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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 11, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE SPRING CONVENTION OF
AMERICAN SOCIETY OF ASSOCIATION EXECUTIVES

The Convention Center
Washington, D.C.

1:10 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Chairman Fondren, fellow Texan, thank you for that introduction. May I salute President Taylor and all the award winners here today. I heard a story about how when Lyndon Baines Johnson moved from the House to the Senate, Jake Pickle and Gene Fondren, then Texas state legislators, flipped a coin to decide who'd run for office and go to Washington. Well, Congressman Pickle's been calling for a rematch ever since. (Laughter.) And this organization is very fortunate to have as its chairman a man of this strength and a man of this conviction.

Robert Frost once wrote that "an idea is a feat of association." Well, association is an idea as old as the American Dream itself. Actually, de Toqueville 150 years ago -- more than that -- had much to say about you. He said, "at the head of some new undertaking in the United States you will be sure to find an association." Well, since that time associations have played a vital role in our country's progress, and they continue that mission today, defining new frontiers and exploring new territory.

Before I spoke, President Taylor handed out the Associations Advance America Awards to salute those who've found a way to help -- to be, in fact, points of light. We hear too often about what's wrong in America. Well, this is what's right in America, and I salute you for what you are doing to help your communities. And again, I single out the awardees here who have starred in all of this.

Of course, it's an election year. Independent of the current preoccupation with the hype and spin of the campaigns, there will remain the issues, the big things -- the core concerns of every American that transcend political party or philosophical ideology -- jobs, family, peace. They hold us together as a society. They are more than issues we bring to the next election -- they are the legacy we must give to the next generation.

And really, that's what I want to talk to you about today -- not just the issues, but our mood as a nation, and how we must act now if we're to change America for the better. Today, weighing most heavily in the hearts and on the minds of Americans is the state of our economy -- jobs -- preserving jobs, creating jobs. You in this room know best virtually every industry and every profession in America. I don't have to tell you that people are worried about the future.

Frankly, we've had tough economic times before, with higher unemployment -- but less national alarm. There's something different about today's times -- something that touches a nerve. It strikes at the heart of what drives this country forward -- our very confidence. It challenges our belief in ourselves.

MORE

Let me give it to you straight: Unemployment is -- what -- 7.3 percent -- about nine million people out of a total work force of 126 million. During the 1982 recession, 10 years ago, unemployment hit almost 11 percent -- a level not experienced since the Great Depression. So we ask ourselves, why is confidence today lower than at the depth of the 1982 recession?

I've heard a lot of theories. Some say those TV analysts are the problem -- rejoicing in bad news. Others say, well, it's the politicians. I myself have noted that in a political year candidates often shower the voters with a message so bleak and hopeless -- and at the same time they promise the rainbow if they're elected. That steady drizzle on the people's shoulders can wear away confidence and can wash away hope. So it's easy to suppose that the constant drumbeat about what's wrong in America is a self-fulfilling prophecy.

There may be some truth to that. But I think there are other reasons for our country's mood. People are feeling the way they do because America's got some real problems -- they're serious, stubborn, national problems. But I think it would be unfair and certainly untrue to suggest to the American people that we can't overcome these problems -- to imply that the United States of America is a country in decline. So today I want to talk about what we must do to meet the economic challenge that is before us -- how we can build economic vitality into our communities -- how we must ensure that our children see a future that is an improvement over the present.

Sometimes it helps to take some of these enormous issues and bring them down to the personal level. So when I talk about America's economic problems this is what I mean:

They are the worries of parents who have worked all their lives to get their kids through college -- and those kids can't find work. They are found in discouraged families who can't afford to pay off anything but the interest on their credit cards month after month after month. They are the doubts of young people who believe that times will never be as good for them as they were for their parents. Now, these are the things that dim our hope and drain our confidence.

American workers can see that technology and competition are changing the workplace faster than ever before. They can feel the heat -- both at home and abroad. They know American industry is being challenged to keep up or step aside -- I'm going to talk further about that later in the week out in Detroit, Michigan. We live in a competitive world, and people worry about our ability to compete.

American homeowners -- that's almost 70 million people -- worry that the biggest asset they will ever have, their home, will lose its worth because real estate values have declined. The same is true of any business, of association, or charitable organization that owns property -- they're concerned, too.

Finally, as I discussed earlier this week with the League of Cities -- and this one is fundamental -- the deterioration of the American family is very, very serious -- a root problem with tremendous ramifications for our economic well-being as a nation.

But the picture -- these are the problems, but the picture is not all gloom and doom. America -- we're now the only superpower in the world. Millions of immigrants still look to us as the land of opportunity -- because we are. We're the undisputed leader of the world that has a propensity for much more peace. And our economy is poised for recovery. Inflation is down. Interest rates low. Inventories are low. Exports at record highs. But this

recovery will come sooner, and stronger only if we in government can come together and act now.

In January, as most of you know, I sent a message to the Congress -- a plan of action. I felt it was a straightforward set of initiatives based upon tried and true economic realities. I proposed incentives for business to buy equipment, upgrade their plants, and start hiring again. I proposed a shot in the arm to get the housing industry back on its feet -- lead us into economic recovery this spring. I proposed a cut on the capital gains. And then I offered a broader plan of action to keep us strong and economically vigorous in the years ahead. And that included, as some of you all may remember, education reform called -- we call it America 2000 -- to bring the skills of our future workers up to a standard of excellence.

It included a clampdown on excessive regulations that hurt our competitiveness and reform of our legal system so that Americans can spend more time innovating and less time litigating. And I proposed record federal support -- research and development support -- to keep our nation on the cutting edge of new technologies, new incentives for business investment. I proposed a forward-looking trade policy that demands foreign markets open up to high-quality American goods and services. And I reiterated our determination to hold the line on government spending and oppose new taxes.

Well, big issues, big challenges. This is the plan I proposed -- and I set a deadline for the Congress to act. And while the Congress didn't have a comprehensive plan of its own, it didn't like the notion of a deadline. Instead, with great and earnest deliberation, the Congress fixated on how much more to tax the American people. And they would hike taxes by \$100 billion. And that plan, in my view, destroys jobs. Whereas, the plan, the incentives I've outlined here create jobs.

The last thing that this economy needs now is a massive tax increase. (Applause.) Any economist worth his salt will tell you that. But this is not new. Congress refuses routinely to take action to stimulate the economy -- but insists on these job-destroying tax increases. Everyone knows that government is too big and spends too much. Everyone knows that. And there's something else everyone knows, too: too often Congress spends the money of its customer, the taxpayer, the wrong way -- inefficiently, ineffectively, without accountability and, frankly, without compassion.

So again, I would like to call on the Congress to pass my plan by March 20 for the good of this economy and the good of the American people. (Applause.)

Now, I realize this all may sound like simply an election year blast at the Congress, controlled by the opposition party. But it is not. We really need a new way of looking at things. And I have made proposals to bring back responsibility and accountability to a system answerable to no one but itself. They are based on some fundamental principles: Rely on what works. And when possible, decentralize. Institute choice to force competition into the system. Give people more power to make the big decisions in their lives. Make the system accountable. And understand the new realities of America's global position -- that we must become more competitive.

We are not going to retreat into the failed policies of uninvolvedness, disengagement, isolation, protectionism. We cannot do that. That would shrink markets and throw people out of work in this country. So these are -- staying involved, then, is the fundamental answer on international trade. These are the important ways to reform and change our country.

MORE

Chairman Fondren once said that "Leadership requires forthrightness. Hidden agendas rarely, if ever, lead to progress and very often succeed in spoiling the brew." Well, I've never been very good at hiding an agenda, and I'm not about to try to start that now.

The agenda has really been to create jobs, protect the family, and promote world peace. (Applause.) Too many times I run up against a stone wall -- a partisan guard more determined to take sides than to move the country forward. So March 20th will be an important date. And if the Congress enacts my action plan on the economy by then, the real beneficiaries will be the American people. (Applause.)

If the Congress cannot act, or if it sends to me a bill that it knows today that I cannot and will not sign, I will take this case to the American people, and say the problem is the Congress; send a new Congress to Washington next November. But before that, I want to see us move something forward. I want to see us get something done.

And it's tough in an election year. I know that; I'm involved right up to my neck, just from coming from eight of these darn things yesterday. So I'm not being unrealistic, but I think we still have time to set aside the politics and try to pass something that most economists agree -- I think all economists agree -- would stimulate this economy and get this country back to work again. In the meantime, I will act on my own in the interests of the American people.

I drew a line in the sand -- Jane referred to it -- a little over a year ago in the Gulf. When you look back, that wasn't an easy decision. But we kept our word and we liberated a tiny country. And in the process, we sent the world, the whole world, a message. And the message was: Aggression will not stand. And that message is clearly understood. And because that message is so clearly understood, we have a newfound credibility all around -- all around the world. Travel abroad and find out that we are the United States, second to none. (Applause.)

And so now, in a figurative stance, I've drawn a line in the sand once again, right here in our own backyard. And I will keep my word again, and if we all do our part, we can ensure that our economy and our country get back on the right track.

In the meantime, keep up the wonderful work that these associations do. Government can do a lot. I know I've got to do it better. I know that Congress has to do its work better. But it can never replace that thing that de Tocqueville found so amazing about this country -- association, the propensity of one American to help another.

And when I talk about points of light, sometimes my critics say, well, he's simply forgoing his responsibility. He's simply trying to lay off on the back of private citizens the responsibility of a government. That's the farthest thing from my mind when I commend you and thank you for being points of light. Government can help. Government must help. Government must reach out a hand to those that are hurting. But it is the points of light -- it is the private sector, it is the associations that are going to make a difference in the lives of the men and women and, especially, the children of this country.

So may God bless you for your work. And thank you for letting me come back. (Applause.)

March 10, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVE DEMAREST

FROM: JAG
SUBJECT: ASAE FACT-CHECK

PAGE ONE

1) Speech is at the Washington Convention Center.

Speech is at 1:45 p.m., NOT 1:15.

Acknowledgements: no others necessary than Fondren and Taylor.

2) Paragraph three, sentence one: **de Tocqueville**, NOT deTocqueville. It's **over 150 years** NOT 150 years. Note: it's a trifle cliched to quote the Frenchman on associations -- **everyone** does it. But, if you insist, here's some selections:

"..at the head of some new undertaking...in the United States you will be sure to find an association."

"Americans of all ages, all conditions, and all dispositions constantly form associations."

PAGE THREE

3) Last paragraph, last sentence: -- and most importantly, NOT --and most... (space).

PAGE FOUR

4) Paragraph three, last sentence: "one out of every [XX] Americans." Perhaps you're thinking of the December 1991 Gannet News Service Poll which found that **3 out of every four Americans know someone who's lost a job in the past six months**. Pretty gloomy -- sure you want to mention it?

5) Paragraph four, sentence one: "real estate values are sliding." Actually, according to NAHB, residential real estate values have been on the rise for the last two months.

PAGE FIVE

6) Graph two, sentences two and three: Boskin says that interest rates don't qualify as historically low, because of different kinds of trends among different kinds of rates.

Also: people don't understand what inventories are.
Suggested:

"Inflation is down. Interest rates are down.
Inventories are under control -- and that's good news."

On hard figures for less than gloomy indicators:

"In January the Index of Leading Indicators showed a strong gain -- the strongest since last July. The housing market has turned around: with low mortgage rates making houses more affordable than at any time in the past 15 years. (OR) The prime rate is at its lowest level in 15 years. Inflation is at its lowest level in 5 years."

- 7) Last graph, last sentence: "Health care reform to provide universal access.." Kuttner says, we're not **promising** universal access -- we're proposing reforms that'll move us toward that goal. Suggested:

"Health care reform to improve access and control costs.."

PAGE SIX

- 8) Second graph, last sentence: "The cost of their proposed tax hikes..." Can't quite say "cost" cuz they've proposed measures to cover some of those costs. Moreover, **both** the Senate Democrats and the House Democrats have plans that would increase taxes by more than **100 billion dollars** -- which makes the "sixty to one hundred billion dollars" look a little weak.
- 9) Third graph, first sentence: **..Museums to a study on...** NOT "Museums and studies on"

PAGE EIGHT

- 10) Second graph, first sentence: **four million hardworking people** NOT three million. (Exact OMB figure is 3.9)
- 11) Last graph, second sentence: **I served in the Congress twenty-five years** NOT "served in the Congress in twenty-five."

PAGE NINE

- 12) Second graph, first sentence: **284 committees** NOT "284 subcommittees." Also, you can say "over 2 billion dollars of taxpayers money." However, you might want to know, that while 2.3 was **appropriated**, 2.6 was requested by the

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Memo	JAG to Dave Demarest, re: ASAE Fact-Check. (1 pp.)	03/10/92	P-5	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File, Backup
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WHORM Cat.:
File Location: American Society of Association Executives 3/11/92 [1]

**Open on Expiration of PRA
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 By SN (NLGB) on 4/5/2005

Date Closed: 11/22/2004	OA/ID Number: 07569
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MR Case #:	Appeal Case #:
MR Disposition:	Appeal Disposition:
Disposition Date:	Disposition Date:

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Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- (b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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- (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

President. In other words, POTUS requested even more than the figure we are decrying as obscene.

- 13) Graph four, first sentence: you might want to know that not only was there a "Crime Victims Week" in April of '91, there was also a "Crime Prevention Month" in October of '91.
- 14) Graph four, second sentence: "National Asparagus Month" NOT "National Asparagus Week." But more importantly: "There's nothing wrong with 'National Asparagus Month.'" Actually -- there was something wrong with it. Congress passed the resolution, but when the proclamation hit the President's desk to be signed back in May of '89, Ciccone pulled it, saying it'd be unpresidential for POTUS to sign it. An agri-alternative? "National Rice Month" -- September of last year; and, yes, we signed the proclamation. So what does the President have against green vegetables, anyway?

PAGE TEN

- 15) First graph, second sentence: **almost one third of all the legislation**, NOT "fully one third." Exact percentage is 29.5.
- 16) First graph, third sentence: what are you looking for as "legislation just to keep the government in business"? Appropriations? Continuing resolutions?

PAGE ELEVEN

- 17) Third graph, first sentence: "For four years," or "for three years"? Where do we want to draw the line?

Table 4-3 Number and Type of Senate Committees, 84th-102d Congresses, 1955-1992

Congress	Standing committees	Subcommittees of standing committees	Select and special committees	Subcommittees of select and special committees	Joint committees	Subcommittees of joint committees
84th (1955-56)	15	88	3	6	10	11
90th (1967-68)	16	99	3	12	10	15
92d (1971-72)	17	123	5	13	8	15
94th (1975-76)	18	140	6	17	7	17
96th (1979-80)	15	91	5	10	4	5
97th (1981-82)	15	94	5	12	4	6
98th (1983-84)	16	103	4	4	4	6
99th (1985-86)	16	90	4	0	4	6
100th (1987-88)	16	85	5	0	4	8
101st (1989-90)	16	86	4	0	4	8
102d (1991-92)	16	87	4	0	4	8

Sources: Brownson, *Congressional Staff Directory*; *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*; Walter Oleszek, "Overview of the Senate Committee System" (Paper prepared for the Commission on the Operation of the Senate, 1977); *Congressional Yellow Book*; Secretary of the Senate.

from Vital Statistics on Congress 1991-1992
 Published American Enterprise Institute

Table 4-4 Committee Assignments Congresses, 1955-1992

Congress	Mean no. of standing committee assignments
84th (1955-56)	1.2
92d (1971-72)	1.5
94th (1975-76)	1.8
96th (1979-80)	1.7
97th (1981-82)	1.7
98th (1983-84)	1.7
99th (1985-86)	1.8
100th (1987-88)	1.7
101st (1989-90)	1.8
102d (1991-92)	1.9

* "Other" committees include select and special committees, joint committees, and includes task forces when committee

Sources: Brownson, *Congressional Staff Directory*; *Congressional Yellow Book*; Clerk of the House of Rep

Table 4-5 Committee Assignments 1955-1992

Congress	Mean no. of standing committee assignments
84th (1955-56)	2.2
92d (1971-72)	2.5
94th (1975-76)	2.5
96th (1979-80)	2.3
97th (1981-82)	2.5
98th (1983-84)	2.9
99th (1985-86)	2.8
100th (1987-88)	2.9
101st (1989-90)	3.0
102d (1991-92)	2.9

* "Other" committees include select special committees, joint committees

Sources: Brownson, *Congressional Staff Directory*; *Congressional Yellow Book*; Secretary of the Senate

(Demarest)
March 8, 1992
Draft One
ASAE

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ASSOCIATION EXECUTIVES
MARCH 11, 1992
WASHINGTON, D.C.
1:15 P.M.

1:45

WASHINGTON
CONVENTION
CENTER

Ben of
Taylors

Washington
Convention
Center

Chairman Fondren, my fellow Texan, thank you for that introduction. President Taylor. NO OTHERS [acknowledgements] I heard a story about how when LBJ moved from the House to the Senate, Jake Pickle and Gene Fondren, then Texas state legislators, flipped a coin to decide who'd run for office and go to Washington. Well, Congressman Pickle's been calling for a rematch ever since.

Robert Frost once wrote that "an idea is a feat of association." Well, association is an idea as old as the American Dream itself. [[Maybe older. I heard that Art Buchwald once said that "the first reported case of an association making a blunder occurred in the Bible, when an association executive overbooked the inn at a carpenter's convention in Bethlehem. The rest is history."]]

Actually, de Toqueville ^{over} 150 years ago had much to say about the value of associations. [] Associations have long played a vital role in our country's progress, and they continue that mission today, defining new frontiers and exploring new territory. In fact, the ASAE has answered my call to become a point of light.

Association
Factbook

Association
Factbook

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Ben
Taylors

Note: it's kind of clichéd to quote de Toqueville on associations

"...at the head of some new undertaking... in the United States you will be sure to find an association."

OR

"Americans of all ages, all conditions, & all dispositions constantly form associations."

Before I spoke, President Taylor presented the Association's Advance America Awards to salute those who've found a way to help. We hear a too often about what's wrong about America. Well, this is what's right in America, and I salute you and your members for what you are doing to help your communities.

Of course, it's an election year. Regardless of the current preoccupation with the hype and spin of the campaigns, there will remain the issues, the big things -- the core concerns of every American -- jobs -- family -- peace. These are more than the issues we bring to the next election -- they are the legacy we must give to the next generation.

Today, weighing most heavily in the hearts and on the minds of Americans is the state of the economy -- jobs -- preserving jobs, creating jobs. In this very room are representatives of virtually every industry and every profession in America. I don't have to tell you that people are worried about the future.

Frankly, we've had tough economic times before, with higher unemployment -- but less national alarm. There's something different about today's times -- something that touches a nerve. It strikes at the heart of what drives this country forward -- our confidence. Our belief in ourselves. Our hopes for our future.

I'll give it to you straight: Unemployment is roughly seven-plus per cent - about 9 million people out of a total workforce of 126 million. During the 1982 recession, unemployment hit almost 11% -- a level not experienced since the Great Depression.

Phil Dine OMB
Susan Colments
CEA
Stats.
X5110

↑
Nov '82
10.8%

So we ask ourselves -- why is confidence today lower than at the depth of the 1982 recession?

I've heard a lot of theories. Some say the talking heads of the media are the problem -- always running the country down. [You've heard the saying "no news is good news?" Well, the joke is that for the media, "Good news is no news."]

Others say its the politicians. I myself have noted that in a political year candidates often shower the voters with a message so bleak and hopeless -- at the same time they promise the rainbow if they're elected. That steady drizzle on the people's shoulders can wear away confidence, and wash away hope. So it's easy to suppose that the constant drumbeat about what's wrong in America is a self-fulfilling prophecy.

There may be some truth to that. But I think there are other reasons for our country's lack of confidence. People are feeling the way they do because America's got some real problems -- serious, stubborn, national problems.

But I think it would be unfair and untrue to suggest to the American people that we can't overcome these problems -- to imply that America is a country in decline. So today I want to talk about what we must do to meet the economic challenge that is before us -- how we can build economic vitality into our communities -- how we must ensure that our children see a future that is an improvement over the present -- ^{space} and most importantly, why we must change the way we do business in Washington, D.C.

Note: I assume you're referring to the December Gannett News Service poll which found that 4 Americans know someone who's lost a job in the past six months.
 Pretty gloomy stuff -- sure you want to mention it?

Sometimes it helps to take some of these enormous issues and bring them down to the personal level. So when I talk about America's economic problems this is what I mean:

They are the worries of parents who have worked all their lives to get the kids through college -- and those kids can't find work. They are found in discouraged families who can't afford to pay off anything but the interest on their credit cards, month after month after month. They are the doubts of young people who believe that times will never be as good for them as they were for their parents. These are the things that dim our hope and drain our confidence.

American workers can see that technology and competition are changing the workplace faster than ever before. They can feel the heat -- both at home and abroad. They know American industry is being challenged to keep up or step aside -- I'll talk further about that later in the week in Detroit, Michigan. But whether it's Detroit or Denver, when workers see the company downsizing,

they wonder who will be the first to go. And in these tough economic times one out of every [XX] Americans knows someone who's been out of a job at some time in the last year. No wonder people are worried.

68,705,000 Dean

NAHB

American homeowners -- that's almost 70 million people -- NAHB - 0478

worry that the biggest asset they will ever have -- their home -- will lose its worth because real estate values are sliding.

The same is true of any business, association, or charitable organization that owns property -- they're concerned too.

NO: "For the past 2

months residential real estate values have been on the rise."

Finally, as I discussed earlier this week with the League of Cities, the deterioration of the American family is very serious -- a root problem with tremendous ramifications for our economic well-being as a nation.

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in check. poss.

Bostin: Inflation is down. Interest rates are

Elaine fa Dave Walker
USTOR
John
Kitcher
CEA
Macroeconomists
4666

But the picture is not all gloom and doom. Interest rates are at historic lows. Inventories are down. The trade deficit has plummeted and our exports are at record highs. I do believe that we are poised for recovery -- a recovery that will come sooner, and be stronger if we in government act now. As self-evident as the mandate for action may seem, we have not been able to muster the necessary political unity of purpose.

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In January, I sent to the Congress a plan of action. It was a straightforward set of initiatives based upon tried and true economic realities. I proposed incentives for business to buy equipment, upgrade their plants, and start hiring again. I proposed a shot in the arm to get the housing industry back on its feet -- lead us into economic recovery. I proposed a tax cut on capital gains. Once you get through all the tax-break-for-the-rich demagoguery, most economists agree such a measure would create jobs and stimulate greater economic activity.

Then I offered a broader plan of action to keep us competitive and economically vigorous in the years ahead:

- 1) Education reform to bring the skills of our future workers up to a standard of excellence. 2) Reform of our legal system so that Americans can spend more time innovating and less time litigating. 3) Health care reform to provide universal

IMPROVE ACCESS AND CONTROL COSTS

Hans Kitcher

Were not promising universal access, was the proposal re-
fracture how we forward that goal

access to the best quality care in the world. 4) Welfare reform to break this sorry cycle of dependency that's become a way of life in many of our cities. 5) Tangible support to strengthen the family -- a \$500 increase in the tax deduction for children. 6) A trade policy that demands foreign markets open up to high-quality American goods and services. 7) Record federal support in research and development to keep our nation on the cutting edge of new technologies.

Big issues. Big challenges. This is the plan I proposed - and I set a deadline for the Congress to act. The Congress didn't like the notion of a deadline. And while the Congress didn't have a comprehensive plan of its own, it is doubtful that it will enact the plan I proposed. Instead, with great and earnest deliberation, the Congress is fixated with how much more to tax the American people. The cost of their proposed tax hikes range from sixty to one hundred billion dollars.

can't say "costs" cuz they're proposed some measures to pay some of the costs

Imagine: giving the Congress more taxpayer money to spend. From Lawrence Welk Museums ^{TO A} and studies on the Hatfield-McCoy feud to the billions wasted on big government programs that were proved ineffective years ago -- does anyone believe that more money for the Congress to spend is the answer? Does anyone believe that this money will be more wisely spent than the trillion and a half dollars that the Congress spends now?

My point is not to say one more time that the last thing this economy needs now is a tax increase. Any economist worth his salt will tell you that. No, today I want to make a

OMB 4790 Senate Dems plan: incr tax by more than 100 billion \$'s House Dems plan: same increase. (treasury numbers - estimates) Dave Taylor OMB

12/7/91 CC

different point. One that goes to the heart of why the Congress refuses to take action to stimulate the economy -- but insists on job destroying tax increases. My point goes to the heart of why the Congress is incapable of passing my comprehensive economic growth plan -- or a plan of their own -- by my March 20 deadline -- or any other deadline, for that matter.

I have said on many occasions that government is too big and spends too much. Everyone knows that. And underlying that point is something else everyone agrees on: too often the government spends the money of its customer -- the American taxpayer -- inefficiently, ineffectively, without compassion, and without accountability.

When Americans think about their government what often comes to mind is the latest scandal involving their money. Today, we are cleaning up the Savings and Loan scandal. Jack Kemp deserves a lot of credit for straightening out the abuses in our public housing system. And Dick Cheney has taken the Ill Wind investigation at the Defense Department and made the necessary reforms in defense procurement. But to the taxpayer, these issues just reinforce the notion that the government just can't work any better.

This is all part of why people lack confidence in America's future. They have already lost confidence in its government. There is irony here. Americans are a compassionate people -- willing to foot the bill to help make this country better. But there is an extraordinary mismatch between their willingness to

*Defense Dept. Affairs
697-9312
Mr. Taylor
- says its
not a social idea
to mention
this: brings
up bad
memories*

launched?

help and their confidence in government actually using their hard earned tax dollars to get results. My apologies for coining a phrase now in popular jargon, but it is truly time to reinvent government.

Phil Dams OMB: 3.9

FOUR

I do not mean to slight in any way the ~~three~~ million hard-working people who work for the federal government. But the fact of the matter is that they work in a system that was good for its time, but now must change and change radically. I know that government can't run like a business -- but we can improve its performance. Right now, within the halls of these giant centralized bureaucracies, it is almost impossible to reward success, much less punish failure.

Because government has forgotten the customer, it issues counter-productive regulations. There are perpetual programs that have outlived their function but not their funding. And they are run within rigid, stultifying bureaucracies.

But this kind of government doesn't just happen. It is the Congress that lays down the mandates, funds the programs, creates these bureaucracies. And then it is the Congress that protects them, harasses them, investigates them, micro-manages them. They become stepchildren of the Congress, with a Congressional subcommittee Chairman in the role of godparent.

Yellow Book This is not to criticize the people serving today in Congress. I served in the Congress ~~in~~ twenty-five years ago with some of the finest individuals I ever known -- some are still there now -- Sonny Montgomery, Bob Michel, John Paul

8
9/2
25
67

Hammerschmidt among others. And the newer members today -- many fine people on both sides of the aisle -- decent, hard-working, patriotic. The problem isn't the people, it's the system. And the system must change.

Note: while 2,308,230,600 was appropriate
2,638,535,500 was requested by POTUS

US Code
Congressional
Administration
News

The good people on Capitol Hill are victims of an over unaccountable, inefficient, and ineffective system of their own making as well: 284 subcommittees, 35,000 staff members, 2 billion dollars of taxpayer money, a web of special interest influence and money -- with members re-election a virtual certainty. This is not a system that can promote reform and change. Rather, over the years, all this has piled up to create a Congress that is gridlocked. Paralyzed. Out of touch. A Congress totally and utterly incapable of addressing the central issues of our time.

- amt of \$ takes to run Congress

How many people in this room -- people who work with the Congress every day -- haven't had a private conversation with a Senator or Congressman and heard exactly the same thing?

Crime Victims Week
April 91

There's nothing wrong with the Congress passing a proclamation heralding "Crime Victims Week", but that's no substitute for a comprehensive crime bill that will actually do something to make people safer in their communities. There's nothing wrong with "National Asparagus ^{MONTH} Week", but the problem in American agriculture is our national vitality not our national vegetable. (Haven't seen "National Broccoli Week" -- could have some trouble signing that one). For every one of these bills there is staff assigned, paper processed, constituents contacted,

Crime Prevention Month Oct-91

Sept 91: National Rice Month. we signed proc

There was some way Congress passed this resolution. Proclamation was ^{not} signed. Ciccone thought it'd be un-presidential
Back in May of '89

29.5
Almost

newsletters written, taxpayer money spent. Fully one third of all the legislation that reaches my desk is stuff like this.

Another _____ is legislation just to keep the government in business. The focus is clearly not on addressing the new challenges, is it?

what does this mean?
appropriations?
continuing resolution?

This all may sound like simply an election year blast at a Congress controlled by the other party. But it's not. The problem is not necessarily divided government. Ike had to deal with a Democratic Congress in the fifties. But when the big issues came to a head -- President Eisenhower and the Congress were able to meet those challenges as Americans first, partisans second.

TRUE; BUT NOTE:
HE STARTED HIS TERM W/ A REPUBLICAN CONGRESS

We need a new way of looking at things. That gap between private sector efficiency and government's ineptness has become a chasm. I have made proposals to reform government -- proposals to bring back responsibility and accountability to a system answerable to no one but itself. These proposals are based on some fundamental principles. Rely on what works. Whenever possible, decentralize. Institute choice to force competition into the system. Make the system accountable. Understand the new realities of America's global position -- that we must do what makes us more competitive.

I have also called for the Congress to stop exempting itself from the laws it imposes on everyone else. I have called for Campaign Finance Reform to break the influence of special

Justin Finney

~~interest~~ ~~groups~~. I have talked about term limits for members of Congress.

Chairman Fondren once said that "Leadership...requires forthrightness. Hidden agendas rarely, if ever, lead to progress and very often succeed in spoiling the brew." I've never been very good at hiding my agenda, and I'm not about to start trying now.

[For four years, my agenda has been to create jobs, protect the family, and promote world peace. Too many times I ran up against a wall -- a partisan guard more determined to takes sides than to take this country forward. March 20 will be an historic watershed in American politics. If the Congress enacts my action plan on the economy by then, the real beneficiaries will not be me, or my re-election, nor the Congress. The real beneficiaries will be the American people who will regain the confidence that they have lost in the ability of Washington to act in their best interest.

If the Congress cannot act, or if it sends to me a bill it knows today I cannot and will not sign, I will take this message to the American people: the problem is Congress. Send a new Congress to Washington next November. In the meantime I will act on my own in the interests of the American people.

I drew a line in the sand a little over a year ago in the Persian Gulf. I kept my word then and tiny Kuwait is free. I have drawn a line in the sand once again -- here in our own

Your call:
do you want to say "3 years" or "4 years"

backyard. I will keep my word again and free this economy on behalf of the American people.

Thank you. And God bless you for all the good work you do.

#

right to any minority group to pass legislation that is going to result in quotas.

If the leaders of the Congress had been committed as some say they are to civil rights, why didn't they permit my bill that eliminates discrimination in the workplace to be voted on? It is because they tried to embarrass the President. And they didn't at all, because the American people are fair and they do not want quotas.

Taxes

Q. Mr. President, it sounds like you're willing to veto quotas but not higher taxes. That doesn't sound like a very strong stance.

The President. Give me a chance to veto higher taxes. Send one down there that I can veto, and I will. You're darn right I will, absolutely. I'm glad you raised that. It was a beautiful question, because I am opposed to higher taxes—strongly.

Upcoming Elections

Q. You look like you're going to enjoy this last trip.

The President. I really am looking forward to it.

Q. Are you going to draw blood?

The President. Well, I don't know about blood. I just want to get my message out there, and it's going to be good. We're

going to work hard, and we're going to take a positive message across the country: that if we had more Republicans in the United States Congress—Senate and House—I would be able to more easily fulfill the mandate I was given when I was elected President of the United States. I don't like playing defense; I like being on the offense.

Q. Can you beat the odds that—where Presidents usually lose seats?

The President. We're going to wait and see. But I think you raise a point. The party in power normally loses seats, but I'm going to be out there like we're going to win seats and work very hard to do that.

Q. So are these elections now a referendum on you, sir?

The President. I don't know what they're a referendum of. But I want to make them a referendum on the Democrats' taxing and spending and class warfare. I mean, it's absurd. So, we'll see. They have control of both Houses of Congress; they can frustrate the legislative agenda that I want. So, I'd like to see us change that around if we possibly can.

Note: The exchange began at 9:25 a.m. on the tarmac at San Francisco International Airport in San Francisco, CA. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks at a Rally for Gubernatorial Candidate Bill Price in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma October 29, 1990

I'm delighted to be back here. First, let me pay my respects to a man that campaigned for me way back in the early sixties. He's been my friend and Barbara's friend and your Governor: Henry Bellmon, over here. Henry, delighted to see you, sir. Of course, two who are with us today who are so active in Washington in leadership roles—one in the Senate and one in the House. I'm talking about Senator Don Nickles and, of course, Mickey Edwards, the Congressman. We're delighted to have them with us here today.

Bill, thank you for that introduction. Oh, what a joy it is to be with your wonderful family. Barbara sends her love. It's not that our dog is writing another book, but she, too, is out on the campaign trail. I'm just delighted to bring you her greetings. It's a pleasure to be here for a man who will make a difference—he always has—your next Governor, Bill Price. All of you know his story. Well-qualified man—well-qualified. The son of a doctor. Went to Georgetown U, Ohio U—Ohio—OU—[laughter]—Oklahoma University Law School, the Big

Red. Finally, he became, as he referred there to it, U.S. Attorney for western Oklahoma, supporting law and order, battling against the craze of narcotics. He's been a good man, a great servant to this country—and now you've got to elect him Governor of this State.

I have looked at the record. He has conviction. He's not a follower who gets lost in the current. He's a profile in character who alters the tide. Look at how he cracked America's then-largest corruption case back in the early eighties. Or his work for the organization he founded, the Oklahoma Alliance Against Drugs. We need a leader with his vision to follow Henry in Oklahoma City. I'm here to talk for Bill, not against his opponent. And I refuse to take it personally that his opponent was the Dukakis chairman in this State—had nothing to do with my being here.

We could use more of his kind of thinking back East, too. All Americans are asking: What on Earth is wrong with Washington? And I know you've been standing, but let me give you the full load about how I see it, as one who thinks we need to change this Congress out and get more Republicans and fewer of those liberal Democrats.

After what seemed like endless negotiations, we finally have a budget. And the negotiations were tough because the one party that has ruled Congress for almost 40 years is dedicated to perpetual reelection. And that party, the Democratic Party, has a bias for redtape over choice, for Washington solutions over community solutions, and for bureaucracy over people. And you add all of this up, and what do you get? You get a liberal Democratic-controlled Congress that's committed to two things: taxing and spending. We went into negotiation, and the final agreement is an example of how the Democratic Congress works—or doesn't work. For the sake of the Nation, I honestly felt that we had to reduce the deficit now. It is high time that we stop mortgaging the future of these young kids here today. And the Democratic spending binge has got to stop.

I discovered, as Harry Truman did, that the buck does stop there on the desk in the Oval Office, and every once in a while, a President of the opposite party than the

one that controls the Congress has got to make a compromise. And I felt really that we had to reach an agreement, and I felt strongly about reducing the deficit with spending cuts, not raising taxes. And in fact, that's exactly the kind of budget that I sent to the Congress last February. Predictably, the Democrats instead wanted to slash defense and then raise your taxes. What we got was a compromise.

And there is some good in it. We've got \$492 billion in deficit reduction over 5 years; over \$350 billion in spending cuts—the largest cut in history. There are some incentives built in it so that we will become less dependent on foreign oil—incentives to stimulate domestic oil and gas drilling and production. And we also got Congress to reduce the rate of spending growth with the first-ever 5-year curb on spending.

Now, we put Congress on a pay-as-you-go plan so that the liberal Democrats will no longer be able to fund programs with red ink. This agreement has strong enforcement provisions. And if Congress tries to raise spending one dime, they've got to cut other excess spending or find the money for it right there and then.

And finally, we held the line—and this one is very important to me and, I believe, to the people of Oklahoma and the whole country—we held the line against the reckless cuts of our Armed Forces. I will not be the President to provide [preside] over the weakening of this nation's defense.

An enforceable deficit reduction agreement is unprecedented. It is long overdue and it is absolutely necessary, but I cannot join the liberal Democrats in an orgy of self-congratulation. After all, we discussed three kinds of proposals: the good, the bad, and the ugly. And I told you about the good. Now let me tell you about the bad—in a word, the taxes. To get an agreement we had to pay a ransom to get the \$350 billion in spending cuts. And the American people have had to pay a price for divided government.

But the price could have been worse. The Democrats' bill that passed the House before this compromise that was enacted—that Democratic bill tried to raise income taxes on all working Americans. And they

attacked these indexing provisions of the current tax law in a way that raised taxes on every hardworking citizen. And they called it their bill to soak the rich, and what it really did is go after the paycheck of the working man and woman in this country. And we said, we are going to stop you—and we stopped them cold. And let me say this: that was not—and I am grateful to Mickey Edwards and I'm grateful to Don Nickles for their stand—that was not, as these demagogues would have you believe, Republicans protecting the rich; that was Republicans standing up for the working family in this country.

And now we're hearing it again. Some of us are old enough to remember this. It happens all the time with the Democrats. And let those liberals that control Congress raise their ugly old cry of divisiveness and class warfare and of soaking the rich. And we, the Republicans, are going to continue fighting for the working people by holding the line on taxes. You send me more Republicans for the United States Congress, and we'll get the job done.

I don't want you to get the feeling I'm down on the Democratic Congress—[laughter]—but the budget was due last April. The Democratic Congress came to me 6 months late—so late, in fact, that we are on the brink now of an economic downturn. And it's time to call them as you see them, to tell it like it is. And this agreement could have come together in May, in June, or in August—anytime during the last 6 months. But the Democrats choked the throttle, pulled the throttle back of a slowing economy while they hunted for every last morsel of partisan advantage, all in the name of politics and of higher taxes. And we're not going to let them get away with it.

In April, when the budget was due, unemployment was 5.4 percent—a troubling sign. Unemployment last month was 5.7 percent. And since April, when the budget was due, inflation has accelerated and economic growth has slowed. Even after the economy was threatened by the Persian Gulf crisis, Congress delayed. This Congress was content to stall an agreement and stall the economy. We are not going to let them get away with it. There are Congressmen, thank heavens, there are Congressmen—

and you've got some good ones from this State, men like Jim Inhofe and Mickey Edwards and our distinguished Senator Don Nickles—who reject this failed tradition of tax and spend. But they're outnumbered by the big taxers and the big spenders. These three are the real defenders of working America, and I am grateful indeed that they are fighting for you and for Oklahoma and, I'd say, for America up there on Capitol Hill.

You know, as we got into these negotiations, even in the middle of them, the big spenders were looking for the pork-barrel bonanzas. At the 11th hour, in the midst of the budget crisis, congressional conferees on one panel alone pushed through an almost 19-percent increase for pet projects. At the same time, this President and these Republican Members were doing our level best to curtail spending, Congress voted to spend a half a million dollars to create a Lawrence Welk tourist attraction. And we all like Lawrence Welk—"dah-dee-dah"—you know how he is. [Laughter] But I cite this as a symptom of the problem.

Audience member. Get the line-item veto.

The President. I'm getting to that. [Laughter] Believe me, the American people know when their Congress asks them to tighten their belts and Congress loosens its own. And I'll tell you what I'd like to do about it. Yes, give me what 43 Governors have: Give me the line-item veto. They've failed to cut spending. Let me have a shot at it. While we're at it, let's have a balanced-budget amendment that would discipline the Executive and darn sure would discipline the Democrats in the House of Representatives and the Senate.

There's one other tool I need even more than the line-item veto and a balanced-budget amendment. And I really mean it: that is more Republicans in Congress that think the way these two do. God, I'm glad to be out of Washington. I am thrilled to be out of Washington. And let me say, I hear that talk back there that people don't know the difference between the Republicans and the liberal Democrats. In education, we are the ones that are fighting for reform to empower parents to choose their children's schools. In child care, Republicans are the

ones who demanded reform to empower parents to choose who will watch over their children. And we now have that bill, as a matter of fact. And we're the ones still determined to bring hope and opportunity to the most desolate of the inner cities.

The Democrats are still pushing that old line of liberal programs, more taxes, more bureaucracy, more government control—tell the people of Oklahoma City how to mandate things, tell them what they've got to do. They're still peddling that tired old saw about Republicans and the rich. Well, you and I both know that that is hogwash, and we're not going to let them get away with that anymore. I'm taking this message all across the country: We are for the working people in this country.

This is a Congress that can only act at the last minute when their political feet were held to the fire, a Congress who would rather pass feel-good proclamations than address problems. Look, this is the Congress that passed a resolution called National Crime Prevention Month while it gutted, took the heart right out of our anticrime bill. Bill Price knows that we need strong Federal legislation to back up our prosecutors and our law enforcement officials. And Congress passed that crazy Crime Prevention Month, but did nothing about the toughness of the crime bill that we called for.

This is the Congress that declared Clean Water Month, but bickered for months over the clean air bill. And if you find all this tough to swallow, don't worry—they've also served up National Digestive Disease Awareness Month. [Laughter] But I guarantee you one thing: If they send me that bill to make these kids eat their broccoli, I will veto that legislation. No liberal Democrat Congress—and notice I say "liberal Democrat Congress." I know my State next door. And I know the State here, and there's plenty of sound conservative Democrats in the State of Oklahoma that are going to vote for the next Governor standing right here.

But this liberal Democrat Congress has become America's biggest and most entrenched special interest. In 1959, Congress was served by 5,800 staff members. Today it is served by almost 20,000 staff members,

who control the perks and pass out the pork. And the Democratic Congress is a confusion of committees and turf-conscious chaos. The House intended to be closest to the people has become a House of Lords—98 percent who seek reelection and reelection—and it is time to turn the tables. The American people deserve a new Congress—this time a Republican Congress. And they still block my proposals for campaign reform. We want to abolish special interest PAC's. The Democrats want the taxpayer to foot the bill for the reelection. Democrats talk about taxing the rich, but they all want to have every one of us throw in money for congressional elections. America needs a change. America needs a better deal.

You know, maybe I'm a little old-fashioned, but I think that a \$1.3 trillion budget gives us ample room to dream again, to advance new ideas to renew our govern-

ment, priorities rather reform can p this I perks the A had e Dem incor Amer single would fough need: ance by ra
← I think this is the language you were looking for this morning.
Also: you might want to note that today's avg. congressional staff size is twice that of Bush's

Th on ou publi that are necessary to many get tough on crime. And there's only one way, there is only one way to send this message to Washington, and that is not to send the liberal Democrats back there so they can keep on going down the same tired old road.

You know, last month Oklahoma voters sent politicians a message, and they voted overwhelmingly to restrict State legislative terms to 12 years. Next week voters across this country can follow your lead. Term lim-

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itations applying to State officials will be on the ballot in California and in Colorado. But America doesn't have to wait for a ballot initiative to limit the terms of the Democrats in Congress; they can start next Tuesday. I have great confidence in the American people, the American ideals, which is why the remaining days of this campaign, and for the rest of Presidency, I'll take a message out there to the people: America doesn't need a liberal House of Lords. America needs a responsible Congress. America needs a Republican Congress.

Harry Truman reminded us that only a President represents all the people, can stand for the national interest and stand against the special interests. And in this spirit—I think you'll all remember this—I did extend my hand. I worked for a bipartisan solution to this horrible budget mess. And you sent me to Washington to govern, to make something good happen for our country. And I've tried very hard, only to have a parade of liberal Democrats march to the microphone in the well of the House to blame me for their failures. And my good will has been rewarded with business as usual. Well, I'll tell you something: America has had enough of business as usual, and we don't have to take it anymore. I say send me more Members of Congress who will

vote like these two here today. I need them up there. And here in this State, people think straight and they like straight talk. So, do your talking at the polls on November 6th, and roll up your sleeves and elect this good man Governor of the State of Oklahoma because you deserve the best.

And as for me—I know you're glad this is over; it's hot in here. But I'm just getting warmed up. But I'm really not. *[Laughter]* As for me, I'll tell you what I'm going to do. I'm going to crisscross this country from coast to coast and take this message to the American people: More Republican Congressmen means more men and women fighting against raising taxes and against the big spenders, and for the values of faith and family, government close to the people that everybody in the State of Oklahoma believes in. More Republicans means a better deal for America. And it doesn't get any straighter than that. And I can't wait to get out on that campaign trail for the rest of the days before the elections.

Thank you. Elect this good man Governor. And God bless the United States of America. Thank you all very much.

Note: The President spoke at 3:40 p.m. at the Cowboy Hall of Fame. Following his remarks, the President returned to Washington, DC.

Remarks Congratulating the Cincinnati Reds on Winning the World Series

October 30, 1990

Well, please be seated. Great fall day in the Rose Garden. And, Marge, welcome to you and Lou Piniella, the players, the coaches, and the official family of the 1990 Cincinnati Reds. I want to look around at our dignitaries here, but Senator Glenn is here, Congressman Gradison, Congressman Luken, Paul Gillmor from Ohio. And then from across the river—whoops, I don't see him, I thought—there he is, modestly in the second row, Jim Bunning, played good old country hardball in his day. And another one, Vinegar Bend, I did see over here.

Welcome, all of you and all the rest. And I want to welcome our umpires, Larry Barnett, Rocky Roe, Jim Quick, Ted Hendry, Frank Pulli, Randy Marsh, and also Bruce Froemming, who can't be with us today. Seldom do the players and families cheer the umpires, but we're glad you're here. Delighted you're here.

Just a minute. A little dissent—I think I can handle it. *[Laughter]* Listen, I might mention that this is the 40th anniversary of the Babe Ruth Baseball League. And we're lucky to have the four Babe Ruth cham-

gence Richard J. Kerr; nominee for Director of Central Intelligence Robert M. Gates; U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills; Gen. Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; Gen. Karl Stiner, Commander of the U.S. Special Operations Command. William J. Donovan was founder and Director of the Office of Strategic Services during World War II. Richard S. Welch, a CIA official, was killed in Athens, Greece, on December 23, 1975. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks to Representatives of Public Administration Groups on Public Service

October 24, 1991

Thank you all very, very much for being here. I know it's nice to get off of work. [Laughter] But I'm talking about getting people this interested in public service to come together. I'm particularly pleased to see Tim Clark, who is president of the National Capital Area Chapter of the American Society for Public Administration; Ray Kline, over here, the president of the National Association of Public Administrators; and then my old friend Dave Maxwell, vice chairman of the Council for Excellence in Government, all interested in public service.

I am delighted to join you this morning. I come here, I hope, in a constructive vein to discuss two issues that we all care about deeply: public service and then, Tim touched on it, public faith in government.

Like many of you, I have devoted much of my adult life to public service. And I, too, cherish public service really as a special honor and a personal obligation. And I always have. Long ago, my dad served for years as the moderator of the town meeting, the Connecticut town meeting in our town of Greenwich. It convened once a month, and people came there and talked about whatever concerned them as they always do at town meetings. It could be rowdy or boring. The meetings always, though, gave people a special sense that their opinions made a difference and that

they shared something special with their neighbors and friends. Those meetings taught me just what we mean when we talk of a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

The notion of public service has always motivated Americans to be Americans. More than 150 years ago, de Tocqueville noted with some astonishment that "When an American needs the assistance of his fellows, it is very rare for that to be refused, and I have often seen it given spontaneously and eagerly." He did not mistake us for saints. He understood that freedom demands such service to others.

It also demands that public servants lead by example. Americans will not tolerate hypocrisy. People in other countries wonder why we make such a fuss when our leaders violate our standards of behavior. The reason is simple: As Americans, we feel that we have a destiny to lead, to show the way by ideals, not just to ourselves but to the entire world.

Yet while our Government rests upon unchanging principle, it cannot rest upon past achievements. Government, like everything else, must evolve. Our long and sturdy tradition of tolerance enables us to test new ideas through public debate. When Congress considers issues, no one minds a tough and honest discussion. We expect it. By the same token, we want and expect our free press to look beneath events, take account of people's motives, and ask tough questions rather than numbly repeating partisan propaganda or baseless rumor. We demand integrity in public behavior and discourse, and when we don't get it, we react.

The recent hearings on Judge Thomas stirred a kind of anger. The American people saw some of the seamier sides of Washington life. They saw proceedings that degenerated into target practice against good men and women. Ronnie Perry of Brunswick, Georgia, wrote me a letter. I don't know him. Here's what it said: "It is my fear that good, honest, moral men and women in this country will no longer subject themselves to the ridicule that Judge Thomas had to face." Likewise, Anita Hill's backers might wonder how anyone might be expected to come forward in the future if public officials cannot maintain proper

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confidentiality, such as the confidentiality promised to Professor Hill.

I want to digress, though, in fairness, to read from page 3 of the hearings on the Committee on the Judiciary, because Senator Biden, in my judgment, tried. Here's what he said at the very opening of these hearings: "Second, while I have less discretion than a judge in a trial to bar inappropriate or embarrassing questions, all of the witnesses should know that they have a right to ask that the committee go into closed session." He cites a rule here, rule 26.5, "to go into a closed session if a question requires an answer that is a clear invasion to the right to privacy.

"The committee will take very seriously the request of any witness to answer particularly embarrassing questions as they view whether or not it is embarrassing to answer those questions in private." So I salute the Chairman for those words that went unheeded as the process unfolded.

The bruising hearings showed what happens when political factions let agendas overwhelm personal decency. Some people have tried to drag public debate to a new low, searching openly for dirt, any dirt, without regard to people's rights to privacy, sometimes without concern for the facts. While crusading pressure groups talk about their favorite issues, they forget that human beings sit there beneath the glare of the spotlight, vulnerable to assault from all quarters. The piranha tactics of smearing the individual and ignoring the issue serve no public purpose. They aim to destroy lives and wreck reputations.

The dramatic hearings and the theatrics outside the hearing rooms captivated the attention of the American public, all right. Millions upon millions of Americans watched the hearings with a combination of curiosity, suspense, and, I submit to you all, disgust. The Nation was stunned and repulsed by the spectacle. The scenes from the Senate bore little resemblance to the tidy legislative process that we all studied in school and that we describe to our children, now, maybe to our grandchildren. X-rated statements, cross-examinations pushed aside the soaps and Saturday cartoons. And the process seemed unreal, more like a satire than like the Government in which all of

you, in which I, take so much pride; more like a burlesque show than a civics class.

The hearings also showed that politicians must contend with a host of different forces and influences. The public saw the congressional staffers everywhere; saw outside pressure groups exhorting and twisting, and the staffers ever-present, everywhere.

I worry that the hearings sent our people this kind of false message: "If you want to make a difference, don't enter public service. Join a special interest group. That way, whether it's the right or the left, join a special interest group, and that way you can fight as hard as you want or as dirty as you want without any responsibility for the results."

I served in Congress. I have great respect for Congress. I know the incredible pressure and difficulty of working there. But public faith in Congress is absolutely vital for our form of government. I think we can all work together to help strengthen its image and build greater public support.

Members of Congress criticize the executive branch all the time. That's fine, often constructively. And I offer these suggestions, then, in a spirit of constructive criticism.

First, given the outrageous nature of the leaks and the Senate's announced intention of going after them, the Senate must determine who leaked the information and turned what should have been a confidential investigation into what many people who wrote me described as "a circus" and "a travesty."

Here's a proposal that I support: The Senate should appoint immediately a special counsel to find out who leaked what and for what reasons. The public cares very much above this case, and in my view, they will for a long, long time. And the investigation ought to focus just on this case. And the special counsel should receive unfettered access to all relevant records and witnesses, and should have subpoena power to get the truth. The Senate ought to set a clear goal for finishing up the investigation. I suggest January 3d, when it returns for a new session. Frankly, the American people just will not understand it if the Senate fails to bring the leaker or leakers to justice.

(C) Second, we must promote more tolerant, less viciously partisan debate. I've heard complaints that the White House does not consult sufficiently with Congress in matters of these nominations. Frankly, I have tried to consult with Congress. And we welcome closer consultation. Let me just get that out on the table. I don't want to put any nominee through a public meat grinder. And I always welcome advice, especially in cases that might prove controversial.

Much of what I have to say today has been sharpened by discussion with Members of Congress. But let me make it clear: I will not give a group of Senators veto power over a nominee before the Senate has conducted hearings and held a confirmation vote. I will not surrender Presidential authority or powers any more than Congress will surrender its power.

In any event, no one ought to accept the charge of insufficient consultation as an excuse for this unforgivable leak.

(C) Third, the hearings focused attention on the problem of sexual harassment in the workplace. We have taken additional steps at the White House as recently as yesterday to address the problem. We will ensure that employees of the Executive Office of the President are aware of the problem and appreciate fully our strong commitment to building a workplace free of harassment. And on March 1st, our administration submitted a civil rights bill that contains specific provisions to strengthen penalties against sexual harassment and encourage compliance with the law. That was back on March 1st. Congress will act soon, I hope by passing my civil rights bill. And at the very least, I hope Congress will pass the portions on which we have reached agreement.

But legislation alone can't solve the problem of sexual harassment in the workplace. Sexual harassment is ugly behavior. Together, we must eradicate prejudices, not just through laws, but through simple respect for other human beings. In the end, laws can punish prejudice, but they cannot, alone anyway, produce enlightenment. Only we can do that by acting on our convictions.

(C) The Thomas hearings also raised concerns about the confirmation process generally. And let me offer several specific recommendations for reforming the process.

First, shorten the time-lapse between nominations and confirmation; shorten it to 6 weeks. It takes four times as long to secure a vote today; four times as long as it did just 30 years ago, during the Presidency of John Kennedy. It took the Senate an average of 63 days to confirm our appointments sent up in 1989; 65 days for the group nominated in 1990. We now have a large group of people waiting for the Senate to vote on their nominations, and they have been waiting an average of 80 days.

At the beginning of this week, more than 190 nominations remained pending before the Senate. A few examples: I nominated Bob Clarke, Robert Clarke, for appointment as Comptroller of the Currency on January 23d, more than 9 months ago; I nominated Larry Lindsey for a seat on the Federal Reserve Board on February 28th. In times of economic concern, we need the service of these people. And if Members of the Senate don't like my nominees, then they should vote against them. But they should not stall progress by resorting to the old, and in my view, obsolete technique of placing a hold on nominations. Once again, this isn't Republican or Democrat; it is institutional.

We in the White House certainly must do our part. We will redouble our efforts to ensure that nominees complete all their required paperwork promptly and will respond promptly to requests for further important information. I've asked our Office of the White House Counsel and Office of Government Ethics to see that our regulations and clearance procedures do not, however, discourage public service. I am committed to an ethical administration, but we must ensure that our rules have not become so detailed and so onerous as to scare good, honest people away from public service.

And second, we will work with committees in Congress to ensure the confidentiality of information. I have ordered that the FBI reports be carried directly to committee chairmen and any members designated by the chairmen. The members will read the reports immediately, in the presence of the agent, and then return them. No FBI reports will stay on Capitol Hill. And furthermore, members only will have access to

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these reports. Staffs will not have access to these reports.

This preserves confidentiality. In my view, it protects nominees. It protects potential witnesses against the nominees. And it protects the Members of Congress.

Third, Congress should establish a mechanism for investigating congressional leaks thoroughly, professionally, promptly. And I've met this week with several leaders from the Senate from both parties, and they agree that we must prevent future leaks and establish a suitable mechanism for investigating them swiftly, bringing culprits to justice.

There is no excuse for leaks that wreck lives and needlessly destroy reputations. The law already prohibits such leaks from the executive branch. And again, we intend to enforce that law rigorously. I know it's not easy. I've been there. I saw it when I was Director of Central Intelligence when we dealt with national security. I've seen frustrating leaks in the White House that have nothing to do with character assassination or national security, that simply relate to policy matters. I know it's not a simple matter here. But we've got to do better, both the executive and the legislative branch.

And fourth, Congress ought to follow the same laws that it imposes on everyone else. More than a dozen laws apply to the executive branch, but not the Congress. Most of these laws apply to everyone in America except Members of Congress. Congress does not have to comply with the Equal Pay Act of 1963. It does not have to follow title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, a title that prohibits sexual harassment and discrimination on the basis of race, color, sex, religion, and national origin. It doesn't have to obey the provisions of the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990, the Age Discrimination in Employment Act.

I would wager that the American people do not know that Congress has exempted itself from the sexual harassment laws private employers and the executive branch must obey. And they have. We've heard choruses of criticism against the evils of sexual harassment. And we've received good suggestions about how to become more vigilant about this insidious crime. But these lessons should not be wasted on

the men and women who drafted the law. For you see, when Congress exempts itself from the very laws that it writes for others, it strikes at its own reputation and shatters public confidence in government.

These exemptions encourage special interest groups to press, then, for reckless regulations, knowing that Congress might adopt such laws if it won't feel the sting of these laws. This practice creates the appearance and reality of a privileged class of rulers who stand above the law. Our founders thought it proposterous to suggest that such behavior would ever take place in America.

We did a little research. Federalist Paper number 57 asserts that elected officials, and here's the exact language, "can make no law which will not have in full operation on themselves and their friends, as well as on the great mass of society." The writer of that paper also noted ominously, "If this spirit shall ever be so far debased as to tolerate a law not obligatory on the legislature as well as on the people, the people will be prepared to tolerate anything but liberty."

The people have begun to speak now. And today I call upon the Congress to take a simple step toward increasing public confidence. Submit to the laws it imposes on others, including strict enforcement provisions, not just Ethics Committee jurisdiction, and do so by the year's end.

There's a lot of just plain people up there on the Hill trying to make a living. And people who work for Congress ought to have the same rights and legal remedies as those who work for anyone else.

But Congress also must submit to the laws that is imposed on the executive branch. And this includes the Privacy Act, which prohibits inappropriate leaks by executive agencies, title VI of the Ethics in Government Act of 1978, the independent counsel law.

And all of us should demonstrate our commitment to clean and effective government. From the very start of my administration, I made it absolutely clear that I expect my appointees to follow strict standards of propriety so the American people would have full and increasing confidence in our ability and integrity.

I established a Commission on Federal Ethics Law Reform in January of 1989. I pushed for initiatives that resulted in the Ethics Reform Act of 1989. I signed an Executive order in April '89, setting forth the principles of ethical Government service. And I charged the Office of Government Ethics with issuing a single, comprehensive, and clear set of objective, reasonable, and enforceable standards. Those standards will be ready soon. They're out now for review.

In the executive departments and the White House we do strive to set and meet high standards of public service. I'll never be happy. We can always do better in the executive branch, in the departments, and in the White House. And I pledge to the American people that I'm not here to point fingers; I will continue to see that we do a better job of all of this in the executive branch of the Government. I'm going to keep on trying. But all I'm doing here is inviting the Congress to do the same. Sometimes we protest too much, and we reform too little. And so, now is the time to act.

And finally—going on too long here, but I'm wound up on this. [Laughter] I really feel strongly about this. Finally, we all must remember that our business is to do the public's business. That becomes increasingly different for a Congress that contains more than 300 committees and subcommittees and makes use of nearly 40,000 workers.

It becomes increasingly difficult for a Congress that answers to no one with respect to its budget, its staff, its perks, even the enforcement of its own rules.

The business of doing the people's business gets even more difficult when committees make broad and unfocused demands, for example, the Judiciary Committee asked Clarence Thomas to submit more than 32,000 pages of documentation prior to his hearings. I'd hate to give a quiz to the Senators to see how many people read the 32,000 documents that they asked for. [Laughter] A defense bill routinely runs a gamut of committees and subcommittees.

I support the bipartisan effort of Senators Boren and Domenici, Representatives Hamilton and Gradison to trim this overgrown thicket of committees and subcommittees. These four are out front for congressional reform, and I salute them. Senator Boren framed the matter when he said this, "No

one doubts that Congress is in trouble as an institution. In poll after poll, Americans describe Congress", these are his words, "as inefficient, unresponsive, wasteful, and compromised by the way it finances its campaigns." "It's time for Congress to take another look at itself," these four suggest. "It's time to go beyond piecemeal efforts and to enact comprehensive, bicameral reforms."

I support the efforts of the congressional reformers. A system originally designed to help Congress do the public's business has turned into a machine so complex and bewildering that the public doesn't understand it. Many Members of Congress do not fully understand it. Only specialists and lobbyists can pick their way through the labyrinth.

The American people want more. They want a Government that will foster economic growth and fight crime and drugs and work to improve schools and build better roads and answer the concerns of the people. And they want a Government that listens, not one that commands.

And in the end, taxpayers won't be impressed with reforms if Members of Congress pay greater heed to the beltway lobbyists and pressure groups than to constituents. If people feel powerless, they will find ways to recover their just powers.

Our founders handed down to us the finest system of Government in history, one in which the legislature and the executive do battle as part of our system of checks and balances. But we must remember who is servant and who is master. Noah Webster asked in 1802, "If all officers of Government are the servants of the people, how can it be expected that the masters should not, at times, take the Government out of the hands of the servants."

The reforms I've proposed today will help us do the people's business. They will rein in a Government that seems remote, seems distant and complex; they will bring it back to the people and give citizens the feeling of power that we felt at those town meetings some 60 years ago. We must remember, we come here to serve. A few simple reforms can go a long way toward building the public faith upon which our entire democracy depends.

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Thank you not only for your interest but for all you do in elevating public service. It's worthwhile. Don't give up your work. Thank you very, very much, indeed.

Note: The President spoke at 11:52 a.m. at the National Museum of American History. The following persons were not clearly identified: Clarence Thomas, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court; Anita Hill, a University of Oklahoma law professor who testified before the Senate Judiciary Committee during the Clarence Thomas confirmation hearing; Senators Joseph R. Biden and David L. Boren; and Representatives Lee H. Hamilton and Willis D. Gradison, Jr.

Message to the Senate Transmitting the Treaty on Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters Between Panama and the United States
October 24, 1991

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Treaty between the United States of America and the Republic of Panama on Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters, with Annex and Appendices, signed at Panama on April 11, 1991. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the Report of the Department of State with respect to the Treaty.

The Treaty is one of a series of modern mutual legal assistance treaties being negotiated by the United States in order to counter criminal activities more effectively. The Treaty should be an effective tool to assist in the prosecution of a wide variety of modern criminals, including members of drug cartels, "white collar criminals," and terrorists. The Treaty is self-executing.

The Treaty provides for a broad range of cooperation in criminal matters. Mutual assistance available under the Treaty includes: (1) the taking of testimony or statements of witnesses; (2) the provision of documents, records, and evidence; (3) the execution of requests for searches and seizures; (4) the serving of documents; and (5) the

provision of assistance in locating, tracing, immobilizing, seizing and forfeiting proceeds of crime, and restitution to the victims of crime.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Treaty and give its advice and consent to ratification.

George Bush

The White House,
October 24, 1991.

Proclamation 6364—National Breast Cancer Awareness Month, 1991
October 24, 1991

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Despite all we have learned about prevention, despite all of the advances that have been made in its diagnosis and treatment, breast cancer continues to kill thousands of American women each year. Stopping this tragic loss of life will require continued research as well as the sustained cooperation of scientists, health care professionals, educators, insurance providers, individual women, and other concerned Americans.

According to the American Cancer Society, women in the United States have never been at greater risk for breast cancer: an estimated one in nine women will develop the disease at some point in their lives. Fortunately, however, scientists across the country also note that much progress has been made in controlling breast cancer. Better and earlier treatment has helped more and more women who have contracted breast cancer to survive the disease.

Today we continue to rely on basic research to identify and develop improved means of preventing, diagnosing, and treating breast cancer. However, the knowledge yielded by basic research is only as helpful as our willingness and our ability to use it. If

the baseball teams, and she's asking me about the strike, knowing that I don't take questions at a photo opportunity. However, she got close to something I might answer—very close there. I was tempted.

Meeting With Prime Minister Andreotti

Q. Mr. President, are you going to approve a NATO meeting here on Germany next month?

The President. I'm not going to take any questions at a photo opportunity, except to say this to the Italian journalists: Welcome

back to the United States, and we are delighted you're here. And frankly, I view this as a very important meeting with a respected friend. But other than that, I won't take any questions in here. However, the Prime Minister is free to do anything he wants in here.

Note: A tape was not available for verification of the content of the exchange, which began at 10:35 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House.

Remarks to the American Society of Association Executives March 6, 1990

Neil, thank you, sir. Thank you all. Thank you, Neil Milner, chairman, for that warm welcome and challenge. And Bill [Taylor], the president, the other president here today, thank you, sir. [Laughter] Let me just say I really am pleased and privileged to be with this group of people that do so much. You know, I really feel comfortable talking to this group because most people think I've been free associating for years. [Laughter]

I heard that last year I accidentally caused panic among your executive directors. They thought I pledged no new faxes. [Laughter]

Believe it or not, there are still some Americans who don't know what the "association for associations" is. That's why next week they're doing a bit on you for TV's "Unsolved Mysteries." [Laughter]

Because really, only your organization is big enough and broad enough to include the Leafy Greens Council and the Association of Tongue Depressors. [Laughter] That happens to be a fact.

But I guess it's only natural for the heads of organizations like yours to get together themselves. Some people think of our great country as a nation of rugged individualists alone against the odds. And that is part of the American tradition, but only a part. There's another tradition, a tradition as old as America itself, as old as Pilgrims and the Mayflower Compact, as old as the pioneers

who settled the West. It's the tradition that Tocqueville described more than 150 years ago when he came to America, observed the scenes, and wrote that "Americans of all ages, all conditions, and all dispositions constantly form associations."

That shouldn't surprise us, because the act of association is nothing less than democracy in action: individuals translating common interests into a common cause. And you know, today we see the power of democracy, and isn't it an exciting time to be alive, seeing this change in Eastern Europe and in Managua, Nicaragua? We see that power of democracy and we see fresh evidence every day that the democratic ideal we cherish, the idea we call America, is alive everywhere: in the Revolution of 1989 that brought down the Berlin Wall and brought freedom to Eastern Europe; here in our own hemisphere, in the great victories for democracy in Panama and then again in Nicaragua—and millions of people now enjoying the freedoms that America has known for two centuries.

Here at home, we've got to see what these transforming changes in the world mean for us. And those changes carry a challenge, a challenge to us to find in our freedoms new ways to solve the problems that threaten our society and our continued leadership in the whole world community. Look around at the problems we face: drug

abuse, hunger, homelessness, illiteracy, despair in our inner cities, the breakdown of the family. There's a role, a critical role for government in finding solutions, but we know government doesn't always have the answers. If we could eliminate these problems, solve them once and for all with more programs, more bureaucracy, these problems would have disappeared a long time ago.

The fact is, government isn't the only organized entity out there with the powers to change things, the power to make a difference. Everyone in this room is well aware of the advantages of association. But I don't know whether you are really aware of the full extent of your own power, of the resources, the expertise, the potential energy your organizations can bring to bear on these problems—your ability to help solve community problems.

I know most associations are already active in community service, and I've heard about some of the wonderful work being done: the Medical Association of Atlanta, working after hours to provide free medical care to the homeless; by the Oregon Remodelers Association out there in Portland, Oregon, in Project Pride, a program to do home repairs for the low-income elderly; by the Hotel Association of New York, with its ongoing commitment to donate surplus food to feed the hungry. These are just three, just three of countless community service projects that your associations are engaged in, a commitment of time and talent mirrored in similar community efforts by millions of Americans across the country.

In fact, one study in 1988 found that Americans who volunteered in formal organizations gave almost 15 billion hours valued at an estimated \$150 billion. Now that's tremendous, but it's just the tip of the iceberg, just a fraction of all the good works we are capable of. Because the fact is, coping with the problems we face is within our power. There is no problem in America that is not being solved somewhere. Think about it: the programs I've just mentioned—New York, Atlanta, Portland—thousands more. Think about ways that your organization, every one of your members, can make this mission of serving others your

very own.

The story I want to tell you today—a story that Martin Luther King, Jr., told in his speech he made the night before that terrible day in Memphis, 22 years ago—it's a story about serving others and the courage that takes. It's a familiar story about the Good Samaritan and the stranger he helped. But there's another part of the story we don't always remember. Before the Good Samaritan stopped that day, two other men saw the injured stranger and passed him by. And Dr. King thought long and hard about it, and he used to ask himself: Why didn't the others stop to help? And Dr. King came up with some good reasons: They didn't stop because they were too busy, had more important work waiting in Jerusalem of far more consequence than helping one unfortunate man; and so, on they went.

And then one day, Martin Luther King put himself in their shoes. At the age of 30, on his very first trip to the Holy Land, he and his wife, Coretta, traveled that road from Jerusalem to Jericho. And Dr. King saw the story of the Good Samaritan in a new light. That road starts off more than 1,000 feet above the sea level and ends in Jericho 2,000 feet below sea level—a twisting road, full of blind curves. He imagined the road 2,000 years ago, each curve a perfect ambush for robbers. And at the moment, Dr. King realized why the two men didn't stop. It had nothing to do with the reasons he had imagined. They didn't stop because they were afraid.

The way Dr. King imagined it, one asked himself: "If I stop to help this man, what will happen to me?" And he went on about his way. But then the Good Samaritan came along and he asked himself a different question: "If I don't stop to help this man, what will happen to him?" And he asked himself that question, and he found the courage to stop, the courage to help, the courage to serve.

So which question, then, do we ask ourselves about going down to the soup kitchen in that dangerous neighborhood; about stopping on a dark street to help a homeless man; about reaching out to those desperate kids out there, kids who have no home life,

who are hooked on drugs, who live a nightmare we can't begin to imagine? Doing any of these things isn't easy. Every one takes an act of courage. But unlike the Good Samaritan, we don't have to act alone. Each one of you understands the power of collective action: how much we can get done when we work together, pool our resources, combine our talents.

And don't think it won't take courage. It's going to take courage to go back to your member organizations, back to their CEO's and boards of directors, and suggest that they place community service at the center of their agenda. It's going to take courage to insist that community service has a place at the very heart of every organization. It will take courage to make each one believe that from now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others. But that's just exactly what I'm asking you to do.

Today, I want to lay down some challenges, challenges to associations all over America to take up community service. First, build on a firm foundation. Find out what's working in your industry, in your profession, in your community; let your members know which community service programs are most effective; and then, challenge them to make those programs the blueprint for their own efforts. Find new ways to use existing assets. I understand that one of the ASAE's great strengths is its allied societies structure—69 State and local organizations, thousands more association executives. And I'm asking each of these allied societies to take the lead in their

community for solving social problems, become what we call Points of Light action groups.

And second, set a target of 100-percent participation in community service. Challenge your constituents to call on every employee and member at every level of every organization, from the CEO on down to the newest hire, to make community service their personal mission.

And finally, a third challenge—recognize those members who are what I like to call Points of Light. I've belonged, as many of you have, to many associations in my life, and I know one of the things you do best is to recognize outstanding performance. And so, I ask you to turn the spotlight on community service in your newsletters, your magazines, at your annual meetings—on individuals who give 110 percent helping people in need and on those organizations who demonstrate 100-percent participation in community service.

I'm counting on you, each one of you, to take these challenges to heart. People in this room represent thousands of associations, organizations of all sorts and sizes, a combined membership of 100 million Americans. And so today, I'm asking you: Channel that energy into community service, tap that power, and transform a nation.

Once again, my thanks for all you are doing and all that you're going to do. God bless you, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you all very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 2:12 p.m. in Hall A at the Washington Convention Center.

Nomination of Jo Anne B. Barnhart To Be an Assistant Secretary of Health and Human Services

March 6, 1990

The President today announced his intention to nominate Jo Anne B. Barnhart to be Assistant Secretary for Family Support at the Department of Health and Human Services in Washington, DC. This is a new position.

Since 1986 Mrs. Barnhart has served as Republican staff director for the Governmental Affairs Committee of the United States Senate. Prior to this, she served as campaign manager for Senator William V. Roth, Jr., in Wilmington, DE, 1987-1988;

political pluralism

ese countries face restructure their. Our administration support and historic efforts. to come over to t say, knowing of e has in the busi- that when I got to he news continues ery, very hearten- ericans took great the liberation of eration of Kuwait, eplete. I hope that explain this note of say I have never y life of anybody nd women of the orces. They have ion, enormous mo- beginning. And I e to contribute to nd demonstration y is united is abso- down in history. e're going to con- thing, ending it orward and staying llenges that these be helpful there. Soviet Union has ot of this goes for- d to see that that you caught me on arly upbeat, with —[applause]

ke at 10 a.m. in Executive Office s, he referred to nt of the Yugoslav il; Georgi Pirinski, n Grand National ek, Czechoslovak eign Affairs and Coordination Com- ince; Ferenc Madl, hout Portfolio in e Minister; Polish olski, Coordinator Poland and Pleni-

potentiary for Europe; Eugen Dijmarescu, Romanian Minister of State for Economic Orientation; George Varga, president and chief executive officer of Tungsram Co., Ltd., Hungary; Haile Aguilar, general manager of the Warsaw, Poland, Marriott Hotel; Drew Lewis, chairman of the board of the Citizens Democracy Corps; David S. Gergen, editor-at-large for U.S. News & World Report; Deputy Secretary of the Treasury John E. Robson; Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger; Bruce S. Gelb, Director of the U.S. Information Agency; and Ronald W. Roskens, Administrator of the Agency for International Development.

Remarks at a Meeting of the
American Society of Association
Executives
February 27, 1991

Thank you very, very much. And what a wonderful reception. And I interpret that, I think properly, the same way I interpreted the applause at the State of the Union message—as strong support for those men and women that are serving our country overseas. And now the war is almost over, and I think we owe them a vote of thanks, and I think I heard it right now. So, thank you, Bill, and I'm just delighted to be here.

I want to shift and talk about domestic matters. And Bill, I couldn't help but glance at this marvelous quilt coming in here, and I do think that we owe you and all the others in the association a vote of thanks for following through and, indeed, being points of light.

I want to salute our Attorney General who is with us today; our two able Secretaries so concerned also about what we're talking about today, Secretaries Kemp and Sullivan; Ted Sanders, who is doing a superb job as our Acting Secretary at Education; and, of course, my old friend, a man so well-known to all of you, Bob Woodson of the Center for Neighborhood Enterprise. You know, it's hard to believe that a year has passed since the challenge Bill mentioned, since I challenged the members of ASAE to channel the tremendous energy of

this organization and transform a nation through community service. And what a terrific job you've done.

Looking around the room today, peeking, before I came in here, I see so many familiar faces, so many people that are making a difference in the lives of others. Every man and woman here believes in the power of the individual, and is bolstered by the conviction that America is indeed a land of opportunity. For more than 200 years, America has been the home of free markets and free people. And there is no question: Opportunity in America is the envy of the entire world.

The story of America has been the story of opportunity. Throughout our history, we've pioneered the frontiers of liberty for all humanity. Our Founding Fathers created perhaps the most simple yet profound document in modern history—our Constitution and Bill of Rights. Abraham Lincoln broke forever the chains of human slavery. The suffrage movement made the promise of democracy a reality for women. The founders of our public schools unleashed our national potential through universal education. And by their struggle for equal rights, the leaders of the civil rights movement helped bring dignity to the oppressed and disenfranchised. The story of opportunity in America is the story of Thomas Paine and Frederick Douglass, Clara Barton, the Wright brothers, Rosa Parks.

But it doesn't end there, with these heroes from our past. There are the new American heroes of today, many of them in this room. And they, too, are inspired by pride, integrity, faith in the dignity of man, and courage—yes, courage to overcome the odds. It's called leadership by example—and it's made America the world's great beacon of freedom.

These modern visionaries are the ones that are making history—propelling us into the next American century. Theirs is a movement—it's more than 200 years old—as old as the Declaration of Independence—a movement defined by what Jefferson called "the American mind" and what I've been calling "the American idea." It continues to sweep our country today with a vigor as strong as ever. It's a vision driven

by the strength and power of the American dream.

And I share that vision—for what is the American dream if it isn't wanting to be part of something larger than ourselves? If it isn't creating a better life for our children than we might have had? If it isn't the freedom to take command of our future? For most people, these aspirations means enjoying the blessings of good health or having a home to call one's own, or raising a family, holding a stake in the community, feeling secure—secure at home or in our neighborhood.

But for others, sadly, America has not yet fulfilled the promise of equality of opportunity. We know who they are: They're the hopeless and the homeless, the friendless and the fearful, the unemployed and the underemployed, the ones who can't read, the ones who can't write. They are the ones who don't believe that they will ever share in the American dream.

I'm here to tell any American for whom hope lies dormant: We will not forget you. We will not forget those who have not yet shared in the American dream. We must offer them hope. But we must guarantee them opportunity.

It's been said, "Hope is a waking dream." That awakening begins with learning, understanding the power and potential of individual effort, developing a skill, and with it, independence, earning a living, with dignity and personal growth. More skills mean more freedom—more options for even greater opportunity.

Today, our administration is proposing an agenda to expand opportunity and choice for all. It involves more than six major initiatives across the scope of our entire government: restoring quality education, ensuring crime-free neighborhoods, strengthening civil and legal rights for all, creating jobs and new businesses, expanding access to homeownership, and allowing localities a greater share of responsibility. In its entirety, I believe it represent one of the most far-reaching efforts in decades to unleash the talents of every citizen in America.

In several weeks, I will have legislation to enact this agenda on the desk of every Congressman. The administration's educational excellence proposals, by way of example, will put choice in the hands of students and

parents—so that they can choose the best school to attend. Our higher education system is clearly, unquestionably, the finest in the world—creative, innovative, and highly competitive. From the GI bill to Pell grants, college students already have the power to choose. And now it's time that our education system, all of it, became the finest in the world.

We're also proposing education reforms to build flexibility and accountability into our school systems. We've seen what education reform can do, from East L.A. to East Harlem. We're encouraging Governors to bring together teachers, parents, and administrators to work together to meet the needs of all students. We must cut the dropout rate and ensure that every student in America arrives at school ready to learn and graduates ready to work.

For some time now, the administration has called for the restructuring of American education. We've got to raise our expectations for our students and our schools. But if we're going to ask more of them, it wouldn't be fair to tie the hands of the teachers and principals—particularly those who make a difference. We need responsive schools—customer-driven ones, if you will—schools that are more market-oriented and performance-based, because it's time we recognize that competition can spur excellence in our schools. Choice is the catalyst for change, the fundamental reform that drives forward all others. These ideas will stir us and guide us toward meeting the national education goals the Governors and I set up after that famous education summit—because we can't expect to remain a first-class economy if we settle for second-class schools.

Millions of jobs await America's graduates in the coming years. But to fill those jobs, entrepreneurs will look increasingly to America's minorities—blacks, Hispanics and Asians—and to people just entering the economic mainstream—workers with disabilities and mothers who have chosen to work outside the home. The majority of those jobs are safer, are cleaner, higher skilled, better paying jobs. And they will go to the ones who have what it takes—a quality education.

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Everyone knows the best education takes place in a safe, drug-free environment. It is difficult for children to learn if there's violence in the classroom or crime out in the schoolyard or drug pushers along the way home. And older students and workers find it hard to attend night school or put in late hours at the office because of the danger that darkness brings, especially in crime-ridden neighborhoods.

Low-income Americans are the ones more likely to be intimidated by crime, less likely to be able to take advantage of opportunities that may be across town or even just around the corner. They're the ones defending themselves and their families from the drug dealers and muggers down the hall or down the street. And they're the ones who need opportunity the most.

It is in their name that this battle for the streets of our cities must be waged. The thugs and the gangs and the drug kingpins should be the casualties of this war. Our tactics: mandatory sentences for using a firearm in a violent crime; strengthened protection against sex crimes and child abuse; tough prosecutors; courts that mete out equal justice, swiftly and surely; a prison system that is up to the job. And finally, our strategy must include an unequivocal commitment to our young people. There are meaningful and adventurous alternatives to a life of crime. And it starts with an education, a neighborhood that's safe and secure.

Opportunity is built on these foundations, but the door is opened by one thing: a job. Every American who wants a job should be able to get one. Of course, vestiges of the past remain. Bigotry and discrimination, regrettably, still do exist. But we have powerful legal tools for eliminating discrimination. And remember, the legal guarantees of equality of opportunity are largely in place: *Brown vs. the Board of Education*, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the Fair Housing Acts of both 1968 and 1988, the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990.

To assure that every American enjoys the equality of opportunity and access, I am determined to continue the vigorous enforcement of these and of all our civil rights laws. And where our laws need improvement, I am committed to refining them. We will soon introduce legislation with

strong new remedies to protect women from sexual harassment and minorities from racial prejudice in the workplace. And I call on the Congress to act promptly on this important initiative. But legislation that only creates a lawyer's bonanza helps no one. We all know where opportunity really begins. As I said above, it begins with a job.

In our hardest hit urban and rural areas our enterprise zone proposal will create new small businesses. We're providing new incentives for employers to hire more workers, by eliminating the capital gains tax on businesses in these areas, and attracting more seed capital. Our proposals mean economic growth, more minority entrepreneurs and most importantly, again, jobs.

The American dream also means choosing where to live and, for many working people, owning a home someday. We're offering public housing residents not only control and management of their own community, but for the first time, access to home ownership and private property to gain a stake in their communities. We've asked the Congress to provide much-needed funding for the HOPE program in 1991, to make this opportunity a reality in our inner cities this year. And we're proposing that Americans be allowed to use the money from their IRA's to buy their first home. These initiatives will bring us closer to our goal of one million new homeowners by 1992.

You know, there's something reassuring about becoming a part of a neighborhood, a community that pulls together in times of crisis, that looks out for one another. Each community in America is different, and its residents know best how to take care of each other, what the best options are for programs and services for those who need a hand. And so, we're proposing to allow communities to restructure programs at the local level.

Our strength as a nation lies in the strength of our communities, the sum of our neighborhoods and families, our hopes and dreams for the future. This is our administration's agenda for opportunity. It begins in the heart of every person who believes in freedom and lives on in the American dream. Every man and woman in this room shares its vision. The great poet, Carl Sand-

Feb. 27 / Administration of George Bush, 1991

burg, put it this way: "nothing happens unless first a dream." Our mandate is to make the dream a reality.

We face a new century, a new American century. Half a world away, our allied troops face a defining moment in the new world order. And they are succeeding in their battle because each and every one of them possesses a pride in their country, integrity in their cause, and courage in their heart.

Our troops will be home soon—coming home to a grateful nation. And I want to ensure that their return is to a land of equal opportunity. And just as they have stood to safeguard our freedom—the world's freedom—let us stand with pride, integrity, and courage in our hearts and expand the freedoms of all Americans. It's up to each of us to secure the triumph of "the American idea." And that idea is opportunity.

With God's help and yours, we will succeed. Thank you all very much. And may God bless our troops, and may God bless the United States of America.

Note: The President spoke at 11:08 a.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the J.W. Marriott Hotel. In his opening remarks, he referred to R. William Taylor, president of the American Society of Association Executives; Attorney General Dick Thornburgh; Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Jack Kemp; and Secretary of Health and Human Services Louis W. Sullivan.

**Address to the Nation on the
Suspension of Allied Offensive Combat
Operations in the Persian Gulf**
February 27, 1991

Kuwait is liberated. Iraq's army is defeated. Our military objectives are met. Kuwait is once more in the hands of Kuwaitis, in control of their own destiny. We share in their joy, a joy tempered only by our compassion for their ordeal.

Tonight the Kuwaiti flag once again flies above the capital of a free and sovereign nation. And the American flag flies above our Embassy.

Seven months ago, America and the world drew a line in the sand. We declared that the aggression against Kuwait would not stand. And tonight, America and the world have kept their word.

This is not a time of euphoria, certainly not a time to gloat. But it is a time of pride: pride in our troops; pride in the friends who stood with us in the crisis; pride in our nation and the people whose strength and resolve made victory quick, decisive, and just. And soon we will open wide our arms to welcome back home to America our magnificent fighting forces.

No one country can claim this victory as its own. It was not only a victory for Kuwait but a victory for all the coalition partners. This is a victory for the United Nations, for all mankind, for the rule of law, and for what is right.

After consulting with Secretary of Defense Cheney, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Powell, and our coalition partners, I am pleased to announce that at midnight tonight eastern standard time, exactly 100 hours since ground operations commenced and 6 weeks since the start of Desert Storm, all United States and coalition forces will suspend offensive combat operations. It is up to Iraq whether this suspension on the part of the coalition becomes a permanent cease-fire.

Coalition political and military terms for a formal cease-fire include the following requirements:

Iraq must release immediately all coalition prisoners of war, third country nationals, and the remains of all who have fallen. Iraq must release all Kuwaiti detainees. Iraq also must inform Kuwaiti authorities of the location and nature of all land and sea mines. Iraq must comply fully with all relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions. This includes a rescinding of Iraq's August decision to annex Kuwait, and acceptance in principle of Iraq's responsibility to pay compensation for the loss, damage, and injury its aggression has caused.

The coalition calls upon the Iraqi Government to designate military commanders to meet within 48 hours with their coalition counterparts at a place in the theater of operations to be specified, to arrange for military aspects of the cease-fire. Further, I

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Administrators Urged to Turn To Entrepreneurial Practices

By Dana Priest
Washington Post Staff Writer

David Osborne and Ted Gaebler have laid the golden egg for government: how to get more out of it for less.

It is called "Reinventing Government, How the Entrepreneurial Spirit is Transforming the Public Sector," a recently published book whose impact on the government is already being compared to the 1983 best-seller "In Search of Excellence," which influenced corporate boardrooms.

More than a road map, the book instructs through example and constructs a conceptual framework that is hard to ignore.

Yesterday in Room 2200 of the Rayburn House Office Building, the authors and two government practitioners—Massachusetts Gov. William F. Weld and Texas Comptroller John Sharp—captured and held the imagination of five members of the congressional Joint Economic Committee for 2½ hours.

The gist of the work is this: that the inertia, waste and ineffectiveness of government can be cured by an infusion of the entrepreneurial spirit, which can be cultivated

IDEAS & FINDINGS

by decentralizing decision-making, by letting governments compete within themselves and with the private sector, and by deregulating how governments operate.

The author's underlying assumptions are that government should set priorities for the public good; that bureaucracy, not bureaucrats, is the problem; that normal government budgets encourage managers to waste money; that monopolies engender a sluggish work ethic.

"Our thesis is simple," they write. "The kind of government that developed during the industrial era, with their sluggish, centralized bureaucracies, their preoccupation with rules and regulations, and their hierarchical chains of command, no longer work very well."

The debate over what local, state and federal governments should do has become secondary to how they do it. "The central failure of government today is one of means, not ends."

Osborne and Gaebler argue that solutions are to be found mainly at the state and local levels where government officials, frustrated with the status quo, have come up with radical solutions. They point to the example of Visalia, Calif., where Gaebler was once city manager.

There, officials adopted a new budget system that eliminated all line items within department budgets, freeing managers to move resources around as needs shifted. City of-

ficials also allowed departments to keep what they did not spend from one year to the next, which encouraged managers to save money.

The new thinking permeated every department. Streets used to be swept every three weeks but the man in charge found no one complained if it was done only every four, which saved money. The same was true for cutting park grass.

City officials also rewarded department managers with bonuses of up to \$1,000 each for outstanding group efforts. Employees were encouraged to help the city save or earn money by allowing them to take home 15 percent of the savings or earnings their innovations generated, with no ceilings.

When Visalia decided it needed more cultural life, the convention director and private promoters made a deal to bring in well-known acts and split the risk—the capital investment—and the profit.

When the affordable housing supply dwindled, the city helped create a private, non-profit organization, loaned it \$100,000, and sold it 13 acres of excess city land. Fifteen months later, 89 families moved into their own homes.

"Neither party offers the solution," Osborne told the Republican and Democratic congressmen at the hearing yesterday. "The Democrats have said, 'We'll do more with more,' the Reagan Republicans basically said, 'We'll do less with less.'"

"The party that first convinces the American people it can do more with less is the party that will dominate" politics "in the coming century," he said.

In an interview after the meeting, Osborne, an author and consultant to state and local governments, was asked to assess the presidential candidates in regards to the ideas in the book.

Tom Harkin would "probably be hostile to the ideas," he said. Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr. would probably "be sympathetic" but unable to manage the change. Paul E. Tsongas is "very interested" but hasn't got a detailed plan.

Bill Clinton asked to read the book in manuscript; and then asked Osborne to write a speech for him on the subject. He has incorporated some of the book's ideas into his campaign. Some of Clinton's initiatives as governor of Arkansas are used as successful examples in the book, as is former Massachusetts senator Tsongas's successful rejuvenation of downtown Lowell, Mass.

As for the Republicans, President Bush appears to be a "moderate Republican who wants to do the right thing" but radical changes as proposed in the book "are not in his gut," Osborne said. He would not comment on Patrick J. Buchanan, whom he dismissed as a candidate.

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—David Osborne

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TALKING POINTS

x-Notre Dame Coach Get Drug Policy Job

The White House plans to announce that former Notre Dame basketball coach Digger Phelps will be in the office of national drug control policy director Bob Martinez. Phelps will be the drug office's liaison with the Bush administration's "weed and seed" initiative—a Justice Department program designed to rehabilitate impoverished communities hit hard by drugs and violence. Knowledgeable sources say the drug office has been negotiating with Phelps for months and initially had a difficult time finding a suitable candidate for him. But Phelps had high-level patrons—President Bush and Vice President Quayle, both of whom called Martinez and urged him to find a place for the ex-coach. Phelps retired as Notre Dame coach last year. He is a member of the Citizens Stamp Advisory Committee, the panel that advises the U.S. Postal Service on the selection of stamps.

Return to Cambodia

Cambodian refugee Sihan Siv, a member of the White House public liaison staff, returned to his native Cambodia Monday, 16 years after he escaped from the Khmer Rouge regime that killed most of his family.

"It could be very emotional for me, but I look forward to going," said Siv, who joined an official U.S. delegation for three days of travel in the country. The group is headed by Richard Solomon, assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific Affairs.

Siv, who drove a taxi in Manhattan and worked in a Connecticut ice cream parlor before he joined Bush's 1988 campaign as a volunteer, joined the White House staff in 1989 as a deputy assistant for public liaison. He regularly contacts Asian-American groups, which he said yesterday have been highly supportive of Bush's efforts to bring a U.N. peacekeeping force to his former country.

Siv said he planned to hold a memorial service for his mother, older sister and brother who died during the Khmer Rouge massacres of 1 million to 2 million Cambodians.

—Michael Isikoff and Bill McAllister

REINVENTING GOVERNMENT



"Neither party offers the solution. The Democrats have said, 'We'll do more with more,' the Reagan Republicans basically said, 'We'll do less with less.' The party that first convinces the American people it can do more with less is the party that will dominate politics in the coming century."

—David Osborne

Keys to Changing How Government Works:

■ Catalytic Government: Steering Rather than Rowing

Government must raise resources and set priorities through the democratic political process, but it should use the private sector to do what it does best, which is to organize the production of goods and services. Government must also have the flexibility, in hiring, firing and shifting resources, to change to the rapidly changing social conditions and the global economy.

■ Competitive Government: Injecting Competition into Service Delivery

The issue here is not private versus public control of services, but the fact that so much of what the government does it does as a monopoly. Monopolies cause behavioral shifts and people begin to operate at a slower pace. Government should compete within itself and with the private sector because competition brings greater efficiency, innovation and responsiveness to customers.

■ Result-Oriented Government: Funding Outcomes, Not Inputs

Funding should be based on results, whether children do well in a school, for example. The problem is few governments know how to measure results, they know how to measure inputs—how much each teacher costs, how much a chair for each child costs.

■ Customer-Driven Government: Meeting the Needs of the Customer, Not the Bureaucracy

What the customers want out of a given program should drive how the program does its job. Customer choice is key here. The GI Bill, for example, gave veterans money to go to any school or technical institute. Those institutions competed for the clients by tailoring their programs to them. In health care, government did the opposite; it created VA hospitals and assigned veterans to them. Which one works better?

■ Anticipatory Government: Prevention Rather Than Cure

Leaders should be required to think long-term, to make 10-year budget projections, so that voters will understand that if they defer spending on road repairs this year, for instance, it will cost twice as much several years from now. Same is true for social problems. It costs more to imprison a person for life, than to meet their needs when they are young.

"Our thesis is simple. The kind of government that developed during the industrial era, with their sluggish, centralized bureaucracies, their preoccupation with rules and regulations, and their hierarchical chains of command, no longer work very well."

—Ted Gaebler



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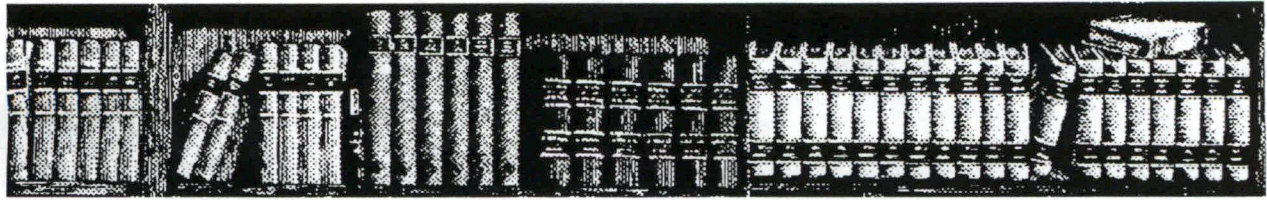


MARCH 1992

Recent Library Acquisitions

Office of Administration

Library and Information
Services Division



Executive Office of the President Libraries

NEOB
Room G-102, NEOB
x3654

LAW
Room 528, OEOB
x3397

OEOB
Room 308, OEOB
x7000

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FOLLOW THE MONEY



Look at how Congress has decided to spend money in 1992, and you will find a portrait of America.

It is a nation preparing for retrenchment of its troops.

It is a nation with a voracious appetite for new and better roads.

It is a nation where more people are on food stamps than ever before, and where \$3.7 billion dollars must be spent this year to clean up nuclear weapons plants.

It is a nation that will spend nearly twice as much for fighting drug crime as it does for the Head Start preschool program.

It is a nation that will pay thousands to research celery in Michigan and store Vidalia onions in Georgia.

Above all, it is a nation of compromise: The hard choices of where the money should go are made easier by sending it everywhere. The nation's priority, it turns out, is its geography, and the totality of congressional spending is the sum of its parochial parts.

Nobody understands this better than the dean of the House, Democrat Jamie L. Whitten of Mississippi, chairman of the Appropriations Committee. When Whitten parcels out money for local projects, he believes he is helping members with their problems. "And when I say members," he says with all seriousness, "I mean sections of the United States."

So to follow the money, follow the members:

► Sen. J. Bennett Johnston, a Democrat from Louisiana,

was initially a skeptic of the exorbitantly priced physics project known as the superconducting super collider. A company in Hammond, La., got a \$150 million contract to build magnets for the atom-smasher. Johnston is now a stalwart defender of the project.

► Sen. Ernest F. Hollings, a Democrat from South Carolina, has long complained about the way the Justice Department has gobbled up money to fight crime at the expense of programs that promote America's business competitiveness. No sense crying over spilt milk: At Hollings' instigation, the Justice Department will spend \$10 million next year to transfer its prosecutor-training program from Washington to the University of South Carolina Law Center at Hollings' alma mater.

► Lawmakers who oversee spending for parks and recreation areas received more than 3,000 requests from colleagues seeking money for special home-state projects. The appropriators accommodated as many requests as they could, often at the expense of projects preferred by President Bush.

Available Cash

Congress had to decide how to spend about a half-trillion dollars for the 1992 fiscal year, which began on Oct. 1. That's about a third of America's total spending, but because the rest is spoken for with huge commitments such as Social Security and the federal debt, this pot of money is annually the only real chance politicians get to decide where the money goes.

The money is divvied up through a budget process that begins in the winter and ends in the fall. Though much is made of Washington's political paralysis in an age of divided government, one way or another Congress' appropriations work gets done. It has to. Otherwise the government shuts down, as it did for three days in 1990.

But more than that, the imperative of congressional appropriations is their reach into every aspect of society. A half-trillion dollars may not be enough to satisfy every demand, but it does pay for a lot of things. Many are non-controversial and make up the fabric of American life: A new federal courthouse will be built in Minneapolis; North Miami, Fla., will get a new bike path; every state will get money to vaccinate children against measles.

Many items are strenuously debated: Production of B-2 stealth bombers is put on hold as the Pentagon adapts to a changed world; the expensive space station gets \$2 billion, but other NASA programs must be pinched to free up cash for new housing projects.

There are a million and one stories in Congress' 13 spending bills, though they are not easily discerned. The bills are crafted by 26 subcommittees, one for each bill in the House and Senate, and each is its own curious duchy. The subcommittee leaders are among Congress' most powerful members, and their verdicts usually are accorded

great deference. Yet they tend to work in secret, taking care of their own first. For other members of Congress, getting a piece of the pie is a go-along, get-along dance.

The morass of testimony, reports, calculations and legalisms that goes into producing appropriations bills reveals what an extremely human endeavor it is. Requests for money are vast, saying no is difficult, and decisions turn on individual relationships, with little attention paid to a national game plan. No wonder then that Congress as an institution — and the corps of journalists, lobbyists, bureaucrats and scholars who fill the offices of Washington — are rarely inclined to trace spending beyond general borders or their own individual interests.

This special report is an attempt to give congressional appropriations their proper heed. To follow the money.

Sending It Home

Congress has come under intense fire over the past decade for spending much more than it takes in. The landmark 1990 budget deal with President Bush was aimed at trying to erase the growing federal deficit. Yet it also moved the annual appropriations process into a new era.

Underlying the particulars was a handshake between President Bush's budget director, Richard G. Darman, and the powerful chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va. The White House would quit bashing Congress over discretionary spending (read: appropriations), and in return, Congress would quit creating schemes to permanently mandate money for social programs without a way to pay for them. Byrd even got Darman to throw in some extra appropriations cash, which helps explain why a year after the big deficit-cutting deal, Congress will spend about \$17 billion more than the year before on domestic programs.

Which brings up West Virginia. Byrd, who gave up his national role as Senate majority leader three years ago to run the Appropriations Committee, has funneled home more than a billion dollars in a one-man crusade to revive his economically depressed state. It's not clear how far such an infusion can go, but be assured that the people of Clarksburg eagerly anticipate the economic juice that a new FBI fingerprint facility will bring to their community. The Robert C. Byrd High School is now under construction.

That is high reward to an appropriator. But then, appropriators see their place in Washington not at the fore, as debaters of broad public policy, but rather in backrooms, carving the fiscal pie. Most often it is served up in the shape of their home districts. While these members may try to put the nation's interests ahead of their own districts', often it's a tie.

As Rep. Robert L. Livingston, a Republican from Metairie, La., tells it: "Sometimes [money] might be more properly spent in my district than in somebody else's."

Once money is planted, it is difficult to uproot.



WRITING CHECKS

- *\$2.69 billion for NASA's space shuttle program.*
- *\$8.4 million to maintain the 132-room White House. The 97-person staff includes five florists, five calligraphers and five curators.*
- *\$1.7 million for a research center in Texas to study how to make "killer bees" less aggressive.*
- *\$41.5 million to build housing for Army personnel on Oahu, Hawaii. Housing is so expensive that the families of junior military personnel are Oahu's biggest group of food stamp recipients.*
- *\$466 million to operate the Senate, which employs about 7,400 people. It costs \$709 million to operate the House, which employs 12,500.*
- *\$500,000 to control the brown tree snake, which has decimated the bird population on Guam.*
- *\$2.2 billion for Head Start; it will serve 39,000 more preschoolers than it did last year.*
- *\$50 million to house people with AIDS.*
- *\$35.1 billion for basic pay for active-duty military personnel. Corporals with more than three years' experience will earn a little more than \$13,000. The 35 four-star generals will earn slightly more than \$100,000.*

When more than 120 road projects came in over budget, appropriators cut them nominally across-the-board rather than kill any one project. And when the administration wanted \$72 million for research on a plane that can go from an airport runway into Earth orbit, appropriators balked but refused to pull the plug; they ponied up \$5 million.

That is infinitesimal in the scheme of a \$1.5 trillion federal budget. But bill after bill, project after project, the nation's economic and political gears run on such lubricants.

And that is the essence of appropriations. Members of Congress understand that where the money goes, so goes the nation.

—Neil Brown, *Managing Editor*

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Remarks at a Meeting of the American Society of Association Executives

February 27, 1991

Thank you very, very much. And what a wonderful reception. And I interpret that, I think properly, the same way I interpreted the applause at the State of the Union message—as strong support for those men and women that are serving our country overseas. And now the war is almost over, and I think we owe them a vote of thanks, and I think I heard it right now. So, thank you, Bill, and I'm just delighted to be here.

I want to shift and talk about domestic matters. And Bill, I couldn't help but glance at this marvelous quilt coming in here, and I do think that we owe you and all the others in the association a vote of thanks for following through and, indeed, being points of light.

I want to salute our Attorney General who is with us today; our two able Secretaries so concerned also about what we're talking about today, Secretaries Kemp and Sullivan; Ted Sanders, who is doing a superb job as our Acting Secretary at Education; and, of course, my old friend, a man so well-known to all of you, Bob Woodson of the Center for Neighborhood Enterprise. You know, it's hard to believe that a year has passed since the challenge Bill mentioned, since I challenged the members of ASAE to channel the tremendous energy of

this organization and transform a nation through community service. And what a terrific job you've done.

Looking around the room today, peeking, before I came in here, I see so many familiar faces, so many people that are making a difference in the lives of others. Every man and woman here believes in the power of the individual, and is bolstered by the conviction that America is indeed a land of opportunity. For more than 200 years, America has been the home of free markets and free people. And there is no question: Opportunity in America is the envy of the entire world.

The story of America has been the story of opportunity. Throughout our history, we've pioneered the frontiers of liberty for all humanity. Our Founding Fathers created perhaps the most simple yet profound document in modern history—our Constitution and Bill of Rights. Abraham Lincoln broke forever the chains of human slavery. The suffrage movement made the promise of democracy a reality for women. The founders of our public schools unleashed our national potential through universal education. And by their struggle for equal rights, the leaders of the civil rights movement helped bring dignity to the oppressed and disenfranchised. The story of opportunity in America is the story of Thomas Paine and Frederick Douglass, Clara Barton, the Wright brothers, Rosa Parks.

But it doesn't end there, with these heroes from our past. There are the new American heroes of today, many of them in this room. And they, too, are inspired by pride, integrity, faith in the dignity of man, and courage—yes, courage to overcome the odds. It's called leadership by example—and it's made America the world's great beacon of freedom.

These modern visionaries are the ones that are making history—propelling us into the next American century. Theirs is a movement—it's more than 200 years old—as old as the Declaration of Independence—a movement defined by what Jefferson called "the American mind" and what I've been calling "the American idea." It continues to sweep our country today with a vigor as strong as ever. It's a vision driven

by the strength and power of the American dream.

And I share that vision—for what is the American dream if it isn't wanting to be part of something larger than ourselves? If it isn't creating a better life for our children than we might have had? If it isn't the freedom to take command of our future? For most people, these aspirations means enjoying the blessings of good health or having a home to call one's own, or raising a family, holding a stake in the community, feeling secure—secure at home or in our neighborhood.

But for others, sadly, America has not yet fulfilled the promise of equality of opportunity. We know who they are: They're the hopeless and the homeless, the friendless and the fearful, the unemployed and the underemployed, the ones who can't read, the ones who can't write. They are the ones who don't believe that they will ever share in the American dream.

I'm here to tell any American for whom hope lies dormant: We will not forget you. We will not forget those who have not yet shared in the American dream. We must offer them hope. But we must guarantee them opportunity.

It's been said, "Hope is a waking dream." That awakening begins with learning, understanding the power and potential of individual effort, developing a skill, and with it, independence, earning a living, with dignity and personal growth. More skills mean more freedom—more options for even greater opportunity.

Today, our administration is proposing an agenda to expand opportunity and choice for all. It involves more than six major initiatives across the scope of our entire government: restoring quality education, ensuring crime-free neighborhoods, strengthening civil and legal rights for all, creating jobs and new businesses, expanding access to homeownership, and allowing localities a greater share of responsibility. In its entirety, I believe it represent one of the most far-reaching efforts in decades to unleash the talents of every citizen in America.

In several weeks, I will have legislation to enact this agenda on the desk of every Congressman. The administration's educational excellence proposals, by way of example, will put choice in the hands of students and

parents—so that they can choose the best school to attend. Our higher education system is clearly, unquestionably, the finest in the world—creative, innovative, and highly competitive. From the GI bill to Pell grants, college students already have the power to choose. And now it's time that our education system, all of it, became the finest in the world.

We're also proposing education reforms to build flexibility and accountability into our school systems. We've seen what education reform can do, from East L.A. to East Harlem. We're encouraging Governors to bring together teachers, parents, and administrators to work together to meet the needs of all students. We must cut the dropout rate and ensure that every student in America arrives at school ready to learn and graduates ready to work.

For some time now, the administration has called for the restructuring of American education. We've got to raise our expectations for our students and our schools. But if we're going to ask more of them, it wouldn't be fair to tie the hands of the teachers and principals—particularly those who make a difference. We need responsive schools—customer-driven ones, if you will—schools that are more market-oriented and performance-based, because it's time we recognize that competition can spur excellence in our schools. Choice is the catalyst for change, the fundamental reform that drives forward all others. These ideas will stir us and guide us toward meeting the national education goals the Governors and I set up after that famous education summit—because we can't expect to remain a first-class economy if we settle for second-class schools.

Millions of jobs await America's graduates in the coming years. But to fill those jobs, entrepreneurs will look increasingly to America's minorities—blacks, Hispanics and Asians—and to people just entering the economic mainstream—workers with disabilities and mothers who have chosen to work outside the home. The majority of those jobs are safer, are cleaner, higher skilled, better paying jobs. And they will go to the ones who have what it takes—a quality education.

Everyone knows the best education takes place in a safe, drug-free environment. It is difficult for children to learn if there's violence in the classroom or crime out in the schoolyard or drug pushers along the way home. And older students and workers find it hard to attend night school or put in late hours at the office because of the danger that darkness brings, especially in crime-ridden neighborhoods.

Low-income Americans are the ones more likely to be intimidated by crime, less likely to be able to take advantage of opportunities that may be across town or even just around the corner. They're the ones defending themselves and their families from the drug dealers and muggers down the hall or down the street. And they're the ones who need opportunity the most.

It is in their name that this battle for the streets of our cities must be waged. The thugs and the gangs and the drug kingpins should be the casualties of this war. Our tactics: mandatory sentences for using a firearm in a violent crime; strengthened protection against sex crimes and child abuse; tough prosecutors; courts that mete out equal justice, swiftly and surely; a prison system that is up to the job. And finally, our strategy must include an unequivocal commitment to our young people. There are meaningful and adventurous alternatives to a life of crime. And it starts with an education, a neighborhood that's safe and secure.

Opportunity is built on these foundations, but the door is opened by one thing: a job. Every American who wants a job should be able to get one. Of course, vestiges of the past remain. Bigotry and discrimination, regrettably, still do exist. But we have powerful legal tools for eliminating discrimination. And remember, the legal guarantees of equality of opportunity are largely in place: *Brown vs. the Board of Education*, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the Fair Housing Acts of both 1968 and 1988, the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990.

To assure that every American enjoys the equality of opportunity and access, I am determined to continue the vigorous enforcement of these and of all our civil rights laws. And where our laws need improvement, I am committed to refining them. We will soon introduce legislation with

strong new remedies to protect women from sexual harassment and minorities from racial prejudice in the workplace. And I call on the Congress to act promptly on this important initiative. But legislation that only creates a lawyer's bonanza helps no one. We all know where opportunity really begins. As I said above, it begins with a job.

In our hardest hit urban and rural areas our enterprise zone proposal will create new small businesses. We're providing new incentives for employers to hire more workers, by eliminating the capital gains tax on businesses in these areas, and attracting more seed capital. Our proposals mean economic growth, more minority entrepreneurs and most importantly, again, jobs.

The American dream also means choosing where to live and, for many working people, owning a home someday. We're offering public housing residents not only control and management of their own community, but for the first time, access to home ownership and private property to gain a stake in their communities. We've asked the Congress to provide much-needed funding for the HOPE program in 1991, to make this opportunity a reality in our inner cities this year. And we're proposing that Americans be allowed to use the money from their IRA's to buy their first home. These initiatives will bring us closer to our goal of one million new homeowners by 1992.

You know, there's something reassuring about becoming a part of a neighborhood, a community that pulls together in times of crisis, that looks out for one another. Each community in America is different, and its residents know best how to take care of each other, what the best options are for programs and services for those who need a hand. And so, we're proposing to allow communities to restructure programs at the local level.

Our strength as a nation lies in the strength of our communities, the sum of our neighborhoods and families, our hopes and dreams for the future. This is our administration's agenda for opportunity. It begins in the heart of every person who believes in freedom and lives on in the American dream. Every man and woman in this room shares its vision. The great poet, Carl Sand-

Feb. 27 / Administration of George Bush, 1991

burg, put it this way: "nothing happens unless first a dream." Our mandate is to make the dream a reality.

We face a new century, a new American century. Half a world away, our allied troops face a defining moment in the new world order. And they are succeeding in their battle because each and every one of them possesses a pride in their country, integrity in their cause, and courage in their heart.

Our troops will be home soon—coming home to a grateful nation. And I want to ensure that their return is to a land of equal opportunity. And just as they have stood to safeguard our freedom—the world's freedom—let us stand with pride, integrity, and courage in our hearts and expand the freedoms of all Americans. It's up to each of us to secure the triumph of "the American idea." And that idea is opportunity.

With God's help and yours, we will succeed. Thank you all very much. And may God bless our troops, and may God bless the United States of America.

Note: The President spoke at 11:08 a.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the J.W. Marriott Hotel. In his opening remarks, he referred to R. William Taylor, president of the American Society of Association Executives; Attorney General Dick Thornburgh; Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Jack Kemp; and Secretary of Health and Human Services Louis W. Sullivan.

Address to the Nation on the Suspension of Allied Offensive Combat Operations in the Persian Gulf February 27, 1991

Kuwait is liberated. Iraq's army is defeated. Our military objectives are met. Kuwait is once more in the hands of Kuwaitis, in control of their own destiny. We share in their joy, a joy tempered only by our compassion for their ordeal.

Tonight the Kuwaiti flag once again flies above the capital of a free and sovereign nation. And the American flag flies above our Embassy.

Seven months ago, America and the world drew a line in the sand. We declared that the aggression against Kuwait would not stand. And tonight, America and the world have kept their word.

This is not a time of euphoria, certainly not a time to gloat. But it is a time of pride: pride in our troops; pride in the friends who stood with us in the crisis; pride in our nation and the people whose strength and resolve made victory quick, decisive, and just. And soon we will open wide our arms to welcome back home to America our magnificent fighting forces.

No one country can claim this victory as its own. It was not only a victory for Kuwait but a victory for all the coalition partners. This is a victory for the United Nations, for all mankind, for the rule of law, and for what is right.

After consulting with Secretary of Defense Cheney, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Powell, and our coalition partners, I am pleased to announce that at midnight tonight eastern standard time, exactly 100 hours since ground operations commenced and 6 weeks since the start of Desert Storm, all United States and coalition forces will suspend offensive combat operations. It is up to Iraq whether this suspension on the part of the coalition becomes a permanent cease-fire.

Coalition political and military terms for a formal cease-fire include the following requirements:

Iraq must release immediately all coalition prisoners of war, third country nationals, and the remains of all who have fallen. Iraq must release all Kuwaiti detainees. Iraq also must inform Kuwaiti authorities of the location and nature of all land and sea mines. Iraq must comply fully with all relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions. This includes a rescinding of Iraq's August decision to annex Kuwait, and acceptance in principle of Iraq's responsibility to pay compensation for the loss, damage, and injury its aggression has caused.

The coalition calls upon the Iraqi Government to designate military commanders to meet within 48 hours with their coalition counterparts at a place in the theater of operations to be specified, to arrange for military aspects of the cease-fire. Further, I

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CARBONLESS

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 3-10

TO: *Jennifer*

FROM: PEGGY HAZELRIGG
Assistant Director
Office of Presidential Advance
Room 185 1/2, OEOB, x7565

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT
TO
WASHINGTON, D.C.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1992

EVENT: VIP Photo

DATE: Wednesday, March 11, 1992

TIME: 1:05 pm - 1:15 pm

LOCATION: Back Stage Area, Exhibit Hall A, Washington Convention Center

ATTENDEES: 10 couples

PRESS: Closed

SCENARIO: THE PRESIDENT arrives Washington Convention Center and is met by: Ms. Quincalee Brown, Chairman-Elect, American Society of Association Executives; and Mr. George Demarest, General Manager, Washington Convention Center. Following Greetings, THE PRESIDENT proceeds to Back Stage Area. THE PRESIDENT arrives Back Stage Area and begins participation in VIP Photo. THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in VIP Photo, departs Back Stage Area and proceeds to Exhibit Hall A Off-Stage Announcement Area.

Photo participants include the leadership of the American Society of Association Executives and their spouses.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT
TO
WASHINGTON, D.C.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1992

EVENT: Address the American Society of Association Executives

DATE: Wednesday, March 11, 1992

TIME: 1:18 pm - 1:40 pm

LOCATION: Exhibit Hall A, Washington Convention Center

ATTENDEES: 2,200

PRESS: Open

SCENARIO: THE PRESIDENT arrives Exhibit Hall A Off-Stage Announcement Area and holds briefly. (**NOTE:** Already positioned on stage will be Mr. Gene Fondren, Chairman of the Board, American Society of Association Executives; Mr. Bill Taylor, President, American Society of Association Executives, and ten award recipients.) THE PRESIDENT is announced onto Stage to Full Honors played by the United States Marine Band and is Seated. (Enter Stage Left.) THE PRESIDENT is introduced for Remarks by Mr. Gene Fondren, Chairman of the Board, American Society of Association Executives. THE PRESIDENT Remarks. (**NOTE:** A Teleprompter will be used.) THE PRESIDENT concludes Remarks, departs Stage and proceeds to Holding Room. (Exit Stage Left.) THE PRESIDENT arrives Holding Room and holds briefly. THE PRESIDENT departs Holding Room, proceeds to Motorcade and departs Washington Convention Center en route White House.

The backdrop for THE PRESIDENT's Remarks is blue pipe and drape with a banner reading, "ASAE." Flanking the stage are two banners reading, "Forum '92" and "Meetings Management."

The Press platform is located straight on at 70 feet.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
FOR
WASHINGTON, D.C.
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1992

EVENTS:

VIP Photo
Address the American Society of Association Executives

DRESS:

Men - Business Suit
Women - Day Dress

CONTACT:

Office of Presidential Advance
Ed Murnane - 202/456-7565

Trip Coordinator
Peggy Hazelrigg - 202/456-7565

ADVANCE:

Nels Olson - LEAD
Steve Ross - PRESS
Tom McCormick - USSS
Gordon Koch - WHCA
Wayne Justice - MIL. AIDE

WEATHER:

Partly Cloudy/low 40's

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

FOR

WASHINGTON, D.C.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1992

12:55 pm

THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs White House en route Washington Convention Center.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Lead

Spare

**B. Farish
Doctor**

LIMO

THE PRESIDENT

Follow Up

Control

**S. Skinner
Mil. Aide**

Support

**M. Fitzwater
Official Photographer
M. Lukens
Medic**

**Staff I
(sedan)**

S. Rollins

**Staff II
(minivan)**

All Remaining Staff

Press Van I

M. Busch

Press Van II

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

1:00 pm

THE PRESIDENT arrives Washington Convention Center and proceeds to Photo Area.

Met by:

Ms. Quincalee Brown
Chairman-Elect, American Society of
Association Executives

Mr. George Demarest
General Manager, Washington Convention Center

EVENT: VIP PHOTO

CLOSED PRESS

1:05 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Photo Area and begins participation in VIP Photo.

1:10 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in VIP Photo, departs Photo Area and proceeds to Hall A Off-Stage Announcement Area.

1:15 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Hall A Off-Stage Announcement Area and holds briefly.

EVENT: ADDRESS THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF ASSOCIATION EXECUTIVES

OPEN PRESS

RUFFLES AND FLOURISHES

OFF-STAGE ANNOUNCEMENT

HAIL TO THE CHIEF

REMARKS

TELEPROMPTER

1:18 pm THE PRESIDENT is announced onto Stage and is Seated.

1:19 pm THE PRESIDENT is introduced for Remarks by Mr. Gene Fondren, Chairman of the Board, American Society of Association Executives.

1:20 pm THE PRESIDENT Remarks.

1:40 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes Remarks, departs Stage and proceeds to Holding Room.

1:42 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Holding Room and holds briefly.

1:44 pm THE PRESIDENT departs Holding Room and proceeds to Motorcade.

1:45 pm THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs Washington Convention Center en route White House.

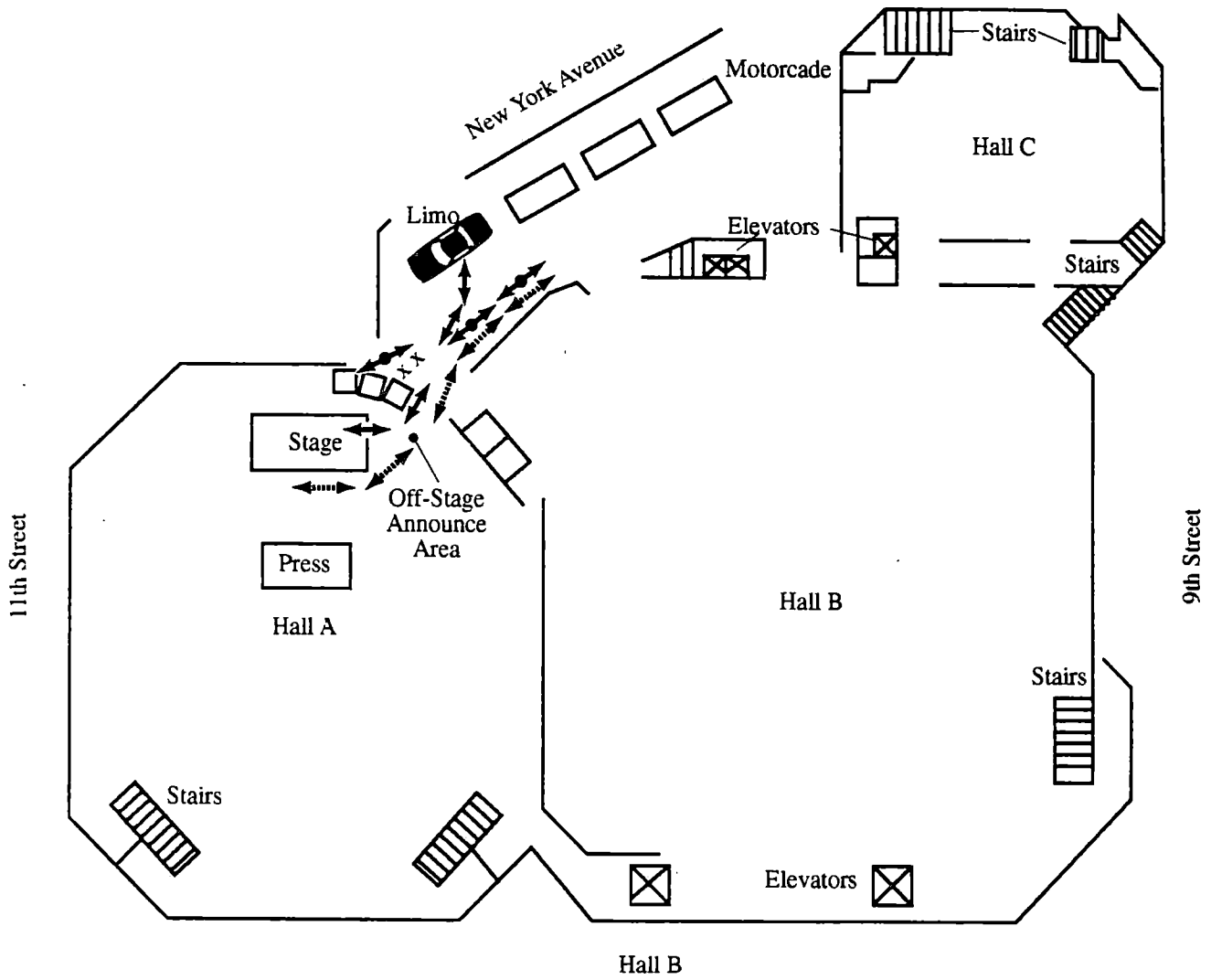
MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Same as on Arrival.

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

1:50 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives White House.

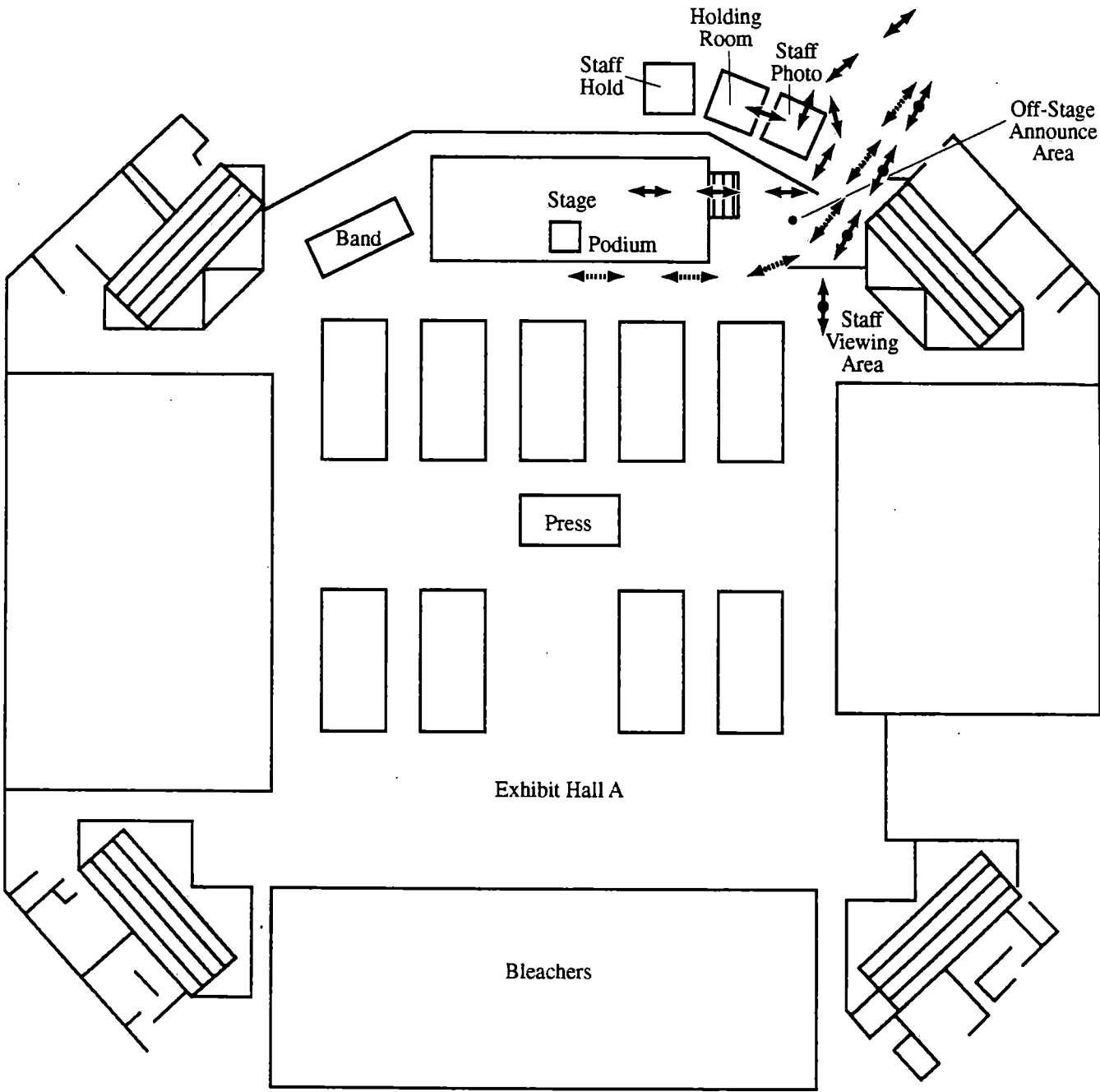
TAB A
 WASHINGTON CONVENTION CENTER
 American Society of Association Executives
 Arrival/Departure Diagram
 Wednesday, March 11, 1992



KEY:

- THE PRESIDENT
- GUESTS / STAFF
-▶ PRESS POOL
- X GREETERS

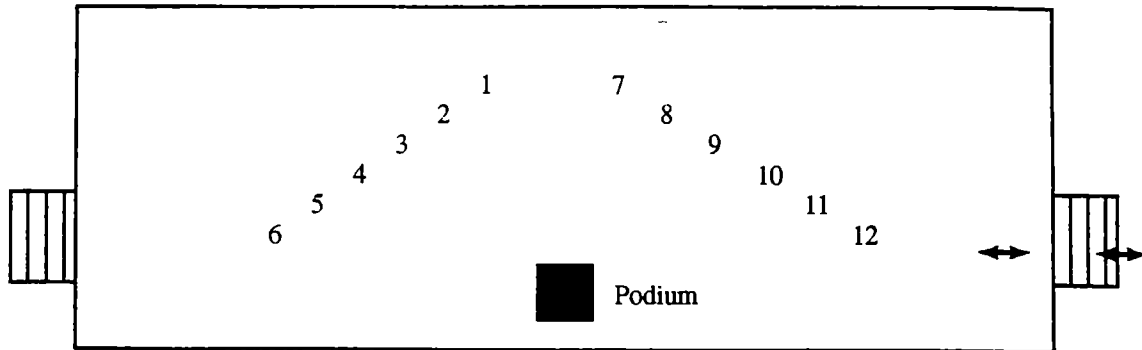
TAB B
 WASHINGTON CONVENTION CENTER
 American Society of Association Executives
 Exhibit Hall A
 Wednesday, March 11, 1992



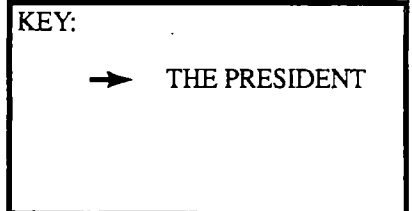
KEY:

- THE PRESIDENT
- GUESTS / STAFF
- - - - -> PRESS POOL

TAB C
WASHINGTON CONVENTION CENTER
American Society of Association Executives
Dais Diagram
Wednesday, March 11, 1992



1. Mr. Gene Fondren, Chairman of the Board, ASAE
2. THE PRESIDENT
3. Mr. Bill Taylor, President, ASAE
4. Ms. Genia Harwell-Ryan, Public Service Chairman, Georgia Society of Association Executives
5. Mr. Jack Smith, Society of Automobile Engineers
6. Mr. Raymond Morris, Foundation Director, Society of Automobile Engineers
7. Ms. Ann Cox, President, Georgia Society of Association Executives
8. Mr. John Bailey, Executive Director, California Podiatric Medical Association
9. Ms. Carolyn Deaver, Vice President, Cosmetic, Toilet and Fragrance Association
10. Mr. Charles Cumpstone, Executive Director, Shrine of North America
11. Mr. Chris Horine, President, California Podiatric Medical Association
12. Mr. John Dean, Chairman of the Board, Shrine of North America



Emergency Unemployment Compensation

★ ★ ★ Once an unemployed person exhausts the standard 26 weeks of unemployment insurance benefits, he will be entitled to extended benefits for an additional 4 to 20 weeks, depending upon the unemployment rate in his State. No benefits will be available under this Act until the President determines that an emergency exists; upon signing this Act, President Bush declared that he will not make such a determination. [Pub.L. 102-107]

Energy and Water Development Appropriations, 1992

★ ★ ★ Public Law 102-104 appropriates \$21,839,500,000 for energy and water development during fiscal year 1992. The President requested appropriations totalling \$21,609,826,000. These are major allocations in the new law:

Department of Defense—Civil	\$ 3,610,235,000
Bureau of Reclamation	899,983,000
Energy Supply Research and Development	
Activities	2,961,903,000
Uranium Supply and Enrichment Activities	1,313,600,000
General Science and Research Activities	1,472,489,000
Atomic Energy Defense Activities	11,968,000,000
Power Marketing Administrations	362,029,000

Federal Maritime Commission Authorization

★ ★ ★ The commission has been authorized \$18 million during fiscal year 1992. [Pub.L. 102-100]

Intelligence Gathering

★ ★ ★ Funds are authorized for the United States intelligence community in accordance with a classified annex. The most controversial title deals with Congressional oversight of covert intelligence activities. The President must keep Congressional intelligence committees fully and currently informed of the intelligence activities of the United States. The President may not authorize a covert activity unless it is necessary to support identifiable foreign policy objectives and is important to the national security of the United States. No activity may be authorized that violates any provision of the U.S. Constitution. [Pub.L. 102-88]

Legislative Appropriations, 1992; Senate Honoraria

★ ★ ★ Public Law 102-90 appropriates \$2,308,230,600 for the Legislative Branch of the Federal Government during fiscal year 1992. The President requested appropriations totalling \$2,638,535,500. These are major obligations in the new law:

Senate	\$406,248,600
House of Representatives	709,211,000
Architect of the Capitol	140,013,000

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SESSION HIGHLIGHTS

Congressional Printing and Binding
General Accounting Office

89,341,000
438,679,000

Senators will receive the same pay as Representatives; they may not accept honoraria income.

National Commission on Libraries

★ ★ ★ Public Law 102-95 makes technical amendments to the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science Act, 20 U.S.C.A. §§ 1501 et seq.

Rural Telephone Cooperatives

★ ★ ★ For the purpose of preemption of State insurance laws under the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 (ERISA), rural telephone and electric cooperative welfare plans will receive equal treatment. [Pub.L. 102-89]

Terry Beirn Community-Based AIDS Research Initiative

★ ★ ★ The National Institute of Health's Community-Based AIDS Research Initiative will be reauthorized through the close of fiscal year 1996 and it will be renamed in memory of Mr. Terry Beirn. [Pub.L. 102-96]

Vegetable or Fruit Juice

★ ★ ★ On and after May 8, 1993, the label on a container of vegetable or fruit juice must indicate the percentage of juice therein. [Pub.L. 102-108]

Veterans' Benefits

★ ★ ★ Several aspects of the compensation, pension, and life insurance programs administered by the Department of Veterans Affairs have been revised by Public Law 102-86. The new law provides liability insurance to cover any claim for money damages awarded against the National Academy of Sciences as a result of its Agent Orange study.

PENDING LEGISLATION

Acquisition of Nondevelopmental Items

★ ★ ★ S. 260 would codify existing practice, to wit: federal agencies should save money by purchasing nondevelopmental items (standard products that can be purchased on the open market without development or special design) commercially.

Agricultural Disaster Assistance

★ ★ ★ The disaster assistance available for 1990 crops would be made available for 1991 crops as well; it would cover damage resulting from bad weather or related conditions. Disaster payments would be available if crop

Table 5-1 Congressional Staff, 1979-1989

	1979	1981	1983	1985	1987	1989
House						
Committee staff ^a	2,027	1,917	2,068	2,146	2,136	2,267
Personal staff	7,067	7,487	7,606	7,528	7,584	7,569
Leadership staff ^b	162	127	135	144	138	133
Officers of the House, staff ^c	1,487	1,686	1,728	1,818	1,845	1,215
Subtotal, House	10,743	11,217	11,537	11,636	11,703	11,184
Senate						
Committee staff ^a	1,410	1,150	1,176	1,178	1,207	1,116
Personal staff	3,593	3,945	4,059	4,097	4,075	3,837
Leadership staff ^b	91	106	120	118	103	105
Officers of the Senate, staff ^c	828	878	948	976	904	926
Subtotal, Senate	5,922	6,079	6,303	6,369	6,289	5,984
Joint committee staffs	138	126	123	131	132	138
Support agencies						
General Accounting Office (30% of GAO) working directly for Congress	5,303 (1,591)	5,182 (1,555)	4,960 (1,488)	5,042 (1,513)	5,016 (1,504)	5,063 (1,519)
Library of Congress (Congressional Research Service)	5,390 (847)	4,799 (849)	4,815 (853)	4,809 (860)	4,824 (860)	4,841 (860)
Congressional Budget Office	207	218	211	222	226	226
Office of Technology Assessment	145	130	130	143	143	143
Subtotal, support agencies (Subtotal, only CRS in Library and 30% of GAO)	11,045 (2,790)	10,329 (2,752)	10,116 (2,682)	10,216 (2,738)	10,209 (2,733)	10,273 (2,748)
Miscellaneous						
Architect	2,296	1,986	2,061	2,073	2,412	2,088
Capitol Police Force	1,167	1,163	1,148	1,227	1,250	1,259
Subtotal	3,463	3,149	3,209	3,300	3,662	3,347
Total (Total, only CRS in Library and 30% of GAO)	31,311 (23,056)	30,900 (23,323)	31,288 (23,854)	31,652 (24,174)	31,995 (24,519)	30,926 (23,401)

Note: Totals for Tables 5-1 through 5-8 reflect number of full-time employees.

^a Includes select and special committee staffs. Figures therefore do not agree with those in Table 5-5.

^b Includes legislative counsels' offices.

^c Doorkeepers, parliamentarians, sergeants-at-arms, clerk of the House, Senate majority and minority secretaries, and postmasters.

Sources: For 1979, *Report of the Clerk of the House*, July 1, 1979-September 30, 1979; *Report of the Secretary of the Senate*, April 1, 1979-September 30, 1979; U.S. Office of Personnel Management, Work Force Analysis and Statistics Branch, *Federal Civilian Workforce Statistics*, monthly release, October 31, 1979, 6. For 1981, U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Appropriations, Subcommittee on Legislative Branch Appropriations, *Hearings on Legislative Branch Appropriations for 1983*, pt. 1, 24-28; U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Appropriations, *Hearings on Legislative Branch Appropriations for 1982*, 117, 253, 266; Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, *Senate Committee Funding*, 97th Cong., 1st sess., 1981, Committee Print 2; *Report of the Secretary of the Senate*, October 1, 1981-March 31, 1982, 1-23. For 1983, *House LBA Hearings for 1985*, pt. 1, 23-27; Office of the Clerk of the House; Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, *Senate Committee Funding*, 98th Cong., 2d sess., 1984, Committee Print 3; *Senate LBA Hearings for 1984*, 47, 276; Office of the U.S. Capitol Police. For 1985, *House LBA Hearings for 1987*, pt. 1, 22-27; *Report of the Clerk of the House*, October 1, 1985-December 31, 1985; Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, *Senate Committee Funding*, 99th Cong., 2d sess., 1986, Committee Print 2; *Senate LBA Hearings for 1986*; *Report of the Secretary of the Senate*, October 1, 1985-March 31, 1986; Office of the U.S. Capitol Police. For 1987, *House LBA Hearings for 1989*, pt. 2; Office of the Clerk of the House; *Senate LBA Hearings for 1988*; *Report of the Secretary of the Senate*, October 1, 1987-March 31, 1988; Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1989* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 252; Office of the Architect of the Capitol; Office of the U.S. Capitol Police. For 1989, *House LBA Hearings for 1991*, pt. 1; Office of the Clerk of the House; *Senate LBA Hearings for 1990*; *Report of the Secretary of the Senate*, October 1, 1989-March 31, 1990.

Congress

Congress is so strange. A man gets up to speak and says nothing. Nobody listens—and then everybody disagrees.

Boris Marshalov

About all I can say for the United States Senate is that it opens with prayer and closes with an investigation.

Will Rogers

Reader, suppose you were an idiot. And suppose you were a member of Congress. But I repeat myself.

Mark Twain

⇒ [If the present Congress errs in too much talking, how can it be otherwise in a body to which the people send 150 lawyers?]

Thomas Jefferson

They say women talk too much. If you worked in Congress you know that the filibuster was invented by men.

Clare Boothe Luce

Why are congressmen called public servants? You never see servants that anxious to keep their jobs.

Robert Quillen

Ignorance, idleness and vice may be sometimes the only ingredients for qualifying a legislator.

Jonathan Swift

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of

lean thrust of lance or sword, but the
tor. —Norman Thomas, quoted on the
Carthy, *The New York Times*, Dec 2,

all able to judge it. —Pericles, quoted
conomist, Apr 23, 1988

powers conveyed upon a government
possible, to construct a constitution that
r on Democracy", *The Economist*, Apr

ruler causes too much harm? When we
hat allows a majority vote to dismiss the
always be right. We do not even say that
ect procedure is the best so far invented.
conomist, Apr 23, 1988

l way of government. Democracy, the
onald Reagan, farewell address, Jan 11,

, it doesn't tell us. "We the people" are
where it should go, and by what route,
11, 1989

er pride of ancestry nor hope of posterity.
gislature, Sep 13, 1860

with itself. —Finley Peter Dunne, *Mr.*

erica a great deal more. ... When the
rise up and dissent. —Woodrow Wilson,

plain, ordinary, everyday citizen, neither
"best minds" but the average mind. The
le's master; the Republicans believe that
inds, should rule the Government; the
ern. —Eleanor Roosevelt, "Jeffersonian
928

f a Memory. —Will Rogers, letter to Al

olish traditions. —Franklin D. Roosevelt,

t, and you've got to be a humorist to stay
1934

am a Democrat. —Will Rogers, quoted by
l, Prince of Wit and Wisdom, 1935

to rescue it from oblivion. —Will Rogers,

510. The Democratic Party at its worst is better for the country than the Republican Party at its best. —Lyndon Baines Johnson, speech, 1955

511. Have you ever tried to split sawdust? —Eugene J. McCarthy, on accusation he had split Democratic Party, NBC-TV, Oct 23, 1969

512. A new Government took office in Washington, not via bayonets and tanks as is the custom in some of the world's capitals (but) in the Democratic Way ... via hyperbole, sham, melodrama and public-spirited mendacity. —R. Emmett Tyrrell Jr., on Carter's inauguration, *Time*, Mar 7, 1977

513. The Democratic Party is a party in name only, not in shared belief. —Ramsey Clark, *Time*, Aug 25, 1980

514. There were so many candidates on the platform that there were not enough promises to go around. —Ronald Reagan, on Democratic presidential primary debate in New Hampshire, *Newsweek*, Feb 6, 1984

515. In the pageant of unity (at the Democratic National Convention), one speaker after another recited a Whitmanesque litany of races and classes and minorities and interests and occupations—or unemployments. Some speakers, in fact, made the nation sound like an immense ingathering of victims—terrorized senior citizens, forsaken minorities, Dickensian children—warmed by the party's Frank Capra version of America: Say, it's a wonderful life! —Lance Morrow, "All Right, What Kind of People Are We?", *Time*, Jul 30, 1984

516. (Democrats) can't get elected unless things get worse—and things won't get worse unless they get elected. —Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, *Time*, Jun 17, 1985

DICTATORSHIP/TYRANNY

517. Any excuse will serve a tyrant. —Aesop, "The Wolf and the Lamb", *Fables*, ca. 550 B.C.

518. This is a sickness rooted and inherent/ in the nature of a tyranny:/ that he that holds it does not trust his friends. —Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound*, ca. 478 B.C.

519. Death is better, a milder fate than tyranny. —Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 458 B.C.

520. When the tyrant has disposed of foreign enemies by conquest or treaty, and there is nothing to fear from them, then he is always stirring up some war or other, in order that the people may require a leader. —Plato, *The Republic*, ca. 390 B.C.

521. The people have always some champion whom they set over them and nurse into greatness. ... This and no other is the root from which a tyrant springs; when he first appears he is a protector. —Plato, *The Republic*, ca. 390 B.C.

522. Let them hate me, so they but fear me. [*Oderint, dum metuant.*] —Lucius Accius, fragment from a lost tragedy

523. The laws can't be enforced against the man who is the laws' master. —Benvenuto Cellini, *Autobiography*, 1558-66

524. For how can tyrants safely govern home,/ Unless abroad they purchase great alliance? —William Shakespeare, *King Henry the Sixth, Part III*, 1591

525. The abuse of greatness is when it disjoins/ Remorse from power. —William Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, 1599

526. For the people, I desire their liberty and freedom as much as anybody whatever. But I must tell you that their liberty and freedom consists in having of government those laws by which their life and their goods may be most their own. It is not having a share in government; that is nothing pertaining to them. A subject and a sovereign are clean different things. —Charles I, speech on the scaffold, Jan 30, 1649

Liberals for Term Limits

By JOHN H. FUND

House Speaker Tom Foley charges that most of the support for the term limit proposal in Washington state came from "extreme right-wing activists." Ron Brown, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, says "term limits are a backhanded attempt by Republicans to get rid of Democrats they can't defeat at the polls." Are term limits a crusade driven by only one party or ideology? While it's true the most visible term limit advocates are right of center, the movement is picking up many prominent liberal and Democratic supporters.

Certainly the polls show that term limits are overwhelmingly popular with Americans regardless of income, party, race or sex. Last month's Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll showed Americans back term limits by 75% to 21% nationwide. Those earning less than \$20,000 a year supported term limits by 77% to 16%. Democrats and blacks both gave term limits 71% support. Women favored term limits more than men. Martin Plissner, political director for CBS News, says he has "never seen an issue on which there was so little demographic variation."

One reason is that term limits would open up politics to many people now excluded from office by career incumbents. These include blacks, other minorities, and women. Most of the authors of Washington state's term limit are liberal Democrats who want to break up "the old-boy network." One of the authors, Sherry Bockwinkel, says "You won't see white incumbents hanging on to districts that long ago became largely minority."

Opportunities for Women

"Incumbency is the glass ceiling of American politics," says Kay Slaughter, the Democratic candidate in a special U.S. House election in Virginia yesterday. She thinks term limits will give women more opportunities in politics; her GOP opponent refused to support federal term limits. Former Rep. Shirley Chisholm, who in 1972 was the first black to run for a major-party presidential nomination, says "long-term incumbency is a big reason that Congress no longer works and isn't representative. We need a lot more turnover." Colorado Rep. Ben Nighthorse Campbell, the only American Indian in Congress, backed a term limit measure last year that restricted his own tenure.

Term limits for Congress have been supported by some of history's most prominent Democrats. Harry Truman and John F. Kennedy both endorsed the idea while they were president.

Today, former California Governor Jerry Brown says advocacy of term limits is a key element in his populist presidential campaign against a "constipated" political system. "Term limits are a castor oil that democracy needs to take," he says. Last year, as head of the California Democratic Party he refused to sign a party slate mailer against term limits. "I saw incumbents spend their time fund-raising and worrying about how to stay in office. It's time more candidates thought of politics as a calling instead of a career."

Mr. Brown says arguments that legisla-

would gain power under term limits are simply proof that "we must curb the excessive power of those political players as well." He notes both groups opposed term limits in his home state; the California initiative included budget cuts that retired more than 700 legislative staffers.

Other former Democratic governors who favor term limits include Vermont's Madeleine Kunin and Colorado's Richard Lamm. "Breaking the gridlock of incumbency could throw the doors open to new people and new ideas that would make politics rewarding, meaningful and fun," says Ms. Kunin. "The system needs a kick in the rear," says Mr. Lamm. "Term limits have flaws, but they will provide badly needed competition."

While many prominent Democrats support term limits, party *apparatchiks* are dead set against them. The Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee has quietly put out the word that it will black-

Term limits for Congress have been supported by some of history's most prominent Democrats: Presidents Truman and Kennedy both endorsed the idea.

list political consultants who advise candidates to back term limits and has told pollsters not to ask term-limit questions.

Intimidation like that has slowed support for term limits among Democratic officeholders, but there are exceptions. In Massachusetts, the state's Democratic attorney general and secretary of state both favor term limits. In Texas, Gov. Ann Richards says she "would be glad" to sign a bill limiting congressional and legislative terms. Lt. Gov. Bob Bullock also leans in favor of term limits.

Journalists are under fewer constraints than elected officials in expressing enthusiasm for term limits. Among those who have, and who will never be accused of being card-carrying Republicans, are: Washington Post columnist Richard Cohen, syndicated columnist Richard Reeves, the National Journal's Neal Peirce and Time magazine's Michael Kramer.

Hendrik Hertzberg, a former speechwriter for Jimmy Carter who edited the New Republic until last month, agrees term limits would mean a loss of some distinguished legislators. However, he concludes "it would be a cost worth paying to be rid of the much larger number of time-servers who have learned nothing from longevity in office except cynicism, complacency and a sense of diminished possibility." Columnist Ellen Goodman says "We have to learn once again that ideal public service is, by definition, temporary." She thinks the current Congress proves "the politically privileged class has become more isolated than experienced."

Such recent body-blows to Congress as Kitegate and the Clarence Thomas hearings have convinced some liberal media

eral Seattle Times, Washington state's largest newspaper, stunned its readers by endorsing term limits. WCVB-TV, the ABC affiliate in Boston, has often had its liberal editorials called "the Boston Globe of the airwaves." In April, it denounced term limits as "the latest anti-government fad to sweep the country." Last month, the station made a highly unusual about-face and endorsed term limits for Congress: "We're not going to get [leadership] till we have a massive infusion of new blood."

Among Democratic Party activists, James Calaway of Texas is typical of those who now favor term limits. Currently the national treasurer for the American Civil Liberties Union, Mr. Calaway was also chairman of the national Democratic Party's \$15 million "Victory Fund" in 1988. He says term limits would mean "we're governed by citizens who go home after their service and not permanent, elitist people who never leave office." Other Texas Democrats who have joined him include Frances "Sissy" Farenthold, who co-chaired George McGovern's 1972 national campaign, and Leonel Castillo, Jimmy Carter's director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Neo-liberals, who believe that centralized bureaucracies are the biggest obstacle to reforming government, are also warming to term limits. David Osborne, who became sort of a guru for neo-liberals with his book "Laboratories of Democracy," speaks for many reform-minded liberals when he says, "Term limits are necessary to shake things up and disrupt the careerist mindset that leads to so much cowardice in elected officials."

Good for Democrats

While Speaker Tom Foley reacts to term limits the way that Linus in the comic strip "Peanuts" would if his security blanket were taken away, some House Democrats think his concern that term limits would result in large GOP gains in Congress is a fantasy. "People who say term limits are a Republican plot to oust incumbents should know that a majority of open seats are won by Democrats," says Rep. Andy Jacobs of Indiana. Indeed, the Democratic Party could actually be helped by term limits, according to former Oklahoma state legislator Cleta Mitchell, a self-described "liberal feminist" who works with the Denver-based term limit group Americans Back in Charge. "Democrats must offer voters more than the simple powers of incumbency," she says. "So long as our party is dominated by cynical veterans it will turn off the young people who are our party's future."

No one suggests the drive to enact term limits will be easy—especially in states that ban voter initiatives. But there are already signs that business lobbies, labor unions and other term limit opponents are relying more on convincing judges—starting with Florida's heavily politicized state Supreme Court—to overturn state term limits than on trying to convince voters to reject the idea. The leading anti-term limit group, Let the People Decide, has closed its Washington, D.C., offices and been reduced to a skeleton staff.

Mr. Fund is a Journal editorial

Table 5-13 Allowances for Senators, 1972-1991

Category	1972	1979	1981	1983	1985	1987	1989	1991
Clerk-hire	\$311,577— 588,145 ^a	\$508,221— 1,021,167 ^a	\$592,608— 1,190,724 ^a	\$645,897— 1,297,795 ^a	\$695,244— 1,396,947 ^a	\$716,102— 1,438,856 ^a	\$754,000— 1,636,000 ^a	\$814,000— 1,760,000 ^a
Legislative assistance	n.a.	\$157,626 ^b	\$183,801 ^b	\$200,328 ^b	\$215,634 ^b	\$243,543 ^b	\$248,000 ^b	\$269,000 ^b
Postage	\$1,215—1,520	c	c	c	c	c	c	c
Stationery	\$3,600—5,000	c	c	c	c	c	c	c
Travel (round trips)	20—22	c	c	c	c	c	c	c
District and state offices rental	n.a.	4,800— 8,000 sq. ft. ^d	4,800— 8,000 sq. ft. ^d	4,800— 8,000 sq. ft. ^d	4,800— 8,000 sq. ft. ^d	4,800— 8,000 sq. ft.	4,800— 8,000 sq. ft. ^d	4,800— 8,000 sq. ft. ^d
Furnishings, state offices	n.a.	\$22,550— 31,350	\$22,550— 31,350	\$22,550— 31,350	\$22,550— 31,350	\$30,000— 41,744	\$30,000— 41,744 ^e	\$30,000— 41,744 ^e
Official office expense account	n.a.	\$33,000— 143,000 ^f	\$33,000— 143,000 ^f	\$36,000— 156,000 ^f	\$36,000— 156,000 ^f	\$36,000— 156,000	\$33,000— 156,000 ^f	\$47,000— 122,000 ^f

n.a. = not applicable.

^a There is no limit on the number of employees a senator may hire. He must, however, use only the clerk-hire or legislative assistance allowance to pay staff salaries. The clerk-hire allowance varies according to state population.

^b In addition to clerk-hire, each senator has a legislative assistance allowance worth \$269,000 in 1991. This allowance is reduced for any committee chairman or ranking minority member of a committee. It is also reduced for any other senator authorized by a committee chairman to recommend or approve any individuals for appointment to the committee staff who will assist that senator "solely and directly" in his duties as a member of the committee. The reduction requirements were waived for the 99th and 100th Congresses.

^c This allowance is one of the allocations of the consolidated office expense allowance. Before January 1, 1973, senators were authorized individually controlled allowances for six expense categories as follows: transportation expenses for the senator and his staff; stationery; air mail and special delivery postage; long-distance telephone calls; telegram charges; and home state expenses, which include home state office expenses; telephone service charges

incurred outside Washington, D.C.; subscriptions to newspapers, magazines, periodicals, and clipping or similar services; and home state office rent (repealed effective July 1, 1974).

Effective January 1, 1973, the Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1973, provided for the consolidation of these same allowances to provide flexibility to senators in the management of the same dollars provided for their expense allowances. No limit was imposed on any expense category by this authorization. The allowance was designated as the consolidated office expense allowance. Effective January 1, 1977, the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act redesignated the consolidated office expense allowance as the official office expense account.

^d Effective July 1, 1974, the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1975, provided a formula for the allowable aggregate square feet of office space in the home state of a senator. There is no limit on the number of offices that may be established by a senator in his home state, but the designated square footage may not be exceeded. The cost of office space in the home state is not chargeable to the official office expense account.

^e An aggregate furniture and furnishings allowance is provided through the General Services Administration for one or more state offices in either federal or privately owned buildings. The \$30,000 minimum allowance for office space not greater than 4,800 square feet is increased by \$734 for each authorized increase of 200 square feet of space.

^f The expense account may be used for the following expenses (2 U.S.C. 58[a], as amended):

1. official telegrams and long-distance phone calls and related services
2. stationery and other office supplies purchased through the stationery room for official business
3. costs incurred in the mailing or delivery of matters relating to official business
4. official office expenses in home state, other than equipment or furniture (purchase of office equipment beyond stated allocations may be made through 10 percent funds listed under item 9 below)
5. official telephone charges incurred outside Washington, D.C.
6. subscriptions to newspapers, magazines, periodicals, or clipping or similar services
7. travel expenses incurred by a senator or staff member, subject to certain limitations
8. expenses incurred by individuals selected by a senator to serve on panels or other bodies making recommendations for nominees to service academies or federal judgeships
9. other official expenses as the senator determines are necessary, including (a) additional office equipment for Washington, D.C., or state offices; (b) actual transportation expenses incurred by the senator and employees for official business in the Washington metropolitan area (this is also allowed to employees assigned to a state office for actual transportation expenses in the general vicinity of the office to which assigned but is not available for a change of assignment within the state or for commuting between home and office).

The total reimbursement expense for the calendar year may not exceed 10 percent of the total official office expense account.

Beginning with fiscal year 1981, each senator was also allowed to transfer funds from the administrative, clerical, and legislative assistance allowances to the official office expense account.

Sources: For 1972, *Senate LBA Hearings for 1980*. For 1979-1985, U.S. Senate, *Congressional Handbook*. For 1987, "Salaries and Allowances: The Congress." For 1989, Office of the Secretary of the Senate; Office of the Sergeant-at-Arms. For 1991, Senate Disbursing Office.

Table 5-12 Allowances for Representatives, 1977-1991

Category	1977	1979	1981	1983	1985	1987	1989	1991
Clerk-hire	\$238,580	\$288,156	\$336,384	\$366,648	\$394,680	\$406,560	\$431,760 ^a	\$475,000 ^a
Postage	\$211	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
Stationery	\$6,500	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
Travel (round trips)	33	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
Telephone/telegraph	\$5,200 for equipment; 15,000 long-distance minutes	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
District and state offices rental	2,500 sq. ft.	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
Furnishings (one-time)	\$27,000	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
Official expenses	\$7,000	\$50,000— 130,000	\$66,200— 248,601	\$588,850— 279,470	\$105,513— 306,509	\$105,513— 306,509 ^c	\$108,400— 306,500	\$135,000— 317,000
Constituent communications (begun in 1975)	\$5,000	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
Equipment lease	\$9,000	b	b	b	b	b	b	b

^a Each member was entitled to an annual clerk-hire allowance of \$475,000 for a staff not to exceed twenty-two employees, four of whom must fit into five categories: (1) shared payroll—employees, such as computer experts, who are shared by members; (2) interns; (3) employees on leave without pay; (4) part-time employees; (5) temporary employees—employees hired for a specific purpose for not more than ninety days.

^b As of January 3, 1978, previous individual allowances for travel, office equipment lease, district office lease, stationery, telecommunications, mass mailings, postage, computer services, and other official expenses were consolidated in a single allowance category—the official expenses allowance. Members may budget funds for each category as they see fit. The official expenses allowances for individual members ranged from \$135,000 to \$317,000 for the 1991 calendar year. The average allowance for 1991 was \$173,500.

^c Each member is entitled to a base official expenses allowance of \$105,500. In addition, there are three variables that determine the total amount allotted for official expenses: (1) transportation costs, (2) telecommunications costs, and (3) cost of office space. The amount allotted for travel is computed as follows:

64 multiplied by the rate per mile multiplied by the mileage between the District of Columbia and the farthest point in the member's district. The minimum amount allotted for travel in 1987 was \$6,200 per member.

The amount allotted for telecommunications is computed as follows: 15,000 times the highest long-distance rate per minute from the District of Columbia to the member's district. The minimum amount allotted for telecommunications in 1987 was \$6,000 per member. If the member has elected to use WATS or a similar service in his office, the 15,000-minute multiplier will be reduced by one-half.

The amount allotted for office space costs is computed as follows: 2,500 square feet multiplied by the highest applicable rate per square foot charged by the administrator of the General Services Administration to federal agencies in the district for rental of office space.

The official expenses allowance may not be used for:

1. expenses relating to the hiring and employment of individuals, including, but not limited to, employment service fees, transportation of interviewees to and from employment interviews, and cost of relocation upon acceptance or termination of employment
2. items purchased from other than the House stationery store that have a useful life greater than current term of the member and that would have a residual value of more than \$25 upon the expiration of the current term of the member
3. holiday greeting cards, flowers, and trophies
4. personal advertisements (other than meeting or appearance notices)
5. donations of any type, except flags of the United States flown over the Capitol and items purchased for use as gifts when on official travel
6. dues other than to legislative support organizations as approved by the Committee on House Administration
7. educational expenses for courses of study or information or training programs unless the benefit accrues primarily to the House and the skill or knowledge is not commonly available
8. purchases of radio and television time
9. parking for member and employees at district offices, except when included as an integral part of the lease or occupancy agreement for the district office space.

Each member may allocate up to \$40,000 from the clerk-hire allowance to supplement the official expenses allowance. A member also may allocate up to \$40,000 from the official expenses allowance to supplement the clerk-hire allowance, provided that monthly clerk-hire disbursements not exceed 10 percent of the total clerk-hire allowance.

Sources: For 1977 and 1979, Committee on House Administration, *Studies Dealing with Budgetary, Staffing and Administrative Activities of the U.S. House of Representatives, 1946-1978*. For 1981, 1983, and 1985, U.S. House of Representatives, *Congressional Handbook*. For 1987, "Salaries and Allowances: The Congress," Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., July 15, 1987, update. For 1989, Office of the Clerk of the House. For 1991, Committee on House Administration.

NEW YORK TIMES 10/23/91

Foreign Affairs

LESLIE H. GELB

Throw the Bums Out

Hey, senators and representatives, you want to know what Americans think of you? Not very much, if you read the latest New York Times/CBS News Poll. What that poll suggests is that the people, their incalculable lack of information and passivity notwithstanding, are going to throw a lot of you — Republicans and Democrats alike — back into the free-market economy where you will find slightly unfamiliar standards for kiting checks, paying restaurant bills and sexual harassment.

You, too, President Bush, may find the survey unsettling. It could be that the voters might like to anoint you as Secretary of State and choose someone else to be President.

Americans are beginning to feel that their lives are going down the tubes — despite the U.S. still being the richest nation in the world, a global democratic role model and having won the cold war and the war against Iraq. While elections are an unpredictable year away, voters might be looking for someone to blame, even though they know you've been busy.

The good news from the poll is that 44% of the people think all candidates for public office are corrupt (34% say honest), and 57% believe most candidates are interested in prestige and power, not in helping the country. So, you elected officials can hope that voters will think your opponent will be as bad as you and stick with the devil they know.

On the other hand, voters may conclude that you legislators are so bad that almost no one could be worse. Of those polled, 29% approved the way Congress is handling its job and 57%

The Times/CBS Poll's message.

disapproved. Only twice in the last 15 years has Congress been given a less flattering report card.

In my own informal poll taken this month in Peoria, Ill.; Manchester and Concord, N.H., and New York City, the results were 99 disapprove and 1 approve. The one approval was a guy lurking in the subway waiting to mug someone who said, "I greatly admire and respect Senator Alan Simpson from the great state of Wyoming."

And when the people in the Times/CBS Poll speak of their deep disaffection with Congress, they mean all of you. Sixty-eight percent favored limiting the number of years you can serve in office.

One footnote: Before the Judge Thomas hearings began, those polled were asked, "Whom do you trust more to make the right decisions about who should sit on the U.S. Supreme Court — the President or the U.S. Senate?" Fifty-five percent said the Senate and 31% said the President. After the bungled hearings, 55% still answered the Senate, and only 25% preferred Mr. Bush. So, Mr. President, it seems that some additional Americans came to suspect your motives more than Congress's.

Those polled still approve of the way you're doing your job, Mr. President, by a remarkable 67% to 24%. But you've got to analyze what that

means. It parallels almost exactly your 69% to 22% approval rating on foreign affairs.

In every other category, you get low marks. On your handling of the economy, 33% approved and 57% disapproved. That's less than half your favorable ratio on foreign affairs.

And the poll respondents make abundantly clear that the economic situation matters far more to them than foreign policy. Asked to cite the most important problem facing the country, 23% said the economy, 16% unemployment and 5% the deficit. Only 1% said foreign policy. That's right, only 1%.

What pervades the poll results is a frightening pessimism about the future. Asked in 1986 if things were better or worse than five years ago, 44% felt better and 31% worse. Questioned again this month, only 19% said better, a drop of 25 percentage points, and 44% reckoned their lot had gotten worse, a jump of 13 points.

You, Mr. President, and all you members of Congress might just be facing a popular revolt in November 1992. It's easy to fool most of the people, distracted and bewildered as they are, most of the time. But after 5 or 10 years, enough people actually get the joke. In their unhappiness they just might resort to the ultimate in term limitation, namely the political philosopher Jeremy Bentham's principle of "dislocability." Which in the current vernacular translates as "throw the bums out."

Maybe the latest Times/CBS Poll shows that in Hollywood on the Potomac, you residents are building your own bonfire of political vanities. □

The Senate Covers Itself

10/31/91
The New York Times

The Senate, having already distinguished itself by forcing President Bush to accept its version of the 1991 civil rights bill, achieved even greater distinction yesterday. It ended years of hypocrisy by voting to apply to itself anti-bias laws similar to those it applies to others.

The old double standard had its uses. Congress might have been more reluctant to pass such landmark laws as the 1964 Civil Rights Act if its own members had been covered to the same extent as the private sector.

But time began to run out. Congress for too long had insisted on treating itself differently. In last year's Americans With Disabilities Act, for example, Congress provided that aggrieved Senate employees could take their complaints of discrimination by sex or race, age or disability to the Ethics Committee.

Now the Senate is providing that these com-

plaints, along with complaints under the new bill, may go also to an internal review board that has the power to award damages, and if necessary move on to the Federal courts. Ultimately, any damage award is to come out of the pocket of an offending senator.

Some senators contend that under the Constitution only the Senate can properly adjudicate the rights of its employees. But mistreatment of employees is not immunized by separation of powers principles or the Constitution's command that for any speech or debate, legislators "shall not be questioned in any other place." Moreover, the Supreme Court has taken a narrow view of such claims of Congressional immunity.

Some senator may challenge the law. But it could be years before a final court ruling. After the House passes this bill and the President signs it, senators will be best advised simply to obey it.

A Vote for Democracy

America's active participation in democracy is dwindling. Barely half the eligible voters took part in the 1988 Presidential election — the lowest rate in 64 years. The turnout in non-Presidential years is smaller still.

A bill that would help reverse this ominous trend is now threatened with a Senate filibuster. The bill won't even make it to the floor unless the favorable votes of 60 senators can be mustered today to close off debate on a motion to proceed. Senators who care about enlarging democracy will vote yes.

Why is turnout so low? Uninspiring campaigns are surely a factor. But the problem begins with simple arithmetic: Only 60 percent of eligible voters are registered. The "motor-voter" bill sponsored by Senator Wendell Ford, Democrat of Ken-

tucky, could boost that figure tremendously — to an estimated 90 percent — by requiring states to enable qualified citizens to register when they apply for a driver's license. States would also be required to permit registration by mail and to make registration forms available at public agencies like welfare and unemployment offices.

Action on the measure, similar to one passed by the House last year, was blocked by Senate Republicans this summer by a single vote. But obstructionism needn't prevail if the lonely Republican supporters pick up a few allies, like Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania and Bob Packwood of Oregon.

Opponents of the "motor-voter" measure exaggerate its costs and the chance for increased voting fraud. What cannot be exaggerated is the cost, to democracy, of standing still.



LEVEL 1 - 1 OF 7 STORIES

Copyright 1991 Gannett Company, Inc.
GANNETT NEWS SERVICE

December 27, 1991, Friday

LENGTH: 2042 words

HEADLINE: 1991:WHEN PUBLIC MOOD TOOK ECONOMIC FREE-FALL

BYLINE: JOHN HANCHETTE; Gannett News Service

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD: 1991WRAP-ECONOMY:1991WRAP-ECSIDE

... different this time around.

Perhaps it was because huge lay-offs became commonplace in 1991. A December GNS poll showed three in four Americans know someone who lost a job in the past six months. When General Motors announced it was closing 21 plants and ending 74,000 jobs in the ...

LEVEL 1 - 2 OF 7 STORIES

Copyright 1991 Gannett Company, Inc.
GANNETT NEWS SERVICE

December 21, 1991, Saturday

LENGTH: 1612 words

HEADLINE: Campaign '92:The Faces of America's Jobless // NO CHRISTMAS CHEER FOR NATION'S UNEMPLOYED

BYLINE: Gannett News Service

KEYWORD: POLL-JOBLESS

... lines.

Nearly 8.5 million Americans are looking for work. Voters are nervous. A new Gannett News Service poll shows 81 percent consider the economy in bad shape. Three of four know someone who has lost a job in the last six months, and 54 percent are concerned they will lose their jobs in the next two years.



GANNETT NEWS SERVICE, December 19, 1991

BODY:

As Christmas 1991 approaches, recession in America means unemployment lines snaking longer than mall checkout lines.

Nearly 8.5 million Americans are looking for work. Voters are nervous. A new Gannett News Service poll shows 81 percent consider the economy in bad shape. Three of four know someone who has lost a job in the last six months, and 54 percent are concerned they will lose their jobs in the next two years.

In November 1988, two months before George Bush took office, the jobless rate was 5.3 percent - 6,482,000 Americans out of work. Last month it was 6.8 percent, nearly 8.5 million. On Wednesday, auto giant General Motors announced that over the next three years it will cut its work force by 74,000 and close 21 plants.

What is it like to be seeking work in a recession, to be trying to make ends meet on an unemployment check? How does it feel to have little or nothing to spend on the kids' Christmas presents?

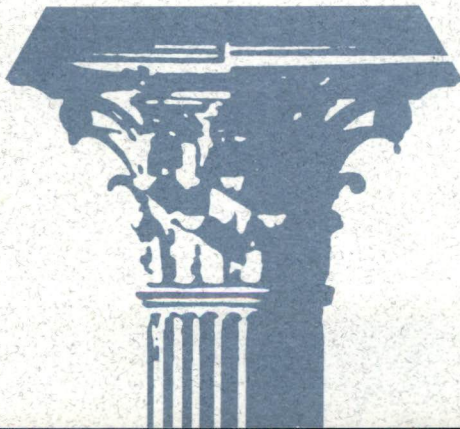
GNS sent reporters to a half-dozen cities to talk to people out of work. Here is a look at some of the faces of America's jobless.

Association Factbook

asae

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF ASSOCIATION EXECUTIVES

The ASAE Building
1575 Eye Street, NW
Washington, DC 20005



asae



A Few Words About Associations

“Americans of all ages, all conditions, and all dispositions constantly form associations. They have not only commercial and manufacturing companies, in which all take part, but associations of a thousand other kinds, religious, moral, serious, futile, general or restricted, enormous or diminutive. The Americans make associations to give entertainment, to found seminaries, to build inns, to construct churches, to diffuse books, to send missionaries to the antipodes; in this manner they found hospitals, prisons, and schools. If it is proposed to inculcate some truth or to foster some feeling by the encouragement of a great example, they form a society. Wherever at the head of some new undertaking you see the government in France, or a man of rank in England, in the United States you will be sure to find an association.”

Alexis de Tocqueville
“Democracy in America”
1835

Quotable Notables

“America’s thousands of non-profit associations and societies must play a vital role in helping the nation adapt to complex and changing times.”

—President George Bush

“It is because of our system’s (government’s) complexity that associations have such a potentially useful role to play. They can educate and inform. They can improve the quality of decision making by their expertise. They can be advocates for a position or an approach to an issue. They can support candidates they believe will best serve the nation. They can encourage good citizenship by promoting voter registration and getting out the vote.”

—Ronald Reagan

“Looking at the future, I think there is no question that the role of trade and professional associations will be enhanced. They will be more closely under the scrutiny of their members, they will be expected to deliver more, and their members will be more involved.”

—William G. Ouchi, author,
The M-Form Society

“A trade association is an organization for mutual benefit, which substitutes knowledge for ignorance, rumor, guess, and suspicion—It tends to substitute research and reasoning for gambling and piracy, without closing the door to adventure or lessening the value of prophetic wisdom.”

—Justice Louis D. Brandeis

“The first reported case of an association executive making a blunder occurred in the Bible, when an association executive overbooked the inn at a carpenter’s convention in Bethlehem. The rest is history.”

—Art Buchwald, Newspaper Columnist
and Humorist

“There is no end which the human will despairs of attaining through the combined power of individuals united into a society.”

—Alexis de Tocqueville

“An idea is a feat of association.”

—Robert Frost

Association Trends
(weekly newspaper)
4948 St. Elmo Ave.
Bethesda, MD 20814

U.S.A.E.
(weekly newspaper)
4341 Montgomery Ave.
Bethesda, Md. 20814

If you want to visit an association trade show, check one of the following sources:

Directory of Conventions (annual)
Exhibits Schedule: Annual Directory of Trade and Industrial Shows, Successful Meetings Magazine,
633 Third Ave., New York, NY 10017

Trade Show/Convention Guide (annual)
Budd Publications, Inc.,
P.O. Box 7, New York, NY 10004

World Convention Dates (monthly)
Hendrickson Publishing Co.,
79 Washington St., Hempstead, NY 11550

If you are searching for a particular association or its location, consult one of these directories:

The Encyclopedia of Associations
Gale Research Company,
Book Tower,
Detroit, MI 48266, (312) 961-2242

Who's Who In Association Management/Allied Societies Directory
(See ASAE address above)

National Trade & Professional Associations of the United States and Canada,
Columbia Books, Inc.,
777 14th St., N.W., Washington, DC 20005,
(202) 737-3777



A lot has changed since Alexis de Tocqueville observed more than 150 years ago that the United States is a nation of associations, but one thing hasn't—the tendency of Americans to band together for a common cause.

Thousands of associations are formed every year. They call themselves by many names: institute, council, alliance, federation, coalition, congress, foundation, club, network, and center. By some counts there are upwards of half a million associations in this country.

As the visibility of associations has increased, so has the need for factual information on the association field. To help fill that need, the ASAE Public Relations Division has prepared this Fact Book, with the assistance of ASAE's Research and Information Department.

We hope you find this publication informative and invite you to call on ASAE whenever you require additional information.

A handwritten signature in red ink that reads "R. William Taylor". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

*R. William Taylor, CAE
President, ASAE*

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Future ASAE Convention Sites

Upcoming ASAE conventions are scheduled for:

Spring Convention	Annual Meeting	Management Conference
1989 Cincinnati, OH March 11-15	Boston, MA August 12-16	Dallas, TX December 10-13
1990 Washington, DC March 3-7	Chicago, IL July 28- August 1	Washington, DC December 7-12
1991 (checking)	Washington, DC August 10-14	Chicago, IL November 10-13
1992 Washington, DC March 7-11	Atlanta, GA August 29- September 2	(checking)
1993 (checking)	Minneapolis, MN August 21-25	(checking)

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For More Information

Additional information on associations is available from a number of sources: ASAE, directories, trade publications, etc.

Inquiries to ASAE (1575 Eye St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005; Phone: (202) 626 *ASAE) should be directed to its Public Relations Division.

If you want to follow association activities, you may wish to subscribe to one or more of the following publications:

Association Management (ASAE monthly magazine) 1575 Eye St., N.W. Washington, D.C.	Meeting News (monthly) 1515 Broadway New York, NY 10036
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Successful Meetings 633 Third Ave. New York, NY 10017	Meetings Conventions (monthly) One Park Ave. New York, NY 10016
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As the "association of associations," ASAE's mission also includes communicating to non-association audiences information about the role association executives play in today's fast-paced world. Toward that end, ASAE's Public Relations Division works to provide the news media and its other publics with timely information on the mission of associations.

Futuristic research involving the association management profession is the mission of the ASAE Foundation. The Foundation's long-term research projects help members better understand and prepare for trends affecting the future of association management.

ASAE is an educator, a motivator, and a communicator. More than that however, it's the professional home for association executives striving to improve themselves and the organizations they represent.

ASAE Executive Staff

R. William Taylor, CAE, President

Jon P. Grove, CAE, Executive Vice President

G. Harris Jordan, Director, Government Affairs

Thomas A. Gorski, Director, Public Relations and Market Research

Peggy Dowd, Executive Assistant and Board Liaison, Office of the President

LaRue Frye, CMP, Director, Conventions and Expositions

Malcolm Karl, CAE, Director of Finance

Robert MacDicken, CAE, Director of Human Resources & Executive Employment

*Elissa M. Myers, CAE, Publisher,
ASSOCIATION MANAGEMENT*

Susan Sarfati, CAE, Director, Education Services

Debra Sher, Director, Member Services

Who? What? Why?

Associations abound in America. Currently, nearly 23,000 operate at the national level and nearly one hundred thousand more at the regional, state, and local levels.

There are big associations (the American Association of Retired Persons has 27 million members) and small ones (the International Fancy Guppy Association has only 29).

In fact, it would be hard to find an individual who is not involved with—or affected by—associations. Associations are virtually omnipresent in today's society, yet few people really understand just how pervasive the network is.

Mention the word association and most people identify it with activities such as lobbying. While many associations can and do lobby, they are more closely involved in the daily lives of Americans than most people realize.

For example, if you belong to a fraternity or sorority, the National Geographic Society, AAA the car club, a PTA, or a professional society, then you are an association member.

Anyone who goes to a doctor, consults a lawyer, buys a car, rides a bus, flies an airplane, or goes to school benefits from associations.

One of the primary strengths of the American people lies in their ability to join together in associations to achieve what no one person could achieve alone. Associations have flourished in this country because the principles that make them possible—freedom to meet, freedom to speak, and freedom to organize—are rooted in the founding traditions of America.

Information is Driving Force

The driving force behind every association is information. An association, by its very nature, exists to facilitate the exchange of information. That information may take many forms (magazines, newsletters, brochures, reports, television programs, advertising) and may be directed at a variety of audiences (members, consumers, legislators, regulators).

It's easy to understand why, as we move further into the information age, associations

will increasingly be viewed as information brokers.

Regardless of size or geographic location, associations can be divided into two broad categories: trade associations and professional societies.

Trade Associations

Trade associations are not-for-profit organizations that represent a group of business firms. Businesses join their associations voluntarily and manage them cooperatively. The companies work together to accomplish goals that no single firm could reach by itself. Activities include promoting business for the industry; encouraging ethical practices in the industry; setting of industry standards; cooperating with other organizations; and holding conventions.

Some examples include the American International Automobile Dealers, the National Restaurant Association, the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Stock Exchange, and the Zinc Institute.

Professional Societies

Professional societies, also not-for-profit voluntary membership organizations, represent *individuals* with a common background in a subject or a profession such as law, medicine, and accounting.

There are three types of professional societies. Associations such as the American Philatelic Society or American Association of Retired Persons promote common personal interests and objectives.

A second category of organizations includes scientific, engineering and learned societies that strive to advance the bodies of knowledge of their field. The American Chemical Society, the Society of Automotive Engineers, and the National Association of Accountants supply information in their respective fields to enable their members to keep abreast of their advances.

4 A third type is dedicated to religious, charitable, public service, or fraternal causes, such as the National Council on Aging, American Lung Association, and the Delta Upsilon Fraternity.

Information and Education

While ASAE's periodicals may be among the most regularly visible elements of the organization, the strength behind them comes from numerous information and educational resources:

- *Certified Association Executive (CAE) Program*—Awarded to executives who pass a comprehensive written examination and document their leadership activities in the association profession and in the community. This 28-year-old program now boasts 1,600 CAEs.
- *Information Central (IC)*—The nation's leading information clearinghouse on all subjects pertaining to association management.
- *Education*—ASAE annually conducts close to 100 seminars and workshops.
- *Conventions, Meetings, & Expositions*—The two major events in the association management field are the ASAE Annual Meeting & Exposition and the ASAE Spring Convention & Exposition. Each usually attracts more than 3,000 people.
- *Management Conference*—This unique educational event brings members of the association management community together to solve common problems by sharing experiences, information, and workable solutions. Educational sessions are based on actual problems and solutions encountered by ASAE members.

ASAE's Government Affairs staff takes an active role in representing the association field before federal agencies, Congress, and state governments. It also helps members interpret proposed or enacted laws or regulations that affect the interests of associations and their members.

Awards

Outstanding performance by association executives is recognized by ASAE through a variety of awards, including the Key Award (for chief staff executives), the ASAE Fellows Program, the Gold Circle Awards Program for excellence in communication, the Awards of Excellence for creativity in educational programming, and many others.



Membership

There are several categories of membership in ASAE, including:

- *Regular Membership*—Open to all full-time executives who manage nonprofit voluntary membership organizations.
- *Associate Membership*—Open to anyone who markets to ASAE members, members of learned professions, and others who are not full-time association executives.
- *Section Membership*—Available to regular and associate members and their staffs who are interested in communication, finance, membership, convention management, education, government relations, and international affairs.

*Source: ASAE Membership Department

Allied Societies

While ASAE represents associations from all over the country, the ASAE Allied Societies represent associations in individual states. For instance, the Texas Society of Association Executives is made up of association executives located in Texas; the Ohio Society is made up of association executives in Ohio. Occasionally, an allied society will be from a city such as the Chicago Society, or the Oklahoma City Society. Allied Societies give the executives from various states the opportunity to meet and learn from others in their area. These societies operate independently of ASAE, but share common interests.

Periodicals

In pursuing its mandate to educate and train association executives, ASAE produces a variety of periodicals:

- *Association Management*—Published monthly, this award-winning magazine is the most popular and highly read publication in the association field.
- *Leadership*—Published in January for volunteer leaders of associations.
- *Who's Who in Association Management*—ASAE's annual membership directory.
- *Monthly newsletters*—for members of ASAE's individual membership sections.

Professional societies provide advanced educational opportunities for their members, latest information on technological advances or legislative actions affecting the profession and often offer a certification process.

Whether trade or professional in orientation, associations exist to satisfy the needs and concerns of their members. Given the tremendous growth of this field in recent decades, they're obviously doing their job quite well.

Associations at Work . . .

In times of need

When an earthquake struck the small town of Saragosa, Texas, many families lost their homes and automobiles. The Texas Automobile Dealers Association responded and contacted all of the used car dealers in the state to donate vehicles. In all, 60 families received a vehicle just twelve days after the tornado.

Homeless people are often not aware of their legal rights as citizens. The Kansas City Metropolitan Bar Association provides the homeless with free legal advice and assesses their eligibility for benefits and services by making regular volunteer visits to shelters.

Both of these programs have been recognized by President Reagan in the President's Citation Program for Private Sector Initiatives.



A Look at the Past

"Every man owes a part of his time and money to the business or industry in which he is engaged. No man has the moral right to withhold his support from an organization that is striving to improve conditions within his sphere."

—Theodore Roosevelt

The first associations can be traced to ancient cultures in Rome and the Orient, where trade groups were formed to benefit their members. The Bible indicates that, more than 3,000 years ago, trade considerations often bound people together.

The formation of associations as we know them began during the Middle Ages when laborers formed craft and merchant guilds to ensure proper wages and maintain strict work standards. The tightly knit structure protected the guild members and their families.

With the advent of the Industrial Revolution, the medieval guilds slowly began to decline in Europe. In the United States, however, the era of associations was just emerging. During the mid-18th century, Rhode Island candle makers organized themselves as "Spermaceti Candles." In 1743, Benjamin Franklin formed in Philadelphia what is today called the American Philosophical Society. A group of 20 merchants in 1768 formed the New York Chamber of Commerce, the oldest trade association still in existence in the United States. Because this nation faced serious economic and social hardships following the Revolutionary War, national organizations developed more slowly than local ones.

Specialization Spurred Growth

6 The Civil War and America's subsequent industrialization led to the emergence of trade associations and local chambers of commerce. The rapid formation of trade associations and special societies reflected the growing specialization of industry and the urbanization of America. Membership drastically increased in response to the need for professional, educational, and recreational outlets. Some of the associations established during

Most Popular Convention Cities

The nation's top convention cities* (in alphabetical order) are:

Anaheim	Houston	New Orleans
Atlanta	Las Vegas	New York
Chicago	Los Angeles	Washington, D.C.
Dallas		

*Source: *Tradeshaw 200 1989*, a division of *Tradeshaw Week*, Los Angeles.

All About ASAE

ASAE is many things to many people. It's a source of inspiration, information, education, and motivation to name a few. First and foremost, however, it is an association—considered by many to be the "association of associations."

As the official organization of the men and women who manage professional and trade associations, its 18,000+ members represent more than 8,000 national and state associations serving more than 215 million people and companies.*

The primary responsibilities of ASAE are to:

- Enhance the professionalism of association executives; and
- Improve the performance of the organizations which employ ASAE's members.

In fulfilling this mission, ASAE often serves in a "test tube" capacity, trying out new education programs, convention formats, and managerial techniques that members may, or may not, want to emulate. With a staff of 110, directed by ASAE President R. William Taylor, CAE, and an annual budget of nearly \$14 million, it offers hundreds of products, services, publications, and programs, all aimed at encouraging the professional growth and development of association executives.

Indicative of its stature in the association field, ASAE administered the President's Citation Program for Private Sector Initiatives during the Reagan years. The program was developed by the White House in 1984 to encourage growth in voluntary service programs on the part of business, trade associations, and professional societies and to recognize outstanding contributions through the awarding of Presidential "C-Flags."

The Economic Effect

The association industry is significant in many respects—total employees, payroll, and membership—but in one area it is the undisputed leader. It's *the* big spender when it comes to conventions and meetings.

In 1987, the association industry spent \$22 billion to hold 194,400 meetings and conventions and attracted 27.6 million attendees.¹ By anybody's economic yardstick, that's big business.

It's no wonder the statistics are so impressive. An estimated 95 percent of all state and national associations hold annual conventions. Association convention attendance averages 1,052 participants who stay 4 days in the host city, and each spend \$518.²

Given the size of the association meeting business, many cities compete vigorously for the attention of convention planners. In the case of ASAE's two annual conventions, competition is especially keen because attendees represent so many other associations. Each ASAE convention contributes an estimated \$3 million to the economy of the host city where 20 percent of the delegates will eventually schedule a meeting of their own.

Hotels, airlines, car rental agencies, speakers bureaus, cruise ships, and many other companies actively court the association meeting planner.

The effect of associations also is felt on the employment market, particularly in the three metropolitan areas where national association headquarters are concentrated.

The Washington, D.C. area is home to 2,200 national associations, more than any other city in the U.S. That represents a workforce of 35,200. In fact, associations are the third largest industry in Washington, D.C., after the government and the tourism industry.³

New York City is second with 740 associations and 11,840 workers, followed by Chicago with 323 associations and 5,168 employees.⁴

1. *Meetings and Conventions Magazine survey, 1987.*

18 2. *1988 IACVB Convention Income Survey.*

3. *Greater Board of Trade Inaugural Report on Washington.*

4. *National Trade and Professional Associations, 1988.*

this period are still in existence today:

- American Statistical Association (1839)
- American Psychiatric Association (1844)
- American Medical Association (1847)
- American Pharmaceutical Association (1852)
- American Iron and Steel Institute (1855)
- National Education Association (1857)
- American Dental Association (1859)
- American Insurance Association (1866)
- American Bankers Association (1878)
- National Association of Life Underwriters (1890)
- National Association of Manufacturers (1895)

By 1900, there were 100 national associations in the United States. With World War I approaching, many associations expanded, while others were formed to meet the tremendous industrial demands. By the end of the war, the United States could boast nearly 1,000 national associations.

Because of government regulations, the decades that followed this growth period were difficult for associations. During the Great Depression, many associations were forced to cut their budgets drastically. Associations enjoyed a brief resurgence after the passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) in 1933, as many worked with the U.S. government to set up "Codes of Fair Competition" to help industry regulate itself. However, many of the 800 associations that were formed under this act soon disappeared after the Supreme Court ruled the NIRA unconstitutional.

Joint Effort

World War II helped resuscitate existing associations and create many new ones. The war allowed the government, trade associations, and other societies to work together once again. The government relied on the technical expertise of many industry specialists to help meet wartime demands. The Korean War, a decade later, contributed to the increased importance of associations to our nation's economy and education.

Over the years, the specific purposes of associations have changed to reflect society's growing needs. When an association is no longer able to serve those needs, it either revamps its objectives, merges with another

organization, becomes inactive, or formally dissolves. For example, the Adult Education Association of the United States of America and the National Association for Public Continuing and Adult Education merged to become the American Association for Adult and Continuing Education because they shared common objectives. Associations such as the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the Wool Hat Manufacturers Association became defunct as a result of changing lifestyles.

An association may vanish when its objectives have been met. Others dissolve because of competition or internal and external strife. By nature, associations serve the needs of society, and as these needs change, associations change with them.

Associations at Work . . .

Against Drugs

Many associations provide programs to help their local communities in the fight against drugs. Four-hundred local boy scout councils, part of the Boy Scouts of America, presented their "Drugs: A Deadly Game" program to more than four million non-members nationwide. The program included a booklet for youth, guidelines for antidrug rallies and education programs, public-service advertising, billboards displayed in thirty-eight states, and print advertisements.

The American Association of Advertising Agencies developed "Media-Advertising Partnership for a Drug-Free America," a 3-year media-advertising program aimed at changing social attitudes to curb public demand for drugs. Local advertising agencies nationwide produced advertising at their own cost and distributed them to broadcast and print media.

Both of these programs have been recognized by President Reagan in the President's Citation Program for Private Sector Initiatives.

More than 1,600 association executives have earned the Certified Association Executive (CAE) designation, in addition to advanced academic degrees. Most have experience in some area of public relations, law, administration, or finance. Several colleges and universities including George Washington University in Washington, D.C., and De Paul University in Chicago, now offer master's degree programs in association management.

ASAE's 1988 Association Compensation Survey shows that the average salary for the chief staff executive is \$75,900. Most top executives with medium-sized associations have annual salaries comparable to corporate salary levels.

Associations offer diversity, security, professional-growth, and salaries competitive with private industry. They represent all fields of interest throughout the country. If you enjoy working with people, are well organized, and have specific interests and professional experience, employment with associations is worth investigating.

Associations at Work

The AIDS Crisis

Associations of all sorts have been reacting to the AIDS crisis in different ways. The American Correctional Association has produced numerous materials for the corrections field. A video tape containing background information on AIDS, teaching suggestions, and a lesson plan is made available to members.

Responding to the misconception that people could get AIDS from donating blood, the American Association of Blood Banks created press kits and brochures to counter such myths.

And, the National School Boards Association published "AIDS and the Public Schools," an in-depth look at the disease that was written specifically for educators.

A Job For You?

As associations continue to grow, so too will the opportunities for employment with them. In 1956, there were about 5,000 national associations. Today, there are nearly 23,000. ASAE recently estimated that there are just over one million association employees throughout the nation.

Though associations may vary in membership size, budget, staff, salary, and specific purpose, each maintains a staff structured to perform particular tasks. Salaries largely reflect the size and budget of each association. The most recent research indicates that the median staff size for a national association is 16, and the average association budget is \$2.9 million.* Unlike other industries, associations provide tremendous advancement potential for their staff through wide exposure to various functions and members.

Half of the positions with associations are executive level, while others range from clerical and support to upper- and mid-level management. Because smaller associations have fewer people to perform the requisite tasks, they constantly need generalists—people who can take on a variety of tasks, such as membership and fund-raising and publishing activities. Depending on the organization, directors will often wear several hats. The larger associations tend to form entire departments around major functions like financial services, education, government relations, and membership services.

“People Oriented” Work

Association work tends to be “people oriented.” Anyone seeking a career with associations should have good oral, written, and interpersonal skills, in addition to work experience. Although many entry-level positions are available in conference planning, public relations, and member services, higher level association jobs increasingly require a strong degree of professionalism. Positions in financial services and legislative and government affairs require more specific background and training.

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*Source: ASAE Association Operating Ratio Report 1989

12 Future Challenges

ASAE President R. William Taylor, CAE, offers a snapshot view of the future for associations:

1. Many associations are viewed by policy-makers as exhibiting too much self-interest (i.e. self-protection) and too little involvement in improving general societal conditions by operating on a broader, less provincial basis.
2. Government at all levels, will increase its scrutiny, expand reporting requirements, seek to tax additional activities of tax exempt organizations.
3. Economic difficulties, throughout the economy and within particular industries will force many associations to re-evaluate their programs, sources of revenue, structures and even their independence.
4. Mergers and consolidations in many industries will impact the membership of many trade associations.
5. Internationalism and global interdependence will have an increasingly important impact on the U.S. economy and, as a result, also affect associations and societies.
6. Increasing innovations in technology and communication systems will continue to have a profound impact on association and society roles, services, programs, and activities.



Top 15 National Associations By Membership Size*

<i>American Automobile Assn.</i>	29,000,000
<i>Amer. Assn. of Retired Persons</i>	27,000,000
<i>YMCA of the USA</i>	13,413,767
<i>Nat'l. Geographic Society</i>	11,000,000
<i>National PTA</i>	5,842,974
<i>National Wildlife Federation</i>	5,100,000
<i>4-H Program</i>	4,979,864
<i>Boy Scouts of America</i>	4,754,479
<i>American Bowling Congress</i>	3,400,000
<i>National Rifle Association</i>	3,000,000
<i>American Legion</i>	2,800,000
<i>Little League Baseball</i>	2,500,000
<i>American Cancer Society</i>	2,500,000
<i>American Heart Association</i>	2,400,000
<i>Girl Scouts of the USA</i>	2,264,983

*Excerpted from the 1989 *Encyclopedia of Associations*, published by Gale Research Company, Detroit, MI.

Largest National Association Conventions

The 10 largest* national association conventions, in terms of attendees, are:

ASSOCIATION	ATTENDEES
<i>Construction Industry</i>	
<i>Manufacturers Assn.</i>	115,950
<i>Society of the Plastics Industry</i>	70,540
<i>American Hardware</i>	
<i>Manufacturers Assn.</i>	70,000
<i>National Cosmetology Association</i>	70,000
<i>National Restaurant Association</i>	69,282
<i>Society of Manufacturing</i>	
<i>Engineers</i>	36,913
<i>American Furniture</i>	
<i>Manufacturers Assn.</i>	34,000
<i>National Assn. of Printers &</i>	
<i>Lithographers</i>	32,674
<i>National Marine Manufacturers</i>	
<i>Association</i>	30,000
<i>National Assn. of Broadcasters</i>	29,690

*Held in conjunction with a trade show

Source: *Tradeshaw 200*, 1989 a division of *Tradeshaw Week*, Los Angeles.

7. A decrease in the availability of qualified volunteers will continue to affect associations and, as a result, staff will increasingly be called upon to fulfill traditional volunteer roles.
8. Member expectations for association benefits are increasing—particularly in level and quality of service.
9. The continued growth of federal regulation will require closer cooperation, including coalitional strategies, between national associations and state associations.
10. Association members will increasingly involve themselves in self-regulation and will look to their associations for ethical guidelines.
11. Association employment will continue to grow and women and minorities will attain greater prominence.
12. Recognition of association management as a profession will: (a) increase employment benefits and salaries to near comparable levels in the private sector and (b) will result in continued staff specialization.



Profile of Average Association

A statistical profile of national associations, gathered from a variety of sources,* shows that on the average:

- About 33% own their own headquarters building.
- 74% have their own computers and 70% their own telephone systems.
- 39% have a full-time lobbyist; 38% have political action committees.
- Average annual membership turnover is between 10% and 24%.
- The average amount of money in liquid reserves is 42% of operating budget.
- 77% call the top staff officer President.
- 95% of national associations hold annual conventions.
- 80% of associations hold one trade show annually.
- 73% of all associations hold educational seminars as events separate from their annual convention.

*Source: 1987 ASAE Policies and Procedures Study and 1988 ASAE Meeting Trends Study

Top 14 National Associations By Staff Size*

Salvation Army	26,784
YMCA of the USA	21,207
American Red Cross	20,201
Boy Scouts of America	3,850
National Geographic Society	2,400
National Urban League	2,000
American Chemical Society	1,700
Nat'l. Assn. of Securities Dealers	1,600
American Bureau of Shipping	1,400
Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.	1,400
Amer. Assn. of Retired Persons	1,200
American Medical Association	1,100
Muscular Dystrophy Association	1,000
American Hospital Association	922

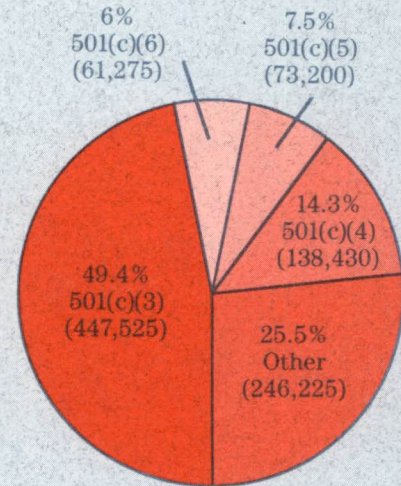
14 *Excerpted from the 1989 Encyclopedia of Associations, published by Gale Research Company, Detroit, MI.

Facts and Figures

There are an estimated 100,000 associations at the local, state, and national levels. Approximately 23,000 of these are national in scope. The statistics, charts, and graphs on the following pages are, except where noted, based on national associations—trade associations, professional societies (individual membership organizations), and federations (associations representing other associations in the same field).

Types of Tax-Exempt Organizations

There are nearly 960,000 tax-exempt organizations in the U.S., mostly associations.



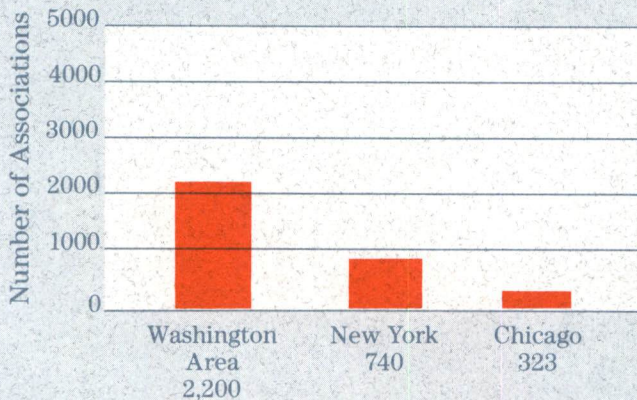
The Internal Revenue Service grants tax-exempt status to nonprofit organizations operated exclusively for specific purposes:

- 501(c)(3): Includes religious, charitable, scientific, testing for public safety, literacy, educational, fostering national or international sports competition, and the prevention of cruelty to children or animals purposes.
- 501(c)(4): Includes civic or social welfare organizations and local associations of employees.
- 501(c)(5): Includes labor, agriculture, and horticultural purposes.
- 501(c)(6): Includes business leagues, chambers of commerce, real estate boards, and boards of trade.

Source: Internal Revenue Service Commissioner's Annual Report, 1988, Table 20.

Where National Assns. Are Headquartered*

The Washington, D.C. area is home to more national associations than any other city, with New York and Chicago placing second and third, respectively.

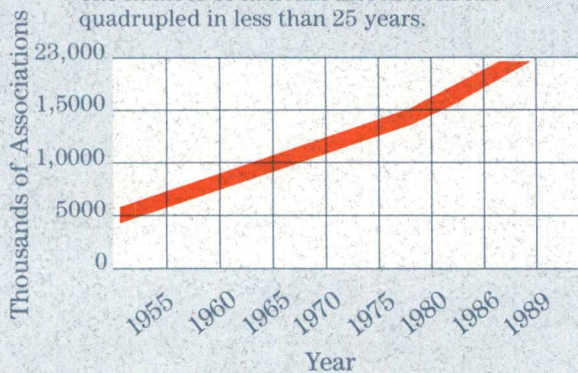


Areas of Concentration

*Excerpted from *National Trade and Professional Associations, 1988*. Figures represent national associations with at least one paid staff member and a budget over \$25,000. Many more exist with no paid staff and smaller budgets.

Trends in National Association Growth*

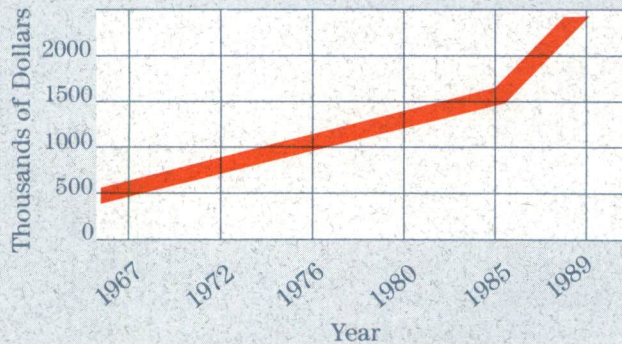
The number of national associations has quadrupled in less than 25 years.



*Excerpted from *ENCYCLOPEDIA OF ASSOCIATIONS DATABASE*. Copyright © 1989. Gale Research Company. All rights reserved. Reprinted by permission.

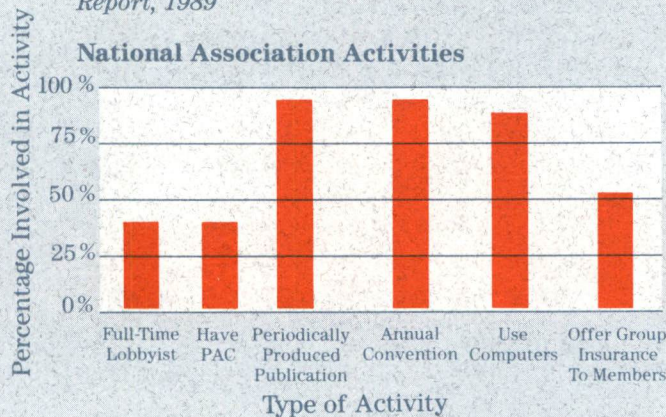
National Assn. Income Growth Trends

The average national association's income has doubled in about the last 10 years.



Source: ASAE Association Operating Ratio Report, 1989

National Association Activities



Source: 1987 ASAE Policies and Procedures Study.