for support? Currently, access to assistive technology is a privilege. What would you do to make it a right?

7. With so many right-to-die cases now appearing in the courts, should people with disabilities have the same access to suicide prevention services as everyone else?
8. Wouldn't it be best to unify all the disability programs (HUD, Vocational Rehabilitation, SSI, Medicare education...) under one agency? How would you envision that agency - as a protection, welfare agency, or civil rights agency?
9. The Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 has established the civil rights of persons with disabilities. What will your administration do to ensure that these rights will be protected under the provisions of the Act? Please provide specific reference to protection of American Indians with disabilities when sovereign American Indian reservations are excluded from the provisions of the Act, and to the empowerment of persons with disabilities by small employers (those with less than 15 employees) that predominate in rural areas that are exempt from Title 1 of the Act.

...Clinton was a target of a sit-in protest at the Governor's Office in Little Rock late last year.

10. Federal spending on research and development has been a significant catalyst for improving education, and health and human services for Americans with disabilities. Balancing the federal budget and reducing the deficit clearly are among the most pressing demands on the Presidency. How do you think the federal government can continue its leadership in supporting research and development that benefits the lives of people with disabilities in

such a critical budgetary time for this country?

11. Many of the major issues of disability are the same as those related to poverty (e.g., limited access to health care, substandard housing, unemployment, etc.). How will your administration integrate disability policy with your poverty agenda, including mainstream programs for employment and economic empowerment?

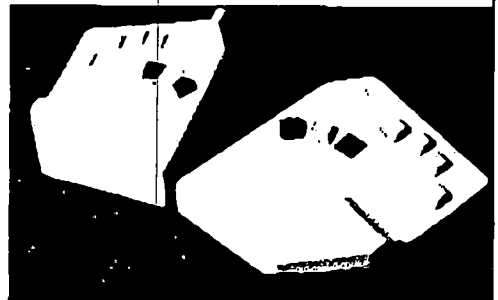
12. Currently 70 percent of people with disabilities are out of the work force or unemployed. What do you think the barriers to employment are and what would you do to remove them?
13. The Fair Housing Act mandates minimal access in all new multi-family construction. Would you support legislation that required minimal access in all new single-family dwellings? ■

Compiled by Scot Hart.

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Page 8 Horizons September, 1992

Mary Jane Owen

9/8/92 Jy

On the Scene

by Mary Jane Owen, M.S.W.

A few years ago "disability" wasn't "news." Suddenly our concerns are being confronted. Are we prepared to discuss our interests with candor and insight?

Lots of us were "On The Scene" as the two political parties established the ground rules and issues for the presidential campaign. What will we get in exchange for our votes? This time "disability" made it to the podium at both conventions.

In New York there were references by Governor Clinton in his acceptance speech to the need for services for those of us with disabilities. One of the major addresses was delivered by the brilliant and disabled Barbara Jordan. But the candidate's failure to move beyond a medical or service model of disability was unfortunate. The public got a stronger image of our health needs than our aspirations for self determination. Some advocates need to take the Clinton team aside and bring them up to date.

And then we turned on the Republicans down in Houston. Barbara Bush, in running through her list of reasons to celebrate her husband's past four years reminded all America of George's support of the Americans with Disabilities Act. And the President and other major speakers included mention of it in their remarks from the podium. But were disabled viewers assured that programs essential to their advancement would continue to be supported? Perhaps

another case where advocates within the Party are essential in keeping the process moving forward.

Early in the last presidential campaign Governor Dukakis had strong disability support. But in none of his major television appearances did he mention the hopes of the disability community. Too many of those potential votes slipped out of his back pocket like forgotten golden coins. They were sufficient to have made the difference between defeat and victory. In contrast, advisors to then Vice President Bush, well aware of the significance of a Harris and Associates survey, encouraged this candidate to mention the untapped potential of 43 million Americans with disabilities and his intention to put their dreams of inclusion on his agenda.

That survey indicated the disability community was more interested than the general public in politics and elections and was frustrated in attempts to learn what politicians running for office had in mind for moving them beyond stagnation and poverty. Since the newspapers were ignoring this concern, the only way to break through the curtain of ignorance was by making statements about disability on national television. Would it pay off in garnering a lot of votes? Apparently it did.

We can be pretty sure it worked because, for the first time in history, the shifts in voter preference was

Making the News - Minding the News

Another great vote - Justice

tracked among those with disabilities. To the surprise of many there was a dramatic shift to Bush following each televised mention of disability while Dukakis continued to ignore those among his staff who suggested he employ the same strategy.

Maybe we all should keep score and tick off the number of times the two candidates recognize the potential and inherent value of those of their constituency who have disabilities. But simple tally sheets are obviously not a magic formulae. Will those aspirations be better served under a "New Covenant" or under the "Big Tent?" And can we expect the print media to take us seriously this time around?

One predicament we face is a backlash out there which must be acknowledged before it can be confronted. Simple insistence on our "rights" may prove to be counterproductive. We are not the first group striving for civil rights and we have seldom reached out in solidarity to create a common voice with those who have explored the tricky terrain we find before us.

The movement toward full inclusion and meaningful civil rights is still down the road and the path to freedom has always required sacrifices. We have only to look to the efforts of our companions on the trail. Black Americans faced angry mobs, sheriffs' stun guns, tear gas, vicious attack dogs and death as they marched peacefully, insisting on the vote and full citizenship. Yet segregation and discrimination are still rampant. The earliest feminists padlocked themselves to the gates of the White House in their demands to get the vote and hoped that would move them toward equity. Their battle ground is still cluttered with decades of victims. And the "glass ceiling" of limited opportunities in the market place and the harsh questions raised by the Anita Hill fiasco still raise doubts as to the reality of the apparent gains made. Were we so naive as to think all we needed to do was get the ADA passed and the new age of equity would arrive?

There are several examples of the problems ahead. A series of ADA



amendments has already been proposed in Congress. They seek to repeal or emasculate the protections which we thought were currently guaranteed. Can unrealistic demands be sufficient to fight the fear which fuels these attacks? There is disagreement in answering that question.

Probably we shouldn't have been surprised when the bulldog of many ultra right Republicans, William Dannemeyer from Orange County CA introduced his Americans with Disabilities Act Amendment (H.R. 4993) this Spring. He is retiring this year, but his warning of plans to take the power out of this civil rights law was clearly issued at the Congressional hearings and floor debates. His parting gift is another salvo in a battle many may not have anticipated. While the Dannemeyer bill "merely" aims at legislatively defining some flexible concepts like "reasonable accommodations," rigid standards will limit the promise of ADA.

In June an even more disturbing bill was introduced by the Republican congressman from Oklahoma City, Mickey Edwards. First elected in 1976, he quickly made a name for himself as a leader in the ideological right and has served as chair of the American Conservative Union. Currently the chair of

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the Republican Policy Committee, he is the fourth highest ranking Republican in the House. Obviously a man with considerable power and influence, his bill would repeal ADA. Such drastic action is "justified" on the basis of his constituency's fear that the financial burdens of implementation of the ADA will bankrupt Oklahoma City business!

Some of the more mean spirited speeches at the Republican Convention left little doubt the far right has staked out a large plot of influence under the idealistically inclusive "Big Tent." How effective will they be in moving our friends in the Republican Party away from their previous commitments to the disability community? How successful will they be in moving the Party further away from supporting current federal regulations? These matters have a tremendous potential impact upon ADA protections.

We must recognize that the enemies of ADA are still out there, gathering their forces and preaching their message that the feared costs of equity are too terrible to justify the yet unseen benefits of civil rights. We then face a political/policy dilemma. If our civil rights laws are to be sustained and improved, those political forces which have befriended us must be reassured and defended against those who would attack them for their support of our issues.

As if this were not enough to debate and worry about, in the August 9th issue of "The Washington Post" and other national newspapers, under the title of "Dousing A Point of Light," Kevin W. Concannon suggested some of us with disabilities had done a terrible thing in opposing the Oregon application to "reform" medical services. Many within the disability rights movement have opposed that Medicaid Waiver. Touted as a "rational" method to deal with the escalating costs of medical care, it would have provided a listing of those medical conditions which would be appropriate and have blocked others from funding. Of course, there were some good features but a major difficulty was that it would have begun a dangerous process of institutionalizing and legalizing the concept that some of us are "more eligible" and others of us

are "less eligible" for essential medical services. Those with severe or unusual disabilities would have been placed in ever increasing jeopardy. The Oregon Waiver would have established the principal that there are two classes of poor people - the "treatables" and the "throw aways." Most of us know where we might fall in such an evaluation.

Obviously a credentialed and respected public policy analyst, Concannon suggested the Bush administration's decision not to allow this rationing mechanism was based upon politics, not policy, and that the disabled community was misled in their opposition to such a neat plan.

There is no way to determine who among us may play a more vital role within our families and communities. Readers of these columns know my views on the power and necessity of human vulnerability in building stronger communities and family connections. Personally, I am opposed to any attempt to judge anyone as more eligible than any other individual for any rehabilitation or other services. But still some complain, "So you don't like this plan. How would you make the decision when funding is limited?" And my reply is ready: A lottery!

Wait before you laugh. Such a plan would reinforce the reality of life. Each day is full of happenstance and there is no way to weigh one person's potential value against another. And as long as a society "thinks" it has a trustworthy formulae for calculating such a difference in merit, it is in moral jeopardy and may rest content with the decisions of those who declare themselves experts.

The lottery of life makes it a glorious gamble. Every time we get on an airplane or make love or drive a car down the Beltway or cross the street we are at risk. We need to remember that life is fragile and we are all in the same kettle. Society, like stew, is most savory when variety and the happenstance of the scoop are maintained. And it might bring to the controversy of medical costs a little more creative examination.

Years ago I suggested we simply reunite the U.S. Departments of Educa-

tion and Health and Human Services and then switch names between that new agency and the Department of Defense. Surely a healthy, productive and well educated citizenry is the major source of national defense. We would put international strength slightly behind the basic needs of those who live within our boundaries.

I found in Concannon's editorial an angry finger pointed at the newly gained sense of self determination which many of the 43 million Americans with disabilities are just gaining. But it also points out a new and evolving reality: If we are going to play in the national game of politics, we have to become sophisticated and articulate our policy issues clearly and graphically. And we have to insist that our issues be covered with a level of knowledge and sensitivity which has rarely been shown by the media or the policy experts.

At base, our major problem is in illustrating that each human life holds potential value. When we buy into the

idea that one person with a less limiting impairment is more valuable than another, we have started nibbling away at the moral platform upon which our movement is based. Both the African American and women's movements have had to learn that its not just the elite who must be integrated - it must be all. As long as one woman is treated in a disrespectful way and her value is diminished by her community, all women must fear the misstep which may move them over the edge into denigration. Each time the African American community's advance toward equity of opportunity is measured only by the graduates of Harvard and not in terms of a dirt farmer's son in Alabama, the battle for equity has not been won. And as long as any of our companions in disability are viewed as not as good as "us," we have given away the moral power which could protect us when our strength fails and we too need help.

Keep on keeping on - And I'll see ya "On The Scene."

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QUAYLE**

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ALBANY DISCOVERY REACTION THE GREAT SOUTHERN COALITION

The Albany Discovery Reaction, a coalition of environmental groups, has announced the formation of the Great Southern Coalition, a new organization dedicated to protecting the environment in the Southeastern United States. The coalition was formed in response to the discovery of a large oil field in the region, which has sparked controversy over the potential impact on the environment and local communities.

The coalition is led by Tony Mitchell, executive director of the Albany Discovery Reaction. Mitchell stated that the coalition's primary goal is to ensure that the development of the oil field is done in a responsible and sustainable manner, taking into account the needs of the environment and the local community. The coalition will be working closely with the federal government and state agencies to monitor the development and ensure that all necessary environmental safeguards are in place.

The coalition is also planning to hold a series of public hearings and meetings in the region to gather input from local residents and stakeholders. Mitchell emphasized that the coalition is committed to transparency and open communication throughout the entire process.

The coalition's formation is a significant step in the fight to protect the environment in the Southeastern United States. It represents a united front of environmental groups and local residents who are determined to ensure that the development of the oil field is done in a responsible and sustainable manner.

The coalition is currently seeking additional members and supporters. Anyone interested in joining the coalition or learning more about its activities should contact Tony Mitchell at 202/336-7099.

For more information, visit the coalition's website at www.greatsoutherncoalition.org.

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The following is recommended as an Op-Ed piece:

PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH: CHAMPION FOR
AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES

by Michael Marge
Syracuse University

During his terms as Vice President from 1984-88 and President from 1989 to present, George Bush has been an ardent supporter of programs and services for persons with disabilities. His theme has always been to provide opportunities so that persons with disabilities may realize a full measure of social, personal, and economic independence. Although he is best known for his support of the AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES ACT (ADA), President Bush has accumulated an impressive record of accomplishments in many other areas of disability.

In 1986, the National Council on Disability, the top Federal committee on disability policy whose members are appointed by the President and confirmed by the United States Senate, published a report to the President and the Congress entitled, "Toward Independence, An Assessment of Federal Laws and Programs Affecting Persons with Disabilities--With Legislative Recommendations." The Report was based on thousands of interviews and discussions with persons with disabilities and their advocates from all sections of the United States. Also, a number of studies about the social, personal and economic needs of Americans with disabilities were consulted in the development of the Report. The recommendations for improved programs and services for children and adults with disabilities covered the

following topics: (1) Equal Opportunity Laws, (2) Employment, (3) Disincentives to Work Under Social Security Laws, (4) Prevention of Disabilities, (5) Transportation, (6) Housing, (7) Community-based Services for Independent Living, (8) Educating Children with Disabilities, (9) Personal Assistance--Attendant Services, Readers, and Interpreters, and (10) Coordination of Federal Programs Concerning Disability Policies and Programs. After presenting this Report to the White House, it was then Vice President Bush who worked closely with the National Council in implementing the recommendations. And when he was elected President, he continued his steadfast and dedicated commitment to the goals and objectives spelled out in the Report, "Toward Independence." Let us review the record of accomplishments in each of the recommendations of the Report.

The recommendations for Equal Opportunity Laws, Employment, and Transportation urged that the President and the Congress enact legislation which guarantees the civil rights, create opportunities for employment and improves transportation for persons with disabilities. This led to the creation of the AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES ACT. The first draft was submitted to the White House for review in 1987. It was expanded and submitted to the Congress in 1988 for review and discussion. After hearings and negotiations, it was signed into law by President George Bush in July 1990. It is landmark legislation

which eliminates discrimination based on disability and assures accessibility to opportunities for persons with disabilities in jobs, public services, transportation, and telecommunications. As Vice President and then President, George Bush supported this effort from its inception. But although he is known for his support of the ADA, as we have said earlier he has supported many other initiatives of substance and significance.

It has been known for years that the majority of persons with disabilities who were on welfare wished to work but discouraged by the provisions of the Social Security Laws. If a person with a disability decided to take an entry level position, he or she would lose their benefits, including health coverage under Medicaid. If they lost their entry level job, it would take months, and in some instances, years to recover their status on welfare and its benefits. As a result, many persons with severe disabilities were discouraged from seeking employment. President Bush and his associates worked with the Social Security Administration and the Congress in changing the laws and regulations so that a person with a disability may seek employment without facing the penalty of losing all benefits for a long period of time in the event they are unsuccessful in employment. Disincentives to work under Social Security were removed and incentives for employment and personal and economic independence were introduced. The good work of Social Security

Commissioner Gwendolyn King, a minority woman appointee of President Bush, must be acknowledged in working out this initiative to bring persons with disabilities into the work force and off the welfare roles.

Another landmark in his support of persons with disabilities and Americans in general, is the President's support of the National Program to Prevent Primary and Secondary Disabilities. In 1988, this Program was launched by the U. S. Public Health Service Centers for Disease Control to institute programs in each state and in each community to prevent disabilities in the general population and to prevent additional complications or conditions in persons who are already disabled. Currently 22 states are supported, including New York State which has received funding from this Program since its inception. Syracuse and Onondaga County are benefitting from this Program with grants to prevent head and spinal cord injuries in school age children and the long term disabling effects of cerebral palsy.

In the area of housing, President Bush's Administration has introduced improved regulations in making housing available and accessible to persons with disabilities. President Bush's Secretary of Housing, Jack Kemp, has been a leader in protecting the rights of persons with disabilities, including accessibility to housing.

Centers for Independent Living have become a major force in

our communities to implement many programs and services on behalf of persons with disabilities. President Bush and his Administration have continued to increase support for these centers because he believes that the action takes place, not in Washington, DC, but at the community level. Our independent living center in Onondaga County, ARISE, has greatly benefitted from the efforts of the President to support these enterprises.

Children with disabilities have been a considerable concern to the President as evidenced by his support of increased budgets for Special Education Programs within the Department of Education and his massive increase to Head Start which is required to incorporate at least 10% of children with disabilities into its programs. Both the President and the First Lady, Barbara Bush, have repeated their commitment to special education and have demonstrated that commitment with Federal support in funding and humanpower.

During the past year, the Bush Administration has been formulating legislation which provides support for personal assistance to persons with disabilities. Individuals whose disabilities require a full-time or part-time attendant to assist in some activities of daily living or employment would be covered by the provisions of the proposed legislation. These services include a personal attendant for an individual with a severe physical disability affecting body, arm, leg and hand movements,

a reader for a person with a vision disorder, and an interpreter who uses sign language and lip reading for a person with a hearing disorder. Under the Rehabilitation Act and the Americans with Disabilities Act, accommodations for persons with disabilities include personal assistance. But the new legislation being contemplated would support programs of personal services for those who are in great need for assistance whether they work or not.

This impressive record of support for improving opportunities and the quality of their lives for persons with disabilities must be communicated to the American public. It is a testament to President Bush's capability of implementing his long-standing commitment to a population of Americans who have been ignored, dismissed and discriminated against. With this substantial record, the lives of the estimated 43 million Americans with disabilities are better protected and their opportunities for independence have rapidly increased.

At a time, when Americans are rightfully anxious about the economy and jobs, we should not ignore other significant issues which need our attention. The issue of eliminating discrimination against 17% of our population and improving the quality of their lives, is of paramount importance not only to the 43 million persons with disabilities but also to an estimated 100 million members of their families.

It is this record and my personal acquaintance with George Bush which compels me to support his reelection as President. Besides his follow-through on his commitment to persons with disabilities, he is compassionate, thoughtful, honest and trustworthy, highly intelligent, and most of all, experienced to handle the difficult years ahead for our Nation.

Dr. Michael Marge, Professor of Special Education and Rehabilitation, Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY, served as a Member of the National Council from 1982 - 1987, and continued as a professional consultant to the National Council until 1991. He was appointed by H. Douglas Barclay (who is Chair of the New York State Bush-Quayle 92 Victory Campaign) as Chair, New York State Bush-Quayle 92 Coalition for Americans with Disabilities. He also serves as a Member of the Bush-Quayle 92 Advisory Committee, Washington, DC. He has been a resident of DeWitt, New York, since 1974.

FAAX

BUSH
☆☆☆
QUAYE



NEW YORK TIMES

Phone: 202-338-7900

FAX: 202-336-7954

Date:

Top

FEBRUARY

4000

Fax Number:

Telephonia

Comments:

Wanda / My Mom, to her that sends
her love & reminds her of her absent
elephant. Love to me

1891

Richard

OWS

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

[illegible]

1432 14th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036

Page 1 of 100 On 12/20/2016 at 02:13:42 PM (UTC)

Bush Library Photocopy Preservation

Archivist note: Best copy available

TO: Shiree Sanchez
Jeanne Ruane

FROM: Cris Talent

DATE: September 18, 1992

RE: Telephone Conversation this afternoon and requested fax

The meeting to approximately 2200 disability community leaders will consist of the attached Bush Agenda for Americans with Disabilities, Bush's statement of support and press release announcing the coalition and the National Leadership Council.

Enclosed are copies of two memos dealing with relevant issues that provide background information and that also need to be addressed.

Your assistance is requested on the following:

Copy of a letter sent to Mr. Teeter from ADAPE for which we are researching a reply.

The advisors and Leadership Council members of the Coalition have recommended POTUS, VPOTUS, Mrs. Bush, Mrs. Quayle and surrogates mention the disabled in their remarks, especially in the context of empowerment, jobs and equality. (Clinton keeps making paternalistic remarks)

The one thing that is needed most is for the President to do one event in which the disabled are the focus. One recommendation has been to show implementation of the ADA and business in a harmonious success story environment. The Southwestern Bell telephone company in St. Louis has been suggested by Mr. Dart.

POTUS needs to reaffirm his support for the ADA as well as other surrogates.

The community wants to know what is the next step after the ADA. They are concerned that the Act will not be implemented and that the Administration is not providing enough support to the ADA.

Other recommendations are to establish a Department of Disability and to create a national council for the hearing impaired to provide a federal center for research, information, training, speeches, accessibility of community buildings, civil rights, social life and employment.

The ADA is really a product of Presidential leadership - taking on a difficult and powerful set of interests entrenched on Capitol Hill. It is an issue of Presidential follow-through - a promise made and a promise kept.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

- o The President should articulate these points in speeches that have workforce or empowerment themes. He can also mention ADA in his media interviews.
- o Schedule a Presidential event to highlight a company that has successfully, and at low cost implemented ADA requirements or integrated disabled employees into their workforce (The month of October is National Disability Employment Awareness Month, 1992). Visuals would greatly enhance our message.

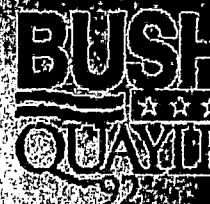
Ensure that the campaign prepares talking points for use by surrogates.

Encourage Mrs. Bush's participation with events, highlighting disability issues.

Don Bob Zollick
Margaret Tutwiler

BACKGROUND

Issues Office



September 17, 1992

PRESIDENT BUSH'S AGENDA FOR AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES

The Bush Administration is firmly committed to empowering people with disabilities in all aspects of their lives. Two years ago, President Bush kept his promise to the disability community when he supported, signed and implemented the Americans With Disabilities Act (ADA), the first comprehensive civil rights law for people with disabilities by any nation. He has appointed, and will continue to appoint, people with disabilities to high-level positions in his Administration. In his next term, President Bush will expand his commitment to make every aspect of our society accessible to people with disabilities and to ensure that they have the opportunity to participate fully in the mainstream of society.

Americans With Disabilities Act:

- o The President will continue to work with the disability community, business, and government at all levels for the full and harmonious implementation of the ADA with minimal litigation, expense, and intrusive regulation, and maximal benefit to Americans with disabilities according to the 1990 schedules and regulations.

Education:

- o In the first term, the President signed the Individuals With Disabilities Education Act Amendments of 1991, strengthening the law that ensures all children with disabilities a free, appropriate education designed to meet their unique needs. The President's America 2000 education strategy will create new opportunities for children and adults with disabilities to learn in the mainstream of society.

Employment:

- o Employment of people with disabilities is among the President's highest priorities for the nation. He has recommended a \$22 million increase in the budget of the EEOC to enforce the ADA, and has ordered all federal agencies to be models of employment for people with disabilities.

Empowerment:

- o The President will continue to empower and support leadership in the disability community by appointing them to cabinet-level positions within his Administration, and within state and local agencies.

Family Support:

- o The President will continue his efforts to restore and double the size of the tax credit for adoption of children with special needs.

Health Care:

- o The President strongly supports full access to health care for all people with disabilities, with coverage for preexisting conditions and no barriers to employment or to changing employment.

Personal Assistance:

- o The President strongly supports measures that will enable people with disabilities to move out of institutions, to live in their homes and to work. The Department of HHS has established an interagency working group on personal assistance services.

Social Security Disability:

- o The President is committed to removing all remaining disincentives and barriers to work for people with disabilities under the Social Security Disability Insurance and Supplemental Security Income programs.

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BRIEFING PAPER

September 20, 1992

Issue 001/92

PRESIDENT BUSH MEETING THE NEEDS OF AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES

"I am going to do whatever it takes to make sure the disabled are included in the mainstream, not too long they've been left out. But they're not going to be left out anymore."

"The Americans with Disabilities Act will ensure that Americans with disabilities are given the same opportunities and that they have worked so long and so hard. Independence, freedom of choice, control of their lives, the opportunity to move fully and equally into the rich mosaic of the American mainstream."

President George Bush
July 26, 1990

Summary: Empowering Disabled Americans, Enriching America

President Bush has long recognized that Americans with disabilities constitute a rich, yet too often untapped, national resource. He believes that each American should have an equal opportunity to be a fully participating member of the center of society.

President Bush has also recognized that Americans with disabilities are often the most vulnerable to discrimination. He has taken steps to ensure that Americans with disabilities are not discriminated against in the workplace, in public accommodations and in the private sector.

President Bush is firmly committed to enforcing the ADA and other disability laws, and to employing qualified people with disabilities in the federal government.

The Bush Administration has developed programs and policies that promote independence and productive involvement of people with disabilities in education, housing and health care.

Civil Rights -- The ADA

The ADA provides to persons with disabilities:

- Protection from discrimination by employers covered by the Act;
- Access to public accommodations such as restaurants, hotels, shopping centers and offices;
- Expanded access to transportation services;
- Equivalent telephone services for people with speech or hearing impediments.

The ADA got its start with the 1986 Report of the National Council on Disability. In the report, "Toward Independence," the Council proposed broad legislation to expand federal civil rights laws to include Americans with disabilities. Then, President Bush accepted the Report on behalf of the Reagan Administration.

During the 1988 Presidential campaign, then Vice-President Bush endorsed the need for legislation to extend to people with disabilities the same basic opportunity rights that are afforded to women and minorities.

Employment

The ADA prohibits discrimination against qualified people with disabilities who seek employment, and requires employers to provide accommodations for qualified applicants or employees when it would cause undue hardship.

The Rehabilitation Act of 1973 requires federal agencies to provide rehabilitation counseling to help people with disabilities prepare for, obtain, and advance in employment.

The General Services Administration (GSA) helps the employing agency identify appropriate electronic equipment to aid disabled federal employees. For example, talking and Braille computers are available to visually impaired workers.

Women with Disabilities

In recent years, more women with work disabilities have joined the labor force, rising from 23.5 percent in 1981 to 27 percent in 1988. Women with work disabilities are increasingly likely to be employed full-time. The ADA protects these women against discrimination and assures improved access to public accommodations, transportation, telecommunications, and government services.

To ease the personal isolation of young women with disabilities and to help them achieve self-sufficiency, innovative programs like the Networking Project for Disabled Women and Girls, which was recently initiated in Philadelphia, bring physically disabled girls together with disabled women who are active in a broad range of careers.

Children and Education

In 1993, President Bush signed the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) Amendments, strengthening laws ensuring that all children with disabilities have a free, appropriate public education designed to meet their unique needs. For FY 1993, the President's budget proposes \$2.1 billion for Part B of the Individuals with Disabilities Act, which includes the Grants to States program supplementing the education of 4.6 million children.

IDEA also supports State efforts to coordinate comprehensive interagency programs of early intervention services for children up to two years of age who have disabilities or are at risk of having developmental delays. The President's FY 1993 budget proposes \$187 million for the infants and toddlers program and these grants help states coordinate activities with other federal programs, including Medicaid, that provide services.

Under IDEA, states would receive \$300 million for autism services to an estimated 250,000 children.

Working for all children with disabilities, the President's FY 1993 budget proposes \$100 million for research and development.

Public Accommodations, Government Services, Transportation, and Telecommunications

The ADA requires access to a broad range of places or public accommodations, state and local government services, and private modes of transportation and telecommunications systems.

In the FY 1993 budget, President Bush ensured that funds would be available to meet ADA enforcement needs, including hiring of additional Justice Department and Labor Department Community Commission employees.

This budget request increases a \$2.5 billion increase in the EEOC budget, and the creation of an ADA technical assistance fund to provide technical assistance in complying with the ADA.

The ADA requires every public entity which operates a fixed route bus system to purchase only new buses or rail vehicles that are readily accessible to and usable by individuals with disabilities.

Inter-city and commuter rail will be required within five years to provide at least one passenger car per train that is readily accessible to individuals with disabilities. Train stations are to be made accessible within 18 months. With the requirement for commuter, rapid, and light rail limited to 18 months.

The ADA requires closed captioning of public service announcements produced or funded by the Federal government.

Telephone companies must provide, to the extent technically feasible, allowing hearing or voice-impaired individuals place and receive calls from ordinary telephone numbers.

Housing

In 1988, the President signed into law the Fair Housing Amendments Act which prohibits discrimination in housing.

It requires owners of buildings with four or more units to make reasonable accommodations for persons with disabilities.

Health Care

There is a great deal of concern in the Department, which is the
the only one of its kind in the world, to the fact that the
the situation, and the Department would consider the possibility
of it. Many people are directed to the Department
of it. The Department is the only one of its kind in the world.

The U.S. Health Service, Department of Health and Human Services, National Institute for Medical Rehabilitation Research, National Institutes of Health, the New Center for Conductive Education Research on the Motor Core and Sensory Systems

Family Support

1. The proposed project is to develop a new type of...

1. In 1941, the United States entered the Second World War. This led to a massive mobilization of resources and a shift in national priorities. The government implemented various measures to support the war effort, including rationing, conscription, and the relocation of Japanese-Americans. The war also led to the development of nuclear energy and the space program.

SECRET

1. The Veterans' Administration is a part of the Department of Health and Human Services. It is a Federal agency that provides benefits to eligible veterans and their families. The Department of Health and Human Services is a Cabinet department of the United States government. It is responsible for the health and human services of the United States. The Department of Health and Human Services is the largest of the executive departments. It is responsible for the health and human services of the United States. The Department of Health and Human Services is the largest of the executive departments. It is responsible for the health and human services of the United States.

1. The first step in the process of identifying a problem is to recognize that a problem exists. This is often done by comparing current performance with a desired state or goal. If there is a significant difference, a problem is identified.

President Bush Budget 12-2-2001
 To: Linda Comberston, Chairman, Council
 12-2-2001

occasions and burden of the
 expenditure, in 1950, and so
 incurred in or subject to the



Republican National Committee

Richard N. Bond
Chairman

September 8, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR REPUBLICAN LEADERS

FROM: RICH BOND

SUBJECT: The heat is on

Our two weeks in Houston last month provided the party and campaigns throughout the country with a momentum and spirit that we must maintain and strengthen. I want to share some key items with you that will give us some fuel to keep the fire burning brightly:

- This week, the Clinton campaign conceded that President Bush is accurate in his claim that Bill Clinton has raised taxes and user fees 128 times as governor of Arkansas. Don't shy away from this argument or the bottom-line point of it: Bill Clinton is a tax-raiser by instinct.

Since the platform meetings convened on Aug. 10, Michael Kinsley has tried twice to poke holes in our claim and George Will has also attempted to nit-pick it. I've enclosed their opinion pieces for your review, and my response to their weak charges by way of an op ed piece in the Sept. 5 edition of *The Washington Post*. Also included is the list of 128 individual increases and talking points that underscore the integrity and veracity of the list.

- The Clinton campaign has released a new TV ad, and predictably, its claims are distorted. Enclosed in the packet is an analysis of the message, and the untold facts that tell the true story.
- The cover story from the August edition of *American Spectator* magazine, entitled "The Lady Macbeth of Little Rock," by Daniel Wattenberg.



- The Aug. 31 edition of the *New Republic* included a very thoughtful piece by Richard Vigilante about the President's accomplishments in his first term, and his abilities as a leader. "The Case for Bush" should be required reading for anyone who believes in the campaign to re-elect George Bush.
- We are very fortunate to have the talents of Sam Skinner as our general chairman, and his travel schedule this fall will be rigorous. I have enclosed his biography for your information.

Keep the flame high -- and we'll send as much kindling as we can to fuel it between now and Election Day.

Michael Kinsley

Anatomy of a Smear

How many times did Clinton—and Bush—raise taxes?

■ [Massachusetts Gov. William] Weld repeatedly referred to the 43 tax increases Clinton signed during 11 years as governor.

—USA Today

■ Bill Clinton as governor of Arkansas raised taxes something like 128 different times.

—Dan Quayle

■ Well, take taxes. We're mad at George Bush because he raised taxes once. Bill Clinton has signed 121 tax increases. A hundred and twenty-one!

—Rep. Newt Gingrich

Like Joe McCarthy counting communists in the State Department, Republicans have had a hard time deciding exactly how many tax increases to accuse Bill Clinton of. They have settled on the number 128, and the Bush-Quayle campaign has issued a list.

The exact number of tax increases in Arkansas while Clinton was governor is a meaningless question in any event, but the Republicans obviously think it's a telling point. As McCarthy understood, a number lends phony precision that gives weight to the general indictment—in this case, that Clinton is a "tax raiser." So the accuracy of the number is important, not for what it says about Clinton but for what it says about Bush. Bush has decided to campaign on the theme of "trust." Bear with me while we analyze the "128 tax increases," and see if you can trust George Bush.

The Bush-Quayle list is hilariously shoddy. My favorite items are three (numbers 31, 86 and 91), which aren't items at all. They are just places where the description of an alleged tax increase took more than one line. Similarly, number 78 is a verbatim repetition of number 74 (a 25-cent tax increase per gallon on "light wine"). "Tax increase" number 92 is a \$1 per-conviction court costs fee imposed on criminals. One dollar, and the Bushies are complaining! These people are supposed to be tough on crime?

Item number 46 is a 1987 law lengthening the season for dog racing. This is apparently a "tax increase" on the theory that a longer season increases state gambling tax revenues. Other supposed tax increases either never actually took effect (number 71) or replaced another tax of equal size (number 117). A fuel tax increase is counted as two because it applies to both gasoline and diesel. A general booze tax increase weighs in at five if you count such categories as wine coolers separately—as they do.

Dick Alexander, an Arkansas law professor working for the Clinton campaign, figures a true count would be 55 or 59 increases in various tax-

es and fees while Clinton was governor, depending on how you figure. He even includes 10 the Republicans somehow overlooked.

But in the real world, as opposed to Republican propaganda fantasies, taxes go down, too. Alexander has produced a list of 48 tax cuts during Clinton's governorship. These include such George Bush favorites as tax breaks for enterprise zones and capital gains. They also include a general cut last year that reduced or eliminated income taxes on 374,000 low-income Arkansas citizens. Since seven of Clinton's 55 (or 59) tax increases have expired or been repealed, the actual number of tax "increases" and the number of tax "cuts" are about equal. If you care.

Arkansas is a very low-tax state. It ranks 49th in per capita state and local taxes and 50th in per capita expenditures. Even measuring taxes as a share of personal income, Arkansas ranks 47th.

A "Factsheet" put out by the Bush-Quayle committee augments the "128 tax increases" canard with the assertion that: "Taxes are \$397.1 million higher on an annual basis than when Clinton took office." This figure reflects inflation and growth as well as real tax increases. By the same moronic calculus, federal taxes are \$476.4 billion higher than when Ronald Reagan and George Bush took office.

In fact, the absurdity of this whole count-the-taxes exercise is illustrated by applying it to George Bush's tenure as president. Just one tax

increase? Forget it. The notorious 1990 tax increase was 73 separate increases. And Bush signed tax bills in 1989 and 1991 as well, each one with multiple provisions. Who can forget his decision in 1989 to "limit nonrecognition treatment when securities are received in certain Section 351 transactions"? That one was a \$1.4 billion tax increase over five years.

There have been dozens of federal excise tax increases during Bush's reign. For example, in 1990 he imposed a two-stage tax increase on both small and large cigars—distinct categories in the statute. By the Bush-Quayle rules, that counts as four separate tax increases.

Overall, by my count using his rules, Bush has raised taxes 133 times—more often in just four years than Clinton did in 11. And that doesn't even include increased fees for government services such as National Parks. Nor does it include criminal fines.

Every day the Bush-Quayle machine puts out stuff like this malarkey about "128 tax increases," and every day Republican sound-bite artists fan out to spread the word. The Clinton-Gore machine is no less efficient, but I believe it is less dishonest. If anyone has a counterexample, I would like to hear of it. Meanwhile, when Bush talks of "trust," I am reminded of Reagan's old mantra about negotiating arms control with the Soviets: "Trust, but verify."

George F. Will

Serious People Flinch ...

When George Bush's campaign slithered through Georgia, Rep. Newt Gingrich rose to the challenge of lowering still further the tone of it. Gingrich, whose high rank in the Republican leadership is the only good reason for hoping Democratic control of the House continues, told a Bush rally that Woody Allen is "a perfect model of Bill Clinton Democratic values" and that "Woody Allen having non-incest with a non-daughter to whom he was a non-father because they were a non-family fits the Democratic platform perfectly."

That would cost Gingrich his reputation for seriousness if he still had one, and it illustrates how cynicism at the top of the Republican ticket pervades the entire party. Gingrich did not, in any meaningful sense, mean what he said. He was just emitting the sort of noise that characterizes what Bush calls his campaign about "trust."

Gingrich's synthetic sincerity was further displayed as he hyperventilated about Clinton's joking remark, months ago, that maybe he should have inhaled that marijuana (thereby escaping the ridicule his "I didn't inhale" has evoked). Gingrich calls Clinton's remark "the single most destructive action by a politician in my lifetime." Gingrich's lifetime began in 1943. Make your own list of the evils Gingrich considers less significant.

After Gingrich regaled the crowd with his Woody Allen japes, a Bush aide said, "The president does not want to make Woody Allen an issue." There they go again, dancing the Bush Two-Step. The campaign always disassociates itself from the stream of dishonesty that is steady.

Nothing new here. In 1988, when Bush's Iowa campaign smeared Elizabeth Dole, Robert Dole asked Bush, on the Senate floor, if Bush had authorized it. Said Bush: Maybe I did and maybe I didn't. That is how Bush's various

campaigns have talked to the nation: down. Read my curled lip.

On television last Sunday Robert Teeter, Bush campaign co-chair, was asked about the constant attacks on Hillary Clinton at the Republican Convention. Teeter, two-stepping, said, "I personally don't think Hillary Clinton is much of—part of an issue of this campaign, and I've said that a number of times." And no doubt will have occasions to say it, piously, an additional number of times before November.

Can't Bush's people be honest about anything? Mrs. Clinton is an issue and should be. She is an experienced, outspoken advocate about various causes and she probably would influence the tone and direction of a Clinton administration.

The problem is not that the Bush campaign obviously thinks she is an issue, but that the campaign is so mendacious when portraying what she has written. (A bulletin: She does not think 12-year-olds should be able to sue parents if asked to take out the garbage.) Peter Hart, the Democratic consultant, says this is Republican strategy: Instead of running Bush-Quayle against Clinton-Gore, Republicans want to eclipse their least popular and the Democrats' most popular candidate, running George and Barbara against Bill and Hillary.

Mrs. Clinton is being "borked." The verb "to bork" means to lie about the writings of a public

figure. There is rough justice in what she is undergoing. Lots of her friends participated in the borking of Robert Bork, and she no doubt enjoyed it. Still, Bush campaigners are lying about her record.

Soon Bill Clinton will have to say to Bush what Dole publicly said to Bush in 1988: "Stop lying about my record." Bush says Clinton has raised taxes 128 times. Bush says this even though columnist Michael Kinsley has demonstrated that the list of "tax increases" is a tissue of falsehoods. (Some taxes are counted several times; components of a tax are counted as separate taxes; minor fees, such as the \$1 court cost imposed on convicted criminals, are counted as taxes.) By the tendentious criteria used by the Bush campaign, Bush has raised taxes more often in four years than Clinton has in 12.

So, what does Teeter say of the 128 number? "We're not going to quit saying it about Mr. Clinton."

Bush operatives constantly whine about the media but Bush is benefiting from the mock sophistication of journalists who, striking a world-weary stance, say of his campaign dishonesty, "It was ever thus in American politics." Even if that were true, it would be no excuse, and it isn't true. This is extraordinary.

Today honorable conservatives feel the sort of fury felt by honorable conservatives 40 years ago when Joe McCarthy was giving anti-communism a bad name. There is a strong case to be made against Clinton concerning school choice, term limits, protectionism, automobile fuel efficiency standards, his ties to trial lawyers, his running mate's environmental hysteria and much more. But serious people flinch from being associated with the intellectual slum that is the Bush campaign, with its riffraff of liars and aspiring ayatollahs.

Bush calls his campaign "a crusade to bring back values." His campaign is powerful evidence of the need for such a crusade.

128 Skidoo

*A phony number
and George Bush's
bottomless cynicism*

"Who do you trust in this election? The candidate who raised taxes one time . . . or the other candidate who raised taxes and fees 128 times. . . ?"

—George Bush

"How can I help seeing what is in front of my eyes? Two and two are four." Sometimes, Winston. Sometimes they are five. Sometimes they are three. Sometimes they are all of them at once."

—George Orwell, "1984".

All politicians lie. Bill Clinton, in my view, has at least shaded the truth about the draft and about Gennifer Flowers. But George Bush's acceptance speech line about the 128 tax increases is a lie of gemlike purity and distilled cynicism. It was false, he (or his speechwriters) knew it was false and knew it was widely known to be false, and he said it anyway.

In 1988 Michael Dukakis said the election was about competence, not ideology, then ran an incompetent campaign. In 1992 George Bush says the election is about "trust" and "character" (as opposed to, say, the economy), then neatly demonstrates his defects in exactly those departments. In doing so, he revealed not just his contempt for the truth, but his contempt for the American political process and his fellow citizens as well. We shall find out if that contempt is deserved.

The week before Bush's speech, when the 128-to-one canard was already circulating among Republican soundbiters—I wrote a column establishing beyond all honest doubt that both numbers are wildly inaccurate. There's room for quibbles about the exact tally, but however you measure it, Bush has presided over more separate tax increases in his four years as president than Clinton has in his 12 years as governor.

I do not flatter myself that the president of the United States reads my column. But I do know that the people who prepared Bush's speech had read it, because they cited the column in a supporting document released with the speech text. This document asserts—as if a sufficient refutation—that the piece was "written by liberal columnist Michael Kinsley, and his research assistant, a Clinton campaign volunteer. 'Research assistant'? It's true that I contacted (and quoted) the Clinton campaign. I also got 'research assistance' from the Bush campaign. In the journalism business, we call this 'reporting.'"

No "research assistance" was necessary to see that the list of 128 alleged Clinton tax increases circulated by the Bush-Quayle people is a joke. A glance does it. To take the most egregious cases, three of the numbers on the list have no words attached to them at all. Another item is a verbatim repetition of a previous item.

Maybe Bush didn't know when he spoke the words that they had been publicly established as untrue. But he knows now. What did he do when he found out? Did he perchance think, "What would my idol, Harry Truman, have done?" Did he call someone on the carpet and say, "How dare you put lies in my mouth?" Apparently not, because the Bushies are still, incredibly, claiming that the statement was accurate. "We stand by the figure 128," said White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater more than a week after Bush's speech.

The Bush campaign has circulated a four-page memo rebutting my previous column. It is headlined: "Clinton's 128 Taxes and Fees: Undeniable." It asserts that "every single substantive charge Michael Kinsley has leveled against the tax and fee list . . . is false or grossly misleading. The list is solid."

But in fact the memo does not defend—how could it?—the three totally nonexistent items. Nor does it challenge my count—133—of Bush's own tax increases. It engages in scholastic quibbles about some—but not all—other items I questioned, and I could quibble back. It refuses to back down from the preposterous claim that an extension of dog-racing season was a "tax increase." It dismisses a counter-list of 40-odd Clinton tax cuts on the odd grounds that most of them "apply exclusively to businesses," as if that doesn't count and as if Bush objects to business tax cuts.

This memo can't be intended seriously to persuade anyone. The Bush campaign's purpose is merely to create the impression that there is some honest controversy—which there isn't—about the truth of Bush's original sally. In this, the Bush people have taken cynical advantage of certain conventions of the press.

Journalists have actually done a good job of noting that the 128-taxes figure has been challenged, but they are hampered by a reluctance to say flat-out that the president is a liar. The New York Times did say the figure is "false, based on trickery." But more common are such descriptions as "exaggerated" (Washington Post), "highly misleading" (Wall Street Journal—which itself exposed the fraud early on), and "at best a distortion of Clinton's record" (Boston Globe).

Keep the phony dispute going and eventually the press throws up its hands and declares wearily that both sides have called the other one dishonest for long enough and it's time to move on. This has now happened. Meanwhile, voters who haven't followed the issue with my own neurotic obsession are left with the vague impression that Clinton has raised a lot of taxes and who cares exactly how many.

This is not about taxes. It is about, as Bush says, character and trust. If Bush would knowingly tell an established falsehood in one of the most important and widely watched addresses of his life—and stick by it afterward—what wouldn't he say? Honesty rarely counts for enough with any politician, but with George Bush it apparently counts for nothing.

Am I belaboring a rather small point? I don't think so. Some lies are complicated, like Bush's assertion in the same speech that Congress forced the 1990 tax increase on him. Some essentially dishonest statements are technically truthful, like his assertion that the Democratic platform doesn't contain the letters G-O-D. (It doesn't, but it does contain the letters F-A-I-T-H, referred to as one of "the basic values that built this country and will always make it great," and a similar passage in praise of R-E-L-I-G-I-O-U-S I-N-S-T-I-T-U-T-I-O-N-S.)

The 128-tax-increases-to-one lie may be a small lie as these things go, but it is crystal-clear. As such, it is a test of character not just for Bush but for those around him. There are decent people among the Bush campaign and Republican leadership, and others who wish to be thought of as decent. Do they care if the president lies? If they remain silent—or defend the lie—we'll have our answer.

128—We Stand By It

Let me repeat it one more time: As Arkansas' governor, Bill Clinton increased taxes and fees 128 times.

Despite the cacophony of protests from your paper ["The Actual Clinton Tax Record," editorial; "128 Skidoo," op-ed, Sept. 3], Bill Clinton is a tax raiser by instinct.

The list of tax and fee increases was recorded and documented by the Arkansas Bureau of Legislative Research. Yet your editorial said those in the Bush campaign "know they are making a fraudulent argument."

On the op-ed page Michael Kinsley takes an even more extreme position. He says that if we defend these figures, we are defending a lie.

Well I reject that proposition. In the first place, the Clinton campaign has already agreed with the number of tax increases listed. The Bush-Quayle campaign listed 58 Clinton tax increases. The Clinton campaign actually admits to 59—we're willing to defer to his number on that one.

Fees are not taxes, but to most Americans they have the same effect. Few people in Arkansas see a significant difference between Clinton's environmental

assurance fee on gasoline and his increase on sales tax. And since Clinton's 1979 fee hike of 30 percent on vehicle registration led directly to his defeat in 1980, Arkansans certainly considered it consequential.

Your editorial claims, "Arkansas was a low-tax state when Mr. Clinton was first elected governor in 1978 . . . and by most measures it still is." The only reason Arkansas' per capita revenues remain low is that after 12 years of Clinton's administration, the state continues to be among the poorest in the country. This is hardly a bragging point.

Your paper goes on to say that in taxes as a share of personal income, Arkansas ranks 46th. What a distortion! The ranking is for state and local taxes. State taxes, the only ones under Clinton's control, ranked 25th in 1990.

Your editorial also makes the false claim that "on several occasions [Clinton] has proposed that more of the burden be shifted onto income taxes and that those be made more progressive." This is one of the most blatantly misleading media assertions to have been made in this year's campaign. Here's why: Bill Clinton has vigorously opposed removal of one of

the most regressive of all taxes—state sales tax on groceries. He even taxed food stamps until the Reagan-Bush administration made him stop in 1987.

A 1988 study by the Citizens for Tax Justice found Arkansas among the 10 most regressive states with regard to sales taxes. Is it any wonder that Arkansas papers have said his "taxes were raised inhumanely" [Arkansas Gazette, March 31, 1991] and "reality is that in the Clinton era the state tax system has become more and more regressive . . . a pretty bad system, stacked against the ordinary taxpayer and consumer, stacked for the rich and the special interests" [Arkansas Gazette, March 4].

Since the state legislature is controlled overwhelmingly by his own party—the state assembly is 91 Democrats to nine Republicans—your paper, in accepting Clinton's claim that he has worked for a more progressive system, is, in Clinton's words, "not inhaling."

Your editorial goes from the untrue to the absurd when it asserts that Arkansas' gasoline tax is about the median. In 1990, before yet another Clinton gas tax hike in 1991, Arkansas ranked 15th worst in the nation in motor fuels taxes as a percentage of personal income.

Your editorial concludes with this rhetorical babble: "That's the record. It's better than ordinary, pretty progressive and represented a turnaround for a state that badly needed one. If anything, Gov. Clinton could be criticized more easily for having failed to raise taxes enough than for having raised them too much, since the state's need for public services remains acute."

I have already documented the erroneous idea that Bill Clinton in any way represents progressive tax reform. As to whether he has helped the state, let me cite a 1988 study by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, which found that "low income families face greater state and local tax burdens in Arkansas than in most other states. . . . Moreover, Arkansas' rank among the states is worsening."

The GOP is not distorting Clinton's record. The facts—accurately presented—will give pause to any thoughtful voter, or honest reporter:

—Richard Bond

The writer is chairman of the Republican National Committee.

Clinton Tax and Fee Increases

1979

1. Increased the vehicle registration fee by 30 percent
2. Imposed a new title transfer fee
3. Increased the motor fuels tax (gas tax)
4. Act 440 increased the motor vehicle trip permit fee by 30 percent
5. Act 870 established licensing fees to be administered by the Electrical Examining Board
6. Act 911 imposed fees for cigarettes and tobacco permits
7. Act 120 increased the inspection fee for all commercial feed stuffs
8. Act 942 raised various insurance license fees
9. Act 759 levied a tax on the extraction of sea water to make bromine
10. Act 113 set the permit fee to drill or plug an oil or gas well
11. Act 355 increased the assessment on soybeans

1983

12. Act 63 increased the state's compensating use tax from 3% to 4%
13. Act 63 increased the sales tax from 3% to 4%
14. Act 399 increased the cigarette tax to \$10.50 per \$1,000 cigarettes sold
15. Act 88 levies the sales tax upon the sale of computer software and upon the service, repairing, maintaining of computer equipment
16. Act 424 increased from 6% to 7% the amount "of all wagers" credited to the state
17. Act 863 increased the minimum corporate franchise tax from \$11 to \$17
18. Act 844 increased the tax on beer having an alcoholic content of more than 3.2% but not more than 5% by weight to \$8.85 per barrel of 32 gallons.
19. Act 844 increased the tax on spirituous liquor to \$2.87 1/2 on each gallon
20. Act 844 increased the Mixed Drinks supplemental tax to 12% and provided that wine shall not be defined as a Mixed Drink.
21. Act 160 authorized the beef council assessment at the rate of 25 cents per head.
22. Act 685 authorized the highway user Equalization Tax
23. Act 120 increased the inspection fee for commercial feed stuffs
24. Act 560 levied an additional severance tax on coal in the amount of 8 cents per ton
25. Act 761 levied additional severance tax on stone and crushed stone
26. Act 874 increased the severance tax on salt water used as raw material for bromine

1984

- 27. Act 63 increased the Aviation sales tax to 4%

1985

- 28. Act 893 establishes new license fees for trailers
- 29. Act 1052 increased the gallonage tax on "native wine" to 75 cents/gallon.
- 30. Act 1000 levied an additional 3% mixed drink tax for the period July 1, 1985 through December 31, 1985.
- 31. Act 804 increased various license fees collected by the Insurance Department.
- 32. Act 456 increased the liquified Gas Special Fuels tax by 4 cents/gallon and imposed additional fees
- 33. Act 456 increased the motor fuel tax by four cents per gallon
- 34. Act 112 removed the motor fuel tax exemption on gasohol
- 35. Act 1004 establish the fee schedule for Alarm System Licences
- 36. Act 27 increased the state's "takeout" share to 6.00 percent for the 1986 racing session only

1987

- 37. Act 27 imposes the gross receipts tax upon interstate phone calls, and requires out of state vendors who solicit sales within the state to collect the tax
- 38. Act 7 repeals the gross receipts tax exemption on cigarettes
- 39. Act 188 imposes the gross receipts tax upon cable T.V. services
- 40. Act 191 levies a 2% gross receipts tax until June 30, 1989 on telephones shipped into the state for repair.
- 41. Act 372 requires a deposit of \$250 for the issuance of a new sales tax permit
- 42. Act 13 imposed the gross receipt tax upon the lease or rental of tangible personal property tax
- 43. Act 628 imposed the 16% Tobacco Products Tax on snuff
- 44. Act 1045 levied a tax of 25 cents per package of cigarette papers
- 45. Act 274 provides that between July 1, 1987 and July 1, 1991, an additional 25 cents shall be charged on each application or renewal of any motor vehicle operators or chauffeur's license
- 46. Act 383 increases the number of days of dog racing for the City General Fund and the Mental Retardation Fund
- 47. Act 794 increased from \$100 to \$200 the fee for new or renewal alarm system licenses and increased from \$13 to \$26 the registration fee and the change of employer fee
- 48. Act 144 authorized the levy of an annual license fee of \$500 for each abortion clinic

49. Act 146 authorized the collection of \$10 for each water sample submitted for coliform examination and a fee of \$35 for each water sample submitted for asbestos analysis
50. Act 219 levied a \$5 fee for the issuance of birth certificates for persons born in foreign countries and persons whose adoption is effected pursuant to an Arkansas court order
51. Act 320 increased the Nursing Home Administrators License from \$50 to \$100
52. Act 345 provided for the licensing of air ambulance services. The fee for issuance and renewal of licenses is not to exceed \$100
53. Act 397 levied an additional fee of \$5 for each marriage license
54. Act 399 increased to 1% of the estimated cost the fee charged by the Health Department to review plans required to be reviewed by the Board of Health
55. Act 435 levied an annual registration fee of \$100 on septic tank manufacturers;
56. Act 435 increased from \$25 to \$50 the annual fee for septic tank installers;
57. Act 435 levied a fee for the issuance of a review certificate ranging from a minimum of \$15 to a maximum of \$500
58. Act 451 increased the fee for food salvagers from \$100 to \$150
59. Act 504 establishes the various fees for the use of radioactive material and x-ray equipment
60. Act 534 increased the fees for frozen dessert manufacturers to \$30 minimum - \$600 maximum
61. Act 534 increased the Dairy Plant License for various categories (cream, fluid milk, etc)
62. Act 623 levied a \$25 annual public swimming pool permit fee
63. Act 634 increased from \$5 to \$10 the fee for each sample of Grade "A" milk analyzed
64. Act 634 established a \$100 permit fee for single service plants not paying the Milk Inspection Fee
65. Act 677 levied a fee of \$2/visit to local health units, or \$10/client to cover all visits for one year
66. Act 714 increased from 10 cents to \$160 per bed the license fee for nursing homes
67. Act 903 increased the food products permit fee to \$15 per location, up to a maximum of \$75
68. Act 956 established increased fees for home health agencies
69. Act 122 increased boat registration fees
70. Act 729 levied an additional real estate transfer tax of \$1.10/\$1,000 of consideration
71. Act 35 postpones until 1989 the phase-in exclusion of capital gains.
72. Act 899 requires the withholding of 7% for income tax purposes from dog and horse racing winnings.
73. Act 424 imposed the \$7.50/32 gallon barrel tax upon "Light Beer".
74. Act 424 imposes a tax of 25 cents per gallon on all "Light Wines" and wine coolers.

75. Act 424 imposes a tax of \$1/gallon on pre-mixed spirituous liquor and 50 cents/gallon on light spirituous liquor.
76. Act 424 levied a 5 cent per case tax on "Light Alcohol".
77. Act 424 imposes the 5 cent per case enforcement tax on "Light Wines" and wine coolers.
78. Act 424 imposes a tax of 25 cents/gallon on all "Light Wines" and wine coolers.
79. Act 424 levied an additional 3% Mixed Drink Tax for the period July 1, 1987 through January 1, 1988 inclusive.
80. Act 424 imposes the 5 cent per case tax on "Light Wines" and wine coolers.
81. Act 456 increased various Insurance Department fees.
82. Act 346 Established the Manufactured Housing Recovery Fund to pay claims against installers, dealers, and manufacturers of manufactured homes.
83. Act 108 established the Central File Farm Lien system in the Office of the Secretary of State and provided for the new fee schedule:
84. Act 1068 increased various corporate filing fees. The Act sunsets 12-31-87.
85. Act 987 Arkansas Business Corporation Act, contains the same corporate filing fee increases as Act 1068 and becomes effective January 1, 1988.
86. Act 447 increased various fees collected by the Securities Department from the sellers of checks and money orders.
87. Act 449 increased various renewal fees for brokers, dealers and agents.
88. Acts 910 & 939 fixed the resident hunting and fishing license at \$10.50 and the combination annual hunting license at \$17.75.
89. Act 3 increased the Beef Council assessment from 25 cents/head to \$1/head of cattle sold.
90. Act 1985 levied an additional court cost of \$1 upon each conviction, plea of guilty, nolo contendere, or bond forfeiture in felony and misdemeanor cases.
91. Act 1040 authorized the taxing of any property used by a church in its operation of a business or commercial enterprise.
92. Act 29 increased various corporate franchise taxes

1989

93. Act 510 imposes additional sales tax on short term rentals of motor vehicles
94. Act 769 expands tax on cable TV
95. Act 908 levies an additional tax of 4% on the gross receipts from the sale of alcoholic beverages sold for on-premise consumption
96. Act 241 increases Driver's search fee
97. Act 850 requires used car dealers to post a \$25,000 bond with the revenue department
98. Act 103 establishes registration fee for commercial semitrailers
99. Act 385 increased fee for duplicate licenses
100. Act 173 established the environmental assurance fee at 2/10 of 1 cent per gallon of motor fuel

101. Act 577 authorizes the Health Department to levy a fee for the maintenance of breath testing instruments
102. Act 742 provides for \$200 filing fee for application for a Certificate of Public Convenience
103. Act 301 increases Secretary of State fees
104. Act 544 sets fees on persons soliciting athletes to enter professional sports
105. Act 534 increases fees under the uniform commercial code
106. Act 219 increases hunting and fishing fees
107. Act 736 levies, until July 1, 1990, a fee of \$1.00 per head of cattle sold in the state
108. Act 102 levies an assessment of 2 cents per bushel on all soybeans grown in state
109. Act 38 authorized a 2 percent tourism tax

1991:

110. Act 3 increased the use tax by 1/2 percent
111. Act 3 increased the state sales tax by a half cent
112. Act 3 imposed sales tax on used cars, mobile homes and airplanes
113. Act 1211 increased the excise tax on cigarettes to 22 cents per pack
114. Act 1052 increased the corporate income tax rate
115. Act 3 increased the aviation sales tax
116. Act 364 increased the gasoline tax by 5 cents per gallon
117. Act 219 increased the diesel tax by 6 cents per gallon
118. Act 560 increased various Boiler inspection fees
119. Act 833 increased the tax on casualty insurance premiums
120. Act 191 increased various fees under the grade "A" milk program
121. Act 328 increases fees charged for the regulation, licensing and inspection of manufactured milk plants
122. Act 1001 increased various fees for water system operator
123. Act 1053 authorized the Health Department to collect various fees from public water systems
124. Act 889 imposed a 15 percent excise tax on the state's share of medicaid reimbursements to health care providers
125. Act 1004 authorized the levy of an excise tax of 50 percent upon the gross receipts from the delivery of personal care services to residents of residential care facilities
126. Act 300 increased various inspection fees collected by the Liquefied Petroleum Board
127. Act 1225 established pet store registration fees
128. Act 1105 established fee of \$1 per head on all sows and boars sold at livestock markets

TALKING POINTS:

BILL CLINTON DID RAISE TAXES AND FEES 128 TIMES

AN UNBIASED GATHERING OF FACTS

- The list of 128 tax and fee increases is not a Republican product -- it was assembled by the Arkansas Bureau of Legislative Research.
- Some members of the media have dared to say the President and his campaign staff are lying on this issue -- they need to do their homework!
- There are 58 tax increases documented by the Arkansas bureau.
- The Clinton campaign itself has admitted to 59 tax increases (perhaps he's dreaming of future taxes).

TAX OR FEE -- OUT OF THE POCKETS OF WORKERS

- The press wants to nit-pick over the difference between a tax and a fee.
- But Americans understand that whether it's Clinton's environmental assurance fee on gasoline, or his increase on sales tax, the result is still less money in the pockets of wage-earners and their families.
- Clinton's 1979 fee hike of 30 percent on vehicle registration led directly to his defeat in 1980 -- it is clear the people of Arkansas considered it a tax increase.

MEDIA TAKE SHOTS WITH BLANKS -- JUST A LOT OF NOISE

- Liberal journalist Michael Kinsley complained that a fuel tax increase is counted twice -- once on gasoline and once on diesel.
- If Mr. Kinsley had a better understanding of how government works, he would know that gasoline and diesel are always treated separately.
- In fact, diesel itself has three categories of taxation -- boat, truck and railroad diesel are taxed separately (the thinking is, why should a boat owner pay what amounts to a road tax?). Aviation is yet another category of fuel with its own rules of taxation.
- Mr. Kinsley charges Republicans with hypocrisy for including a \$1 court cost fee Clinton imposed on convicted criminals. The charge of hypocrisy, Kinsley says, is because we are "supposed to be tough on crime." We are. But let's not change the subject. The Bush Quayle list simply counts Clinton's tax and fee increases.
- Besides, a one dollar fee is not likely to reverse Arkansas' crime rate, which saw a 95 percent increase under Clinton from 1981 to 1991.

THE MEDIA ARE "SPINNING" OUT OF CONTROL

- Some so-called reporters say Arkansas is a low tax state, citing the per capita tax burden as 48th in the country. However, they miss this important point -- this standing is due to Arkansas' high poverty rate. Not many Americans would use poverty as a tax dodge.
- Other media pundits say Arkansas ranks 47th for taxation. This is a distortion of fact. The ranking is for state *and* local taxes. State taxes, which are the only ones under Clinton's control, ranked 25th in 1990.
- Michael Kinsley (who's being used by other journalists as an expert on this topic) says the "\$397.1 million annual tax increase" includes additional revenues attributed to economic growth, not Clinton tax increases. He couldn't be more wrong. Excluding inflation and economic growth, Arkansas' state taxes in 1992 are \$397 million higher as a result of Clinton's tax and fee increases -- nearly 20 percent of the Arkansas state budget.
- If Mr. Kinsley had bothered to look at the increase in Arkansas state revenues -- before leveling false accusation against the Bush campaign -- he would have seen that between 1983 and 1990 alone, state revenues increased by \$854 million.

CREDIT FOR WHAT???

- Kinsley says the Bush campaign should have counted Clinton's tax cuts -- we'll be glad to! Most are special interest tax exemptions for Clinton's political contributors!
- The media want Republicans to credit Clinton with a 1991 tax cut for low income individuals. No way. The credit goes to Ronald Reagan and George Bush who took millions of low income families off the tax rolls in 1986!
- The GOP won't give credit to the Arkansas governor who took five years to align the Arkansas tax code with the federal tax code.
- The media would serve the public better if they would turn away from the highly biased and error-ridden Mr. Kinsley and instead use the Arkansas Bureau of Legislative Research.

WHAT HAVE THE NETWORKS MISSED?

- They've missed the increasing regressiveness of the Arkansas tax structure since Bill Clinton became governor.
- Arkansas papers have labeled his tax policies "inhumane" (*Arkansas Gazette*, 3/4/91) and said "if Congress followed the example Bill Clinton has set as governor of Arkansas, it would pass a tax program that would hit the middle class hardest." (*Pine Bluff Commercial*, 5/24/91)
- A 1988 study by the Citizens for Tax Justice of sales taxes in all 50 states found Arkansas among the 10 most regressive states with regard to sales taxes.
- Clinton has opposed removing the sales taxes from groceries his entire political career.
- The Arkansas governor even taxed food stamps until the Reagan-Bush administration made him stop in 1987.

Slick Willie Strikes Again

RNC Rebuttal To The Clinton Campaign's First Television Advertisement

The Clinton campaign's new ad entitled "Change" contains the same old lies and deceptions that have earned Bill Clinton the title "Slick Willie."

The Lies:

"Eight million new jobs in the next four years."

- The truth is Clinton's plan will hurt the economy and cost 2.6 million new jobs. He actually claims his massive cuts in defense will create jobs, when in fact his gutting of national defense will destroy over 1 million jobs. The Clinton-Gore environmental extremism (higher CAFE standards) will cost at least 300,000 jobs, and the "massive" tax increase -- at least \$154 billion -- Clinton proposes will cost another 1.3 million jobs.¹

"Those making over \$200,000 a year have to pay more. The rest of us get a break."

- The truth is Bill Clinton has proposed a tax increase for every single worker in America. He's proposed a payroll tax to pay for national health care and a worker training payroll tax. His top economic advisor, Robert Shapiro, has said that his income tax hike would hit individuals earning \$90,000 a year -- not \$200,000 a year. Does Bill Clinton really think the American people are going to believe you can have the largest one year and four year tax increase in American history -- and only have it hit the top one percent of income earners in this country?

The Deceptions

- As usual, Slick Willie doesn't bother telling the whole truth about his record in Arkansas. The whole truth is **job growth and income growth in Arkansas have slowed dramatically** since Clinton became governor.

Jobs:

"Arkansas now leads the nation in job growth"

- In recent months some sectors of the Arkansas economy have performed slightly ahead of the national economy. But Bill Clinton doesn't want to talk about his record over his twelve years as governor, because it stinks!

¹Senate Budget Committee Minority staff & OMB publication "The President Comprehensive Health Reform Program."

- Between 1979 and 1990, when Bill Clinton first took office, durable goods manufacturing jobs have increased only .05 percent (Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census).
- During the 1970s, manufacturing employment in Arkansas increased 22.7 percent. During the 1980s, however, manufacturing employment increased by only 9.2 percent. In other words, job growth in manufacturing was cut in half under Bill Clinton (Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census).
- In the 1970s, employment in Arkansas increased 22.7 percent. During the 1980s, however, employment only increased by 13.4 percent. Nationally, employment increased 17.5 percent (Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census).
- Wage growth was also cut by almost 30 percent under Bill Clinton. In the 1970s, real wages in Arkansas increased 12.5 percent. During the 1980s, however, real wages increased by only 9 percent (Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census).
- Whatever job growth there has been in Arkansas, it didn't come from Bill Clinton --- it came from Don Tyson. Food and kindred products manufacturing jobs increased 33 percent between 1979 and 1990. Considering what the poultry industry has done to Arkansas' rivers, it's hardly a bragging point for the "putting people first" governor (Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census).
- The unemployment rate in Arkansas has remained above the national average every year but one since Clinton regained office in 1983.² Unemployment in Arkansas today stands at 7.6 percent (Bureau of Labor Statistics -- June, 1992).
- Unemployment in the rural farming areas, almost half the state, still ranges from 8 percent to 16.9 percent, compared with a national average of 7.8 percent.³

Income:

"Incomes are rising at twice the national rate"

- Before Bill Clinton became a candidate for President, he told the truth about his record. He said "If you ask me what has not been done, I'd say in the 1980's we didn't make gains in per capita income."⁴
- Arkansas currently ranks 47th in per capita personal income.⁵
- Personal income grew slower in Arkansas than the national average in every year but one since Clinton regained office in 1983.⁶

²Bureau of Labor Statistics

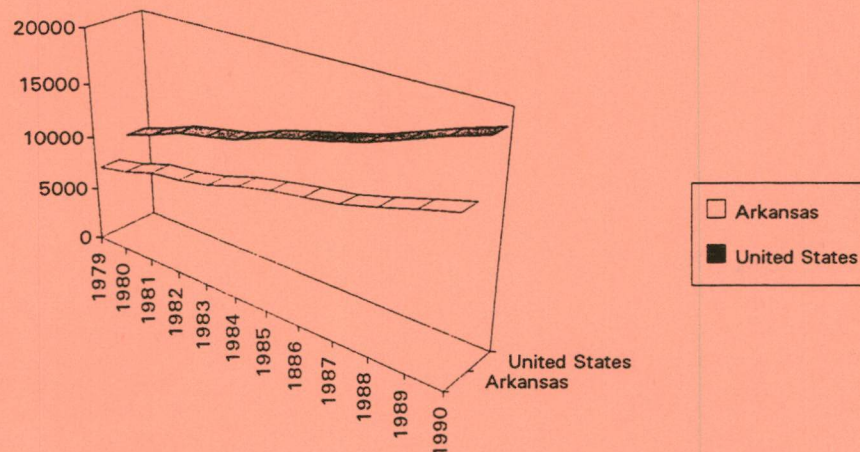
³Washington Times, 7/26/92

⁴Arkansas Times, July 1990 -- A Clinton Advertisement

⁵Arkansas Gazette, 4/26/92

- Manufacturing wages were 79.8 percent of the national average when Clinton regained office in 1983. By 1990, manufacturing wages had fallen to 78.5 percent of the national average.⁷ Arkansas manufacturing wages in 1990 were a full 20 percent below the national average.
- In 1990, Arkansas' average hourly earnings in manufacturing ranked 15th out of the 16 Southern states, ahead of only Mississippi.⁸
- Arkansas ranked dead last in the South in manufacturing wages for durable goods -- almost 30 cents an hour behind Mississippi.⁹

Arkansas hasn't made any gains in per capita personal income relative to the rest of the nation



Welfare:

"17,000 people moved from welfare to work."

- Since 1980, the number of people on government welfare has increased twice as much in Arkansas as in the country at large. The number of welfare recipients in Arkansas increased 17.2 percent between 1980 and 1990, compared with an 8.1 percent increase nationally.¹⁰

⁶Arkansas Personal Income handbook & 1992 Economic Report of The President

⁷Regional Economic Analysis: Average Hourly Earnings in Arkansas Manufacturing

⁸Regional Economic Analysis: Average Hourly Earnings in Arkansas Manufacturing

⁹Regional Economic Analysis: Average Hourly Earnings in Arkansas Manufacturing

¹⁰Washington Times, 7/26/92

- Clinton claims he's moved 17,000 people from welfare to work. That's amazing, considering that since 1989, when his "project success" welfare reform program began, Arkansas' welfare rolls have actually grown by 12 percent.¹¹
- Arkansas' Medicaid rolls have grown by 25,000 over the last year alone.¹²

¹¹U.S. News & World Report, 4/20/92

¹²AP 8/18/92

Daniel Wattenberg

The Lady Macbeth of Little Rock

Hillary Clinton's hard-left past and present.

Hillary Clinton has been likened to Eva Perón, but it's a bad analogy. Evita was worshipped by the "shirtless ones," the working class, while Hillary's charms elude most outside of an elite cohort of left-liberal, baby-boom feminists—the type who thought Anita Hill should be canonized and *Thelma and Louise* was the best movie since *Easy Rider*. Hillary reckons herself the next Eleanor Roosevelt. But, standing well to the left of her husband and enjoying an independent power base within his coalition, Hillary is best thought of as the Winnie Mandela of American politics. She has likened the American family to slavery, thinks kids should be able to sue their parents to resolve family arguments, and during her tenure as a foundation officer gave away millions (much of it in no-strings-attached grants) to the left—including sizable sums to hard-left organizers. She is going to cause her husband no end of political embarrassment between now and November—and who knows how long afterward.

By the morning of June 5, four top Clinton campaign aides—David Wilhelm, George Stephanopolous, Eli Segal, and Stanley Greenberg—had had enough of Susan Thomases and Harold Ickes, two ultra-liberal campaign aides who had fastened themselves to Hillary. Accord-



ing to a Clinton insider, the four had concluded that "Susan Thomases is running this campaign with Harold Ickes through Hillary," and gave Bill Clinton this ultimatum: "Either [Thomases] goes, or we're all going and *she* can run the campaign." Ever the Conciliator-in-Chief, Clinton managed to avert a mass resignation by the top echelon of his campaign staff. "They papered all this over for the time being, but it won't last," says the insider.

Thomases, a New York lawyer, is "the most doctrinaire liberal or old-line thinker

around" the campaign, says a Clinton adviser. "Someone who just doesn't get any of the reform/New Covenant message." Ickes, son of Roosevelt's New Deal Interior Secretary Harold Ickes, is anathema to many centrist Democrats who rallied early to the Clinton candidacy. In 1988 he was Jesse Jackson's convention manager. In 1972, he was a key delegate selector for George McGovern, bending party rules to disestablish traditional Democratic constituencies—middle-class and socially conservative—in favor of student, feminist, and minority activists. A Clinton insider calls him "the most evil man on the face of earth," adding: "He has done more single-handedly to destroy the Democratic party than anyone else."

The immediate cause of the threatened walk-out was a national poll that the four, along with Frank Greer, had worked on with Thomases. When, despite opposition from Thomases, the others prepared to run the poll, Thomases

Daniel Wattenberg is a writer for Insight.

complained to Hillary. The latter interceded with her husband, and the poll was killed. But the poll was small potatoes compared to the strategic coup that Hillary and her allies pulled off in blocking the move of Clinton's campaign headquarters from Little Rock to Washington, a move many considered inevitable after Clinton's victory in the New York primary. In Little Rock, lines of authority are fuzzy, and Hillary's temple dogs roam free. By keeping the campaign in Little Rock, they simultaneously froze out ideological adversaries linked to the centrist, Washington-based Democratic Leadership Council (DLC) and a group of seasoned national campaign professionals. "Hillary's probably the only person in this campaign who wanted it to be in Little Rock. The DLC crowd and the centrists—all of Washington—have basically been left high and dry," says a campaign source.

An influx of senior political talent would have left Mrs. Clinton's politically inept allies licking envelopes—Thomases is the political genius who guided Bill Bradley, a New Jersey institution since his All-America days at Princeton, to a 50-47 re-election squeaker over underfunded, unknown challenger Christine Todd Whitman in 1990. And moving the campaign to Washington would have meant more conventional wife-of duties for the gaffe-prone Hillary. "You bring it to Washington and the first thing you do is you get the Tom Donilons, the John Sassos, and all the grown-ups involved with real experience. They're going to—number one—kick out the Thomaseses and the Ickeses," explains an insider. "Number two, they're going to put Hillary in a very different position in the campaign."

Hillary Clinton's unfavorable poll ratings have risen as high as 29 percent in recent months. "Negatives" of 40 percent are generally fatal for a candidate; for a new-to-the-national-scene wife of a candidate, negatives in the 30 range are disastrous. The image of Mrs. Clinton that has crystallized in the public consciousness is, of course, that of Lady Macbeth: consuming ambition, inflexibility of purpose, domination of a pliable husband, and an unsettling lack of tender human feeling, along with the affluent feminist's contempt for traditional female roles.

Usually when a public figure develops a chronic image problem, it is the result of searching investigative reporting, leaks, revelations, scandal: Dan Quayle's National Guard service; John Tower's drinking and womanizing; Nancy Reagan's new china, borrowed designer gowns, and astrology. The surprising thing about Hillary's image problem is that it is self-generated. No one in the press has really scrutinized her twenty years of political activism in the far left border regions of the Democratic

party. The only big scandal to blow in her direction concerned her errant husband, and that should have earned her general sympathy. The *New York Times* did do a page-one story about Hillary's involvement on behalf of a client with a case before the Arkansas Securities Commission. But that went right over most heads, and she was home free until Jerry Brown dinged her about it and she answered, infamously, "I suppose I could have stayed home and baked cookies and had teas."

Hillary Clinton is a self-detonating explosive. The condescending comments and snide innuendos that have landed her in such trouble (the Tammy Wynette crack, her insinuation in a *Vanity Fair* profile that Barbara Bush's husband was an adulterer too) have been volunteered. "She seems to be poised and intelligent," laments a Clinton adviser, "and yet she always seems to be one smart remark away from getting in trouble."

While Clinton has abandoned the husband-and-wife team presidency concept implicit in the slogan "Buy one, get one

free," and while on-background speculation about cabinet posts for Hillary has been squelched, protecting the campaign from her bouts of public tactlessness remains "a continual topic of conversation day in and day out" within the campaign, according to one source. But how do you tell her to knock it off? Very carefully. "People

who wrote memoranda which kind of gently raised that topic had them returned saying, 'You need to take those two paragraphs out, because Hillary will see them, and if she sees them, you'll be dead.'"

Centrist Democrats fear that internal advocates of a 34-percent strategy (placate the liberal base, concede the center) have found a powerful and untouchable champion in Hillary, guaranteeing continuing wrangling in the campaign. "There is a general notion below the surface of a 34-percent strategy, meaning go to the left and energize the base to win this thing, versus 51 percent," says an insider "There was always a marriage of expedience and principle in the DLC world: You had to get back the Reagan Democrats by going to the center. But the expedience and principle have been decoupled, because now the expedient may be to go for 34 percent."

Many in and around the campaign have the disquieting sense that Clinton is powerless to check his wife's growing influence because he needs her to fulfill the public role of forgiving wife standing by her man through marital vicissitudes. Could it be that Hillary is exploiting this unusual form of leverage to maximize her clout? A source replies, "It would be the first time I've heard that without an outright expletive in the sentence."

How could the party's moderate wing have signed on with such enthusiasm to a campaign that is penetrated at

*Standing well to the left of her husband
and enjoying an independent power base
within his coalition, Hillary is best
thought of as the Winnie Mandela of
American politics.*

high levels by the nutty left? "We didn't know Hillary at all," confesses a Clinton adviser.

When the spunky, young Hillary Rodham left Park Ridge, Illinois, for college in 1965, she was by all accounts a Goldwater conservative. Four years later, as Wellesley's first-ever student commencement speaker, she took her leave of the school in a valedictory cloud of disjointed sixties rhetoric. What happened to Hillary at Wellesley? "What happens to everybody at Wellesley," says her close college friend, Eleanor "Eldie" Acheson (granddaughter of Truman Secretary of State Dean Acheson). "They become right-thinking."

The times they were a-changin', and a naturally ambitious but intellectually impressionable college girl like Hillary was made to order for a faculty mind-sweep. Hillary was a political science major at a time when virtually all departments at Wellesley, according to Acheson, were being swamped by "a ton of younger assistant professors and lecturers and instructors who came to that college with a lot of new ideas and some very aggressive, advocacy-oriented ways of teaching." Pursuit of knowledge for its own sake was giving way to the pursuit of Relevance. "Whatever the course, one needed to draw a current application from it. How did it relate to where we are today in the United States of America and the world at large?"

Hillary's 1969 commencement speech offers a glimpse of the results of her undergraduate education. After initial resistance and much negotiation, the Wellesley administration finally agreed to a student commencement speaker, on two conditions: the speaker and her remarks were to reflect a consensus of the graduating class and the remarks were to be "appropriate" and not embarrass the college. The students selected Hillary, the president of College Government, to speak. But the main commencement speech, delivered by the late Senator Edward Brooke of Massachusetts, a liberal Republican, flunked the "relevance" test. "Senator Brooke gave an address that was pretty close to being just absolutely disconnected with the four years of our experience at Wellesley," says Acheson. "Hillary decided it could not go unremarked upon, and before her speech, gave an extemporaneous critique of Brooke's remarks."

Although Acheson defends her friend, Hillary's speech, read today, appears barely intelligible, even by sixties standards:

Every protest, every dissent . . . is unabashedly an attempt to forge an identity in this particular age. That attempt at forging for many of us over the past four years has meant coming to terms with our humanness. Within the context of a society that we perceive—now we can talk about reality, and I would like to talk about reality sometime, authentic reality, inauthentic reality, and what we have to accept of what we see—but our perception of it is that it hovers between the possibility of disaster and the potentiality for imaginatively responding to men's needs.

This part isn't much better:

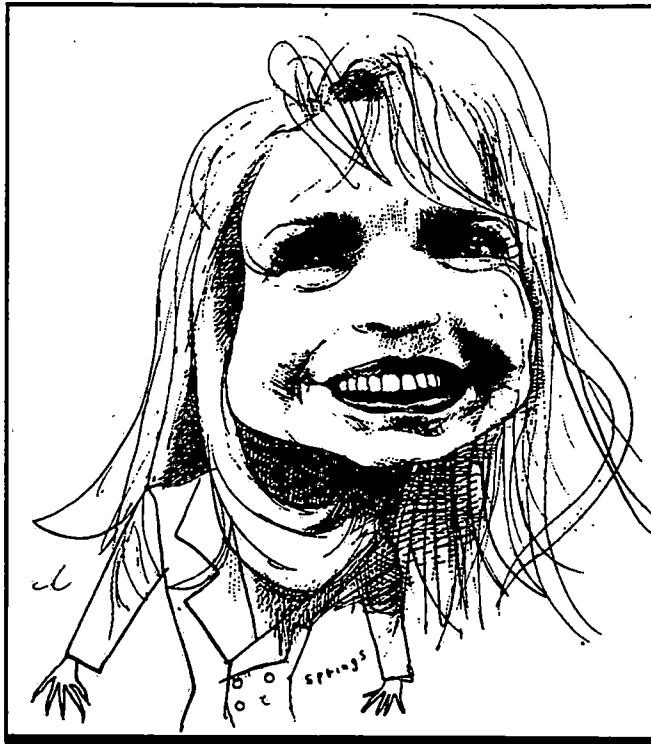
Words have a funny way of trapping our minds on the way to our tongues, but there are necessary means even in this multi-media age for attempting to come to grasps [sic] with some of the inarticulate maybe even inarticulate things that we're feeling.

But she springs free from the mind-word-tongue trap to express her impatience with empirical analysis as a basis for radical change:

What does it mean to hear that 13.3 percent of the people in this country are below the poverty line? That's a percentage. We're not interested in social reconstruction; it's human reconstruction. How can we talk about percentages and trends?

It gets even more interesting:

There are some things we feel, feelings that our prevailing, acquisitive and competitive corporate life, including tragically the universities, is not the way of life for us. We're searching for more immediate, ecstatic, and penetrating modes of living.



(Hillary must look back now with some amusement on the anti-corporate, anti-acquisitive rhetoric of her youth. Until a few months ago, she served on three corporate boards—French chemical giant, La Farge; Little Rock-based yogurt kings, TCBY; and the Wal-Mart Corporation, source of the recently deceased Sam Walton's fortune, perennially the largest personal fortune in the United States. Between 1986 and 1991, Hillary collected more than \$129,000 in director's fees. "Hillary has always made out like a bandit," says a tax expert familiar with the Clintons' returns. "Director's fees have been a really big source of income to them over the years, particularly since the mid-eighties.")

In quest of more immediate, ecstatic, and penetrating modes of living, Hillary went from Wellesley to, of all places, Yale Law School. Here she met her future husband, and the story of their first meeting—she made the first

move—is well known. Law school professor Burke Marshall took her under her wing, and she flourished academically. Marshall, a Kennedy family confidante, is the first person Ted Kennedy called after driving Mary Jo Kopechne off Chappaquiddick Bridge.

At Yale, Hillary slipped into an intellectual milieu marked by way-out and sometimes vicious left-wing polemics and activism. While leading campus protests against everything from the Vietnam war to the absence of a Tampax dispenser in the women's law school john, she found time to serve on the board of editors of a law school quarterly called the *Yale Review of Law and Social Action*.

The Spring 1970 issue featured articles by Duncan Kennedy (now a leading figure in Harvard Law's Marxist critical legal studies circle) and Robert Borosage (a radical left Jesse Jackson adviser based at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington). Another article, "Jamestown Seventy," proposed "political migration to a single state for the purpose of gaining political control and establishing a living laboratory for experiment." Impatient with the counterculture, the authors hungered for an American-style Kam-puchea:

Now a new frontier must be found to foster further experimentation, an environment relatively unpolluted by conventional patterns of social and political organization. Experimentation with drugs, sex, individual lifestyles or radical rhetoric and action within the larger society is an insufficient alternative. Total experimentation is necessary. New ideas and values must be taken out of heads and transformed into reality.

As a member of the editorial board, Hillary provided a "detailed sympathetic critique" of the article, according to a source at the journal. Her main problem with the piece was that it was "long on rhetoric, short on action," according to the source. Hillary, it seems, had found an appropriate laboratory for the "human reconstruction" she championed at Wellesley.

Hillary Rodham is listed as an associate editor in a special double issue of the journal, much of it devoted to the Black Panther murder trials then taking place in New Haven. Several drawings depict policemen as pigs. In one, rifle-toting, hairy-snouted pigs with nasal drip march in formation emitting "oinks" and thinking to themselves, "niggers, niggers, niggers, niggers . . ." Another shows a decapitated and dismembered pig squealing in agony. It is captioned, "Seize the Time!" If Hillary approved of her colleagues' artwork, then she appears to have foreshadowed by about twenty years such contemporary traffickers in cop-killing imagery as rappers NWA and Ice-T.

In the *New York Review of Books*, Garry Wills touted Hillary as "one of the more important scholar-activists of the last two decades" for her work in the field of children's rights and family policy. On federal children's policy, she repeatedly expressed the radical's contempt for fainthearted liberal approaches to federal programs for children. She rejected piecemeal testing and evaluation of pro-

grams targeted on needy children in favor of "comprehensive programs—those that provide services for the entire child population."

In "Children's Policies: Abandonment and Neglect" (*Yale Law Journal*, 1977), she chastises the Brookings Institution's Gilbert Steiner for his look-before-you-leap attitude toward federal intervention in the family: "Steiner posits that 'non-intervention serves as a basic guiding principle rather than an absolute.' Steiner's rejection of absolutism is welcome, but it is his cautious attitude toward governmental involvement in child-rearing that implicitly molds his analysis." And later: "There is nothing wrong with pressing for better programs for the needy, but Steiner sets his sights too low."

Underlying Hillary's demands for a sweeping range of federal children's programs now is the same impatience with empiricism she exhibited in her adieu to Wellesley ("What does it mean . . . 13.3 percent . . . are below the poverty line? That's a percentage . . ."). The flaws in Steiner's analysis, she writes, can be pinpointed by

examining two familiar corollaries of the non-interventionist principle, both of which help shape Steiner's evaluation of federal policy toward children. . . . The first corollary is that in order to overcome the non-interventionist impulse the evidence supporting proposed or ongoing children's programs must be greater than that necessary to overcome resistance to change in other areas of public policy. . . . The second corollary . . . is that children's programs, once underway, should be judged more quickly and harshly than other programs.

It's worth noting in passing that her second corollary merely restates part of her first, an embarrassing logical lapse in a finely tuned legal mind.

In any case, the empirical threshold is just a blind for sentimentalists: "Apparently we share so much apprehension about potential harm to cherished, albeit fantasized, family values that programs for children must demonstrate immediate success or risk extinction."

But Hillary's advocacy of massive and immediate expansion of federal child-care programs was relative tinkering compared to the radical redefinition of the relationship between state and family that she called for as a champion of the "children's rights" movement. In "Children Under the Law" (a 1974 essay reprinted by the *Harvard Educational Review* in 1982) she proposed three measures for obtaining "children's rights": (1) the immediate abolition of the legal status of minority and the reversal of the legal presumption of the incompetence of minors in favor of a presumption of competence; (2) the extension to children of all procedural rights guaranteed to adults; (3) the rejection of the legal presumption of the identity of interests between parents and their children, and permission for competent children to assert those independent interests in the courts. (In effect, when parents and their teenage kids don't agree on who's the boss, a judge steps in.)

The relationship between her first and third proposals

forms a powerful wedge for the courts to intercede between parents and children to resolve intra-family disputes. It works like this: Under proposal No. 1 (the reversal of the presumption of incompetence), competence would be decided case by case by the courts. Hillary accepts that infants will in most cases be deemed incompetent, but when it comes to kids 12 and over, she leans to the view that they are more like adults than kids and that their presumed competence ought to withstand challenge in most cases. Under proposal No. 3 (the rejection of the presumption of the identity of interests between parents and their children), when the interests of parents and children diverge, competent children—that's most teenagers, remember—are free to testify against Mom and Dad and the courts will decide between them.

In a 1979 article, "Children's Rights: A Legal Perspective," Hillary—by this time over 30 and wife of the governor of Arkansas—answered critics who feared her brand of children's rights would elevate family squabbles into legal battles:

The fears that many people have about . . . a law of children's rights arise from their concern about increasing government control over such intra-family disputes.

A letter sent out several years ago about the Child and Family Development Act urged persons to oppose the proposed bill because it would, according to the writers, allow children to take parents to court if they were ordered to take out the garbage. Family disagreements that result in legal battles are, of course, of a more serious nature. . . . The most recent example of disagreement between parent and child is found in the abortion cases recently decided by the United States Supreme Court. The Court held that a minor child might seek an abortion without her parents' consent and over her parents' objections if a court believed it to be in the child's best interests.

In other words: "Don't worry, we'll still leave mundane decisions to the discretion of parents, it's just the important ones they can't be trusted with." Did she think her critics would be reassured?

How far into the home would Hillary invite the courts?

I prefer that intervention into an ongoing family be limited to decisions that could have long-term and possible irreparable effects if they were not resolved. 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.

Incidentally, it is by no means clear in these litigation-happy times that a "long-term and possible irreparable ef-

fects" criterion would exclude take-out-the-garbage cases.

Maybe the most irresponsible thing about Hillary's writing in this field is that she never attempts to calculate the "chilling effect" of what she proposes. In a world where parent-child tiffs are actionable by legally competent children, will parents have the nerve to oppose their children's wishes on matters of importance? Or even insignificant matters? How will they know where the line is between the important and the trivial?

I have read all she has written on children's rights and can only conclude that Hillary suffers from a massive misunderstanding of the function of parents. "The presumption of incompetency has profound significance not just because children are reliant on adults to exercise their right for them, but because a child denied the opportunity to exercise responsibilities is effectively denied the opportunity to mature into a responsible adult," she writes. She seems to miss the

obvious: as children mature, sensitive parents gradually relax the reins and give their children greater freedom and greater responsibility. Hillary Clinton doesn't appear to grasp how spontaneously evolved social institutions like the family absorb and retain knowledge and wisdom through the ages, an igno-

rance typical of the left to which she belongs. Garry Wills laments with Hillary that we don't have a "calibrated scale of increasing competence applicable to all children." Of course we don't. We don't need one. Because we have something far better, families: millions of calibrated scales of increasing competence tailored individually to millions of individual children by millions of parents.

Truth be told, Hillary Clinton harbors a deeply cynical view of the traditional family, its origins, and its defenders. In "Children Under the Law" she likens arguments against her plan to eliminate the legal minority status of children to arguments in favor of black slavery and against the emancipation of married women. In the same article, she goes even further, equating the family itself with slavery:

The basic rationale for depriving people of rights in a dependency relationship is 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.

In her view, the family as we know it, in which children are legally dependent on their mother and father until achieving majority at 18 or 21, is not a social institution adapted over time to meet children's needs of protection,

sustenance, and love. It is instead a breeding ground of perpetual conflict that was "invented" in the nineteenth century in response to organized labor demands aimed at protecting adult workers against competition from children:

Many of the modern conflicts between parents and children arise because of the 'invention' of adolescence. Children in the Middle Ages became adults at the age of seven. . . . The concept of childhood gradually was expanded until children became more and more dependent on their parents and parents became less and less dependent on their children for economic support and sustenance. During the nineteenth century in this country, the idea of compulsory education provided an opportunity for children to be trained, and took them out of an increasingly smaller work force, so that they would not compete with adults. Child labor laws continued this trend and so did the imposition of age requirements for school attendance. . . . Because children now remain in the family for longer periods, during which they are still dependent but becoming more and more adult, the opportunities for intrafamily disputes have increased dramatically.

As Hillary would reverse the presumption of the identity of interests between parents and their children, so I would like to reverse the presumption of the identity of interests between Hillary and America's children. I suspect that Hillary's years of activism on behalf of children's

rights and comprehensive federal child care have less to do with the interests of children than with the interests of the feminist elite of working mothers that Hillary has come to exemplify. If children mature much earlier than is conventionally believed, and if such needs as they still have for adult supervision can be met by federal day-care centers, then career-first moms (and dads, for that matter) need not have their busy days bustling from law offices to corporate board rooms to television studios troubled by occasional pangs of conscience for their neglected children. It lets all of America's Hillarys right off the hook, once and for all.

The children's rights movement fizzled out in the late seventies, far too wacky to get very far even in the pre-Reagan courts. About the only chance it has to make a resurgence, and it's a slender one, is if Bill Clinton is elected President and his wife assumes responsibility for screening his judicial appointees, as she did in Arkansas, according to a story in the *New York Times*.

If one is to believe street talk in Arkansas, Hillary's rejection of traditional family life is not confined to her scholarly scribbles. The status of the Clintons' marriage, including the possibility that Bill's extramarital wanderings reflect an "open marriage," is the subject of wide speculation and gossip in Arkansas political circles. Those close to the Clintons hotly deny any such allegations.

Friends of the Clintons say that there is a very powerful bond between them, a bond immediately apparent to anyone who sees them together. "What I get a sense of when I'm around them is a really powerful relationship, of two people who really take a lot of delight in each other," says Hillary's close friend, film actress Mary Steenburgen.

Powerful though it may be, there is a pattern of details about their relationship that suggests it is not as fully fused as an old-fashioned marriage. The Clinton's financial assets are separately held; Bill draws a modest salary as governor, and basically the rest of their assets are under Hillary's name. (Despite her husband's frequent public complaints about the investment in non-productive assets and "paper profits" of the eighties, Hillary appears to have done well by such an aggressive strategy in the decade of greed. "At Wharton business school this spring, [Clinton] was yelling at them about how many of them went off to be investment bankers and did this sophisticated financial stuff instead of

doing something that was actually productive," says a source familiar with the couple's tax returns. "Hillary herself in 1987 bought these straddles, Standard and Poors. She's done the kind of stuff that he thinks is bad. The way they've actually gotten the richest is that in 1986 Hillary sunk a lot of her money into this thing called the Value Partnership.

It's very aggressively managed: they short all of these stocks, there are all these puts and calls, and it did very well for them." But Hillary has never been one to let principle stand in the way of pecuniary gain: in 1981 she reported a tidy, if politically incorrect, capital gain from the sale of stock in De Beers, the South African diamond barons.)

The Clintons give to separate charities. And attend separate churches; he's a Baptist and she's a Methodist. But if one is to believe wicked gossips in Little Rock, they do attend church at the same time: election time. The two also take separate vacations. Hillary vacations annually with the Arkansas native Steenburgen, daughter Chelsea (named after sixties folkie Judy Collins' hit "Chelsea Morning") in tow. San Francisco is a favorite destination. (Steenburgen explains that they are mother-daughter deals, to which even her son is not invited.) As should be clear by now, the Clintons have separate ideological agendas, and Hillary is indeed a faction leader within the Clinton campaign. And finally, press reports notwithstanding, Hillary appears to have retained her maiden name. Legend has it that after many blamed her retention of her maiden name, Rodham, for her husband's failed re-election bid in 1980, Hillary took his last name. Strangely, though, the name she gives on page one of her 1991 tax return is Hillary Rodham.

None of these details in and of itself rebuts the Clinton

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competitive corporate life . . . is not the way
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loyalists' avowals of a "powerful relationship" or a "strong bond." Indeed, many of these arrangements are typical of modern marriages among elite segments of society. But that's just the point. They are typical of modern, post-sixties counterculture designer marriages, not of traditional, pre-counterculture marriages. Steenburgen puts it this way: "They're two whole people. One hasn't given away huge parts of themselves to the other."

In 1978, Hillary Rodham was appointed Chairman of the Board of the Legal Services Corporation (LSC) by Jimmy Carter. Established by Congress as a federally funded, independent, private, non-profit, and *non-political* corporation to provide legal assistance to the poor in non-criminal cases, the LSC degenerated under Rodham into what the late Warren Brookes called "a \$300 million liberal political action committee," rife with illegality. During her chairmanship and later tenure on the board, the LSC published a political training manual showing "how community organizations and public interest groups can win political power and resources," a sequel to the earlier "Tactical Investigations of People's Struggles." They even made a contribution to a mayoral campaign in Georgia, rationalizing it as "a project to educate clients about their rights in the legislative process."

In January 1980, the LSC funneled taxpayer money into something called the Proposition 9 Task Force, a campaign to coordinate the efforts of thirty LSC grant recipient groups and 500 attorneys in California to defeat Proposition 9, a ballot initiative to cut state income taxes in half. The LSC is explicitly barred by its charter from providing this type of assistance to defeat a state ballot initiative, and in a September 19, 1983 report, the Comptroller General of the United States (GAO) nailed the Rodham LSC to the wall.

According to the report, the LSC, the Western Center on Law and Poverty (the California legal services grantee that requested and received a \$61,655 LSC "Special Needs" grant to hire four "coordinators" to direct the campaign), "and certain other unidentified California Legal Services grantees violated the provision of 42 U.S.C. §2996e(d)(4) in providing funds and personnel support for the Proposition 9 Task Force that operated a large-scale opposition campaign to the Proposition 9 ballot measure."

Because the Task Force "had obtained staff commitments from approximately 30 California Legal Services Programs funded by the Corporation," the GAO concluded that LSC resources dedicated to the campaign went far beyond those accounted for in the "special needs" grant. According to the report: "The cost of these staff commitments is unknown and difficult to compute, considering the lapsed time. However, we know that the campaign lasted approximately 3 months and that many staff persons at field offices throughout California devoted at least half their time to the campaign. With the grant . . . the Task Force hired four coordinators who had experience working with poor people and in political campaigns. Funds were also expended on clerical staff, travel, printing and postage associated with campaign activities." These activities, the Comptroller concluded, "were the precise sort . . . prohibited

by the statute's injunction against using corporate funds to oppose a ballot measure that is already on the ballot and where client's legal rights are not at issue."

But Task Force 9 was a mere pilot project in politicization and illegality, compared to the corporation's 1981 effort to mobilize Legal Services lawyers into a nationwide network of resistance to Reagan Administration plans to restrain the growth of entitlements and social programs and rein in the rogue LSC. In January 1981, the LSC held a Regional Project Directors meeting in Boulder, Colorado, attended by a host of officials from grantee organizations in nearby states and Corporation officials from



Washington. In a training session captured on videotape, a parade of speakers took the floor to denounce Reagan fiscal policy in startlingly frank terms and outline their plans for organizing an LSC network to combat it.

The GAO concluded from the remarks that LSC grantee officials had violated statutory bars against using LSC money to hold training programs to advocate public policies, encourage political activities, or create associations, federations, or networks. They faulted the Corporation itself for failing to insure the compliance of its grantees with the provisions of the Legal Services Corporation Act.

In 1982, Hillary and other holdovers from the Carter LSC board made one more attempt to nullify Reagan's mandate by seeking an injunction in the U.S. District Court to prevent the newly appointed Reagan board from assuming

control of the board or even holding a meeting of the board. They moved on the grounds that the Reagan board members, as recess appointments, had not been confirmed by the Senate, as required by the LSC act. In denying the motion, the judge observed that four members of the Carter board had themselves been recess appointments. One of the four was Hillary Rodham.

Because of the way the Legal Services Corporation Act is written, only the corporation itself has the power to enforce compliance with the Act by grantees: No third party has standing to sue to compel compliance. Given this virtual immunity to external authority, Hillary's lax supervision of the Corporation, while its staff not only tolerated but actively encouraged prohibited political action by grantees, was an especially egregious betrayal of the public trust.

Hillary served in 1987-88 as director and chair of the board of directors of the New World Foundation, a philanthropy dedicated to the support of "progressive activist organizations," as she puts it in her foreword to the group's annual report for 1987-88. While the foundation (ranked as one of the country's ten most liberal in a recent Capital Research Center monograph) does back some fairly well-known liberal groups (Norman Lear's People for the American Way, Randall Robinson's Trans-Africa Forum, and the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund), under Hillary it also financed a number of groups associated with the hard left.

In 1988, New World gave \$5,000 to the Committee in Support of the People of El Salvador (CISPES) education fund. CISPES was founded at meetings in New York City in 1980 by Farid Handal (brother of El Salvador's Communist party chief Shafik Handal), who had come to the United States to mobilize American support for the FMLN, the major Communist guerrilla organization in El Salvador. Also in 1988, New World gave \$2,500 to Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting, a group dedicated to exposing conservative bias in the media, especially the television networks. That's right, conservative bias. In *Extra!*, its newsletter, FAIR chastised such liberal standard-bearers as Michael Kinsley and National Public Radio for being too tough on Jesse Jackson. Last year, in a special issue of the newsletter devoted to media coverage of the Persian Gulf War, editor Jim Naurekas lashed out: "The euphoria at the beginning and the end of the Persian Gulf War brackets one of the most disturbing episodes in U.S. journalistic history—a period when many reporters for the national media abandoned any pretense of neutrality or reportorial distance in favor of boosterism for the war effort." (While Bill Clinton maintains he supported the decision to move militarily in the Gulf, I'm not so sure about Hillary. Mary Steenburgen recalls a conversation in which she along with Hillary and another friend discussed their "feelings" about the prospect of U.S. involvement in the war. "Both of them had felt like [Saddam] was a really frightening person that was potentially very dangerous to people, yet we all talked about our feelings that war was not

the way to solve everything," she says. *Potentially* very dangerous? The guy had gassed Kurdish villages and conquered a neighbor by this time.)

In 1988, Hillary lavished \$20,000 on the Christic Institute, the far left crackpots who flacked the "secret team" theory, alleging a massive, 20-year conspiracy by CIA and Special Forces operatives to do everything from run a heroin ring out of Indochina in the sixties to topple the Sandinistas in the eighties. In June 1991, they were assessed \$1.1 million in court-ordered sanctions for filing a frivolous lawsuit against General John Singlaub and other supposed secret teamsters. Hillary doled out \$15,000 in 1987 to the National Lawyers Guild, founded in the 1930s as an adjunct to the American Communist party and retaining party ties to this day. Support also went to the Center for Constitutional Studies (co-founded by Chicago 7 lawyer William Kunstler) and the Institute for Policy Studies (self-styled "center for radical scholarship")—the list goes on and on to include scores of other more obscure but equally fishy-sounding grantees.

While these grants may have gone to projects that sound innocuous enough, if you give twenty thousand bucks to bad folks for a merely objectionable project, then that's twenty thousand they don't have to raise for a truly hideous one. Moreover, in her foreword to the annual report, Hillary makes a special point of New World's predilection for giving money away to the left with no strings attached:

The foundation has recognized the dilemma presented to public policy as federal support is withdrawn from social programs and social advocacy at the same time as the need for such programs grows more acute. As a result philanthropy has had to serve as a bridge from the "system" to the neediest and least represented. The New World Foundation has sought to use its resources to strengthen that bridge and to encourage other foundations to focus on the fragility of activist and advocacy efforts on behalf of the poor in general and people of color in particular. In this effort we have made *mostly general support grants, rather than special project grants, so as to provide core support to organizers and advocates.* [Emphasis added.]

Guess you can't be too choosy with Ronald Reagan on the loose.

There are those who would say of Hillary's involvement in radical politics, "Aw, she was just a kid." But she wasn't just a kid. She was a middle-aged woman of 40 when sponsoring the hard left from her perch at the New World Foundation. Moreover, she has not, as far as I know, publicly repudiated or even distanced herself from the views or activism described in this article, and her husband's presidential campaign was the perfect occasion to do so. There is no reason she ought to be forgiven, when she hasn't repented. Especially since she is right now doing her utmost to drive her husband's campaign into her own corner of the Democratic party, where the liberal left and the radical left meet. □

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The president in his own terms.

THE CASE FOR BUSH

By Richard Vigilante

Having spent almost four years being dissatisfied with George Bush, I am not surprised most Americans feel the same way. Still, the closer one looks, the clearer it becomes that Bush is one of those presidents to whom history will be very kind, especially if we let him finish his run. In the past four years he has quietly prepared the country for a brilliant turn of the century and perhaps for another American century beyond.

Bush is a much better president than politician. Unlike Reagan, who kept the electorate focused on a few crucial issues, Bush distracts voters by treating even the largest questions as accumulations of detail. He dislikes and is not very good at electoral politics, preferring to deal inside the Beltway rather than carry the fight to the people. And he is an orator in the great tradition of Stengel and Berra. As a result, he has governed almost in private.

Bush's uncommunicativeness is a personal flaw magnified by the political tradition to which he is heir. Bush is a conservative. But like Goldwater, Nixon, Eisenhower, and Rockefeller, he is a Roosevelt-era Republican, the last of a tradition of Republican leaders traumatized by the FDR years and by the electorate's conviction that the Republicans not only caused the Great Depression but were too cold-blooded to do anything about it. These Republicans tended to be electoral pessimists, believing that while it was the great historic mission of their party to provide responsible government and keep Democrats from dissipating the nation's wealth and morals, the electorate was sure to punish them for fulfilling that mission.

In Bush's view, it is part of political life to be punished for doing right, which is why he has such a hard time running on his record. He is averse both to the "do anything as long as you are doing something" approach to government and to the idea that the agenda of good government should be superseded by bright new multipoint policy programs. Also in the Roosevelt-era mode, he tends to compensate by being good at negotiation and skillful behind closed doors.

Seen in this perspective, Bush's record makes far more sense. Take three areas: the economy, civil rights, and social policy. In all three, Bush is regarded as a failure because he has been neither a liberal nor a Reaganite. The opposite is the case. The economy is the most obvious example of this. Although the voters are mad at his apparently lethargic handling of a slump, and though he's said little to change their view, history will almost certainly

credit Bush as one of the two or three best economic presidents of the century. If we stay on course, the United States is almost certainly headed for a great turn-of-the-century boom and strong, steady growth for years beyond. The three great engines of the '90s expansion will be the final victory over the Great Inflation of the 1970s, the expansion of free trade, and the end of communism.

The general rap on Bush is that he has "done nothing about the recession." Good for him. The current slump is global, and the United States is actually doing better than most of the G-7. Most of the forces behind the slump are beyond the government's short-term control, and many will help the economy in the medium and long term: for example, not only did the Gulf crisis bring an oil shock, but as short wars do, it choked the economy rather than stimulated it. The breakup of the Soviet Union and the reunification of Germany have caused a temporary spike in interest rates. The Basel capital agreements caused a temporary tightening in the lending policies of major U.S. banks, but were also a milestone in the integration of the world banking system.

Under these circumstances the last thing we would have wanted was a president who would panic and start bullying the economy, pulling out all the stimulative stops to fake a recovery before the election. Bush has risked his second term to do the right thing. The Great Inflation, brought on by the dissolution of the Bretton Woods system, and only partly tamed by Reagan and Volcker, was fatally wounded by Bush-Greenspan. Inflation has been averaging around 3 percent. If we stay on course it will probably begin the final descent to 2, which economists count as roughly zero. Equally important, the market seems to believe it. Both short- and long-term nominal interest rates are at twenty-year lows or better; the market seems to be surrendering its anticipated inflation premium for long-term rates. Already, as Bear Stearns's chief economist and former OMB official Lawrence Kudlow points out, low inflation and interest rates are providing a sizable "monetary tax cut," lowering the cost of doing business, boosting assets, shrinking debt. The drop in mortgage interest rates alone has given home-owning families a "tax cut" of nearly \$30 billion a year.

Does Bush deserve the credit? Not all of it, of course; a great deal goes to Alan Greenspan. But presidents can either protect the Fed or frustrate it. Carter, ignorant, resentful, inexperienced, and desperate to be re-elected, packed Arthur Burns off to be ambassador to Germany and appointed the pliable G. William Miller, one of the worst chairmen in history, who revved up inflation into the double digits. Bush has done everything right. He reappointed Greenspan to another four-year term in the middle of the recession even after the chairman made it clear he was not going to sacrifice the fight against inflation to Bush's re-election. All presidents complain publicly about the Fed. But despite White House statements claiming (accurately) that the Fed was slowing the recovery, senior Fed officials say Bush has been more supportive of their austere policy than any president in memory. So why isn't Bush crowing about inflation? Well, Roosevelt-era Republicans think stopping inflation is one of the things they

were put on earth to do and then be punished for.

On trade, Bush's performance has been superb. Last year, when the administration made clear it was serious about using the Uruguay round of GATT to reduce world agricultural subsidies, it inspired hilarity among the Europeans and among American reporters, all of whom proclaimed that Bush was being an unrealistic dogmatist. The Uruguay agreement will not be perfect, but thanks to Bush's efforts, it will expand the market for U.S. food products (although sugar will be hurt) and save American consumers some \$30 billion a year in lower food prices. And American farm subsidies will be reduced; Uruguay is also a domestic budget-cutting tool.

If we re-elect Bush, he will bring Mexico into the North American Free Trade Agreement, something we might lose if Clinton's pandering to the Gephardt wing on trade lasts past November. Since Mexico joined GATT in 1986 and sharply reduced its trade barriers, U.S. exports to Mexico have doubled, and our trade deficit with Mexico has dropped substantially; excluding oil, we now run a surplus. If Mexico left the Third World, the economic and social benefits to the United States in the long run would be enormous. NAFTA is a big part of getting there, not only because of the increase in trade it will bring, but because it helps bond Mexico to the worldwide democratic capitalist renaissance.

In social and environmental legislation as on the economy, Bush has been pilloried—and misunderstood. Here again Bush's problems come not from ideology but from another misread aspect of his Roosevelt-era mentality. His keenness for negotiated settlements, in which one wins quietly, almost secretly, by getting the details right, inclines him to work with the Democratic Congress rather than dramatically go over its head to the people. But in the view of the Reaganites, working with Congress produced the great disasters of his first term: the budget deal and what the Bush people respectfully call "the legislative record": the Clean Air Act amendments, the Civil Rights Bill, and the Americans with Disabilities Act.

The conservatives are wrong twice over. First, they have to recognize that avoiding Congress is a romantic fantasy no working president can indulge in. Bush does not have as many votes in the House or as much control of the Senate as Reagan did. Given the numbers, the decision to hammer out the best possible bill and take some political losses rather than make the grand political gesture and end up with a worse bill and an override is not a bad one. Second, the conservatives have to recognize that the Bushites have actually won some critical battles in the details. They have devoted months of political energy to struggles over legislative wording, fighting to define the center and win its votes while preordaining an acceptable outcome when the legislation hits the courts.

The clearest vindication of Bush's strategy came in the two-year struggle over the Civil Rights Bill. Ultimately the administration won a clear victory against rigid racial preferences. The purpose of the Civil Rights Bill of 1990, the Kennedy-Hawkins bill, was to reverse the Supreme Court's 1989 *Wards Cove* decision. Before *Wards Cove* an employer without the right proportion of minorities in a

particular job could find himself on the defensive in court even if he clearly had not intended to discriminate. *Wards Cove* shifted most of the advantages to the employer, requiring the plaintiff to identify the specific employment practice that was causing the disparate impact, and to demonstrate that the practice was not excused by "business necessity."

Bush vetoed Kennedy-Hawkins and was upheld, but that was only the first act: there were more than enough votes to override a veto for a compromise bill perceived as moderate. Both sides set out on a long struggle to control the compromise, fighting for language that a majority of Congress would accept but that would go their way in court. On the day Bush signed, it was already clear the administration had won more than it lost. If, as the early returns suggest, the courts buy the administration's interpretation of most of the compromise language, the great civil rights lobby push to overturn *Wards Cove* was a bust (see "Discrimination Endgame" by Paul Gewirtz, *TNR*, August 12, 1991). There is also a big net improvement in the bill that had nothing to do with *Wards Cove*: it makes race norming of test scores illegal.

The Americans with Disabilities Act (which critics fear will overburden employers and landlords required to accommodate the handicapped) and the Clean Air Act amendments are variations on the same story: not quite enough votes, long fights over the details, particularly over adjudicable language, better-than-expected results. The amendments to the Clean Air Act, to which even the conservative Heritage Foundation gave "two cheers," introduce into federal statute for the first time market-oriented environmental strategies that conservatives have been advocating for years. Moreover Bush, who concedes he gave the regulatory agencies too much rope in his first two years, has promised to lighten the regulatory impact of both bills administratively.

On social policy, the Bush administration is being attacked by the right and the left, both of which argue that it has no social policy, except a usually damaging pragmatism. Reaganites attack anything that is not ideologically satisfying; and Clintonites charge do-nothingism. In these pages, Mickey Kaus recently claimed (see "Paradigm's Loss," July 27) that Bush New Paradigmers such as James Pinkerton and Jack Kemp are actually betraying the cause because Bush has done nothing to enact the New Paradigm while Clinton is a true believer.

In fact, it is probably the Clinton Paradigmers who are fooling themselves. Bush, who gave Pinkerton his position in the first place, and under whose aegis the movement was born (though many of the ideas were first tried under Reagan), is nursing the substance of the paradigm along very nicely.

Take school choice. Choice cannot be programmed from Washington. It is too dependent on local leadership. The best a president can give school choice is "bush plus," the plus being a modest financial incentive for state or local education authorities to move toward choice. It was Bush, Lamar Alexander, and a few top Bushies who made choice a serious national issue, not

only by talking about it and helping local choice leaders achieve national visibility, but by placing it on the administration's legislative agenda. The administration's G.I. Bill for Kids, for example, now before Congress, would attach \$1,000 per child to students in selected school districts that set up choice programs.

But effective school choice is an extremely difficult political goal. Like many New Paradigm projects, it requires declaring war on that vast bureaucratic postindustrial complex that dominates not only the educational and social welfare system but the Democratic Party. The administrators, the consultants, the NEA, the schools of education, lose everything under choice. Bush has the potential and the political base to see this through. There is every indication that he is committed to the decentralized imposition of the policy. In all likelihood, Clinton would be hobbled by the very Democratic interest groups school choice undermines.

Much the same story could be told of the rest of the agenda: tenant management and housing vouchers, which made some inroads under the Bush administration. Bush has made modest progress; Clinton will probably be politically incapacitated if he so much as tries. What's more, Bush (with the help of some progressive young Democrats) beat the bureaucratic ABC day care bill and instead increased the earned income tax credit to give working low-income families the single biggest boost in government aid in history. Even Clinton cites Kemp's ideas at HUD as model New Paradigm proposals. All of them would be

stymied by the influx of standard-issue Democrats into the middle and upper echelons of the bureaucracy.

In all of these areas—economic policy, domestic legislation, civil rights, and education—a clear argument can be made for Bush's presidency: for his courage, for his attendance to the details of government rather than the dictates of politics, and for his tangible experimentation with new models of government.

Bush is called a caretaker president, and that is meant as criticism, or at best a left-handed compliment, a synonym for lethargy or lack of imagination, a man suited only to quiet times. That's all wrong. Precisely because these are not quiet times, we need someone like Bush. America has been dealt a rich but complicated hand; for all the talk about the urgent needs for bold, new policies, what we really need to do now is play out that hand without messing up. We need strength of character more than policy papers. We need someone who cares about making the right choice even when the country may not credit him for it because the choices are complicated and obscure and difficult to explain in a sound bite. We need someone who expects virtue to be its own reward, a man who cares more about doing just right, the tasks history hands him than about putting his own mark on all he sees. It is a time remarkably well-suited to Bush. He has done well; we should let him finish.

RICHARD VIGILANTE is writing a book about the *New York Daily News* strike and the future of American labor.

SAMUEL K. SKINNER

General Chairman of the Republican National Committee

Samuel K. Skinner was elected General Chairman of the Republican National Committee on August 21, 1992. Prior to taking office as General Chairman, Mr. Skinner served as Chief of Staff to the President of the United States. As Chief of Staff, he served as a member of the President's Cabinet, acted as a senior policy adviser to the President on a wide range of issues, and was the highest-ranking official in the Executive Office of the President at the White House.

Prior to his White House service, Mr. Skinner served in the President's Cabinet for nearly three years as Secretary of Transportation, where he was credited with numerous successes, including the development of the President's National Transportation Policy and the passage of landmark aviation and surface transportation legislation. In addition, Mr. Skinner acted as the President's point person in numerous crisis situations, including the Eastern Airlines strike, the Exxon Valdez oil spill, the Northern California earthquake, Hurricane Hugo, and the 1991 national rail strike.

From 1977 to 1989, Mr. Skinner practiced law as a senior partner in the Chicago law firm of Sidley & Austin, where he served on the firm's executive committee. From 1984 to 1988, while practicing law full time, he also served as Chairman of the Regional Transportation Authority of Northeastern Illinois, the nation's second largest mass transportation district. Also during that time, President Reagan appointed Mr. Skinner Vice Chairman of the President's Commission on Organized Crime.

From 1968 to 1975, Mr. Skinner served in the office of the United States Attorney for the Northern District of Illinois, the nation's fourth largest district. In 1975, President Ford appointed him United States Attorney for the Northern District of Illinois, the first career prosecutor ever to hold that position. In this capacity, he also served as a member of the Department of Justice's White Collar Crime Committee and the United States Attorney General's Advisory Committee.

Mr. Skinner held various sales and management positions with IBM Corporation from 1961 to 1968. In 1967, IBM selected him Outstanding Salesman of the Year.

Mr. Skinner has long been active in Republican politics, campaigning for presidential candidate Barry Goldwater in 1964 and for hundreds of candidates at the local and federal level ever since. In 1980, he served as Co-Chairman of George Bush's Illinois campaign for the 1980 Republican presidential nomination. In 1988, Mr. Skinner was Illinois campaign director of the presidential campaign of Vice President Bush.

Mr. Skinner graduated from the University of Illinois in 1960 with a Bachelor of Science in Accounting. He served as a Lieutenant and a tank platoon leader in the United States Army in 1960-1961. He graduated from DePaul University Law School in 1966, where he served on the Law Review.

Mr. Skinner has received numerous honorary degrees and awards and has been selected by both of his alma maters as an outstanding alumnus. An Eagle Scout as a young man, Mr. Skinner has been awarded the Distinguished Eagle Scout award by the Boy Scouts of America. He received his student pilot's license in 1957 and is today a jet-certified pilot.

Samuel K. Skinner was born on June 10, 1938 in Chicago, Illinois. He is married to Mary Jacobs Skinner, a lawyer. Mr. Skinner, who received the 1991 National Father of the Year award from the National Father's Day Committee, has three children: Thomas and Steven, who are lawyers, and Jane, who is a broadcast journalist.

HEALTH CARE

- Insure proper immunizations
 - Ensure continued viability of rural hospitals
 - Encourage tort reform to lessen medical malpractice suits
 - Support biotechnology advances
 - Reduce health care costs, now outpacing inflation
 - Expand maternal and child health block grants for extensive education effort
- The President has increased Federal support for Centers for Disease Control childhood immunizations by \$208 million, a 148% increase over FY89.
 - The President's FY93 Budget would boost spending for primary care services for rural areas with total funding up 42% since FY89. Spending for the Health Services Corporation, which provides care to needy in rural communities, is up 150% since FY89.
 - In May 1991, the President sent to Congress his Medical Malpractice Tort Reform legislation which would reduce incentives to file meritless medical malpractice suits, lower insurance premiums and increase access to health care in underserved areas; Congress has yet to act on the legislation.
 - In his FY93 budget the President proposed a national Biotechnology Research Initiative to expand U.S. leadership in research and commercialization of biotech products. The budget for FY93 calls for spending over \$4 billion, an increase of 7% over FY92 and 18% over the past two years. The Vice President's Council on Competitiveness has also reformed regulation of biotechnology companies to allow more rapid approval of safe new biotech products.
 - The President has proposed legislation to reform state medical malpractice laws; the President's comprehensive health care plan contains a number of initiatives to cut administrative costs by increasing competition among providers and insurers, and reforming the way federal health programs work. The President's plan would also help brake rising costs.
 - President Bush has raised funding for Maternal and Child Health Block Grants by \$33 million since taking office. Should the President's FY93 budget be approved, funding for Maternal and Child Health block grants will have risen from \$554 million in 1989 to \$674 million in 1993, an increase of \$120 million over 1989 levels.

- Provide medical coverage for women and infants, up to one year to decrease infant mortality

- The President supported and signed into law legislation to improve health care coverage for pregnant women and infants. These mandate coverage of pregnant women and children up to age six with incomes below 133% of poverty; and ensure that payments to obstetricians and pediatricians are sufficient to make covered services available. In addition, the President's FY93 budget proposes over \$9.4 billion for activities to reduce infant mortality. This includes a 123% increase in Healthy Start, an initiative that targets Federal resources to 15 areas with exceptionally high rates of infant mortality.

- Work with states to provide increased coverage to children in low-income families

- To ensure adequate health care to children in poor families, the President supported and signed into law the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990, which guarantees medicaid eligibility for all poor children born after September 30, 1983.

- Phase in coverage for adults at affordable rates

- The President's comprehensive health care plan provides for tax credits and deductions for the purchase of a basic level of health insurance.

- Support multiple-employer trusts and other risk pool mechanisms as incentives to employers

- The President's comprehensive health care plan calls for the creation of Health Insurance Networks that would allow smaller employers to band together to buy health insurance. By reforming the way the insurance market works, the President's proposals go a long way toward extending access to care without new mandates or taxes.

- Cover serious preexisting conditions through state risk pools

- Current practices that distort access to insurance coverage—a history of sickness making people medically uninsurable and small employers finding insurance unaffordable because of one sick employee or family member—would be changed under the President's plan. Individuals who were covered by health insurance would be able to change jobs without facing the loss of their insurance due to preexisting conditions clauses.

- Enforce anti-patient dumping laws at hospitals

- The Department of Health and Human Services has reviewed 873 complaints against hospitals for patient dumping since 1988, has found 620 violations, and six hospitals have been terminated from the Medicaid program.

AIDS

- Promote AIDS education
 - Provide money for research and treatment
 - Test with appropriate guarantees of confidentiality
 - Support laws barring discrimination against people suffering from AIDS
 - AZT - continue expedited availability
 - Adjust Medicaid requirements to expand eligibility
 - Encourage home health care
- The President's FY93 budget asks for \$621 million for AIDS prevention, a large share of which is for educational activities.
 - The federal government now spends more for AIDS research than for any other disease except cancer—\$1.2 billion will be spent in FY93 alone, a 39% increase since the President took office.
 - The President respects the privacy of all Americans and therefore believes that records pertaining to the AIDS virus should be kept confidential.
 - The President worked for passage of, and then signed, the Americans with Disabilities Act which will provide legal protection to HIV-infected Americans against discrimination in public employment.
 - The Administration has streamlined the review process for AZT and other drugs to expedite the availability of promising new treatments. One of the first results of this new process was the rapid approval of the drug DDI, which helps those who cannot tolerate or show no improvement with AZT. In addition, seven other drugs have received FDA approval for the treatment of AIDS-related illnesses. Over 50 drugs to slow the progress of HIV or minimize its complications, and seven potential vaccines, are currently in NIH-sponsored clinical trials.
 - President Bush supported and signed into law the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990, expanding Medicaid eligibility for low-income pregnant women and children up to six years old.
 - President Bush supported and signed into law the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990, establishing home and community-based care for the disabled elderly as an optional Medicaid service through fiscal year 1998. The Bush Administration approved a New York State program that encourages the elderly to buy nursing-home insurance and to exempt them from Medicaid exclusions for personal wealth.



- Clinton's own administration admits that Arkansas has the highest teenage pregnancy rates among blacks in the nation.

(Christian Science Monitor, 2/19/92)

Civil Rights

"Discrimination is an evil that strikes at the very heart of the American ideal."

— George Bush (11/21/91)

- President Bush's approach to civil rights is based on two fundamental goals: the protection of equal opportunity and increased opportunity.
- The Bush administration has vigorously pursued enforcement of civil rights laws. According to the Justice Department:
 - Thirty cases of hate crimes were prosecuted in FY '90. The conviction rate was 100 percent in all 30 of those cases.
 - Thirty-five cases of hate crimes were prosecuted in FY '91. The conviction rate was 98 percent among those cases.
- The Department of Housing and Urban Development is sponsoring a \$1 million sting operation to expose banks, thrifts and mortgage companies that treat minority loan applications unfairly.

July 1992

Disabled Americans must become full partners in the American dream.

- On July 26, 1990, the President signed the Americans with Disabilities Act.
- This landmark law strives to open up all aspects of American life to individuals with disabilities: employment opportunities, government services, public accommodations, transportation and telecommunications.
- The act is the broadest expansion of the nation's civil rights laws since the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It opens the door of opportunity to the 43 million Americans who have some form of disability.

Quotas turn equal opportunity upside down.

- President Bush has consistently pursued a civil rights policy based on equal opportunity. But at the same time, the President has steadfastly opposed quotas.
- For two years, Sen. Ted Kennedy (D-Mass.) and liberal special-interest groups pressed for a quota bill. The President fought this bill at every step: he vetoed the bill in 1990, and warned that he would do it again.

• A year later, the President prevailed and secured an acceptable civil rights bill that did not include quota provisions. This bill, supported by the leading conservatives in Congress, was overwhelmingly passed by the House and Senate.

The Clinton Record

- With Bill Clinton governor for 12 out of the last 14 years, Arkansas is one of only two states without a civil rights law, and one of only nine states without a law banning housing discrimination. (*Time*, 4/13/92)
- Clinton's Democratic Leadership Council endorsed an anti-quota resolution at its 1991 convention. That same year, Clinton signed legislation — Acts 1163 and 1164 of 1991 — specifically mandating racial quotas in school administrators and a state commission. (DLC Source: The New American Choice, 5/7/91)
- Only after Clinton began testing the waters for a presidential campaign — and the issue of "race-norming" tests gained national attention in 1991 — did Clinton end Arkansas' use of the practice in filling state jobs. No complaints or problems were found with the program. (AP, 6/3/91)

The Clinton Record

- Gov. Clinton opposes tax credits for health care. (AP, 2/12/92)
- While Clinton avoids the words, his health care plan is essentially the Democratic Congress' Play-or-Pay concept — imposing huge new costs on small businesses, ultimately costing jobs. The Joint Economic Committee (JEC Health Care Briefing Paper, 4/9/92) estimates that the first-year costs of a program could be as high as \$88 billion, with \$42 billion in employer costs.
- *The New York Times* (4/2/92) described Clinton's attention to state health care issues as "occasional." Statistics support this assertion:
 - One in four Arkansans has no health insurance; it's one in seven nationwide. (*The New York Times*, 4/2/92)
 - In 1988, Arkansas ranked 15th in the country in infant mortality rates, with 10.7 deaths per 1,000 live births. (U.S. National Center for Health Statistics, 1991 *Statistical Abstract*)
 - Between 1980 and 1988, the percentage of low birth-weight babies increased by more than 7.8 percent; nationally, the increase was only 1.4 percent. (U. S. National Center for Health Statistics, 1991 *Statistical Abstract*)

July 1992

Health Care

"Anyone who's tried to track down a missing Social Security check or wasted a day in line at the Department of Motor Vehicles is going to think long and hard before they let government play doctor."

— George Bush (2/7/92)

The President's health care plan favors market reforms over big-government socialized medicine.

- The President's comprehensive health care plan addresses the two major problems facing the U.S. health care system: inadequate access to health care and excessive growth in health care costs.
- The President's plan builds on the strengths of America's health care system: the freedom of individuals to *choose* physicians, hospitals and health plans.

The President has a sound Four-Point Plan to cure the nation's health care problems.

1) Make health care more accessible by making health insurance more affordable. Key elements for expanding coverage include:

- Extending coverage to poor families by offering them a voucher worth up to \$3,750

- Extending a tax deduction up to \$1,250 for individuals earning up to \$50,000 and \$3,750 for families with incomes less than \$80,000
- Allowing the self-employed to deduct 100 percent of the cost of health insurance premiums.

2) Reduce the runaway costs of health care by making the system more efficient. Key elements include:

- Encouraging Medicare and Medicaid patients to join HMOs
- Providing states with incentives to reform their medical malpractice insurance laws
- Limiting the number of state mandates that increase costs and limit consumer choice
- Encouraging small businesses to band together to increase their power in buying insurance
- Increasing funding for preventative health activities.

3) Cut administrative waste and excess in the current system by:

- Changing insurance laws and reforming markets to end the paperwork blizzard afflicting the entire health insurance industry

- Establishing Health Insurance Networks (HINs) bringing together many purchasers, thereby cutting the cost of administering health insurance and reducing the cost of premiums.

4) Control the growth in entitlement programs by controlling the growth in government health programs.

- Both Medicare and Medicaid have grown rapidly in the Bush administration.
- Since 1989, Medicaid expenditures have increased 108 percent to \$127 billion. And Medicare expenditures are rising by 10 percent a year.
- The President has sought to ensure that seniors and the poor are protected against the high cost of health care while constraining the rate of health care inflation in Medicare and Medicaid.

Democrats reject market reforms and favor a version of socialized medicine that they euphemistically call "Play-or-Pay."

- The Democrats' proposal would be a huge tax on every American small business. The result? More Americans with neither health insurance nor a job.
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- Since then, lawyers have been targeted by the Clinton finance team. Officials of the Clinton campaign admit, "the bottom line is it's a group that has been organized to raise money. ... Obviously, down the line, these people will have input." (*Legal Times*, 3/2/92)

- Clinton's efforts on behalf of lawyers have paid off. The Clinton campaign has taken in more than \$2.5 million from lawyers and lobbyists — by far the most from any other group. (*New York Times*, 7/27/92)

- His record in Arkansas has been pro-lawyer. Not surprisingly, "Arkansas is one of the few states not to have passed any significant legislation limiting liability or cutting down costs in tort litigation." (*Legal Times*, 3/23/92)

July 1992

Legal Reform

"If we were as good at rewarding success as we are at suing each other, we would be a century ahead of the rest of the world."

— George Bush (1/30/92)

Our current legal system strangles the economy and costs us jobs.

- The President and the Republican Party want legal reform:
 - A legal system that doesn't discourage moms and dads from coaching little league
 - A legal system that doesn't discourage doctors from delivering babies
 - A legal system that doesn't destroy our health care system with outrageous costs.
- But this kind of common sense and fairness in our legal system is too much to expect from the Democrats.
- What do the Democrats say? They're against any reform proposals put forward by President Bush and Vice President Quayle.

Frivolous litigation kills the economy.

- There are 18 million civil lawsuits filed each year in this country, and litigation/liability costs are approaching \$300 billion a year. For our foreign competitors, that figure is 20 to 50 times lower than for U.S. companies.

- In a speech before the American Bar Association (8/13/91), Vice President Quayle asked: "After all, let's ask ourselves ... does America really need 70 percent of the world's lawyers?"

The President has targeted five areas for common-sense legal reform:

- Discovery.** The administration's reforms will discourage overuse and abuse of pre-trial discovery costs.
- Punitive Damages.** The President's proposals restore fairness by placing appropriate limits on punitive damages and requiring clear proof of damage.
- Fairness Rule for Attorney's Fees.** Make the loser pay the winner's legal fees and court costs.
- Expert Evidence.** The President's proposals will require federal courts to verify the legitimacy of expert witnesses and to ensure that their testimony is based on "widely accepted" theories, not "junk science."
- "Multi-Door Courthouse."** This proposal promotes alternative dispute resolutions.

This country's unfortunate obsession with the lawsuit is denying consumers new products, manufacturers new sources of income and workers new sources of jobs.

- Higher legal costs mean Americans pay higher prices for everything from medical treatment to consumer goods. For example, 17 percent of the cost of an ordinary stepladder is used for product liability protection.
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The Clinton Record

- Clinton is the champion of the status quo for America's legal system. He "is on record, opposing the proposals promoted by Vice President Quayle," according to a fund-raising letter written by Wisconsin attorney Robert Habush to that state's trial lawyers' association.
- Clinton has called (*Benton Air Courier*, 8/14/91) the Bush administration's proposals "trivial choices" and says that he "believe[s] in the tort system." (*National Law Journal*, 2/17/92)
- In August 1991, Clinton pandered to the American Bar Association, saying, "Does anyone here believe you are the biggest problem?" (*Benton Air Courier*, 8/14/91)

The Environment

- Statistics compiled by the Institute for Southern Studies of Durham, N.C. (August 1991) indicate Clinton's record is one of neglect: Arkansas ranked 50th, worst in the country, for the quality of state environmental initiatives. Robert Hall, research director at the institute, commented that "In the areas of policy — laws passed, not task forces or commissions set up to study a problem — Arkansas was 50th, the worst in the nation."
(*N.Y. Newsday*, 3/22/92)

- Other relevant rankings:
 - 42nd in percentage of polluted rivers and streams
 - 47th in per capita toxic chemical releases to surface water
 - 42nd in per capita toxic chemical releases to air
 - 41st in per capita ozone depleting emissions
 - 43rd in per capita spending on air pollution.
- Richard Mason, Clinton appointee and chairman of the state's Pollution Control and Ecology Commission, has said: "We deserve to be low on the list. It doesn't mean Arkansas has dirtier air than California, but if California was operating on the laws of Arkansas, you'd probably have to have a gas mask." (*Arkansas Democrat*, 8/13/91)

"There's something more we owe the generations of the future: stewardship, the safe keeping of America's precious environmental inheritance."

— George Bush (1/31/90)

President Bush's record is a lifelong commitment to the environment.

- Since taking office, George Bush has been the "environmental president." In fact, you have to reach back to Teddy Roosevelt to find a president who's been as actively committed and engaged in environmental issues as George Bush.
- The President is doing everything he can to strike a balance between preserving the environment and protecting the jobs and livelihoods of working men and women.

The Clean Air Act

- The President proposed, negotiated and signed into law the landmark Clean Air Act of 1990. Previously, the bill had languished on Capitol Hill for 13 years.
- The Clean Air Act will cut in half emissions that cause acid rain, will cut by 90 percent air emissions of toxic chemicals that cause cancer, and will bring American cities into compliance with health-based standards for smog and carbon monoxide.

Besides cleaning up our air, President Bush has worked to protect our coastlines and the nation's wetlands.

- In June 1990, President Bush postponed for more than 10 years offshore oil and gas development off the coasts of California, Oregon, Washington, southern Florida, and parts of New England.
- President Bush kept his 1988 promise of "no net loss of wetlands." Federal spending for wetlands acquisition and enhancement has increased more than 100 percent.

The President also recognizes that environmental problems transcend national boundaries and that environmental stewardship requires international action as well.

- President Bush secured an international agreement to completely phase out ozone-depleting chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) by the year 2000.
- Under the Bush administration, the United States was the first nation to legislate the phase out of CFCs and to contribute to an international fund to make it possible for less-developed countries to comply with the accord. Today, the United States is 23 percent ahead of the internationally required schedule to phase out CFCs.
- The United States is the leader in international efforts to research and respond to the prospect of global climate change.

In June, President Bush attended the U.N. Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro to remind the world that the United States is the leader in environmental protection.

- While in Rio, the President made sure the international community understood the importance of seeking a scientifically sound and practical consensus on ways to harmonize the world's environmental needs. The President made it clear that he would resist environmental extremism in defense of American jobs.
-

The Clinton Record

- When asked at a Democratic debate, Clinton could not cite a single state law that exceeds federal environmental standards. (N.Y. Democratic primary debate, WNBC-TV, 4/5/92)
- And his hypocrisy on the campaign trail has come back to haunt him. Though he now delights in bashing the President's position on wetlands as not strict enough, Gov. Clinton wrote the Bush administration seeking relaxation of wetlands regulations for Arkansas farmers. (*The Arkansas Democrat Gazette*, 3/5/92)

"We will work to break down the walls that stop world trade. We will work to open markets everywhere... In our major trade negotiations, I will continue pushing to eliminate tariffs and subsidies that damage America's farmers and workers."

— George Bush (1/28/92)

President Bush seeks to create jobs and opportunity in the United States through free and fair trade throughout the world, and his efforts to open world markets and promote U.S. exports have paid off handsomely.

- Since President Bush took office, the export boom has accounted for 70 percent of U.S. economic growth and generated an estimated 1.8 million new American jobs.
- In 1991, America regained its position as the world's leading exporter of goods; U.S. merchandise exports reached \$422 billion, ahead of Germany and Japan.
- Export growth has occurred in many sectors. Since 1988, consumer goods exports are up 55 percent; capital goods exports are up 40 percent; and industrial goods exports are up 27 percent.
- Since President Bush took office, the U.S. trade deficit has declined almost 44 percent, from \$119 billion to \$66 billion.
- The February 1992 trade deficit of \$3.4 billion was the lowest monthly deficit in nine years.

President Bush continues to support free trade with his initiatives to lift barriers.

- The President is pursuing a two-pronged strategy to open markets: to successfully conclude the Uruguay Round of world trade talks and to negotiate with key trading partners.
- Completion of the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) will improve the international business environment for U.S. products and services, boosting our economy over the next decade by \$1.1 trillion.
- The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) initiated by President Bush will unite the United States with Canada and Mexico, its first and third largest trading partners, creating the largest common market in the world. This means 360,000 new American jobs.
- Changes throughout the world will create new opportunities for U.S. goods and services — in the European Community, the newly formed nations of the former U.S.S.R., Eastern Europe, East Asia, and the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative in Latin America — all generating jobs for Americans.

The Clinton Record

- Clinton calls protectionism “just a fancy word for giving up.” In the same breath, however, he calls for “tough trade policies” and a “stronger ... Super 301.” It’s these types of comments that give rise to longtime Clinton observer Paul Greenberg’s assessment that “it’s not clear whether Bill Clinton is for free trade or protectionism and it may never be, but he’s come out four-square for prosperity.” (*News Journal*, 12/10/91)
- For example, Clinton now claims to oppose the Hollings textile bill. That’s a switch! In 1985,

Clinton urged the Arkansas congressional delegation to support passage of virtually the exact same textile bill, a bill that the *Washington Post* labeled “fiercely protectionist.” (*Washington Post*, 9/30/85 and *Arkansas Gazette*, 12/31/85)

- That same year, Clinton urged President Reagan to adopt a blatantly protectionist policy for the shoe industry. Clinton sent a mailgram to the President asking him to impose quotas on footwear imports to provide relief to domestic shoe manufacturers. He wrote “if this industry is allowed to fail, it will be ... disastrous.” (*Arkansas Gazette*, 8/2/85)
- Clinton’s trying to have it both ways on NAFTA. On the one hand, Clinton has strongly endorsed a U.S.-Mexico Free Trade Agreement (FTA). “With Europe going into a unified common market with over 300 million people, I think it is imperative that we make alliances with Mexico,” he said. (*Southwest Times Record*, 6/2/91)
- But now, organized labor, which considers the Mexican FTA anathema, is “breath[ing] a little easier” because Clinton “endorsed the trade position taken by” the Democrats’ leading protectionist, Richard Gephardt (*Washington Post*, 4/14/91). The House majority leader who authored the infamous “Gephardt amendment” has publicly worried that a Mexican FTA “may produce the worst deal since the Red Sox traded Babe Ruth.” (*St. Louis Post Dispatch*, 3/28/91)
- And Clinton said he “applaud[ed]” Gephardt’s call for the NAFTA to include a green tax and a provision to allow shareholders to sue U.S. companies to force compliance with environmental standards in Mexico. (*Wall Street Journal*, 7/29/92)

- Clinton proposes to raise taxes by **\$154 billion** and spending by **\$200 billion** over four years — and his spending does not include his wildly expensive “Play-or-Pay” health care plan. (*Putting People First*, 6/92)

- That’s **three times** the spending and **almost twice** the taxes as Mondale and Dukakis — combined.

- Clinton creates a new top marginal income tax rate that’s an increase of 16 percent over the current rate: from 31 percent to 36 percent. (*The Washington Times*, 6/27/92)

- Bill Clinton would “create” jobs the old-fashioned way: public works.

- “[Clinton’s] new economic plan, unfortunately, tilts in the direction of Old Politics — with emphasis on taxing the rich, spending on public works, and avoiding conflict with interest groups ...”
— Morton Kondracke (*Roll Call*, 6/25/92)

- Clinton opposes the balanced budget amendment. He promises to cut the deficit in half, but specifies only one non-defense budget item he would eliminate: the federal honey subsidy.

- Clinton has raised taxes and fees 128 times in Arkansas. That’s an average of once a month during his tenure.

- Clinton has doubled state spending during his tenure as governor and, since 1983, has doubled per capita state debt. (Arkansas Biennial Budgets and Cato Institute survey, 2/92)

- “He’s been tax-and-spend here, there isn’t any question about it,” said Charles Venus, a Little Rock economist on Clinton’s Council of Economic Advisers. (*The Washington Times*, 7/26/92)

“The power of America rests in a stirring but simple idea: that people will do great things if only you set them free. Well, we’re going to set the economy free, for if this age of miracles has taught us anything, it’s that if we can change the world, we can change America.”

— George Bush, 1/28/92

The President wants to see *real* economic growth.

- That’s why he’s asked for a capital gains tax cut to stimulate investment and create jobs. And three times, in 1989, 1990 and 1992, Congress said no.

- The President wants a \$5,000 tax credit for first-time homebuyers.

- But the Democrats, in the sorriest, saddest, most cynical display of partisanship in recent memory, blocked the President’s change-based economic growth agenda.

The U.S. economy will continue expanding over the next year despite an upturn in unemployment in June, according to a survey of 42 economists by the *Wall Street Journal* (7/6/92).

- “More people were working in June than in any other month since the end of 1990,” according to the *New York Times* (7/5/92). There were 475,000 more people employed in June than in May.

- The economy grew by 2.9 percent in the first quarter of 1992.

- Economists predict that the economy will expand at a 2.7 percent annual rate in this year’s second half, and at a 3.0 percent pace in the first half of 1993. (*Wall Street Journal*, 7/6/92)

- Interest rates are at their lowest levels in two decades while inflation has remained low and stable.

- Recent cuts in interest rates will help bolster the economy and low inflation will stabilize long-term borrowing costs at close to current levels.

Most economic indicators have turned positive.

- U.S. sales of vehicles built in North America rose by 23.9 percent in June 1992.
- The Index of Leading Economic Indicators rose six-tenths of a percent in May 1992, its fifth consecutive advance.
- Consumer debt has fallen by 10 percent since 1988.
- Exports are up 30 percent since 1988.
- As of April 1992, housing starts remained 20 percent above their level of a year ago.
- Machine tool orders for the month of June rose 31.1 percent and machine-tool orders for the first half of 1992 totaled \$1.26 billion, an 8 percent increase over the comparable period last year.
(*Washington Post*, 7/27/92)

President Bush and the nation's governors already know that the administration's enterprise zones initiative is a sound economic plan for America's future. Too bad it's taken Democrats four years to realize that fact.

- In New Jersey, state enterprise zones have created 14,000 jobs and \$1 billion in investments. In Indiana, enterprise zones created 12,000 jobs.
(*Business Facilities Magazine*)
- State-level enterprise zones in 1989 generated more than 184,000 jobs, sustained almost 170,000 other jobs, and brought in \$18 billion worth of new capital investment. (*Business Facilities Magazine*)

Sound policies for long-term growth.

- The President has increased funding for basic research by 25 percent since 1989. The President's

fiscal 1992 budget included \$76 billion for research and development — a record amount and an increase of 13 percent over 1991.

- The President proposes making the tax credit for Research and Experimentation permanent.
- The President favors flexible Individual Retirement Accounts so middle-income taxpayers can make non-deductible contributions of up to \$2,500 per year — and from which contributions and interest may be withdrawn without penalty after seven years.

Balancing the budget means caring about the economy.

- The balanced budget amendment is not just a campaign issue for President Bush. It was his first written request upon taking office.
- George Bush has supported a balanced budget amendment for 14 years.
- The President wants to ensure that discipline exists in the Congress and in the government ... that we balance our checkbook just like every household around the country has to balance theirs.
- Four trillion dollars of debt have been accumulated from the Democrat-led Congress' spendthrift ways.
- Interest payments on the debt will cost the taxpayers \$295 billion in 1992. Twenty-seven percent of all federal revenues fall down the debt sinkhole.
- Getting our government back in the black equals job creation and economic opportunity.

The Clinton Record

- Clinton's plan for the economy? Higher spending, more taxes, more and more government intervention and central planning.

Foreign Policy & Defense

- After the House and Senate votes, only days before the Gulf War began, Clinton said (*Arkansas Gazette*, 1/15/91): "I guess I would have voted with the majority if it was a close vote. But I agree with the argument the minority made." Of course, if the war had gone badly, Clinton could point to the same quote showing his opposition.

- Clinton now says he supports the use of force. But *Washington Times* columnist Paul Greenberg noted (8/13/91): "one of the best kept secrets of Clinton's ... campaign is that he's said he would have sided with those who opposed the President at the time."

- A *Pine Bluff Commercial* editorial (2/21/92) observed that "those seeking Bill Clinton's unwavering support for a crucial decision on war or peace need only meet one requirement: First win the war."

- During a decisive period when the United States was encouraging revolutionary change in the Soviet Union — Clinton was silent. Only two weeks before the August 1991 coup, he said (*Washington Times*, 8/1/91) President Bush is "handling the Soviets well today." Yet Clinton now chides the President for having "hesitated when democratic forces ... needed our support." (Clinton speech, 12/12/91)

Bill Clinton: A danger to America's defense.

- Clinton's defense proposals would undermine American security. Gen. Colin Powell warned that plans to cut deeper would "turn loose a cancer" and put the military "right back to the '70s."

- Powell also warned that plans to keep more reserve forces than necessary "would badly imbalance the force" and hurt active force readiness. (Testimony before Senate Armed Services Committee, 3/20/92)

"The American people need to know the man who answers that (international hotline) phone has the experience, the seasoning to do the right thing."

— George Bush (7/27/92)

The Republican record: a safer and more peaceful world.

- Republican policies of the past 12 years led to peaceful revolutions in Poland and Hungary in 1989, the fall of the Berlin Wall, the end of communism in East Germany and Czechoslovakia, and the dissolution of the "Evil Empire" — the Soviet Union.

- And, for the first time in 45 years, the United States no longer makes nuclear weapons.

The expansion of democracy throughout the world.

- The triumph of democracy and the collapse of communism directly resulted from the Republican policy of peace through strength. The military buildup of the early 1980s helped lead to the demise of Soviet communism by the end of the decade.

- President Bush's support of German reunification contributed significantly to a united Germany in less than a year.

- By January 1990, 17 Latin American countries could be considered democratic. In the 1970s, only seven Latin American and Caribbean nations had open or democratic societies.

The end of the Cold War and the former Soviet Union.

- The world is a safer place under President Bush because of the historic INF treaty which, for the first time in history, eliminated an entire class of nuclear missiles.

- The historic summit between Presidents Bush and Yeltsin resulted in an arms control agreement that will lead to the greatest arms reductions of the nuclear age — cutting the arsenals of both sides by two-thirds — while eliminating the most dangerous weapons, the land-based multiple warhead ICBMs.
- President Bush is dedicated to Russian reform. He announced a multilateral financial package to assist the new independent states in stabilizing their currency and restructuring their economies.
- President Bush is determined to help President Yeltsin lock in democracy in Russia to allow commerce to flourish, unlocking a potential export market of at least 150 million consumers.

Unprecedented foreign policy successes for the Bush administration.

- In **Kuwait**, President Bush put together a coalition of international forces — led by U.S. troops — that neutralized Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's invaders and expelled them from Kuwait in early 1991.
- In the **Middle East**, thanks to the international cooperation during Operation Desert Storm, President Bush has brought longtime bitter enemies in the Middle East to unprecedented peace negotiations that will have a significant impact on the whole world's security.
- Democracy triumphed in Marxist **Nicaragua** as Presidents Reagan and Bush lent their unfailing support to the Nicaraguan freedom fighters, bringing free elections.
- On Dec. 20, 1989, President Bush sent U.S. forces to **Panama** to protect American lives, restore democracy, preserve the integrity of the Panama Canal Treaties and decapitate the outlaw regime of Manuel Noriega.
- In July 1989, the U.S. Defense Department opened an office in Hanoi to investigate American POWs and MIAs, the resolution of which must precede any changes in U.S. relations with **Vietnam**.

- And President Bush has pledged his full support of Russian President Yeltsin's commitment to uncover all facts pertaining to American POWs and MIAs — yet another symbol of the new relationship of international cooperation and trust.

In response to changes in our world, the Bush administration has made the most dramatic changes in our defense strategy since before World War II.

- The focus of U.S. defense strategy has shifted from the threat of a world war with the Soviet Union and its allies to regional contingencies, requiring a smaller force.
- The new defense strategy emphasizes nuclear deterrence, forward presence, crisis response capability and an ability to reconstitute large forces if necessary.
- Because this sound new strategy calls for a smaller force level, less defense spending is required.
- The high readiness levels achieved in the late 1980s will be maintained, with emphasis placed on technology development necessary to preserve future military capabilities.
- President Bush has strongly supported and pursued the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), continuing its enormous technical progress.

American hostages have all been freed as a result of Republican policies. The Bush administration has put the brakes on terrorism.

- President Bush has persistently pursued terrorists to bring them to justice for their crimes against Americans. The President doesn't negotiate with terrorists.

The Clinton Record

- Clinton's been slick on the Gulf War issue and foreign policy.

campaign paper), forced bank loan policies and price controls on the health care industry (*Putting People First*), and restrictions on industrial operations and increasing the minimum wage.

- Clinton has supported striker replacement legislation and family leave legislation (*Grand Rapids Press*, 1/8/92), which if enacted will cost American business billions and further destroy American jobs. Clinton said he would proudly sign the Rio Biodiversity Treaty (Clinton speech, 6/12/92), which would have the effect of forcing our most internationally competitive companies to give away valuable patents and intellectual property.
- Clinton's mandated national health care scheme will lose more than 700,000 jobs and his 1.5 percent payroll tax for job training will add \$10 billion to the small business tax burden and cost more than 70,000 Americans their jobs. (Joint Economic Committee)
- Clinton supports the creation of a national civilian research agency to pick winners and losers in the free market. He believes this will spur advanced technologies and new job creation (*Putting People First*). As history shows, federal government involvement does nothing more than destroy jobs and suppress business with new regulations.
- Nowhere in Clinton's economic plan, *Putting People First*, does he mention the belief that the economy is overregulated or that he supports industry-wide deregulation.
- Clinton wants to spread his regulatory cloud across the world. When asked about the free trade agreement with Mexico, he said, "I would not support a free trade agreement that did not have higher standards for labor income, and safety, and for environmental investments." (Clinton speech, 6/12/92)

July 1992

Regulatory Reform

"I won't neglect my responsibility for sound regulations that serve the public good, but regulatory overkill must be stopped."

— George Bush (1/28/92)

President Bush has made reducing burdensome regulations a priority in spurring economic growth, recognizing that excessive regulation, no matter how well intentioned, stifles growth and inhibits job creation.

- Estimates of the cost of complying with federal regulations range from \$300 billion to \$500 billion.
- Federal regulations are estimated to cost American consumers about \$400 billion each year, reports the National Chamber Foundation's *Journal of Regulation and Social Costs*.
- The regulatory burden costs each American household more than \$4,000 a year.
- Last year, Americans spent 5.2 billion hours filling out government forms.

Republican regulatory relief.

- President Bush in his 1992 State of the Union speech placed a 90-day moratorium on new regulations and extended the freeze for another 120 days. Among other examples, this freeze saved the food industry more than \$3 billion, and consumers from a 7 to 9 percent price increase, by holding off new food labeling regulations.
- Federal agencies were directed to review the impact of existing and proposed rules on job creation and economic growth, to speed up those regulations that benefit the economy and to halt overly burdensome regulations.

- The 90-day moratorium successfully reduced regulatory activity. Regulation notices published in the Federal Register dropped by 50 percent between Jan. 27 and March 23, 1992, from 56 to 23 notices a week.

- Then-Vice President Bush headed the President's Task Force on Regulatory Relief during the Reagan administration, saving more than \$150 billion that otherwise would have been spent complying with needless regulations.

The Council on Competitiveness.

- The White House Council on Competitiveness, led by Vice President Dan Quayle, acts as a watchdog to reduce regulatory barriers that hamper growth of American industries and serve as a hidden tax on consumers.

- The Council oversees the review process to ensure that federal regulations do not place unnecessary burdens on businesses and that benefits clearly outweigh costs.

- The Council on Competitiveness' efforts have resulted in the adoption of a speedier process of approving new drugs and the removal of barriers to innovative treatments for terminally ill patients.

The Republican regulatory reform success story.

- The President has proposed new plans to stimulate the biotechnology industry and allow more rapid approval of safe new biotech products.

- The Vice President worked to write a definition of wetlands that doesn't inadvertently take away private property rights from landowners, yet protects legitimate wetlands.

- Small businesses, the backbone of our economy, face reduced payroll system burdens, simplified reporting and payment procedures, and have an

easier time raising needed capital when offering public stock.

- The Federal Energy Regulatory Commission and the Environmental Protection Agency are making natural gas more accessible and less costly to consumers and American industry, thus lowering energy costs, improving the environment and reducing dependence on foreign oil.

- The Bush administration is adopting rules to allow banks to operate across state lines, strengthen banks and make more credit and capital available.

Regulatory reform means:

- Delivering on a promise to bring fundamental reform to government

- Ensuring that the economic recovery continues and is strengthened

- Rolling back regulations that impose a hidden tax on all Americans

- Every federal agency should have a reform agenda by August 28

- Guaranteeing a veto whenever Congress tries to over-regulate our homes.

The Clinton Record

- Clinton's massive new regulatory policies will strangle American business and destroy American jobs. Among Clinton's regulatory monsters are a 1.5 percent payroll tax for a national training trust fund (*Putting People First*), and an effective 7 percent payroll tax for mandated national health care (Joint Economic Committee).

- He wants a mandated increase in Corporate Average Fuel Economy (CAFE) standards (Clinton

Community Service

"From now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include service to others."

— George Bush (6/22/89)

- President Bush has placed voluntary community service — the Points of Light movement — as one of his top priorities.
- In January 1989, the President set up the White House Office of National Service. Often called the "White House Points of Light Office," its mission is to help the President carry out his community service strategy, using as a base millions of Americans volunteering billions of hours of their time.

The President has developed a three-part strategy to advance the Points of Light movement:

- 1) Change the nation's attitudes about service and call on every individual and institution in America to claim society's problems as their own.
- 2) Identify, enlarge and multiply successful community service initiatives across the country.
- 3) Discover and develop new community service leaders within every institution in America.

Each day, the President honors an individual, group or organization for an outstanding effort to solve a social problem through community service.

- The President has recognized more than 850 Daily Points of Light that exemplify practical solutions to nearly every serious social problem.
- Daily Points of Light have come from all sectors of society — families, individuals, schools, places of worship, clubs and neighborhood groups, businesses and labor unions, and other associations.

More than just talk — President Bush is doing something about community service.

- In 1990, President Bush created an independent, non-profit organization — the Points of Light Foundation— to engage all Americans in direct and consequential community service aimed at solving serious social problems. The foundation has three major areas of concentration:
 - Community Mobilization
 - Leadership Outreach and Development
 - Public Awareness
- The Commission on National and Community Service administers a federal grant program which

seeks to promote a national community service movement.

And President Bush has proposed major initiatives to reduce concerns about unwarranted liability as a barrier to volunteering.

- Getting sued should be the last thing on a volunteer's mind.
-

The Clinton Record

- Gov. Clinton's idea of community service is typical of his platform: it will cost money — lots of money.
- His education trust fund calls for college graduates to work off their loans in their communities: but as *USA Today* (4/24/92) pointed out, he would ask graduates to work at a \$9,000 salary, at a total four-year cost of about \$40 billion in new spending.
- And, as Rep. William Ford (D-Mich.) warned: "It costs money to do that. You can't just wave a wand that puts people to work in public service."

July 1992

Drugs

"The American dream takes root in families whole and caring, in neighborhoods safe and secure, and in schools unsullied by drugs and violence."

— George Bush (5/6/92)

The war on drugs — winning battles.

- Since President Bush took office overall drug use has declined 13 percent, occasional cocaine use is down 22 percent, and marijuana use decreased more than 16 percent. This decline is the best measure of the effectiveness of the administration's war on drugs.
- We are winning back our children. Adolescents, age 12-17, have seen a decrease in drug use of more than 25 percent since 1988.
- The war on drugs requires a substantial financial commitment which the Bush administration has fully met. The President has requested \$12.7 billion for FY '93 for drug-related funding, a 6 percent increase over FY '92 and a 93 percent increase since 1988.
- The President has increased the size and budget of the criminal justice system to ensure that it can deal with more drug arrests.

- Noriega's power and position did not deter the United States from charging him for his aid to drug traffickers and bringing him to justice.

The President has proposed to increase security significantly along U.S. borders.

- President Bush wants to hire 500 new investigators and border patrol agents to interdict illegal drugs along the nation's borders.
- In FY '90, the Border Patrol seized \$1.2 billion worth of illegal drugs, an increase of more than one third over FY '89 seizures.

The President has extended the fight against drugs to Latin America trade policy.

- President Bush has achieved unprecedented cooperation in reducing the supply of drugs from abroad. The key cocaine producing nations — Colombia, Bolivia and Peru — have demonstrated their willingness to fight trafficking activities within their borders. (House Select Committee hearing on narcotics abuse and control, 3/26/92)
 - In November 1989, President Bush proposed the Andean Trade Initiative to expand legitimate trade opportunities to make the drug trade less attractive.
-

The Clinton Record

- Arkansas was one of 12 states that, according to California Democrat Rep. Pete Stark, was "contributing to the country's failure to win its war on illegal drugs." In a 1989 congressional report, Stark noted that Arkansas spends only \$3.36 per capita for drug and alcohol treatment, compared with the national average of \$8. (*Arkansas Gazette*, 12/27/89)
- Clinton should look homeward before criticizing the administration. In 1989, marijuana was estimated to be Arkansas' No. 1 cash crop, according to the National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws 1990 annual report.
- In May 1985, Clinton refused to grant the extradition of a Little Rock native to New York on felony cocaine charges, saying that New York's mandatory sentencing for first-time offenders was too harsh. "I made the decision, and I'm the governor, and it was my decision to make." (*Arkansas Gazette*, 6/1/85)
- The New York district attorney was puzzled "... that the laws of New York and Arkansas treat such serious drug offenses so differently." (*Arkansas Gazette*, 6/1/85)

Crime

- Clinton claims never to have granted clemency to a death row inmate, but no Arkansas prisoner was executed until 1990. He carried out the execution of two death row inmates in 1990, an election year, and two so far in 1992, one of which infuriated civil rights advocates.
- In February, Clinton refused clemency for Rickey Ray Rector, an inmate who was effectively lobotomized after self-inflicted gunshot wounds to the head. Activists claimed Rector was incompetent, and accused Clinton of executing him for political gain.
- A 1991 report by the Arkansas Crime Information Center showed the state's violent crime increased by 95 percent since 1981. In 1990, the state saw a record number of murders (239) and rapes (1,009).

"Our sworn duty to 'ensure domestic tranquility' is as old as the Republic, placed in the Constitution's preamble even before the common defense and the general welfare. When we ask what kind of society the American people deserve, our goal must be a nation in which law-abiding citizens are safe and feel safe."

— George Bush (5/15/89)

President Bush has proposed necessary reforms for fighting crime — the Democrat-led Congress has blocked change.

- Our government's principal obligation is to protect the safety and property of citizens. We must ensure that crime does not pay.
- President Bush proposed \$15.8 billion for crime and law-enforcement for FY '93. That's a 59 percent increase over 1989 figures.
- His anti-crime package includes reforms to reduce unnecessary appeals that clog our court system and delay justice, tougher penalties for firearm offenses, a federal death penalty for the most heinous crimes, and stiff penalties for repeat sex offenders.
- Criminals are making a game of our justice system. The President is changing the rules so career criminals lose!

- The President has not wavered from his tough stand against drug dealers. He's recommended the largest dollar increase in the history of the drug war — nearly \$2.2 billion.
- According to FBI statistics, violent crime is up — murder went up 7 percent and rape increased 3 percent across the nation. Yet the Democrat-led Congress can't find time to put into law the President's tough anti-crime proposals.
- We cannot have the freedom that our founding fathers legislated and our fighting men and women have died for, until we can walk down our neighborhood streets without fear.

The President's Weed-and-Seed program recognizes that you can't have economic growth in urban areas until you eliminate crime.

- The important first step is to weed out crime from targeted neighborhoods.
- The Weed-and-Seed program offers Americans a chance — a chance for our children to live in peace, a chance for our cities to rebuild and recover.
- With crime weeded out, enterprise zones can be established and businesses can move in to provide goods, services and, most important, jobs.
- Seeding neighborhoods includes giving individuals a stake in their community through home ownership.

The Clinton Record

- Clinton says little about crime on the campaign trail, only to advocate boot camps for first-time, non-violent offenders, federal support for community policing and stepped-up aid to state and local police agencies — all programs the Bush administration has supported.
- Clinton supports the Brady Bill, and brags of being the only Southern governor to stand up to the National Rifle Association. (He twice vetoed a bill that would have prohibited local governments from enacting gun control measures.)

Clinton's own record may point to the reason crime is not an overriding issue in his campaign:

- A 1991 state study found that Arkansas' inmates serve, on average, between six and 18 months in prison, regardless of their original sentence. Almost no inmate serves a full sentence.
- Clinton points to his own state's boot camp program as a national model, but his commitment to the program is questionable: The program was passed in 1989 but remained unfunded until 1991. The commander of the Arkansas boot camp program resigned in that year, complaining the program was "slowly being chipped away."

- According to statistics compiled by the University of Arkansas, the state ranks:
 - 47th in the nation in per capita state and local spending for education
 - 5th highest in the nation in adults considered illiterate
 - 43rd in the nation on per capita spending for higher education
 - 49th in teacher pay. (*New York Newsday*, 3/22/92)
- In 1979, the state ranked 20th of 28 states that primarily use the ACT college entrance test. Ten years later, the state fell to 25th. (*New York Times*, 4/1/92)
- Three out of every four Arkansas high school graduates must take remedial courses as college freshmen, twice the national average. (*New York Times*, 4/1/92)

July 1992

Education

"Education is our most enduring legacy, vital to everything we are and can become."

— George Bush (9/28/91)

- President Bush has led America into a new era of education reform — an effort founded on the belief that every American child can learn, and focused on the principles of excellence and results.
- Early in his presidency and for the first time in U.S. history, President Bush convened the nation's governors to develop a national education strategy.

After meeting with the nation's governors, President Bush introduced America 2000, a program that, " ... will literally reinvent the American school community by community, neighborhood by neighborhood, all across this country."

- America 2000 is President Bush's long-term, innovative strategy to help America reach his national education goals by the year 2000. The strategy has four tracks:
 - Creating better and more accountable schools for today's students
 - Creating a new generation of American schools for tomorrow's students
 - Transforming America into a nation where everyone participates in the spirit of learning
 - Making our communities places where learning can happen.
- America 2000 strives to make our children first in science and math and to make our schools safe, disciplined and drug-free.

- America 2000 gets to the heart of the empowerment issue by giving parents, not just wealthy parents, a choice in the quality of education their children receive.

The President proposed the G.I. Bill for Children which provides \$1,000 scholarships to middle- and low-income families to use for their children's education.

- Parents can apply the \$1,000 scholarship to any lawfully operating school of their choice — public, private or religious.

Reforming education is one of President Bush's top priorities. He wants to break the stranglehold of the education bureaucracy — a bureaucracy that has a vice-grip on reform.

- According to Albert Shanker, President of the American Federation of Teachers, there are more school administrators in New York State than in all of Western Europe combined. ("Opening Albany's Books," *City Journal*, Winter 1991.)
- It's time to make public schools operate as effectively as private schools — efficient and high in quality.

Commitment to Head Start

"Many children need a head start, and we're going to make sure they get it. The Head Start government program works to strengthen families and communities for the future."

— George Bush (1/21/92)

- Head Start is a comprehensive child development program serving pre-school, low-income children, usually in the year just before they enter school.
- The Head Start program ensures that all children are prepared to arrive at school ready to learn.
- President Bush called for a \$700 million increase in funds for the Head Start programs, the largest increase in history.

The Clinton Record

- Peel away the rhetoric behind Clinton's education proposals, and you see spending — lots more spending.
- His college loan program — his greatest applause line — would limit students to \$5,000 in tuition assistance per year. Over current costs, it could cost about \$8 billion to \$9 billion more annually.
- As reported in *USA Today* (4/24/92), Clinton would have graduates pay off their loans by working in the public sector for a \$9,000 annual salary.
- And caving in to the teachers' unions, Bill Clinton remains unalterably opposed to school choice between all schools.

The Clinton Record

- Clinton's record as governor of Arkansas is dismal. The percentage of women in Clinton's cabinet was a mere 17.6 percent.
- The "glass ceiling" is intact in Bill Clinton's Arkansas. An *Arkansas Gazette* study revealed widespread discrimination against women in both pay and position in Arkansas state government: at the time, men held 80 percent of the positions paying more than \$43,000, and 65 percent of top management positions. (*Arkansas Gazette*, 12/7/88)
- The National Women's Political Caucus' 1992 report shows that Clinton's cabinet is 17.5 percent female, below the national average of 23.3 percent. Clinton ranked 32nd in the survey of 43 states. (*USA Today*, 4/8/92)
- 41.2 percent of female-headed households in Arkansas live below the poverty level. (1990 Census Data)
- More than half (52.1 percent) of Arkansas' single-mother families with children under 18 live below the poverty level. And two-thirds of single mothers with children under 5 live below the poverty level. (1990 Census Data)
- Arkansas is one of only two states that has no civil rights law.

July 1992

Women

"We celebrate the many unique and vital contributions that women have made to our nation... These achievements underscore how every aspect of our national life has been enriched by the creativity, energy and leadership of women."

— George Bush (3/25/91)

Republicans recognize the importance of women in the party.

- We don't just need women to vote — we need them to lead the party to victories on the ballot.
- We need to see Republican women running for office from city council and school board to mayor and U.S. Congress.
- Women are running for offices across the country, and the GOP leadership is behind them.
- Two years ago, there were seven women running for the U.S. Senate — six were Republicans strongly supported by their party.
- Women represent 52 percent of the electorate — the numbers alone make the point. If we are going to win, the GOP needs to turn out the women's vote.

1992 — the year of the Republican woman.

- Front-page photos on newspapers and pictures on TV would lead one to believe that the only women running are Democrats.
- The facts show that to be false. Forty-seven Republican women are running for House seats, including nine incumbents.

Republicans have a history of supporting women.

- When suffragist Susan B. Anthony registered her protest against government's refusal to give women the vote, she did so by becoming a registered Republican.
- The first woman to serve in the U.S. Congress, Jeannette Rankin, was a Republican.
- The first woman to serve in the U.S. Senate, Margaret Chase Smith, was also a Republican.

Republicans have strengthened women's rights.

- According to a *Washington Post* (5/31/92) article by Sen. Robert Dole, Republican congressmen were the first to introduce comprehensive women's rights legislation.
- That legislation includes the first-ever monetary remedies for sexual harassment in the workplace.
- It also includes specific provisions to fight violence against women.
- Republicans also issued the first proposal dealing with corporate discrimination against women.

Women make inroads in the business world.

- According to the Small Business Administration, in 1992 women will start businesses at twice the rate of men.
- And women-owned businesses employ 12.3 million American workers. That's more than all the Fortune 500s combined.
- The President understands the significance of these businesses to the vitality of our nation's economy.

President Bush's appointments of women have made history.

- The President's appointments of three women to important Cabinet posts — Secretary of Labor Lynn Martin, Secretary of Commerce Barbara Franklin and United States Trade Representative Carla A. Hills — represent the first time three women have served at once in the Cabinet.
- The President has appointed Pat Saiki, former congresswoman from Hawaii, to head the Small Business Administration. Director of the Peace Corps Elaine Chao and Surgeon General Antonia Novello are other notable women appointees.
- President Bush has appointed nearly 3,000 women to jobs in his administration.

Republicans want women on board.

- President Bush's record for women appointees is 38 percent.
 - According to *U.S. News & World Report* (6/8/92), President Bush has nominated 36 women to the federal bench.
 - According to *USA Today* (4/8/92), Republican Gov. William Weld of Massachusetts ranked first in the nation in appointing women to cabinet positions. His record is 45.5 percent.
 - Republican Gov. James Martin of North Carolina came in second in appointing women — 40 percent of his cabinet is comprised of women.
 - Tying for third place at 38.9 percent was Republican Gov. Arne Carlson of Minnesota.
-

Government Reform

"If we're to change America, we must change the way government works."

— George Bush (4/3/92)

- Clinton says he will eliminate 100,000 government jobs. President Bush has already proposed to eliminate twice that amount. Clinton has also proposed creating or increasing spending on more than 60 federal programs. (*Putting People First*)

Clinton supports the congressional status quo. He's against term limits (AP, 4/3/92), and against real campaign reform.

- Clinton's answer to campaign finance reform is to "put a lid on overall campaign spending," which would be a severe constraint on challengers seeking to get their message out — and a virtual guarantee of a Congress dominated by the same cast of characters. (AP, 11/5/91)

- Clinton offers more than just tax breaks to his friends and contributors. He has appointed dozens of Arkansans to judicial posts, state boards and commissions — "the single dominant feature apparent in Mr. Clinton's selections seems to be whether the candidates fit into the Governor's network of friends and political allies." (*New York Times*, 4/3/92)

Ethics in a Clinton government?

- Clinton backed an ethics law for Arkansas public officials, but before its approval, "Mr. Clinton and his advisers altered it so that he and other public officials were exempted from the requirements — imposed on legislators — to disclose personal conflicts of interest. The deletion of the provision that could have covered Mr. Clinton and his wife, Hillary, a lawyer in a firm that does business with the state, occurred during a private drafting process" that included Clinton and his allies, and a senior partner in Mrs. Clinton's law firm. (*New York Times*, 3/27/92)

Accountability in government: a fundamental Republican value.

The American people believe government is out of touch and out of control — populated by too many corrupt self-servants instead of dedicated public servants. Republicans strike a chord with Americans by attacking the status quo of the Democrat-led Congress and the bulging bureaucracy they built.

- The Reagan and Bush administrations have instituted, on their own, changes that would restore accountability to government, and they proposed the changes that Congress must pass but has stonewalled.

- Republicans want government more accountable to its citizens — by breaking the stronghold of bureaucrats, Democrats, and special-interest fat cats.

- The Republican approach empowers people. It has government do what it can do, but not at the expense of taking away individual freedom or initiative, and restores trust and confidence in public service and policymaking.

The executive branch: Republican action.

- President Bush established a government ethics panel in January 1989 and instituted many of the commission's recommendations.

- A presidential Executive Order set forth 14 principles of ethical conduct for all executive branch officials and set uniform standards to carry out those principles.

But what about Congress and special interests? A Democrat double standard.

- After four decades of one-party rule, the House of Representatives is no longer the people's branch of government, it's the broken branch.
- Congressional Democrats are so cozy with special interests it's hard to tell them apart.
- Congressional Republicans, on the other hand, have proposed a laundry list of reforms they would enact if given a majority in Congress.
- The President submitted legislation to reform Congress by making the legislative branch subject to civil rights, government ethics, minimum wage, and freedom of information laws for the first time. The Democrats in Congress haven't acted on the President's legislation.
- President Bush and the GOP support congressional term limits.

New proposals for campaign financing.

- The President sent to Congress a broad legislative package to reform campaign finance laws by increasing the role of individuals and decreasing undue influence by special-interest groups.
- President Bush's campaign finance proposals include:
 - Eliminating political action committees (PACs) supported by unions, corporations or trade associations.
 - Limiting the influence of special interests in elections and strengthening political parties by increasing the amounts political parties can spend on candidates.
 - Ending the "permanent Congress" by stopping personal use of extra campaign funds, reducing

franked mail, banning the rollover of campaign funds from one election cycle to another, and developing fair redistricting criteria.

- Instead, the Democrat Congress passed so-called "campaign finance reform" legislation that would have helped incumbents and special interests while hurting challengers and limiting competition. The President vetoed it.

Republicans know that local government is the most responsive to the people, not the bureaucracy in Washington.

- The Republican Party adheres to the Tenth Amendment, which reserves to the states and the people all powers not expressly delegated to the national government.
- President Bush reaffirmed Executive Order No. 12612, instructing all federal departments and agencies to give the greatest discretion possible to state and local governments in carrying out policy and to allow local governments to use common sense in solving their own problems.
- In 1990, the President instructed federal departments to consider the additional costs and burdens imposed on states and local governments before instituting any new policies.
- Republican governors across the nation have taken the initiative to try innovative approaches to problems such as welfare reform and parental school choice. They are proving that local solutions not only work, but are the best solutions.

The Clinton Record

- Clinton's *Putting People First* program promises a revolution in government. But what he really plans is an explosion in government.

The Clinton Record

• Clinton's answers to urban problems are typical big-spending public works projects. He warned of candidates like that in 1987. In 1992, he should be taking his own advice.

• "Clinton told big-city mayors ... to be wary of presidential candidates who promise more spending to help them ... 'The budget strait jacket we've gotten ourselves into make [sic] it irresponsible for a person to commit to any specific programs.'" (*Arkansas Gazette*, 6/18/87)

Clinton's economic plan, \$150 billion in new taxes, was written with liberal programs in mind.

• Clinton believes that Washington has all the answers: federal public works programs, federal block grants targeting sewer and road projects, even a "National Police Corps" that shatters the tradition of local law enforcement.

• He said: "Several times as governor I took federal money for programs not worth a hill of beans because I couldn't bear to see it go to New Jersey." (*Pine Bluff Commercial*, 7/24/81)

Clinton hasn't had much success in handling urban problems.

• In 1992, he speaks of a "safety net" for the poor who need housing; his own state provides shelters for only 14.3 percent of its homeless and 35 of the state's 75 counties have no shelters. (AP, 9/3/91)

• Faced with a wave of gang violence in Little Rock, Clinton formed a study panel and said they should "hear from the young people, what the heck they want us to do." (AP, 7/25/91)

• Clinton's inexperience showed in New York City when he was ridiculed for suggesting that revoking drivers' licenses would keep city youths in school and out of trouble. (*N.Y. Daily News*, 3/25/92)

July 1992

Urban Issues

"We must spark an economic revival in urban America. The best answer to poverty is a job with dignity in the private sector."

— George Bush (5/9/92)

President Bush has a multifaceted plan to attack the nation's urban problems. The focus is on six areas: Weed-and-Seed, HOPE, Enterprise Zones, America 2000 education initiatives, welfare reform and youth.

• You can't operate in a state of chaos.

• Families can't thrive, children can't learn and jobs cannot flourish in a climate of fear.

• The President's Weed-and-Seed program for America's cities is a common-sense approach because it:

— weeds out drug dealers and career criminals

— seeds neighborhoods with expanded educational, employment and social-service programs.

The administration's HOPE (Homeownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere) initiative turns public housing tenants into homeowners.

• People need a stake in their communities, something of value they can pass along to their children.

• It's time to bring hope and opportunity back to the inner cities.

Empowering residents through tenant choice and resident management.

• The Bush administration's efforts to improve living conditions in public housing and create better neighborhoods revolve around empowering residents with more control over their lives and communities.

• As the preferred low-income subsidy for renters,

President Bush has proposed a 64 percent increase in housing vouchers for FY '93.

- Vouchers are portable, allowing tenants to live in better neighborhoods with access to better services, and are half the cost of new construction subsidies.
- President Bush's voucher-weighted program mix would provide housing to 46 percent more families over the next five years than would Congress' current policy favoring new construction.
- When President Bush took office, there were only 13 resident management groups. Today there are more than 200 groups training to manage their own communities and 600 more have expressed interest.

Individual empowerment is the core of the President's plans to end urban decay.

- Economic stabilization will restore confidence in America's cities. That's why millions of federal-relief dollars — Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) grants, small-business loans, food aid — were sent to Los Angeles after the unrest there in the spring of 1992.
- Enterprise Zones, with low capital gains taxes for entrepreneurs, will create jobs and empower the people in urban areas.
- Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Texas) said: "What a great tragedy it would be if we try to take free enterprise and use it to rebuild Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, and we fail to use the same revolutionary ideas to rebuild our cities."

The President's America 2000 education plan guarantees that future generations will live the American dream.

- President Bush believes all families — not just the wealthy — should have a choice in where they send their children to school.
- Good education provides positive role models and instills individual responsibility. Economically, it

provides our children with the training they need to fill tomorrow's jobs and compete in the world marketplace.

The President wants the federal government to make it easier for states to bring reform and innovation to the welfare system.

- Government must "stop penalizing people who want to work and save."
- The current welfare system encourages dependency on government. The President said the status quo will not do, "not here, not in any city where the system perpetuates failure and hatred and poverty and despair."

President Bush knows that a prosperous future depends on preparing our youth for tomorrow.

- The urban assistance plan includes \$500 million for summer jobs for youths.
- The President introduced Job Training 2000, which will make vocational training more accessible and affordable for young people in search of jobs.
- The President knows that good communities have good schools, economic opportunity and hope rooted in the dignity of work and reward for achievement.

Helping the homeless.

"No child in America should have to grow up on the streets, and every family in America should have a roof over its head."

— George Bush (11/10/89)

- The President has requested and received record levels of funding for homeless programs.
- The Shelter Plus Care program links rental assistance with support services for homeless persons who are mentally ill, chemically dependent or afflicted with AIDS.

Family Values

- Clinton's economic plan will force families to choose between an increased children's tax credit and a "middle-class" tax cut, which by his own admission would save families about a dollar a day. The reason? Politics. "Once the middle-class tax cut had served its political purpose, Clinton largely quit talking about it." (*Washington Post*, 6/23/92 and AP, 2/14/92)

- Clinton opposes the President's homebuyer's tax credit (AP, 2/6/92) that will create jobs and allow thousands of families to achieve the dream of home ownership.

- Clinton opposes a constitutional amendment to allow voluntary school prayer — but he supports distribution of condoms in those same schools. (*Charlotte Observer*, 3/1/92 and MTV's "Choose or Lose," 6/16/92)

Clinton's record in Arkansas illustrates what he means by "family values":

- In 1987, Clinton levied property and business income taxes on Arkansas churches (Act 1040).
- Clinton's economic record has a distinct anti-family cast to it. He fought to keep the sales tax on groceries — one of just a handful of states that still taxes food. *The Wall Street Journal* (2/24/92) characterized Clinton's tax system: "[It] places the same 7 percent income-tax rate on individuals earning \$25,000 a year as those earning \$25 million. Feed for hogs, chickens and cattle is exempt from sales taxes, but food for people (other than food-stamp recipients) isn't."

"The opposition would have you believe that family values is merely a slogan. I do not look at it that way. I believe the family can do things that no government program can."

— George Bush (7/26/92)

The President agrees with the mayors of our cities that the decline of the American family is something we must deal with immediately. A *New York Post* editorial (5/22/92) cites the following figures backing up the President's support of family values:

- Marriage is the best anti-poverty program of all — the poverty rate among married couples is 5.7 percent while among single mothers it is 33.4 percent.
- Children left without parental guidance and nurturing adopt surrogate families such as gangs or cults.
- Casual drug use has led to serious addictions, increased crime and more deadly drugs.
- There has been an evasion of responsibility and a lack of respect for authority.
- The President has called on the media to advance family and community principles by showing "from time to time what's working" so Americans will have role models and programs to emulate.

We must reinforce the basic rules of society to our young people.

- If our society does not condemn what is wrong, how can we teach our children what is right?
- We must reinforce values such as the importance of family, hard work, integrity and personal responsibility.
- Children know what running shoe is popular, what car is "awesome," what rock group is "hot." They also must know and feel the love of a family and the importance of personal responsibility.

- Drugs and the big money derived from selling drugs will lure our children into submission if we don't teach them to reach for other goals such as self-respect and contributing to the good of society.

Transforming the underclass with generations of welfare dependency means creating an incentive system that encourages personal responsibility.

- If society rewards hard work, that society will create hard workers. If society rewards wrong, that society will create wrong.
- We must start with the principles of law and order. How can parents encourage their children to finish school if they are worried about shootings and drug deals in the classroom or on the sidewalks between home and school?

Family values are not an old-fashioned idea.

- The "cultural elite" would have you believe the family is a nicety, not a necessity.
- The cultural elite are those who think that traditional values are unsophisticated.
- For example, a recent survey of TV executives, directors and writers by the Center for Media and Public Affairs found a den of cultural elitism:
 - 75 percent of them call themselves liberal
 - 7 percent attend religious services, 44 percent claim no religion at all
 - 97 percent believe in abortion on demand.
- The above statistics fail to reflect the views of mainstream Americans. According to a *Reader's Digest* survey:
 - 78 percent said prayer is an important part of their daily life
 - 73 percent did not want tax dollars supporting obscene, pornographic or blasphemous art.
- Republicans understand that the family is the foundation for great accomplishments.
- Compassion and tolerance for others does not require abandoning our standards of right or wrong, good or bad.

- We must offer our children an ideal for which to strive — two parents who care for each other and their children.

- Vice President Quayle has said, "If America ever lost its moral vision, it would cease to be America."
- Republicans are the best prepared to preserve and defend this moral vision.

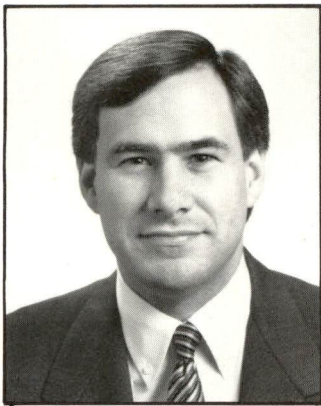
There are very real consequences to family breakdown. *Newsweek* (6/8/92) cited the following:

- More than 80 percent of adolescents in psychiatric hospitals come from broken families.
- Three out of four teenage suicides occur in households where a parent has been absent.
- Violent crime and burglary rates are significantly associated with teenage children from single-parent households.
- The ability to learn is affected more by family status than income. Studies show that children from intact low-income families perform better on cognitive tests than children from high-income broken homes.
- President Bush has said, "Whatever form our most pressing problems may take, ultimately all are related to the disintegration of the family."

The Clinton Record

Clinton talks a lot about family values, but his own policies — more government spending, more government decision-making — mean top-heavy solutions imposed from Washington, prohibiting the American family from deciding what's best.

- He's abandoned his middle-class tax cut.



ELECT GREG ABBOTT JUDGE

QUALIFIED

- Voted "Well-Qualified" in the Houston Bar Association Poll by a 4-1 margin over his opponent and received the most "Well-Qualified" votes of any non-incumbent candidate.
- Accomplished attorney with Butler & Binion.
- Author and speaker at legal seminars concerning the Americans with Disabilities Act and the Workers' Compensation Act.
- Member of the Houston Bar Association Litigation Section, Judicial Liaison, and Courts and Court-house Facilities Committees.
- Special Commissioner, County Civil Courts.
- Earned law degree from Vanderbilt University and undergraduate degree from the University of Texas.

COMMUNITY LEADER

- Board of Directors of the Institute for Rehabilitation & Research Foundation.
- Board of Trustees of Goodwill Industries.
- Greater Houston Partnership member.
- Captain, March of Dimes TeamWalk.
- Member, St. Michael's Catholic Church.

CHARACTER

- Greg faced tragedy in 1984 when he was struck by a falling tree while jogging and became a paraplegic. Although confined to a wheelchair, Greg overcame adversity and was named the 1985 Disabled Employee of the Year.

Here's What The Legal Community Says About Greg Abbott

- "There is no more valuable public official than a good judge, no more dangerous than a bad judge. Greg Abbott will be a good judge."

JON LINDSAY, Harris County Judge

- "Scrupulously fair."

**JAMES SALES, Past President
State Bar of Texas**

- "Greg Abbott is tough, honest, and fair — a rare combination in today's trial judges."

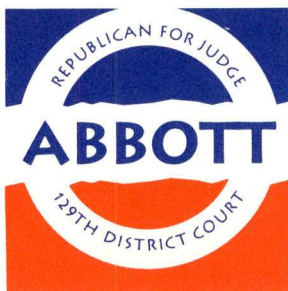
**PEARSON GRIMES, Past President
Houston Bar Association**

- "His extensive trial work, calm demeanor, and fair minded attitude provide Greg with the experience and temperament Harris County needs in its judges."

**CAROL DINKINS, Former U.S. Deputy
Attorney General**

- "I am impressed with Greg Abbott. He should make an outstanding judge."

**JOHN HILL, Former Chief Justice
Supreme Court of Texas**



**GREG ABBOTT FOR JUDGE
129th DISTRICT CIVIL COURT
1000 LOUISIANA, SUITE 1500
HOUSTON, TX 77002
713/237-3111, FAX 713/237-3201**

BUSH 92 QUAYLE

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

September 11, 1992

Mr. and Mrs. Lex Frieden
3634 N. Braeswood
Houston, TX 77025

Re: Speakers Bureau

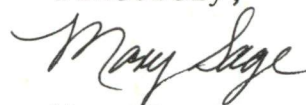
Dear Mr. and Mrs. Frieden:

In accordance with a request from Joan Buschor, I am enclosing information on the healthcare proposals of President Bush and his commitments and accomplishments.

I am also enclosing a new tabloid from the Bush-Quayle campaign. Copies of the "Agenda for American Renewal" that President Bush offered in his television address last night may be obtained by calling 1-800-368-1200.

I hope that this information will be helpful. If you should have any question or require anything further, please let me know.

Sincerely,



Mary L. Sage

MLS:S

PRESIDENT BUSH ON THE ISSUES

Middle East Peace Talks

"One of my proudest achievements as President has been helping to launch the Middle East peace negotiations now underway. Just three years ago, who would have thought that Israel's Arab neighbors would be sitting across the table from Israeli negotiators and talking peace. Secretary of State James Baker and I worked long and hard to achieve this historic breakthrough, and we will continue to act as a catalyst and as honest brokers in moving the talks forward. I pray for the day when there will be genuine peace--one that is just, lasting and comprehensive--in the Middle East. Israel and her neighbors will only know true security when they achieve genuine reconciliation. That is the goal behind the peace process that this Administration has initiated."

(Heritage Florida Jewish News)

Policy toward Iraq

"It is no secret that the United States--together with most of the world--would like to see Saddam Hussein removed from power. The objective of the United Nations resolutions, however, was to liberate Kuwait. Operation Desert Storm accomplished that objective and more.

There is now growing dissent in Iraq. Iraqis are tired of this man. They are fed up with the diversion of needed food and medicine to the Republican Guard and Saddam's cronies from Tikrit. Together with our Coalition partners, we will continue to keep sanctions in place and keep the pressure on until a new leadership in Iraq emerges, one that stands ready to live in peace with its neighbors. Iraq will remain a parish among nations until Saddam is gone. This said, when a new government comes to power willing to accept the UN resolutions, Iraq will find a potential partner and friend in the United States."

(Response magazine)

Aid to Israel

"Support for Israel's security is a pillar of American foreign policy. Israel needs and deserves our financial assistance. That assistance has contributed to stability in the region, prospects for peace, and promoted American interests. Under my Administration Israel has received an excess of \$10 billion in U.S. aid and Guarantees, and in my budget for the coming year I am asking Congress to provide an additional \$3 billion in assistance. In addition, I am committed to trying to reach agreement with the Government of Israel on terms and conditions that would allow us both to provide new loan guarantees to help facilitate the absorption of the recent immigrants and to promote peace between Israel and its neighbors."

(Heritage Florida Jewish News)

Aid to the Republics of the former Soviet Union

"At my direction Secretary of State James A. Baker convened a conference of the Western nations in Washington, D.C. in late January to discuss how the world community could work together to meet the immediate needs of the peoples of the former Soviet Union. On behalf of the United States I pledged to provide a little over \$600 million for assistance in addition to the substantial amounts we've already committed. I want to see the republics of the former Soviet Union make the transition from highly militarized societies with thousands of nuclear weapons and millions of men under arms to peaceful democratic states. The aid that we and the other nations of the West are providing the people in the republics is designed to further this goal."

(Response magazine)

Strategic Defense Initiative

"SDI is tremendously important. We all witnessed the value of missile defenses as we watched our Patriot missiles shoot down Saddam Hussein's scuds during the Gulf War. The Strategic Defense Initiative will greatly improve upon the capabilities of the Patriot to create systems that protect us from attack by more sophisticated threats. I have always been a strong believer in the Strategic Defense Initiative. As long as madmen like Khadafi are seeking weapons of mass destruction, we cannot leave our Nation unprotected. Last year I urged Congress to fund SDI at \$5.2 billion. They cut my request, but still gave SDI a boost over the previous year. This year I will again ask for an increase in SDI funding so that America will have a defense against ballistic missile attacks as soon as possible. Indeed, I hope to begin deployments during my next term."

(Manchester Union-Leader)

In addition, after our victory in the Gulf War, I launched an arms control initiative to address the proliferation challenge in the volatile region of the Middle East. The initiative called on the five major conventional arms suppliers to the region--The United States, United Kingdom, France, the former Soviet Union, and China--to show restraint and consult with each other to ensure that their conventional arms transfers supported legitimate defense needs. By October 1991, the five had agreed on a set of guidelines governing such transfers. We will host the next session of the five this year to continue to advance conventional as well as unconventional arms control objectives. In my initiative, I also proposed a number of steps--such as a freeze on producing or acquiring surface to surface missiles or nuclear weapon-grade material--to be taken by states in the Middle East. We will continue to focus on arms control in the context of the Middle East peace process."

(Response magazine)

Weapons Proliferation

"The dangers of the proliferation of missiles and nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons pose a continuing threat to the U.S. national security. This threat must be met by our own actions and by actions taken in cooperation with our allies and other concerned countries. We have already begun to assist the former Soviet Union in establishing effective nonproliferation export controls, and will continue to play an active role in reducing the risk that weapons of mass destruction could spread from the former Soviet Union.

My Administration has also implemented the Enhanced Proliferation Controls Initiative (EPCI) which strengthens export controls on specific items that could contribute to chemical and biological weapons or missile proliferation. For example, this initiative requires licenses for export of key ingredients that could be used in the manufacture of chemical weapons. It also permits the United States to stop its citizens from contributing to the proliferation of missiles or weapons of mass destruction.

To be truly effective, proliferation controls must be implemented by all major supplier countries. We have made substantial progress with other suppliers to promote agreement on further strengthening proliferation controls, including a new multilateral export control regime on technology which could contribute to nuclear weapons. Moreover, the multilateral Missile Technology Control Regime has been strengthened by adding new member countries and expanding the number of items on the control list. Through the Australia Group, we are also working with allies and like-minded countries to improve worldwide controls on the export of chemical and biological warfare precursor materials and related equipment.

China - Most Favored Nation Status

"We should maintain trade relations with China. The termination of China's most favored nation, or MFN, status could cost the U.S. as much as \$5 billion in exports and 110,000 trade-related jobs while at the same time forcing American consumers to pay more for the textiles, electrical appliances and other low-cost goods we import from China. Some claim that revoking China's MFN status will speed that country toward democratization, but in fact it will do just the opposite. Trading with China helps open up its system to the West and exposes its political and economic leaders and others to our system and our values. Many Chinese, including several involved in the protests at Tiananmen Square, support our policy of continuing unconditional MFN status for China. There are already signs that this strategy is working. On January 16, we successfully concluded an agreement with the Chinese government to protect intellectual property rights.

As the nations of the former East bloc and those that once made up the Soviet empire move from state-controlled economies to capitalist ones, I would anticipate granting these former adversaries MFN status. Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria have already taken steps in this direction, and I was pleased to recognize their progress by granting them most favored nation status. I want to continue to see market economies spring up all over the world, and MFN status is one means we have to encourage that trend."

(Manchester Union-Leader)

Defense Spending

"The Cold War is over, and though America must remain alert against threats, it is time to reconsider our defense posture. Two years ago I began planning cuts in military spending to reflect the changes in the world, and now it is time to implement them. Further production of the B-2 bomber will be stopped after completion of 20 planes. The small ICBM program has been terminated, production of the new warhead for our sea based ballistic missiles ceased, and future production of advanced cruise missiles stopped. And I have informed Russian President Boris Yeltsin that we will make further reductions if the Russians eliminate land-based multiple-warhead ballistic missiles. At my direction, the military services are closing down dozens of bases at home and abroad whose presence is no longer essential to our security.

The reductions I have approved will save \$50 billion over the next five years, a reduction of 30% in defense spending since I took office. At the same time that the improved international situation warrants these cuts in our defense budget, we must retain a strong defense. To do less would be insensitive to progress, but to do more would be ignorant of history. We must not go back to the days of the "hollow army". Twice in this century we followed victory in war with reckless disarmament; in a still dangerous world we cannot repeat this mistake. We cannot out our military--or weaken our alliances--as some are suggesting to the point we can no longer defend against potential threats."

(Americans for a Balanced Budget)

Welfare Reform

"The key to my welfare policy is to move people off welfare to jobs. As part of my job training 2000 initiative I have announced a new demonstration program involving over \$20 million which will help recipients move off welfare and become economically self-sufficient. I support innovative state programs that require recipients to work or to get better educated while receiving welfare benefits. I have been greatly encouraged by many state-level reform efforts on welfare, and therefore in my State of the Union address I proposed making it easier to waive federal regulations to help make the process of reform quicker and easier for states that ask our help."

(Florida Times-Union)

Tax Pledge

"I am committed to maintaining a tax system that will encourage investment and sustain strong economic growth. The growth initiatives outlined in the State of the Union address are designed to do just that.

(Americans for a Balanced Budget)

I have long opposed raising people's taxes; and have vigorously supported measures to reduce income tax rates, to cut the capital gains rate, and to create tax incentives for job-creating investment. In 1990, Congressional Democrats forced us to accept some tax increases as part of a larger budget agreement. That agreement put enforceable caps on new government spending--and saved us from what was then an irresponsible alternative that could have cut support for our military during the Gulf War.

In my 1993 budget I have proposed several tax reductions, including raising the personal exemption on families by \$500 per dependent child, provide up to a \$5,000 tax credit for a time, and up to a \$3,750 health insurance credit to lighten the burden on the American taxpayer and stimulate economic growth. I continue to oppose increases in income tax rates and will fight for the enactment of the tax cuts I have proposed.

Now is not the time to raise taxes. Our economy needs a boost, and a tax hike would only impede growth. Rather, in my State of the Union address I proposed several tax reductions, including cutting the capital gains tax rate, raising the personal exemption for families by \$500 per dependent child, and providing up to a \$5,000 tax credit for a first home and up to a \$3,750 health insurance credit. All of these tax cuts would spur economic growth and create jobs."

(Americans for a Balanced Budget)

"I saw Ronald Reagan agonize over it back in 1982, just as I agonized over it. But consider the choices: do you shut down the government--cut off the Social Security checks, risk the supply lines to troops that we were at the time moving overseas? Or do you have to swallow something from the Democrat controlled, tax-increase conscious Congress?"

(U-Knighted News)

Line Item Veto

"I favor it, and in my State of the Union address I again called on Congress to give me the power that 43 governors have, the power to cut pork-barrel spending. The current budget process defends special interests. I should have the power to defend the general interest by striking from appropriations legislation the provisions that benefit only narrow constituencies. If the Democrat controlled Congress can't say no to special interest, I certainly can."

(Americans for a Balanced Budget)

Immigration

"It greatly distresses me to hear in this campaign talk of a Fortress America--that for some reason we would be better off by isolating ourselves from the world. Those who want us to turn our backs on the rest of the world ought to pay a visit to the statue of liberty--or better yet, consider their own ancestors who braved the oceans in pursuit of liberty. I believe that immigration is not just a link to our Nation's past; it's also a bridge to America's future. Immigrants built America; immigration from all over the world strengthens America. It is difficult to imagine an America without, for instance, Italian Americans or Irish Americans. As President it was my privilege to sign into law the Immigration Act of 1990, which makes it easier for exceptionally talented immigrants such as scientists, educators and engineers to put their talents to work here in America. Immigrants can play an important role in increasing our economic competitiveness. I believe that stronger enforcement of existing laws--not narrowness of mind--is our best deterrent to immigration abuse. Our border guards are better prepared to control borders than ever before. Aliens involved in drugs or violent crime are now expeditiously deported. I will continue to see that the "back door" is shut on illegal immigration through vigorous enforcement of the law."

(Manchester Union-Leader)

"When I took office, our immigration laws were in desperate need of overhaul. They no longer reflected America's needs or interests. Thus, I was particularly pleased to sign into law the Immigration Act of 1990, the first major reform of our immigration laws in a quarter-century. Working with the Congress, my administration crafted a law that will serve America's interests for years into the future. Besides streamlining immigration proceedings, the new law increases the number of immigrants permitted each year and encourages admission of scientists, engineers and other highly skilled individuals."

(Response magazine)

Homelessness

"First, I will do everything in my power to persuade Congress to fund fully my request for over \$1 billion in homeless assistance. Congress has consistently appropriated less than I have requested for homeless programs. If funded at the level I have requested for fiscal year 1993, we will reach many of the homeless with the kind of services they require."

Many homeless persons are burdened with problems not amenable to quick-fixes, or to a short-term infusion of housing services. My strategy to end homelessness rests on a commitment to address the varied and multiple needs of these people. For example, I have requested over \$265 million for Shelter Plus Care, a program that offers rental assistance and appropriate treatment to homeless persons who are mentally ill, chemically dependent, or afflicted with AIDS. I also launched the initiative Project HOPE, in my first year as President.

Secondly, I encourage and applaud the involvement of non-profits, States, and local governments in helping to end the tragedy of homelessness. Homelessness is not a problem that the Federal government alone can solve. The federal government can and will continue to offer leadership and innovation and funding. But we must all apply our best skills and deepest sense of compassion if we are to find a solution to homelessness."

(Florida Times-Union)

Health Care

"My comprehensive health care reform program is based on four principles:

1. Cut costs to make health insurance more accessible and more affordable, through major market reforms and a \$3,750 transferable health care tax credit that guarantees basic insurance coverage of all low-income families, and a tax deduction that will improve access to affordable insurance for middle-income families.
 2. Remove the fear that changing jobs will end health coverage and include individuals and small employers in larger groups to better share risk and to drastically reduce administrative costs.
 3. Preserve Americans' right to choose their own doctor and the type of health coverage which is best for them, encouraging the use of coordinated care programs and prohibiting legal obstacles to this type of coverage.
 4. Expand access by increasing funding for Community Health Centers, Migrant Health Centers and the National Health Service Corps."
- (National Association of Counties)

Gun Control

"I am firmly committed to keeping guns out of criminals' hands and keeping criminals off the street. The Federal gun control laws do not need major revision, although I support some changes designed to increase their effectiveness, as well as new limits on excessively large capacity magazines for semi-automatic weapons. I continue to oppose federal gun regulation. Much more important, however, are my proposals to establish increased Federal penalties for the criminal misuse of firearms. Ultimately, the only "gun control" that will really work is crime control.

I have also said in the past that I would be willing to support reasonable measures to identify convicted felons attempting to buy firearms, if Congress in return would approve a tough, no-nonsense crime bill. Thus far they have not."

(Florida Times-Union)

Environment

"The condition of our land, water, and air affects the quality of life for each and every one of us. Therefore I am hesitant to single out any one particular environmental issue as being the "greatest" or most pressing. There is hardly a community in America that is not concerned about the issues of toxic waste, the quality of our water, and clean air, all of which have been on our environmental agenda for years. When I took office, I promised to enhance environmental stewardship of our natural resources and to balance environmental protection with the need to sustain jobs and encourage economic growth. The result of this approach has been a reinvigorated Environmental Protection Agency and the initiation of a number of new programs, such as "Green lights" and the toxic reduction program to reduce pollution, as well as the pursuit of new technologies such as clean coal. I have tried to encourage the use of market oriented approaches to our environmental problems. I was pleased to work with Congress to create the new Clean Air Act, which included the world's first major program of economic incentives to improve air quality. Just last August I announced a comprehensive plan to protect our Nation's wetlands. We can have both a cleaner environment and economic growth--if we continue to seek out new solutions."

(Manchester Union-Leader)

Energy Policy

"Almost a year ago I proposed, in the form of detailed legislative changes, a National Energy Strategy. That strategy contains a host of initiatives, providing virtually equal measures of new energy supply and increased efficiency and conservation. Many of the changes I want to make have upset special interests, who are profiting by the current way in which we produce and consume energy in this country. I am sorry to say that to date these interests have been able to tie up my energy legislation in the Congress, but I will continue to press Congress to move on my balanced program of new energy supply and increased efficiency and conservation."

(Florida Times-Union)

Education

"Education is one of my top domestic priorities. America 2000, my strategy for reaching the national education goals, supports the idea of merit pay and special recognition for outstanding teachers--and the vast majority are good and dedicated teachers who love their students and their profession. I think the federal government should serve as a catalyst for education reform, spearheading research on matters such as innovative teaching techniques and curriculum, and should also provide the leadership necessary to ensure our Nation's schools give our children the best education possible. I am pleased with the accomplishments of Education Secretary Lamar Alexander on both fronts and will continue working with him to make our schools the best. I would encourage local school boards to construct evaluation models that would reward outstanding teaching. America's educators should be respected, rewarded for doing well, and given a role in the decision-making process of their schools."

(Manchester Union-Leader)

"I want all students to be able to attend a world-class school. To ensure that all can, I have put forward my America 2000 strategy and education reform proposals which promise to revolutionize America's schools. Parents will have more choice over which school their children attend, teachers more flexibility, and communities will have the chance to develop new approaches to learning. After some delay, Congress is finally considering my America 2000 proposals, and I hope to see them approved soon."

(Newsday)

Drug Control Policy

My administration's \$12.7 billion war on drugs rests on two crucial elements. First, I believe we must address the demand for drugs here in the United States before we can make real progress on the supply of drugs being smuggled across our borders. During my Administration, the use of illicit drugs has dropped by 13%. I firmly believe that through increased funding for education, drug treatment and rehabilitation efforts, and vigorous law enforcement, America can break its dangerous drug habit. Second, I have asked Congress for an additional \$11.5 million in economic and military assistance to fight drugs in other areas of the world. Without this aid, drug traffic will continue to flow unabated into the United States and violence will continue to plague America's streets."

(Florida Times-Union)

Foreign Aid

"The 1993 budget I proposed contains a cut in total spending for foreign aid. What aid I have approved has been either for humanitarian purposes or to advance U.S. national interests. I have also provided aid to the republics of the former Soviet Union. Collectively, they possess over 30,000 nuclear weapons and have over 2 million men under arms. The purpose of our aid is to help these countries move from highly militarized societies that pose a danger to all of us to open democratic societies with which we can enjoy trade and economic relations. This century has shown all too horribly the consequences of failing to rally to support democracy in difficulty. We must not repeat past mistakes in this regard."

(Americans for a Balanced Budget)

Civil Rights

"I am a strong supporter of the civil rights . I was pleased to sign into law both the Americans with Disabilities Act and the Civil Rights Act of 1991. These laws however, are only the first step toward a new era of harmony and shared purpose. The American dream rests on the vision of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness and in the shared ideals of decency, fairness, faith, hard work, and generosity. The elimination of discrimination in the workplace is a vital element of the American dream, but it is not enough. I believe in an America that is free of racism and bigotry. This Administration's agenda for the next American century, whether it be guaranteeing equal protection under the law, promoting excellence in education, or creating jobs, will ensure for generations to come that America remains the beacon of opportunity in the world."

(Response magazine)

Art Funding

"The President has said that he's been offended by some of the filth that has passed for art and he strongly opposes spending the taxpayers' money on obscene work. The Congress has voted to ban the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities from funding works that are considered obscene according to the Supreme Court's definition of obscenity."

(Chronicle of Higher Education)

Abortion

"All life is a precious gift. Each human being has intrinsic dignity and worth. The prevalence of abortion on demand in the United States stands in stark contrast to our Nation's most deeply held values and beliefs. I recognize that the subject of abortion is a difficult, often painful one for most Americans. While sincere persons may disagree, my position is that the lives of both mother and child must be cherished and protected.

I have devoted much time and careful thought to this issue over the years. I am opposed to abortion except when the life of the mother is threatened or when there is rape or incest.

I have not reached these decisions easily or lightly. Abortion is a deeply emotional and very personal decision for all Americans. It is made even more difficult when the underlying issue is whether the government--and ultimately the American taxpayer funds should be used for abortion in only the most narrow of circumstances: when the life of the mother is endangered. I oppose the use of Federal funds to pay for abortion except when the life of the mother is threatened.

On a personal note, I find the figures on the numbers of pregnancies that are terminated by abortion simply unconscionable. Government and the private sector must be more involved in encouraging alternatives such as adoption.

I recognize that people of goodwill may disagree on questions as difficult and complex as this. However, in the absence of perfect legislation that would reconcile these difficult issues, I decided that, if I have to err, I prefer to err on the side of human life."

(U-Knighted News)

Appendix V

President George Bush Commitments and Accomplishments

Domestic Policy

Agriculture

* Develop new uses for ethanol and other agricultural products

- The President has continued to support the use of ethanol as an alternative fuel source and has signed legislation extending tax incentives for domestically-produced ethanol through the year 2000.

* Protect farm industries from unfair subsidized competition

- The President has made the reform of European subsidies a top priority in the current round of GATT negotiations.

* Expand domestic and foreign agricultural markets

- The free trade agreement being negotiated with Mexico at the President's initiative also will boost agricultural exports.

Balanced Budget Goal

* Supports a Balanced Budget Amendment

- The President has supported a Balanced Budget Amendment for at least 14 years and has called on Congress to pass one each year he has been President.

* Personally lead deficit-reduction negotiations with Congress

- The President met personally with Congressional budget negotiators in 1989 and 1990 during talks to reduce the budget deficit.

* Enact a line-item veto

- President Bush has called repeatedly for a line-item veto every year he has been in office.

Social Security

* Protect the Social Security Fund - no Social Security COLA cuts

- In his 1992 State of the Union Address the President renewed his promise not to tamper with Social Security.

Reduce Government Waste

* Change procurement laws to provide for one government-wide procurement statute

- The Administration has submitted proposals in April and June, 1990 and February, 1991 to Congress that would improve the efficiency of government procurement. The Administration continued in 1991 to work toward enactment of a uniform, clear and enforceable procurement statute.

Children

* Encourage employer-sponsored Child Care

- The Administration's Child Care Act of 1990 established the At-Risk Child Care Program to provide assistance to families who are at risk of going on welfare if they do not receive employment-related child care assistance.

* Expand Head Start to enroll all eligible 4-year olds

- President Bush has increased funding for Head Start by nearly a billion dollars, with the aim of enrolling every eligible four-year old in this highly successful program.

* Child support enforcement measures should include support for paternity establishment procedures

- The Bush Administration is proposing legislation to further expand the effectiveness and efficiency of the Child Support Enforcement program.

* Mandate new state guidelines to tighten

- The President has expanded the child

child support enforcement

support enforcement component of the Family Support Act with new provisions that cover increased collections, mandatory wage withholding, and the establishment of paternity.

- * Develop parent locator system

- President Bush supports continued funding for the Federal Parent Locator Service. The President has repeatedly stressed the need to find "deadbeat dads" and collect child support from them.

- * Fund adoption counseling

- Adoption counseling at the federal level is provided by doctors of the Public Health Service's Family Planning Clinics. The President has increased funding for this project every year since his election.

Civil Rights

- * Promoted Minorities to the Cabinet

- The President named Manuel Lujan, jr., Robert Martinez, Dr. Louis Sullivan, Lynn Martin, Carla Hills and Barbara Franklin to the cabinet.

- * Pass legislation extending to disabled people the same equal opportunity protections afforded women and minorities

- The landmark Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 was enacted by the Administration and signed by the President on July 26, 1990.

- * Develop programs and policies that promote independence, freedom of choice and productive involvement of the disabled in the social and economic mainstream

- The Americans with Disabilities Act, which President Bush supported and signed into law, ensures that people with disabilities are not excluded from the social or economic mainstream and will open new doors and enhance career choices for disabled Americans.

Law Enforcement

*** Consistently mandate tougher sentencing**

- The Administration has proposed and enforced tougher sentencing guidelines including implementation of mandatory minimum sentences for many categories of violent drug-related offences.

*** Reform habeas corpus and exclusionary rule**

- Reform of both habeas corpus and the exclusionary rule is included in the President's proposed Comprehensive Violent Crime Control Act now stalled in Congress.

*** Pass better laws to protect law enforcement officers**

- The President has called for a mandatory death penalty for those who kill law enforcement officers.

*** Provide body armor to law enforcement agencies**

- The National Institute of Justice provides information and technical assistance and responds to requests from local law enforcement officials regarding ballistic cloth armor.

*** Eliminate unneeded domestic military bases and convert to minimum security prisons**

- Fourteen federal correctional facilities are located on former military bases, with six more currently under design and construction. The Federal Bureau of Prisons is working with the Department of Defense to convert to correctional use several military bases scheduled for closure in the wake of the Cold War.

*** Use Federal jail space for habitual offenders**

- The Federal Bureau of Prisons accepts inmates from virtually every state and the District of Columbia.

*** Coordinate federal, state, and local efforts against gangs and drug lords**

- The FBI and the BATF have established a joint anti-gang task force with squads in cities most heavily plagued by gangs. The President's new "Weed & Seed" initiative will foster cooperation among federal, state and local officials to "weed out" gangs and drug lords from embattled

neighborhoods.

- * Provide technical and financial assistance to local law enforcement agencies

- * Appoint judges and prosecutors who will be tougher on criminals

- * Expand prisons so criminals are not turned loose for lack of space

- * Separate first-time offenders from career criminals and treat all prisoners for drug problems

- * Create a Gang Unit within the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice

- * Mandatory sentencing for gang activity

- * Double current prison budget

- In his FY93 budget the President proposes almost \$1 billion in Federal assistance to state and local law enforcement agencies.

- The President's FY93 budget contains \$814 million for U.S. Attorneys, \$93 million more than 1992 funding. These new funds will allow the hiring of 161 new federal prosecutors and 85 new judges to try and sentence violent criminals.

- To provide adequate prison space to insure convicted felons serve the full term of their sentences, the Bush Administration has invested over \$2 billion in prison construction since 1989.

- The Bush Administration has established two pilot "boot camp" federal correctional facilities.

- The FBI and the BATF have established a joint anti-gang task force with squads in cities most heavily plagued by gangs. The Administration will soon establish a Gang Analysis Center to provide law enforcement with the information they need to investigate, arrest and prosecute criminal gang members.

- The President has strongly supported mandatory sentencing for gangs. A special Justice Department unit targets career criminals under the Armed Career Criminals Act.

- The President's FY93 budget proposes \$2.2 billion for Federal prisons, an increase of 9% over FY92, and 43.8%

over FY89. More than 35,000 additional beds are planned at the Federal level alone.

*** Ensure severe penalties for white collar criminals**

- The Bush Administration has dramatically increased penalties for white-collar criminals. Over 2,600 FBI agents are committed to white-collar crime investigations.

*** Remove crime from schools and neighborhoods**

- President Bush has authorized \$63.3 million through HHS for demonstration projects that identify and increase protection of high-risk youth.

*** Reduce incentives for crime**

- The President's "Weed and Seed" initiative will help reclaim and rejuvenate embattled neighborhoods and communities. This initiative provides funding for local community-based policing programs such as neighborhood watches. The President also continues to support efforts to mobilize residents to take a more active role in fighting crime in their communities by participating in events like the Night Out Against Crime.

Drugs

*** Demand zero-tolerance of drugs**

- The President has supported measures to eliminate the scourge of drugs from all sectors of our community through increased funding for law enforcement, heightened penalties for narcotics-related offenses, and strict forfeiture regulations.

*** Provide material support (boats, planes, training)**

- Since taking office, President Bush has increased funding for international drug control by 153% - from \$ 304 million to \$768 million.

*** Institute stronger penalties, including death penalty**

- The President's Comprehensive Violent Crime Control Act, still languishing in

*** Urge other nations to establish international strike forces to hit foreign drug operations**

*** No bargaining with drug dealers or terrorists**

*** Call for tougher enforcement, prevention, interdiction and leadership**

*** Shrink supply**

*** Involve the Intelligence Community in combatting drugs**

*** Make sure no one makes bail or gets probation or parole without first passing a drug test**

Congress, proposes to stiffen penalties and reinstate the death penalty for violent drug-related offenses.

- President Bush has entered into negotiations with countries throughout the world, from Latin American to the new democracies of Eastern Europe, to establish cooperative efforts to police money laundering, exchange information on activities of drug lords and otherwise combat narc-business.

- In December 1989 President Bush initiated Operation Just Cause, which restored Panama's democratically-elected leadership and brought Panamanian strongman Manuel Noriega to justice for drug trafficking.

- Since taking office, the Administration has doubled funding for domestic law enforcement to \$5.6 billion.

- In 1991 almost 300 metric tons of cocaine were seized in this hemisphere.

- The President has involved the Intelligence Community to an unprecedented degree in fighting against drugs.

- President Bush proposed drug testing as a mandatory condition of Federal probation, parole or supervised release in his 1989 proposal to combat violent crime, and as part of his National Drug Control Strategy. This initiative was again included in the 1991 Comprehensive Violent Crime Control Act, which is still languishing in Congress.

*** Remove drugs from schools and neighborhoods**

- One of the President's National Education Goals is to make every school in America free of drugs and violence by the year 2000. Tough federal mandatory sentences will ensure that drug dealers serve real time in prison.

*** Suspend the driver's licenses of those convicted of drug offenses**

- While the President cannot control state laws, Federal law requires the Secretary of Transportation to withhold federal highway funding for states which fail to enact legislation requiring suspension or delayed issuance of driver's licenses for those convicted of drug offenses.

Economic Growth

Competitiveness

*** Create a climate for entrepreneurship and risk-taking**

- The President has repeatedly proposed initiatives to encourage entrepreneurship including capital gains tax cuts, creating an investment tax allowance, changing the passive loss rules for real estate, simplifying and enhancing Alternative Minimum Tax depreciation, and extending the Research and Experimentation tax credit. The President's HOPE initiative also calls for the creation of rural and urban enterprise zones to encourage ownership of businesses and investment in economically depressed areas.

*** Eliminate needless regulations**

- The President has established the Council on Competitiveness to review federal regulations and ensure they do not hinder job creation or economic growth. The President's regulatory reforms have removed barriers to growth in the biotechnology industry, allowed terminally-ill patients to receive potentially life-saving drugs, increased opportunities

for capital formation, responded to the so-called "credit crunch," increased privatization of transportation facilities, and removed barriers to the growth of small business.

Education

*** Improve math and science education**

- The President's National Educational Goals call for American students to be first in the world in mathematics and science by the year 2000. In 1992 the Interagency Committee on Education and Human Resources conducted the first comprehensive analysis of federal support for mathematics, science and technology. Based on that analysis, funding for these programs rose 13% to \$1.94 billion.

*** Encourage states to adopt ACT
(Alternate Certification of Teachers)**

- The AMERICA 2000 program encourages states to adopt alternative certification procedures for qualified individuals who want to teach. The Administration submitted legislation to assist States to establish alternative certification for teachers which is being considered by the Congress.

*** Teach parents to teach**

- The initiatives proposed by the President, notably decentralization of education bureaucracies, will give parents a direct stake in deciding whether their children go to school, and what they learn.

Environment

*** Enforce environmental laws aggressively**

- The Bush Administration has obtained more convictions for environmental crimes than any previous administration. Under President Bush's leadership, the EPA has assessed more civil, criminal, and administrative fines in the last three years than in all of its prior 21-year history,

and new records have been set for felony indictments, convictions and prison sentences. The Bush Administration has pursued landmark suits to protect the Everglades, Chesapeake Bay, and the Great Lakes.

*** Expedite clean up of toxic waste dumps**

- The President has tripled the rate of toxic waste site cleanups since 1989. In addition to Federal funding, private parties now pay for over 60% of Superfund cleanups, almost double their contribution level in 1988.

*** Groundwater protection**

- The Bush Administration is pursuing a strategy to develop state groundwater protection programs that emphasize pollution prevention strategies and rely on risk-based geographic targeting.

*** Recycle solid waste**

- The President has made solid waste disposal a top priority; he has set a goal of recycling 25% of solid waste by the year 2000. President Bush signed Executive Order 12780, requiring all federal agencies to minimize waste by establishing a recycling program. Today, nearly every federal office building has a recycling bin to collect waste paper and aluminum cans.

*** Aggressively enforce clean air regulations**

- The President proposed, negotiated, and signed the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990, the world's most protective and market-oriented clean air laws. The Amendments will cut acid-rain emissions in half, improve urban air quality, reduce toxic pollutants by 90%, and protect the global ozone layer by completely phasing out CFC production by the end of 1995.

*** Eliminate harmful substances such as lead, asbestos and radon**

- The Bush Administration has established new restrictions on lead in drinking water

that will reduce exposure for more than 100 million Americans, and has made the detection of indoor air pollution from radon a priority for EPA action. Asbestos removal laws are being implemented, and enforcement has increased for regulations on all harmful substances.

Health Care

*** Reform tort liability/ insurance**

- In May 1991, the President sent to Congress his Medical Malpractice Tort Reform Legislation which would reduce incentives to file meritless medical malpractice suits, lower insurance premiums and increase access to health care in underserved areas; he has also proposed a Model State Punitive Damages Act and has endorsed product liability reform in Congress. Congress has yet to act on the legislation.

*** Support biotechnology advances**

- In his FY93 budget the President proposed a national Biotechnology Research Initiative to expand U.S. leadership in research and commercialization of biotech products. The Vice President's Council on Competitiveness has also reformed regulation of biotechnology companies to allow more rapid approval of safe new biotech products.

*** Reduce health care costs, now outpacing inflation**

- The President has proposed legislation to reform state medical malpractice laws; the President's comprehensive health care plan contains a number of initiatives to cut administrative costs by increasing competition among providers and insurers, and reforming the way federal health programs work. The President's plan would also help brake rising costs.

* Phase in coverage for adults at affordable rates

* Support multiple-employer trusts and other risk pool mechanisms as incentives to employers

Taxes

* Will not increase taxes

* Cut capital gains tax from 28% to 15%

- The President's comprehensive health care plan provides for tax credits and deductions for the purchase of a basic level of health insurance.

- The President's comprehensive health care plan calls for the creation of Health Insurance Networks that would allow smaller employers to band together to buy health insurance. By reforming the way the insurance market works, the President's proposals go a long way toward extending access to care without new mandates or taxes.

- In 1990, the President signed a Budget Agreement negotiated with Democrats in Congress which increased certain excise taxes, eliminated the "bubble" in personal income tax rates, and increased the phaseout of some deductions. Like President Reagan before him, President Bush was willing to accept modest revenue increases in exchange for significant spending cuts. The tax increase accepted by President Bush was less than any of three accepted for similar reasons under the Reagan Administration. In light of the Democratic Congress' determination to increase spending, the President has admitted that his acceptance of the 1990 budget deal was a "mistake." On March 20th, the President reiterated his opposition to another increase by vetoing the Democratic tax hike passed in Congress. In vetoing the Democrats' tax hike, President Bush became the first President since 1948 to veto a Congressional tax bill.

- The President has called for a reduction

in the capital gains tax rate every year since he was elected.

Urban Policy

- * Provide for urban enterprise zones

- The President's Enterprise Zones and Jobs-Creation Act, now before Congress, gives the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development the power to designate qualified areas as enterprise zones.

Housing

- * Tenant ownership and management of public housing

- The President's Low-Income Housing Preservation Program gives tenants the right to purchase buildings from private owners wanting to terminate low-income housing subsidies.

Traditional Family Values

- * Voluntary prayer in schools

- President Bush has called numerous times for voluntary prayer in schools. The Department of Justice also supported voluntary school prayer in its *amicus curiae* brief in the Supreme Court case of Lee v. Weisman.

Foreign Policy

Chemical Weapons Ban

- * Work to ban the production of chemical weapons and to create an intrusive verification system to guard against violations

- The President signed an agreement with the Soviet Union in 1990 requiring both nations to destroy virtually all their stocks of chemical weapons, and U.S. stockpiles are being systematically incinerated or destroyed in compliance with this agreement.

Conventional Arms Reductions

- * Give new priority to conventional arms

- President Bush pursued simultaneously

reduction negotiations: without linking to START, have both sets of negotiations move in tandem

the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe and the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty through separate fora. Since last August's coup in Moscow, the Bush Administration has announced sweeping reductions and drawdowns in both nuclear and conventional forces. Through the President's Middle East arms control initiative, the five leading suppliers of conventional arms to that region agreed to guidelines of restraint and information exchange.

U.S. Israeli Relations

* No wedge will be driven between U.S. and Israel

- The President is committed to maintaining close relations with Israel. The U.S. stood firmly by Israel through the Gulf War. The President call on Soviet President Gorbachev to permit direct flights to Israel of Soviet emigres; the President supported the U.S.-Israel Free Trade Agreement, and efforts to transport Ethiopian Jews to Israel.

Panama

* Noriega will go

- In December 1989, following several months of political instability in Panama, attacks on American personnel stationed in Panama, and Noriega's unwillingness to heed the results of democratic elections, President Bush led Operation Just Cause, which restored Panama's democratically-elected leadership and brought Noriega to justice for drug trafficking. In April 1992 Noriega was convicted on multiple counts of drug trafficking.

South Africa

* Work actively to cause South Africa to free Nelson Mandela, with no conditions. Seek immediate dialogue between restraint and information exchange.

Extended Free Trade Agreements

* Free trade agreements should be extended in our hemisphere to Pacific rim countries and with the European Community, as it moves toward integration in 1992

- President Bush maintained U.S. sanctions and diplomatic pressure on South Africa, the justifications for which included South Africa's release of Mandela and other political prisoners. On February 11, 1990, Mandela was released.

- To ensure free trade with the world, President Bush has concluded negotiations with Mexico and Canada to create a North American Free Trade Area which would create a market of 360 million consumers with an output of \$6 trillion. This will also create thousands of new U.S. jobs. In June 1990, the President proposed the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative to expand free trade through the Western Hemisphere; the Initiative will provide greater access to foreign markets for American businesses and consumers and provide increased investment opportunities.

Desert Storm

* Getting allies to do more is essential, but should be approached creatively

- President Bush successfully initiated and maintained a global alliance to end Saddam Hussein's aggression toward his neighbors. The President is exploring various approaches to establishing a more balanced partnership with our allies, including a greater sharing of global leadership and responsibilities.

Agenda for American Renewal

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "George W. Bush".

George Bush
President of the United States

Agenda for American Renewal

I. Introduction: The Challenge

America stands at the edge of a new era, a new century. Here is my bridge to the other shore: An Agenda for American Renewal — diagnosing the economic problems we face, setting forth the principles to guide our actions, and explaining the approach I am pursuing.

Over past weeks I have been discussing some of the elements of my economic agenda. In coming weeks I will be expanding on my ideas. This document shows how the pieces fit together.

It is important to step back for a moment, to take stock of where we are as a great nation in the broader sweep of history.

The American people have just completed the greatest mission of all, the triumph of democratic capitalism over imperialistic communism. Mission accomplished.

Throughout history, when long wars end, people have been confronted with the problems of converting to peacetime and establishing a new basis for securing peace and prosperity.

In wartime, the costs of Government are always high. Domestic needs are not fully met. In times of conflict, a good nation tries to look after its poor, its sick, its elderly, its less privileged members, but not as completely as it should or would like to.

Today, this year, for the first time since December 1941, the United States is not engaged in a war, hot or cold.

We are a nation at peace. But being at peace with others and being at peace with ourselves are different things. The one we have achieved. The other, we can and will.

The American people recognize this historical watershed. They want and deserve a peacetime system of taxation, a peacetime freedom from unnecessary intrusion into our lives, a peacetime commitment to sound money, a peacetime dedication to unfinished work and unsolved problems close to home.

At the same time, Americans are aware of epic changes in the world and the economy. They sense the disquiet in many of the industrialized democracies that have been our partners in the long struggle. Our own economy has been going through some profound changes. And I un-

"We are a nation at peace. But being at peace with others and being at peace with ourselves are different things. The one we have achieved. The other, we can and will."

derstand how difficult change can be, particularly for those who feel its effects most directly. Americans sense we face an era of great opportunity, but that there are also great risks if we fail to choose wisely.

We must now demonstrate our unique ability to transform anxiety into regeneration. Only in America do we have the people, the resources, the economic strength — and especially the principles and ideals — to pick up the challenge.

For America to be safe and strong we must meet the defining challenge of the '90s: to win the economic competition — to win the peace.

The United States must be a military superpower, an export superpower, *and* an economic superpower.

My approach is to look forward — to open new markets, prepare our people to compete, to strengthen the American family, to save and invest — so we can win.

This future depends on economic growth, but not for the few at the expense of the many, not for the present at the expense of the future.

In this country, we have always preferred an entrepreneurial capitalism that grows from the bottom up, not the top down, a capitalism that begins on Main Street and extends to Wall Street, not the other way around.

Nor have we been taken in by the view my opponent prefers, that Government should accumulate capital — by taxing it and borrowing it from the people, and investing it according to some industrial policy design.

My agenda is for an inclusive America, not an exclusive America — and certainly not a reclusive one. We will challenge the world with an international economic and trade strategy that will promote free trade arrangements east and west, north and south, to strengthen our global economic reach and complement our worldwide security presence. At the same time, we need to foster the capabilities at home that will keep us in the lead.

Developed economies need developing minds. To help prepare all our children for a constantly changing workplace, I want to make radical changes in our education system. Each child should graduate with skills, self-discipline, and self-confidence.

I will sharpen the competitive edge of our businesses by encouraging entrepreneurial capitalism and small business, deploying advances in R&D and technology, and reforming our legal system so it no longer puts us at a global disadvantage.

My agenda promotes economic security for working men and women through job training that will ease adjustments and provide people with new capabilities for work in the face of competition and change. And I will enable families to concentrate on building for the future by giving them the means to protect themselves against today's cost of health care, and by making it easier to build tomorrow's retirement security. I want our efforts to reach out to all our citizens, leaving no one behind, because we will need the work, aspiration, and energy of each and every American.

Finally, since our competitive strength and entrepreneurial spirit must flow from the private sector, I will streamline Government to meet changing needs.

We can empower America to reach a grand goal: a \$10 trillion economy by the first years of the 21st Century.

When President Reagan and I assumed office in 1981, the U.S. economy was about \$3 trillion. We've almost doubled that over the past 12 years. So I know we can nearly double it again through sustainable real growth over the coming decade.

With a \$10 trillion economy, we could provide the resources, private and public, to satisfy our most ambitious social and financial requirements. We could simultaneously renew America and pay down our national debt.

So now let me turn to how we can meet the challenge and reach our goal.

II. The Context: Five Changes Underway in the Economy

The U.S. economy has been working its way through five profound changes. They establish the context for my agenda.

The first great change in our economy is ironically due to our very success in ending the Cold War. Since our superpower rival of the last half century has dropped out of the

race, we are now able to do something we have all hoped for since the close of World War II — lighten the load of the defense burden.

In the short run, this adjustment has meant cutbacks and lay-offs in many industries that have depended on defense spending. We must ease this transition. But in the medium and long run, reductions in defense spending will free up many new resources for our people and economy.

Second, it seems that almost every time you open the business pages you can find a story about a major U.S. corporation that is restructuring itself. Our industries are in the process of transforming themselves from old-style hierarchical organizations to so-called "flattened pyramids." This new industrial organization emphasizes a skills-based workplace, "lean production," a "just in time" inventory, and short product cycles rather than mass production. Our companies are integrating R&D, manufacturing, and marketing into a seamless web of innovation. This is a revolution as dramatic as the one when Henry Ford led the country from craft-based production to mass manufacturing early in this century.

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We have to make these adaptations succeed if America's industries are to keep ahead of their international competitors. Strong sales and productivity increases are the prerequisites for creating more jobs, boosting wages, and upgrading benefits. In fact, it is partly because of these changes that our annual growth in manufacturing productivity over the past 10 years was over 50% higher than in the Carter years. It's why American firms lead the world in exports.

Nevertheless, these changes also have produced layoffs and relocations among both blue and white collar workers. Middle-aged breadwinners are wondering whether their company will be the next to make announcements, and they worry about their jobs, health care, and pension rights. Some are also troubled by the prospect that after sacrificing to send their kids to college — often the first generation to attend — that these children's diplomas may not be golden tickets to security.

Third, the 1980s wiped away the dismal economic performance of the late '70s. We enjoyed the longest peacetime expansion in U.S. history, lasting seven and a half years. We

created over 21 million jobs, more than all the new jobs in the other major industrial countries and the rest of Western Europe combined. Yet great booms produce excesses, and this time too many companies, too many financial institutions, and too many households took on too much debt.

We have been paying down that debt — and lower interest rates have helped us do it. Millions of people have refinanced homes at lower rates, reducing mortgage payments by as much as \$1,200 to \$1,500 a year. When companies restructured, they paid down debt, strengthened balance sheets, and positioned themselves to enjoy greater profits when stronger growth resumes. This process will leave our economy leaner and more powerful. Many firms already are. But while that debt was being paid down, people bought fewer goods, and companies put less money into new investments and jobs. The process is largely over, but it has left consumers and companies a little cautious.

Fourth, we entered the '80s with a banking system designed 50 years earlier — an incongruous relic in an era when billions of dollars can be sent around the world in a microsecond. The United States

entered the 1980s with some 14,000 commercial banks and 4,600 savings and loans. In comparison, Canada had about 160, and Japan had under 100. The vast majority of those small U.S. banks and S&Ls operated in a heavily controlled environment where their costs of funds were limited by ceilings on your pass-book accounts. Other regulations restricted competition by imposing costs and inefficiencies on savers and borrowers.

In the late '70s, this out-of-date system was buffeted by record interest and inflation rates; it was challenged by competition from new financial services. As in any other line of business, the less efficient institutions could not survive. But because our banks and S&Ls held insured deposit accounts for most hardworking Americans, the streamlining process had to be managed in a way that enabled the Government to protect your savings. In effect, the Government picked up these costs so your savings would be safe.

This process, too, is nearing its end. A strong economy must have a good banking and financial system so entrepreneurs can get capital, businesses and farms can get loans, and families can buy

homes and cars. We will have a more competitive and efficient financial system that will serve companies and families better. Over the next few years, the Government will actually gain revenues from the sales of billions of dollars of assets that it acquired from banks and S&Ls as it protected savers. But this process has left lenders cautious. Business borrowing rates and mortgage rates are way down, but it's still too hard for small businesses to gain access to capital and credit. We are still taxing capital too much.

The final economic change is perhaps the most far-reaching of all: No nation is an island today. We are part of a global economy. To grow is to trade; to expand is to compete. One manufacturing job out of every six depends directly on our exports. One acre out of every three is sowed for sale abroad.

This international economic interdependence has three implications.

One, when growth slumps abroad, it drags our economy down with it. Both Western Europe (especially Germany) and Japan are going through major readjustments — and that has contributed to our sluggishness.

Two, it means that if America is going to be strong and growing in the 21st Century, we must be ready, able, and willing to compete around the globe. We need to encourage entrepreneurial capitalism and investment at home, and at the same time ensure that our labor force remains the best in the world.

Three, we need to seize opportunities to develop new markets, particularly in areas that have potential for significant growth in the future. One of the other benefits of the end of the Cold War is the extraordinary potential to expand trade and sales to hundreds of millions of potential customers who not long ago were the captives of our enemies.

III. Start with Strengths

In developing an agenda for the future, we should take a clear-eyed look at our strengths as well as weaknesses. Not surprisingly, the other side has conveniently skipped over our country's many strengths. Frankly, they want you to believe America is over the hill and past its prime. But they have no more right to

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convince you the economy is worse than it is for political advantage than I have to understate the problems. So let me just note several key facts.

- The Misery Index — the sum of inflation and unemployment — is down to 10.8% today, from 19.6% in 1980.
- Inflation has fallen to roughly 3%, the lowest in a quarter of a century (except for 1986).
- Interest rates are at a 20 year low. Mortgage rates are now in the 8% range, half the rate President Reagan encountered in his first year. Thanks to these low rates, more people can afford to own a home today than at any time since 1973.
- While unemployment is still far too high, the share of the working age population with jobs during my administration has averaged 62.2%, the highest in U.S. history.
- The United States has the highest home ownership rate of all major industrialized countries: 66% of U.S. households own their

own homes, as compared with 59% in Japan and 40% in Germany.

- The U.S. sends more of its students on to higher education — 68% — than any other country, well above the 32% rate in Germany and 30% in Japan. And 52% of these U.S. students are women, as compared with 26% in Japan and 38% in Germany.
- With exports of \$622 billion, the U.S. is the world's largest exporting nation. Exports increased by 40% during my Administration.
- We produce 25% of the world's total output with 5% of the world's population.
- The productivity of American workers is approximately 26% above those in Germany and 30% above those in Japan.

I do not mean to suggest either that everything is well or that we do not need to lead and manage the changes taking place in the world and at home more actively. We do.

But you can't chart the stars if you think the sky is

falling. We must know our strengths before we build on them. Over the past 12 years, we increased the U.S. economy by about \$2.8 trillion — that's like creating the total size of the German economy twice over. So I know our goal of a \$10 trillion economy is attainable.

We're also in a strong position internationally. But we're going to need the national adaptability and capability to keep leading our competitors. And we must have the courage of our convictions to say "no" to the wrong sort of changes for the future — false promises based on false premises — changes we cannot afford at this key moment in the world economic competition.

IV. Guiding Principles

Before outlining the specifics of my agenda, I want to set out four guiding principles. An effective strategy must be dynamic. As new problems or opportunities present themselves, we will need to make adjustments. Guiding principles will ensure we follow a consistent path and help shape our policies into the future.

First, start with the basics: We are a nation of special individuals, not special interests. Individuals gain primary strength, protection, and inspiration from their families and communities, not the legal system or Government social services. People find their friends and their enjoyment in voluntary association with one another, not in some bureaucrat's paint-by-numbers dream.

Individuals, families, communities. That's where we start.

Second, we have to keep to the fundamentals of sound economic growth: lower tax rates, limits on Government spending, greater competition, less economic regulation, sound money, and more open trade that can free tremendous private initiative and growth.

Experience has shown that these are the steps we need to take to create jobs, raise wages, spur entrepreneurs, expand capital and investment, and build businesses.

Third, in the '90s Government can build on these fundamentals by offering opportunity and hope for individuals, families, and communities. There is a conservative agenda

for helping people, for responding to their needs. And we've seen that these are approaches that work.

We prefer a hand up to a handout. We want to empower people to make their own choices, to break away from dependency. We want to give individuals and families economic security by giving them the capital, the capabilities, and the confidence to decide for themselves. We want everyone to have a stake in society, to own property, so everyone will build something with it for themselves and our country. Whereas my opponent's approach may place a premium on redistribution and "leveling," our programs will unleash initiative, reward success, and encourage excellence. Our approach is to give people the power to work, save, and be their best.

Finally, all our policies must be brought together effectively if we are to prosper as a people and succeed as a nation. America must have appropriate new approaches for the changes at home — just as we've launched new policies to lead and manage change abroad. We must recognize the interrelationship between domestic and foreign policy — between economic and security policy. At the same time, we

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must execute our agenda more effectively with a new Congress, state and local governments, and the private sector. Our aim must be to press our policies together, as a package, to make America secure and strong.

Therefore, my Agenda for American Renewal mandates action on six interconnected fronts. Because we face complex problems, no one solution will suffice. The whole of these elements will be a solution greater than the sum of its parts:

- **Challenging the World: A Strategic Global Economic and Trade Policy**
- **Preparing Our Children for the 21st Century Economy**
- **Sharpening Business' Competitive Edge: Encouraging Entrepreneurial Capitalism**
- **Promoting Economic Security for Working People**
- **Leaving No One Behind: Economic Opportunity for Every American**
- **"Rightsizing" Government**

This is how America will create a \$10 trillion economy.

V. Challenging the World: A Strategic Global Economic and Trade Policy

During the Cold War, we built a global security structure to contain and counter the Soviet Union and communist aggression. We forged military alliances across the Atlantic and Pacific that underpinned that structure. In the post-Cold War era, we need a strategic global economic and trade policy that will ensure our position as an economic and export superpower as well.

We are well positioned to achieve this goal. We enjoy the largest fully integrated market in the world; this gives us leverage with other countries that want access to our market. Once the Congress enacts the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), our position will be further strengthened. NAFTA will open an important market, a Mexican economy whose growth prospects will quickly transform its expanding industries and consumers into

excellent American customers. Equally important, the integration of United States, Mexican, and Canadian capabilities will improve our global competitiveness by enabling American firms to purchase inputs at lower costs. This will help U.S. firms to stay in the forefront of high wage, high value-added production.

Our geopolitical position is also advantageous. The United States is both a Pacific and a European power; our political and security ties link us with the largest and most rapidly growing economies across both oceans. Our trans-Pacific trade already exceeds our Atlantic trade; that's one reason why we helped launch an organization for Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation that will further strengthen our economic ties with that region. Our own neighbors — from Central America to Chile — want to build bridges of trade with us so they can build better economies for their people.

"The ball of liberty," Jefferson once wrote, "is now so well in motion that it will roll around the globe." He was right.

Freedom has rolled through Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, and Latin America — and the ball

is now in our court. Free people and free markets develop hand in hand. People value American values. People want to buy what we have to sell. English is the language of freedom *and* business.

Our political and economic ties are complemented by the appeal of American culture all around the world. This is a new "soft power" we can employ. Today, our movies, music, and videos are among our top-selling exports.

Finally, as the primary founder and the most significant proponent of the GATT global trading system, we continue to have a strong hand as long as we use it to truly open markets, including our own. The key to America's growth, expansion, and innovation has always been our openness to trade, investment, ideas, and people.

Therefore, the next steps in my strategic trade policy are to secure Congressional agreement to NAFTA and to complete the global trade negotiations — the so called Uruguay Round negotiations in GATT. Our NAFTA agreement will open doors for American businesses, workers, and consumers. It will create good jobs. Nevertheless, I expect a tough fight in the Congress in early

1993 because of those special interests who herd together with a protectionist purpose. The global trade negotiations, in turn, could be very close to a breakthrough if the United States continues to act as a strong world leader. There is a proposed draft text that establishes the outlines of a significant new GATT agreement. Once we assure cuts in the subsidized agricultural trade along the lines of that text — to enable our farmers to secure their competitive advantage — I believe we will be able to complete the Uruguay Round agreement.

An improved global trading system is, however, only a base for freer trade, for stronger investment ties, for increased global growth. We need to start to develop a strategic network of free trade agreements [FTAs] across the Atlantic and the Pacific and in our own hemisphere. This network will stand in sharp contrast to the backward blocs of economic isolation. If we are to be a true export superpower, we cannot be tied down to one region. Instead, my intent is to use our attractive domestic market as the basis of a muscular free trade policy that will strengthen America's global economic reach and complement our worldwide security presence.

"Free people and free markets develop hand in hand. People value American values. People want to buy what we have to sell."

By focusing on opening markets, I also believe we can reduce structural barriers to competition in North America, Western Europe, Japan, and elsewhere. Competition will encourage entrepreneurial capitalism — at the expense of entrenched interests — spurring even greater global growth.

More specifically, I will need to secure from the Congress additional trade negotiating authority within the first half of 1993. To overcome the special interests and the protectionists, I will need a mandate from the American people. If America is going to be an export and economic superpower, the U.S. President must take a strong stand on the negotiation of trade and economic agreements. The Congress will read vacillation and equivocation as weakness, and the national interest will lose out to the logrolling trade-offs of Congressional business as usual. That's one very big issue at stake in this election.

With new negotiating authority, I will pursue new trading and economic opportunities in Latin America under my Enterprise for the Americas Initiative, starting with Chile. I would also like to work towards FTAs with Poland, Hungary, and Czecho-

slovakia by the end of my second term. And I would explore the possibility of a connection between NAFTA and the ASEAN FTA, or AFTA. It will not take long for other countries to begin to express their interest in new trade and business ties with us. For example, leaders in Australia and Korea have already spoken of their interest in forging closer economic ties.

Some see new threats, others see old enemies. I see new markets, new opportunities, new jobs.

As we develop this economic and trading network for the 21st Century, I will fight hard to promote American trading interests. For example, I am committed to a sizable Export Enhancement Program [EEP] to ensure that our farmers can go head-to-head with the European Community's subsidized agricultural exports. We know from our experience with military security that the key to economic security must be based on "Peace Through Strength" — not unilateral disarmament. That's why I recently announced the largest quantity of wheat ever available under our EEP program — almost 30 million metric tons to 28 customers.

I will ensure that our ExIm Bank and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) work with teams of our ambassadors to develop trade and investment opportunities for U.S. firms. We've already begun this with the six ASEAN countries — and it's working. I will particularly stress helping America's small businesspeople to develop trading opportunities. These companies look small — but they trade big. I know. I started my own. And I have visited small factories all across the United States that first survived and then prospered by taking on the foreign competition. I know Americans can do it.

VI. Preparing Our Children for the 21st Century Economy

In the 21st Century our greatest national resource will be our people. Materials, machines, and methods will come and go, but the American worker will remain the key to our economic security. Since the workplace of the 21st Century will be constantly changing, we need to prepare the American people to adapt to and direct the process of

change. Therefore, our kids must arrive at school ready to grow, and they need schools where they will learn how to keep learning all their lives.

Our New American Schools will help prepare our children to become the contributing citizens of tomorrow. Equally important, we want to enhance children's sense of self-worth, their confidence, their sense of participation in a larger community and society. This is the conservative philosophy of empowerment, helping people to help themselves.

I want to do my best to help all children come into the world as truly "created equal." That's why I am more than doubling funding for a *Healthy Start* initiative that targets communities with high infant mortality rates. We are also increasing prenatal care, nutrition services, and substance abuse treatment for pregnant women. And I want everyone to spread the word that every parent must share the gift of good health with their children.

We need to focus especially on the preschool years, so that children coming to school are healthy and curious. Funding for the Women, Infants and Children Nutri-

tion Assistance program (WIC) has grown 258% between 1980 and 1992; my request for an additional \$240 million for 1993 brings the annual cost to \$2.8 billion.

I have also increased funding for the *Head Start* program by 127% — for a total of \$2.8 billion in 1993. That includes an additional \$600 million increase for next year — an unprecedented 27% annual jump — so that a year of *Head Start* will be available for every eligible four-year old whose parents want to participate. (Under my budget, almost 800,000 children will receive a year of *Head Start* before entering elementary school.)

Child immunizations are also vital to safeguard our kids' health. Every year since 1981-82, 95% or more of the children entering elementary school have been immunized against the vaccine-preventable diseases. Now we are focusing greater attention on preschool children. My 1993 budget calls for an 18% increase in child immunization grants.

I want the United States to offer opportunity and encourage excellence; we must be fully capable of competing in a global economy. Therefore, it

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is imperative that our educational system prepare and point the way for our children. As in the past, education should be the ladder that the child of modest means can climb to better him or her self.

Our current school system is falling short of these needs — and the poor are hurt most. Only 19 out of 66 public high schools in Chicago graduate more than half their students, and many of these graduates can barely read or write.

Our educational establishment is caught in a sort of time warp, a system created for another age when the needs were not the same, children grew up differently, and adults rarely changed jobs.

Money alone is not the answer — the United States already spends more per pupil than any other country but Switzerland. And funding for the Education Department has increased 41% over my term.

The answer is a radical overhaul of our educational system. If we want to change our country, we've got to change our schools. That's what my America 2000 program is all about.

Our kids can't beat world class competition if they can't

meet world-class standards. We are moving ahead with the development of these standards in math, science, English, history, geography, arts, and civics.

Second, we need voluntary national achievement tests to measure the progress of our students. That way we can compare the performance of different schools in helping our children achieve the national standards.

Third, we need to give schools the flexibility to become educational entrepreneurs — to figure out the best ways to motivate our children, use technology, include parents, and involve new types of teachers. We will create "Education Enterprise Zones." There is no particular reason why schools have to end at 3 p.m. so that students can sit in front of the TV for five hours a day. We need to free school administrators and teachers from rules, regulations, and reports that have become a poor substitute for student achievement; we can do away with red tape once we institute a new testing system that evaluates schools not on the basis of how many forms they complete, but of how many minds they prepare.

Finally, we must take

school choice off the administrator's desk and put it back on the kitchen table. Choice is critical to the success of the whole, integrated overhaul of our educational system. Competition, the underlying principle for this radical reform, will not work unless we give consumers the ability to choose.

Wealthy families already have this choice for their children. Many of the people that you saw at the Democratic National Convention have this choice for their children. Why shouldn't you have this choice for your children?

Chicago's public school teachers — 46% of them — send their kids to private schools. But my opponent and his special interest supporters don't think you should have the same choice unless you are privileged enough to afford it.

One of the greatest educational innovations in this country was the passage of the GI Bill after World War II. No one told my generation that a vet couldn't go to Notre Dame or Brigham Young or Baylor or Howard or Yeshiva.

So I want a "GI Bill for Children" to help give lower and middle income families the means to select any school:

public, private, or religious. I also want scholarships available to be spent on after-school, Saturday and summer academic programs.

For those who argue that my approach will weaken the public school system, I would remind them that the first GI Bill was a tremendous boon for public universities. Or listen to Starr Parker, a small business owner actively promoting choice in the Black community, who put it this way: "The rich have choice now. When I was on welfare, there was no way I could put my child in school. It's time we stop condemning the poor to a monopoly education system."

We've already made significant progress in starting this radical reform agenda. Some 44 states, and over 1700 communities, have already adopted my new national education strategy — America 2000. Indeed, this progress offers a good example of my commitment to pursue my agenda whether or not Congress dawdles. If Congress balks, I will work with governors, state legislators, community officials, and the private sector.

I hope the new Congress will not remain an apple polisher for the educational es-

tablishment and special interests that want to resist this revolution. A new system of education in this country is probably the most important ingredient over time in making America the winning economic and export superpower in the post-Cold War era.

This must not only be my agenda, but yours, too. I will fight to give parents in America the right to choose the school their children will attend, but you need to help, too. After you check out of work, check into your child's homework. Talk to your child's teacher. Join your local PTA. My approach — America 2000 — relies on parental, business, and community involvement in creating new schools that break the mold.

I put the family at the center of our society. Government must try to help families — not replace them. When it comes to choices for our children, parents really do know best. We should increase the range of choices available to parents, and Government assistance should be targeted to those families most in need.

The other side may talk about similar problems, but they are approaching them with a fundamentally different ideology. You can see the con-

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trast not only in education, but in health care, or in the debate that took place over my child care proposal, which we fought for and managed to enact into law. The opposition prefers uniformity to variety and choice. Because they place a higher value on "leveling" society, they will tend to rely on Government bureaucracies to offer "standard service." My approach to education, child care, health care, and other topics is to rely on a diverse private sector to supply the service and to empower families to make their own choices. I don't want to pull everyone down to make them equal. I want to give everyone the tools to climb as high as they can dream.

VII. Sharpening Business' Competitive Edge: Encouraging Entrepreneurial Capitalism

Our ultimate success as an economic superpower is dependent on encouraging the entrepreneurial spirit of our private businesses. I call it entrepreneurial capitalism, and I saw it work when I started a small

business in Texas. I also call it common sense.

You allow people to keep most of what they produce, and they will produce more than they can use, the rest being capital. You invite people to risk failure by allowing them to keep the rewards of success, and they will keep trying until they succeed.

When capital is taxed lightly, it becomes abundant. When it is taxed heavily, as it is now, it becomes scarce, available only to those at the top, who need it least of all. That's not what I want. Even Jesse Jackson put it this way: "Subtract capital from capitalism and all that's left is the 'ism'." If capital were abundant, labor would become scarcer. And the unemployment lines would shrink. That's what I want.

So I want to cut the capital gains tax and index it for inflation. I want to create enterprise zones in inner city and rural areas. I want to make the R&D tax credit permanent. I want to provide an additional first-year depreciation allowance for purchases of property.

Those are fundamentals. In addition, there are three other ways we need to sharpen

the competitive edge of American business:

- strengthen small business;
- support civilian R&D linked to a research extension network; and
- reform our costly legal system.

A. Strengthen Small Business

Small business is the backbone of a growing economy. Small businesses create two thirds of our new jobs; they account for 39% of our GNP.

I am seeking to aid small businesses by reducing costly tax and regulatory burdens, increasing access to credit, and removing barriers to competition.

I have taken steps designed specifically to ease the tax burden on small businesses. For example, the IRS has proposed regulations to allow small businesses to deposit payroll taxes on a monthly basis. And it has released a ruling allowing over 16 million sole proprietors to deduct tax preparation fees as a business expense rather than as a limited itemized deduction.

I want to build on these actions. For example, we are working on a Single Wage Reporting System that would permit businesses to report state and federal wage information through a single entity, thereby consolidating tax reporting requirements and reducing the burden.

In coming weeks I will talk more about ways we can encourage small businesspeople and the jobs they create.

On the regulatory front, I have extended for one year the freeze on paperwork and unnecessary federal regulation that I imposed last winter; the federal regulatory weight hits small businesses particularly hard. I have also instructed federal agencies to look for ways to modify existing regulations that impose a special economic burden on small business. For example, to increase access to capital for small businesses, the SEC has announced proposals to reduce and in some cases eliminate the public disclosure requirement for small companies issuing stock.

Since small businesses are particularly vulnerable when credit is tight, we have to help them as our financial system is restructuring. That's why we have authorized over \$6

billion in general business loan guarantees through SBA in 1992 — an increase of more than 50% above 1991.

SBA's New England Lending and Recovery Project is a pilot effort that extends credit to viable small firms when access is limited because banks are having difficulty. If it works well and is needed, I'll expand the project to other regions. We also have worked with bank regulators to base real estate values on income earning potential rather than liquidation value. We have taken steps to restructure the small business investment program, the only venture capital program in the Government. And we are developing ways to offer special financing to exporting entrepreneurs.

Through its procurement assistance program, SBA helped small businesses secure federal contracts worth over \$35 billion in FY 90 — almost 20% of all prime contracts let during that year.

To ensure that small businesses can help their communities overcome disasters, we will be pressing forward with approximately \$1.7 billion in low-interest loans to small businesses in Florida, Louisiana, California, and elsewhere.

"I am seeking to aid small businesses by reducing costly tax and regulatory burdens, increasing access to credit, and removing barriers to competition."

Finally, we need to help small business by removing burdens to competition. My health care reforms would reduce costs for small businesses without costly Government mandates or higher taxes. Enactment of my legislation to establish uniform federal law on product liability would relieve a major competitive handicap that is keeping new products from the market, boosting insurance costs sky high, and killing jobs.

B. Support Civilian R&D

To be the world's economic leader tomorrow, we clearly have to invest in R&D and new technologies today. Given the pace of change, we have to both come up with new inventions and organize ourselves to deploy new technology without delay.

The changes in industrial organization that I described earlier have three major implications for technology development. First, the more rapid product development cycle places a premium on bringing an idea quickly from the lab to the marketplace. Second, we need to put new technologies to work in all applications in order to reap the full competitive and economic benefits from our R&D. While

Americans invented VCR technology and the FAX machine, we did not capitalize on their explosive popularity. Third, we need to rely increasingly on flexible, agile manufacturing, rather than old style mass production. We should have the capability to make a variety of products quickly and economically — a process characterized by short product cycles, but also high quality output.

Taken together, these developments emphasize decentralization — an approach exactly opposite to my opponent's "national industrial policies" led by Government bureaucrats. We need to get technology development, production, and marketing closer to the consumer, not further away. Moreover, my opponent's call for a cut in support for university-based research will hurt the development of cutting edge technology.

My agenda will increase funding for basic research and complement that work with a focus on applied research and development. Despite cuts by Congress, we have managed to increase funding for basic research by 26% since 1989 — to a record level. We are supporting applied R&D through a series of new, high pay-off investments in critical technologies:

- a High Performance Computing and Communications Initiative that will enable the development of a thousand-fold increase in computing capability by 1996 and a one hundred-fold increase in communications speed.
- an initiative to improve the manufacturing and performance of materials — improvements that will enable advances in a wide range of other technologies.
- an expanded program in biotechnology research with applications in health, agriculture, and environmental protection.
- the establishment of the U.S. Advanced Battery consortium, a jointly-funded four-year effort to develop an advanced battery for an emissions-free electric car.
- a significant increase in our aeronautics research budget, underscoring the importance we place on the U.S. aeronautics industry in an increasingly competitive global market place.

- the establishment of seven regional manufacturing technology centers for the distribution of modern manufacturing tools, such as computer-aided design, numerically-controlled machines, and robotics.

These efforts to develop and apply new technologies need to be complemented by the identification and removal of barriers to the private sector's ability to bring new products and services to the market. That's why my regulatory reform efforts — including a process that subjects regulations to a competitiveness analysis while still protecting health and safety, and a proposal to "sunset" regulations — are critical to supporting our enhanced technology development.

Just take one example: my opponent has proposed a major new Federal Government investment in the field of national telecommunications networks at the exact time that our private sector is seeking to develop such a network on its own, but has been stopped from doing so by federal regulations.

C. Reform Our Legal System

Our competitive edge will be dulled if businesses are continually handicapped by a legal system that serves lawyers but frightens people. Therefore, another component of my agenda is a reform of the American civil justice system.

America has suffered a civil litigation explosion. Over the past 30 years, federal lawsuits have almost tripled. Instead of being fast, fair, and affordable, our civil justice system is slow, expensive, and putting us at a global disadvantage.

Long delays in dispute resolution waste valuable judicial resources, force early settlement by those who cannot afford to wait, discourage those who have meritorious suits, and encourage frivolous suits by those who hope to leverage unjust settlements. High punitive damage awards are passed on to consumers through higher prices, job cuts, higher insurance, and fewer new products.

According to a soon-to-be released study by the National Association of Manufacturers, Americans spend up to \$200 billion a year just on direct

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costs to lawyers. That does not even count lawyers on payrolls or the money spent on court settlements.

Our legal system is killing our international competitiveness. Other nations do not face high domestic litigation costs. Foreign companies only need 6% of the product liability insurance our firms must carry because we do not have uniform state standards for product liability and punitive damages.

The litigation explosion affects everyone. High liability costs have closed playgrounds and pools, forcing kids on to the street with nothing to do. Some companies are afraid to offer products at home that are available overseas because they fear the liability.

My product liability reform legislation confronts the trial lawyers head on. I want to stop wide variation among states' product liability rules; stop important products from being kept off the market; stop excessive litigation costs with more money going to lawyers than to injured consumers; cut excessive insurance rates; and end excessive consumer costs.

My "Access to Justice Act of 1992" is intended to restore fairness and efficiency to the

nation's civil justice system through: alternatives to federal civil trials such as alternative dispute resolution; incentives for pre-litigation settlement, including pre-complaint notification; and a "loser pays" rule requiring the loser to pay the winner's legal fees in suits involving federal diversity jurisdiction.

We also need to continue our work with the states to encourage fundamental change at the state and local level.

Lawyers, especially trial lawyers, are a powerful vested interest in our society. They are well represented in Congress and high on the lists of political contributors. My opponent knows them very well. But this is a problem too important to leave to the lawyers and their friends in high places. We must sue each other less and care for each other more.

VIII. Promoting Economic Security for Working People

The American businesses of the 21st Century will need workers who will bring them to life and keep them ahead of

our competition. To be able to contribute and concentrate, working men and women will want to know that they can enjoy economic opportunity and security. We can only achieve true security by developing people's capability, not dependency. And we can best supply security through the private sector, not Government bureaucracies.

It will be Government's role to expedite workers' adjustments in a fast-changing marketplace, provide people the means to work and take care of their families, and arm people to face the future by empowering them to make their own choices. In particular, we can enable families to focus on building a future by alleviating their fears about one of the single biggest costs and problems that can knock them back: health care. And we can help foster retirement security through encouraging portable pension savings.

A. Job Training

Given the rapidity of change in the international and domestic marketplace, we have to prepare people for the prospect of changing jobs and learning new skills many times throughout the course of a productive life. Therefore,

we need a range of job training and placement services — for young people, factory workers, white collar employees, and particularly during this period, defense industry workers.

That's why one important portion of my recently-announced workforce adjustment initiative is designed to shift the Government away from the old narrowly defined, expensive, and less effective trade adjustment assistance that paid people off without giving them real help to get back the work.

Work means more than income to Americans. It is also fundamental to people's self-esteem, their self-confidence, and the respect of others. These are attitudes, values, that I want to encourage. I want all Americans to be builders — for their families, their communities, their country. To encourage the work ethic, we need to make every effort to match people with the jobs created by our entrepreneurial capitalism.

The three key features of my job training proposal are: (1) universal coverage, so all dislocated workers will have access to basic transition assistance and training support; (2) skill grant vouchers of up to \$3000 to help meet the costs

of adding new skills and training; and (3) a tripling of the resources currently devoted to training and worker adjustment, an allocation of \$10 billion over five years.

This proposal builds on my January plan to streamline the federal job training system through "one-stop shopping" in every community. Experience has demonstrated that the most effective training and placement services are those closely developed with local employers through private industry councils. That way the training is designed to develop skills that employers know they will need.

My expanded job training efforts will also be specially designed to help those who may need to change jobs or careers as a result of NAFTA or other trade agreements and the downsizing of our defense-related industries. But we will ensure that we offer training and placement to all workers.

These dislocated workers would be eligible to receive three types of assistance: (1) transition-assistance that includes skills assessment, counseling, job-search assistance, and job referral; (2) training assistance in the form of skill grants; and (3) transition

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income support where necessary for workers completing retraining.

I've also proposed a specially-targeted Youth Skills Initiative.

A new Youth Training Corps will provide economically and socially disadvantaged young people with intensive vocational training through 55 residential YTC centers nationwide; these centers will be located primarily in rural areas and will seek to utilize converted defense facilities, putting them to good use. The YTC will draw from the military's high level of leadership and training expertise by giving a hiring preference to individuals leaving our armed forces. The discipline that triumphed in Desert Storm can win at home, too.

I will also complement the YTC with a "Treat and Train" program to strengthen existing youth drug training programs.

To help meet the needs of young people not planning to go on to college, I will expand the National Youth Apprenticeship Program that I began in January. This program offers high school juniors and seniors a combination of classroom instruction and a struc-

tured, paid, work-experience program. I want student apprentices to receive both a high school diploma and a widely recognized certificate of skill competency. Students will also have the opportunity to continue training at the post-secondary level.

I started my Apprenticeship Program as a demonstration program in 6 states; in my second term, I will expand it to all 50.

Finally, I will more than double the size of the present JROTC program, a very successful and popular partnership between the military and schools. JROTC emphasizes self-discipline, values, citizenship, personal responsibility, and staying in school — it's a first class alternative to drugs and gangs. My goal is to establish 2,900 JROTC units by 1994. Initially, we will expand this program in inner-city high schools, but I want to make JROTC available to every high school across the country that requests it. This program is another way in which we can relate the successful experience of America's veterans to the next generation.

B. Affordable Health Care for All Americans

The economic security of men and women requires a major reform of the U.S. health care system. The present system provides high quality, high-tech medicine, but at an unacceptable price: spending has increased at a rate two to three times the rest of the economy; thirty-four million Americans have no health insurance; and millions more are afraid to change jobs for fear of losing their health insurance.

My program will build on the strengths of the system — consumer choice, innovation, and state of the art medicine — while controlling costs and expanding access.

I want to guarantee access to health insurance for all poor families through tax credits (or vouchers for those who don't pay taxes) sufficient to pay for a basic health insurance plan (\$3,750 for a family). Other low and middle income families would get tax relief to partially offset the cost of their health insurance. In total, some 95 million Americans will benefit.

My program also includes:

- provisions that encourage small businesses to develop less costly health care insurance networks for their employees by combining resources to achieve broader risk sharing, economies of scale, and purchasing power;
- "job lock" protection for employees and their families so that they will not lose coverage if and when a person changes jobs;
- guaranteed insurability so that people with "preexisting" illnesses cannot be denied a job or health coverage on the job;
- 100% tax deductibility of health care premiums paid by the self-employed, as compared to the present 25% deductibility;
- malpractice reforms that will reduce the number of unnecessary procedures performed on patients and thereby reduce the cost of medical care; and
- reforms to encourage widespread use of electronic billing to save an estimated \$11 billion a year in paper costs.

Taken together, my program would cut health care costs by \$394 billion over five years through preventive care, malpractice reform, reducing defensive medicine, encouraging enrollment in cost-effective health plans, arming consumers with information about cost and quality, and eliminating administrative waste and unnecessary paperwork.

I believe we can provide access to affordable health care for all Americans, while preserving choice for patients and their families in selecting doctors, hospitals, health care programs, and employment. My approach, in contrast with my opposition, relies on the private sector to deliver health care services. But I would make the market work for us by enhancing competition, which will cut costs. My malpractice reforms would cut costs further by removing the fear of lawsuits that leads to wasteful procedures.

I firmly believe that a move to national health insurance, as some of my opponents want, would be a major, irretrievable mistake. That course would turn over the health care sector — a full 13% of our economy — to the Government. The result would be more bureaucracy, rationed

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care, inefficiency, and, in the end, even higher costs.

My opponent's "play or pay" approach winds up in the same place as nationalized, bureaucratic health insurance — but through a different route. And it is likely to kill a lot of jobs along the way, especially in small businesses. Increasing the costs of labor — the "play" in his approach — will lead businesses to hire fewer workers. Offering the alternative of Government-sponsored health care paid for with new taxes on payrolls — the "pay" — will dump the problem in the lap of a Government bureaucracy with the costs paid for by businesses and workers.

C. Pension Portability

I have also been concerned about the ability of workers to preserve their retirement pensions as they change jobs. This is a growing need because of the increased likelihood that most workers will have more than one employer over the course of their working years.

I proposed an initiative last year to increase pension portability, expand pension coverage, and simplify the law governing pension plans. And I am pleased that I was able to

sign a law this summer that incorporated my portability proposal. The new law enhances retirement security by permitting workers to transfer accrued pension benefits directly to an IRA or to their new employer's pension plan.

Despite this improvement, I believe we must continue to look for ways to make it easier for workers who change jobs to take pensions with them. We need to eliminate incentives to "cash out" benefits and increase incentives to save for the future.

Job training, affordable health care, retirement security — when combined with a new system of education and entrepreneurial, competitive business, we can offer working men and women real economic security in the 21st Century.

IX. Leaving No One Behind: Economic Opportunity for Every American

For over 200 years, the most exceptional aspect of American society has been the belief, the hope, that this is a land where people can make a

better life for themselves and their children. It's this spirit, the commitment to the American Dream, that has made our country and our society the most dynamic in the world.

If we are going to use that energy to drive us forward into the 21st Century, we will need to tap the aspirations of each and every one of our citizens. No one should be left behind for want of opportunity.

Many of the programs that I have discussed above — health care for all Americans, child care, job training, pension portability, a new competitive school system based on community involvement and choice for all American families — support my plan to empower all Americans to make their own choices and better their lives. But I believe we need to do more for certain citizens who have fallen too far behind.

My philosophy for enabling all Americans to share the American Dream is simple: it's based on property and work. Our urban and welfare programs must be designed to enable people to break the cycle of poverty, get back on their feet, get back to work, and take responsibility for their own choices and their own lives.

I disagree with the failed logic of "welfare rights" and its emphasis on entitlement. I disagree with "income maintenance" strategies — strategies that merely maintain poverty and contain potential.

Our goal should not be more dependence — but rather a new Declaration of Independence — to help people develop the human and financial capital to share the American Dream. We have taken the first step with our implementation of the welfare-to-work logic of the Family Support Act of 1988. We have been encouraging flexible and innovative implementation through waivers that enable states to develop new programs to enhance parental and family responsibility and to insist on education and job training for those on welfare. Welfare policies won't work unless people do.

In our inner cities, we need to restore hope by clearing away the handicap of crime, building a core of property owners, creating business incentives, restoring infrastructure, and focusing our programs on work and discipline.

Enterprise zones can create solid economic foundations in distressed communities.

Our "Weed and Seed" effort can help reclaim and revitalize impoverished and embattled communities by eliminating the fear of drugs and violence, targeting coordinated human services programs, and improving the housing stock and infrastructure.

We also need to extend opportunity by enabling lower income families to build assets — for example, by allowing aid recipients to accumulate higher savings without losing their eligibility.

And we need to expand homeowner opportunities for lower and middle income families. For example, HOPE grants enable more inner-city people to own their own homes. Our \$5,000 tax credit for first-time home buyers would help; so would permitting voucher recipients to apply their rental subsidies toward the purchase of a home.

We can enhance the choice, quality, and availability of housing through affordable rent subsidies in the form of housing vouchers, and through our "Perestroika in Public Housing" program that widens opportunities for public housing tenants to change the management of troubled projects.

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This property and work-based approach need not be more expensive than the traditional welfare bureaucracy. For example, over the past 12 years, federal spending for low income assistance doubled even after inflation — from \$9.1 billion in 1980 to \$18.3 billion this year (both in 1992 dollars). This year, HUD is providing housing assistance to 4.6 million low-income families, up from 3.1 million in 1980. I have tried to rechannel some of this funding to vouchers because they are more cost effective than constructing new public housing units. Furthermore, families wouldn't have to wait five years for the units to be built, and the vouchers give families more choice.

For too long, Congress has stubbornly refused to discard failed programs that perpetuate welfare dependency. No doubt, many of these programs were well intentioned. But now we know better. Give us a chance to try a different approach that will empower people to help themselves, to build some capital for their families, to make choices that develop self-respect and discipline. That's the real way to offer economic opportunity for every American, to leave no one behind.

X. "Rightsizing" Government

My blueprint envisages an important Government role to make a secure and strong America. But it is also important that Government not siphon off more private resources than are absolutely necessary to perform the functions that will help us win the economic competition. Because an overweight Government — serving itself seconds rather than serving the people first — will weigh us down in the race of a new era.

Much of my agenda can be accomplished simply by redirecting current funding away from bureaucracies and towards people. My agenda empowers people with the means to work, own property, build capital, raise families, and be effective contributors within our private market economy. Some of my ideas — legal and health care reforms, for example — should even help us save money.

Contrary to the assertions of some politicians and special interest groups, spending as a percentage of the nation's GDP has been going up, not down. In 1991, the Federal Government spent 23.5% of

what our nation produced. That compares with 17.6% in 1965, 19.9% in 1970, 22.0% in 1975, and 22.3% in 1980. So not only has Government grown as the economy has grown, but Government is taking a bigger share. The American people are not taxed too little. The American Government spends too much.

In my acceptance speech I noted some of the efforts I will make to hold down spending. I have proposed capping the growth of mandatory spending, other than social security. That would still permit spending at present levels plus an adjustment for inflation and population growth. Yet this cap would save \$294 billion over five years.

To start to implement this cap, I have proposed over \$72 billion in specific spending cuts for "mandatory" programs (FY93-97). If you add these proposed cuts to others I have previously called for but which Congress has not yet enacted, my specific cuts would total about \$132 billion over five years. I have also proposed the outright elimination of 246 specific discretionary programs.

By way of comparison, my opponent has specifically proposed less than \$5 billion in

cuts in mandatory programs. And he has singled out only one program for elimination — the honeybee subsidy program, which his running mate voted four times to retain.

Furthermore, I proposed freezing all other spending, and I will enforce this freeze by vetoing any bill Congress sends me that spends more than I asked for in my budget.

I've asked Congress for the line item veto, a disciplinary tool used effectively by the governors of 43 states. This veto authority is important not only to help cut, but to increase a President's leverage with a Congress that seeks to tax more and spend more.

Government should be subject to the discipline of a balanced budget amendment. State governments operate that way. Businesses operate that way. Families operate that way. And given the breakdown of Congressional discipline, we need an amendment to ensure that the Federal Government operates that way, too. If we had had such an amendment years ago, we wouldn't be paying almost \$200 billion dollars a year now on interest for the debt left us by earlier Congresses.

I also believe taxpayers should have the right to direct 10% of their tax payments to reduce debt and spending through a "check-off" on their tax forms. If all taxpayers took the full 10%, the cut would be about \$50 billion. That's only 3% of the Federal budget of about \$1.5 trillion. Since federal spending has been growing at a rate of about 8% per year, even this proposed cut would still enable spending to grow; it would just grow more slowly.

Some editorialists dismiss my checkoff proposal, but the American people seem to like it, and I think I know why. My proposal traces its roots to an American tradition. At the turn of this century, many people were concerned that the Government establishment was slipping away from the people it was supposed to serve. This movement led to such venerable "gimmicks" as referenda, the right of recall, and the direct election of U.S. Senators. The idea of term limits for Senators and Congressmen, which I fully support, is another reform of this type. At the time each was proposed, the conventional thinkers chuckled at the changes. The same is true today. Given the complete breakdown in spending discipline in Congress, it's time

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that we insist on compensating reforms that give the people a bigger say in the direction of Federal Government spending. I say it's time to give the people the power to cut the deficit.

The size and structure of the Government also needs to be slimmed down and changed. The organization of the Federal Government reflects ways of doing business that are now 30 to 50 years old. Companies all across America have been restructuring, cutting costs, becoming more efficient — preparing to be more competitive in a fast-changing marketplace. I believe the Federal Government can and should do the same thing. I believe a streamlining of the Federal Government should include three elements:

First, I will cut the operating budget of the Executive Office of the President by 33% if Congress agrees to subject its operations to a cut of the same size. With fewer Congressional staffers badgering the Executive Branch, I know we can cut costs by that amount. Second, I believe all federal employees earning above \$75,000 a year should be subject to a 5% pay cut; other Americans have tightened their belts, and so should the better-paid federal work-

ers. Finally, I believe we can restructure and reduce the size of the Executive Branch through a consolidation of agencies and bureaus that will enable us to do our job better. Why should the Federal Government be the only large organization in America that continually adds size and offices, and never gets rid of anything? Therefore, I will submit a streamlined reorganization plan for the Executive Branch to the new Congress — and I hope they take the hint, too.

Let me give you an example. In many respects, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, or ACDA, is a creature of the Cold War. It needs to adapt to the times. Its highly trained scientists and engineers are a valuable resource. Some of them can support our efforts to stem and reverse the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. But others may be well suited to work at weapons destruction and defense conversion — transforming the genius of modern day swords into 21st Century plowshares.

Multiply this idea by a hundred, or even a thousand, others. We can get rid of some tasks, conduct others more efficiently, and add new ones where appropriate to support

my agenda.

I also am committed to reducing the tax burden on the American people. I have said that I will propose to further reduce taxes across-the-board, provided we pay for those cuts with specific spending reductions that I consider appropriate, so that we do not increase the deficit.

To illustrate the kinds of tax cuts we could achieve if we discipline spending: just consider what we could do if Congress acted on the \$132 billion in specific spending reductions that I have already proposed. These savings alone could finance an across-the-board rate cut of 1 percent, a reduction of the small business tax rate from 15% to 10%, an increase in small business expensing of investment in equipment, and a reduction of the capital gains tax.

In sum, my direction is clear — I want to spend less and tax less. My opponent wants to spend more and tax more.

I believe the Federal Government can reallocate its almost \$1.5 trillion in spending more effectively if we implement my agenda. The reductions in defense spending that we have already begun

will provide some of these funds, and I don't want them wasted in a torrent of new spending programs designed by a horde of special interests.

I honestly believe that this is the only way to get the size and spending of Government under control. I know that serious-minded people believe we need to increase revenues to close the deficit. But it won't work. I have seen too many times that efforts to close the deficit by increasing taxes have only turned out to give Congress a license to spend more money. There's a reason for this. Spending is power for Congressmen. That's how they show influence, and placate their friends, the interest groups. If you give Congressmen more tax money, they will spend it.

XI. A Strategy for Implementation

This year is an important turning point for the United States. We are entering a new era, and for the first time in many years, it appears that Congress will have 150 new faces for the President to work with. That's why I'm asking for a mandate for my program. That's why I have promised that I will meet with all new

members — all 150 or more — before they are besieged by the special interests and permanent staffs.

I also believe we need to take another step to ensure that the new Congress does not become like the old one. The root of the present problem is political contributions from organized special interests through political action committees, or PACS. In the run up to the 1980 elections, PACs raised and contributed \$55 million to political candidates. In the same time period before the '90 elections, PACs spent about \$160 million. The other party doesn't want to do anything about it, because they are the biggest recipients. I want to put them to the test. I want a new Congress to stay clean. So an important part of my new legislative agenda will be a simple bill to abolish PACs subsidized by corporations, unions, and trade associations.

I am committed to making my program work with Congress. Between the election and the convening of a new Congress, I will lay out an implementation plan for my agenda. I intend to be ready to present the new Congress a first-year plan to carry out the legislative proposals described in this agenda:

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- A radical overhaul of American education to emphasize excellence, standards, competition, entrepreneurial schools, and a "G.I. Bill for Kids" that will give parents a choice of schools
- My job training programs
- My health care reforms
- A package to cut spending, including a cap on the growth of mandatory spending, a taxpayers' "checkoff" to reduce the debt, a line-item veto, and a balanced budget amendment
- Tax cuts paid for through spending reductions and growth, including reductions to spur entrepreneurial capitalism and small business
- NAFTA
- New trade negotiating authority so we can conclude new Free Trade Agreements across the Atlantic, the Pacific, and in our own hemisphere
- A Government reorganization plan to streamline the

structure, ensure functions fit new needs, and cut salaries at higher levels

- Reform of our legal system
- A package to clear away crime, build business, and put people to work in our inner cities
- An expansion of Civilian R&D linked to new applications
- Ban on PAC contributions
- Limits on Congressional terms

Now I know I may not be able to get everything I want in the exact way I want it. But your support for a mandate to get it done would give me momentum. I intend to fight for this agenda, fight as hard as I can to get as much as I can, and then come back again to get more.

If Congress hesitates on some fronts, I intend to keep moving forward. You have seen that we can implement back-to-work welfare reform by granting waivers that enable the states to do the job more effectively. Similarly, 44 states and more than 1700 communities have started to

implement my educational reforms while Congress has stalled. We can get a great deal done at the state and local levels.

I will work with governors, state legislatures, local governments, and the private sector to pursue my agenda. While I want a Congress that can help me do the job, I'm committed to getting the job done one way or the other.

This is my Agenda for American Renewal. With the end of the long Cold War, we can target peace, prosperity, and promise at home. The American people want that. The American people deserve that.

At the same time, Americans recognize that the great events of recent years have shaken the world, and it will never be the same. If we are to succeed as a nation and as a people, if we are to hold true to all that has made America "the last, best hope of earth," then our renewal at home must at the same time enable us to make the 21st Century another American Century.

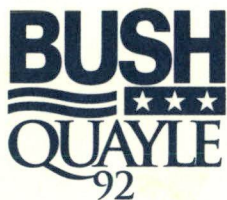
My Agenda draws together our people and our Government to take on this challenge. We will create a \$10 trillion economy. We will renew America. We will win the peace.

My approach to this challenge is fundamentally different from my opponent's. I want to stimulate entrepreneurial capitalism. I want to help people by enabling them to make their own decisions about health, education, job training, and child care from a variety of competing alternatives. I want to supply services through the private sector. I

believe people should sue each other less and care for each other more. I want Government to spend less and tax less. I will fight without hesitation for a free and fair flow of trade, capital, and ideas around the world. I believe America should compete, not retreat.

I know times have been difficult for too many Americans. I have sought to explain the causes of these problems and what I will do about them. Of course you will have change. The question is what kind of change. You face a serious choice. And I ask, when you step into that voting booth, please consider carefully which candidate's agenda for change fits best with your beliefs, America's experience, and our hopes for lasting peace and prosperity.

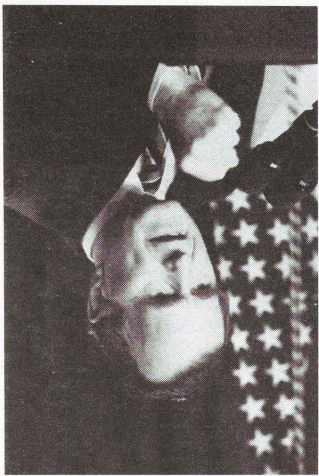
"With the end of the long Cold War, we can target peace, prosperity, and promise at home. The American people want that. The American people deserve that."



1030 15th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20005



Mr. Lex Frieden DISABLED
The Institute for Rehabilitation and Research
3634 N. Braeswood Blvd.
Houston,, TX 77025



By THROUGH LEADERSHIP ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Washington, DC 20005
1030 15th Street, NW

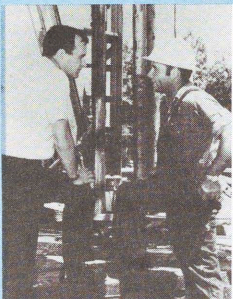


"I'd like to tell you about the George Bush I've known almost half a century – the man I've raised our children with, the man I've shared my life with.

I knew George as a straight and handsome teenager in a navy flyer's uniform. And I know him now, as they play 'Hail to the Chief' when he strides into a room.



In the phases of his life, I've watched my husband change from school boy – to family man; from businessman – to public servant; from congressman – to president; from college team captain – to the leader of the greatest nation on earth. Many years, many changes – but there are things which have never changed.



George Bush always loved his family. I saw the father he became to his children, and I see the love he has for his grandchildren. George has always loved his country. Over the years, that love has found direction in leadership, found strength in helping others, and found meaning in serving his country.

I've watched George rejoice in America's success, and grieve at the pain felt by many. Always, he has worked his hardest, tried his best, and with integrity, commitment and love, come shining through for all of us."

Barbara Bush
February 12, 1992



ACCOMPLISHMENTS THROUGH LEADERSHIP

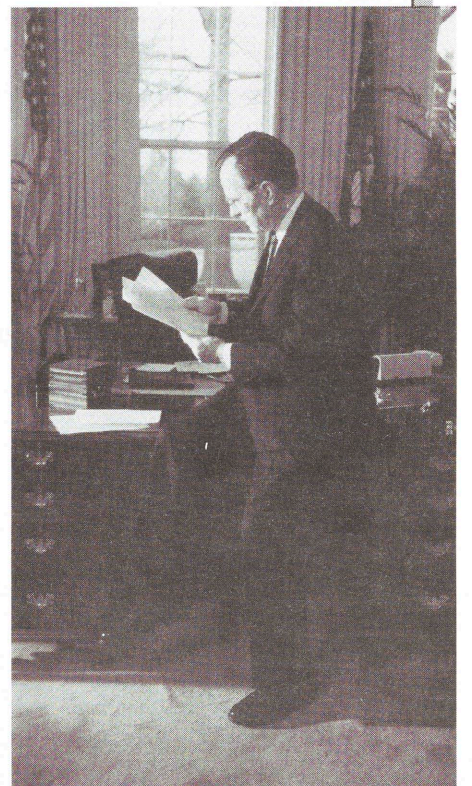
George Bush is preparing America for the 21st century. His continuing leadership means jobs, opportunity and stronger, more prosperous families, secure in their communities and in the world.

President Bush's policies are helping us raise our children well. His programs have helped our communities fight crime and end the scourge of drugs. His reforms are making our children the best-educated, our companies the most competitive, and our workers the most productive in the global marketplace.

The President's programs offer hope and opportunity to all Americans, by empowering people — not government — to make the important choices in life.

As the world's foremost statesman and leader of its only superpower, President Bush understands both the dangers and the opportunities of this world in which we live. Thanks to his leadership, Americans are safer today than they have been in nearly half a century. Our children no longer live in fear of nuclear war.

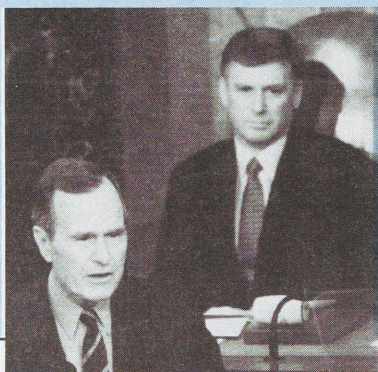
More of the world's people are free today than ever before to enjoy the fruits of democracy and the prosperity that free markets bring.



LEADERSHIP AT HOME: A PROSPEROUS AMERICA

President Bush believes the strength in our economy comes from the people, not from the government, from the creativity of the individual, not from bureaucratically directed "industrial policies." George Bush believes in a government that sees the economic empowerment of individual Americans as key to our continued prosperity.

President Bush's economic policies show a continuing commitment to five principles: cutting wasteful government spending; solid long-term growth through incentives which encourage investment and job creation; holding the line on taxes; individual empowerment, and international economic leadership.



"I feel all the more determined to do what you elected me to do: foster growth, keep the peace, and maintain our stature as the world's greatest Nation — the standard by which all other countries measure themselves."

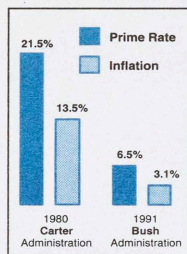
November 28, 1991

CURBING INFLATION AND LOWERING INTEREST RATES

President Bush believes the best way to spur economic growth and create new jobs is to keep inflation and interest rates down and control federal spending.

President Bush has laid the foundation for sustained economic growth:

- Taken together inflation and interest rates are at their lowest levels in more than two decades. In 1980, inflation hit 13.5 percent and the prime rate hit its highest level since the Civil War, 21.5 percent.



- Consumer-based inflation grew by only 3.1 percent in 1991 and is expected to be even lower this year. In 1980, when the Democrat tax-and-spend policies choked the economy, the inflation rate rose to 13.5 percent. This runaway inflation — nearly five times this year's rate — devastated all Americans, especially the elderly living on fixed incomes.
- In 1980, productivity fell for the second year in a row. Today, it is rising for the third year in a row.



EXPANDING TRADE, CREATING JOBS

President Bush:

- Expanded American trade through new international agreements to dismantle trade barriers and open new foreign markets to American goods and services. Between 1988 and 1991, the trade deficit fell more than 40 percent to its lowest level in nearly a decade.
- Reclaimed America's position as the world's top exporter, creating 1.8 million trade-related jobs and exporting more than \$400 billion of American products in 1991 alone.
 - America's standard of living is the highest in the world, surpassing both Germany and Japan.
 - American workers are the most productive in the world.
 - America's manufacturing exports rose to more than 17 percent of the world's total in 1991 — up from 14 percent four years earlier.

TRANSPORTATION AND JOBS

President Bush:

- Persuaded Congress to pass the 1991 Surface Transportation Act authorizing more than \$151 billion to repair and build highways, roads and bridges — supporting more than 600,000 jobs this year.

JOB TRAINING: UNLOCKING AMERICA'S POTENTIAL

President Bush's Job Training 2000 strategy creates a coordinated, market-driven education and training system.

- President Bush is making vocational training more accessible and more affordable for younger workers through his *Job Training 2000 Act*.
- The President's program will disentangle the current maze of more than 60 federal vocational, education, and job training programs costing about \$18 billion per year which are complicated, inefficient and lack accountability.
- President Bush's *Job Training Act 2000* will:
 - Create "one-stop" shopping for vocational training in every community;
 - Assure programs which meet the needs of local labor markets;
 - Make vouchers available so aspiring workers can choose the training they want.

The Youth Apprenticeship Act of 1992:

- President Bush is sharpening America's long-term economic edge by encouraging students to complete a sound high school education that prepares them for a lifetime of learning.
- The *Youth Apprenticeship Act of 1992* — a companion to the *Job Training 2000* proposal — will enable 11th and 12th graders to combine on-the-job training with their regular studies, ensuring a marketable high school diploma.

REGULATORY RELIEF

President Bush:

- Ordered a seven-month halt on new federal regulations and implemented numerous reforms that will save consumers as much as \$20 billion annually — \$300 per year for the average American family. President Bush's regulatory policies will allow small businesses to grow and create new jobs, without sacrificing health and safety.
- Spurred growth in biotechnology, promoted compliance with the Clean Air Act without costing jobs, and made available nationwide clean-burning domestically produced natural gas.
- Speeded the approval process to make "breakthrough" drugs available sooner to patients with such life-threatening and serious illnesses as AIDS, Alzheimer's disease, depression, and cystic fibrosis.
- Small businesses will no longer have to duplicate information provided to the IRS for other government agencies and will be freed from costly and needless paperwork. All told, over 5 million employers will benefit from the President Bush's action and will realize billions of dollars in savings.
- The President recognized early on the effect of the credit crunch and moved quickly to stop overzealous and overly intrusive bank examinations. He is eliminating outmoded banking regulations thereby making it easier for businesses to raise capital.
- If enacted, President Bush's "Credit Availability and Regulatory Relief Act of 1992" will streamline banking regulations, cut unnecessary red tape and paperwork, and undo the credit stifling regulation imposed by the Democratic-controlled Congress.

MORE FAMILIES ARE REALIZING THE AMERICAN DREAM OF HOMEOWNERSHIP

- Mortgage rates declined more than 20 percent in the last three years, making homes affordable for more families. According to The National Association of Realtors (NAR), today's lower mortgage rates mean that families are saving on average, more than \$2,000 a year in reduced housing payments than if higher 1989 rates had continued.
- President Bush proposed a \$5,000 tax credit to alleviate the burden on young families trying to buy their first homes. If enacted, the program will help over 1 million families take the first step toward the American dream.
- Last year, 1.4 million Americans took advantage of lower interest rates to refinance their homes. Another 3 million likely will do the same this year.
- Because of lower interest rates, housing is at its most affordable level in 15 years. NAR calculates that lower interest rates mean mortgage payments consume 10 percent less of a family's income than they did when George Bush became president.



REVITALIZING EDUCATION: AMERICA 2000

President Bush believes that education is our most powerful economic program, our most important trade program and our most effective anti-poverty program.

President Bush:

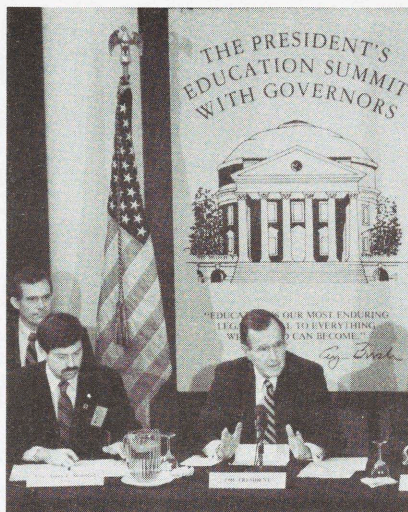
- Convened an historic summit in September 1989 with the nation's 50 governors. Agreement was reached on six national education goals four months later.

The six national education goals are by the year 2000:

- Every child will start school ready to learn;
- The high school graduation rate will be over 90 percent;
- Students will be competent in English, math, science, history and geography. Every school in America will ensure that students are prepared for responsible citizenship, further learning and productive employment;
- U.S. students will be first in the world in science and math;
- Every adult will be literate and able to compete in the global economy;
- Schools will be free of drugs and violence.

- Launched the *America 2000* grass-roots education strategy to meet national goals. Already, more than 1,400 communities in 44 states have embraced the *America 2000* strategy which advocates:

- Educational choice so parents — not government — can choose the best public, private, or religious schools for their kids and be involved in what they learn;
- New National Achievement Tests to help parents hold schools accountable for results; and
- Greater flexibility in the use of federal and state funds if local school authorities can demonstrate improved results.



- Proposed *Federal Grants for State and Local G.I. Bills for Children* to make choice a reality for half a million children from low- and middle-income families, just as the World War II GI Bill helped veterans attend the colleges of their choices.

- President Bush's proposal will put a \$1,000 scholarship directly into parents' hands to cover school costs. Because parents will have a choice of where to educate their children and how to pay for it, all schools will have to compete for the best students — and provide the best possible education.

- Is helping Americans improve their job skills, opening new job opportunities and improving American competitiveness.

- President Bush's *Lifelong Learning Act* provides a \$25,000 "line-of-credit" for workers to pay for education and training that leads to a college degree.

- Worked to preserve America's scientific and technological edge into the next century by training 770,000 science and math teachers for elementary and secondary schools.

- Requested more than \$2 billion in federal spending for math and science education, \$768 million of which will go to elementary and secondary schools. Increased math and science spending by 123 percent over the last three years.

HEAD START — PREPARING CHILDREN TO LEARN

President Bush:

- Believes that all disadvantaged four-year-old children should take part in the highly successful Head Start program so they can overcome poverty by starting school ready to learn.
- Expanded Head Start services that provide literacy and job training to parents and help them deal with drug and alcohol abuse problems.
- Increased the Head Start budget so that 622,000 children and their parents can take part in a comprehensive pre-school development program providing educational, health, nutrition, and drug treatment services.
- Doubled funding for Head Start and is proposing the largest increase in the program's history — \$600 million for fiscal 1993. If President Bush's proposal passes, Head Start will serve more than three quarters of a million children.

"No government program alone can guarantee that children start school ready to learn. No government program can take the place of parents and of communities that nurture the children who otherwise might have been left far behind. But in Head Start we found a government program that works, that works to strengthen communities and families for the future."

January 21, 1992



"Children need love and discipline. They need mothers and fathers. A welfare check is not a husband. The state is not a father. . . . It is from parents above all that children come to understand values . . ."

Vice President Dan Quayle
May 19, 1992

ENDING WELFARE DEPENDENCY: MOVING FROM HANDOUT TO HAND UP

President Bush:

- Established new goals for America's welfare system to require personal responsibility and self improvement. New Jersey, Wisconsin, California, Maryland and Oregon are already taking advantage of the opportunity to enforce tough, new pro-responsibility reforms.
- Encouraged new private sector welfare-to-work initiatives that get people into jobs and off the welfare rolls — to restore their dignity. Instead of merely preparing welfare recipients to get back to work, President Bush's actions are helping states put the value of work back into welfare by getting recipients straight into jobs.
- Promoted traditional family values by encouraging states to allow welfare benefits for two-parent households. Under President Bush's policies, states can penalize irresponsible behavior, such as having more children while on welfare or out of wedlock.



GETTING TOUGH ON CRIME — SECURE FAMILIES, SAFE NEIGHBORHOODS

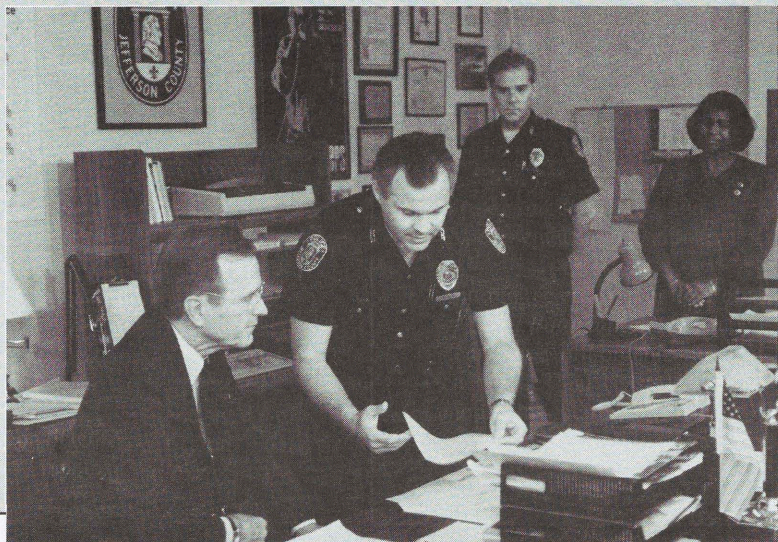
President Bush believes that the right to be free from fear in our homes, streets, and neighborhoods is the first civil right of all Americans. The President's policies promote a criminal justice system which seeks the swift and certain apprehension, prosecution, and incarceration of those who break the law.

President Bush:

- Has appointed 228 federal prosecutors and judges since taking office, based on their record of tough law enforcement and stiff penalties for those who commit crimes.
- Is doubling federal prison capacity, so that murderers, rapists, drug kingpins and other violent criminals can spend more time in jail. President Bush believes a prison term must be determined by the severity of the crime, not by the availability of prison space.
- Opened the first federal "boot camp" for men in February 1991 in Pennsylvania; a "boot camp" for women in Texas opened in July 1992.
- Fought for and won enactment of a new law requiring mandatory sentences for drug traffickers and other violent criminals. President Bush has encouraged state mandatory sentencing of murderers and rapists.
- Fought for a new law stiffening penalties for criminals who use guns in committing crimes. Now, instead of the negotiated light sentences too often received in state courts, these felons receive tougher mandatory federal sentences. As a result, more than 500 gun-toting criminals are behind bars for a total of 2,500 years.
- Nearly tripled to \$496 million the level of federal financial assistance to local law enforcement.
- Won a landmark Supreme Court victory that now permits the family of a murder victim to testify at sentencing about the impact of the crime on them.
- Assigned 2,400 F.B.I. agents — including 300 who had been working in counter-intelligence — to attack violent crime and problems with street gangs. Established Safe Street Task Forces in 38 cities.
- Conducted an assault on public corruption. During President Bush's first two years in office, federal prosecutors have convicted more than 2233 public officials on corruption charges such as fraud and bribery.
- Called for Congress to pass his comprehensive anti-crime bill for an effective federal death penalty for certain heinous crimes; reform of *habeas corpus* to reduce repetitive and trivial appeals that delay justice and clog the courts; and reforms of the exclusionary rule so criminals can no longer escape justice through legal loopholes.

"Our sworn duty to 'ensure domestic tranquility' is as old as the Republic, placed in the Constitution's preamble even before the common defense and the general welfare. When we ask what kind of society the American people deserve, our goal must be a nation in which law-abiding citizens are safe and feel safe."

May 15, 1989



RAISING OUR CHILDREN WELL

President Bush:

- Challenged Congress to pass his key child care proposals — and won. This new law ensures that parents — not government — make the choice of who cares for their children.
- Defeated congressional liberals who sought burdensome regulation of small, private child care centers — potentially regulating grandmothers — and religious institutions now providing good, affordable child care.
- Enhanced parents' choices and made child care more affordable through new and expanded tax credits. Lower income families will receive \$31 billion in direct payments and tax credits over the next five years.

"Success in the drug war depends crucially on our churches and synagogues, our schools, our service clubs, and young peoples' organizations. Most important: American families strengthened by the virtues and bonds of love and honor and just plain strength. American families — that's the key."

January 27, 1992

WINNING THE WAR ON DRUGS

President Bush:

- Implemented his National Drug Control Strategy (interdiction, enforcement, prevention, education and treatment and international efforts). According to the Office of National Drug Control Policy, overall drug use has dropped by 13 percent — and by 27 percent among adolescents, the most important group in the fight against drugs.
- Launched "Weed and Seed" projects in 20 cities. This federal program keeps crime and drugs out of neighborhoods by using federal law enforcement officials to help local police "weed out" drug dealers, gang leaders and street criminals. Neighborhoods are then "seeded" with school "drop-out" prevention programs, new drug treatment programs, programs to improve the condition of public housing, job training, and increased government health programs including pre-natal care and HIV testing and counseling.
- Proposes to double federal funding for drug-related programs to \$12.7 billion for fiscal 1993.
- Nearly tripled federal anti-drug assistance to state and local law enforcement agencies — from \$334 million in fiscal 1989 to a proposed \$991 million in fiscal 1993.
- Used nearly half a billion dollars worth of property seized from drug dealers to build new prison facilities.
- Sharply increased the average sentence for drug dealers convicted of federal crimes — from 57 months to 78 months.



"The power of America rests in a stirring but simple idea: That people will do great things if only you set them free . . . We must empower the poor with the pride that comes from owning a home, getting a job, becoming a part of things."

January 28, 1992

EMPOWERING COMMUNITIES:

President Bush:

- Believes we must reduce urban and rural poverty by using enterprise zones to attract new investment in 50 targeted areas across America through tax incentives to spur job creation and buy new equipment.
- Launched **HOPE** (*Homeownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere*), a first-ever program through which public-housing residents can buy their homes. **HOPE** engenders community pride, safer neighborhoods, and stronger families.
- Next year, President Bush's program will help 36,000 public housing families become homeowners and put another 65,000 on the road to homeownership. President Bush has also encouraged tenant management of public housing projects.
- Signed into law the **National and Community Service Act of 1990**, authorizing the creation of the Commission on National and Community Service, a program which offers federal seed money to outstanding innovative and experimental service initiatives.
- Spurred the creation of the **Points of Light Foundation**, an independent, non-profit organization that encourages and assists leaders in mobilizing their members to engage in community service.
- Helped establish the National Center for Community Risk Management and Insurance, an independent, non-profit center which will reduce barriers to voluntary service, including unwarranted legal liability and high insurance costs.
- Has identified over 800 examples of successful initiatives that use voluntary service to solve serious problems at the community level and recognized them as Daily Points of Light.

"The intergenerational poverty that troubles us so much today is predominately a poverty of values. Our inner cities are filled with children having children; with people who have not been able to take advantage of educational opportunities; with people who are dependent on drugs or the narcotic of welfare. To be sure, many people in the ghettos struggle very hard against these tides — and sometimes win. But too many feel they have no hope and nothing to lose."

Vice President Dan Quayle
May 19, 1992

MAKING HEALTH CARE AFFORDABLE

President Bush believes our health system delivers the world's best quality of care, but it costs too much and too many Americans do not have access to health insurance.

President Bush's plan will:

- Make quality care accessible by providing tax credits for poor families to buy a basic health care package (\$3,750 per family). Within five years, nearly 30 million uninsured Americans could obtain new health coverage; over 90 million Americans will benefit from new tax credits and deductions.
- Allow small businesses to pool resources and bargain for less expensive insurance to cover their employees properly. Self-employed Americans could deduct 100 percent of health insurance costs.
- End the fear of job-lock. Every working American, including those with "pre-existing conditions" would be certain that he or she could switch jobs and still be able to purchase insurance coverage.
- Cut rising health care costs by standardizing billing procedures and eliminating needless paperwork. Limit out-of-control medical malpractice suits that drive up costs and drive out needed doctors.
- Give consumers — not federal bureaucrats — the choice of which doctors to see and what care to receive.

President Bush has proposed programs to promote a healthier America:

• **Expanding primary and preventive care:**

Increased funds for primary care services 83 percent, and funds for breast and cervical cancer to \$515 million. President Bush has also launched major new initiatives to immunize children and reduce infant mortality and lead poisoning.

• **Helping the Critically Ill and Vulnerable:**

The President supported and signed into law new help for the disabled elderly. Total AIDS funding has risen 118 percent since President Bush took office to a requested \$4.2 billion.



CLEANER AIR, CLEANER WATER

President Bush:

- Proposed and fought successfully for the first major rewrite of the **Clean Air Act** in 13 years. This landmark legislation will cut acid rain in half, reduce urban smog, and cut toxic air pollution by 90 percent.
- Believes that polluters must pay for the damage they do to our environment. The Bush Administration has collected more fines and penalties and secured more prison sentences for environmental crimes in the last three years than in the previous 20 years combined.
- Proposes to spend \$216 million in 1993 to enforce environmental protection laws — 72 percent more than when he entered the White House. In 1990-91, the Bush Administration obtained a record 55 convictions for environmental crimes with violators receiving jail terms averaging nearly 2 years and \$91 million in fines.
- Established a moratorium on off-shore oil and natural gas drilling, for 99 percent of California's coast and the entire coasts of southern Florida, New England, Washington and Oregon. He also established a National Marine Sanctuary covering over 5,000 square miles off the California coast, where drilling will be permanently banned.
- Signed a law requiring double hulls on oil tankers to prevent oil spills like that of the Exxon Valdez in Alaska — and creating a \$1 billion oil spill cleanup fund.
- Proposes to plant 1 billion trees a year in his "America the Beautiful" program and to end clear-cutting as a standard practice in our National Forests. More trees mean cleaner air and water, greater conservation of energy, and less likelihood of global warming.
- Added more than 1.5 million acres to America's national parks, forests, wildlife refuges, and other public lands.



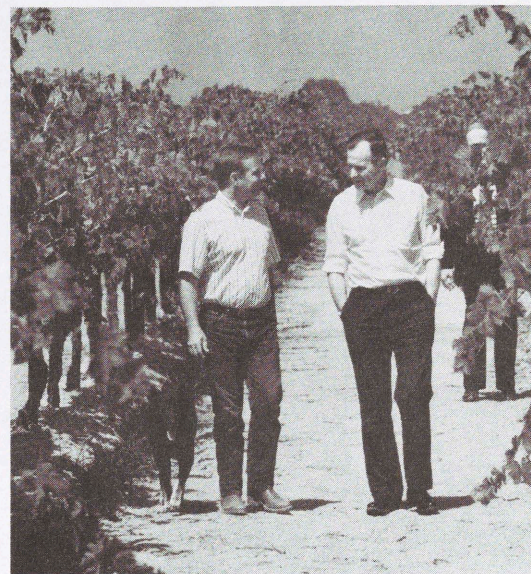
"A clean environment requires action from both the government and citizens. I believe that we can have both economic growth and a cleaner, safer environment. Sound policies do not force us to choose between the two."

April 22, 1992

- Led a successful United Nations effort to stop driftnet fishing on the high seas by the end of this year, which will eliminate a fishing technique highly destructive of marine mammals, seabirds and other marine life.
- Accelerated the United States phaseout of ozone harming substances to the end of 1995, four years ahead of international deadlines. America was the first nation to accelerate this phaseout.
- Saved thousands of American jobs by refusing to agree to binding targets and timetables on carbon dioxide emissions. This would have required much higher taxes on fossil fuels. Told world leaders at the "Earth Summit" in Rio that the American experience has proved that environmental protection and economic growth can and must go hand-in-hand.
- Signed an international agreement to adopt a national action plan to help prevent global warming. Proposed to double international forestry assistance available to developing countries.

"Through the grace of Almighty God and through the daily labors of the men and women who till the soil, plant the seeds, nourish the tender shoots, and reap the harvest, our Nation's farms are the most efficient and most productive in the world. In fact, America's farmers produce enough food and fiber to meet our nation's needs and those millions of people around the globe."

March 17, 1992



AMERICA'S FARMERS

President Bush has vigorously expanded trade and opened new markets for America's farm products. The American farm economy is strong. Debts are down, assets up.

- Above all, the net income of farmers has reached record levels, while government support payments have actually declined.
- Farm exports reached \$40.1 billion in fiscal 1990, the highest since 1981. In 1992, American farm exports are forecast to rise \$1.5 billion over fiscal 1991 levels.
- Vigorous efforts have been made to open foreign markets and fight foreign subsidies.
- Since January 1991, the Agriculture Department has extended nearly \$5 billion in agriculture credits to the former Soviet Union to promote free-market principles and preserve America's fourth-largest market for farm exports.



STRENGTHENING AND ENFORCING ANTI-DISCRIMINATION LAWS

A vital element of President Bush's effort to protect the civil rights of all Americans is the vigorous enforcement of existing anti-discrimination laws, without resorting to the use of quotas. The President has moved aggressively to fight hate crimes and combat discrimination in housing, voting, employment and education.

President Bush:

- Secured enactment of the **Americans with Disabilities Act** in 1990 — an historic civil rights law expanding protections and opening new opportunities for 43 million Americans with some form of disability.
- Signed the Civil Rights Act of 1990 to protect against employment discrimination, but to do so in a way that does not lead to quotas or excessive litigation.
- The Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) is aggressively enforcing the 1988 Fair Housing Amendments which prohibit housing discrimination on the basis of race, color, national origin, religion, sex, familial status, or disability. The Bush Administration has resolved nearly 12,000 of the almost 16,000 fair housing cases.
- In 1989, the Justice Department prosecuted more than twice as many hate crimes cases as in any previous year. In 1990, the Justice Department had a 100 percent success rate in prosecuting hate crimes.
- In 1990, the Department of Education received and resolved more civil rights complaints than in any previous year of its history — and in record time.



LEADER OF THE FREE WORLD

As the world's foremost statesman, President Bush more than anyone, understands the dangers and opportunities of the world in which we live.

President Bush's leadership helped bring the Cold War to a successful end and was an historic victory for freedom and democracy. He is now preparing the United States, as the world's only superpower, to protect our vital interests while promoting democracy and free international trade. President Bush will continue to protect America just as he did in Operation Desert Storm.

Building on his experience as the first President to have served as United States Ambassador to the United Nations, George Bush has revitalized efforts with other countries to promote collective security and to maintain peace.

President Bush's leadership on behalf of American objectives has brought about a staggering list of accomplishments. This success is no accident. In a dramatic period of history — with an extra-ordinary number of crucial decisions — President Bush made the right calls and showed the leadership that has made Americans proud.



"For more than 45 years, the highest responsibility of nine American presidents, Democrats and Republicans, was to wage and win the Cold War. It was my privilege to work with Ronald Reagan on these broad programs, and now to lead the American people in winning peace by embracing the people so recently freed from tyranny, and to welcome them into the community of democratic nations."

April 1, 1992



"[I]f you ask me what gives you the most pride or pleasure out of having been President . . . I take great pride that it was the leadership of the United States that has diminished for our children the threat of nuclear war."

April 27, 1992

ARMS CONTROL

President Bush:

- Signed an agreement with the Soviet Union to destroy about 90 percent of each nation's declared stockpiles of chemical weapons within 10 years. No new chemical weapons will be produced.
- Spearheaded United Nations efforts to destroy Saddam Hussein's nuclear capability.
- Strengthened export controls to thwart the spread of technology used to manufacture weapons of mass destruction in developing countries.

ENDING THE COLD WAR

President Bush:

- Brought the Cold War to a successful end, and has transformed United States-Soviet relations from an era of Cold War confrontation to one of unprecedented engagement, cooperation, and partnership.
- Built a new relationship with Russia, Ukraine, Armenia, and the other emerging states of the former Soviet Union, to secure democratic reform and market economies.
- Provided critical support to the liberation of Eastern Europe, and direct assistance to secure true democracy and economic change.
- Orchestrated extraordinary diplomacy to achieve a rapid and peaceful German unification without triggering a crisis with the former Soviet Union.
- With the collapse of the Warsaw Pact, is reducing our military presence in Europe by half while maintaining strong support for NATO. Prospects for a major conventional war in Europe have been nearly eliminated. As Russian President Boris Yeltsin said, "We know one thing. . . We shall not fight against each other."

POST-COLD WAR DEFENSE RESTRUCTURING

"These cuts are deep, and you must know my resolve: this deep, and no deeper. To do less would be insensible to progress, but to do more would be ignorant of history."

January 28, 1992

Having drastically reduced the threat of nuclear war, President Bush is restructuring our armed forces to meet new challenges.

These reductions are being realized by dramatic changes in force structure such as cuts in those areas that are vestiges of cold war confrontation while maintaining forces needed for rapid response.

President Bush is restructuring our peacetime armed forces.

- Through planned reductions, our forces will be cut down to the smallest acceptable level, a "base force" below which further reductions would not be prudent.
- In his 1992 State of the Union address, President Bush proposed a \$50 billion reduction in defense spending over the next five years, in addition to reductions already planned.
- This downsizing of the American military will reduce defense outlays by fiscal 1997 to about 3.4 percent of our gross national product and 16 percent of total federal outlays — the lowest levels since before World War II.

President Bush has worked tirelessly to achieve a rapid and peaceful end to the Cold War. At the same time, the President understands that the Cold War's end has brought economic hardship for many workers in defense-related industries.

- The President's plan to ease economic hardship associated with defense conversion will help defense-related firms by:
 - Expanding federal support for R&D of basic and applied technologies, through his **National Technology Initiative**;
 - Eliminating so-called "recoupment" which severely penalized American defense contractors in making non-government sales.
- The President is providing \$7.1 billion in assistance to help defense workers and communities affected by cuts. Actions by the President are also creating new career opportunities in teaching for former defense workers. In addition the Administration is expanding GI Bill educational opportunities and options for early retirement from the Defense Department.

ENDING THE NUCLEAR NIGHTMARE

President Bush:

- After nine years of negotiations, signed the historic **Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START)**, cutting the most destabilizing long-range Soviet nuclear warheads in half and providing the framework for further cuts in strategic nuclear arms.
- Building on **START** achieved the most significant arms reduction agreement in history, ending the nuclear nightmare for ourselves and our children. President Bush won agreement with Russian President Yeltsin to reduce both nations' stockpiles of long-range nuclear warheads to historically low levels — more than one-half below **START** levels. By the year 2003, all land-based, multiple-warhead missiles — the most dangerous and destabilizing nuclear weapons — will be eliminated.
- Achieved Russian agreement to develop a concept for global protection against limited ballistic missile attack, including exploration of a new legal regime to enable us to defend America, our allies, and the community of nations from missile attacks by rogue nations.
- Reoriented the **Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)** to defend Americans and our allies and friends against limited attacks or accidental launches — whatever their source.



"We went halfway around the world to do what is moral and just and right. We fought and, with others, we won the war. We lifted the yoke of aggression and tyranny from a small country that many Americans had never heard of — and we shall ask nothing in return."

March 6, 1992

OPERATION DESERT STORM

President Bush:

- Understood ahead of many others that Saddam Hussein's aggression represented a unique threat to American interests and security. President Bush forged an unprecedented international coalition to defeat Iraqi aggression and liberate Kuwait, preventing Saddam Hussein from holding the entire Middle East hostage to his demands. Saddam's ability to threaten his neighbors, including Israel, has been virtually eliminated, proving that aggression will not stand and that the United Nations can be an effective institution for resolving regional conflicts.
- Shaped alliances among allies, friends, and former antagonists to defeat the Iraqi army in a short, decisive war, ending with a 100-hour ground campaign.

- Seriously constrained Iraq's potential to build a nuclear weapon that could be used to threaten Israel or Middle East oil supplies. Iraq no longer poses a serious military threat to its neighbors.
- Made us proud to be Americans. Showed America's "can-do" spirit. Vindicated the Reagan-Bush "Peace through Strength" defense buildup of the 1980s. Affirmed America's preeminence as the most technologically advanced nation in the world.



ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS

President Bush:

- Brought about the first face-to-face talks ever held between Israel and all of its Arab neighbors.
- Led the repeal of the United Nations resolution equating Zionism with racism.
- Strengthened America's security relationship with Israel, including the first commitment of U.S. forces to its defense during the Persian Gulf war.
- Helped make possible the immigration of Jews from the Soviet Union, Ethiopia, and others areas.

"The United States cannot make peace in the Middle East; only the parties themselves can do that. But we can and will be a committed and active partner in the search for peace."

October 25, 1991

DRUG TRAFFICKING

President Bush:

- Convened a first-ever drug summit in Cartagena, Colombia, in 1991 with leaders of Colombia, Bolivia and Peru, and a second meeting in San Antonio in 1992, that included seven countries.
- Organized new coalitions of North and South American nations to wage war against local drug traffickers, destroying drug crops in the fields and using United States military forces to stop smugglers.
- Increased funding for international drug control efforts by more than 152 percent — from \$304 million to \$768 million.

COUNTERING INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

President Bush:

- Expanded counter-terrorism cooperation with other countries, discouraging all nations from direct and indirect support of terrorism.
- Succeeded in gaining freedom for western hostages in Lebanon without compromising U.S. principles.
- Spearheaded a United Nations Security Council resolution imposing sanctions on Libya for failure to hand over two suspects indicted by the Justice Department for the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103.

RESTORING DEMOCRACY TO CENTRAL AMERICA

President Bush:

- With *Operation Just Cause*, restored democracy to Panama by capturing and bringing to justice dictator Manuel Noriega for international drug trafficking.
- Worked for free elections in Nicaragua to bring peace and democracy to that war-torn country.
- Worked with the United Nations, regional partners, and El Salvador's President Cristiani to end the civil war in El Salvador.



"This will be, for me, my final campaign. And I plan to fight as never before. I have had the privilege of being your President at the great turning point when freedom prevailed over imperial communism; when the Berlin Wall came down; when Iraq's aggression was defeated; ancient enemies talking peace in the Middle East; when democracy really got on the move in this, our own hemisphere. We are helping to solidify a legacy of peace.

But I cannot rest and you cannot rest until we help this country win another legacy; productive jobs for our citizens with strong families secure in a more peaceful world. Working together, we changed the world. And now we can change America."

March 24, 1992

