Originally Processed With FOIA(s): S

FOIA Number: S

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Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File Backup Files
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13806
Folder ID Number: 13806-001

Folder Title:
Federalist Society of Pennsylvania--Government Reform 4/3/92 [OA 7571] [3]

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PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS AT OLD HOUSE CHAMBER
PHILADELPHIA, PA.
APRIL 3, 1992

Thank you, Brian [Guthrie, President of the Federalist Society of Philadelphia], for that kind introduction. Senator Specter; Congressman Coughlin; Martha Aikens, Superintendent of Independence Park. I see Joseph Cicippio. Old Congress Hall is home to great ideas and great debate. In this very room, pivotal and profound discussions occurred -- setting in motion a grand experiment in man's ability to chart his own future.

The vision of the Founding Fathers may still be hard for us to fully comprehend. But if you really think about it, their goals were not much different than ours. They wanted their new country to prosper -- and they knew intuitively that the road to prosperity was freedom. They believed in the fundamentals -- in the inherent strength of faith and family -- and they were determined to preserve them. They wanted the citizens of our young nation to live in peace -- safe and secure from threats at home and abroad. It took a revolution to achieve their vision -- and it is our duty to preserve it.

They say when British General Cornwallis surrendered to Washington at Yorktown in 1781, his troops marched to the tune, "The World Turned Upside Down." It was a profoundly simple recognition that an old world order was ending and a new one beginning.

Now, more than two hundred years later, we are again in the midst of great change. Democracy and freedom once again have turned the world upside down. America once again championed a great worldwide movement. We stood firm for our principles through some very difficult times. We did indeed change the world. Now, as you have heard me say, if we could change the world, we can change America.

Henry Luce called the 20th century the American Century. In a world more driven by economic competition than ever before, we must now meet five great challenges to ensure that the next century is also the American Century.

First, our children must develop good character and values so they can be educated adults -- literate and drug-free -- motivated to make learning a lifelong pursuit. We must dramatically change our education system -- literally revolutionize it. Our America 2000 education initiative means top-to-bottom educational reform. Second, our people must have a sense of well-being about their physical health. My health care proposal guarantees access to the finest health care system in the world, and keeps that care affordable for all our citizens.

Next, our civil justice system must do what it was designed to do: dispense justice for all. Eighteen million lawsuits a year are choking us -- costing us billions of dollars -- and putting a tremendous drag on our civility and our economy. If Congress passes my Access to Justice Act, this too can change.

And in the next century, economic competition, as well as economic opportunity will come from beyond our borders. That's why we have an aggressive pro-growth trade policy. It demands more open foreign markets for quality American goods and services to sustain and create American jobs.

Finally, if we are to change America we must change the way government works. That is what I will address today. G.K. Chesterton said, "we cannot discuss reform without reference to form". This has been amply demonstrated in just the last decade as one institution after another has been challenged -- forced to take a hard look within itself, make needed improvements, and act to make the institution live up to its principles. That is the process called reform.

To ensure their competitive edge, businesses launch reforms geared to quality. Then, by measuring performance, they improve performance. Often it's not flashy -- the return to old values and standards like "built to last a lifetime", or "service with a smile." Competition works -- the proof? Today American products are quantifiably better than just a few years ago.

Reform has improved performance in our military. In the face of tighter budgets, we've cut the fat, gotten leaner and smarter. Desert Storm proved it. The drive for excellence has influenced almost every other institution, from state and local government to trade associations and unions.

Yet, the federal government is a glaring hold-out. It resists reform and protects a failed status quo -- even in the

face of an unambiguous need for change. This is not about barber shops or gymnasium privileges or parking spaces. It is not about perks. It is about the governmental process, and its potential to help or hinder the public good. It is about big things -- major changes to make government more responsive. It is about the changes that are sweeping the rest of the country but are not being made in Washington.

The most recent proof that we have a major problem was the inability of Congress to rise to the challenge of helping our economy. Instead it reverted to form -- trying to raise taxes and increase government spending. If it cannot address a straightforward short-term proposal to stimulate the economy, how can it possibly deal with the more complex issues like the badly needed reforms of our education, health care and legal systems? If we are to reform education, health care, our legal system -- if we are to reduce red tape and regulation, make our country competitive, get this horrendous deficit down, we must reform the Congressional process itself, and make it responsive to our country's real needs.

The growth of big government has diminished the role of Congress from policy-making to program-making. Promulgating and protecting more programs sets in motion a perpetual cycle of Congressional support for more unnecessary spending -- creating bigger and even less responsive bureaucracies. Then, by servicing the needs of program recipients, Congressional staffs help to ensure Members' re-election and a continuation of

business as usual. Beyond that, Congress routinely exempts itself from the laws it imposes on the rest of the nation -- laws like the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Prophetically, the Founding Fathers warned us about these dangers. Federalist paper #57 asserts that elected officials, "can make no law which will not have its full operation on themselves and their friends, as well as on the great mass of the society." Federalist Paper #52 argued that permanent majorities are dangerously undemocratic. James Madison would be appalled to hear that 98% of Congressmen who seek re-election are in fact re-elected -- that one party, the Democrats, has controlled the House 56 out of the last 60 years. That means self-perpetuating staffs and a bureaucracy beholden to one set of leaders. The bank and post office scandals are the result of one-party control -- one party's lack of supervision, lack of new blood, and lack of change.

One-party rule is a big part of the problem, but by no means all of it. We have had divided government before, sometimes during periods of great crisis. Each time we have worked together in good faith to meet those challenges.

The larger issue is the systemic problem of Congress -- the sticky web of 284 Congressional committees and subcommittees, the almost 40,000 legislative branch employees and staff, $2.5 billion of taxpayer financing, overlaid with a $117 million re-election war chest for incumbents in special-interest campaign contributions, and millions more in special-interest influence.

None of this promotes reform and change. Rather, it aggressively protects the status quo. Conscientious Members of Congress understand this. That's why House Republican Leader Bob Michel has proposed Congressional reform legislation. He's got some great ideas for improving the Congress and its procedures -- like legislative calendar process reform, reduction in the number of Congressional staff, and reduction of the number of Congressional committees.

There are good people in Congress -- many of them -- on both sides of the aisle -- I think of your own Senator Arlen Specter, right here with me today. Talk to Arlen -- he enthusiastically supports changing our Congressional system because he believes in changing the status quo.

Then talk to retiring Members, many of them dedicated people like Senator Warren Rudman of New Hampshire, and you will hear the frustration. When asked about the prospect of endless budget deficits, he issued this indictment of the system, "the fact is that we are unable, institutionally, to do what has to be done. We are literally not watching the fiddler fiddle while Rome burns; we are watching the entire orchestra."

Senator Rudman knows the biggest threat to future job creation is deficit spending, and the current Congressional structure is not capable of addressing that threat. He knows that Americans are generous -- people willing to do what is necessary to make this country better. But there is a mismatch between their willingness to help and their skepticism about

Congress. They just don't trust Congress to use their hard-earned tax dollars wisely.

Today government is a $1.5 trillion enterprise. But people in Washington frequently forget that the taxpayer is the original investor, customer, shareholder, and board member all rolled into one. When folks in government forget that, they issue nettlesome regulations. Those regulations increase the cost of doing business, but worse, they don't really solve the problems they were designed to solve. As President, I'm going to keep trying to change the regulatory process, but I'll need the help of the Congress.

When government forgets who is really the boss -- the American taxpayer -- it becomes insulated and unresponsive. But unresponsive government doesn't just happen. Congress creates these giant centralized bureaucracies, lays down the mandates, funds the programs. Then, it is the Congress that protects them, investigates them, micro-manages them, and ultimately perpetuates them. Programs that have outlived their function rarely outlive their funding. With a Congressional Subcommittee Chairman as godparent, they become stepchildren of the Congress.

Some 107 different Congressional committees and subcommittees claim some degree of oversight responsibility for the Department of Defense. Seventy-four compete for jurisdiction over the War on Drugs. Just this week, after being reported from one committee in the House, our energy bill to make us more energy-efficient and energy-independent was referred to no less

than eight additional House committees. It should be no surprise that it takes so long to get anything done.

When the Secretary of Agriculture and his top staff have to testify in fourteen hearings in one day, think of the time and resources that takes. Think of the thousands of hours spent by the Executive Branch to fulfill the thousands of Congressional demands for testimony, and government reports.

Democratic Senator David Boren summed it up by saying, "no one doubts that Congress is in trouble as an institution." That's why I support his efforts to trim the overgrown thicket of committees and subcommittees which now paralyzes the Congress.

Congress has legitimate oversight responsibilities of course. And I know that the federal government cannot be run like IBM or the local convenience store, but we can improve its performance, and we must. What merely hampered us in the past, will paralyze us in the future. Our ability to compete demands we make these reforms, not just of Congress but of the federal bureaucracy as well. It means emphasizing the building blocks of a more responsive government by relying on what works: choice, competition, decentralization. But let me be clear, we cannot reform the executive branch without first reforming the Congress.

Taken together, the following actions will help make government work for the people.

First, Congress must govern itself by the laws it imposes on others. No more special treatment. Like age, race, sex and disability discrimination laws. Congress should submit to the

laws it imposes on the Executive Branch -- like conflict of interest laws or the Independent Counsel Law. I will propose legislation to end such special treatment for Congress next week. Further, I will veto any future legislation that extends such special treatment to the Congress.

Second, Congress should reform its operations and procedures. I support the Boren-Domenici reform bill in the Senate and the Hamilton-Gradison bill in the House which sets up a bipartisan group to evaluate Congressional operations and make recommendations. It is a good beginning, but real reform like that contained in the Michel bill is essential now. Change is still on the back burner. The American people must turn up the heat.

Third, sweeping campaign finance reform. Full disclosure of assets, liabilities, and compensation is a key element of reform. I am not required to disclose my income tax returns. In a sense, I feel it is an invasion of my privacy. But for twelve years I have made public those tax returns and I believe all people aspiring to the Presidency should do that. Perhaps Congress does not need to go that far, but they should make their existing disclosure rules much more rigorous.

Beyond that, we must totally eliminate special-interest Political Action Committees and put limits on so-called "leadership PACs." I have proposed ways to increase the legitimate role of our political parties, reduce the influence of special interests, and decrease the time candidates and

incumbents spend fund-raising. And let me say it straight out: federal funding of Congressional elections would only worsen the problem. Campaign finance reform is stalled on Capitol Hill, but the time for action is long past -- we must clean up our election system.

Fourth, spending reform. I have already proposed to freeze domestic discretionary spending and federal non-defense employment next year. I have proposed two-year budgets. I have proposed to curb as well the growth of mandatory programs without touching Social Security. If mandatory spending were allowed to grow for inflation and eligible population only, we could save about two trillion dollars over the next decade. The American people should demand that the Congress pass the same measure that 43 governors have: the line-item veto. They should demand a Balanced Budget Constitutional Amendment. Obviously, a balanced budget requirement would have to be phased in. But such an amendment is needed to discipline both the executive and legislative branches.

In the absence of those important measures I will continue to use whatever means are legally at my disposal, including the line-item rescission, to protect the taxpayer from the spending excesses of Congress. And I will oppose any attempt by the Congress to dismantle the only defense the taxpayer has against Congressional overspending -- the budget caps implemented in the 1990 Budget Act.

Fifth, regulatory reform. We put a ninety-day moratorium on new government regulations. We are revising and eliminating regulations that impede our ability to compete, and we are accelerating regulations that enhance our competitive edge. Since I announced the moratorium on January 28th, the growth of burdensome regulations has already been reversed. As our review continues we will announce further steps to reduce the burden of unnecessary regulations. But we cannot do it alone. Congress, in passing legislation, must be committed to cutting down the regulatory burden as well.

Sixth, we must limit Congressional terms. We must address the Congress of the future. The cycle of virtually guaranteed re-election, particularly in the House of Representatives, through the built-in advantages of incumbency must be broken. Our Founding Fathers never considered elected government service to be a career. I believe Senators should be limited to two terms, and Representatives, limited to six terms. As President my terms are limited, the same rule should apply to Members of Congress. Our first concern should be the country, not a lifetime political career.

This brings me to my final point. Certainly, governing today is complex and time-consuming. But not so many years ago, representing the people back home was a part-time Washington job. Somehow Members managed to finish their work and adjourn just before the hot, humid Washington, D.C. summers. Air conditioning

changed all this, and now, thanks to modern technology, Congress sits year-round.

Many Members of the House and Senate are now permanent Washingtonians. We do not need a career Congress -- we need a citizen Congress. To borrow a line from former Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker "they ought to be living in America and visiting Washington." He was right. He knew that the overwhelming majority of state legislatures are able to do their work each year in sessions lasting less than six months -- some as short as three months every two years.

With a streamlined committee structure, a leaner staff, Members' time organized around legislation rather than re-election, and better discipline on how they spend the people's money, Congress could return to what the Founders envisioned as a government truly close to the people. I suggest that in the future, Congress and the Administration work together to achieve a legislative schedule that allows Members to spend more continuous time at home so they can truly stay in touch with the people.

Change is sweeping America, just as it is sweeping the world. As in the first days of our new nation, we must change an unresponsive government. The reforms I've outlined today can help renew our faith in government -- we cannot stop with Congressional process -- we must reform the federal bureaucracy as well. I will have more to say on that in the near future. But today our mission is to begin restoring the principles of our

Founders, and guaranteeing for our children a new American Century.

The choice is clear. On one side stand the defenders of the status quo. On the other: the forces of change. We must make the choice worthy of the men who met here -- and began the world's only permanent revolution. Now that we've changed the world, we must make the choice to change America.

Thank you, and may God bless the United States of America.

# # #

issue nettlesome regulations. Those regulations increase the cost of doing business, but worse, they don't really solve the problems they were designed to solve. As President I'm serious to keep a ~~That's why we're trying to~~ change the regulatory process. But I'll need the help of Congress

When government forgets who is really the boss -- the American taxpayer -- it becomes insulated and unresponsive. It is almost impossible to adequately reward success, much less punish failure. Talk to the hardworking people in career government service -- many will say the same thing -- they are frustrated too. The system, which may have been good for its time, now must change, and it won't be easy.

~~That's because this kind of~~ unresponsive government doesn't just happen. Congress creates these giant centralized bureaucracies, lays down the mandates, funds the programs. Then, it is the Congress that protects them, ~~harasses them,~~ investigates them, micro-manages them, and ultimately perpetuates them. Programs that have outlived their function rarely outlive their funding. With a Congressional Subcommittee Chairman as godparent, they become stepchildren of the Congress.

Some 107 different Congressional committees and subcommittees claim some degree of oversight responsibility for the Department of Defense. Seventy-four compete for jurisdiction over the War on Drugs. Just this week, after being reported from one committee in the House, our energy bill to make us more energy-efficient and energy-independent was referred to no less

By way Congress creates "independent" regulators, they regulate too

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Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File, Backup
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Federalist Society of Pennsylvania - Government Reform 4/3/92 [3]

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By SW (NLGB) on 4/5/2005

Date Closed: 11/29/2004	**OA/ID Number:** 07571
FOIA/SYS Case #:	
Re-review Case #: 2004-2265-S	
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March 22, 1992

CONGRESSIONAL REFORM

The critique in the President's 3/20 speech is that the Congress is out of touch with the people and no longer accountable. Thus it is blocking needed short term and long term changes."

In a follow-up speech we could move the ball forward by providing some more detail and also some explanatory theories of how we got into this mess.

The following outline is divided into seven sections:

I. Change and Reform

II. The Vision of the Founders, and what happened

III. Incumbency Protection and the Permanent Majority

IV. Abuse of the System

V. Policy Failure

VI. What it all means to you, the citizen

VII. Solutions

I. Change and Reform

If we can change the world, we can change America. Here at home, all the things we want -- economic growth, kinder and gentler, repair of the social fabric -- require more than just government as usual. We need profound change.

Here at home, as I warned in my State of the Union, the battle has been joined

There's a sickness in the system -- status quo Congress

Unfortunately, while we came to Washington to solve problems, not to bicker, we face obstacles. So, more in sorrow than in anger...

I am disappointed in Congress. In fairness, some Democrats didn't want to put a tax increase in the bill, and I salute them for courageously standing up against more taxes. But politics prevailed. A slim majority passed the bill in the face of a certain veto. But they aren't blocking my economic recovery plan

because they're afraid it won't work, they're blocking it because they're afraid it will work.

I don't take this step lightly. No President has vetoed a major tax bill since Harry Truman did it in 1948.

In response, the Democratic Congress has returned to form. It has produced a bill that will not strengthen the economy -- it will weaken it. It has produced a bill that will not stimulate growth, it will stifle it. As if by reflex, the Democrats in Congress could not resist their natural impulse to raise taxes. But I assure you of this: I will not let them do it.

Passing a tax increase is bad enough. But here's what really troubles me:

The irresponsibility of Congress on this plan is part of a pattern. It reflects a more serious problem, a deeper systemic problem that is gnawing at the strength of our nation. It is no wonder that of several years, it must be said: our Congressional system is broken.

Congress is the key to the rise of an entrenched incumbent status-quo oriented Washington establishment opposed to change. As political scientist Morris Fiorina argues [Congress: Keystone of the Washington Establishment], the growth of the bureaucratic welfare state has changed the mxi of congressional activities away from policymaking and toward pork barreling and constituent service. Congress votes more spending and new bureaucracies, which are increasingly lethargic and unresponsive. Then Members act as ombudsman, expediting benefits and procuring more pork, clinching their re-election. That's how we get 98% re-election rates

Dangerous new phenomenon: appropriations earmarks (aren't the 68 rescissions all targeted at appropriations earmarks?)

All this is ominous for prospects for effective, problem-solving government in the 90s: "No government, any more than an individual, will long be respected, without being truly reespectable; nor be truly respectable without possessing a certain portion of order and stability." Madison, writing in Federalist #63.

II. The Vision of the Founders, and what happened

Madison, in Federalist #56, opined that the House should be the people's house. "It is a sound and important principle that the representative ought to be acquainted with the interests and circumstances of his constituents."

Madison would have been appalled that 98% of the House Members

have been re-elected in the last three election cycles.

Madison went on to argue that permanent majorities are dangerously undemocratic: "As it is essential to liberty that the government in general should have a common interest with the people, so it is particularly essential that the branch of it under consideration [the Congress] should have an immediate dependence on, and an intimate sympathy with the people. Frequent elections are unquestionably the only policy by which this dependency and sympathy can be effectually secured." (Federalist #52)

The second idea of Madison was that Congress was a legislature, making general laws that would apply to everyone (since then Congress has exempted itself from a host of legislation. Here is Madison again: "...they can make no law which will not have its full operation on themselves and their friends, as well as on the great mass of the society. This has always been deemed one of the strongest bonds by which human policy can connect the rulers and the people together. It creates between them that communion of interests and sympathy of sentiments... without which every government degenerates into tyranny. (Fed. #57)

Madison and the Founders believed that the legislature should deliberate about questions of common good, or as we would say now, the national interest. Instead, what has happened is that we have a legislature full of hustlers, with their own independent constituencies, not beholden to any party or platform. Unfortunately, what might be advertised as "independence" is more often gridlock.

III. Incumbency protection and the permanent majority

Although some polls show that almost half of Americans believe that Republicans control Congress, the fact is that one paty has held the White House for 58 of the last 62 years and for 38 years consecutively. This "streak" is the longest by far in American history. The second longest is just 16 years.

Democrats have controlled the House longer than most Americans have been alive. Some younger Republicans weren't even born when Joe Martin was the Speaker.

Not one GOPer has ever been in the minority, and all but 5 Demos have never been in the minority.

How did this happen?

In the 1990 elections, special interest political action committees -- "PACs" -- gave almost 117 million dollars to incumbent Congressmen and Senators. Only about 15 million dollars were donated to challengers. With about 8-to-1 spending advantage, obvious voter discontent were buried in a wave of PAC-

financed television advertising. So, nearly every incumbent won.

How they've insulated themselves

-- Jerrymandering -- cite/describe some of the new districts in North Carolina, Texas, etc.

-- Abuse of the frank -- 12000 to 1 ratio of letters out to letters in

-- dramatic increase in personal staff

-- travel budgets, and Congressional budget overall

-- campaign finance laws -- the wimpy PAC phenomenon -- PACs are essentially shaken down by chairmen

-- proliferation of committees and subcommittees -- every third House Demo is a Chairman -- every MC is either chair or close to being chair of a little mini-fiefdom -- make a name for himself (Need to ck Bob Schieffer claim on "Face the Nation" yesterday that there were more committees when George Bush was a Congressman than there are today.)

Congress has become consumed with its internal politics and bureaucracy -- meanwhile, Americans are effectively disenfranchisedand the system gets worse and worse

Some Members will have to learn that the great institution of the House will survive, even if they lose.

IV. Abuse of the System

Above laws that they impose on others

The decentralization of the Congress has weakened the Party leadership adn the Parties themselves and strengthened individual Member-- independetn, individualist members of Vongress., each guy is his own party

I served in the House, and I have great respect for its proper place in our Constitutional structure and great admiration and friendship for many

We have a long tradition in this country of pulling together when national need demands that we do so. Over the years, many accomplishments, large and small, have been truly bipartisan.

But Congress today is different. It is more partisan. Its campaigns are financed by special interests. It has grown out of control. It has lost the ability to police itself. And, perhaps most importantly, it is no longer accountable to individual

American citizens and voters. This must change.

One party has controlled the House of Representatives for almost four decades. Staff has become institutionalized. In 1950, there were about 2,000 personal staff in Congress. Today, there are almost 12,000 staff for Members of Congress. Today, there are almost 40,000 if you include the entire legislative branch. This number of committees and subcommittees have quadrupled.

When I was on the W&M committee, there were no subcommittees (ck)

So the couple dozen committee chairmen could go on to the floor

In the early 70s -- reforms allegedly aimed at making Congress more democratic have in fact made it more Democratic
These reforms at best yielded unintended consequences and at worst were hypocritical.

Fiefdoms = iron triangles -- every Member in the majority has some lobbyist desperately interesested in currying favor

Congress less able to solve real problems

How have the Democrats responded to this -- more authoritarian use of the Rules Committee -- e.g. "closed rules." Most pieces of legislation have to have a rule from the Rules Committee -- length of debate, number of Amendments possible. But the increasing use of closed rules means that most legislation say, to an hour of debate and limiting amendments (denies minority the opportunity for Republican amendments)

To make matters worse, the Democratic leadership has set the ratio of the Rules Committee at 9:4 (ck to see if this is new), so that the majority can have a quorum, even if the minority never shows up!

Stacking the committees, changing ratios of Ds and Rs

But, the decentralization to subcommittee government has increased the probability of co-optation by special interest groups, which was harder to do to large broad-based committee

While opening it up at one end, (decentralized into subcommittees) they've closed it at the other end (closed rules) So they offer only the illusion of reform -- hypocrisy

Also:

-- Marble floors

-- House bank, restaurant, post office

(-- Midnight pay raise)

V. Policy Failure

And for this -- we get a Congress incapable of passing the simple plan I presented almost two months ago -- a Congress controlled by the Democratic caucus which cannot manage a tiny bank or a tiny post office. Call it the arrogance of power.

You all saw the degradation of the confirmation process-- look at the sorry spectacle of Clarence Thomas...

Clarence Thomas -- the idea that completely apart from who you thought was telling the truth, the country as a whole was disgusted by the way that the Senate Judiciary Committee top 5 Biden, Kennedy, Deconcini, Leahy, bounced from Metzenbaum $250,000 Jack Danforth -- this isn't advise and consent -- this is slash and burn.

Turn to Federalist #71 (Hamilton) for guidance. "The representatives of the people, in a popular assembly, seem sometime to fancy that they are the people themselves, and betray strong symptoms of impatience and disgust at the least sign of opposition from any other quarter: as if the exercise of its rights, by either the executive or judiciary, were a breach of their privilege and an outrage to their dignity."

House voted to investigate decade-old "Oct Surprise" on the same day as they voted not to investigate House Post Office

Clearly Congress has gotten much more involved in MICROMANAGEMENT of the Executive Branch -- everything from app. earmarks, to the struggle over PAS appointments to inquisitorial oversight hearings (Dingell and the E&C committee) to legislating by committee report (1986 tax reform bill transition language) and criminalizing foreign policy. Not a new Mitchell President not above the law, but Congress is not above the Constitution

Also:

-- Kemp getting slamdunked on HOPE

-- Pentagon spending. Reiterating desire to kill the Seawolf sub (good whack at Clinton); and the V-22 Osprey, a favorite of Penn. and Tex. delegations

-- S&Ls (Freddy St. Germain, Coelho and Wright)

-- BCCI (David Paul, former Fin. Chmn of DSCC)

Iron triangle maintenance of the status quo -- helps explain why we spend $400 billion on education and yet test scores are falling -- the current education bill is a perfect example of the "iron triangles" at work. The Ed and Labor cmte. has stripped

away choice and accountability.

So that's why I have to veto this bill

In the meantime, I will take additional actions on my own, with every legal means at my disposal, to keep the economy moving up. I will do so in spite of the hopelessly tangled Congressional web of PACs, perks, [add: pork] privilege, partisanship and paralysis.

There is, of course, a serious limit on what a President can do without Congress. But I am determined to do all I can to effect change.

VI. What it Means to You, the Citizen

What does it mean when the Congress is no longer in touch with the American people? When too many elected officials see their constituents as sources of votes and cash and seekers of favors, and not as fellow citizens mutually engaged in our democratic experiment? When too many Members see interest groups as special interests, not as Tocquevillean joiners and doers.

No economic growth package -- jobs, future, real estate prices, business investment

No improvement in education, cost to our long term competitiveness, standard of living

No crime bill -- less safe streets

We even had to wait a year for the transportation bill

VII. Solutions

The time has come for change, because when the system is broken, you do have to fix it. I have proposed to eliminate the PACs which are poisoning our system. The time has come to eliminate these Political Action committees in their entirely.

We should apply to Congress the same laws -- from employment practices to civil rights to the Freedom of Information Act -- which it imposes on everyone else.

Madison "If the legislatures shall pass a law not applicable to itself as well as to the public, the people will be prepared to accept anything but liberty." [Federalist #55]

I believe the time has come to limit the terms of Congressmen.

The terms of Presidents are limited. It is time for the terms of Congressmen to be limited.

I realize that these are only modest steps. But they reflect a fundamental attitude.

Here are some ideas, but I'm not sure we want to get specific

-- Reduce the # of committees and subcommittees --

-- Cut committee staff (one of the few good ideas Bob Kerrey had) oversized

-- Limit the number of days Members cand spend in session

-- Make sure that all federal laws apply to Congress

It may be better to stay on the high road, and let the Congress worry about the details of cleaning up their own House. What we're talking about here is balance. Madison warned us against imbalance in Federalist #47: "No political truth is certainly of greater intrinsic value, or is stamped with the authority of more enlightened patrons of liberty... the accumulation of all powerd, legislative, executive, and judiciary, in the same hands, whether of one, a few, or many, and whether hereditary, self-appointed, or elective, may justly be pronouncedthe very definition of tyranny."

If the Democratic leadership that runs the status quo Congress will not help us change America, we will have to change it without them. If the Democratic leadership that runs the status quo Congress will not help us reform government, we must reform it without them.

You see, change is nothing to fear. For more than two centuries, America has been a force for change. Our restlessness is legendary. Our energy boundless.

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Time: 9:30

To: Carol Aarhus
W.H. Speechwriting

Facsimile #: 456·6218 voice 456·7750

7 This cover plus _____ pages

Message #: _____

From: Dave Mason

Comments: Pete Wilson's speech on Franking, as we discussed.

Dm

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The Congressional Frank: A Simple Case of Abuse

By Senator Pete Wilson

Speaking here today gives me a chance to discuss what I call the "frank-enstein" monster that ravages millions of mailboxes across the country. It is truly hard to fathom the number of pieces of franked mail sent out by Congress each year. First, historically, Congress spends only about 8 percent of its mail budget to send letters in response to constituent inquiries. The rest, around 92 percent, goes for unsolicited mail.

How much mail, you ask? In 1988, Congress sent out more than 400 million pieces of letter-sized junk mail (newsletters and first class mail in envelopes) and an equal number of post cards, purportedly to announce town hall meetings, but actually to raise the name recognition numbers.

My crack staff figured that, stacked on top of one another, these 800 million pieces of mail would create a pile 424 miles high. End to end, they would stretch around the Earth more than 3 1/2 times (94,698 miles).

Not being one to let an opportunity to drive the point home go by, I asked my staff what would constitute the equivalent weight of 800 million pieces of mail (that is, 20 million pounds). I received a number of answers: 746 Greyhound buses, 171 Chieftan tanks, or one U.S. Navy cruiser. The most colorful response was 270 sperm whales. Unfortunately, it is the whale that is the endangered species.

Thus I discovered what it takes to send out 800 million pieces of junk mail. Recognizing that we have to look for savings everywhere if we are to bring down federal spending to meet revenues – rather than the other way around as preferred by the Democrats – in 1986 I offered an amendment on the floor of the Senate to prohibit unsolicited mass mail. The amendment failed.

In subsequent years I have offered my proposal again in various forms. I did rather well in the Senate when we had voice votes on budget resolutions, but in final form, these only slightly binding legislative packages never included my proposal.

This past winter, at the start of the 101st Congress, the Senate Rules Committee actually brought to the Senate a proposal to expand the ability of Senators to send junk mail. I tried to stop it, but I lost 50 to 47.

Finding the Right Time. Politics is many things, and as someone who has been in politics for more than twenty years and not won every race the first time, I know that timing is critical. Of course, finding the right time can be a little tricky.

The right time came this month. On September 5, after spending a very restful and invigorating vacation in the United Kingdom, I landed at Dulles Airport and drove to my office on Capitol Hill just in time to hear the President presenting his National Drug Control Policy to the nation. In his speech, he called on the whole country to pitch in, for everyone to take an active roll in the war on drugs.

Pete Wilson represents California in the United States Senate.

He spoke at The Heritage Foundation on September 29, 1989.

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Step Toward Privatization. It has always been my understanding, however, that it is the primary job of Congress to legislate and then to oversee the Executive's implementation of these laws, and that it is the role of the press to inform the public. If it is news, if it is in the public's interest – and health and safety definitely qualify – then the media will spread the word. They are the best retailers of the news. Perhaps one way to look at a ban on congressional newsletters is that it is another step toward privatization.

So we voted, and the Wilson Amendment carried 83 to 8. Then the bill went to a House-Senate Conference Committee. The House of Representatives tried to wait out the notice that my amendment received – very good notice, I might add. Vic Fazio, the Chairman of the House Legislative Branch Appropriations Subcommittee ran the show in the House, but he could only wait so long, and as time went by, public attention grew. So, when the House was asked to instruct its conferees on the Wilson Amendment, it voted by a 2 to 1 margin to support the limits that I had proposed.

All of a sudden, however, the slow moving congressional funding bill picked up speed; in fact, it accelerated so quickly that one of my staff members who knows about such things said that it reminded him of one of those top-end speedsters that are called funny cars. Within two hours after the House told its conferees to accept the Wilson Amendment, the House conferees sloughed off their instructions and took the opposite tack. They moved forcefully to delete the Wilson Amendment banning newsletters. They were so forceful, apparently, that they were able to force their Senate counterparts to drop it.

The House conferees went even further. They insisted that the Senate drop provisions requiring that spending on the frank by each member of Congress be publicly disclosed. So much for helping to inform the public.

Budgetary Profligacy. The House also insisted that the Senate drop its proposal to stop the Post Office from violating a law that applies to every other government function – the so-called "Anti-Deficiency Act." That law states that no federal funds may be spent unless they have been appropriated. However, this very simple and straightforward law does not apply to transporting congressional mail. Perhaps here we have found the very epitome of budgetary profligacy.

And in a final bit of sanctimony and contempt, the House conferees insisted that the Senate drop its proposal requiring franked letters to carry the legend, "Prepared, Published, and Mailed at Taxpayer Expense." The Senate conferees backed down.

It is often said on Capitol Hill that we need a United States desk at the State Department, for that agency of our government often seems to ignore the will of the American people in order to serve some "higher purpose." Well, Congress would appear to need a United States desk, too, for Congress clearly feels exempt from the call to arms. We exempt ourselves from almost every law, such as minimum wage, equal employment, and OSHA, but when Congress exempts itself from the war on drugs, it truly sets a new low.

Yesterday, the House agreed to the Conference Report, after defeating an effort to send it back to the House-Senate conference committee – an effort that failed by a 2 to 1 margin. Now it is on to the Senate.

When the Senate takes up the Conference Report on the congressional funding bill, as early as next week, the Senate will be given a chance to renew its vows to eliminate monies for mass mailings. If I am successful, the bill will go back to the House, which is threatening

Helping the War on Drugs. So, the very next day, September 6, I grasped at a rather fortunate opportunity. On that day, our first day back in session after the August recess, the Senate considered the bill providing funds for Congress. And an opportunity was born. Certainly, Congress would be willing to expend some of its budget to help fund the drug war. And certainly the carping Democrats in Congress, who trashed the President's drug strategy as being too little, would be willing to cinch in their own belts a little to help such a worthy cause – the war on drugs.

So I offered a simple amendment: It would prohibit members of Congress from sending unsolicited mass mail. The money that was saved would be redirected to provide treatment for drug-abusing pregnant and postpartum women and their children. Out of the budget recommended by the Senate Appropriations Committee, that amounted to a transfer of approximately $45 million.

Now, $45 million may not seem like a lot of money in a trillion dollar budget, and it is certainly not up to the full task of meeting the problem at hand. But, believe it or not, $45 million amounts to ten times what was otherwise proposed by Congress to help drug dependent pregnant women and drug abused children.

The limits that would have been imposed by my amendment would simply have tailored use of the frank to what is rational and affordable: It would have allowed members of Congress to answer their mail, but not to campaign for reelection on the public dole.

Good Assessment. While preventing the mailing of unsolicited mailings of substantially identical material to more than 500 people, it would allow Congress to answer every constituent, and further, to send follow-up mail on subjects previously written about. It also would allow sending mail to public officials and material to the press without limitation. And if the audience consisted of fewer than 500 people, there would be no limit on unsolicited mailings.

I do not know if there are any pollsters in the audience, but if so, you know that an unsolicited letter sent to sample the views of 500 people provides a rather good assessment of the views of the public at large. Of course, if the purpose is something other than soliciting views, such as raising the politician's name recognition, then 500 letters does not really do the job. Of course, that is not why the frank was devised – it has just evolved in that way.

As reasonable as my amendment was, it led to a spirited debate on the floor. A few Senators strongly opposed my proposal. One said that the newsletter allowance permitted him to inform his constituents how to protect themselves from toxic chemicals, how to protect themselves from radon in their homes, and how to protect their children from abduction. All are worthwhile, even critical goals; the public needs the information. But with due respect to my colleague, was he really intent on informing them of dangers, or was he most interested in letting them know that it was he who was giving them this critical information? And other Senators echoed this view that mass mailings provide a means of educating the public on a variety of issues of the day.

From the debate, one would think that, if the flow of 400 million unsolicited letters and 400 million town meeting notices from Washington were stopped, the rest of the country outside the Washington Beltway would suddenly be struck ignorant. But is Congress the only entity in our country that can properly inform the electorate? Certainly Congress is well-equipped, with four-color presses, massive paper allotments, computers to address envelopes, and machines to stuff them.

to do all sorts of things, some of which may actually be agreeable, while others are just plain petty.

The fight goes on. I face opposition on three grounds. The first is that my proposal to abolish newsletters and other unsolicited mail is "not serious." That is what Congressman Fazio said. Indeed, in 1986 when I started along this road, Congressman Fazio said that it was easy for me to propose this as I was not then running for reelection -- implying that I did not need the publicity that comes from sending newsletters. Now he claims that I am pushing my proposal because I am running for Governor of California. Apparently, he feels that he cannot carry the argument on the merits. The fact is that he just cannot carry the argument -- period.

Then, there is the argument made by Mr. Fazio that, with the addition of $40 million for drug dependent pregnant women in the just passed Senate drug bill, there is a total appropriation for fiscal 1990 of $45 million, which is enough. Well, ten times that amount would not be enough, and $45 million more would certainly not be too much.

Returning Junk Mail. Finally, Congressman Fazio makes the argument that the American public wants to receive congressional junk mail. My response to that is that I receive approximately 15,000 pieces of mail each week, and I do not recall receiving one asking me to crank up the presses to send out newsletters.

Maybe a better indication of the public's support for newsletters comes from a radio station in Congressman Fazio's district. Taking a page from the radio show campaign that asked listeners to send tea bags to Washington to protest a congressional pay raise, this station is urging listeners to send their junk mail to the Congressman.

It seems that, when it comes to newsletters, Congress is simply unable to go cold turkey. And you would think it would be easy, for those who would put their personal political interests ahead of the cries of drug-abused infants are certainly cold. And as for the second part of the cold turkey equation, the Congress definitely has its share who qualify. It is a Congress that is so self-indulgent that it is so far unwilling to make any self-sacrifice to deal with our country's number one social problem -- drug abuse.

With the support of the American public, and a little soul searching and self-sacrifice by my colleagues, I am hopeful that we can reset our priorities and devote our resources toward helping those in need, not those in office.

♦ ♦ ♦

CHGO Mail Mgrs 467-5300

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on President Bush's Meeting With President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire

June 29, 1989

The President met with President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire for 2 hours and 15 minutes today, including a private one-on-one meeting in the Oval Office, an expanded plenary meeting in the Cabinet Room, and a luncheon in the Residence.

We attach a great deal of importance to the visit to the United States of President Mobutu. Zaire is one of our oldest and closest friends in Africa. The President wanted to emphasize our excellent relations by inviting President Mobutu to be the first African head of state to come to the United States on an official working visit. President Mobutu recently organized and chaired the successful Gbadolite summit, which led to a cease-fire and the start of negotiations between UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] and the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] in Angola. This considerable diplomatic feat—along with his noteworthy contributions to regional stability in Chad, Burundi, and elsewhere over the years—underscore his importance as an African leader and statesman.

President Mobutu briefed the President about the summit and the status of proceedings to arrange the talks which we hope will lead to national reconciliation in Angola. In addition to events in Angola, the two Presidents reviewed security issues elsewhere in Africa, U.S. assistance to Zaire, Zaire's recent decision to begin an IMF [International Monetary Fund] economic reform program, and human rights issues.

During his Washington stay, President Mobutu also had meetings with Treasury Secretary Brady, Defense Secretary Cheney, and Secretary of State Baker. Tomorrow, Vice President and Mrs. Quayle will be President and Mrs. Mobutu's hosts for a breakfast meeting. During this visit, President Mobutu has also met with Members of Congress, businessmen, and the media.

Remarks to Congressional and Administrative Interns Announcing Campaign Finance Reform Proposals

June 29, 1989

I can understand that warmth of the welcome. Look at it this way, the longer you are here, the longer you don't have to be there in the office working. [*Laughter*] I expect I speak for all of you when I turn to thank the marines for that warm welcome. They are magnificent—always have been and always will be. Apologies to Mr. Billington, the head of the Library of Congress. I have to admit, I feel a little awkward giving a speech at this particular place after all those years of being told not to speak out loud in the library. [*Laughter*]

But the Library of Congress has indeed been called the diary of the American people. In truth, it's a diary of the human race. And in the million stories of achievement it has to tell, one truth is revealed above all others: that for all its blemishes, government of the people is the greatest achievement of all. And as I look around me, I see what I'm told are the best and the brightest of the new generation, and for you, this summer of independence is just a sweet taste of adulthood, of what lies ahead. And trust me, freedom is not as far off as it seems.

Whatever you do in Washington, page or intern, you are apprentices in what I steadfastly feel is a noble profession: public service. And we exalt public service because we do not exalt the primacy of our govern-

ment. We keep government close to the people it's meant to serve.

And there's another fundamental concept in our way of governing: reform. Ours is not a perfect government; it's a government constantly perfected. A steadily improving government is the result of our open political system. And in this system, elections are more than the deadlines of democracy; they are the marketplace of ideas. They're not just contests between individuals; they are contests between philosophies. And when this sharp edge of competition is dulled, democracy is the loser.

In April, I proposed comprehensive ethics legislation for all branches of government, and today I call on the United States Congress to pass that package. But I also want to address other problems: how to free our electoral system from the grip of special interests, how to spur the free competition of ideas.

You've often heard me speak of the necessity of bipartisanship. And I do strongly believe that we must work together when dealing with the most difficult challenges facing our country, not as partisans but as Americans. But we will not, and should not, cease to be Republicans and Democrats. True, the Founding Fathers envisioned no role for parties, and yet 200 years of political experiences have shown their value. Political parties clarify and sharpen the debate. And they shape coalitions of like-minded people, giving millions of Americans an effective way to support their beliefs and advance their candidates.

Parties are the indispensable organizers of democracy. And yet times have changed, and today's special interest political action committees [PAC's] and their $160 million war chests overshadow the great parties of Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln. And as the strength of our parties erodes, so does the strength of our political system. Distinctions between candidates get all mixed up; they become muddled. And congressional debate lacks coherence and lacks discipline. By necessity, Members of Congress engage in time-consuming and often degrading appeals for money outside the party structure. As vigorous competition between candidates and between ideas wanes, the clear winner in the race for PAC dollars is incumbency.

Some believe public or taxpayer financing is the best answer. I do not. If we exclude individuals, you see, if we exclude them from the process, we exclude the public. And this is the ironic result of taxpayer financing: It would force taxpayers to support extremist candidates they abhor. It would be a siphon from the U.S. Treasury, already in deficit, to campaign coffers. Taxpayer financing would do nothing to strengthen the parties. If anything, it would strengthen the status quo, and what the voters really need is more choice.

Spending limits are not the answer either. If we're to encourage individuals to participate in the electoral process, if we are to encourage candidates to bring their message to as many voters as possible, we should not have absolute limits on spending. The answer is reform. We need reforms that curtail the role of special interests, enhance the role of the individual, and strengthen the parties.

So, today I propose just that: a sweeping system of reform for our system. More than 90 percent of all PAC contributions come from PAC's sponsored by corporations, unions, and trade associations. So, the cornerstone of this reform—of our reform—is the elimination of those political action committees. I propose to curtail the proliferation of leadership PAC's by limiting all candidates for Federal office to one fundraising committee. And by also barring transfers between fundraising committees, we will further reduce the influence of special interest money in the electoral process.

I propose to end a practice that's known as bundling, where business and unions encourage or coerce contributions from employees or members and then give these contributions as one single donation. And as these reforms curtail special interest money, we must encourage the role of the parties—encourage it. And I propose to more than double the amount of monies parties may donate to congressional campaigns. Increasing party donations to Federal candidates will allow legislators to spend more time legislating and less time raising money. And it will give challengers the

means to compete with incumbents. And it will allow all candidates to avoid having to raise money from special interests.

And still, some PAC's must remain because they are protected under our Constitution by the first amendment. And these independent PAC's account for about 10 percent of all contributions, but even these I would limit by halving their allowable contributions to Federal candidates from $5,000 to $2,500—reduce it from $5,000 to $2,500. And new laws must keep such PAC's unaffiliated and independent, so a business or labor group could not use them as a back-door means of influencing the process.

I also propose to strengthen the Supreme Court's Beck decision, which held that union members can't be forced to have their dues go to political causes or organizations they do not support. No American—no American, not one—should be compelled to give money to a candidate against his or her will.

We must do more to truly clean up the system. The basic strength of today's system is disclosure: being honest with the American people. Yet most money spent in American elections is not disclosed. This little-known area of campaign finance laws called soft money concerns dollars spent on voter turnout and registration efforts. And so, I call on the United States Congress today to join me in mandating full disclosure of all soft money contributions by the political parties, as well as corporations, unions, and trade associations.

Other laws govern, now, independent expenditure groups—you know, which can spend any amount of money to elect or defeat a candidate so long as their activities are not coordinated with those of a particular candidate. Now look, some of these groups perform a public service, but too often they mask the motives of hidden contributors acting as mercenary character assassins. Often they deceive the public into thinking that they are a candidate's campaign. And yet, all independent expenditure groups, the good and the bad alike, are protected by the Constitution. In order to provide more information to the public, I propose that such groups be required to more clearly identify the person or organization behind them. Disclosure—full disclosure—that's the answer here.

The third and final area of reform directly concerns the powers of incumbency. Jefferson envisioned a Congress of citizen politicians who suspended their careers in law, in medicine, in agriculture to serve the Nation. Now, how far we've come from that simple vision: Today incumbents stay in office for decades, amassing huge war chests to scare off strong challenges in election after election. This is not democracy in the spirit of Madison and Jefferson. This is not the spirit of democracy at all. And so, I propose to end the rollover of campaign war chests, requiring any excess campaign funds to be donated to the parties, to a fund to retire the national debt, or to be given back to the contributors. And this would apply to all unspent campaign funds, whether it's a race for Congress or a race for the Presidency.

Under our current law, 190 House Members in office in 1980 can also use that left-over campaign money as a personal retirement fund, pocketing hundreds of thousands—even millions of dollars when they leave office. Senators are allowed to convert these funds for official use. This practice must end. And this same principle should apply to Presidential candidates as well.

Another advantage of incumbency arises from the way in which Members of Congress use the public frank to pay for mass mailings that amount to political advertising. The cost to the taxpayers, literally, runs into hundreds of millions of dollars. And the cost to our democracy is also very, very steep. I propose to prohibit the use of the frank for unsolicited mass mailings.

And yet another area in need of reform is redistricting: the way in which parties in power ignore community boundaries and draw district lines favorable to their candidates. No single factor is more basic to restoring competitive elections than ensuring fair redistricting. I propose a new criteria for redistricting without favor to party. To respect established community boundaries, we must draw district lines that respect the needs of the people, not tailor them to the political needs of either party.

And finally, in the next few days I will

also send up legislation to ban honoraria and to address certain aspects of compensation for Federal officials. This package will include a 25-percent pay increase for judges, which I've previously recommended, and an increase for a limited number of specialized professionals, such as scientists and surgeons, where the executive branch is not competitive. And I'll also work with the Congress on the development of details for increasing the pay of those in the Congress, as well as other senior employees of the executive branch.

This year, as Congress observes its 200th anniversary, 11,000 Americans have served in the House and Senate in the history of our Republic. And I'm proud to have been one of them. And most have served in the great tradition—Russell and Rayburn, Dirksen and Mansfield, Dole and Mitchell, Foley and Michel. And someday, who knows, you may elect, after your experience here this summer, to follow this path, the path to greatness and achievement through public service. And if you do, I hope the laws that govern our campaigns and our Congress, as well as our executive branch, are as just and honest as the majority of those who serve the public. You know, this vast and honest majority in Congress live the words of George Washington, who said, "The noblest title in the world isn't President, Senator, or Congressman but honest man." Whatever you do in life, you can have no higher title than that.

Thank you all for listening. God bless you and God bless the United States of America.

Note: The President spoke at 2:06 p.m. in the auditorium at the Thomas Jefferson Building of the Library of Congress. In his opening remarks, he referred to the Marine Band.

White House Fact Sheet on the President's Campaign Finance Reform Proposals

June 29, 1989

Today the President announced a comprehensive campaign finance proposal designed to lessen the power of special economic interests and restore competition to American congressional elections. The package reflects the President's strong commitment to increasing the roles of individuals and the political parties in the electoral process. It is also designed to reform the system of campaign finance under which in the 1980's House incumbents have a 97.7-percent reelection rate and Senate incumbents an 85-percent reelection rate. The proposals follow general themes first articulated by the President in his April 12 speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors:

• Eliminating political action committees (PAC's) supported by corporations, unions, or trade associations, and prohibiting such entities from paying for the overhead or administrative costs of any independent PAC.

• Strengthening political parties by increasing the amounts they can spend on behalf of congressional candidates. This source of funds would permit legislators to spend less time fundraising, would ensure that challengers have greater resources with which to challenge incumbents, and would further limit the role of special economic interests in elections.

• Addressing the problem of the "permanent Congress" by reforms designed to reduce the unwarranted advantages of incumbency. Specifically, the proposals would prohibit the personal use of excess campaign funds, drastically reduce congressional mailings under the frank, ban the rollover of campaign funds from one election cycle to the next, and legislate fair neutral criteria for the redistricting of congressional and legislative lines that will follow the 1990 census.

• Fully disclosing all "soft money" spent

by the political parties and all labor unions, corporations, and trade associations to influence a Federal election.

The President's campaign finance reform package is as follows:

1. CONTRIBUTION LIMITS

Curtailing Political Action Committees (PAC's)

• The proposal calls for the elimination of PAC's sponsored by corporations, unions and trade associations. The bulk of PAC contributions come from these corporate, union, or trade association PAC's: They accounted for nearly 90 percent of the approximately $160 million contributed by PAC's in the 1987–1988 election cycle.

• Contribution limits for the remaining PAC's, i.e. those not sponsored by corporations, unions, or trade associations (the so-called nonconnected or independent PAC's), would be reduced from $5,000 to $2,500 per candidate per election. It appears that freedom of association guarantees under the first amendment make it impossible to eliminate these independent PAC's.

• Corporations, unions, and trade associations would also be prohibited from using Treasury funds for nonconnected PAC administrative or overhead costs, including corporate or union subsidies for payroll deductions to fund a PAC.

• PAC contributions to national and State political parties would stay the same ($15,000 per year). The remaining independent PAC's would also be able to continue funding such participatory activities as voter registration and get-out-the-vote programs, which would become fully reportable.

• The proposal would codify the Beck Supreme Court decision, holding that union members cannot be forced to have mandatory union dues go to political causes or organizations they do not support.

• Leadership PAC's, including those associated with Presidential candidacies, would be curtailed by limiting Federal candidates and elected officials to one fundraising committee and by prohibiting transfers between fundraising committees.

• All but political party committees would be prohibited from bundling, the practice where an organization or its officials solicit contributions from its employees or members at a central location, "bundles" them, and sends them to a candidate without affecting the organization's contribution limits.

• Independent expenditures would be subject to additional notice requirements. Any advertisement or other political communication paid for by independent expenditures would have to include additional disclosure throughout, identifying the person or organization funding it and stating that it is not authorized by any candidate.

Strengthening Political Parties

• The proposal increases to $0.05 from $0.02 times the voting age population the coordinated expenditure limits that parties may spend on behalf of Federal candidates (ranges now from $92,000 to about $1.5 million, depending on population, for a Senate race; about $46,000 for a House race). This would allow a larger percentage of contributions to a candidate to come from political parties.

2. REFORMING UNFAIR ADVANTAGES

Limiting the Use of Excess Campaign Funds

• The rollover of excess campaign funds into the next election cycle would be prohibited by requiring that all campaign treasuries be zeroed out by January 31 following the election. All excess campaign funds would have to go to national or State party committees, the National Debt Retirement Account of the United States Treasury, or all campaign contributors as pro-rata refunds.

• Presidential candidates would also be prohibited from using excess campaign funds from previous races to fund their Presidential efforts.

• The proposal bans the conversion of excess campaign funds for personal use. With regard to the Congress, this would apply as follows: House Members who are grandfathered could no longer convert the funds to personal use. Senators would be precluded from supplementing official ac-

counts with their own excess campaign funds.

Limiting the Use of the Frank

• The proposal bans the use of the frank for unsolicited mass mailings.

• Quarterly filings would be required by all Members of Congress regarding the amounts spent on franked mail. The reports would be due within 30 days of the close of the quarter.

Fairness in Redistricting

• The proposal calls for the end of gerrymandering through the promulgation of criteria for fair redistricting in Federal elections. Such criteria will include requiring district lines to adhere to compactness standards and follow established community boundaries.

• The legislation will emphasize the need for congressional and State legislative plans to follow the provisions of the Voting Rights Act.

3. SOFT MONEY DISCLOSURE

• Full disclosure of all "soft money" contributions and expenditures by political party committees would be required under the proposal.

• Labor unions, corporations, and trade associations would have to disclose all money spent to influence a Federal election, including voter registration and get-out-the-vote activities, as well as any communications which advocate the election or defeat of any Federal candidate.

• The proposal also calls for the adoption of realistic allocation guidelines to attribute the costs of party activities proportionately to Federal candidates. This will assure that non-Federal dollars are not used to support Federal candidates.

4. HONORARIA BAN

• Separate legislation will be sent to the Congress in the next few days to ban honoraria and to address certain aspects of compensation for Federal officials. This package will include a 25-percent pay increase for judges, which the President previously recommended, and an increase for a limited number of specialized professionals where the executive branch is currently not competitive, such as scientists and surgeons. The President will also work with Congress on the development of details for increasing the pay of Members of the Congress, as well as other senior employees of the executive branch.

Nomination of Joy A. Silverman To Be United States Ambassador to Barbados, Dominica, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent and the Grenadines

June 29, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Joy A. Silverman to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Barbados and to serve concurrently and without additional compensation as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Commonwealth of Dominica, St. Lucia, and to St. Vincent and the Grenadines. She would succeed Paul Russo.

Mrs. Silverman was a full-time, active participant in President Bush's 1988 campaign. From 1987 to 1988 she served as a member, and later as chairman of the Advisory Council to the New York State Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution. In 1986 Mrs. Silverman became a member of the New York City Mayor's Commission for Protocol. In addition to extensive work for various educational institutions, she has actively served with various charitable organizations in the New York metropolitan area.

Mrs. Silverman attended the University of Maryland. She is married, has two children, and currently resides in Manhattan, NY.

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PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS AT OLD HOUSE CHAMBER
PHILADELPHIA, PA.
APRIL 1, 1992

Thank you for that kind introduction. [ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS] Today, I would rather be in Philadelphia. Old Congress Hall is home to great ideas and great debate. In this very room, pivotal and profound discussions occurred -- setting in motion a grand experiment in man's ability to chart his own future.

The vision of the Founding Fathers may still be hard for us to fully comprehend. But if you really think about it, their goals were not much different than ours -- they wanted their new country to prosper -- and they knew intuitively that the road to prosperity was freedom. They believed in the fundamentals -- in the inherent strength of faith and family -- and they were determined to preserve them. They wanted the citizens of our young nation to live in peace -- safe and secure from threats at home and abroad. It took a revolution to achieve their vision -- and it is our duty to preserve it.

When British General Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown in 1781, he had his band play "The World Turned Upside Down", as his troops marched before Washington's Continental Army. It was a profoundly simple realization that an old world order was coming to a close and a new order was beginning. D2

Now more than two hundred years later, we are again in the midst of great change. Democracy and freedom once again have

turned the world upside down. America once again ~~stood~~ stands at the forefront of a great movement. We stood firm for our principles through some very difficult times. We changed the world, and we stand upon a new threshold. Now, as you have heard me say, if we could change the world, we can change America.

Many have called the 20th century the American Century. In a world more driven by economic competition than ever before, we must meet five great challenges now, if we are to ensure that the next century is also the American Century.

First, our people must be educated, literate -- motivated to make learning a lifelong pursuit. We must reform our education system -- literally revolutionize it -- top to bottom. Second, our people must have a sense of well-being about their health and the health of their children and families. We must guarantee them access to the finest health care system in the world, and make that care more affordable.

Next, our civil justice system must do what it was designed to do: dispense justice for all. Eighteen million lawsuits a year are choking us -- costing individuals and businesses billions of dollars -- and putting a tremendous drag on our civility as well as our economy.

The 1989 Quayle report

And in the next century, economic competition, as well as economic opportunity will come from beyond our borders. That demands we open more foreign markets for American goods and services to sustain and create American jobs.

Finally, we must address the issue that I am here to discuss at length today -- reform of our government. During the last decade, one institution after another has been challenged -- forced to take a hard look within itself, make needed improvements, and act to make the institution live up to its principles. That process is called reform.

In the private sector, or more specifically, in a business, it might be called the crusade for quality. Whether it's the quality of a product, or the quality of a service, it's not often flashy --perhaps it's a return to old values and standards like "built to last a lifetime", "the customer's always right", or "service with a smile". At other times it means measuring performance, because that is the way to improve performance. In many ways, competition has been the driving force to improve quality and performance, and not surprisingly, it has worked. Today, American products are quantifiably better than they were only a few years ago.

It is not just the private sector that has felt the positive pinch of healthy competition. For example, the military, in the face of budget cuts, has had to cut the fat, and get leaner and smarter. Desert Storm proved it could be done. Just about every other institution -- state and local government, unions, trade associations, charitable groups -- any organization that serves a public -- have been influenced by this drive for excellence.

Yet, the federal government has resisted reform and protected the status quo -- even in the face of an unambiguous

need for change. The change that swept the rest of America has stopped cold at the Capital Beltway. The rise of an entrenched status quo-oriented Washington establishment, can be laid squarely at the doorstep of the United States Congress.

Everyone knows that government is too big and spends too much. And there's something else everyone knows: too often the government spends the money of its customer, the American taxpayer, the wrong way -- inefficiently, ineffectively, without accountability, and frankly, without compassion. As I've mentioned, we've got some very tough problems ahead, and government needs to play a role in solving those problems. But, right now government, particularly the Congress, is simply not up to the job. Let me tell you why that is the case, and how we must change things.

Political scientist Morris Fiorina paints a disturbing but familiar picture of how Washington really behaves. He says that the growth of big government has changed the role of Congress from policymaking to pork-barreling -- changed the Congressional office to a Campaign and Constituent office. He argues that this sets in motion a self-perpetuating cycle of congressional support for unnecessary spending and bigger bureaucracies which in turn become even more lethargic and unresponsive.

Then, the members and their increasingly powerful staffs become ombudsmen between the constituent and the bureaucracy -- expediting benefits and procuring more pork -- and thus ensuring re-election and a continuation of the status quo.

Prophetically, the Founding Fathers warned us about this. Madison, in Federalist Paper #52, argued that permanent majorities are dangerously undemocratic. He would be appalled to hear that 98% of Congressmen who seek re-election are in fact re-elected. That one party -- the Democrats -- have controlled the Congress 58 out of the last 62 years. That not one Republican member of the House -- some with more than 30 years of service -- has ever been in the majority, and all but five Democrats have never been in the minority.

One-party rule is a big part of the problem, but this is not an attack on divided government. We have had divided government before in our history, sometimes during periods of great crisis. Each time we have pulled together as a nation, and met whatever challenge threatened our security or national well-being.

The larger issue is the systemic problem -- the sticky web of 284 Congressional Committees & subcommittees leg. branch ~~34,000 Capitol Hill~~ almost 40,000 employees and staff, 2 billion dollars of taxpayer financing, overlaid with a 117 million dollar re-election war chest for incumbents in special-interest campaign contributions, and millions more in special-interest influence.

This is not a system that can promote reform and change. Rather, it aggressively protects the status quo. Talk to retiring members, many of them good people like Senator Warren Rudman of New Hampshire, and you will hear the frustration. When asked about the continuing spectre of huge budget deficits, he issued this indictment of the system, "the fact is that we are

unable, institutionally, to do what has to be done. We are not just watching the fiddler fiddle while Rome burns; we are watching the entire orchestra."

Let me give you one small example of the misplaced priorities on Capitol Hill -- an example that continually comes across my desk for action. Three times a week the White House receives a proclamation passed by a joint resolution of Congress. It might be to designate a particular day: "National Tap Dance Day", (true story) or a month, "National Digestive Disease Awareness Month". Hundreds of these come to the White House for Presidential action each year. In fact, nearly one third of all the legislation that reaches my desk is like this.

Now, while there's nothing wrong with Congress passing a proclamation heralding "National Crime Victims Week", there is something wrong when Congress can't pass a comprehensive crime bill that actually makes people safer in their homes and communities. "National Asparagus Month" may be good constituent relations, but the problems in American agriculture have to do with our national vitality, not our national vegetable.

For every one of these bills, there are legions of staff churning out the public relations campaigns to accompany them -- both on Capitol Hill, and in the executive branch. There are constituents contacted, newsletters written, paper -- reams of paper -- produced. Is this a big ticket item in the federal budget? Probably not. But it is more evidence of a Congress that chooses to spend time and effort on the easy constituent

relations and routine chores rather than on the difficult, often controversial issues that determine the future of our country.

These actions undermine the people's confidence in their government the same way as outrageous pork-barrel spending does. [[Just as I sent to Congress ~~ten~~ twelve days ago my anti-pork line-item rescissions, I am telling Congress today that from this day forward, the Executive Branch will not spend taxpayer dollars to fund publicity campaigns for special interests -- so don't send me any more of these pork-barrel proclamations.]]

The American people are a compassionate people -- willing to foot the bill to help make this country better. But there is a mismatch between their willingness to help and their skepticism about government. They just don't trust government to use their hard-earned tax dollars wisely. In dollar terms, one quarter of everything we produce, build, or grow as a nation is devoured by the central government. There is no bigger appetite on earth.

When taxpayer money goes for special-interest publicity campaigns and pork-barrel projects, people get angry. They demand change. Maybe it's small potatoes to the Congress, but the public knows P.R. when it sees it. ~~For each letter a member receives, 12,000 go out -- free.~~ That adds up to real money -- taxpayer money, and I think we must put a stop to it.

Today our government is a trillion and a half dollar business that too often forgets that the taxpayer is customer, shareholder, and board member all rolled into one.

Because government forgets the customer, it issues counterproductive regulations -- ones that increase the cost of doing business, but worse, ones that don't really solve the problem they were designed to solve.

Because the government forgets the shareholder, it shelters perpetual programs that have outlived their function, but not their funding. Because the government forgets who is really the boss -- the American taxpayer -- it has become insulated, unresponsive and resists reform. It is almost impossible to adequately reward success, much less punish failure. This is no slight to the four million hardworking people in the bureaucracy itself. Talk to them and many will say the same thing -- they are frustrated as well. But the system, which may have been good for its time, now must change, and it won't be easy.

That's because this kind of government doesn't just happen. Congress creates these giant centralized bureaucracies, lays down the mandates, funds the programs. Then, it is the Congress that protects them, harasses them, investigates them, micro-manages them. With a Congressional subcommittee Chairman as godparent, they become stepchildren of the Congress.

A few examples will help drive home the point. Some thirty different Congressional committees, and 77 subcommittees claim some degree of oversight responsibility for the Department of Defense. Seventy-four committees and subcommittees compete to exercise jurisdiction over the War on Drugs.

Think of the time and resources spent by the Executive Branch to fulfill Congressional demands for testimony. Think of the thousands of required reports that must be researched, written and delivered to Capitol Hill. Sixty reports from HUD. Six hundred from the Defense Department -- and on through all the Cabinet Departments.

Congress has legitimate oversight responsibilities of course. And I know that the federal government cannot be run just like IBM or the local convenience store, but we can improve its performance. We must improve its performance. So it's not just the Congress, it's the sprawling federal bureaucracy that needs reform as well. But let me be clear, it is impossible to have executive branch reform without reforming the Congress.

I have proposed reforms in the past and I am proposing additional steps today: in sum they represent how to return confidence and clarity to the mission of America's government.

First, universal application of the laws of the land. Federalist paper #57 asserts that elected officials, "can make no law which will not have ~~in~~ its full operation on themselves and their friends, as well as on the great mass of the society." In other words, Congress must govern itself by the laws it imposes on the public. Across the board. No more exceptions. Like civil rights laws. Age discrimination laws. The Americans with Disabilities Act and the Freedom of Information Act.

Congress should also submit to the laws it imposes on the Executive Branch -- like the Privacy Act, or Title VI of the

Ethics in Government Act of 1978, the independent counsel law. [[To those ends, today I am sending to Congress [name of Administration bill] which will force Congress to be covered by the same laws everyone else is. Further, I will veto any new legislation that does not also apply to the Congress.]] But that is only a first step toward rebuilding public confidence in our laws and our lawmakers.

Second, reform of the Congressional committee system. I support efforts to trim the overgrown thicket of committees and subcommittees which is now paralyzing the Congress. Democratic Senator Boren said it best when he described the Congress as "inefficient, ~~unresponsive,~~ wasteful, and compromised by the way it finances its campaigns." The numbers of reformers in the Congress is growing but they need the support of the American people now more than ever.

Third, sweeping campaign finance reform. Three years ago -- in 1989 -- I proposed the total elimination of Political Action Committees and limits on so-called "leadership PACs." I proposed that we increase the support that the parties can provide to federal campaigns to reduce the influence of special interests, decrease the time candidates and incumbents spend fund-raising, and increase the legitimate role of our political parties. I proposed that we reduce allowable contributions by these "independent" PACs to federal campaigns, and pass laws to ensure that they stay truly independent and unaffiliated -- in other words, clean. Finally, I asked the Congress to join me in

stopping the abuse that results from spreading around what's called "soft money" -- I asked for full disclosure of "soft money" expenditures by all organizations as the only way to clean up the system.

Fourth, spending reform. I have already proposed to freeze domestic discretionary spending in federal employment next year. I have proposed to curb as well the growth of mandatory programs without touching Social Security. I call again for the American people to demand that the Congress pass the same measure that 43 governors have: the line-item veto. In the absence of that important tool I will continue to use whatever means are legally at my disposal, including the line-item-rescission, to protect the taxpayer from the spending excesses of Congress. I will resist any attempt by the Congress to dismantle the only defense the taxpayer has against Congressional overspending -- those budget caps implemented in the 1990 Budget Act. Finally, I again call for a Balanced Budget Constitutional Amendment.

Fifth, regulatory reform. I have put a ninety-day moratorium on new government regulations. We are revising and eliminating regulations that impede our ability to compete, and we are accelerating regulations that enhance our competitive edge. ~~We have cut back XXX of regulations, pages in the Federal Register by XX% just in the last XX months/years. [[Today I am announcing an extension/new review process.]]~~

Next, a new communications policy between the Congress and the Executive Branch. [[Logging reform -- decision memo result. Reform of the nomination process.]] //

Finally, we must limit Congressional terms. The cycle of virtually guaranteed re-election through the built-in advantages of incumbency must be broken. [[So today, to truly to fix the system, I have sent to the Congress legislation to limit terms of United States Senators to two, and Representatives, six terms.]] After all, as President my terms are limited, the same should apply to members of Congress.

Change is sweeping America, just as it is sweeping the world. Once again, as in the first days of our new nation, we face a challenge. The reforms I've outlined today can renew our faith in government -- restore the principles of our Founders, and guarantee for our children a new American Century.

The choice is clear. On one side stand the defenders of the status quo. On the other: the forces of change. We must make the choice worthy of the men who met here -- and began the world's only permanent revolution. If we could change the world, we can change America. We must make the choice <u>for change</u>.

Thank you, and may God bless the United States of America.

# # #

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2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1992 States News Service

February 13, 1992, Thursday

LENGTH: 840 words

HEADLINE: Former Jersey Candidates Look Back On Race For Presidency

BYLINE: By Kate McKenna, States News Service

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD: electSB

BODY:

While Sen. Bill Bradley and former Governor Thomas H. Kean are better known among those who filed as possible candidates in 1988, there were several other New Jerseyans who actually ran for president in the last election. And they look back on the campaign with mixed feelings.

Emmy Award-winning television and film producer James R. Messenger won't even discuss his 1988 race for the presidency, which he said cost him $15,000 of his savings, and taught him a few things about major party support of lesser-known candidacies.

But the Piscataway resident did consent to forward his well-designed press packet outlining a complete presidential platform, as well as a statement explaining why he was no longer involved in politics.

"I ran as a Democrat for president in order to try and introduce into the presidential campaign the true issues facing this nation," he said. "Unfortunately, no one was interested."

Although Messenger, whose work has twice earned Academy Award nominations, had sought major party support, he said official response was confined to a state party official announcing that he "didn't have a chance" to win a single vote.

"That was the extent of 'help' from the Democratic Party," states Messenger with some bitterness. "With all due respect, I have nothing else to say."

But there were some positive results. Right to Life Party candidate William Marra of W. Milford, a philosophy professor at Fordham University, was the nation's ninth-highest vote-getter in the last presidential race, earning 22,560 votes.

An articulate speaker who ran on a "Family First" platform, Professor Marra said minor-party candidacies are needed to broaden the national debate, which he said remains fixed on economic issues.

He said he would probably not run again "unless someone comes up to me with $16 million in campaign funds," said Marra, adding that he doubts this will happen. "I never had any illusion that I would win, but I was glad to do what I could to call attention to other issues. But once is enough."

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(c) 1992 States News Service, February 13, 1992

Jersey City resident James Mac Warren received 11,435 votes in 1988 as the Socialist Workers Party candidate, and although he said national campaign was grueling, it was "a very interesting experience."

"What you've got to understand is that most of the people we appeal to are those who have lost all interest in the political process," said Warren. "They see the other candidates as Tweedledee and Tweedledum." Now living in Chicago, Warren said he would consider running again, if asked.

Even if asked, perennial candidate 78-year-old Bill Gahres of Barnegat said he would probably never again run for President. But he knows he has what it takes to wage a longshot run at the presidency -- and it's not for just anyone.

"You have to have a hide like an elephant," said Gahres, who ran as an independent for president in 1980 and 1984. "And you've got to be a character. A very staid, timid sort of person is not going to do it."

Waging a colorful campaign through his Committee to Get Rid of Bureaucratic B -- -- -- t, he knows he raised more than a few eyebrows.

"People took me as some sort of clown, but there was a method to my madness: free publicity," he said, adding that the process gave him name recognition highly useful to his start-up legal advertising consultancy.

Although Gahres racked up only 1,718 votes in the 1980 election, it was in his next election -- the 1981 gubernatorial race -- that he fully learned the difference a third-party candidate can make. Running on the "Down With Lawyers" ticket, Gahres racked up 4,525 votes in a race that Republican Thomas H. Kean won by a mere 1,800 votes.

The Democrat who could have used some of Gahres' votes? James J. Florio.

"If I hadn't been in the race, Florio would have won the first time," Gahres says now. "The Democrats hated my guts."

Waging a minor-party candidacy could also be considered fleeting fame. It was only two elections ago that Dennis L. Serette, also of Jersey City, received 50,000 votes as the first presidential candidate run by what is now the New Alliance Party. Four years later in 1988, the party's nominee became the only minor-party candidate on the ballot in all 50 states, receiving 201,430 votes in the process.

And this year, New Alliance nominee Leonora Fulani beat every other presidential hopeful, Democrat or Republican, by being the first to qualify for federal matching funds. But after months of searching in answer to questions from a reporter, party officials have been unable to locate Serrette, who they say has not been seen or heard from in years.

But there will always be Henry Krajewski, the notorious pig farmer from Secaucus who ran for president several times in the 1950s and beyond. "His legacy," according to David A. Bositis, a senior research associate at the Joint Center for Political Studies in Washington, "is that his campaign buttons and souvenirs have become one of the rarest items among political memorabilia nationwide."

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5TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1991 News World Communications, Inc.
The Washington Times

December 29, 1991, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: Part A; NATION; INSIDE POLITICS; Pg. A4

LENGTH: 1522 words

BODY:

BIG BUCKS, LITTLE PARTY

The third-best-federally financed candidate for president is a black woman running on a "pro-gay" platform as a means of "saying the unsayable."

Leonora Fulani, 41, a Harlem development psychologist, is a seasoned candidate. She heads a third party called the National Alliance that likes to think of itself as promoting a better human environment.

According to the Federal Election Commission, it is also pretty well-heeled: It will receive $624,497 in federal matching funds - more than all other presidential candidates except Democratic Sen. Tom Harkin and President Bush.

One of eight presidential candidates certified for the first distribution of the 1992 elections, Miss Fulani ran for the presidency four years ago and got on all 50 of the state ballots and the District of Columbia's.

In what the New Alliance Party said was a first for a black and a woman, she raised $1.5 million in 1988, of which $900,000 was certified for federal matching funds. The candidate received 250,000 votes - which amounted to $3.60 in taxpayer money for each vote.

To qualify for federal funds a candidate must raise $5,000 in each of 20 states. Individual contributions may be no more than $250.

The New Alliance said it collected $6,000 in 20 states by going house to house and soliciting from sidewalk card tables. The party said it also raised an additional $500,000. In all, 40,000 people contributed.

"To me it's one of many indications that the American people support and want to hear from a much broader range of candidates than is currently offered," Miss Fulani said in a statement issued by the party.

Raised in Chester, Pa., Miss Fulani graduated from Hofstra University, earned a degree from Columbia University Teachers College and received her Ph.D. in developmental psychology at the City University of New York.

Madelyn Chapman, spokesman for the campaign, told the Associated Press, "We know she's not going to win, but we're running to do something about the way third parties are shut out of the political process in this country."

Miss Fulani, a single parent of two children, has also run unsuccessfully for mayor of New York City and lieutenant governor and governor of New York. She filed as a Democrat for the Feb. 18 New Hampshire presidential primary.

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The party describes itself as designed to "say the unsayable about violence, racism, the Democratic Party, blacks and Jews, sex and crime, presidential politics, U.S. policy in Africa and the Caribbean and more."

NEW HAMPSHIRE TIE

In New Hampshire Democrats Bill Clinton and Paul Tsongas are "virtually tied" for the lead following New York Gov. Mario Cuomo's decision not to seek the Democratic nomination for president, according to a Dec. 20-23 voter survey.

The latest New Hampshire Poll of 362 likely Democratic voters found Mr. Tsongas, a former U.S. senator from Massachusetts, was preferred by 23 percent and the Arkansas governor by 21 percent.

Other Democrats: Sen. Bob Kerrey of Nebraska, 9 percent; Sen. Tom Harkin of Iowa, 3 percent; Gov. L. Douglas Wilder of Virginia, 1 percent; former Gov. Jerry Brown of California, less than half of 1 percent. Undecided: 42 percent.

According to the poll, much of the increased preference for Mr. Tsongas comes from voters who say they would have voted for Mr. Cuomo. Support for Mr. Kerrey decreased slightly since late November.

This is bad news for Mr. Kerrey. Along with Mr. Clinton and Mr. Tsongas, the Nebraska Democrat has devoted the most resources to the state. Analysts expect the Feb. 18 primary to cut the Democratic field in half.

In the Republican race, the survey of 347 likely Republican voters showed Mr. Bush leading in preference for president over conservative columnist Pat Buchanan by 59 percent to 21 percent. Undecided: 20 percent.

DUKE IN MIAMI

As ex-Klansman David Duke walked into a radio station in Miami last week, an elderly Cuban woman embraced him and a small group of Jewish protesters shouted at him from the sidewalk.

The crowd swelled to about 100 later in the evening as Mr. Duke took calls during a radio show. Some of the protesters, irate at his presence in South Florida, tried to enter the building but were turned back by police.

But the Louisiana state representative, who is running for the Republican presidential nomination, sounded like a mainstream candidate as he talked of tolerance for persons of all races - at least those willing to work.

His appearance at Spanish-language radio station WRHC-AM in Miami's Little Havana appeared to be the kickoff of his presidential campaign. Mr. Duke told Miami Cubans he believes they are in tune with him.

He praised Cuban-Americans, longtime GOP supporters, as "an asset to this country" and distinguished them from would-be immigrants such as the thousands of Haitians being held at the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba.

"The Cubans have been a tremendous asset. They're Christian people, they're anti-communist," Mr. Duke said. As for the Haitians: "I don't know if

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they're going to make a great contribution.

"I don't think we can take all the politically oppressed people of the world. There's nothing wrong with a nation maintaining its borders and maintaining its immigration policy."

Florida contributed more money to Mr. Duke's unsuccessful campaign for governor than any other state outside Louisiana, and the candidate said "thousands and thousands" of Miami Cubans have offered support.

Although his visit had been denounced by mainstream Cuban leaders, Mr. Duke appealed for support by touching a favorite Cuban-American theme: a promise of U.S. help for a military assault on Fidel Castro "to free Cuba."

Mr. Duke also said he will sue to get his name on the Florida ballot if influential Republicans block entry. GOP leaders must submit the party's list of candidates to the secretary of state by Tuesday.

In Massachusetts, Duke supporters failed to get the required 2,500 names to enter him in the Republican presidential primary, according to a Boston Herald survey. Friday was the deadline.

JACKSON ON CUOMO

The Rev. Jesse Jackson's sympathetic response to Mario Cuomo's decision was generally overlooked in the reaction to the New York governor's press conference on why he would not run for the Democratic presidential nomination.

The District of Columbia's "shadow" senator, who is not seeking the presidency next year, issued a statement that said in part that Mr. Cuomo projected himself "as a visionary with a grasp of domestic and foreign policy options."

Mr. Jackson hailed the governor's "sensitivity" in comparing Kuwait with Haiti as well as challenging the "growing and dangerous U.S. dependency upon Japan" in a statement that the clergyman said he thought was not entirely final on the presidency.

"Gov. Cuomo sees himself as a visionary who seeks a way out of current crisis and as a responsible leader who will not walk away from 18 million New Yorkers," Mr. Jackson said.

"He [Mr. Cuomo] is a candidate with a plan and has the guts and intelligence to pay for the plan," Mr. Jackson added. "He has a primary commitment to put America back to work."

"The purpose of the press conference was to end a candidacy. Instead, his announcement did a different thing, it increased the interest in his candidacy."

****BOX

ON THE ROAD

Today

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* Former California Gov. Jerry Brown in New Hampshire.

* Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton in Little Rock.

* Sen. Bob Kerrey, Nebraska Democrat, skis with family in Gilford, N.H., and opens campaign office in Laconia, N.H.

* Former Sen. Paul Tsongas in Cleveland.

* Virginia Gov. L. Douglas Wilder in Virginia.

Tomorrow

* Brown in New Hampshire.

* President Bush departs for Pacific Rim tour, traveling to Australia via Honolulu

* Clinton in Little Rock.

* Kerrey in New Hampshire and Nebraska.

Tuesday

* Brown in New Hampshire.

* Bush arrives in Sydney.

* Pat Buchanan attends winter carnival in New Hampshire.

* Clinton in Little Rock.

* Kerrey in Nebraska.

Wednesday

* Brown in New Hampshire.

* Buchanan in New Hampshire.

* Bush travels to Canberra.

* Clinton in Charleston, S.C.

* Kerrey in Nebraska.

* Tsongas in Massachusetts.

Thursday

* Brown in New Hampshire.

* Clinton in Charleston and Columbia, S.C.

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* Tsongas in New Hampshire.

Friday

* Brown in New Hampshire.

* Bush stops at Melbourne, then on to Singapore.

* Clinton in New Hampshire.

* Tsongas in New Hampshire.

Saturday

* Brown in New Hampshire.

* Clinton in New Hampshire.

* Tsongas in Massachusetts.

****ILLUSTRATION/BOX

YOUR TAX DOLLARS AT WORK?

The 1992 agriculture spending bill approved by Congress "includes $230,000 for the Agriculture Department's Extension Service to promote tourism in New Mexico," according to Congressional Quarterly's special report on the 1992 budget.

GRAPHIC: Photo, David Duke courts the Cuban vote while attending a rally in Miami., By AP ; Illustration/Box, Illustration) NO CAPTION; Box Caption) YOUR TAX DOLLARS AT WORK? ; Chart; Box, Chart Caption) TODAY'S TALIKNG HEADS; Box Caption) ON THE ROAD

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WH

THE MORROW BOOK OF QUOTATIONS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

Carol -

Sorry, but I could not find anything remotely close to the Chesterton quote you gave me. I checked nearly every quote book I could find.

- Bobby

Joseph R. Conlin

WILLIAM MORROW AND COMPANY, INC.
New York

cratic weather. A Democratic President is doomed to proceed to his goals like a squid, squirting darkness all about him.

(*New York Times*, 27 February 1959)

Henry R. Luce (1898–1967): *Journalist*

The fundamental trouble with Americans has been, and is, that whereas their nation became in the 20th century the most powerful and the most vital nation in the world, nevertheless Americans were unable to accommodate themselves spiritually and practically to that fact. . . . The cure is this: to accept wholeheartedly our duty and our opportunity as the most powerful and vital nation in the world and in consequence to exert upon the world the full impact of our influence, for such purposes as we see fit and by such means as we see fit.

("The American Century," *Life*, 17 February 1941)

The world of the 20th century, if it is to come to life in any nobility of health and vigor, must be to a significant degree an American century.

(Ibid.)

Seth Luther (1795?–1846): *Labor leader*

We do not believe there can be a *single person* found east of these mountains who ever *thanked God* for *permission* to work in a cotton mill.

(Speech delivered throughout Massachusetts, 1832)

Let us no longer be deceived by the cry of those who produce *nothing* and who enjoy *all*, and who insultingly term us . . . the *lower orders*, and exultingly claim our homage for themselves, as the *higher orders—while the* Declaration of Independence asserts that "All men are created equal."

(Ibid.)

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

DATE 3/31/92

TO W. Henson Moore

FAX NUMBER 456-1121

OFFICE NUMBER

COMMENTS "This might be a good example for Presidents government reform speech. Would help us to have him mention it too. 8 committees for sequential referral."

FROM Linda G. Stuntz

FAX NUMBER 202-586-0148

OFFICE NUMBER 202-586-5500

NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER 2

To: Dave Demerest — Here is recent example if you need it for the Friday reform speech — energy bill sent to eight House committees. Linda

Congressional Record

[Submitted March 30, 1992]

Mr. DINGELL: Committee on Energy and Commerce. H.R. 776. A bill to provide for improved energy efficiency; with an amendment; referred to the committees designated for a period ending not later than May 1, 1992, for consideration of those provisions within the following titles contained in the amendment recommended by the Committee on Energy and Commerce that fall within the respective jurisdictions of those committees pursuant to rule X: titles XII and XIII to Foreign Affairs; title III to Government Operations; titles VI and VII to Judiciary; titles VIII, IX, X, XI and XIX to Interior and Insular Affairs; titles II, XVI and XVII to Merchant Marine and Fisheries; titles I, IV and XVIII to Public Works and Transportation; titles VI, IX, XII and XIII to Science, Space and Technology; and titles X, XI and XIV to Ways and Means (Rept. 102-474, Pt. 1). Ordered to be printed.

Foreign Affairs

Title XII - Renewable Energy
Title XIII - Coal

Government Operations

Title III - Alternative Fuels-General

Judiciary

Title VI - Electric Motor Vehicles
Title VII - Electricity

Interior and Insular Affairs

Title VIII - High-Level Radioactive Waste
Title IX - Uranium Enrichment Corporation
Title X - Remedial Action At Active Processing Sites
Title XI - Uranium Enrichment Health, Safety, and Environment Issues
Title XIX - Miscellaneous

Merchant Marine

Title II - Natural Gas Pipelines
Title XVI - Greenhouse Warming-Energy Implications
Title XVII - Additional Federal Power Act Amendments

Public Works and Transportation

Title I - Energy Efficiency
Title IV - Alternative Fuels - Non-Federal Programs
Title XVIII - Oil Pipeline Regulatory Reform

Science, Space, and Technology

Title VI - Electric Motor Vehicles
Title IX - Uranium Enrichment Corporation
Title XII - Renewable Energy
Title XIII - Coal

Ways and Means

Title X - Remedial Action At Active Processing Sites
Title XI - Uranium Enrichment Health, Safety, and Environment Issues
Title XIV - Strategic Petroleum Reserve

Congressional Record

[Submitted March 30, 1992]

Mr. DINGELL: Committee on Energy and Commerce. H.R. 776. A bill to provide for improved energy efficiency; with an amendment; referred to the committees designated for a period ending not later than May 1, 1992, for consideration of those provisions within the following titles contained in the amendment recommended by the Committee on Energy and Commerce that fall within the respective jurisdictions of those committees pursuant to rule X: titles XII and XIII to Foreign Affairs; title III to Government Operations; titles VI and VII to Judiciary; titles VIII, IX, X, XI and XIX to Interior and Insular Affairs; titles II, XVI and XVII to Merchant Marine and Fisheries; titles I, IV and XVIII to Public Works and Transportation; titles VI, IX, XII and XIII to Science, Space and Technology; and titles X, XI and XIV to Ways and Means (Rept. 102-474, Pt. 1). Ordered to be printed.

To Jennifer

Date 3/31 Time 3 15

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

Mr Jim O'Connell

of

Phone 7845
Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED		PLEASE CALL	
CALLED TO SEE YOU		WILL CALL AGAIN	
WANTS TO SEE YOU		URGENT	
RETURNED YOUR CALL			

Message Returned your call Please call him back.

George
Operator

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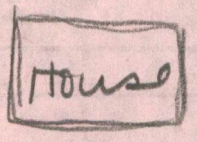

→ Library has it ←
→ CQ ←

4 on [Dems House

including 33 & 34

for the last for 60 yrs
Dems

32 56

33 → 60yrs

8 + 4 1/2 = 33

59

(because you count in terms of congress)

Ref.
JK1041
.A7
1992
WH

Vital Statistics on Congress, 1991-1992

Norman J. Ornstein
American Enterprise Institute

Thomas E. Mann
The Brookings Institution

Michael J. Malbin
State University of New York at Albany

Congressional Quarterly Inc.
Washington, D.C.

DON FIRM THIS FACT:
DEMS HAVE CONTROLLED
CONGRESS 58 OUT OF
THE LAST 62 YEARS

50th	(1887-1889)	76	37	39	—	1	325	182	140	2	1
51st	(1889-1891)	84	37	47	—	—	325	170	151	4	—
52d	(1891-1893)	88	39	47	2	—	330	156	173	1	—
53d	(1893-1895)	88	44	38	3	3	333	231	88	14	—
54th	(1895-1897)	88	39	44	5	—	356	220	126	10	—
55th	(1897-1899)	90	34	46	10	—	357	104	246	7	—
56th	(1899-1901)	90	26	53	11	—	357	134	206	16	1
57th	(1901-1903)	90	29	56	3	2	357	163	185	9	—
58th	(1903-1905)	90	32	58	—	—	357	153	198	5	1
59th	(1905-1907)	90	32	58	—	—	386	178	207	—	1
							386	136	250	—	—

TABLE 1-18

		# Senators	Democrats	Republican	Other	Vacant	# Reps	Democrat	Republican	Other	Vacant
60th	(1907-1909)	92	29	61	—	2	386	164	222	—	—
61st	(1909-1911)	92	32	59	—	1	391	172	219	—	—
62d	(1911-1913)	92	42	49	—	1	391	228	162	1	—
63d	(1913-1915)	96	51	44	1	—	435	290	127	18	—
64th	(1915-1917)	96	56	39	1	—	435	231	193	8	3
65th	(1917-1919)	96	53	42	1	—	435	210[a]	216	9	—
66th	(1919-1921)	96	47	48	1	—	435	191	237	7	—
67th	(1921-1923)	96	37	59	—	—	435	132	300	1	2
68th	(1923-1925)	96	43	51	2	—	435	207	225	3	—
69th	(1925-1927)	96	40	54	1	1	435	183	247	5	—
70th	(1927-1929)	96	47	48	1	—	435	195	237	3	—
71st	(1929-1931)	96	39	56	1	—	435	163	267	1	4
72d	(1931-1933)	96	47	48	1	—	435	216[b]	218	1	—
73d	(1933-1935)	96	59	36	1	—	435	313	117	5	—
74th	(1935-1937)	96	69	25	2	—	435	322	103	10	—
75th	(1937-1939)	96	75	17	4	—	435	333	89	13	—
76th	(1939-1941)	96	69	23	4	—	435	262	169	4	—
77th	(1941-1943)	96	66	28	2	—	435	267	162	6	—
78th	(1943-1945)	96	57	38	1	—	435	222	209	4	—
79th	(1945-1947)	96	57	38	1	—	435	243	190	2	—
80th	(1947-1949)	96	45	51	—	—	435	188	246	1	—
81st	(1949-1951)	96	54	42	—	—	435	263	171	1	—
82d	(1951-1953)	96	48	47	1	—	435	234	199	2	—
83d	(1953-1955)	96	46	48	2	—	435	213	221	1	—
84th	(1955-1957)	96	48	47	1	—	435	232	203	—	—
85th	(1957-1959)	96	49	47	—	—	435	234	201	—	—
86th	(1959-1961)	98	64	34	—	—	436[c]	283	153	—	—
87th	(1961-1963)	100	64	36	—	—	437[d]	262	175	—	—
88th	(1963-1965)	100	67	33	—	—	435	258	176	—	1
89th	(1965-1967)	100	68	32	—	—	435	295	140	—	—
90th	(1967-1969)	100	64	36	—	—	435	248	187	—	—

(Table continues)

Table 1-18 (continued)

Congress		Senate					House of Representatives				
		Number of senators	Democrats	Republicans	Other parties	Vacant	Number of representatives	Democrats	Republicans	Other parties	Vacant
91st	(1969-1971)	100	58	42	—	—	435	243	192	—	—
92d	(1971-1973)	100	54	44	2	—	435	255	180	—	—
93d	(1973-1975)	100	56	42	2	—	435	242	192	1	—
94th	(1975-1977)	100	61	37	2	—	435	291	144	—	—
95th	(1977-1979)	100	61	38	1	—	435	292	143	—	—
96th	(1979-1981)	100	58	41	1	—	435	277	158	—	—
97th	(1981-1983)	100	46	53	1	—	435	243	192	—	—
98th	(1983-1985)	100	46	54	—	—	435	268	167	—	—
99th	(1985-1987)	100	47	53	—	—	435	253	182	—	—
100th	(1987-1989)	100	55[e]	45	—	—	435	258	177[f]	—	—
101st	(1989-1991)	100	55	45	—	—	435	260	175	—	—
102d	(1991-1993)	100	56	44	—	—	435	267	167	1	—

Note: All figures reflect immediate election results.

[a] Democrats organized House with help of other parties.
[b] Democrats organized House because of Republican deaths.
[c] Proclamation declaring Alaska a state issued January 3, 1959.
[d] Proclamation declaring Hawaii a state issued August 21, 1959.
[e] Includes the late Senator Edward Zorinsky (D-Nev.) who was replaced by Senator David Karnes, a Republican, thus changing the ratio when he was sworn in on March 11, 1987, to 54 Democrats and 46 Republicans.
[f] Includes the late Stewart McKinney (R-Conn.).

Sources: Statistics of the Presidential and Congressional Elections of November 4, 1980, compiled from official sources by Thomas E. Ladd, under direction of Edmund L. Henshaw, Jr., clerk of the House of Representatives (Washington, D.C., 1981); *Congressional Directory* (1983, 1985); *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report,* November 8, 1986, 2812, 2839, 2843, 2856-2857; November 22, 1986; March 14, 1987, 483; November 12, 1988; November 10, 1990.

For the members of
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popular vote; yet they
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clearly by the figures
electoral systems with
percentage in a party's
three times that perce
House elections, howe
to half what it had be

Democratic Minority

71st, 72nd, 80th, 83rd, 97th, 98th, 99th

Session	Years	Democrats' Status
71	1929 - 31	House/Senate Minority
72	1931 - 33	House/Senate Minority *
80	1947 - 49	House/Senate Minority
83	1953 - 55	House/Senate Minority
97	1981 - 83	Senate Minority
98	1983 - 85	Senate Minority
99	1985 - 87	Senate Minority

* Democrats organized the House due to Republican deaths.

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3RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The Washington Times

August 9, 1991, Friday, Final Edition

SECTION: Part F; COMMENTARY; EDITORIAL; Pg. F2

LENGTH: 449 words

HEADLINE: Fixing what's broken in Congress

BODY:

As public discontent with the morass that is the Congress of the United States continues to grow, and as some congressmen have become increasingly frustrated with the way their business does and doesn't get done, at last comes a proposal that at least dangles the possibility of real reform. Democratic Sen. David Boren and Republican Sen. Pete Domenici, along with Democratic Rep. Lee Hamilton and Republican Rep. Willis Gradison, last week introduced a resolution that would create a bipartisan committee to look into the mess.

Mr. Boren's fact sheet illustrates the magnitude of the problem, and if a committee addressed only the issues it raises, that in itself would be a good start. In 1891, the U.S. Senate managed to do business with only 39 employees. In 1987, that number was 4,075. Overall, the size of Congress' staff increased from a pre-New Deal 1,294 in 1930 to 11,655 in 1987.

Meanwhile, congressional committees and subcommittees have proliferated, which accounts in no small part for the overall staff increases and for a vast number of redundant hearings. In the 1945-46 79th Congress, there were 34 committees and subcommittees. In the 1987-88 100th Congress, there were as many as 298 "Mr. Chairmen" running around out of a possible 535. In 1991, a senator averages 4.75 committee slots and 6.3 subcommittee slots.

Legislation, too, has proliferated. Nearly 7,000 bills were introduced in 1990. "Bills are five times longer on the average than they were just as recently as 1970," Mr. Boren noted at a press conference, "with a far greater tendency to micro-manage every area of government." In addition, a substantial amount of legislation takes the form of huge omnibus bills that members vote on without even reading.

The committee Mr. Boren et al. propose would consist of eight senators, eight representatives and four advisory members equally divided by party. There is a danger, of course, that the committee will get distracted from the real problems of a bloated staff and proliferating committees and end up with a bigger-is-better conclusion. Moreover, it will take some political courage for committee members to raise such dicey issues as incumbent-protection provisions, PAC money for campaigns and the utility of a presidential line-item veto power in getting Congress to stick to the point. The committee should air those issues as well. Meanwhile, though, Sen. Boren is right in saying, "Congress is in trouble as an institution. No one doubts it. In poll after poll, Americans describe Congress as inefficient, wasteful and compromised by the way it finances its campaigns." This committee might help.

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4TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1991 The Washington Post
The Washington Post

August 6, 1991, Tuesday, Final Edition

SECTION: EDITORIAL; PAGE A15

LENGTH: 771 words

HEADLINE: Major Repairs for Congress

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: David L. Boren

BODY:

Congress is in trouble. No one doubts it. In poll after poll, Americans describe Congress as inefficient, wasteful and compromised by the way it finances its campaigns. Growing public anger and frustration are indicated by the movement for term limitations for Congress. At the same time, the decisions of talented members like Sen. Jake Garn (R-Utah) and Rep. Bill Gray (D-Pa.) to leave Congress reflect a growing disillusionment within Congress itself.

In this critical decade, when America must make major changes if it is to maintain its world leadership in the next century, Congress is bogged down in detail, missing the big picture and slow to respond to our real problems. It has become so bureaucratic itself that it can't legislate effectively or even begin to oversee the federal bureaucracy it has created by past actions.

Almost 50 years ago, as World War II was ending and the Cold War was beginning, Congress realized that it needed to reform itself if it was to deal with the challenges it faced. The Monroney-LaFollette Committee led by Sen. Robert LaFollette and then-representative Mike Monroney was formed solely to deal with congressional reform. In 1947, Congress moved to adopt several of their proposals.

Now, as the Cold War is ending and we face the demands of a very different world, it is time for Congress to once again take a careful look at itself.

Reps. Lee Hamilton (D-Ind.) and Bill Gradison (R-Ohio) and Sen. Pete Domenici (R-N.M.) and I have joined in a bipartisan effort to get Congress to make another major effort to put itself in order. We have proposed that a new special committee along the lines of the Monroney-LaFollette Committee be named to recommend substantial reforms to the next Congress. Like the original committee that served from 1944 to 1946, this committee would be bipartisan, of limited duration and staffed largely by nonpaid volunteers lent by academic and other nonpartisan institutions.

It is not difficult to catalogue current congressional failure. The warning signs are clear for all to read.

Staffs have mushroomed from about 2,000 employees in 1947 to about 12,000 today. These large staffs tend to push members of Congress to artificially inflate their legislative agendas. Staffers develop their own ideas and agendas, which get introduced as bills, increasing the glut of inconsequential

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legislation clogging an already sluggish system.

Of 6,973 bills introduced in the last Congress, only 3 percent were enacted. The content of bills also has expanded. Bills are five times longer on the average than they were in 1970 and have a far greater tendency to micromanage every area of government.

The number of committees has grown out of control, creating a maze of overlapping jurisdictions and spreading members' time and attention too thin. In 1947, there were only 38 House and Senate committees with parallel jurisdictions. Today there are almost 300 committees and subcommittees. In 1947, there were almost no Senate subcommittees. Today there are 91, and the average senator is a member of 12 full committees or subcommittees.

Congressional procedures do not promote efficiency. In the Senate, studies show that 25 percent of legislative time -- equal to 45 full legislative days -- is wasted each year in quorum calls and other delaying devices.

Senators may offer amendments that have nothing to do with the subject matter of the bill pending in debate. Foreign policy amendments or abortion amendments can be offered to the agriculture bill, for example.

The same controversial issues can be debated over and over again in the same Congress. There is no rule which says that once a matter has been brought to a vote it cannot be brought up for a second, third or 15th time.

As budget deficits continue to soar, the budget process has become so complex that not even those who helped write the rules for it agree about what they mean.

The cost of campaigns has reached the point that members of Congress have had to become full-time fund-raisers and part-time congressmen. Not only is too much money coming into the system, more and more comes from special interests creating an impression that Congress no longer represents the average American taxpayer.

Reforming Congress will not, by itself, solve all of America's problems, but it would at least give us a better chance to address them more quickly and effectively. We can't afford to ignore the warning signs. As an institution, Congress urgently needs to be repaired. We owe it to the American people to get it done.

The writer is a Democratic senator from Oklahoma.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, AP

TYPE: OPINION EDITORIAL

SUBJECT: U.S. CONGRESS

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1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The Washington Times

March 25, 1992, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: Part A; NATION; Pg. A3

LENGTH: 623 words

HEADLINE: Rudman cites frustration on retiring from Senate

BYLINE: Ronald A. Taylor; THE WASHINGTON TIMES

BODY:

Sen. Warren Rudman, who has left his name and influence on the congressional budget process, announced yesterday that he will not seek a third term.

"There comes a time when everyone should come home," the New Hampshire Republican said yesterday during an announcement in Concord, N.H. "This is my time."

Despite widespread concern among Capitol Hill officeholders that angry voters are in a mood to oust incumbents this election year, Mr. Rudman is departing out of frustration, not fear.

His decision did not surprise Capitol Hill insiders, who said the blunt-talking moderate Republican had openly stated he had no desire to remain in Washington.

Mr. Rudman is the fifth senator to announce he is not running for re-election. The other Republicans are Jake Garn of Utah and Steve Symms of Idaho.

Democrats Alan Cranston of California and Brock Adams of Washington - veteran politicians whose reputations have been clouded by scandal - are not seeking re-election either.

But Mr. Rudman's decision to leave comes at a time when he is still well regarded by voters in his state. Instead of voicing fear of an anti-incumbent mood among voters, Mr. Rudman talked about frustration and impatience with the tasks facing Congress.

"I'm not leaving because I need to make huge amounts of money. I'm leaving because I think I've been there long enough," he said. "I just don't think I'd enjoy it for six more.

"Although I am not discouraged beyond repair, I am terribly frustrated," Mr. Rudman said.

In little-noticed remarks he made on the Senate floor last week opposing the Democrat-sponsored tax package, he presaged the decision that he has hinted at to reporters and staff members since November.

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1992 The Washington Times, March 25, 1992

"The thing that has really been troubling me for the last three or four months to try to determine whether to spend another six years of my life in this place with so many fine and wonderful people: Is it worth it? Can you do anything? Can you make the country better? Are you part of a solution rather than part of the problem?" he said.

He is the co-author, with Texas Republican Phil Gramm and South Carolina Democrat Fritz Hollings, of the 1985 law to hold federal budget deficits in check. The statutory language mandates the shutting down of federal government operations when spending exceeds certain limits.

The measure has become a fixture in the budget battles ever since. But aside from that act, he said, "there has been no serious effort to address this deficit. Both Democrats and Republicans are to blame. Congress is to blame. We are all to blame."

In addrressing the continuing dilemma of mounting budget deficits, he said, "the fact is that we are unable, institutionaly, to do what has to be done.

"We are literally not watching the fiddler fiddle while Rome burns; we are watching the entire orchestra," he said.

Mr. Rudman, 62, former New Hampshire attorney general, was elected in 1980. He has focused most of his attention on budget matters, asserting that curtailing Social Security, Medicare, federal pensions and other direct federal payments to individuals was a vital component of controlling the budget.

Unlike many members of Congress, Mr. Rudman had no interest in becoming a Washington fixture. "He always made it clear that he was going to be here for no more than two terms," said one Senate aide.

The announcement comes just a week after Illinois voters ousted three members of their congressional delegation, including Sen. Alan Dixon, in the Democratic primary.

Meanwhile, of the 35 Senate seats at stake this year, five are occupied by incumbents who are under unusual pressure in this election.

GRAPHIC: Photo, Sen. Warren Rudman announces his decision to step down in Concord, N.H., By AP

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Office of the Comptroller of the Department of Defense

TELEFAX TRANSMITTAL SHEET

TO: Carol Aarhur

FAX NUMBER: 202-456-6218

MESSAGE: Attached is a trend chart on DoD reports required by Congress. As part of the 734 reporting requirements for FY92, the President must submit 22 reports. The latest figures on costs and manhours will not be available for a couple of weeks. The last figures we have are for FY89, which were 508,771 manhours and costs of $33,099,525.

I have the entire list of FY92 reporting requirements but it is too thick to fax. Do you want a copy?

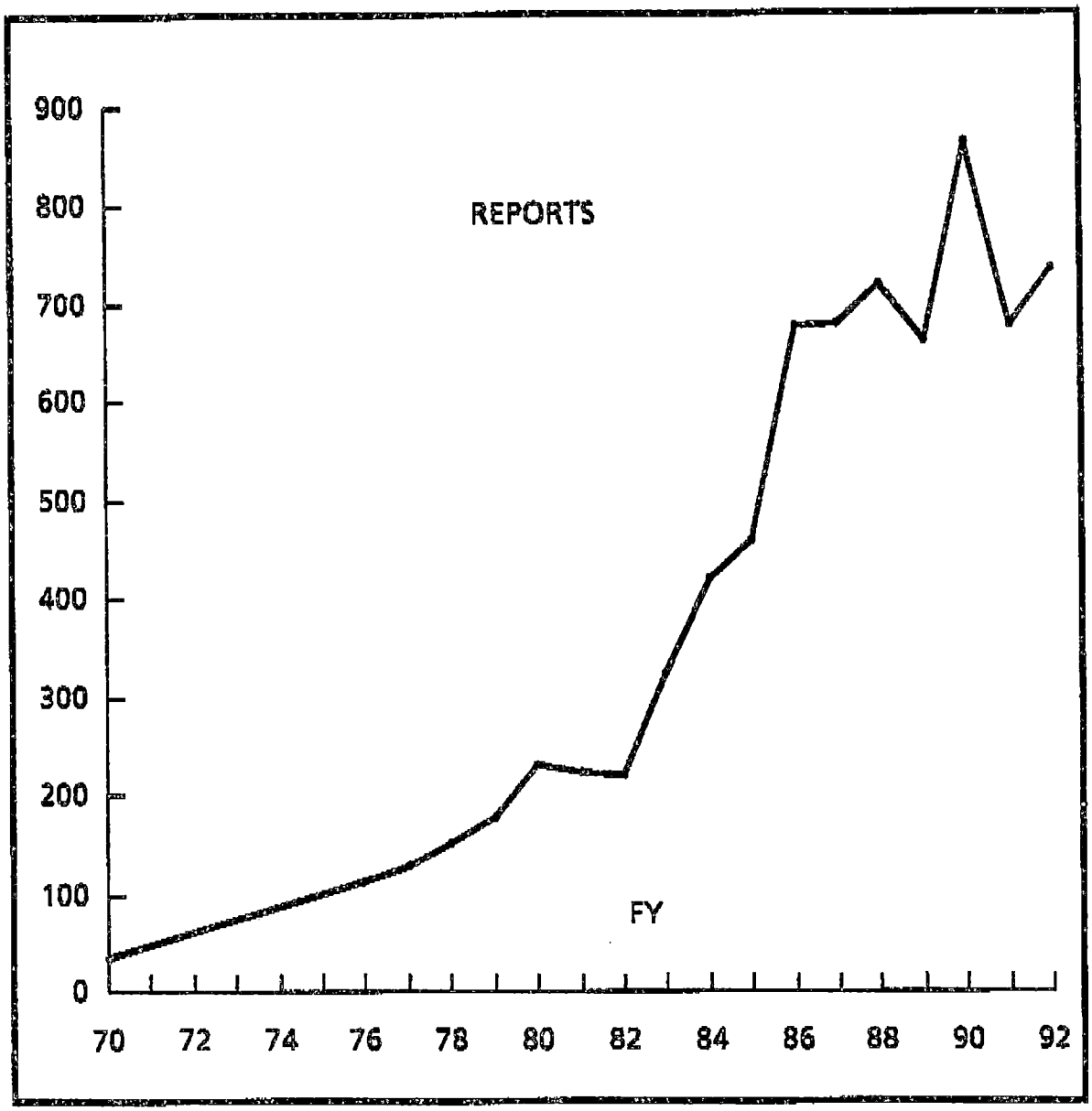
FROM: Nancy Nowak , DoD COMPTROLLER

ACTION OFFICER PHONE NUMBER: (703) 697-1101

Number of copies transmitted including cover sheet: 2

Telecopier Phone # 703 - 693 - 7499 or AUTOV223 - 7499

CONGRESSIONAL REPORTING REQUIREMENTS
AUTHORIZATION AND APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE REPORTS



	REPORTS/ STUDIES
FY 70	36
FY 76	114
FY 77	129
FY 78	153
FY 79	177
FY 80	231
FY 81	223
FY 82	221
FY 83	325
FY 84	422
FY 85	458
FY 86	676
FY 87	680
FY 88	719
FY89	661
FY90	861
FY91	676
FY 92	734

March 27, 1992

Reform Proposals

I. Electoral Process Reform

Themes: Reduce the influence of special interests
Strengthen political parties
Restore competition in elections

A. Campaign Finance Reform

- Eliminate political action committees supported by corporations, unions, or trade associations and prohibit such entities from paying for the overhead or administrative costs of any independent PACs.
- Increase the amounts political parties can spend on behalf of congressional candidates.
- Prohibit the personal use of excess campaign funds
- Drastically reduce Congressional mailings under the frank
- Ban the rollover of campaign funds from one election cycle to the next
- Develop fair neutral criteria for the redistricting of Congressional and legislative seats

B. Term Limitations for Members of Congress

2 terms for senators - equivalent number of years for House

II. Budget Reform

Themes: Reduce the growth of Federal spending
Establish needed fiscal discipline
Enhance the role of the President in the budget process

A. Budget Process Reforms

- Formal Presidential involvement in the development of the Joint Budget Resolution (FY 1991, 1992 and 1993 budgets)
- Biennial budgeting (FY 1991 and 1992 budgets)
- Enhanced rescission authority (FY 1991, 1992 and 1993 budgets)
- Subjecting to regular review the growth of mandatory

executive order on earmarking No

spending programs as part of the budget process (FY 1993 budget)

- Budgeting for deposit, pension, and other insurance (FY 1993 budget)
- Instituting a regulatory budget (FY 1993 budget)
- Strengthening the Budget Enforcement Act (FY 1993 budget)
  - Extend deficit reduction requirements and enforcement procedures (FY 1993 budget)
  - Continue existing discretionary spending categories with limits (FY 1993 budget)
  - Continue pay-as-you-go requirements (FY 1993 budget)
  - Continue maximum deficit amounts (FY 1993 budget)

B. Budget-Related Constitutional Amendments

- Line-item veto (FY 1991, 1992, and 1993 budgets)
- Balanced Budget Constitutional Amendment (FY 1991, 1992, and 1993 budgets)

III. Institutional Reform

Themes: Enhance accountability of Governmental Officials
Increase efficiency of governmental institutions

yes yes but it makes his

A. Application of Statutes to the Congress

B. Boren-Domenici Committee Reforms

(Quotes from the President, Senator Boren and Senator Rudman)

yes briefly

C. Confirmation Process

- Six week period between nomination and vote on confirmation
- Ensure confidentiality of information in confirmation process

bracket

D. Logging Reform

REA loans

Call Ken Glozer @ Grady's office
x3040
→ has files on it!

go after telephone loans, primarily

see WSJ article (last 6 mos.)

budget p. 328 (?)

Don Arbuckle

Council on

Compet.

~~X6222~~

X7340

called 4/M
e/
ft
usage

Call Scott Hodge
& CAGW
for pork lists

Calls to return

Call Chris Lourde
HUD
708-4106

Mike Wisniewski
DoEnergy
586-7944

Nancy Harrison @ Interior
208-7693

David Mason 546-4400

For each ltr. a member receives, 12,000 go out -- free.

Pete Wilson said fewer than 1 in 10

3% of mail (Senate) goes to answer constituent inquiries

[Federal rate of return for letters]?

→ Nelson says "no"!

There are XX major pieces of legislation that cover everbody but Congress

Domenici-Boren legislation
-get copy of it
we supported it in Process p.

Top 9T on p-5
in Pink outline?

To Carol

Date 3/25 Time 12:20

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M Bill McQuade

of

Phone 5090

Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED		PLEASE CALL	
CALLED TO SEE YOU		WILL CALL AGAIN	
WANTS TO SEE YOU		URGENT	
RETURNED YOUR CALL	X		

Message

JAG

Operator

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Carol:

Steve Berry

6471048

State Dept

JAG

To Carol

Date 3/26/92 Time 11:50

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M NANCY HARRISON

of Dept of Interior Contg Aff.

Phone 208 7693

Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED	X	PLEASE CALL	X
CALLED TO SEE YOU		WILL CALL AGAIN	
WANTS TO SEE YOU		URGENT	
RETURNED YOUR CALL			

Message She has your figures fax them. shes out of town.

#(1) 325 hearings,

time spent: 2 hrs each so

650 hours

Operator

AMPAD EFFICIENCY® 23-021 CARBONLESS

reports required: 77
on annual basis
to Congress.

(16 add. required more than once a year)

(call her for questions)

• The order reaffirms existing delegations of authority to issue conflict-of-interest waivers for certain Presidential appointees.

Remarks to the American Society of Newspaper Editors
April 12, 1989

The President. Thank you all very much. John, thank you—please. Well, I'm delighted to be here and look forward to taking a few questions. I've been getting such a ribbing about my highly stylized prose; I thought it only appropriate for me to share a few recent headlines with you. [*Laughter*] I'm sure nobody here would write things like this, but—"Dentist Receives Plaque"—that was one—[*laughter*]—"Actor Sent to Jail for Not Finishing Sentence"—[*laughter*]—and "The Rest of the Year May Not Follow January." I'm tempted to gloat. If that's the standard, I'm not doing too bad. [*Laughter*]

Adlai Stevenson said: "An editor is a person who separates the wheat from the chaff and prints the chaff." [*Laughter*] So, I know I'm probably responsible for providing my fair share of chaff, but after all, I am the guy that said during the campaign, "A kitchen in every pot"—[*laughter*]—and also that "America's freedom"—I was reminded by some of these back here—"America's freedom is the example by which the world expires." [*Laughter*]

So, let no one miss the message: As editors you uphold a certain ethical standard in your newsrooms, and you've got to do that because a newspaper is only as good as its word. And I think this is no less true of government. High ethical standards are central to this administration, and we're going to enforce them strictly, comprehensively, fairly, and to the letter and spirit of the law.

And we've got to work together to reform a public code of conduct that at times appears to be in disarray. And it's not logical or fair—a code—it's both too harsh and too lenient. And it elevates detail over substance, precept over principle.

And so, today I want to talk to you about some proposals of our administration, because such a system as now constituted ultimately breeds cynicism and contempt for the law. To truly reform it, we must remember that standards of trust and honesty are not dictated from regulations written in Washington, DC. Ethics in public service derive from the natural integrity of the American people. They are to be found in the everyday conduct of working men and women, in the postman checking up on the elderly resident at home or in the cashier who runs after the customer that's been overcharged. The millions of Americans who meet their obligations honestly and teach their kids to do it the same way see nothing extraordinary about asking the same of their government. The American people are troubled when they hear of officials in every branch of government, at whatever level of government, who show a brazen contempt for the letter or spirit of the law. And the American people do not understand why certain behavior is considered criminal when committed by an executive branch official—are perfectly legal when committed by someone in another branch of government. Is not a crime a crime? Should there not be an underlying standard of integrity for all?

And as President-elect, I heard about talented men and women who, though perfectly honest, declined to come to serve in government out of fear—fear of the sheer complexity of Federal ethics laws, fear that a simple, honest mistake could lead to a public nightmare. And these concerns led me to issue an Executive order [No. 12668] creating the President's Commission on Federal Ethics Law Reform. And I asked its members to recommend steps to foster full confidence in the integrity of all Federal public officials and employees.

And on March 9, as you may remember, this Commission filed its report and its rec-

ommendations. It was chaired by Judge Wilkey, co-chaired by former Attorney General Griffin Bell. In fact, the legislation now resulting from their recommendations and other ideas that I have—the legislation is being sent to the Congress today. And just this morning, I issued an Executive order [No. 12674] announcing ethical principles for the conduct of executive branch employees.

Both actions seek a common end: to raise ethical standards, to avoid conflicts of interest, and to ensure that the law is respected in fact and in appearance.

There are those, of course, who say that public ethics and values cannot be legislated—and I'm inclined to agree. You're never going to legislate away impropriety or through legislation guarantee that everybody lives beyond the, you know, perception of criticism—but these values and ethics can be encouraged, respected, and adhered to in government. Public service must reflect the best values of America. And let me add that most public servants, in my view, do that. And I have served in the Congress, and I have served in the executive branch as well.

Jefferson said: "The whole art of government consists in being honest." And yet too often, simple honesty is not enough. Government rules have worked at cross-purposes. Our regulations have been complicated and unequally applied. Our laws have been contradictory and unclear. And we've spent more time trying to understand Federal ethics laws than we have trying to live by them.

My ethics program seeks to remedy these defects. How? By setting four objectives: first, to establish clear ethical principles; second, to ensure uniform standards among all three branches of government; third, to insist that these standards be fair and reasonable; and fourth, to ensure that these standards attract, not drive out, talented men and women to government.

My ethics program first insists that ethical standards must be exacting enough to ensure that officials act with the utmost integrity, for the public's confidence is not ours to inherit. We must earn that confidence, and it must be constantly renewed. With this in mind, I have placed a ban on outside income for noncareer Presidential appointees in the executive branch, including all employees in the immediate White House Office. I am proposing expanded financial disclosure for all three branches of government. And I have instructed my staff to perform a comprehensive review of Federal campaign finance laws.

Regarding the last, I have already reached one determination. Congress should extend for all Members the prohibition against the conversion of political contributions for personal or office use. Political donations should not become a sort of individual retirement account for Members of the United States Congress. And I call on Congress to close this loophole, and to close it this year.

Modern democratic government works best when organized by strong political parties. And yet we've allowed our parties to become weakened and overshadowed by special interests. And we can best restore the role of the parties by limiting political action committees. PAC's weaken the parties, restrain competition, and deaden the political debate. And I believe we should eliminate contributions to candidates by political action committees, and I'll be consulting with the Congress about that. And I also oppose Federal funding of congressional campaigns. My legislative proposal also strengthens the rules against abusing the revolving door for private gain at the expense of public trust. These rules must not make Government service a bar to productive work in the private sector, but they must prohibit the appearance of profiting from Government service, and this must include the legislative branch as well.

I'm proposing a 25-percent pay raise for Federal judges, while restricting their acceptance of honoraria. I also believe that honoraria for Members of Congress should be banned. And I believe Congress should have a pay increase. And I will not make a formal proposal on Congress until after I consult with the leaders of Congress on the issue of congressional pay. There is no point, absolutely no point, in putting Congress through another traumatic bashing like the one just completed. And I will include in those consultations the question of

a pay increase for certain executive branch positions, including specialized jobs like those out there at the National Institute of Health. And I will strongly support pay increases for these jobs which are so important to this country.

My ethics program's second goal recognizes that ethical consistency demands equitable standards across all three branches of government. And under our Constitution, every branch of government is equal and none warrants preferential treatment. The same standard that applies to a staff person at HUD should also apply to housing subcommittee staff on Capitol Hill. And a practice is either ethical or it is not. And if Washington is to be a level playing field, then every player should be treated the same. And therefore, I am proposing that we must extend the independent counsel statute to cover the Congress. I am also proposing that the Federal statute that prohibits employees from taking actions that enhance their own financial interest be extended to cover legislative and judicial branch employees. There should also be an independent ethics office for Congress, to be headed by a clearly nonpartisan official, confirmed by both Houses. And I ask that the existing 1-year postemployment cooling-off period for the senior executive branch employees also apply to the legislative and judicial branches.

And then there's the third objective of this ethics program. It insists that standards be reasonable and reflect good old-fashioned common sense. Some financial interests, for example, are too minor to create any meaningful conflict of interest at all. So, I want the Office of Government Ethics to have the authority to issue regulations authorizing waivers from these conflict of interest statute. But at the same time, we're urging tougher penalties when intentional violations of criminal conflict of interest laws occur. We're asking officials from all three branches to simplify the forms that must be completed by prospective appointees. And I'm also requiring mandatory annual briefings on ethics for Presidential appointees.

My program's fourth objective is to attract and keep the best people in government by keeping Federal ethics laws fair and balanced.

An ethics law is not a weapon—a blunt instrument with which to pound a public servant. It's not a gag with which to silence the outspoken. It's a tool to ensure a government as honest as the American people. We must not allow overly restrictive requirements to be abused or to keep talented people from entering public service. And that is why we have carefully crafted new postemployment restrictions. And that's why we want to allow persons who are required to divest assets to defer their tax liability.

My ethics program shows exactly where we are going and why. We seek to attract and keep the best and brightest in government. And by helping others, by building a better America—honorably, ethically—we seek to show how public service is not the sum of our perks or possessions but a measure of how we conduct ourselves and what we achieve.

Come to think of it, this is a good code for all occupations, from high school to the highest callings in journalism and government. I am delighted to have the opportunity to present to you the principles of this ethics package and obviously—I don't want to see this powerful crowd escape without a pitch—I'd like to have your editorial support for the objectives that I've outlined here today.

Thank you all very much, and I'd be glad to take your questions.

Political Opportunities for Minorities

Q. Mr. President, my daughter thanks you for the autograph you gave us last week, and I'm asking this question on her behalf. She is a 12-year-old 6th grader—and I'm a little nervous here—12-year-old 6th grader at Shepherd Elementary School. And she asked me after I left the White House, "Daddy, will I ever be President? Will I have a chance to be President like Mr. Bush?" She's black and also female. Do you envision, sir, a time when this country might be prepared to elect a black and/or female as President?

The President. Yes, I do. I'd say to her: If I can make it, she can make it. But nevertheless—[*laughter*]—no, but seriously, Ben

[Benjamin Johnson, Jr., managing editor of the Columbia-Missourian], of course we're in changing times here; and the great thing is that she might, by her question, aspire to be President. And I hope that I can keep alive, for at least the time I'm in the White House, the concept—the honor of public service, the obligation to put something back into the system, and also the fact that if you get into the arena you get a very different perspective than when you're sitting outside.

I'll always love what Sam Rayburn said. And this is a little off your question for your daughter. But as he was listening to some debate with a bunch of staffers, I think it was, up on the Hill, he said, "Well, the problem is they never ran for sheriff." And it makes a difference. So, I hope that the question means she is interested, and I hope that the progress this country has made and will make in the future will guarantee that a black teenager today, female, might well be President of the United States.

Secretary of Defense-Designate Tower

Q. How do you square that excellent program you've just outlined to us, sir, with the Tower nomination and your support right to the end?

The President. I see no contradiction whatsoever. As you know, I don't want to relive the Tower question, but I believe that judgments should be made on reality, not on perception. I didn't like what happened, and I don't think that it is any conflict at all with any of the four points I made here today. So, I'd simply—and nothing convinced me from the hearings of that, because I don't think that there was anything that was pointed out to definitively—that conflicts with what we've talked about here. So, I just would respectfully disagree with the conclusion that the United States Senate reached. And I'm going to work with them. We're going forward now. And they promptly confirmed Dick Cheney. But I just don't see any there at all.

Fairness Doctrine

Q. Mr. President, this week the House committee reported out a bill which most of the people in this room think would severely limit and hamper the first amendment. It would pass into law the so-called fairness doctrine. The head-counters say that it will probably go through both chambers quite comfortably. Will you stand with your predecessor in vetoing that bill should it come to you?

The President. Well, I don't want to indicate a veto would be necessary, but I will stand with the previous position that I was a part of in the last administration.

Press Coverage of Presidency

Q. Mr. President, since you've taken office, you've greatly increased the access to the Presidency on the part of the press, and you've taken such initiatives as hosting small dinners in your private residence with reporters and editors. This has sparked some debate, and if I can frame it, if you'll permit me to frame it in the spirit of our morning session with Morton Downey and Geraldo Rivera [television talk-show hosts] and others: Is he trying to woo us, and may he succeed in seducing us? Mr. President, if you would explain your philosophy to press coverage of the Presidency and the relationship with your administration? I realize that some of the debate is probably our ability to complain, no matter what kind of access we get. But I'd like to hear your views of your relationship to the media.

The President. Well, in the first place, when Barbara and I invite a reporter and her spouse or a reporter and his spouse to the White House for an upstairs dinner, we're doing that not to seduce the press—[*laughter*]—treating them as human beings. And one of the reasons—you've asked my press policy—one of the reasons I don't take questions over the sound of the helicopter blades out there is: I want to treat the press with the dignity to which it is entitled. And if you have to get your question answered by screaming at me when I don't want to answer it, you don't look very good. And I don't think it's very good for the White House.

And so, what I've tried to do is have enough availability. In fact, I'm going to cross this one up as a press conference for the record. One more notch so I can go to those doubters—[*laughter*]—and say, look,

we want to be accessible. But I would separate out—you know, I don't know what we'll do at Christmas. So, what Barbara and I try to do at our house is say, hey, you and Joan and Gene, or whoever it is, come on to the Christmas party—and not have to have it all categorized and so afraid that somebody thinks I'm trying to seduce some reporter that you have to be treated as something so different than anybody else. And so, availability—don't get mad when they ask stuff you don't like, and treat people as you would whatever walk of life or whatever occupation they come from. And if it's misinterpreted, fine. You don't have to come.

And so, I understand. I remember back a few years ago when one of the great news organizations said, "Okay, we're no longer going to be used. We're not going to any backgrounders or off the record." It lasted about 30 seconds, and those reporters came trooping back in. [*Laughter*] But I respected that if they want to do it; but please believe me that when we do it this way, it's what we feel is appropriate. And if it's not, I'll sure—I think we'll take a hit, but I'm unpersuaded by the gentle logic of Morton Downey—[*laughter*]—and whoever that other guy was that was here.

Speaker of the House Wright

Q. Mr. President, since you've announced this ethics program for the executive branch, I'd like to ask your comments about another situation involving ethics.

The President. Oops. Nice try, Jack [Jackson B. Tinsley, editor and vice president of the Fort Worth Star-Telegram]. [*Laughter*] Go ahead.

Q. That is the long running Ethics Committee investigation of House Speaker Jim Wright. The Washington Times reported this morning that the findings of this committee would be turned over to the Justice Department for investigation of possible Federal law violations. And also, there is a belief by some in Texas that since the rejection of John Tower as your first nominee for Secretary of Defense, that there might be an attempt by the Republican Party to retaliate against Speaker Wright. Would you comment on that, please?

The President. Well, let me comment on the last part first, and I know of no such retaliatory action. I think it would be impossible to do anyway. And it would be wrong, and certainly I would condemn anyone in our administration that had any hand in anything of that nature. Secondly, there is nothing in this ethics package—when I call for an even playing field—Congress, executive branch, and judicial branch do have the same standards that should in any way, directly or indirectly, be interpreted as intervening in the matter now before the House Ethics Committee. And surely, Jack—and I know there's this interest, particularly in your area and in my State. And I think it's wider than that now in the matters that are going forward there. But the last thing I want to do is involve myself in any way.

And please believe me, there is no—on my view, I answered the first question as frankly as I could about the John Tower matter. But in terms of getting even or something of that nature by unfairly intervening into a process that is now being handled by the Ethics Committee in the House, I simply wouldn't condone that at all, and I would condemn it. So, I want to separate out what's happening there from this package, and certainly, in response to your question, from any politics of retaliation because of my view that the Tower matter was not handled the way I would like to have seen it handled.

Oliver North

Q. At this point in time, would you call Ollie North a real American hero?

The President. Anybody that gets a Purple Heart and sheds his blood fighting for his country deserves to be called an American hero. And it was in that context that I made those claims, and in that context that I will repeat them. And the last thing I want to do is intervene in that matter that is now before the courts. But that's how I feel about those who risk their lives to save this country.

Texans in Government

Q. In view of the fact that there's a program on the table to put a space establishment in Houston and the supercollider is

going to be built in Jack's backyard, or has been selected to be built in Jack's backyard, and two or three of the top administrative officials are from Texas, is there a real backlash developing because of that? We saw the Georgia Mafia. We saw the California Mafia talked about by the press. Is this going to happen? And is it going to hurt your program?

The President. No. [*Laughter*] No, we've made appointments that are excellent in my view, men and women of standing. And the fact that some of them come from my home State—hey, what's wrong with that? And the supercollider decision was made by President Reagan. It's a good decision. I want to support it. The space center was made by—I guess when President Johnson was in office, or maybe under President Kennedy—I'm not sure. And it should have strong support. But I don't see any risk of backlash at all, provided you get people that measure up. And that's what I'm trying to do.

Q. Mr. President, I apologize. I've neglected the far left, which some would say is out of character for me. [*Laughter*]

The President. Note that he said that, not I. [*Laughter*] Go ahead.

Alaskan Oil Spill

Q. Mr. President, I live and work in a State with a 2,500-mile coastline, a coastline that includes an oil terminal as well as the village of Kennebunkport. I'm wondering why it took so long for the Government to move on the Alaskan oil spill. Why didn't the Government—the Federal Government—move more boldly, more quickly to clean up the spill?

The President. I think the Federal Government moved much more quickly and more boldly than it gets credit for. I consider the United States Coast Guard a part of the United States Government. And the Coast Guard moved very rapidly. What we did not want to do—and I'm convinced now, even in retrospect, that this decision is correct—was to relieve the Exxon Corporation of its liability by federalizing. And when I promptly sent our able EPA Administrator [William K. Reilly] and our head of the Coast Guard, Admiral Yost, and Sam Skinner, the Secretary of Transportation, up there, they came back with the unanimous recommendation that federalizing wasn't appropriate. The Federal assets—we have moved forward now on the cleanup. The first was containment, and now it's mainly in the cleanup phase, although there still are some containment problems.

Subsequently—and maybe I should accept some criticism on whether I should have done this a week before we did, or something of that nature; I'm giving you the reasons—but I think that the Federal Government is properly involved, but we should not have done what some are urging upon us: federalize that whole cleanup. And you know, it's a tough one. I do know the corner of the Maine coast you're talking about and something about the pristine nature of Prince William Sound. And I do have a great concern about the environment. I want to do better. I want to do better and set higher standards in the environment. But I also happen to believe that the national security needs of this country are served by having a production offshore and by producing oil from the North Slope. And it is awful hard to guarantee against a contingency in a 10-mile-wide channel after thousands and thousands and thousands are—put it millions of barrels have gone through there safely, and now, apparently, what human error seems to have caused this aberration. It's hard to have a contingency plan against that.

And the other day, they asked me about that and said—well, you know, because there were some saying, "Well, you ought to shut down the oil coming out of Prince William Sound, coming out of the Port of Valdez." And I said, "Well, to guarantee against what happened, should shut down all the production off of Louisiana and Texas." I'm not sure I understand the difference. And I think we have got to do everything we can to learn from this. We've got to do everything we can to have a plan that is based not on a third of this bill but on the totality of this bill in terms of recovery. But I simply do not want this disaster to—this isn't all your question, but projecting a little—to weaken the national security interest by making us further and further dependent on foreign oil. We're about up to

50 percent now, and that is not a good enough standard. So, let's learn from this; let's do better in protecting the environment. If there's a lesson here that one agency or another might have moved faster, I will be the first to learn from that. But we've got to keep a certain perspective.

And I am very pleased that the Federal Government is as involved as it should be now. I also would like to see more volunteers involved. And therein, I would make a pitch for strong support for revision of our liability laws. Some, I am told, in volunteer groups, are kept from helping out—maybe not on this one but in many other areas—because of the fear—outrageous liability claims. So, this is a good—we can maybe learn that much from this disaster up there. But I think maybe we should take some blame. But I think we've had prudent action, and I hope it's been timely.

Iran Arms and Contra Aid Controversy

Q. Mr. President, when the North trial is over, will you tell the American people if you were the so-called discreet emissary sent to Honduras during the Iran-*contra* affair and, if you were, give a full accounting of what you did there?

The President. I think I've given a full accounting. I would refer you, sir, to what—incidentally, in today's paper—to what was said by Ambassador Negroponte [U.S. Ambassador to Mexico] and also Tony Motley [former Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs], who sat in on that meeting. And having said that, every attorney that advises the President has advised me not to do something that inadvertently would cause a mistrial or would disturb the process that is underway. And so, I don't like reading charges that I happen to feel are untrue, but I have to stand on that. And that just goes with the territory. And I am confident that the process that has gone on, and the process that undoubtedly will go on after this trial is over, will say that anything I have heretofore said is correct. But I do not want to be pushed into doing something for self-aggrandizement that would be ruled by some judge to have aborted a trial that is underway.

Well, thank you all very much.

Note: The President spoke at 1:35 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the J.W. Marriott Hotel. He was introduced by John Seigenthaler, president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

Remarks at the Congressional Fire Services Institute Dinner
April 12, 1989

The President. Members of the fire service community and ladies and gentlemen and friends, what a wonderful evening this is. Let me say, it's a great privilege to be, as Yogi Berra might say, in such extinguished company—[*laughter*]—all fired up. [*Laughter*] I want to thank you, though, for that warmth of your reception here and for your kindness. And let me just first congratulate some who are responsible for this first, massively successful event. I'm referring, of course, to the International Associations of Fire Chiefs and Fire Fighters, the International Society of Fire Service Instructors, the National Fire Protection Association, the National Volunteer Fire Council, and the Volunteer Firemen's Insurance Services.

And I want to also salute the individual representatives of the fire service community and then the members of the Congressional Fire Service Caucus, now the third-largest, I believe, technically. But if I know Congressman Curt Weldon, you're going to be number one. Let me salute the members of Congress that are gathered here, and particularly singling out not only the firefighter's best friend, Congressman Curt Weldon—he talked about a sleeping giant awakened; you try sleeping—[*laughter*]—with Curt Weldon on your case, giving you a hot foot—but Congressman Doug Wal-

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NEWS RELEASE

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Check-Writing Scandal Highlights Other Congressional Spending; Cost of Congress Hits $2.8 Billion

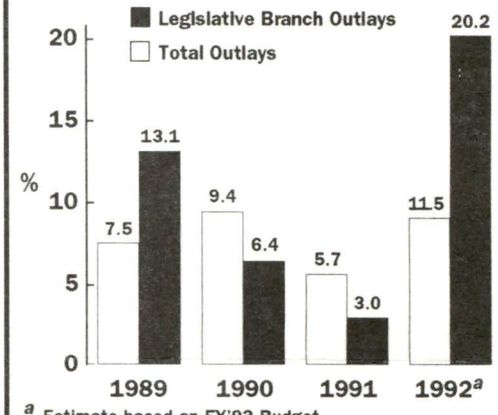
WASHINGTON, D.C., March 27, 1992 — In the March issue of *Tax Features*, the cost of Congress and the rest of the legislative branch is estimated to rise $464 million to a record high $2.8 billion for fiscal year 1992. This 20.2 percent increase over 1991 figures is more than double the hefty 9 percent increase projected for overall federal spending.

During the controversy surrounding the bank operations of the U.S. House of Representatives, some congressmen listed as writers of bad checks have pointed out that they were not risking tax dollars when they abused their *de facto* unlimited overdraft privilege. That implies, of course, that they behave differently when taxpayers are indeed footing the bill. But the Tax Foundation's analysis of the cost of Congress, an annual feature of our research program for decades, reinforces the public's skepticism on this point.

Total Outlays vs. Legislative Branch Outlays

FY1988 - 1992

Percentage Change



[a] Estimate based on FY'93 Budget.
Source: Tax Foundation

Just the two houses of Congress alone will cost $1.3 billion to run, the most visible portion of which is the congressional salary of $129,500. This is up 3.5 percent from last year due to a cost of living adjustment, an especially modest hike compared to the 25 percent raise Congress voted itself for last year.

Senate expenditures for FY'92 will reach $488 million, 4.9 million per senator, while the House of Representatives' budget calls for $722 million, $1.7 million per representative. Joint activities are estimated to cost an additional $73 million.

Expenditures for the remainder of the legislative branch have also reached record levels, totaling some $1.5 billion for FY'92. This money funds various legislative agencies such as the Library of Congress, Government Printing Office, and Architect of the Capitol.

According to recent figures from the Office of Personnel Management, the legislative branch employs 38,662 workers. Of these, the Senate employs 7,584, the House 12,737, and the various agencies 18,312.

The committee system of Congress is comprised of 20 committees and 87 subcommittees in the Senate,

— more —

employing over 770 professional staff. The House maintains 27 committees and 155 subcommittees, with 1,271 professional staff attached. Finally, joint committees bring the total for the congressional bureaucracy to over 50 committees and 250 subcommittees, employing a professional staff of over 2,100.

Tax Features is published monthly by the Tax Foundation, a nonprofit, nonpartisan research and public education organization, which has been monitoring tax and fiscal activities at all levels of government since 1937.

— end —

Outlays for the Legislative Branch of the Federal Government by Unit

Selected Fiscal Years 1970-1992 (a)

($Millions)

Unit	1970	1980	1990	1991	1992
Total	$343	$1,218	$2,230	$2,296	$2,760
Congress, total	179	582	1,108	1,153	1,283
Senate	58	184	381	392	488
House of Representatives	108	325	585	655	722
Joint activities	13	73	141	106	73
Legislative agencies, total	164	636	1,123	1,143	1,477
Architect of the Capitol	19	89	131	187	312
Botanic Garden (b)	1	2	2	3	4
Congressional Budget Office	-	12	18	20	23
General Accounting Office	70	201	362	393	433
Government Printing Office	34	116	120	75	130
Library of Congress (b)	50	193	479	443	549
Office of Technology Assessment	-	11	18	19	21
U.S. Tax Court (b)	3	10	27	29	32
Other (b)	-	14	4	6	7
Deductions for offsetting receipts	–12	–11	–37	–32	–34

(a) Data for 1992 are estimates from the FY1993 Budget presented in January 1992.
(b) Includes trust funds.
Source: Office of Management and Budget.